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**‘Signs of our passage’: Examining how
Tanzanian irregular transit migrants create
a sense of place through their mobile and
immobile experiences: a Durban-based
case study**

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Declaration - Plagiarism

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Place: Kommetjie, Cape Town, South Africa.

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Abstract

In 2020, there were reportedly 281 million international migrants, roughly 3.60 percent of the global population. While most people participate in legal migration, a significant portion of global migration is irregular due to economic, social, environmental and political instability. Africa witnessed a 68 percent increase in transnational migration between 2000 and 2017, originating from the continent. However, scholarship on African mobilities prioritises irregular migration from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe through the Maghreb region. Furthermore, studies on migration in Southern Africa tend to characterise South Africa as a destination country.

Situated within the global phenomenon of irregular transit migration, this study aimed to understand and describe the unique experiences of a Tanzanian irregular transit migrant and stowaway community as they created a sense of place through social and material practices in heterotopic sites in Durban, South Africa. Additionally, the study aimed to understand the community members' mobile and immobile experiences as they travelled from Tanzania to South Africa with one intention: to stow away on a ship to Europe or the Americas.

The data for this project was collected through 11 qualitative semi-structured interviews with community members and associates. A Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) approach was utilised to interpret the stories elicited from the research participants. The findings contradict research that characterises irregular migrants as passive victims or unscrupulous criminals by demonstrating the polysemic nature of 'heterotopias of deviance' as contradictory, intense, and transformative places where identity and belonging are actualised. This perspective departs from the dichotomy of dominance and resistance in spatial thinking. Additionally, the accounts reveal that Durban represented an open-ended pause for this community, which confronted harsh conditions and dangerous encounters through their mobile and immobile experiences en route, in Durban and at sea. This study indicates the need to humanise precarious migrants' attitudes, motivations and lived experiences to comprehend the complex phenomenon of global irregular transit migration.

Keywords: Irregular transit migration, Stowaways, Place, Durban, Heterotopias, Mobility/Immobility

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Chapter One: Introduction

The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below', below the threshold at which visibility begins... (de Carteau, 1984: 131)

Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the study, locating the research in the broader discourse of global irregular transit and stowaway migration. It then addresses the rationale for focusing on a Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community residing in vacant places on the margins of Durban's Central Business District (CBD). Additionally, the aims, objectives and research questions, followed by the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted in the study, will be discussed. Finally, the chapter will explain the researcher's situatedness in the study and summarise each chapter.

Background to the Study

It is estimated that there were around 272 million international migrants globally in 2019 (McAuliffe and Khadria, 2019: 3). Europe and Asia hosted around 82 and 84 million international immigrants, comprising 61 per cent, respectively. Africa accounted for 10 per cent of the total global migrant stock (McAuliffe and Khadria, 2019: 24). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) identified that the primary drivers of migration and mobilities are not just economic, social, political and technological transformations but also profoundly personal reasons such as conflict, persecution and disaster. These deeply personal motivations, often overlooked, play a significant role in shaping the migration narrative, adding a human dimension to the statistics (IOM, 2019).

Africa is a testament to the IOM's identified drivers of migration, witnessing a 68 per cent increase in international migrants originating from the continent between 2000 and 2017. The Southern African region, in particular, is a migration hub, with its strong economic position and work opportunities in the mining, agricultural, and manufacturing industries. The region is also a launching pad for regular and irregular migration to Europe and the Americas (IOM, 2019:1).

In 2017, SADC recorded over 7 million migrants, with South Africa hosting the most significant number (4 million). The majority of these flows originated from the Horn of Africa, particularly Ethiopia and Somalia, and consist of asylum seekers, economic migrants, and victims of trafficking. Figure 1.1 illustrates routes undertaken by predominantly East African migrants through the Great Lakes and SADC regions, with at least 20,000 attempting to reach South Africa yearly (IOM, 2019: 1).

While these statistics provide a framework for understanding global migration trends, the African Migration Report (Achieng and El Fadil, 2020) identified multiple factors complicating migration documentation on the continent. First, most scholarship on African migration, security and development emerges from the West. This impacts the perspectives on migration and mobility, as Western perspectives are often transposed onto Africa, lacking contextual factors. Second, available data suggests that irregular migration generally occurs within the continent and that most African migration to the European Union is, in fact, regular. Finally, the report strongly emphasised the need to understand African migration from African migrants' experiences. This call for diverse perspectives is crucial to comprehensively understand Africa's migration phenomenon (Achieng and El Fadil, 2020).

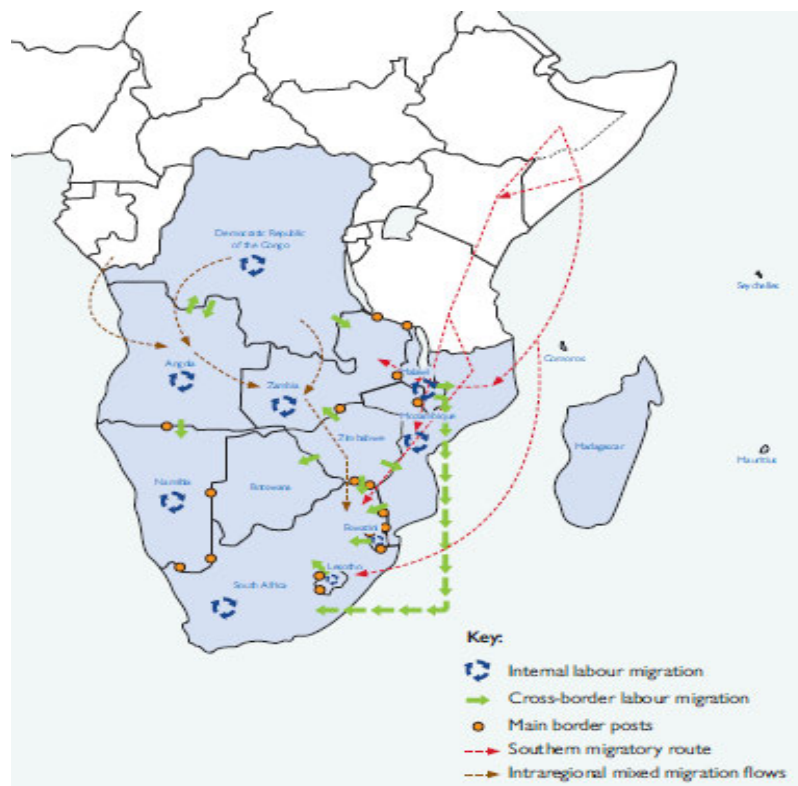


Figure 1.1: Migration Routes in Southern Africa
 (Source: IOM Regional Strategy for Southern Africa 2019–2023)

Defining Migration

The definition of migration varies according to geographic, legal, political, methodological, and temporal factors. The definitions change depending on the circumstances in which they are applied. According to the United Nations Department of Economic Social Affairs (UN DESA) statistical report on migration, "an international migrant is defined as any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (1998: 9). The report further distinguished *long-term*

migrants – a person who leaves their usual residence for at least a year– from *short-term migrants* – a person who leaves their usual residence for at least three months but less than a year (UNDESA, 1998).

The measurement of migration depends on its definition across time and space. Although mobility is an inherent characteristic among all populations, people's movement is governed by contextual factors (McAuliffe and Khadria, 2019: 5). Laws and policies are integral to mobilities and are used to distinguish regular and irregular migration. According to the IOM glossary, *regular migration* complies with the country of origin, transit, and destination laws (IOM, 2019b: 175). Conversely, *irregular migration* refers to the "movement of persons that takes place outside the laws, regulations, or international agreements governing the entry into or exit from the State of origin, transit or destination" (IOM, 2019b: 118). An *irregular migrant* is a person entering, residing or working in a country irregularly. The concepts of irregular migration and irregular migrants are not necessarily linked, and the definition of irregular status may change over time (Vespe, Natale and Pappalardo, 2017: 26). A common form of irregular migration is *transit migration*. Despite the widespread use of the term since the 1990s, there is no adequate or universally agreed definition of the phenomenon (Düvell, 2012: 416). The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UN/ECE, 1993: 7) defined transit migration as "migration to a country to seek the possibility there to emigrate to another country as the country of final destination by means that are partially, if not fully, illegal". The United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR) problematised the 'temporariness' of the concept, noting that previous definitions of transit migration fail to account for the length of the transitory period or the potential of the transit country becoming the final destination (OHCHR, 2016: 5). Notwithstanding, the conceptual difficulties that characterise being in transit is a critical part of contemporary migration studies (Düvell, 2012; Mainwaring and Brigden, 2016, OHCHR, 2016).

Irregular migration fits within the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006), in which mobility is not just about a linear movement of people and things. Instead, it undermines extant theories concentrating on the linearity of migratory movements, including the politics of people and things in place and space. The new mobilities paradigm has allowed me to consider the movement of the people I have studied in this thesis coherently and comprehensively.

Stowaway Migration

Stowaways have been documented in novels and news articles from at least the 1800s. Michael McNicholas (2016: 182) remarked that stowing away probably dates back to when commercial ships started international trade. A stowaway is someone who secretly boards a ship, an aircraft, a train, a bus or a cargo truck without being detected and without the consent

of the person in charge (Geldenhuis, 2018: 40; González-Almeida, Lorenzo and Gómez-Correa, 2022: 69). The Convention on Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic, 1965, amended (The FAL Convention), defines a stowaway as

A person who is secreted on a ship or in cargo which is subsequently loaded on the ship without the consent of the shipowner or the master or any other responsible person and who is detected onboard the ship after it has departed from a port, or in the cargo while unloading it in the port of arrival, and is reported as a stowaway by the master to the appropriate authorities (accessed IMO, 2020).

Resolution FAL. 13 (42) provides basic principles to prevent and address stowaway incidents (IMO, 2018). In short, these principles advocate for stowaways to be returned to their home country or place of embarkation, thus placing responsibility on shipping companies, crews, and agents to repatriate stowaways. However, this proposal is complicated because it provides loopholes for different people to exploit. While most stowaways attempt to escape social and economic deprivation in pursuit of better opportunities, some 'professional stowaways' work in syndicates and share information. These organisations have infrastructure and contacts within the port entities (McNicholas, 2016; Geldenhuis, 2018). Furthermore, the costly effect of harbouring a stowaway has resulted in inhumane practices of shipping companies throwing stowaways overboard and even killing stowaways. A recent case reported by TimesLIVE involved the rescue of two Tanzanian men offshore of Zinkwazi Beach on the KwaZulu-Natal North Coast after being thrown overboard by a Chinese vessel departing from Durban Harbour en route to Europe (Patrick, 2020).

South African ports are a hotspot for stowaway activity, particularly Durban, as it is one of the busiest ports in Africa. Many vessels regularly dock at Durban harbour before continuing their journeys worldwide, making it easier for stowaways to avoid detection as many people work and pass through the area (Geldenhuis, 2018: 41). Geldenhuis (2018: 41) documented that during March and April 2014, 32 stowaways, mostly Tanzanians and people from West African countries, were found on ships docking in Durban. Moreover, data from the IMO FAL Report 43/13 (2019: 3) noted that – globally -- the largest group of stowaways in 2017 emanated from Nigeria and Tanzania. The FAL Report also revealed that Durban had the highest stowaway incidents in the 2017 policy year (IMO, 2019: 4).

Tanzanian Irregular Transit Migrants/Stowaways

Tanzanian stowaway subcultures have existed in the port cities of Dar es Salaam and Tanga since the mid-1970s. These activities spread to neighbouring ports in Mombasa, Lamu and even Djibouti. The spread to ports southward was hindered by the Mozambican Civil War and

apartheid in South Africa (Christie, 2016). Nonetheless, by the mid-1990s, these obstacles had fallen, encouraging scores of young men to migrate to South Africa. The urban decay in Central Business Districts (CBDs) near harbour ports across South Africa has created an ideal situation for these young men to establish communities on vacant plots. Most individuals view stowing away as a chance to escape the social, economic and political challenges in the global south for greener pastures in North America and Europe.

A cursory search on stowaway activity in South Africa reveals the stringent measures taken by multiple South African agencies, law firms, shipping companies, private security firms, and insurance companies to curtail the issue (Polity, 2017; BIMCO, 2022; Trauthwein, 2022). Tanzanian nationals are overwhelmingly reported as the culprits illegally accessing vessels docked at harbour ports (BIMCO, 2022). Additionally, some individuals trespass ships to bribe shipowners for 'stipends' or 'travel money' in US Dollars. The stipends are paid to ensure cooperation by the stowaway for the duration of the repatriation. However, this has resulted in the proliferation of 'professional stowaways' and repeat offenders (Geldenhuys, 2018; BIMCO, 2022).

Sean Christie conducted an ethnography on the Tanzanian Beachboy stowaway subculture in Cape Town that provided insight into the experiences of a few individuals and their encounters with the broader Cape Town-based community (Christie, 2016). While Christie's study contextualised the Tanzanian stowaways' experiences, it only focused on Cape Town. However, there are multiple reports on stowaway activity in Durban (Polity, 2017; Geldenhuys, 2018; IMO, 2019; Patrick, 2020). This data necessitated a study into the experiences of Durban-based Tanzanian stowaways. Moreover, it required examining how disparate individuals, mostly Tanzanian, form a parallel society outside the confines of dominant spatial planning, creating a cohesive, contradictory and transformative sense of place.



Figure 1.2: Map of South Africa (Source: Google Maps)

Significant Terms

Throughout the study, reference will be made to stowaways—someone who secretly boards a ship, an aircraft, a train, a bus, or a cargo truck without being detected and without consent (Geldenhuys, 2018: 40; González-Almeida, Lorenzo, and Gómez-Correa, 2022: 69). The reason for this is that most of the target population desire stowing away on vessels docked at Durban Harbour, which has been captured in graffiti on public walls in Durban, previous research, International NGO reports and policy documents (Coutin, 2005; Christie, 2016; Geldenhuys, 2018; BIMCO, 2022; Trauthwein, 2022).

Another term that will be used throughout the dissertation is irregular transit migrant. Although there is no universal agreement on its definition, it denotes a group of people who migrate to one country (usually unauthorised) intending to move to another country as the country of final destination (UN/ECE, 1993: 7). In this study, the predominantly unauthorised Tanzanian individuals living in South Africa travelled through Mozambique and/or Zimbabwe illegally to access South Africa with hope to escape the continent on a ship docked at a Harbour Port, in this context Durban.

Explaining these terms is significant because not all people travelling to South Africa from this community initially intend to stow away, even if they have entered the country illegally. Some individuals join the subculture once they find a sense of belonging with the group, identifying as stowaways. Nonetheless, these terms do not aim to simplify the Durban-based Tanzanian migrants' experiences but to contextualise this creolised community.

Locating the Study

Durban (eThekweni municipality) is one of four major industrial centres on the east coast of South Africa, located in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province. The city is one of the most densely populated regions in the country, with just over 3.7 million people (Korhonen, 2024). Durban's port has been central to the city's economic, social and political development since establishing a trading post in the bay in 1824 (Martel and Sutherland, 2018: 398). The city's development is also predicated on apartheid state-directed spatial planning and contemporary trajectories of uneven development that continue to affect urban processes of inclusion and exclusion, bearing similarities to other cities in the Global South (Sutherland et al., 2018: 334-335).

The advent of democracy in 1994 saw an uptick in legal and unauthorised African migration into South Africa. Migration to South Africa from other African countries is fuelled by economic opportunity, people escaping conflict zones in the region and, more recently, climate change (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014). Brij Maharaj and Vadi Moodley (2000: 152) identified three significant changes in African migration to Durban in the 1990s. First, the number of migrants from African countries moving into Durban drastically increased. Second, the number of source immigrants that moved to Durban increased to the entire continent. Finally, Durban was not the first stop from the immigrants' home countries. The final point is significant to this study as Durban was not the first stop en route for the migrants interviewed in this study.

Durban is the location for this study because it is one of the busiest ports in Africa and a hotspot for stowaway activity (Geldenhuys, 2018; IMO FAL Report, 2019; Patrick, 2020). It is also one of several port cities inhabited by the study's target population, a predominantly Tanzanian community with hopes to stow away on a large vessel heading to Europe and the Americas. This community lives among the 3.7 million people residing in the city yet is relatively invisible because of their precarious status (most individuals are undocumented or have expired travel documents).



Figure 1.3: Durban Central Business District (CBD) (Source: Google Maps)

Heterotopic Sites

Heterotopic spaces are marginal sites that threaten dominant spatial thinking. Foucault identified 'heterotopias of deviance' as 'other spaces' for people who do not fit the dominant social norms of modernity, such as adhering to *institutional* controls and *regulatory* forms of power (Foucault, 1986; Cenzatti, 2008: 3). Although these spaces function 'other than' established spatial thinking, heterotopias have structures and rules that contribute to their contradictory, intense and transformative nature (Foucault, cited in Soja, 1996: 151; Cenzatti, 2008: 3). Two heterotopic sites occupied by the Tanzanian irregular transit community are the area under the M4 bridge and the Warwick Avenue Triangle.

The Area Under the M4 Bridge

The area under the Inkosi Albert Luthuli Highway Bridge (formerly *Southern Freeway*) (see Figures 1.3. and 1.4.) is a derelict space accessed by freight trains transporting goods from the port. Many members of the target population reside under the bridge due to its proximity to the harbour. The site also functions as the core of the Tanzanian irregular transit community. Community members converge under the bridge to make critical decisions and to seek refuge from the outside world. Although the area aligns with Marc Augé's (1995) concept of a non-place – spaces that exist to be passed through where people remain anonymous - the graffiti and rudimentary scrawling on the public walls create a context, transforming the site into the anthropological definition of place described as relational, historical and concerned with identity (Augé, 1995: 52).



Figure 1.4: The Area under the M4 Southern Freeway Bridge (Source: Google Maps)

Warwick Avenue Triangle

The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) has always functioned as a marginal space, defying apartheid and democratic-era state annihilation strategies. It is one of Durban's oldest mixed residential areas and business districts suitably located as a 'city centre' for low-income residents, as it is contiguous to public transport facilities (Maharaj, 2023: 505). The WAT is also home to the century-old Early Morning Market (EMM) and other informal traders of predominantly Indian and African heritage (Maharaj and Mpungose, 1994; Desai, 2010; Sutherland et al., 2018; Maharaj, 2023; Africa Ports & Ships, 2024). The area has survived apartheid-era slum clearance laws, the Group Areas Act and democratic-era urban renewal programmes that have disenfranchised poor black communities. More recently, the space has been occupied by African migrants, including the Tanzanian community, who have created a sense of community at the bus terminal beneath the *WAT label* in Figure 1.5.

The assemblage of heterogeneous people occupying the area under the M4 Bridge and the WAT disrupts urban spatial planning initiatives proposed by eThekweni (Durban) Municipality and private developers. Furthermore, the relationships formed between disenfranchised people in both locations have remained across space and time (Desai and Bond, 2019; Maharaj, 2023). In this context, space exists as a trialectics of being consisting of *spatiality*, *sociality* and *historicality* (Soja, 1999: 263).

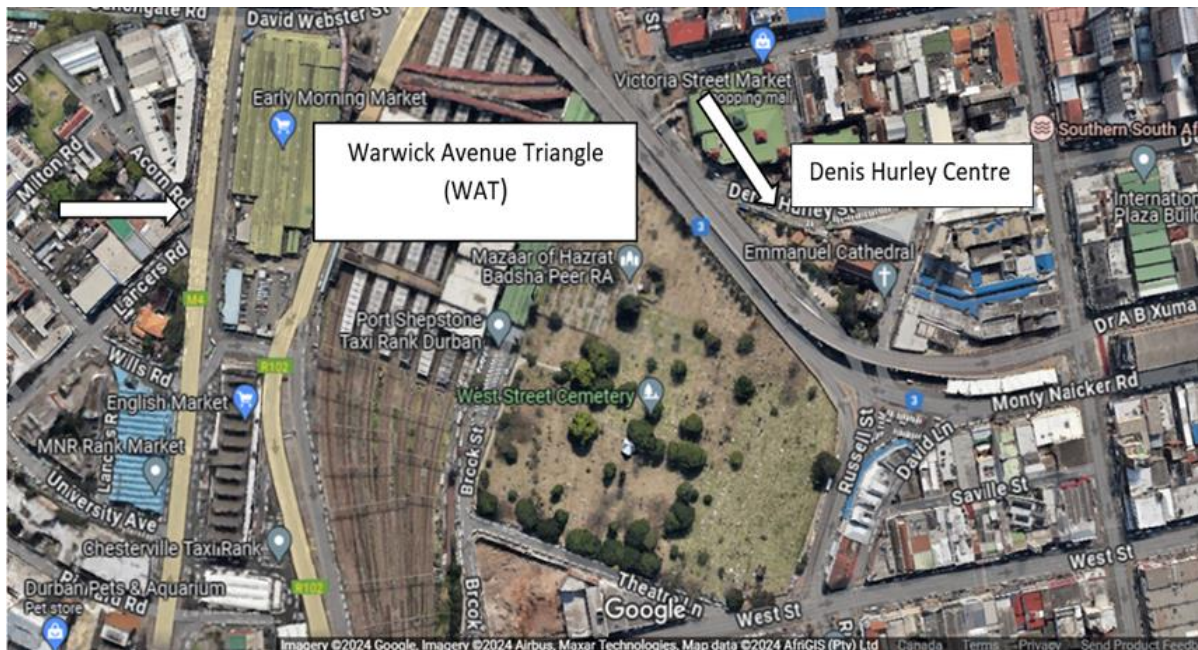


Figure 1.5 Warwick Avenue Triangle (Source: Google Maps)

Problem Statement

Reports on irregular migration (including stowaways) generally fail to document people's experiences on the move, instead focusing on contested definitions, statistics, securitisation and structural issues (Geldenhuys, 2018; IOM, 2023). While this research is necessary for characterising the complex trends in global migration, it tends to simplify the phenomenon and reduces migrants to passive victims or criminals. Franck Düvell and Bastian Vollmer (2009: 25) criticised attempts to quantify irregular and transit migration as it results in highly biased and strongly politicised guesswork by policymakers and academics. Instead, they argued for triangulation of different data sets to produce more realistic numbers of (irregular) transit migration.

The transitory phase is a significant part of the migrant journey. Patricia Ehrkamp (2020: 1202) argued that there is a complexity in the in-between phase of the migrant journey; it is hardly a linear move from point A to point B. Transit migration encompasses "the routes migrants take, the countries and oceans they traverse, state efforts and violence to contain migration, legal spaces and migrants' experiences and narratives of their journeys across space" (Ehrkamp, 2020: 1202). It is often the time and space when migrants are most vulnerable to crime, exploitation, injury and death (Ehrkamp, 2020: 1203). However, during the transitory phase, migrants forge new identities and relationships.

Furthermore, previous studies discuss urban spatial planning within the binary of power and resistance (Sutherland et al., 2018; Desai and Bond, 2019; Maharaj, 20023). However, this study departs from the dualism of mental and material approaches, where space is passive and/or fetishised. Instead, this study advocates for an engagement with Thirdspace (or lived space) and *critical thirding-as-Othering* (heterotopic places) as alternatives to dominant spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1999). Though described as 'other spaces', *critical thirding-as-Othering* (or heterotopic places) are active and multidimensional places where identities and belonging are forged.

Research Aim

The research was principally concerned with understanding and describing the social, material and mobile experiences of a Tanzanian irregular transit community living in Durban. More literature on South Africa as a transitory country is needed, as extant literature on irregular transit migration prioritises mobilities from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe through the Maghreb region (Collyer, 2007; Schapendonk and Steel, 2014; Berriane, 2020). South Africa is often characterised as a destination country in studies on migration in Southern Africa (see Muanamoha et al., 2010; McAuliffe and Mence, 2017). However, the uneven development and urban processes in the region have inspired migrants to use the region as a launching pad for regular and irregular migration to Europe and the Americas (IOM, 2019: 1). Durban is a popular destination for irregular migration because it has one of the busiest harbour ports in Africa, making it a hotspot for stowaway activity (Geldenhuys, 2018; IMO, 2019).

The project was also inspired by a compelling ethnography of the Tanzanian Beachboy subculture in Cape Town by Sean Christie (2016). It was also motivated by Mook Lion and Samra Chapman's documentary (2018) titled 'Footnotes in the City', an extension of Mook Lion's Master of Technology in Fine Arts (2019) titled 'Street Art and Mural Art as Visual Activism in Durban: 2014 – 2017'. Sean Christie provided a lens into the Tanzanian stowaway community's experiences in Cape Town. On the other hand, Mook Lion and Samora Chapman broadly examined the transformative impact of street and mural artwork in public spaces in Durban's Central Business District (CBD), briefly engaging with graffiti of the Durban-based Tanzanian migrant community.

The point of departure in this study is the focus on how the Durban-based Tanzanian transit irregular migrant or stowaway community creates a sense of place in the heterotopic sites they occupy (the area under the M4 Southern freeway bridge, the busses, the safe house and the sea). This was a crucial undertaking, as most research focuses on contested definitions

concerning global migration, statistics, and policy analysis that tend to characterise migrants within the dichotomies of passive victims or nefarious criminals. While this point should not be undermined due to human trafficking, smuggling and kidnapping threatening the survival of unauthorised migrants, it is crucial to explore how heterotopic sites can function as meaningful places that are dynamic and fluid while equally relying on nearness and locality. As such, these heterotopic or 'other spaces' are cohesive, tense and contradictory, where being, becoming and belonging are actualised.

Research Objectives

The study had three principal objectives:

- Outline the varying concepts of place and how they align with the Durban-based Tanzanian irregular migrant community. This aimed to understand how the community perceives, conceives, and experiences place.
- Explore how the Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit community creates a sense of place and belonging in heterotopic sites existing outside the regulatory framework of urban spatial planning. This objective aimed to explore their dynamic experience of place through social and material practices.
- Highlight their complex mobile and immobile experiences en route, in Durban and on the ships. This objective questioned the linear logic of migration and mobilities by emphasising that transit migration consists of multiple journeys where movement is not self-evident (Iranzo, 2021: 3).

Research Question

Using the Durban urban areas as a case study, how do the Tanzanian irregular transit migrants create a sense of place through both their mobile and immobile experiences?

Sub-Questions

- a. How do they perceive, conceive and experience place?
- b. What are their social and material practices in relation to place?

Philosophical Assumptions

This study utilised a phenomenological design to understand how Durban-based Tanzanian irregular migrants create a sense of place while in transit, adopting Martin Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* (being there/presence). *Dasein* unites human consciousness, acknowledging that to be somewhere is to be in a particular place (Heidegger, 1971: n/p). In this sense, place has an experiential orientation that serves an existential and functional purpose. Phenomenology prioritises lived experience through the vector of consciousness (Van Manen, 1990: 9).

Similarly, the research addressed the concept of place from the perspective of *Dasein* while accounting for the labyrinthian journeys contributing to the place-making practices among the Tanzanian migrant community.

The phenomenological design supported the social constructivist paradigm adopted in this study, which holds that *ontology* (or the nature of reality) can be seen through multiple lenses and *epistemology* (or ways of knowing) is subjective and value-laden. This perspective recognises and accepts that biases are present in the research process and that knowledge is a problematic and ever-changing human construction. Thus, there cannot be an ultimate *truth* (Guba, 1990: 26; Hesse-Biber, 2015: n/p).

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with 11 community members and associates to glean the meanings they ascribed to the research topic. The small sample supported the theoretical and methodological goals of this study, which set out to understand the target population's attitudes, motivations and experiences. While United Nations research organisations provide comprehensive reports on the statistics and trends of global migration, they offer generalised perspectives of this complex phenomenon. Keyan G. Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll, and Michael Francis (2008: 354) offered a rich perspective on the complexity of ethnographic qualitative research, noting:

Meaning and contexts are not fixed, and the power that gives these meanings and contexts some coherence or, in the least, some salience must be included. This results in highly fractured accounts that cannot fully explain the lives of those we research among/with, yet we can nonetheless say something salient about their situations through the experiences we relate to (Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis, 2008: 354).

Correspondingly, this study acknowledges the fractured nature of narrating lived experience. However, it prioritised the participants' accounts as meaningful to them, whether real or imagined and empirically measured or felt (Van Manen, 1990: 9). Furthermore, the experiential orientation of the analysis provides insight into the hidden realities of the clandestine Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community with intentions of stowing away on ships docked at Durban Harbour. It is equally important to note that while social constructivism emphasises the participants' responses, the engagement with theories on place and a comprehensive survey of extant literature concerning transit migration, irregular maritime migration and mobilities aided the interpretation of the data.

Situating Myself in the Study

I lived most of my life as a resident of Durban and encountered the city as a place based on my history, culture, and identity. I recently relocated to Canada and reside on an island off the coast of Nova Scotia (Sydney, Cape Breton). I am now experiencing being an outsider in a new place rooted in a particular history, culture and identity. Yet, the influx of newcomers (including myself) has altered its overall identity, revealing that places embody being (the present), becoming (past, present and future) and belonging (identity) through sociality and materiality.

Seeing the markings of the Tanzanian irregular transit and stowaway migrants on the city walls in Durban compelled me to explore the concept of place through a different lens. However, it is only through my immigrant journey that I have come to appreciate the history, culture and identity we bring to and construct in new places. This project taught me that place is a shifting, elusive concept that refuses to be concretised over space and time. The specific desired, imagined, and lived experiences of the Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community have helped me understand the shifting dynamics of the global phenomenon of transitory migration, which will contribute to scholarship on migration, mobilities, place and identity.

Structure of the Dissertation

This study is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter One: The introduction provides a background to the study, summarising the main research concepts, including defining migration (specifically irregular transit migration) and stowaway migration. The chapter also situated the study within the context of a Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community that occupies heterotopic sites in the city. The introduction problematises the simplification of global irregular migration to statistics or political guesswork characterising migrants as passive victims of criminals (Düvell and Vollmer, 2009). It additionally provides the aims, objectives, and research questions, as well as a brief description of the theoretical and methodological approaches undertaken in the study. Finally, the chapter situated the researcher in the study.

Chapter Two: The literature review outlined the contested definitions of irregular transit migration, focusing on the complex relationship between mobilities and immobilities as a fluid and fluctuating relational concept (Collyer, 2007; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Iranzao, 2021). It then explains the experiences of people who embark on irregular migrant journeys predominantly from South and Central America to North America and from sub-Saharan, North Africa and Asia to Europe (Coutin, 2005; Collyer, 2007; İçduygu and Yüksek, 2012;

Basok, Bélanger, Wiesner, and Candiz, 2015). Finally, there is a discussion on the challenging circumstances, fleeting encounters, materiality and social networks among unauthorised migrants.

Chapter Three: The theoretical framework engaged with different ideas related to the concept of place. It first outlined the Cartesian perspective of place as a point in the expanse of space (Casey, 1987; 1998; 2001; Creswell, 2015). The second section problematised the reductionist view of place in Cartesian thinking, examining it from an experiential position. This perspective unites human consciousness and being somewhere, concentrating on the intentions, attitudes, purposes and experiences people bring to particular places (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Heidegger, 1971; Tuan, 1975; 1977; Relph, 1976). This also interrelates with the politics of social relations and identities forged in places (Lefevre, 1991; Harvey, 1973; 1994; 1996; Soja, 1996; 1999). Given the focus on migration in this study, the chapter accounted for a globalist view of place, accounting for the throwntogetherness of disparate people and objects in a single location, particularly heterotopic sites (Foucault, 1986; Soja, 1996; Massey, 1994; 2005). The final section of the chapter addressed how memories are inscribed in place through material and social practices that traverse space and time (Casey, 1987/2002; Hayden, 1995). The varying perspectives of place are significant in garnering an understanding of how the Tanzanian irregular migrant community create a sense of place in Durban.

Chapter Four: The methodology chapter explained the philosophical assumptions underpinning the study – a qualitative approach, phenomenological design and a social constructivist paradigm. These approaches provided methodological congruence guided by the idea that ways of knowing are subjective and experienced in context. Accordingly, I kept a journal to record my thoughts and interactions during the data collection (2021-2022). These reflections helped me to account for how my positionality (race, gender, class, citizenship and education) influenced my interpretation of the data. Reflexive thematic analysis encourages researchers to embrace reflexivity, subjectivity and creativity in knowledge production (Braun and Clarke, 2019). Therefore, the data analysis adopted an experiential orientation (inductive reasoning), prioritising the respondents' attitudes, motivations and experiences. However, the interpretations were assessed alongside extant literature and the theoretical framework (deductive reasoning) for a more thorough analysis. Finally, the chapter accounted for the study's credibility, ethical considerations and limitations.

Chapter Five: The first discussion chapter presents findings and interpretations addressing how the Tanzanian irregular transit community perceived, conceived, and experienced place. The chapter also examined their social and material practices. It examined the data alongside

the themes in the literature review and theoretical framework, identifying areas of new knowledge as well as convergence and contradictions with previous studies.

Chapter Six: The second discussion chapter presents findings and interpretations on the mobile and immobile experiences of the predominantly Tanzanian respondents. It examined the motivations for the community members embarking on dangerous land and sea journeys. It situates their mobile practices in the context of complex international maritime laws that create loopholes for exploitation. Their experiences en route and in Durban were also examined. The chapter demonstrates the resourcefulness and collective agency of the irregular transit migrants and stowaways connected to their strong social and material practices. However, it also reveals that their invisibility makes them vulnerable to violence and inhumane encounters by unlawful actors.

Chapter Seven: The conclusion summarises the research endeavour alongside recommendations from the study and areas for further research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

Migration and mobilities studies cover a breadth of topics, themes and ideas. This chapter is chiefly concerned with irregular/illegal transit migration. It examines the definitions of irregular land and maritime migration as well as the fleeting and enduring relationships established at various points in the journey. The chapter also focuses on migrant materiality, particularly the markings they leave in various places. Additionally, there is a discussion of transit migrant mobile and immobile experiences on land and at sea. Finally, the chapter provides a context of Tanzanian stowaways living in South Africa, underscoring the need to explore the Tanzanian irregular transit and stowaway migrant population in Durban.

Defining Transit Migration

Contested Definitions

Transient mobility arises as a pivotal aspect of the contemporary world that includes the temporal movement of people across borders to find work, connectivity, imaginaries, and intensive transnational travel (Marcu, 2020: 1). At the most basic level, being a migrant involves moving from one place to another. However, migration is rarely a linear movement from point A to B, and it involves a complex pattern of movement interspersed with periods of stasis. Consequently, movement as a transient involves multiple uncertain and complex practices, resulting in continuous journeying without a clear beginning and end (Mainwaring and Bridgen, 2016; Marcu, 2020: 1). The concept is also highly politicised and carries racial stereotypes and biases (Iranzo, 2021). A further confusing element is that transit migration is frequently identified with organised crime, smuggling and human trafficking (Düvell, 2012).

Transit migration entered international discourse in the early 1990s, yet there is no agreed definition of the term, as most interpretations are either narrow, vague, or incoherent. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (accessed 2022) defines a country of transit as "the country through which a person or a group of persons pass on any journey to the country of destination or from the country of destination to the country of origin or of habitual residence". However, this description ignores the duration the presumed 'transit' entails (Düvell and Vollmer, 2009; Basok, Bélanger, Wiesner, and Candiz, 2015). Numerous researchers (Coutin, 2005; Collyer, 2007; Hess, 2010; Düvell, 2012; İçduygu and Yürkseker, 2012; Basok et al., 2015) have documented that journeys are constantly re-evaluated and reconfigured en route. Franck Düvell and Bastian Vollmer (2009: 14) concurred with this view, noting that "transit movements constantly change paths, points of departure and arrival; frequently, migrants respond to new opportunities or new or increasing control policies or are blown off course". Approaching transit migration from the linear and single-direction definition

outlined by the IOM obscures the transitory phase to the legal status of migrants rather than viewing it as a fragmented, diverse and contradictory spatiotemporal process (Iranzo, 2021: 3).

Aspasia Papadopoulou-Kourkoula (2008: 4) attempted to capture the uncertainty and fluctuations of time in transit migration, defining it as "the situation between emigration and settlement that is characterised by indefinite migrant stay, legal or illegal, and may or may not develop into further migration depending on a series of structural and individual factors". Papadopoulou-Kourkoula's definition accounts for periods in the journey where a particular stay is permanent or transitory (Basok et al., 2015).

Sabine Hess (2012) provided another perspective, shifting the focus of analysis from people to space. She proposed replacing the term 'transit' migration with 'precarious transit zones'. According to Hess, the focus on zones allows the analyst to grasp "the complexity, unsteadiness, and multi-directionality of migrants' transit biographies" (Hess, cited in Basok et al., 2015: 9). Although there is an advantage in shifting the label from people to space, it runs the risk of retaining the static dichotomy of transit or non-transit, thereby paying insufficient attention to the dynamics of migration (Schapendonk, 2012).

Susan Bibler Coutin (2005: 196) noted that "transit is a liminal space that positions migrants simultaneously outside (in transition, not yet arrived) yet inside (travelling through) national spaces". In transit implies being absent and present. Coutin (2005: 196) explored this view through the concept of *clandestinity* – "a hidden, yet known dimension of social reality". Human smuggling and migration routes are sustained practices, leaving visible traces in transit communities' physical, social, economic and political landscapes. Therefore, many undocumented migrants are excluded from certain rights while simultaneously physically present and vulnerable to violent experiences (Ehrkamp, 2020).

However, characterising transit migration as a liminal space seemingly reproduces a form of linear thinking about transit as a single in-between phase (Schapendonk, van Liempt, Schwarz and Steel, 2020). Michael Collyer and Hein de Haas (2012) argued that transit migration is deterministic as it essentialises the transit space as something to move through towards another destination. For Tanya Basok et al. (2015), the transit migrant label is flawed and should be replaced with an analysis of the precarious experiences of migrant mobilities and immobilities en route.

Michael Collyer (2007) delineated the significance of in-between places and explored the arbitrary designation of origin and destination. Colleyer's (2007) study on trans-Saharan transit migration revealed that transit countries function as spaces for migrants to establish social

networks, counter migration control, facilitate financial transfers, and initiate routes. Ángela Irazo (2021) further complicated the concept of being in 'transit', noting that (im)mobility and (in)security extend beyond destination borders. Irazo's study on migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea revealed that destinations (like the Spanish cities of Ceuta and Melilla) become another fragment of the journey "where new intersections of (im)mobility and (in)security crystallise" (Irazo, 2021: 13). This view problematises the idea that being in transit is a single intermediary phase between the state of origin and destination, thereby asserting the significance of characterising the transit category as a fluid and evolving space.

This view aligns with the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006), in which mobility constitutes "a complex system of movement of various material and virtual objects – such as humans, information, goods – that are rooted in technological infrastructures and are situated at various scales, from local to global" (Kharlamov cited in Marcu, 2020: 356). From this perspective, scholars pay attention to the politics of mobilities (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Collyer, 2007; Düvell, 2012; Mainwaring and Brigden, 2016; Marcu, 2020), analysing migration as a 'fragmented journey' involving diverse actors, institutions, policies, practices and spaces (Basok et al., 2015). John Urry asserted that mobility is essential to exploring "specialised periods and places involving temporary rest, storage, infra-structural mobility, disposal and immobile zones" and the power structures that produce them – a view expanded later in this chapter (Urry cited in Basok et al., 2015: 11).

Irregular Migration

Most transit migrants often traverse irregular routes to reach their desired destination. While transit migration can be legal, irregular migration requires illicit means to cross borders. Irregular migration comprises "the movement of persons to a new place of residence or transit that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries" (Seniutienė, 2022: 199). Despite no universally accepted definition of irregular migration, destination countries characterise it as entry, stay or work in a country without the authorisation or documents required under immigration regulations. The sending country labels it as persons crossing international boundaries without valid papers or the administrative requirements for leaving a country. Some categories of migrants that undertake irregular migration channels can include refugees, victims of trafficking, or unaccompanied migrant children (Seniutienė, 2022). The fact that they use irregular migration pathways does not imply that nation states are not, in some circumstances, obliged to provide them with some forms of protection under international law, including access to international protection for asylum seekers fleeing persecution, conflicts or generalised violence (IOM, 2023).

McAuliffe and Mence (2017: 21) provided a more comprehensive definition listing five categories of irregular migrants (i) Migrants who have illegally entered a country by either physically evading formal immigration control or presenting false papers; (ii) Migrants who legally entered a country for a fixed period which has expired; they do not renew their permission to stay, and become unlawful overstayers; (iii) Migrants who are lawfully entitled to reside in a country, but are in breach of some visa condition, notably working longer than their immigration status permits; (iv) Asylum seekers who enter a country legally, but stay after a final decision refusing them s continuing right to remain; (v) Children born in a country to 'irregular migrants', who lack the right to remain.

There is a tendency to restrict the term irregular migrants to smuggling and human trafficking, thereby reducing its meaning to acts of criminality. Until recently, international bodies such as the European Commission used irregular and illegal migration interchangeably to describe undocumented, non-documented, and unauthorised migrants. The conflation of irregular migration and crime has generated considerable debates, as most irregular migrants are not criminals (Seniutienė, 2022). According to Resolution 1509 (2006) of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, 'illegal' is preferred when referring to a status or process, whereas 'irregular' is preferred when referring to a person (cited in Seniutienė, 2022: 200). Vespe, Natale and Pappalardo (2017: 26) further noted that *irregularity* refers to the status of a person at a certain point in time and not to the person. For example, a migrant escaping conflict or persecution and seeking refuge in another country may be counted as an irregular migrant when crossing the border. However, their status may become regular once they apply for asylum.

The 'migration crisis' in Europe in 2015 and subsequent years generated panic when an unprecedented number of people sought refuge at its borders and shores, forcing the European Union to restrict access to Schengen territory for asylum seekers. These restrictions have resulted in the politicisation of international migration for people from Asian, African and Eastern European countries (Seniutienė, 2022). Many commentators also attribute the increase in irregular migration to the inevitable consequence of a globalised economy founded on integrated markets that fuel high labour demands and high levels of immigration (McAuliffe and Mence, 2017). However, this is hardly a new phenomenon. Turkey witnessed a sharp increase in transit migrants, irregular migrant workers, asylum seekers, and refugees in the late 1970s and early 80s. The first mass arrivals of non-convention categories of refugees were Iranians fleeing the Islamic Revolution in 1979 (Içduygu and Yökseker, 2012: 12).

Irregular migration is not limited to Europe; these migratory flows exist worldwide. An estimated 360 million cross-border movements occurred in the United States of America in

2013. Australian authorities recorded 31.6 million cross-border activities in 2011-12 compared to only 14.5 million in the programme year 1996-7, with an expected increase in the coming years. Asian countries are also experiencing an expansion of cross-border activity, including labour migration to the economies of Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea and Thailand. Some reports estimate between three to five million irregular migrants in South Africa (McAuliffe and Mence, 2017). The IOM (2019:1) notes that at least 20,000 migrants travel through the Central African Great Lakes areas from the Horn of Africa (particularly Ethiopia and Somalia) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, attempting to reach South Africa each year. Furthermore, Southern Africa is often a springboard for regular and irregular migration to Europe and the Americas (IOM, 2019:1).

Irregular Maritime Migration

Irregular maritime migration is commonly examined as one element in the broader scope of irregular migration. Although it is not a new phenomenon, it is a growing trend among irregular migrants who often travel in makeshift, unseaworthy vessels fleeing violence, persecution and poverty (Miltner, 2006). The dangers of this type of migration captured the world's attention in October 2013 when 366 people died in a shipwreck off the Italian island of Lampedusa (Newland, 2014). The humanitarian crisis in the summer of 2015 involving irregular maritime and land movements of hundreds of thousands of people from Syria, Afghanistan and other parts of the world via Turkey and North Africa brought the visible policy challenges of irregular maritime migration into sharp focus (McAuliffe and Mence, 2017).

Much literature on this phenomenon centres on small boats and vessels illegally smuggling or trafficking refugees and asylum seekers (Miltner, 2006; Mallia, 2013; Newland, 2014; McAuliffe and Mence, 2017). However, Walters (2008: 18) aptly noted the deficiency of stowaway literature in border and migration studies. Walters argued against the confinement of stowaways to the margins of migration scholarship because as long as human "mobility remains a struggle between forces and experiences of life and death, wealth and poverty, citizenship and abjection, and as long as the struggle for mobility continues to play itself out around the materialities and spaces of ports, shipping containers, trucks, goods trains and even aircraft, then it seems the stowaway needs to be more fully recognised as a figure of our times". For this reason, this study included stowaways in the broader discussion of irregular maritime migration, which McAuliffe and Mence (2017: 12) argued have distinguishable characteristics from irregular migration by land and air.

A stowaway is a clandestine traveller who secretly boards vehicles, such as ships, planes, trains, cargo trucks and other modes of transport (González-Almeida, Lorenzo, de Ganzo and Gómez-Correa, 2022). The purpose of this endeavour is often supported by the desire to travel without paying for travel costs or to gain access to countries without the need to obtain a travel visa or other authorisation beforehand. The Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic Convention, 1965, as amended (the FAL Convention) states that a stowaway¹ is "a person who stows away on a ship, or in cargo subsequently loaded on the ship, without the consent of the owner or the master or any other responsible person and who is detected on board the ship after it has sailed from a port, or in the cargo while being discharged at the port of arrival, and who is reported as a stowaway by the master to the competent authorities" (accessed IOM Website, 2020).

While stowing away was previously seen as a combined act of trespassing and theft, as it involves a certain kind of crime perpetrated against private property, it is more recently closely associated with the global spread of immigration and border control, with stowaways attempting to escape extreme poverty or areas of armed conflict (Chen, Chen and Wu, 2005; Walters, 2008). The North of England Protection and Indemnity Association (NEP&I) categorised stowaways as refugees, economic migrants, asylum seekers, illegal migrants and criminals (NEP&I, 2004: 4). Previously, a stowaway could disembark a vessel at some future port of call but current stringent global immigration policies, border control, and public apprehension have come to mean that stowaways pose a different threat to shipping industries, costing time and money (Walters, 2008; Christie, 2016).

The increasing threat of stowaway activity has led to the securitisation of harbour ports administered by Protection and Indemnity (P&I) clubs and private security agencies to mitigate the risk of stowaways entering ships. These agencies provide centralised databases illustrating stowaway hotspots, providing sniffer dogs and routine searchers. It is incumbent upon ship masters to provide food, water, a place to sleep, wash and toilet facilities for stowaways. However, this process is not simple, as some stowaways may be hostile and threaten the crew. There is also the risk of infection from disease (NEP&I, 2004: 5). Furthermore, the increased security can also result in the captain and crew indefinitely detaining and even killing stowaways. In a rare occurrence, men from Cameroon, Gabon and Nigeria were put overboard on two small drum rafts by the crew of a cargo ship they had boarded in November 2003 (Walters, 2008: 4).

The consequences for individual seafarers caught aiding and abetting stowaways are serious – instant dismissal, in most cases (Christie, 2016: 96). As such, the revised Resolution FAL.

¹ <https://www.imo.org/en/OurWork/Facilitation/Pages/Stowaways-Default.aspx>

13(42), adopted in 2018, provides more clarity on the complex issue of stowaways and is considered particularly useful for those countries that have not signed the FAL. Resolution FAL. 13(42) requires that in instances where stowaways are found onboard a vessel, the master of the ship should

notify the existence of a stowaway and any relevant details to the shipowner and appropriate authorities at the port of embarkation, the next port of call and the flag State, with the understanding that when a stowaway declares himself or herself to be a refugee, this information should be treated as confidential to the extent necessary for the security of the stowaway; to ensure confidentiality in these cases, no information should be forwarded to authorities public or private in the country of origin or residence of the stowaway (IMO, 2018).

Additionally, the burden of returning stowaways to their home country or place of embarkation (when their nationality cannot be established) is placed on the ship's crew and its agents (Walters, 2008: 4). Although the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) sought to establish some basic rules determining a division of responsibility for resolving stowaway cases between ship owners, port states and flag states, this process is not straightforward. States often refuse to allow the disembarkation of stowaways, and in instances where they are allowed to disembark, ship owners are forced to absorb the costs by paying considerable fines. The USA, Canada and Australia can charge up to USD 5000 for having a stowaway on board. Spanish authorities threaten fines of up to USD 160,000 for stowaways who escape their ships in Spanish ports (Walters, 2008: 4).

According to a respondent in an ethnography compiled on Tanzanian stowaways in Cape Town by Sean Christie, this is where the games begin:

It is not as simple as them just buying us a ticket [...] The agent must first get the stowaway's name and then check that this is correct with the Tanzanian embassy in Pretoria. [...] The hustle is fairly straightforward. The stowaways understand that time costs money in the world of shipping and that chances of being offered a bribe rise if they drag out deportation processes (Christie, 2016).

Sean Christie further provided an account of a Tanzanian stowaway, explaining:

Adam said he has worked the bribe up as high as US\$ 3,000 in the past, though he usually settles for a lower amount, mindful of the fact that his details have been archived in a number of official databases and that his

details have been archived in a number of official databases and that it is only ever a matter of time before his true identity is uncovered. ‘If that happens, you get nothing’, he said, explaining that he had settled for a particularly low amount from the *Blue Sky* out of respect for the friendly Greek captain (Christie, 2016: 97).

Despite being a global problem, most cases emerge from Asian and African countries. In Taiwan, almost all stowaways come from mainland China mainly for economic opportunities. Statistical data reported by the Mainland Affairs Council, the Immigration Office National Police Agency and Taiwan's Coast Guard revealed that an average of 2,053 Chinese stowaways or illegal migrants were detained between 2000 and 2004; however, only 1,651 were repatriated. The total number of illegal migrants arrested by Taiwan's Coast Guard between 2000 and 2004 was 1,394, which only accounted for 31,50% of the number of stowaways reported by the Mainland Affairs Council over the same period (Chen et al., 2005: n/p).

José Agustíne González-Almeida et al. (2022) noted that most stowaways come from Africa, listing the Gulf of Guinea, Ghana, Mauritania, Senegal, Morocco and Algeria as leading countries of origin for immigrants trying to enter Spain by sea. Other European destinations include France, the United Kingdom and Germany, and North America - the United States of America and Canada – is also popular. A March 2023 gard report titled *Guidance on Stowaways* (Urdahl and Nordlie, 2023) concurs with González-Almeida et al. (2022), noting that ports on the African continent remained the primary hot spots for stowaway embarkations during the reporting period 2018-2022. The report also indicates an increase in stowaway reports in Europe between 2013-2017 and 2018-2022.

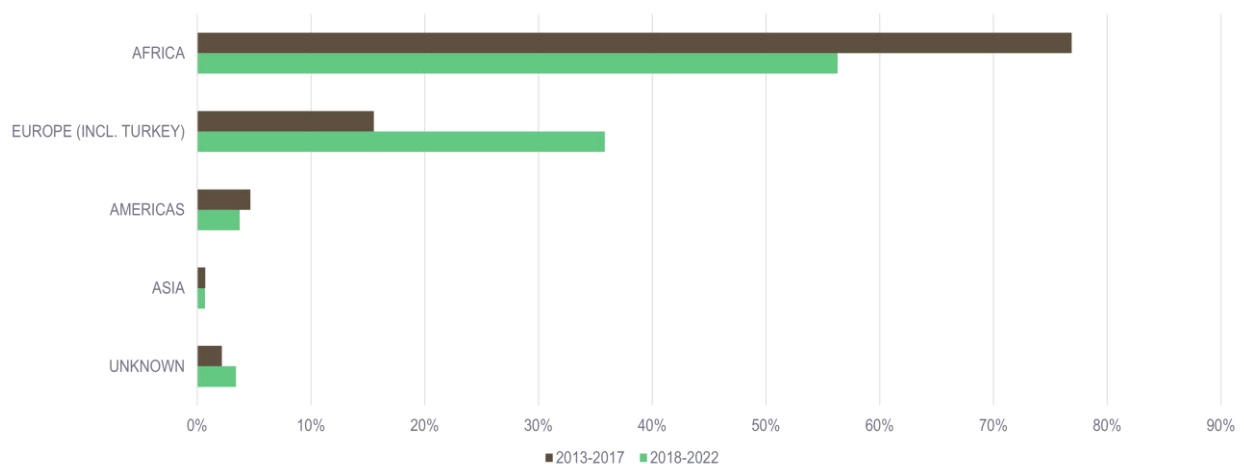


Figure 2.1: Regional Hotspots, by Region of Embarkation
 (Source: IMO GCISIS cited in Urdahl and Nordlie, 2023)

A report compiled by Kotie Geldenhuys (2018) noted that South African ports are a hotspot for stowaway activity, particularly Durban, because it is one of the busiest ports in Africa. Aside from the benefit of having numerous vessels calling regularly and continuing journeys worldwide, it is easy for stowaways to go unnoticed in Durban because many people work and pass through the port daily. Masane (cited in Geldenhuys, 2018: 41) noted that between March and April 2014 alone, 32 stowaways, mainly from Tanzania and from other countries in West Africa, were found on ships docking in Durban. Additionally, there is a worrying breed of 'professional stowaways' who work in professional syndicates sharing information. Grey (cited in Geldenhuys, 2018: 41) found that "stowaway networks work in and around regional ports, assisting trespasses in obtaining access to ports and then onto ships". According to these reports, there is a shift from disenfranchised people seeking a better life to the age of professional stowaways in East, South and West Africa (Geldenhuys, 2018). The *Guidance on Stowaways* gard report indicated that while the rate of embarkations in South African ports has fallen, it is still considered a high-risk port. The data also suggests that Tanzanians constitute many stowaways who have embarked in South African ports over the years (Urdahl and Nordlie, 2023: n/p).

Being and Belonging in Transit

Social Networks

Due to the chaotic, extreme material discomfort and arduous process involved in transit migration, social networks are paramount to the success of migrant journeys (Collyer, 2007). The most efficient groups are usually families or people with strong social networks, as they already trust each other (Bourdieu, 1968/2018). Despite the violence and uncertainty of life on the road, migrants are forced to rely on strangers. Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and nonmigrants at places of origin through kinship, friendship and shared community (Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa and Spittel, 2001; Winters, de Janvry and Sadoulet, 2001; Schapendonk, 2012b). Networks can help reduce the journey's cost, adapt to the host country, find employment and access support in times of need (Muanamoha, Maharaj and Preston-Whyte, 2010).

Carlo Devillanova (2008) investigated the impact of social networks in fostering healthcare utilisation by *Naga*, a volunteer association offering free medical services for undocumented migrants in Milan, Italy. The study found that strong social ties and access to information reduced the waiting time by 30% for irregular migrants to access healthcare practitioners. The same is true for undocumented Latin American migrants in Berlin, Germany, who rely on informal social networks and the concept of *illegality knowledge* to access humanitarian NGOs to access health care (Huschke, 2014).

Religious and familial networks also play a significant role in migrant journeys, providing social, economic and psychological assistance for migrants' adaptation and integration into a host society (Hirschman, 2004). For Iraqi Christian transit migrants in Istanbul, religion fostered a sense of belonging. These networks provide legal aid, medical, and educational assistance often neglected in reception policies and weak refugee and migrant associations (Danış, 2006). Correspondingly, Johara Berriane (2020) explored how Pentecostal Christian churches construct a sense of religious place-making among undocumented West and Central African migrants living in Morocco. The African-led Pentecostal-Charismatic churches enable African migrants to cope with their forced immobility, to become and/or stay transnationally connected and are spaces for migrants to construct a shared identity while navigating periods of uncertainty, blockage and loneliness.

For Audrey Singer and Doreen Massey (1998), the likelihood of capture along the US-Mexico border is determined by the quality and quantity of human and social capital at a migrant's disposal. Two types of social capital – *bounded solidarity* and *enforced trust* – are crucial to the migration process (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). *Bounded solidarity* explains how a group of strangers facing similar adversities can develop a sense of camaraderie and identity in a particular time and place (de León, 2022). The concept of *enforced trust* arises from commonalities in experiences of departure from the home country and conditions in the receiving country, creating bonds among immigrants (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Muanamoha et al., 2010).

Muanamoha et al. (2010) explored these concepts in a study on the migration process from Mozambique to South Africa. The experience of undocumented Mozambican immigrants revealed the significance of social capital, especially in the form of *bounded solidarity* and *enforced trust* (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). For example, personal contact with relatives, friends, neighbours and churches helped Mozambican immigrants access jobs, accommodation and financial assistance in South Africa. These networks enabled a transfer of spatially bounded social capital to permeate all facets of the journey from home to destination (Muanamoha et al., 2010: 894).

Similarly, Alejandra Díaz de León (2022) acknowledged the significance of community in the survival of Central American transit migrants on the move. Although this community is not anchored in local or national imaginaries, their shared experiences of suffering generate a common identity. This imagined community provides (1) an identity, (2) strategic information relevant to the journey, and (3) resources that compensate for the help kinship cannot provide (de León, 2022: 898). Moreover, these social bonds multiply the effectiveness of individual agency (Wheatley and Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016).

However, Noelle Brigden (2015) critiqued the romantic notion of social capital, especially among Central American migrants. In a study on two El Salvadoran towns, Brigden found that family networks, rather than broader community networks, function as financial resources. The study also identified distrust and a cultural norm based on believing in *envidia* (envy) as threats to resource flows and community solidarity. Finally, due to the rapidly changing conditions along the route to the United States and the dynamism of criminal violence in Mexico, information from social networks may outlive its utility (Brigden, 2015: 257). Additionally, de León (2022: 910-11) observed three negative aspects of the transient community of migrants. First, some one-shot encounters can lead to harm and danger (such as kidnappings). Second, the identity of the transient community might exclude people who do not conform to the majority. Finally, the community encourages migrants to follow the same routes, making them more visible.

Nonetheless, some ethnographies show that strangers sometimes form *disposable ties* (Tyler and Melander 2011; Desmond 2012). *Disposable ties* are "relationships between acquaintances in similarly precarious situations characterised by accelerated and simulated intimacy, a large amount of time spent together, reciprocal resource exchange, and that usually last for a couple of weeks" (de León, 2022: 899). Comparably, transit migrants rely on opportunistic and fleeting associations to help each other for short periods and disband when their needs change (Wheatley and Gomberg-Muñoz, 2016).

For de León (2022), social networks are based on low-stakes and one-shot interactions between migrants who do not know each other. He noted that while there might be high levels of mistrust between individuals, these minor interactions develop a *transit community* that gives migrants essential information and rules of behaviour for the journey. He extended the concept of *bounded solidarity* beyond describing how undocumented migrants help each other in destination countries, arguing that (1) "solidarity can occur even when migrants mistrust each other; and (2) the exchanges produced by the bounded solidarity lead to the creation of a *transient community* that can transmit information, convey the rules of the game and create a political identity" (de León, 2022: 900).

Michael Collyer's investigation into the experiences of West and Central African (principally from The Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria) trans-Saharan migrants validates the significance of spontaneous social networks during fragmented journeys. In many cases, chance encounters at different stages of the journey to Morocco were responsible for onward movement, especially for Congolese migrants who travelled the furthest to Morocco. Collyer (2007: 681) noted: "Given the length of these and the hostility of the physical and often the social and political environment through which they travelled,

migrants could not rely on themselves but depended on support from a wider community". Consistent with the concept of *disposable ties*, most forms of assistance on this route were provided by other migrants familiar with particular sections of the journey, keen to earn money to move on themselves (Collyer, 2007; Tyler and Melander, 2011; Desmond, 2012).

Technological developments have strengthened social networks and supported fragmented journeys in recent decades. Instant international money transfers provide migrants with a lifeline to home and relatives elsewhere to assist with finances and information. A mobile phone is a critical and inexpensive tool for migrants to communicate with their network (Collyer, 2007). Correspondingly, Soledad Álvarez Velasco (2022) documented how Central and South American clandestine migrants strategise plans and share information to traverse borders via digital social networks. Additionally, journalist Rosa Flores shared how Central American migrants use mobile phones to document and share their (im)mobile experiences en route with family and friends back home and in the United States, particularly the difficult path between Panama connecting South and North America (Cornish, 2023).

Migrant Materiality

Material objects also play a vital role in shaping individuals' experiences in transit. "Objects, architectures, technologies and infrastructures enable human movement; however, they are also imbued with social, cultural and political agendas" (Barry, 2019: 206). Many places and artefacts testify to the immobility inherent in clandestine migration (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016: 26). This material culture helps migrants "to navigate the disorientating, transient, threatening, and complex processes in which they enter" (Grabowska and Doering-White cited in McGuire, 2020: 181).

Paul Basu and Simon Coleman emphasised the interrelatedness of the movement of people and things (Basu and Coleman, 2008). Correspondingly, several studies report the significance of material items like bags, clothes, electronics, food, hygiene/aid and personal documents in migrant journeys (De León, 2013; De León, Gokee and Schubert, 2015; Barry, 2019; Martin, 2023). These relationships extend beyond practical needs and may include objects linking migrants to home (McGuire, 2020). For example, De León et al. (2015) noted that people often carry personal items such as prayer cards, bibles, photographs, letters, and scraps of paper that contain contact details of relatives. Such objects draw links between present and past lives (Basu and Coleman, 2008; Martin, 2023)

Studies within the subfield of contemporary archaeology also address the materiality of migration (De León, 2013; Barry, 2019; McGuire, 2020; Martin, 2023). These archaeological studies treat places and spaces as dynamic participants in the lived experience of people on the move (McGuire, 2020). Jason De León's groundbreaking work along the US-Mexico

border explored the intimate connection between people and objects and how these connections leave traces in Arizona's Sonoran desert (2013). De León noted:

Migrants who walk long distances commonly suffer from friction blisters (sub-dermal pockets of fluid caused by forceful rubbing) on their feet. These painful (and often debilitating) injuries are caused by poorly conditioned feet, ill-fitting shoes and socks, improper footwear, heat and moisture, all of which are typical conditions for border crosses. To combat blisters, people carry extra socks, foot powder and gauze...Many of the shoes recovered in the desert show signs of intense walking in the form of worn-out treads, shredded uppers, or soles with holes worn completely through (2013: 331-2).

Kaya Barry (2019) used examples of artistic and activist projects to demonstrate an emerging material aesthetic of global mobilities in which objects and belongings have been appropriated from recent mass migrations into Europe. The study discussed three pieces of artwork by artist and activist Ai Weiwei, whose works, *Law of the Journey* (2017), *Crystal Ball* (2017) and feature film *Human Flow* (2017), appropriated materials, visual motifs and media representations to explore the relationship between mobilities, materiality and the global refugee crisis. According to Randall McGuire (2020: 178), "The lived experience of material process occurs in a dialectic between the material world and conscious human action". For Barry (2019: 209), appropriating discarded materials from refugee journeys (life jackets, parts of a rubber raft, backpacks and photographs) imbues them with new purposes and symbolisms. It also demonstrates the significance of material belongings in migration as well as the politics and ethics of articulating these experiences in contemporary artwork and activism (Barry, 2019).

Following the migrant crisis in 2015, thousands of bright orange life jackets covered the beaches of the Greek island – Lesbos. Locals stashed the life jackets into piles on the shore. Each life jacket served as a reminder of the lived experience of a migrant who crossed the Mediterranean Sea, interacting with the locals as refuse on the beaches (Tyrikos-Ergas cited in McGuire, 2020: 182). In other instances, migrants neglected the dangerous Mediterranean land and sea paths, opting to forge the Arctic Route across Russia into Finland and the European Union. The migrants often pooled their money to buy a cheap vehicle in Russia that they drove to and abandoned at the Finnish border. The abandoned vehicles and items left inside them illustrate the lived experience of refugees trekking through the frozen wilderness (McGuire, 2020: 182).

The advocacy group *American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)* attempted to make migrant deaths visible by listing the names of those who died, posting the number of fatalities on billboards and erecting crosses to mark anonymous graves along sections of the US-Mexico border fence (Coutin, 2005: 200). These figures mark death and the absent space occupied by unauthorised migrants, while simultaneously stamping migrants with national (and foreign) essences. Similarly, humanitarian groups like *No More* leave jugs of water, canned food and other items along the border for migrants to access along the US-Mexico border (Mcguire, 2020)

Marking Migrant Identity

In addition to abandoned materials and objects, clandestine migrants mark their presence with engravings on public surfaces. However, graffiti is not new; making marks on walls has long roots in human culture. Our distant ancestors represented themselves, their animals and their environment through cave paintings. Signs, symbols and messages found scratched, carved, written and drawn on ancient walls exhibit a universal human tendency to mark the existence of our being and presence in the places we inhabit and occupy, even if only for a limited time (Zieleniec, 2017; 2018).

Gabriella Soto (2017) examined the vernacular markings of undocumented migrants on the concrete surface of two culverts in Southern Arizona. For Soto, these engravings function as part of place-making among undocumented migrants in politicised *non-places*² (see Augé, 1995). The graffiti in the two highway box culverts was not spray painted but opportunistically written with various materials sourced on the landscape: sharp rocks to etch, soft limestone used as chalk and charcoal or lead pencil. Furthermore, the markings represented multiple people, evidenced by several names, handwriting styles, and multiple instances of overwritten graffiti. Soto noted that

Many marks were in conversation, and many relayed messages to others in the same circumstance, voicing encouragement, humour, and frustration. They recorded migrants' places of origin and names and repeatedly invoked the need for remembrance. Among the marks were: "*Recuerdos de su hamigo (sic) de Puebla, Abraham Perli Tobins*" (Remember your friend from Puebla), "*Hotél 5 Estrellas*" (Five Star Hotel), "*La Aventura de los putos emigrantes es algo inolvidable*" (The adventure of fucking migrants is unforgettable), and "*Feliz viaje a todos*" (Happy travels to all) (2017: 183).

² Non-places are refugee camps, airports, highways, and slums. Such sites are a specific outgrowth of neoliberalism with its mass international transit, growing globalized marketplace, and increasing privatization of resources (Augé 1995).

Similarly, Karina Horsti (2018) visited an Italian historical complex of ruined houses, *Case Gina*, destroyed during World War II. While walking through the ruined buildings, Horsti witnessed scribbles and scratches on the walls conveying messages of hope and fear with messages such as *We will make it*, *Death to the smuggler* (in French), *Dangerous road* (in Arabic), *Malta, Italia, France, Canada, Australia, Malaysia, Inshallah* (in Arabic), *The sky is for everyone* (in Arabic) lined the walls of Case Gina revealing the memories shared between those without documents. According to Horsti (2018: 59): “The graffiti reminds me of other similar places that I have heard about: migrants have scribbled their messages in prisons in Libya, warehouses where traffickers hide migrants, caves in the Sinai mountains, squats in Italy, holding cells in police stations, reception centres and camps across Europe”. Migrants have shared their hopes, fears, frustrations, and longings on the walls of different transitory spaces, creating memories that cross spatial and temporal boundaries (Horsti, 2018: 59).

In addition to Soto and Horsti, Daniel (*Mook Lion*) Chapman examined street art as visual activism in Durban, South Africa, between 2014-2017. A section of Chapman’s research focused on public art by the ‘Stowaways’, “a Tanzanian community who live, often informally, in the inner-city of Durban, recognised for their graffiti-like writing or poetry” (Chapman, 2019: 66). In an interview with Sam Stephen Kanugu, a Tanzanian migrant and a past chairman, Chapman gleaned that the public artwork signified the stowaway community’s struggles, hope for the future, and marks of their existence (2019). Kanugu also echoed these sentiments in Chapman’s documentary titled *Footnotes in the City* (2018: n/p), noting:

Sometimes, maybe I can take my ship to go overseas. You see? So if my young *bra* [sic] he *gonna* [sic] come maybe after two years. When he comes here, he is going to find my name *to* [sic] the wall. He can feel so happy and say: ‘Ah! Even my *bra*, he *pass* [sic] here. Ok, so even me too, I am *gonna* go overseas’. Because when we go overseas, we contact our brothers who are in South Africa to give them hope (Kanugu cited in Chapman, 2018).

Social networks and material culture construct a sense of being and belonging for undocumented migrants as they traverse harsh and uncertain conditions towards their desired destination(s). The remnants of material objects reflect the lived experience of people on the move and articulate the complexity of global migration flows and mobilities (Barry, 2019).

Im/mobility in Transit Zones

Transit Migrant im/mobilities

Although movement forms a significant part of migrant scholarship, it has primarily been studied from the position of fixed locations. Consequently, mobile practices are often reduced

to residual in-between phases between two locations – migrants moving from one state of fixity (in the place of origin) to another (the destination) (Schapendonk and Steel, 2014: 262). Noelle Brigden and Cetta Mainwaring (2016: 2) noted, "Whether a migrant is contained within a hidden compartment or a smuggler's safe house, detained by migration authorities, waiting for remittances to continue, or marooned on a drifting boat at sea, moments of immobility are an inherent part of migrant mobility, especially as states have increased controls at and beyond their borders". Joris Schapendonk (2019: 209) identified three types of immobile migrants: (1) 'stranded' migrants whose movements towards their desired destination have been blocked; (2) 'stuck' migrants who experience immobility in almost every direction, including going back to their country of origin and (3) 'settled' migrants who choose to stay in a settled country.

Even when transnational migrants, especially unauthorised migrants, successfully traverse borders, they remain outsiders in new territories because of their precarious legal status. In this sense, such people become absent despite their physical presence. Coutin (2005: 200) wrote that:

In contrast to standard accounts of migration - in which migrants travel from point A to point B, from the local to the global, and from an uncertain present to an improved future – there are senses in which migration moves territories, reconfigures scale, and multiple temporalities. Thus, when migrants move, scale and place can be reconfigured such that seemingly local spaces become part of foreign territories and vice versa.

Mobility and immobility are not binary actions described in normative approaches; mobility is a relational concept that is fluid and fluctuating. The migratory condition of being on the move is fraught with friction, brakes, or entrapment (Iranzo, 2021: 5). Schapendonk (2012) distinguished experienced immobility from physical immobility. He illustrated that migrants who claim to be immobile might move within and across international borders, although not towards their intended destinations. These dynamics play a significant role in the constitution of power and governing populations. For Tim Cresswell (2010), the politics of mobility is operationalised physically (movement across the planet), socially (intersubjective meanings about the movement) and experientially (intersubjective for those in motion).

Joris Schapendonk and Griet Steel (2014) concurred with Cresswell in their investigation of the im/mobility dynamics of Sudanese and Nigerian migration trajectories en route to the European Union (EU). The study revealed how power differences affect transnational embodied experiences and practices. For Schapendonk and Steel (2014: 268), mobility and immobility are not mutually exclusive concepts. Instead, they argue that fragmented and

unplanned migrant trajectories complicate the static conceptualisation of movement and emplacement. Collyer (2007) made a similar point, stating that migrant routes often change during their journey, thus leaving migrants in a perpetual transitory phase.

As migration controls become increasingly restrictive, irregular migrants opt to traverse longer, more dangerous routes, often with the aid of smugglers (Mainwaring and Brigden, 2016). Iranzo (2021) principally focused on how the securitisation of migrant routes creates opportunities for illicit actors (rebel groups, Jihadists, smugglers and human traffickers) to exploit irregular sub-Saharan Africans travelling to the Maghreb and Europe. Opportunistic actors like traffickers, *coyotes* and smugglers' involvement vary from simple misinformation in the hope of making more profits to extreme cases of physical violence, armed robbery and enslavement (Collyer, 2010: 277; Basok et al., 2015: 54). According to Brigden and Mainwaring (2016: 13), a European study on smuggling networks from Ethiopia to Libya revealed fragmented journeys could create more risks due to exploitation, violence and negotiation. These experiences often result in precarious social, economic and political migrant conditions, forcing migrants to participate in the quasi-lawless realm by assuming false identities and travelling outside established routes (Coutin, 2005). Do you need to explain coyotes?

Migrants may need to take journeys within journeys by changing direction, taking meandering routes away from their destination or waiting for suitable travel conditions, and strategically forfeiting or reclaiming control over their bodies while in transit (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016). Basok et al. (2015) found that migrants in Mexico use different techniques to avoid detection by immigration authorities and to outmanoeuvre criminal networks. For example, one respondent, Iván, preferred walking over taking a bus. In contrast, another respondent, Diego, alternated travelling by train and walking. On the other hand, Angel opted to walk in the mountains instead of along the railway tracks to avoid being spotted by criminals. In these moments, migrants may be physically immobile and risk injuries by hiding in secret respondent compartments of boats, trucks or smugglers' safe houses (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016).

Yet, migrants are rarely passive victims in these circumstances. These journeys reveal the complicated negotiation of risk, agency and visibility in immobility (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016). Migrants exercise their agency by leveraging their knowledge of international laws to negotiate safer travel conditions with border agents. Although instances of negotiation are not always successful, they demonstrate some room to control one's situation, even when immobilised (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016: 21). Similarly, Christie (2016: 96) shared an account of a Tanzanian stowaway who claimed to exploit the arduous task of shipping companies to identify and return stowaways to the country of origin or place of embarkation.

The stowaways explained that they usually purposely delay the process to heighten their chances of being offered a bribe. Such narratives complicate the simple characterisation of stowaways as passive victims.

Dangerous Routes

Migrants travel on top of trains, in sewer pipes, through mountains or deserts, alongside highways, and hidden in compartments usually used for cargo (Coutin, 2005: 197). Unauthorised migrants also spoke of tripping over rocks, travelling in the dark, withstanding hunger, and fearing being bitten by snakes or animals (Coutin, 2005: 199).

For migrants without financial resources for smugglers or passenger transport, the journey into the interior of Mexico can take weeks on foot (Brigden, 2018: 78). Stories of fear, violence, accidents and robberies characterise many accounts of migrant trajectories. Migrants are sometimes literally torn apart. Many experience trauma witnessing others, including children, fall, lose limbs or die. Mexican immigration authorities reportedly found fingers caught in the US-Mexican border fences (Coutin, 2005: 199; Basok et al., 2015: 55). Basok et al. documented an account of an irregular who tragically lost their leg on a train:

The train was coming around midnight, and I went to catch the train. Well, what happened was that as the train was coming fast, I tried to jump on it from the back. So I grabbed it with this hand [left hand] but I didn't have the time to grab it with the right hand. It was going fast and didn't give me a chance to grab it with my right hand. That's when it threw me; it threw me to the ground, and the train cuts my leg. The train cuts my leg, and I didn't even realise that the train had cut my leg because I didn't even feel it! (Diego cited in Basok et al., 2015: 57).

In addition to the risk of injury, some migrants, especially women and children, face the danger of being raped, and men trying to defend them run the risk of being killed. The heightened risk of danger deters some migrants from continuing their journey to the United States from Mexico, demonstrating a relationship between fear and mobility (Basok et al., 2015). However, many migrants are willing to risk punishment, danger and death to reach their desired destination (Coutin, 2005; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Horsti, 2018).

Contained Mobility

Land Journeys

Migrants often recount running, not breathing, and being transported like cargo while moving. "Like cargo, migrants become objects to be smuggled. As they cross borders without authorisation, it is as though a border forms around them, alienating them from their social

surroundings and making their very humanity questionable" (Coutin, 2005: 199). Coutin documented the experiences of clandestine migrants smuggled across the United States. According to López Herrera, he and some 30 to 35 passengers were stored in a van as though they were like cargo. Carlos Piñeda was smuggled into the United States in a station wagon with 15 to 20 others. Correspondingly, Estela Romero entered the United States in a cargo car, hidden underneath debris from alfa plants (Coutin, 2005: 197 - 199).

Similarly, Mario described his experience hiding in the secret belly of a cargo truck during a short segment of his trip from El Salvador to the United States in 2000. He demonstrated his position in the small compartment with his head turned slightly and his body curled into a ball. Mario and his travel companions were trapped inside until they reached Puebla, Mexico. He described the cramped conditions in the truck and how people urinated on themselves and each other. Fortunately, the smugglers gave him a pill to prevent him from defecating. Mario also explained how the smugglers dragged them from the truck, pulling on their legs and ankles like a sack of potatoes when they arrived in the United States. People would lie immobile as the blood returned to their limbs; it took Mario thirty minutes to move (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016: 17).

In other instances, oppressive landscapes exacerbate physical immobility. At sea, geographic markers recede into an unfamiliar watery panorama trapped within boats. Many migrants crossing the Mediterranean have already suffered cramped conditions crossing the Sahara Desert. Their journey from Africa to Europe comprises multiple nested journeys across different and often extreme landscapes with limited supplies. Nevertheless, migrants accept their immobile experiences on land and sea to access mobility and further their journeys. These migrants do not perceive these decisions as acts of desperation but as strategic manoeuvres in the face of limited choices (Brigden and Mianwaring, 2016: 17).

Sea Journeys

Clandestine migration via the Mediterranean routes has increased exponentially in recent years. The Italian government reported that an excess of 22,000 migrants reached Italy by boat between January and May 2014, ten times more than during the same period in 2013 (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014). In this situation, migrants are often trapped and immobilised in boats. Brigeden and Mainwaring (2016: 17) recorded the experience of Abu, a medical student from Somalia, who described his experience crossing the Mediterranean: "[At sea] there is something: fear. When you see the sea, and you see the sky above – blue and blue – there's nothing. It's just silent. You risk yourself, your life, your family."

Since the Arab uprisings in 2011, scores of people have fled the Middle East and North Africa, attempting to get to Europe (Kassar and Dourgnon, 2014; Heller and Pécoud, 2020). These

journeys are often perilous, with an estimated 386 Tunisian and sub-Saharan African immigrants drowning in the Mediterranean between January 2011 and July 2012 (Kassar and Dorugnon, 2014: 13). Charles Heller and Antoine Pécoud further noted the shipwreck of October 3, 2013, killing 366 migrants a few hundred meters off the coast of the small Italian island, Lampedusa. Moreover, the IOM (2017) claims to have documented over 25,000 migrant fatalities since 2014. Despite the dangers and government efforts, thousands of North African, Middle Eastern and Sub-Saharan Africans still attempt to cross the Mediterranean illegally on often unseaworthy vessels (Kassar and Dorugnon, 2014; IOM, 2017; Heller and Pécoud, 2020). According to Hassène Kassar and Paul Dourgnon, migrants were previously smuggled onto commercial vessels transporting livestock sailing for Marseille. They noted that it was easier to hide people among livestock because the controls were less rigorous (2014: 13-4).

Unlike people travelling on irregular small boats and vessels through human trafficking and smuggling networks, stowaways avoid detection by the shipowner, the ship's master or crew member. Most stowaways embark on ships late at night or early in the morning when the crew members sleep (González-Almeida et al., 2022). González-Almeida et al. listed the usual hiding spots of stowaways, including the roof of rafts or trailers, inside the holes of the trailer where the *Mafis* that load and unload the ship are hooked, inside the refrigerated platforms, the ship chain chest, the funnels, the lifeboats and inside containers (2022: 72-3). Gudenhuys (2018: 42) added other areas, including rudder shaft spaces, store rooms, engine room bilges and the funnel casings, where hot gases and exhaust noises make it extremely difficult for even specially trained dogs to sniff stowaways. While these hiding places may seem inviting, they often become deadly. For example, those who hide in the rudder trunks often wash away in heavy seas or drown when the ship takes on ballast.

Other tactics stowaways use include wearing clothing that blends with the stevedores' attire, like hard hats and reflective jackets or blending in among the ship crew. Another tactic involves climbing berthing ropes or gangways and hiding in empty containers or log ships. Some stowaways hide in cars, trucks, containers or cargo plates. Finally, Geldnhuys noted bribing port security officers as another tactic stowaways employ (Geldnhuys 2018: 42; González-Almeida et al., 2022: 74).

Tanzanian Beachboys

The following section highlights parts from the book *Under Nelson Mandela Boulevard: Life Among the Stowaways* by Sean Christie (2016). Despite the absence of literature on this particular community, Christie provided insight into the history of Stowaway subcultures. He described the social networks, material culture and mobile practices of the *Beachboys* living

in Cape Town. According to Adam, 'Memory Card' (a stowaway living in Cape Town), *Beachboy* is the name adopted by Tanzanian stowaways from Cape Town to Mombasa. They follow the Sea Power way and claim to honour it like the Qur'an, as many follow Islam. Christie explained:

The men living under the Foreshore bridges are stowaways. To be precise, they live where they do because it is near to the port, and they are constantly trying to stow away on the ships that dock there. They are, to a man, from Tanzania – youngsters in their twenties and thirties from the slums of Dar es Salaam and Tanga. They want nothing from Cape Town other than the means to leave the continent for good (2016: 7).

History of Tanzanian Stowaways

Stowaway subcultures have existed in the Tanzanian port cities of Dar es Salaam and Tanga since the mid-1970s, spreading to neighbouring ports in Mombasa, Lamu and even Djibouti. The southward spread of this movement was hindered by the civil war in Mozambique and apartheid in South Africa. However, by the mid-1990s, these obstacles had fallen, encouraging significant numbers of young Tanzanian (mainly men) stowaways to migrate to South Africa. The primitive harbour security and collapsing CBDs verging on the ports created an ideal situation for these young men to establish communities on the fringes of all major port cities in South Africa, allowing them to melt into the shanty towns that had sprung up under city bridges, along railway lines and on vacant plots. Christie explained that the Beachboys reside under the flyover bridges of Nelson Mandela Boulevard and in the railyards of Foreshore in Cape Town, sleeping in makeshift tents or *mchondolos*. These spaces have provided refuge for undocumented migrants in the city over the last 20 years (Christie, 2016; Christie and Southwood, 2022: 216).

Beachboy Subculture

Informal Place Names

The Beachboys in Cape Town have developed communal practices, including making money from transporting trolleys and setting up stands for market traders. Christie also documented the substituting of names of city structures in Cape Town. Using an orthophoto map, Adam pointed to places frequented by the *Beachboys*. He identified a railway reserve area in lower Woodstock they call *Maskani* – where they converge to hustle, gamble and make plans. Other places include *The Kitchen* – a *Beachboy* living area for communal cooking. The *Beachboy Office* is another space used to interact with paramedics responding to a Beachboy emergency or drug suppliers. This community's informal naming of places constitutes a sense of place-making in marginal spaces in Cape Town (Christie, 2016: 24-5).

The Safe House

Another part of the communal practices adopted by the *Beachboys* is the safe house. Christie documented that the safe house belonged to a guy called Juto, who caught a ship and later decided to stay home in Ubungo, Dar es Salaam. He offered his house as a shelter for sick people from the Beachboy community to recover. Sudi (another stowaway living in Cape Town) explained to Christie:

Every week, someone walks around the Beachboy area with the book. That's what we call it: the book. He takes a small donation from the Beachboys he meets. It can be anything, as small as fifty cents, and he writes it down. When he has the money, this person buys things for the house: food, medicine, and even electricity so that the boys can watch TV. Everyone is happy to pay something because they know their turn for sick will come (Sudi cited in Christie, 2016: 82).

The house is a rustic shack located in Blikkiesdorp. Although the town is not exactly a sanctuary, it is a place for Beachboys to stay until they are strong enough to return to the bridges (Christie, 2016: 80).

Graffiti and Tattoos

The community's material practices – including graffiti and scribbles on the street walls, tattoos and drawings of ships in personal diaries – also provide a fascinating lens into the community. Christie recalled encountering slogans in white paint and permanent marker reading, 'The power of seas forever and ever', 'Today Africa Tomorrow Yurope', 'Sea never dry' and 'Escape from cape' scrawled on the walls of the bridge under the Eastern Boulevard. Christie also described an encounter with a young man whose notebook had pastel-coloured continental maps, where he pointed out Dakar, Jakarta, Singapore and Dubai as some of the cities he claimed to have travelled to by ship. It is common to see Beachboys with tattoos of container ships, anchors and slogans on their bodies (Christie, 2016). These materialities align with similar studies on transit migrants addressing the material culture of people on the move (Basu and Coleman, 2008; De León, 2013; Soto, 2017; Horsti, 2018; Chapman, 2019; Mcguire, 2020; Martin, 2023).

Lacuna for Exploring Durban-based Tanzanian Migrants

This study investigated themes corresponding to Sean Christie's ethnography/biography of members of the Tanzanian stowaway community in Cape Town, South Africa. However, it departs from Christie's undertaking because it is within broader global migration and mobilities discourses. It also explored how irregular transit migrants create a sense of place while living

in the in-between phase of their journey, where they are physically inside a boundary yet excluded from certain rights. It was further concerned with how such communities create social networks to express their identity through urban material, markings and mobile and immobile experiences en route, in Durban and at sea. Finally, this study did not reduce the target population to only stowaways, as the Durban-based, predominantly Tanzanian community members have layered experiences, goals and motivations for being on the move.

Conclusion

The literature review provided a comprehensive survey of the scholarship on migration and mobilities, mainly focusing on irregular transit migration, social networks, material culture and mobilities of global migrants. It also provided an overview of the Tanzanian Beachboys in Cape Town, offering points of intersection and divergence between the current study and Christie's undertaking. The principal difference between the two studies is that this study focused on a Durban-based Tanzanina irregular transit migrant population and situates Christie the community within broader discourses of global migration and mobilities. The study was principally concerned with how the community created and experienced a sense of place while in transit in Durban.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

Although place denotes a physical location in the expanse of space, many scholars discuss the personal and emotional attachment people have to the concept (Heidegger, 1971; Relph, 1976; Cresswell, 2015; Lippard, 1997). However, embedding a place in unique histories, identities, and spatial boundaries produces exclusionary practices entrenched in rootedness and authenticity (Massey, 1994;2005; Augé, 1995). Place is, therefore, political and requires a constellation of contested and negotiated social relations among different groups, individuals and institutions. From this perspective, power intrinsically determines inclusive and exclusionary spatial practices (Harvey, 1996). Globalisation and the increased flow of goods and people further complicate definitions of place (Massey, 1994,2005; Augé, 1995).

This chapter explores how the empirical application of abstract concepts can produce fragmented interpretations that depart from normative approaches to understanding place. It addresses the concept from multiple perspectives, labelled in this chapter as physical, phenomenological, political, material and relational. Given the peculiar conditions that unauthorised transit migrants experience, this chapter demonstrates the interweaving relationship of the different epistemological perspectives of place concerning irregular transit migrants who create meaningful places out of marginal spaces.

Physical Location

The first writings on place emerged in ancient Greek philosophy in the work of Plato and Aristotle. They gave place a powerful position in the lexicon of ideas through their terms *chora* (the study of regions) and *topos* (the root of topography and topology). Plato was interested in how things come into being. He argued that for something to exist, it must be separated from the void of abstract space. Therefore, his conceptualisation of *chora* referred to a limited space like a container with content, while *topos* refers to an achieved place – a process of becoming.

For Aristotle, place is the ground for existence; it takes precedence over everything. He conceived *chora* as a large region of a country and described *topos* as a smaller scale within a country (Casey, 1998; Cresswell, 2015). He further asserted that place does not differ merely in relative position but also possesses distinct potencies (Casey, 1987/2002: 185). In this sense, place is defined as “the innermost *motionless* boundary of what contains” (cited in Casey, 1987/2002: 191). Aristotle also likened place to a vessel insofar as both are container forms. He acknowledged that while a vessel is a portable place and place itself is a non-portable vessel, the analogy demonstrates the structure of close confinement. In other words: “As water fills up a vessel into which it is poured and is protected by the vessel, so the lived

body can fit snugly into place and be protected by it” (Aristotle cited in Casey, 1987/2002: 191). In this context, place describes what is contained within it.

The rich discussion of place was submerged by the rise in the thought of space and time, beginning with Philoponus in the sixth century A.D. The assimilation of place to space reached an apogee in fourteenth-century theology through the seventeenth century. During this period, space was characterised as abstract, including vectors of direction, velocities and time variables, in which place constituted a ‘simple location’ (de Certeau, 1984: 124; Casey, 1998: 153). For Descartes and his immediate predecessors, place was strictly a relative matter with fixed positions relating to each other within a systemic whole (Casey, 1987/2002: 185).

Edward Casey (2001: 138) wrote, “[a] simple location entails the reduction of place to *position* -- to a pin-pointed spot in a massive matrix of relations -- and the expansion of space to an *infinite universe* that makes this matrix possible”. Place, in this context, is indifferent to what occupies it, as “all that matters is the constancy of *situational locus*, that is the simple location that place furnishes to whatever takes up position in it – while it, place as reduced to position falls free of any influence from this occupant, much less of any influence of this occupant in turn” (Casey, 1998: 178). Place is seen as an extension of space and matter, either its mere subdivision (*internal place* or volume) or relationally specified location (a *position*). On the other hand, Newton recognised *absolute* and *relative* places but apportioned these places to absolute space. From this perspective, place is relegated to the sheer physical, and its only representation is a point separated from consciousness (Casey, 1998: 178; Casey, 2001: 684).

Phenomenological Place

Yi-Fu Tuan (1975: 152) bridged physical and sensory perspectives on place, arguing that fully knowing place means understanding it at both an abstract and a perceptual level. He noted that at a high theoretical level, places are points in a spatial system, like landscapes, bodies of water, or forests. At the opposite extreme, places carry strong visceral feelings achieved by dramatising personal and group life aspirations, needs, and functional rhythms. Similarly, Gaston Bachelard levelled this as a dialectic of inside and outside consciousness of place (1958: n/p). For Tuan, most people in the modern world experience a place between these extremes, given the high levels of mobility and interconnectedness (1975: 152).

Significantly, Tuan promoted an understanding of place as a consciousness of the abstract and material world. He also acknowledged that such places need not be visible to ourselves or others. Places can be made visible by several means: rivalry and conflict with other places, visual prominence, and the evocative power of art, architecture, ceremonials and rites (1977: 161).

Martin Heidegger prioritised the sensory experience of place, rooting it in *being*. His concern with *dasein* (being there/presence) contradicted the dualism of thinking things (humans) and extended things (space and time) promoted in Cartesian philosophy. *Dasein* united human consciousness and the world. Heidegger viewed place as existential and functional. He also noted that to be *somewhere* is to be in a particular place, and separating consciousness from objects in place ignores the body as lived (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). However, the particularity of place is neither sheer location in world space nor in-depth dwelling but a middle course of everyday existence, a sentiment similar to Tuan's perspective.

Returning to the concept of space is beneficial to understanding Heidegger's thoughts on place. For Heidegger, "a space is something that has been made room (*raum*) for – something that exists within a boundary" (Heidegger 1971: n/p). Boundary, in this context, refers to the Greek word *peras* – that from which something begins its presencing. Heidegger's concern with the closeness of existential spatiality contradicted the Cartesian notion of space as a single entity of *spatium* (distance) and *extensio* (extension). Nearness is thus crucial to Heidegger's conceptualisation of place. Because nearness is not a matter of distance qua interval, it cannot be measured by space and time. More than space, place affords room in locality and location (Casey, 1998: 281). Daily encountered spaces provide locations, and their nature is grounded in things like buildings (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Heidegger, 1971: n/p).

Heidegger further argued that it is unthinkable to separate place from *region* as he claimed that regions allow the emplacement of being. In discussing region, he emphasised gathering. *Gathering* (*versammeln*) is an action that draws things together in a bounded space. However, Heidegger was dissatisfied with the concept of gathering alone, as it fails to account for particular places. He thus turned to the idea of a *thing*, "something not merely self-sufficient but so condensed and intense as to be a gathering place for the fourfold of earth and sky, divinities and mortals" (Casey, 1998: 281). Clustering items together creates a nearness beyond proximity (Casey, 1998: 281). For Heidegger, nearness implies *dwelling*, as dwelling always occurs in nearness.

In *Building Dwelling Thinking* (1971), Heidegger emphasised the relationship between building and dwelling, stating that "we attain to dwelling [...] only by means of building" (Heidegger, 1971: n/p). However, houses and streets alone cannot create a sense of place (Tuan 1977: 171). Heidegger traced the etymology of dwelling (*wohnen*) to the German word *bauen* (building). In Old German and High English, the word *buan* means dwelling or staying in a place. The relationship between *bauen* and dwelling is rooted in the German word for a neighbour, *nachbar* and the Old English word, *neahgebur*, which signifies a near-dweller. The

nearness of the neighbourhood is an interplace of intimate encounters through which being, belonging and identity are forged and preserved (Malpas, 2013: 2).

For Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the body lives in place through experience and perception (1962: 208). The perceptual quality of places informs the meanings, rituals, emotions and values individuals and groups attach to physical locations (Tuan, 1977). The perceiving subject is where things occur, and we become oriented in place mainly by body movements. Through the lived body, we find ourselves familiar with a particular place within which we are located. For *familiarity* to begin, we must project a state of already inhabiting a place. Returning to Heidegger, we see that nearness engenders “a familiarity that inheres in human inhabitation – in all dwelling and being-in-the-world” (Casey, 1987/2002: 191).

Influenced by the philosophy of Heidegger (1958), Edward Relph (1976) developed *dasein* and dwelling beyond the simplistic notion of place as a location. Relph asserted that places need not have a fixed location. He cited philosopher Susanne Langer to expand this point, noting that:

A ship constantly changing its location is nonetheless a self-contained place, and so is a gypsy camp, an Indian camp, or a circus camp, however, often, it shifts its geodetic bearings. Literally, we say a camp is in a place, but culturally, it is a place. A gypsy camp is a different place from an Indian camp though it may be geographically where the Indian camp used to be (Langer cited in Relph, 1976: 29).

He further claimed that the most mobile and transient people are not necessarily homeless or placeless but may be able to quickly achieve attachment to new places either because “the landscapes are similar to ones already known or because those people are open to new experiences” (Relph, 1976: 30). Therefore, Relph returned to phenomenology to understand the significance of place to human existence and experience. Consciousness is central to phenomenology; consciousness constructs a relationship between the self and the world. Relph asserted that consciousness is not just of something but something in ‘its place’ and the only way to be human is to be ‘in place.’ He continued:

The basic meaning of place, its essence, does not, therefore, come from locations, nor from the trivial functions that places serve, nor from the community that occupies it, nor from superficial or mundane experiences... The essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as profound centres of human existence (Relph 1976: 43).

Relph was principally concerned with the emplacement of human beings. Like Heidegger, he prioritised *dasein* and dwelling; however, he extended Heidegger's notion of place, arguing that "The lived world that we distinguish as place are differentiated because they involve the concentration of our intentions, attitudes, purposes and our experiences" (Relph 1976: 44). In this context, place is about an experience and not simply a pointed location in space. However, he remarked that when processes and forms of movement are pushed too far, they become antithetical to the construction of place (Cresswell, 2015: n/p).

David Seamon also explored place through a phenomenological lens, focusing on the experiential character of a place through movement. Seamon was concerned with "any spatial displacement of the body or bodily part initiated by the person himself [sic]" (Seamon, 1980: 148). For Seamon, most everyday movement is habitual, automatic, involuntary and mechanical; such behaviour extends beyond person, place or moment, articulating a certain given-ness to human experience.

He invoked a dance metaphor to describe the sequence of preconscious actions to complete a task. He called such behaviour *body-ballet* – "a set of integrated behaviours which sustain a particular task or aim", such as washing dishes, ploughing and hunting (Seamon, 1980: 157). When these movements are sustained for a long time, they are called a *space-time routine*, which describes the habits of a person's daily routine—for example, driving to work, taking the children to school and eating lunch. Seamon further noted that a *place-ballet* emerges when multiple space-time routines combine within a particular location, which generates a strong sense of place. The place-ballet metaphor suggests that places are performed through everyday life experiences. Like Relph, Seamon shared the notion of being an insider and outsider in place. He suggested that participating in daily performances makes people get to know and feel a part of a place. Conversely, those who do not know the routine will appear out of place (Seamon, 1980; Cresswell, 2015). This conceptualisation of place accounts for the social and material practices people perform in places.

The phenomenological perspective extends the definition of place beyond a vector in time and space. It helps us understand that we do not live in a homogenous space but with different quantities and qualities (Soja, 1996: 157). However, its emphasis on place as home prioritises internal spaces and neglects external spaces that produce othering. The things people do and the practices that produce a lively sense of place are not always the result of free will. While some actions are freer than others, it is necessary to account for the constraints produced by social hierarchies and power relations. This deficit encouraged scholars to adopt a more radical approach that accounts for how places engender social relations founded on exclusionary practices (Cresswell, 2015).

The Politics of Place

In a paper titled *Place as Historically Contingent Process*, Allan Pred (1984) argued for a conceptualisation of place that emphasises its fluidity, noting that they are constantly in the process of becoming. As such, Pred noted that place is “what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilisation of physical settings” (Pred, 1984: 279). He also prioritised social structures and human agency to demonstrate the balancing of constraint and freedom in how people experience places. For Pred, place “always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction of society in time and space” (1984: 279). This approach is influenced by structuration theory – a set of ideas primarily associated with the British sociologist Anthony Giddens (cited in Cresswell, 2015: n/p).

Structuration theory attempts to describe and understand the overarching structures that influence people (including capitalism, patriarchy, as well as national and local institutions) and their ability to exercise agency (Cresswell, 2015: n/p). Giddens noted:

According to the theory of structuration, all social action consists of social practices situated in time-space and organised in a skilled and knowledgeable fashion by human agents. But human knowledgeability is always ‘bounded’ – by unacknowledged conditions of action on the one side and unintended consequences of action on the other (Giddens, 1981: 92).

Social structures comprise generative rules and power relations – including control over the material, symbolic or authoritative resources – built into a specific historical and human geographical situation (Pred, 1984). Likewise, place is a process where social reproduction, cultural forms, the formation of biographies, and the transformation of nature become one in time-space-specific activities and power relations. Contrary to Pred’s suggestion that places need to be studied in terms of dominant institutional projects (Cresswell, 2015), this study argued that it is necessary to understand places that exist outside the framework of dominant institutions.

Henri Lefebvre noted that space is neither an object nor a subject; it is a social reality, a set of relations and forms (Lefebvre, 1991: 116). In this context, space is both a product (thing) and a means of production (process) (Lefebvre, 1991: 85). Lefebvre viewed space as a field and basis of action. Inspired by Marxist concerns with production in the global capitalist system, Lefebvre (1991: 73) demystified capitalist social space by detailing its inner dynamics and generative moments – the various physical and mental guises and the material and political complexities (Merrifield, 2006: 105). Thus, he advocated a shift in perspective of ‘things in place’ to the ‘production of space’, remarking that: “social relations, which are

concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their *underpinning is spatial*' (Lefebvre, 1991: 404). He further noted that:

Social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production (and with the relations of production). And these forces, as they develop, are not taking over a pre-existing, empty or neutral space or a space determined solely by geography, climate, anthropology, or some other comparable consideration. [...] Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such 'objects' are not only things but also relations (Lefebvre, 1991: 77).

Lefebvre appropriated the Marxist theory of *dialectical materialism*³ to account for the contestations and contradictions in the social and material processes of space. He applied a unitary theory to reconcile physical (nature), mental (abstract) and lived (social) space. These modalities were brought together to expose and decode space. Lefebvre lamented that "theory must trace out the actual dynamics and complex interplay of space itself—of buildings and monuments, of neighbourhoods and cities, of nations and continents—exposing and decoding those multifarious invisible processes, as well as those visible practices of brute force and structural injustice" (Merrifield, 2006: 108). He discussed space through a 'conceptual triad' of *spatial practices*, *representations of space* and *representational space*.

Spatial practices refer to sequences, habits, and movement patterns in and through physical spaces. It involves the routines of everyday life, routes, networks and destinations motivated by the diversity of purposes in an area (Lefebvre, 1991; Carp, 2008: 132). Spatial practices closely relate to *perceived space*, as people's perceptions condition their daily reality (Merrifield, 1993: 523). The perceiving dimension of spatial practice refers to how and why bodies move in traceable patterns that manifest the socio-spatial patterns of particular locations (Carp, 2008: 132). Perceived space is physical; it demands inhabitation of its materiality by moving through it. Simultaneously, humans perceive space through sight, smell, touch, and manipulation. However, perceptions of the same physical space may vary, as bodily experiences in space share a relationship with one's role as a member of a group or

³ *Dialectical materialism* "asserts that the equalisation of thought and Being cannot be reduced to an idea, but must be achieved concretely" (Lefebvre, 1968/2009: 98). It arose from Marxian *historical materialism*, which promoted a materialist conception of history that prioritises social contradictions. It also adopted the Hegelian method of idealism. The dialectic combines the opposing elements transforming and transcending them into the Third Term. The Third Term unites and transcends the contradictions of idealism and materialism and preserves what was determinate in them (Lefebvre, 1968/2009).

society (Merrifield, 1993: 524; Carp, 2008: 132). Fundamentally, spatial practices structure daily life and broader urban reality, thus ensuring societal cohesion, continuity and a specific spatial competence (Lefebvre, 1991; Merrifield, 1993). This perspective relates to physical and phenomenological conceptualisations of place (Heidegger, 1971; Relph, 1976; Casey, 1998, 2001).

Representations of space are the discursively constructed spaces of professionals and technocrats. It tends towards a verbal system of (intellectually worked out) signs through arcane codifications, objectified representations and jargon (Lefebvre, 1991: 38-39). Representation implies abstraction, prioritising mental space over body practices (Merrifield, 2006: 110). It is the dominant space in any given society, “tied to the relations of production and the 'order' which those relations impose”. It is always *conceived* and *abstract* since it subsumes ideology and knowledge within socio-spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991: 33). This conceived space tends towards “ a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs” (Lefebvre, 1991: 39). It is thus the space of language, discourse and texts, *logos*: the written and spoken word (Soja, 1996: 67). Conceived space has a substantial influence on the production of space because of its connection to capital. Its ‘objective expression’ is seen in monuments, towers, factories, and bureaucratic and political authoritarianism (Lefebvre, 1991: 42; Merrifield, 1993: 523).

Lefebvre’s idea of conceived space shares similarities with the Marxist notion of *abstract labour*. Marx held that qualitatively different (concrete) labour activities were reduced to a quantitative (abstract) measure: money. Similarly, Lefebvre recognised that the ontological status of abstract space gains objective expression in specific buildings, places, activities and modes of market intercourse through space (Merrifield, 2006: 111). He further asserted that abstract space socialises people as spatial bodies and class subjects, creating an inbuilt consensus that allows it to function in lived space and flourish as the only thing to be perceived. The processes through which conceived space is built and used connect to *representational space*.

Representational space infuses physical and mental space; it is the everyday lived space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’. For Lefebvre, *representational space* overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects through “complex symbolisms, sometimes coded and sometimes not” (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Furthermore, this space does not need to obey rules of consistency and cohesiveness because it is *alive*. Lefebvre (1991: 42) wrote that

it speaks. It has an effective kernel or centre: Ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house, or square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of actions and of lived situations and thus immediately implies time.

Consequently, it may be verified in many ways: it may be directional, situational or relational because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic.

Aspects of collective representational spaces and personal ones exist throughout social space. They are recognised through the embodied, highly subjective, and intersubjective experiences of living here and now and relate to the past, present, and future (Carp, 2008: 135). Carp (2008: 136) explained that: “As social space, the places that evoke lived experience are perceptible and practised (*spatial practice*); conceived as an idea and built accordingly (*representation of space*); and they transcend mere use and mere thought to include these moments of immediate experience (*representational space*)”. Although representational space is defined by lived experience, it is not attached to specific places but can happen in moments when everything comes together in different places and times (Carp, 2008: 136). Lefebvre (1974/1991) described this as a ‘third space’: a lived moment, personal and tacit, a collectively experienced and powerful social experience.

However, Lefebvre cautioned that while lived space is alive, it is also inhabited by philosophers, artists and writers who seek to *describe* rather than actively *decipher* and transform the world. Representational space is elusive, and the imagination must attempt to change and appropriate it. It is the most challenging aspect in the triad to uncover, as it “is the dominated, passively experienced space that the conceived, ordered hegemonic space will attempt to usurp” (Merrifield, 1993: 523). In contrast, Lefebvre recognised that the relationship between conceived, perceived, and lived moments is never stable and exhibits historically defined qualities, attributes and interconnections. Therefore, Lefebvre stressed the significance of visualising the world dialectically to expose the dislocated and dismembered landscape of capitalism veiled as a homogenous abstract space. He declared: “The space that homogenises thus has nothing homogenous about it” (Lefebvre, 1991: 308). Instead, Lefebvre called for differential space, a space that celebrates physical and experiential particularity and the right to difference (Merrifield, 2006: 113).

Lefebvre advocated for *differential space* – a space not superficially different but different to its core. It is a space that celebrates bodily and experiential particularity and foments the conflict and contestations in conceived/abstract space. He explained:

Thanks to the potential energies of a variety of groups capable of subverting homogeneous space for their own purposes, a theatricalised or dramatised space is liable to arise. Space is liable to be erotised and restored to ambiguity, to the common birthplace of needs and desires, by means of music, by means of differential systems and valorisations that overwhelm

the strict localisation of needs and desires in spaces specialised either physiologically (sexually) or socially. An unequal struggle, sometimes furious, sometimes more low-key, takes place between the Logos and the Anti-Logos, these terms being taken in their broadest possible sense—the sense in which Nietzsche used them. The Logos makes inventories, classifies, and arranges: it cultivates knowledge and presses it into the service of power. Nietzsche's Grand Desire, by contrast, seeks to overcome divisions—divisions between work and product, between repetitive and differential, or needs and desires. (Lefebvre, 1991: 391–92)

Lefebvre underscored Nietzsche's contribution to the right to difference and prioritising the lived over the conceived. He asserted that dialectic resolves the conflict and contradiction of perceived (physical) and conceived (abstract) space by transcending their opposition and creating something new – the *Third Term* (lived space) (Lefebvre, 1968/2009). Thirthing produces a cumulative trialectic “that is radically open to additional othernesses, to a continuing expansion of spatial knowledge” (Soja, 1996: 61).

Thirthing as Othering

In his chapter, *The Trialectics of Spatiality* (1996: 60), Edward Soja introduced the term *Thirdspace* or *thirthing-as-othering* (1996;1999). Although he found the duality of history and society significant to being in the world, these concepts are meaningless without considering spatiality. To this end, Soja considered thirthing as an ontological trialectic of spatiality-historically-sociality of being in the world, arguing that “the social production of human spatiality or the ‘making of human geographies’ is becoming as fundamental to understanding our life worlds as the social production of our histories and societies” (Soja, 1999: 262).

Soja approximated the concept of thirthing with Lefebvre's social space and Michel Foucault's conceptualisation of *heterotopology*. For Lefebvre, thirthing is “the beginning of a heuristic chain of ‘approximations’ that builds accumulatively in an ever-expanding process of knowledge” (Soja, 1999: 269). It is a contested and transformative space, requiring a radical openness that enables one to see beyond present knowledge and to explore ‘other spaces’ similar and different from the already known real and imagined ones (Soja, 1999: 269). Arguably, the trialectic restores space as the basis of action rather than a passive concept (Lefebvre, 1991).

Soja also adopted Foucault's ‘*Of Other Spaces*’ in his conceptualisation of ‘*thirdspace*’ through the trialectic of knowledge, power and spatiality. Although Foucault did not emphasise spatiality in his work, his publication ‘*Of Other Spaces*’ (which he labelled heterotopias) expunged modernist spatial thinking, creating new ways to consider space (Foucault and

Miskowiec, 1986: 23). Heterotopias are alternative possibilities that are neither everyday spaces nor utopias (or sites with no real place). They have “the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise or invert the relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect” (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986: 24). They are places “in which irreconcilable spaces coexist, but what represents irreconcilability is constantly contested and changing. As these heterotopias fluctuate between contradiction and acceptance, their physical expression equally fluctuates between invisibility and recognition” (Cenzatti, 2008: 6).

Heterotopic spaces are marginal sites of modernity that threaten to disrupt the productive and dominant roles of society (Foucault cited in Soja, 1996: 151; Cenzatti, 2008: 3). They are not considered ‘other’ because they are ‘other’ from the fixity of physical space or because they are counter spaces to dominant ones. They are considered ‘other’ because they stem from an endless series of differences in representations of space (Cenzatti, 2008: 9). The otherness of heterotopias is fundamental to *Thirdspace* as they are not just ‘other spaces’ to include in geographical imagination; they are also spaces ‘other than’ established spatial thinking (Soja, 1996: 156/163). In this sense, heterotopias are simultaneously mythic and a real contestation of lived space encompassing privileged/sacred or forbidden places (Foucault and Miskowiec, 1986). Cenzatti added a significant perspective to the discussion on heterotopias, writing that they are no longer monumental constructions of deviance. Instead, these ‘other spaces’ of difference also include everyday life encounters. He further explained that such spaces are partly invisible (for example, a coffee shop or bar where a particular social group meets) and also partly in full site (for example, parks and bridges between skyscrapers occupied by cheap migrant labour in their free time) (2008: 6-7).

It is worth mentioning Foucault’s famous work on insanity in the age of reason, *Madness and Civilisation*, given the focus on stowaway activity in this research. Foucault (1988) viewed ships as ‘heterotopia par excellence’, mentioning: [The ship of fools] made [...] [the madman] a prisoner of his own departure. But water adds to this the dark mass of its own values; it carries off, but it does more: it purifies. Navigation delivers man to the uncertainty of fate; on water, each of us is in the hands of his own destiny; every embarkation is, potentially, the last [...] The madman’s voyage is at once a rigorous division and an absolute Passage [...] Confined on the ship, from which there is no escape, the madman is delivered to the river with its thousand arms, the sea with its thousand roads, to that great uncertainty external to everything. He is the prisoner in the midst of the freest, the

openest of routes, bound fast at the infinite crossroads. He is the Passenger par excellence: That is, the prisoner of the passage (Foucault, 1988: 11).

Ships offer a liminal expanse between the land of disembarkation and the destination, creating a thirdspace of freedom and imprisonment from time immemorial. William Walters (2015) expanded on Foucault's focus on ships to include all modes of transportation in mediating migration in his concept of viapolitics, in which he argued that vehicles and other infrastructure could be used as sites of power and contestation in migration.

Although Lefebvre and Foucault entered discussions on spatial thinking from different perspectives, they intersect on thirding. Lefebvre's *perceived-conceived-lived* triad shared similarities with the Foucauldian trialectic of *power-knowledge-space*, both of which prioritised spatial relations. Foucault's insight on heterotopias reflected Lefebvre's critique of everyday life in the modern world (Soja, 1996). They also critiqued the historicist view of time as a linear, teleological progression, partly due to the influence of Nietzsche's sense of change and cycles on both scholars (Soja, 1996: 170). Lefebvre's 'theory of moments' and Foucault's epochal foregrounding of spatiality contributed to their thinking around lived space as contradictory, intense and transformative (Soja, 1996). In this context, place is a site of uneven relationships between spatiality, history, society, knowledge and power.

For Soja, thirding does not end with the assertion of a third term – it is not a holy trinity. He surmised that:

Thirdspace as Lived Space is portrayed as multi-sided and contradictory, oppressive and liberating, passionate and routine, knowable and unknowable. It is a space of radical openness, a site of resistance and struggle, a space of multiplicitous representations, investigable through its binarised oppositions but also where there are always 'other spaces', heterotopologies, and paradoxical geographies to be explored. It is a meeting ground, a site of hybridity and *mestizaje* (mixing) and moving beyond entrenched boundaries, a margin or edge where ties can be severed and also where new ties can be forged. It can be mapped but never captured in conventional cartographies; it can be creatively imagined but obtains meaning only when practised and fully *lived* (Soja, 1999: 276).

Similarly, transit places occupied by irregular migrants are clandestine spaces 'other than' established spatial thinking combining the real and imagined possibilities of their inhabitants and users. Although peripheral, occupants create memories and mark their identities in these

sites through social and material practices. Such spaces are not passive; they are contradictory, intense and transformative, yet they carry unknowability and secretiveness.

Relational Places

David Harvey also adopted a triadic approach to space, in which he identified *absolute theory* associated with Newton, *relative theory* related to Einstein and the *relational conception*, which dates to Leibniz and has a contemporary representative in the philosophical work of Alfred North Whitehead (Harvey, 1994: 129). Harvey asserted that space encompasses one or all aspects of the triad simultaneously, depending on human practice. He explained:

If we regard space as absolute, it becomes a ‘thing in itself’ with an existence independent of matter. It then possesses a structure that we can use to pigeonhole or individuate phenomena. This view of relative space proposes that space be understood as a relationship between objects that exists only because objects exist and relate to each other. There is another sense in which space can be viewed as relative, and I choose to call this relational space—space regarded in the manner of Leibniz as being contained in objects in the sense that an object can be said to exist only insofar as it contains and represents within itself relationships to other objects (Harvey, 1973: 13).

From this standpoint, space cannot be conceptualised philosophically, as the answers to the nature of space lie in human practices (Harvey, 1973: 13). Therefore, like Lefebvre, Harvey was interested in “the organisation of space as a material product, the relationship between social and spatial structures of urbanism and the ideological content of socially constructed space” (Soja, 1990: 76). For both scholars, the determination of space and time is politically embedded in power relations (Harvey, 1994: 127). However, Harvey disagreed with Lefebvre’s broader claims that spatial formation (urbanism) dominates the economic process (industrialisation). He argued that Lefebvre’s separation of the organisation of space and the broader structure of social relations in its production run the risk of fetishising space (Harvey, 1973; Soja, 1990). For Harvey, spatial relations and social relations are homologous and dialectically inseparable.

Harvey navigated place through the vector of space and time, arguing that places don’t simply exist; powerful institutions continually construct them. He was chiefly concerned with understanding the social processes that create places. However, Harvey stressed that saying

something is socially constructed does not mean it is subjective and arbitrary. On the contrary, it implies that something is bound up within power structures, social relations, and particular modes of production and consumption (Harvey, 1994: 127). To this end, he interrogated place through two broad strategies. The first strategy recapitulates the relational view of space and time propounded by Leibniz and Whitehead (cited in Harvey, 1996). According to Leibniz (cited in Harvey, 1996: 261), place, like space, has no 'absolute reality' – it is relational. This view holds that a place exists with other places, and "every place contains other places that are related within it" (Cresswell, 2015: n/p). Whitehead (cited in Harvey, 1996: 261) agreed with this position, stating that a place is a site of relations of one entity to another. It contains 'the other' because no entity can exist in isolation. However, he noted that not all relations are equally present because "the concept of place marks the disclosure in sense-awareness of entities in nature known merely by their spatial relation to discerned entities" (Whitehead, 1920/2013: 51).

Harvey also adopted Whitehead's doctrine of 'permanences' to solidify the idea of place as a site of relations, explaining that 'permanence' arises as a system of 'extensive connection' out of processes. He wrote:

Entities achieve relative stability in both their bounding and internal ordering of processes, creating space for a time. Such permanences come to occupy a piece of space in an exclusive way (for a time) and thereby define a place – their place – (for a time). The process of place formation is a process of carving out 'permanences' from the flow of processes creating spatiotemporally. But the 'permanences' – no matter how solid they may seem – are not eternal but always subject to time as 'perpetual perishing.' They are contingent on processes of creation, sustenance and dissolution (Whitehead cited in Harvey, 1996: 261).

Two positions emerge from this definition of place. The first denotes place as a mere location within a map of space-time within a social process, while the second position views place as 'permanence' occurring within the construction of space and time (Harvey, 1996: 294). Cresswell (2015: n/p) further explained that: "when humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some way (meaning is one such way), it becomes place". Harvey's second strategy examined the cognitive map of social processes in the social practices, institutions and relations that constitute place. In this context, place is performed, practised and constantly struggled over and reimagined in non-essentialised ways. It is "the raw material for the creative production of identity rather than an a priori label of identity"

(Cresswell, 2015: n/p). However, David Robert Sack (cited in Cresswell, 2015: n/p) pointed out that

privileging the social in modern geography, and especially in the reductionist sense that 'everything is socially constructed', does as much disservice to geographical analysis as a whole as has privileging the natural in the days of environmental determinism, or concentrating only on the mental or intellectual in some areas of humanistic geography. While one or other may be more important for a particular situation at a particular time, none is determinate of the geographical.

For Sack, a place cannot be reduced to the social, natural or cultural world, as it is a phenomenon that brings these worlds together and produces them (cited in Cresswell, 2015: n/p). Similarly, Jeff Malpas asserted that place is not founded on subjectivity, but rather, subjectivity is founded on place. He further explained that "one does not first have a subject that apprehends certain features of the world in terms of the idea of place; rather, the structure of subjectivity is given in and through the structure of place" (1999: 34). The view posited by Sacks and Malpas aligns with the Heideggerian position that place precedes the construction of meaning and society. However, it fails to demonstrate the processes of making places (Cresswell, 2015). Cresswell (2015) reconciled the deficits of these complicated arguments, noting that all things have socially constructed meanings, without which it would be impossible to talk about them. However, these things (or places) still exist whether we attach meaning to them or not (Cresswell, 2015: n/p).

A Global Sense of Place

If space is rather a simultaneity of stories so far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space (Massey, 2005: 130).

The notion of place as immobile and with boundaries produces exclusionary practices based on an inward-looking history of nostalgia and enclosed security (Massey, 2005). However, this view does not negate locality. According to Lucy Lippard: "Most often place applies to our own 'local' – entwined with personal memory, known or unknown histories, marks made in the land that provoke and evoke" (1997: 7). Lippard asserted that each time people enter a new place, they become ingredients in an existing hybridity – a 'local place'. Similarly, Massey valued locality. Although she acknowledged the need for some people to find a sense of rootedness – she was against essentialising place to particular identities, histories and boundaries. While Lippard and Massey agreed that places are about negotiated social relations, the former

prioritised the layering of human histories and memories, while the latter viewed history as secondary to the unavoidable negotiation of the here and now (Lippard, 1997; Massey, 2005; Cresswell, 2015 n/p).

Cresswell (2015: n/p) bemoaned that “as long as place signifies a tight and relatively immobile connection between a group of people and a site, then it will be constantly implicated in the construction of ‘us’ (people who belong in a place) and ‘them’ (people who do not)”. Cresswell articulated this point through the concept of differentiation using Goren Therborn’s conceptualisation of ideology as a foundation to explore this argument. According to Therborn, ideologies are always set up in opposition to something else, and this process occurs through differentiation (Therborn cited in Cresswell, 1996: 153). Cresswell described that: “Differentiation divides the subjected while the expurgation of the other unites disparate groups by identifying a common enemy. Each serves an ideological purpose and relies on creating normative difference” (1996: 153).

Similarly, places are fundamental creators of difference. An outsider is not to be trusted, while an insider knows and obeys the rules. However, the definition of an insider or outsider is more than a locational marker; it also refers to someone existentially removed from the milieu of *our* place – someone who does not know the rules (Cresswell, 1996: 154).

Harvey concretised Cresswell’s point in what he termed a reactionary sense of place. He provided an example of an affluent suburb in Guilford, Baltimore, that viewed itself as threatened by neighbouring lower-income and racially diverse communities (see Harvey, 1996).⁴ As a result, the Guilford Community Association proposed turning Guilford into a gated community to secure the affluent middle-class community from a presumed outside threat. In this context, “*place* had to be controlled against the uncontrollable vectors of spatiality” (Harvey, 1996: 292). Harvey’s example validates Cresswell’s point about the implication of characterising place as an immobile connection between a group of people and a site.

Massey offered a progressive conceptualisation of place marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and permanence. She viewed places as shared spaces riven with internal tensions and conflicting interests about what they ought to become (Massey, 1994). This progressive and outward-looking view advocated for a reimagining of place that combines bodies, objects and flows (1994, 2005). In this sense, a place is an event rather than an

⁴ In the chapter, *From Space to Place and Back Again*, David Harvey wrote about a double murder of an elderly white couple in the affluent middle-class neighbourhood of Guilford, Baltimore, on Sunday August 14, 1994. At first, the local newspaper – the *Baltimore Sun* – reported the murder as the consequence of a proliferation of crime in surrounding areas. Therefore, the Guilford Community Association proposed turning Guilford into a gated community to protect inhabitants from outside threats. It was later established that the murder was not committed by a random intruder but rather by the elderly couples grandson (Harvey, 1996: 292-293).

ontological thing rooted in authenticity; it is the *throwntogetherness* of unrelated things in a constellation of processes. This concept links to Heidegger's phenomenological consideration of gathering, although it demands a more progressive view of gathering than Heidegger proposed (Massey, 2005: 141). The *throwntogetherness* of place requires negotiation, as there is no assumption of a pre-given coherence, community or collective identity. She was equally concerned with how mobility influences one's experience of space and place.

While Massey agreed with Harvey that places are reproduced through social relations, she was dissatisfied with his focus on seeing global processes solely through the prism of capitalism. She explained that:

The degree to which we can move between countries, walk about the streets at night, or venture out of hotels in foreign cities is influenced by more than *capital*. Survey after survey has shown how women's mobility, for instance, is restricted – in a thousand different ways – from physical violence to being ogled at or made to feel quite simply 'out of place' – not by *capital* but by men (Massey, 1994: 147-8).

This point indicates the role of power beyond capital in the flows of movement, which include but are not limited to gender and race. Massey's emphasis on socially differentiated mobility reveals uneven mobile experiences, particularly among refugees and undocumented migrant workers, who experience intervals of mobility and stasis. She called this the *power geometry* of space-time flows that reinforces the power of control over mobility for some while actively reinforcing weakness for other people (Massey, 1994: 150).

Cresswell levelled one criticism against Massey, noting that:

It is difficult to point out anything specific in her conceptualisation of place. The traditional humanistic definition of place is clear about the existential sense of rootedness. Massey's place is seemingly an accidental coming together of many different flows in one location (Cresswell, 2015: n/p).

This observation necessitates an engagement with the difference between what Massey labelled a *global sense of place* and what Relph called *placelessness* (1976) and Marc Augé described as *non-places* (1995). Edward Relph defined *placelessness* as a weakened sense of identity and locality. He wrote: "Placelessness describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order" (Relph, 1976:

153). Relph credits multinational corporations, mass culture and media as contributing sources to the erasure of places.

Congruent with Relph, Marc Augé attributed the construction of non-places to increased movement and globalisation, which limits existential rootedness (Augé, 1995). For Augé, a *non-place* is a nexus to the temporary sites of mobile people. Augé conceptualised non-places contrary to the anthropological definition of the concept characterised by identity, social relations and history (1995: 52). He *fixated* on supermodernity, which he characterised by three figures of excess: (1) excess time due to an increase of information flows and simultaneous events. (2) excess space resulting from connectivity and a shrinking planet and (3) excess individualism, which opens individuals to the presence of others while they simultaneously fold back on themselves, thereby constituting individuals as witnesses rather than actors in contemporary life (Merriman, 2012: 53). Augé addressed place and non-place as contingent, relational and in a process in his later writings, asserting that motorways, airports and other spaces are simultaneously experienced as places and non-places by different actors (Merriman, 2012; Soto, 2017).

Massey, Relph and Augé agree on the lack of fixed identities and increased movement flows in their conceptualisations of place, placelessness and non-places. However, Massey departs with Relph and Augé on the point of *existential* rootedness as the measure of a place. Yet, she arguably secured the specificity of place in her acknowledgement of locality, constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations meeting and weaving together in a particular locus (Massey, 1994:154). In this sense, Massey's global sense of place is not akin to placelessness (Relph, 1976) and non-place (Augé, 1995), as Massey's progressive view does not erase locality (Massey, 1994, 2005). It is also worth noting that neither Relph nor Augé account for social differentiation, contestation or power dynamics in their conceptualisations of place.

Assembling Place

In line with Massey's conceptualisation of *throwntogetherness* is the power of places to gather experiences, histories, languages and thoughts as well as the process of gathering underlines the relational nature of place (Cresswell, 2015: n/p). To this end, assemblage theory, deriving from the French poststructuralist philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari and later developed by philosopher Manuel De Lande, addresses the act of gathering and combination. According to De Lande, an assemblage is a unique whole "whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts" (2006: 5). It is a 'state of affairs' rather than a 'thing' or a collection of parts (Dovey, 2010: 16). Cresswell further summarised the definition, noting:

Assemblages are distinct from organic structures, which are also assembled from parts but depend on each part in order to exist. In an organic structure, if you take away a constituent part, the structure would cease to exist in a recognisable way. With an assemblage, constituent parts can be removed and replaced. The parts can then enter other assemblages and contribute to new 'unique wholes'. The ways in which parts are combined in an assemblage are not structurally necessary or pre-ordained. They are not directed by some higher force. Their combination is contingent (2015: n/p).

Places are ideal candidates for assemblages as they form contingent connections between parts. For instance, Kim Dovey noted:

A street is not a thing, nor is it just a collection of discrete things. The buildings, trees, cars, sidewalks, goods, people, signs, etc., all come together to become the street, but it is the connections between them that make it an assemblage or a place. It is the relations of buildings-sidewalks-roadway, the flow of traffic, people and goods; the interconnections of public to private space, and of this street to the city that makes it a 'street' and distinguish it from other place assemblages such as parks, plazas, freeways, shopping malls and marketplaces (2010: 16).

However, De Lande provided a more precise observation describing two key axes making up an assemblage. One dimension connects a purely *material role* at one axis extreme to a purely *expressive role* at the other. The axis is easily mapped through how we think of place as having a material existence (landscapes and locales) and an expressive existence (places as meaningful, cultural entities). The second dimension defines processes that make places cohere by increasing their homogeneity and boundaries through *territorialisation* or destabilising the identity of an assemblage through processes of *deterritorialisation*. The same assemblage can have components working together to stabilise its identity and components, forcing it to transform into a different assemblage (2006: 12).

Assembling Interpersonal Networks

The components of social assemblages playing a *material role* vary, but at the very least, they involve a set of human bodies orientated (physically or psychologically) towards each other. Some of these interactions may constitute ephemeral assemblages called 'social encounters'. A particularly relevant social encounter is a conversation between one or more people. Repeated conversations (and social encounters) with the same or overlapping participants

develop longer-lasting social entities called interpersonal networks. Interpersonal networks emphasise *patterns of recurring links* as well as the properties of those links. For De Lande, the properties of the links are premised on relations of exteriority and cannot be inferred from properties of the person linked to the network (2006: 56). The properties of links include (1) *strength* – the frequency of interactions and emotional relation, (2) *presence or absence* – the absences indicate the existence of borders or cliques separating one network from the other, (3) *reciprocity* – the symmetry or asymmetry of the obligations entailed by the link, (4) *density* – a measure of the intensity of the connectivity among members of indirect links and (5) *stability* – secured by the attitudes of the persons involved in the network. De Lande further noted that *density* and *stability* endow a community with a higher degree of (6) *solidarity* – a strong feeling of togetherness (2006: 56-7).

Components performing a *material role* in interpersonal network assemblages include the physical bodies of the people involved, the time and energy invested in maintaining relationships, communication, the exchange of physical aid – taking of people's children, emotional support and advising community members in challenging situations. Additionally, there is a division of labour that exists in such communities, with women disproportionately involved in the maintenance of relations. In terms of the *expressive role*, there are various nonlinguistic displays of solidarity and trust. Certain routine acts like eating together and attending church express solidarity and the performance of maintenance tasks. Other expressive components include items capable of serving as a badge of identity, such as a particular dialect of a language spoken in a community and displaying pride in membership (De Lande, 2006: 57).

Similarly, Pierre Bourdieu's notion of social capital inheres in social relations or networks of family, friends, community and society (cited in Dovey, 2010). Although Bourdieu wrote about social capital from the perspective of institutionalised membership, the concept also has currency as a positive resource base for all communities (see Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Putnam, 1995). According to Robert Putnam, social capital refers to "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (1995: 2). Trust, solidarity and community are indicators of high levels of social capital, while fear alienation and isolation indicate its absence. Social capital is also embedded in the built environment. Buildings and neighbourhoods ground and structure social networks, enabling or constraining social capital development (Bourdieu cited in Dovey, 2010: 34).

A Global Sense of Migrant Places

Assembling interpersonal networks also exist among transnational migrants who occupy various cross-cutting social networks. In this sense, place and mobility are not antithetical but co-constitutive (Cresswell, 2015). Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc (1993) defined *transnationalism* as:

The processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasise that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organisational, religious, and political – that span borders we call *transmigrants* (Basch et al., 1993: 8).

Arjun Appadurai also discussed social relations as experienced localities, asserting that migrants live in *translocalities*. The concept of translocalities emerges when migrants create social relations in one physical place (or nation-state) while maintaining social relations in other places (Appadurai, 1996: 220; Gielis, 2009: 275). However, Ruben Gielis offered a different perspective, asserting that migrants experience multiple social networks, of which the national network is just one. Therefore, he preferred to speak of *trans-social* rather than transnational migration. Inspired by Massey, Gielis adopted a progressive and global view of migrant places, arguing that: “studying migrant places as meeting places of social networks and as sites where migrants reach out to other places and networks can offer rich insights into the way social networks interrelate in the everyday lives of transmigrants” (Gielis, 2009: 283).

Michael Smith expanded on *transnationalism* and *transmigrants* with the concept of *transnational urbanism* to understand emergent transnational practices amongst transmigrants and their forged translocal connections. For Smith, the processes of transnational place-making are remarkably complex and frequently contested (2005: 239). Smith acknowledged that social differentiation, especially for racialised, poor, gendered and undocumented migrants, affects subjects' emplacement regarding their political-economic circumstances, everyday practices and mobilities. Such individuals often construct a cultural and political identity through the process of othering by being unable to assimilate into the holistic and organic societies they enter (Bhabha, 1990).

Geraldine Pratt disrupted the isomorphic

view of identity and place that position global and local perspectives in contestation with each other by promoting place-based strategies that promote boundaries and rootedness (Pratt,

1999; Escobar, 2001: 165-6). For Pratt, the concept of thirding (or thirdspace) fetishises otherness in ways that sustain structures of dominance. She demonstrated how Filipina domestic workers in Vancouver, Canada, navigated the paradoxical existence of mobility and confinement through their fragile sense of home. Despite their relatively powerless position, they found ways to transform their confined space into a meaningful place by displaying parts of their Filipino identity. She further argued: "Marking boundaries, insisting on the materiality and persistence of differences, may be politically productive as blurring them into notions of mobility, hybridity and thirdspace" (1999: 164). For Pratt, place, boundary, and rootedness are not necessarily reactionary or a thing from the past; they matter in negotiated place-making strategies (Cresswell, 2015).

Place Memory

Creating a sense of place is also tied to the selective and particular parts of the history people choose to preserve (Cresswell, 2015). According to Cresswell: "The very materiality of a place means that memory is not abandoned to the vagaries of mental processes and instead inscribed in the landscape – as public memory" (2015: n/p). Although memories appear personal, they are also social as they are constituted through the production of place in the form of monuments, museums, inscriptions, the preservation of buildings and the promotion of *heritage zones*. The permanence of places in the landscape and stories that invoke them provide a means to perpetuate cultural identity (Harvey, 1996: 305). Making marks or constructing markers are also ways humans communicate identity, claim or personalise and memorialise spaces (Lange, 2016). Moreover, Mary Lange argued that beyond designating territories and reinforcing identities, markings memorialise the past while serving as symbols of hope for the future (Lange, 2016: 873).

According to Dolores Hayden (1995), the experience of a place is an effective tool in the (re)production of memory. Place memory is so strong that different cultures have attempted to embed public memory in narrative elements of buildings, such as imperial monuments and historical cathedrals (Hayden, 1995: 46). For Casey, the embodiment of remembering is not just having a point of view, and it is about the place in which we are situated. In other words, memories are place-specific. He noted:

Place memory is the stabilising persistence of place as a container of experiences that powerfully contributes to its intrinsic memorability. An alert and alive memory connects spontaneously with place, finding in it features that favour parallel its own activities. We might even say that memory is naturally place-orientated or at least place-supported (Casey, 1987/2002: 186-7).

Hayden recalled an area in New York's Lower East Side known as the Tenement District, where poor immigrants first settled. The buildings had very little light, with small living spaces shared by large families. The site currently serves as the Lower East Side Tenement District Museum, with preserved tenement rooms arranged to demonstrate how they looked at different points in the building's history. The museum provides a sensory experience of what it was like to live in these places. Hayden reflected on such an experience, noting:

In a typical New York tenement at the turn of the century, many people's sordid habitat was one landlord's money machine, generating a 25 per cent return on investment per year. There were a few reasons to diminish profits through maintenance expenses since legal enforcement of building codes and safety regulations was minimal. What did it mean in terms of the sensory experience of place? The building will be a more evocative source than any written records. One can read about unhealthy living conditions, but standing inside a tenement apartment – perhaps 400 square feet of living space for an entire family, minimal plumbing, only one or two exterior windows – leaves a visitor gasping for air and looking for light. The building conveys the claustrophobic experiences of immigrants living for decades in crowded, unhealthy spaces (as part of the reproduction of the labour force) in a way that a text or chart can never match (Hayden, 1995: 33–4).

Hayden's reflection on the Lower East Side Tenement District Museum confirms Casey's phenomenological approach to place memory in that it makes the past come alive in the present, thereby contributing towards (re)production of social memory. The museum is also rare because it seeks to inscribe the place memory of a group of people at the bottom of the social hierarchy, a practice usually reserved to commemorate the winners of history (Casey, 1987/2002; Hayden, 1995; Cresswell, 2015: n/p). These views align with Harvey, who noted: "The preservation or construction of a sense of place is an active moment in the passage from memory to hope, from past to future. And the reconstruction of places can reveal hidden memories that hold out the prospects for different futures" (Harvey, 1996: 306).

However, places are never merely backdrops for action, nor are they uncontested texts to read the past. Despite terms like the globe, the nation, the region, and the local being common parlance, they are neither "a neutral set of containers, nor a fixed inert group of cartographies" (Hoskins, 2004: 688). The decision of what constitutes a place memory is a political question. They become sites of contestation over which memories to evoke (Cresswell, 2015). According to Karen Till, places are fluid mosaics always in the process of becoming. As such, they are "moments of memory and metaphor, scene and experience, dream and matter that

create and mediate social spaces and temporalities” (2004: 75). Till critiqued the idea that places have single, internalised and linear histories that can be made visible by an objective observer. Instead, she argued that overlapping discontinuous histories often emotionally charged intersect through place (Till, 2004). It is evident from these perspectives that the production of place memory combines materiality, meaning and practice (Hoskins, 2004).

Gareth Hoskins explored the contestation of place memory by examining Angel Island Immigration Station – a set of buildings used to process Chinese immigrants as they entered San Francisco Bay. Unlike Ellis Island, on the East Coast, this site has not become a site of memory and celebration of heritage in the United States. Instead, it was forgotten and left to decay until a group of local activists alerted politicians and the public. However, the problem for those who sought to promote it as a heritage site was that it was a deliberate site of exclusion under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. This was where would-be Chinese immigrants were prevented from entering the United States, debasing the national mythology of inclusion in the *melting pot*. Hoskins illustrated how the immigration station was reconfigured to fit the general national memory of immigration belonging, hardly matching its original purpose. The example of Angel Island demonstrates how aspects of place are mobilised in the production of particular memories (Hoskins, 2004, 2007; Cresswell, 2015).

Likewise, Cresswell discussed the contestations between dominant and subordinate meanings in public and private spaces in New York. The presence of graffiti in public spaces denies dominant divisions of meanings, as dominated groups can make claims upon the meanings of space (1996: 47). According to Cresswell: “Graffiti is not just *out of place* because it is misplaced figuration; its *otherness* is also connected to its assumed source, the ethnic minorities of urban New York” (1996: 43). However, the obscene act is subverted when taken off the street and (dis)placed in art galleries or proper mainstream spaces. It is here that meanings change because the medium is controlled by a *hegemonic* landscape – “a set of structurally agreed-upon signifiers, which, rather than being imposed in a deterministic fashion on the landscape, are constantly contested and negotiated” (Cresswell, 1996: 57). The problem with graffiti is that it challenges the preferred meanings of place secured by particular discourses of *power*, which express themselves as discourses of *normality*.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the different conceptualisations of place, revealing the contested views and multiple meanings, practices and materialities that shape individual and collective experiences. The purpose of exploring place from different perspectives aligns with the opaque encounters faced by irregular transit migrants discussed in the literature review. It also demonstrates that transit spaces can be transformed into meaningful places, illustrating how

empirical applications of abstract theories confirm, expand and contradict existing conceptualisations of place. Moreover, the chapter provides a helpful lens for understanding not only how Tanzanian transit migrants perceive, conceive and experience place but also how these ideas influence their social and material practices.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

Qualitative research interprets aspects of the social world, rejecting the idea that there is only one way of generating meaning from experience. This approach acknowledges that our identities and experiences influence the credibility of our findings (Patton, 2015). However, good qualitative research is plausible, coherent and grounded in the data. The methodology chapter links the theoretical and philosophical assumptions of this study to the research problem and questions. This chapter provides an overview of the philosophical assumptions, research design, paradigm, data collection and analysis methods undertaken in this study. The final section accounts for the study's credibility and ethical considerations.

Philosophical assumptions

The philosophical assumptions of qualitative inquiry usually apply interpretive frameworks that crosscut disciplines, fields, and subject matter. The province of qualitative research generally addresses lived experience, where individual beliefs and actions intersect with culture (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2010; Denzin and Lincoln, 2014; Hesse-Biber, 2015). Researchers search for *meaning* by examining “the social meaning people attribute to their experiences, circumstances and situations, as well as the meanings people embed into texts, images and other objects” (Hesse-Biber, 2015: n/p). The underlying belief is that ontology (or the nature of reality) can be seen through multiple lenses, that epistemology (or way of knowing) is subjective and value-laden, and that biases are present during the research process. Finally, the researcher often utilises an inductive methodological process by describing the context of the study and continually revising (research) questions from experiences in the field (Creswell and Poth, 2018). Similarly, Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy advocated for a *holistic* approach that integrates ontology, epistemology and methodology while simultaneously requiring the researcher to examine how their ontological and epistemological perspectives impact methodology (2010: 7).

Denzin and Lincoln proposed that:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their

natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena regarding the meanings people bring to them (2014: n/p).

While this definition captures traditional approaches to qualitative inquiry, it prioritises the impact of qualitative research and its ability to transform the world. John Cresswell and Cheryl Poth suggested a working definition that emphasises the research design and the distinct approaches to inquiry. They suggested the following definition:

Qualitative research begins with assumptions and interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, collecting data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature or a call for change (Creswell, cited in Creswell and Poth, 2018: 8).

Analogously, the approach to this study is that the research process is subjective, value-laden and biased, requiring a holistic approach that views each research choice as interrelated through inductive and deductive reasoning. In line with Cresswell and Poth (2018), the study prioritised the research design to ensure *methodological congruence*. According to Lyn Richards and Janic Morse, the concept of methodological congruence is acquired through the “fit between the research problem and the question; the fit between the research question and the method; and the fit among the method, the data and the way of handling data” (2013: 34). Interconnecting these components in the research process helps to provide the best possible answer to the research question.

Research Design

This study employed a phenomenological research design, as I was principally concerned with understanding the phenomenon of place through the research participants' lived experiences. (Van Manen, 1990). Experience, in this context, “is considered to be an individual's perceptions of his or her presence in the world at the moment when things, truths, or values are constituted” (Van Manen, cited in Richards and Morse, 2013: 67, Bevan, 2014). Phenomenology approaches lived experience through the vector of consciousness. According to Max Van Manen, consciousness is the only access human beings have to the world, whether the object is real or imagined, empirically measurable or subjectively felt (1990: 9).

To this end, phenomenologists are not concerned with the factual aspects of a situation. Instead, they are concerned with the nature of the phenomenon as meaningfully experienced (Van Manen, 1990). Similarly, Creswell and Poth wrote, "This turns on the lived experiences of individuals and how they have both subjective experiences of the phenomenon and objective experiences of something in common with other people" (2018: 76).

Additionally, a phenomenological approach prioritises the research process as a learning experience rather than an event generating research findings. From this perspective, the research procedures are flexible and reflect the experiences in the field (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2010: 8; Denzin and Lincoln, 2014; Creswell and Poth, 2018). These sentiments are reflected in excerpts from my journal entries during the initial stages of data collection:

13/04/2021

Establishing Trust

Trust needs to be established between the researcher and the participants. Rules and regulations govern the members of this community; one cannot access the community without securing consent from everybody – trust is paramount in this process.

Finding ways not to be exploitative is significant as this topic is sensitive. San Juan (one of the men living under the bridge) offered to assist me. He took my number and promised to call me.

15/04/2021

San Juan called earlier today from a friend's phone. I offered to get him a mobile phone to communicate more efficiently.

16/04/2021

San Juan texted me earlier today to meet him at the morning market at 6 p.m. so I could give him the mobile phone. It is late Friday evening, and taxis are travelling in all directions. My dad and I have been waiting at a petrol station for almost 45 minutes. San Juan did not reach out or pitch up. We are now driving home feeling deflated.

25/05/2021

Ethical Blurriness

Recruiting participants for this study has been a complex process. I have learned to trust people I barely know like they have had to learn to trust me.

Ethics is a blurry line when people are vulnerable. My participants feel comfortable sharing information with me but are uncomfortable with the ethics process of signing a form because they fear exposing their identity. It is difficult to colour in the lines when the subject matter is [literally] life and death.

Following these reflections, it is equally essential to establish the research purpose, as it helps frame the research questions. Hesse-Biber and Leavy suggested three primary research purposes: (1) *exploratory*, (2) *descriptive* and (3) *explanatory*. *Exploratory* research investigates an under-researched area, and the findings are generally preliminary data that help shape future research. Similarly, *descriptive* research describes the social reality under investigation by using *thick descriptions* of social life from the perspective of the research participants. Finally, *explanatory* research explains social phenomena and the relationship between different components of a topic (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2010: 10).

The study adopted an *exploratory* approach following Hesse-Biber and Leavy's claim that "the participants can help guide us to select language appropriate to 'get at' their experiences... Put differently, because there isn't much-existing scholarship available on this topic that can help shape our research questions, we need to be open to learning unexpected information from our research participants" (2010: 11). The study equally adopted a *descriptive* approach because the research questions chiefly address the lived experience of people in the Tanzanian transit migrant community or people in close proximity to this community to elicit *thick descriptions* on the topic. These two approaches complemented the research questions:

Research Questions

1. How do Tanzanian irregular transit migrants create a sense of place through their mobile and immobile experiences: a Durban-based Case Study?
 - a) How do they perceive, conceive and experience place?
 - b) What are their social and material practices concerning place?

Research Paradigm

As suggested earlier, a qualitative approach provides a unique set of interrelated paradigms to gain knowledge about the social world. According to Ergon Guba, a paradigm "is a basic set of beliefs that guides action" (1990: 17). This study aligns with an interpretivist orientation, associated with the hermeneutic tradition of seeking deep understanding by interpreting the meaning that interactions, actions and objects have for people. Interpretivists favour interacting and holding dialogues with research participants, as they believe the only way to understand social reality is from the perspective of those entangled within it. Through this process, interpretivist researchers uncover inside perspectives or real meanings of social phenomena. The experiences and values of the participants and the researcher influence the collection of data and its analysis (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Wahyuni, 2012).

Social constructivism is the strand of interpretivism utilised in this study, as the goal of the inquiry was to understand how the participants make sense of the social world. This perspective holds that meanings are not imprinted on individuals but negotiated socially and historically through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) (Guba, 1990; Cresswell, 2007). Furthermore, constructivist researchers focus on the specific context of participants to understand their historical and cultural settings (Cresswell, 2007). The interactive nature of social constructivism renders the distinction between ontology and epistemology obsolete, as “what can be known and the individual who comes to know it is fused into a coherent whole” (Guba, 1990: 26).

Guba obliterated the inquirer/inquired dichotomy, arguing that objectivity is impossible in the research process. Furthermore, he contended that knowledge is a *human construction* that is problematic and everchanging and thus cannot be certifiable as ultimate truth (Guba, 1990: 26). Guba summarised the research process as a threefold organisation of ontology, epistemology and methodology. *Ontologically*, the constructivist adopts a *relativist* position that realities are multiple, and they exist in people’s minds. *Epistemologically*, constructivists choose a *subjectivist* approach, which makes the findings of an inquiry “not a report of what is *out there* but the residue of a process that *literally creates them*” (Guba, 1990: 26). In this sense, constructing meaning is rooted in the interaction between the inquirer and the inquired. *Methodologically*, constructivism identifies and brings the variety of existing constructions into as much consensus as possible. The process has two aspects: *hermeneutics* and *dialectics*. Individual constructions of the social world are elicited and refined hermeneutically and are compared dialectically to generate one (or a few) constructions on which there is consensus. In other words, Constructivism thus intends “neither to predict and control the *real* world nor to transform it but to *reconstruct* the *world* at the only point at which it exists: in the minds of constructors” (Guba, 1990: 27).

In practice, constructivist inquirers develop open-ended questions to glean rich participant responses. Research questions are tentative and often not framed regarding hypotheses (looking for cause and effect). The research goal is theory generation by inductively developing a pattern of meaning. However, researchers are still interested in deductive reasoning (testing theory and ideas). Researchers often move back and forth in the research steps as if doing a dynamic dance routine (Cresswell, 2007; Hesse-Biber, 2015). Given the precarious conditions of the participants in this study, I started the data collection before refining my research questions. Although this was an opportunistic approach, it helped me streamline the literature review and theoretical framework (Patton, 2015; Rapley, 2014). I applied deductive reasoning during the analysis, utilising the themes and concepts from the literature review and theoretical framework as a guideline for my interpretation of the data.

Additionally, researchers recognise that their personal, cultural and historical beliefs shape their interpretation. Thus, researchers position themselves in the research to make sense of the meanings others have about the world (Cresswell, 2007: 21). The threefold organisation of constructivism: *ontology*, *epistemology* and *methodology*, along with the researcher's acknowledged positionality, rescues constructivism from mere relativism to a more reflexive approach of generating meaning from the data. My journal entries illuminate the required reflexivity and positionality in constructivist inquiry:

19/05/2021

Empathy

I met with San Juan today and, for some reason, could not control my emotions. I struggled to comprehend why he was so kind to me when his circumstances were so harsh. He always goes the extra mile to ensure I get the best content for this project. My heart aches whenever I think of the prospect of him dying in his pursuit of freedom. He is one of the most intelligent people I have ever met; I still cannot comprehend why he has chosen this life. What is he running from? Or, put differently, what is he chasing? My pain is rooted in the thought that he - and other people in his community - may die at sea.

25/05/2021

I still cannot comprehend that the people I am interviewing can hop on a ship anytime. San Juan always reminds me that [the] 'ship is not a taxi'. I fear that the people I have come to know and grow fond of could die at any moment, but I feel a sense of comfort knowing that they are prepared to die if it is Allah's will. Perhaps the unknown brings greater optimism than their sordid reality.

12/06/2021

The buses

On Thursday, 10 June 2021, I visited some transient community members at the buses near the market in central Durban. I must admit that the experience was quite daunting but non-threatening. I met with San Juan, who accompanied me through the bustling streets and marketplace during the midday rush to meet members of his community. I am met with excitement as we approach the space near the buses. I was treated like royalty; they made me sit on the best chair – a broken plastic seat on a tin can. While sitting with the guys, I witnessed Canada [a member of the transient community] selling small helpings of a clear alcoholic beverage. He explained that he sells each helping for five rands and says he makes up to seventy rands a day in profit, just enough to buy food and airtime.

Canada also told me about all his struggles: he was kicked out of the house he shared with his 'wife'. He soothes his pain by drinking alcohol, explaining that he will lose hope if he is too sober. The men are homeless; it is the middle of winter, and they have not bathed in days. At one point, they did not eat

for two days. One can only imagine the resilience of this community for the word hope to exist in their vocabulary.

This visit was about establishing trust and balancing the power dynamics. I witnessed a strong sense of community among the transients. I learned that immersion is a critical part of understanding the transient community.

Power

Power relations are often explained as a one-way flow in the research process: the researcher is often characterised as having all the power over the research participants. However, I have learned that power exists on multiple levels. I need access to a guarded community with stringent rules against sharing information with outsiders and thus enter the field in a disempowered position. Although I have relative power as a middle-class, educated South African citizen, I am accountable to the rules and regulations of the transient community. I am fortunate to have a community member helping me gain access to participants and information, but his assistance is conditional. I sometimes provide resources: food, airtime, and donations, which have given me social capital. Through this, I have realised that power is a two-way process. Sometimes, I must relinquish my power to maximise my social capital in the transient community. Other times, I manage to capitalise on openings. In this context, both parties exercise elements of power to advance their objectives, even if it means buying vegetables for a week or cigarettes for a day.

22/08/2021

Gender

Gender plays a significant role in this project. My gendered identity is always present in my interactions with the community. I have used it to gain access to the community through displays of empathy and compassion. However, one cannot ignore the role of patriarchy in Africa; the research participants and I are products of this society. Although I entered this study in an empowered position as a middle-class, educated South African, my age (28 years) and gender occasionally disempower me. I sometimes feel concerned because trust is earned by developing relationships, which potentially causes unhealthy dependencies, especially when working with vulnerable participants.

The phenomenological orientation of the study lends itself to understanding human experiences. However, describing the essence of a phenomenon requires that the qualitative researcher reflect on how their lived experience influences the interpretation of the participants' experiences. Cresswell and Poth explained the significance of researcher reflexivity, noting that researchers *position themselves* in qualitative research. This means that researchers convey their background and how it informs their interpretation of the information in a study. This involves reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges" (Cresswell and Poth, 2018: 44). The journal entries provide insight into how I processed my interactions with the

participants. It also reveals the changing power dynamics at different stages to gain access to the Tanzanian stowaway community.

Sampling and Recruitment Strategy

Qualitative inquiry generally focuses in depth on relatively small samples selected for a specific purpose, referred to as *purposeful sampling*. Michael Patton stated, “The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting *information-rich* cases for in-depth study. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry” (2015: 401). The meaningfulness and insights generated from phenomenological inquiry prioritise information richness and analytical capabilities of the researcher(s) over the sample size (Patton, 2015: 473).

Sampling Strategy

Patton (2015) elaborated on different purposeful sampling strategies for qualitative inquiry that align with the research questions, objectives and design. Table 4.1 demonstrates the purposeful sampling strategies adopted in this study.

Purposeful Sampling Strategies	Purpose: Definition/Explanation	Relevance to the Study
Homogenous/Criterion Sampling	Participants have shared characteristics relevant to the research question(s).	I was principally interested in a specific subpopulation of Tanzanian migrants identified as seamen, stowaways or transit migrants.
Key Informants, Key Knowledgeable, and Reputational Sampling	Identify people with knowledge and influence (by reputation) who can illuminate the inquiry issues.	San Juan and Aziz.
Snowball or Chain Sampling	Start with one or a few relevant and information-rich interviewees and then ask them for additional relevant contacts who can provide confirming or differing perspectives. Create a chain of interviewees based on people who know people who could be good sources for the inquiry.	The target population was a clandestine community, requiring referral chains from key informants.
Saturation or redundancy sampling	Analysing patterns as the fieldwork proceeds and adding to the sample until nothing new is learned.	I spent six months with the first set of respondents (Flow Chart A) and transcribed the interviews to identify the emergent themes. I also identified gaps in the data.

Purposeful Sampling Strategies	Purpose: Definition/Explanation	Relevance to the Study
		After 12 interviews with the Tanzanian 'stowaway' community and people associated with them, I started seeing the same themes emerging with each new interviewee.

Table 4.1: Purposeful Sampling Strategies adapted from Patton (2015: 404 – 410)

This study was principally concerned with understanding and describing the social, material and (im)mobile experiences of a Tanzanian immigrant population living in Durban (Bevan, 2014). This is an under-researched population, with existing literature on irregular transit migration prioritising mobilities from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe through the Maghreb region (Collyer, 2007; Berriane, 2020). Moreover, studies on migration in Southern Africa tend to characterise South Africa as a destination (see Muanamoha et al., 2010; McAuliffe and Mence, 2017; IOM, 2023). Additionally, reports on irregular migration in the region generally fail to document the experiences of such migrants in South Africa (Geldenhuys, 2018; IOM, 2023).

This influenced the decision to utilise criterion sampling, as I was interested in a specific community (see Chapter One). Criterion sampling aims to include instances in the sample that match a predefined profile. The inclusion criteria for the sample were Tanzanian nationals who identified as seamen, stowaways, transit migrants, and people knowledgeable about the community. The target population comprised men ranging from young boys to mature adults living in various locations in Durban, including Point and Dalton Roads, the Warwick Triangle bus terminal and the area under a bridge near Maydon Wharf and the M4 southern freeway offramp. Women were excluded from the sample because female stowaways are 'very rare' and would need to be 'pure ghetto to survive in the community' (Christie, 2016). Furthermore, the Durban community prides itself on being exclusively male.

Recruitment Strategy

I recognised that accessing this population would be difficult given their precarious conditions (homelessness, illegal and/or undocumented migrants, and language barriers). This required flexibility with my sample choice, including interviewing people no longer actively involved in the community. According to Jean Faugier and Mary Sargeant, the more sensitive or threatening the phenomenon under study, the greater the potential for respondents to hide their involvement (1997: 791). Given the clandestine nature of the sampled community, I elected to use pseudonyms to protect the participants' identities (Beitin, 2012; Patton, 2015; Cresswell and Poth, 2018).

Moreover, I relied on referral chains (or *snowball sampling*) to access my target population. Snowball sampling is arguably the most effective sampling strategy to access hidden populations, as it facilitates referral chains. It is a social activity where the target sample belongs to a network of people with shared characteristics. Developing a rapport with a deviant or hidden population is equally essential. As mentioned in the journal entry on power, this includes exchanges of resources, establishing trust – even if it is doing so intuitively – and balancing power relations (Faugier and Sergeant, 1997; Patton, 2015).

In line with the scholarship on sampling hidden populations, I visited the Denis Hurley Centre (DHC), where I established a relationship with Jean-Marie (building manager) and Ruth Birtwhistle (clinic coordinator). They also agreed to let me use the venue for the project's data collection phase. The DHC was built to honour the late Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, serving Durban's poorest and most marginalised residents through care, education, and community initiatives. People at the centre are familiar with the Tanzanian stowaway community, as the latter often access the centre for medical assistance. The DHC also runs a mobile clinic providing healthcare services to mainly homeless people along Point Road, around Addington Hospital, Mansel Road and Greyville Racecourse. The focus is on people living around the Dalton Beer Hall at the corner of Sydney and Dalton Roads. The target population also frequents these areas (Denis Hurley Centre, 2012).

Jean-Marie and Ruth connected me with *Mook Lion* and *Marlon Oppenheim*, who have a relationship with members of the Tanzanian stowaway community from a previous project (see Chapman, 2019).⁵ Mook Lion linked me with his brother, *Samora Chapman* – a freelance writer, photographer and visual artist who has previously documented the clandestine stowaway community.⁶ Samora introduced me to part of the community residing under a bridge near Maydon Wharf and the M4 southern freeway offramp to the Central Business District (CBD) in Durban. During this encounter, I met *San Juan* (a self-described seaman stowaway), who offered to assist in gaining access to community members. He introduced me to *Chidi* – a 26-year-old Tanzanian stowaway living on Point Road near the harbour. He also introduced me to a Ghanaian stowaway, *Korea* – a mature man with experience attempting to leave Africa on ships. Although Korea is from Ghana, he cemented himself in the Tanzanian community, choosing to participate in their social and material practices. San Juan and Korea slept (at the time of data collection) at the Warwick Triangle bus terminals with other Tanzanian nationals. They introduced me to *Canada*, another member of their community. *Canada* is a

⁵ Chapman, D. (2019) Street Art and Mural Art as Visual Activism in Durban: 2014 – 2017. Master of Technology in Fine Art Dissertation. Durban University of Technology. <https://openscholar.dut.ac.za/cris/rp/rp03378> (Accessed: 18 June 2023).

⁶ Chapman, S. (2018) Footnotes in the City. *Samora Chapman WordPress*. 25 May. <https://samorachapman.com/>

senior member of the Tanzanian stowaway community. He also tried accessing ships to escape Africa but stopped after hurting his leg. He has since settled in Durban, sometimes living among his friends at the bus terminal and in his on-and-off-again girlfriend's apartment (see Figure 4.1. Recruitment Flow Chart A).

Figure 4.2. demonstrates how I accessed people who were knowledgeable about the target population. Aziz is a local barber in Durban who previously lived with the Tanzanian stowaway community and tried accessing ships for work opportunities. Although he no longer lives with the community, he has insight into their material and social practices. Like San Juan, Aziz connected me with individuals associated with the community. *John and Mohammed* are young men between 20 and 25 years old who previously tried accessing ships in Cape Town and Durban for work opportunities. Aziz also introduced me to *More Fire* - a mature man who previously desired to stow away but has since decided to focus on establishing himself in Durban. More Fire introduced me to *Erick* – a Tanzanian national residing in South Africa with an expired travel document. He also previously tried to stow away but was planning on getting a passport to stay in South Africa permanently. Finally, I met *Perfect Junior* through More Fire, who shared his social media information with me. Perfect Junior is a qualified Tanzanian seaman working on large overseas vessels (see Figure 4.2. Recruitment Flow Chart B).

Sample Size in Qualitative Inquiry

There is no uniform approach to determining sample size in qualitative research. The lack of guidance poses challenges for researchers planning qualitative studies. However, the standard position on qualitative sampling is that the size depends on the scope of the study and the research design (Mason, 2010; Guetterman, 2015; Cresswell and Poth, 2018). According to Mark Mason (2010), qualitative samples should be large enough to address the topic under investigation comprehensively. At the same time, if a sample is too large, the data becomes repetitive and, eventually, superfluous. Tim Guetterman encouraged keeping the sample small, noting that bloated samples cause three challenges: "First, as data tend to become repetitive, the qualitative analysis will lose depth. Second, the study will consume more resources than needed. Finally, I question the ethical implications of burdening more research participants than we actually need as researchers" (2015: 5.1). This position was echoed by Shari Dworkin (2012), who stressed the importance of garnering an in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or the heterogeneities of meaning.

Another dominant position on qualitative sampling is reaching data saturation (Mason, 2010; Gill, 2020). Data saturation occurs when no new information is obtained from the data (Gill, 2020). However, some researchers have criticised saturation as a generic quality marker, arguing that researchers tend to gloss over how saturation was determined (O'Reilly and

Parker, 2012). Kirsti Malterud, Volkert Dirk Siersma, and Ann Dorrit Guassora (2016: 1754) offered a progressive perspective on saturation, advocating for the concept of *Information Power*. This concept relies on the researcher's internal validity and information redundancy, relying on five items: (1) study aim, (2) sample specificity, (3) use of established theory, (4) quality of dialogue and (5) analysis strategy. In this regard, "sample adequacy, data quality, and variability of relevant events are often more important than the number of participants" (Malterud et al., 2016: 1759).

The sample size was motivated by the five items outlined in the concept of *Information Power* (Malterud et al., 2016). Gill et al. noted, "Studies with a broad scope require more participants; clear topics require fewer participants" (2020: 580). I sampled 12 people for this project (see Figures 4.1. and 4.2). This number agrees with the literature on phenomenological research in which sample sizes range from 1 to 325 participants (Cresswell and Poth, 2018). My research scope was specific, and the target population was a specific community – Tanzanian [stowaway] migrants living in Durban. *This project aimed not to prove an existing theory or quantify a phenomenon but to understand how the target population understand and experiences the phenomenon of place through their mobile and immobile journeys and their social and material practices.* Finally, and most significantly, I established a relationship with different community members, as people are unlikely to divulge sensitive information from a single encounter. This included visiting the research participants at the Warwick Triangle bus terminal and donating food parcels for the safe house. These actions helped me develop a rapport with the community, facilitating a foundation of trust for effective dialogue.

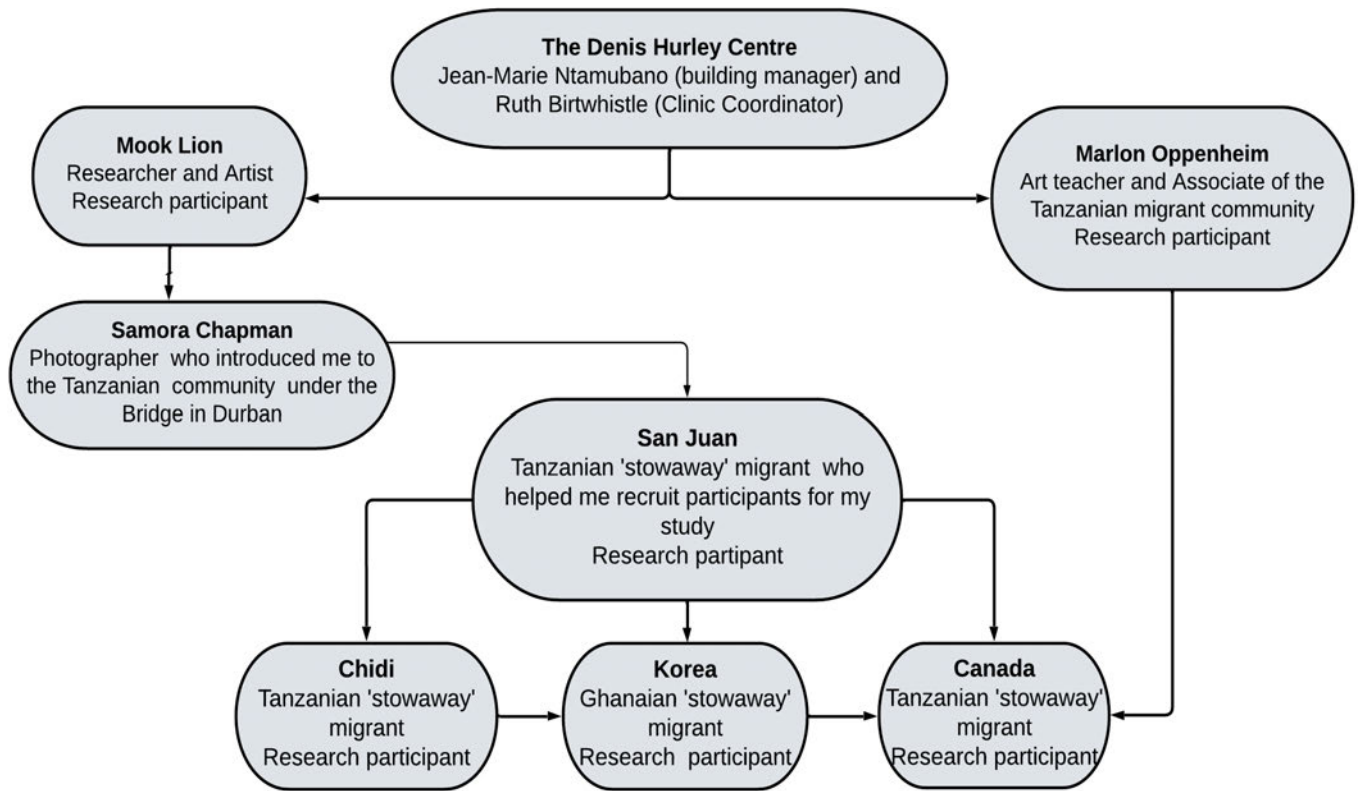


Figure 4.1: Recruitment Flow Chart A

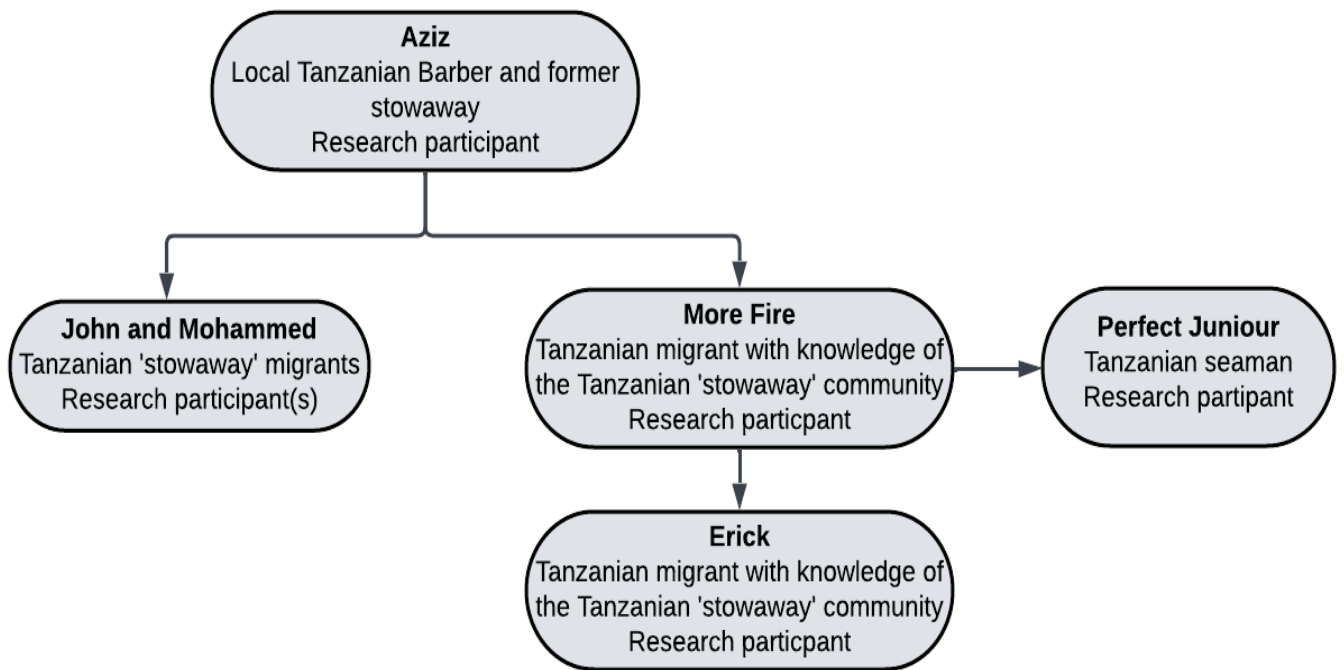


Figure 4.2: Recruitment Flow Chart B

Data Collection

Qualitative Interviews

Researchers interested in conducting qualitative interviews attempt to understand the lived experience from the subjects' point of view to unfold deeper meanings of a phenomenon (Creswell and Poth, 2018; Roulston and Choi, 2018). Accordingly, interviewers rely on an open-ended and in-depth style to gain a deep understanding of the research topic. According to John M. Johnson Timothy Rowlands (2012: 99), "A researcher who uses in-depth interviews seeks 'deep' information and knowledge about personal matters, such as an individual's self, lived experience, values, decisions, cultural understanding or perspective". Phenomenological interviews aim to generate a detailed description of the participant's experiences with the phenomenon in question (Schreier, 2018: 95). The critical point is to describe the meaning of the phenomenon for a small number of individuals who have experienced it (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 161).

Identifying interview participants and the types of interview questions is contingent upon the study's purpose and the research questions guiding the study (Creswell and Poth, 2018). I was principally interested in how the interviewed participants understood and experienced Durban as a place through their mobile and immobile journeys and their social and material practices. In attempting to understand the target population's experiences, it was equally essential to reflect on how my various social identities -- a middle-class, educated, *Coloured* female South African – shape and influence my worldview.

Jaber Gabbriumi and James Holstein advocated this perspective, writing: "Treating interviewing as a social encounter in which knowledge is actively formed and shaped implies that the interview is not so much a neutral conduit or source of distortion as an occasion of constructing accounts" (2012: 32). Correspondingly, Hanna Herzog asserted that "Participants in the interview – the interviewer and the interviewee – become practitioners of the everyday life [...] and the interview is part of the practices of constructing a reality anchored in the social, structural, historical, cultural and circumstantial contexts in which it exists" (2012: 208). This view acknowledges the interviewer as an active subject in constructing the research narrative.

Although this study was not autoethnographic, I reflected on each interview by diarising my thoughts to understand my feelings throughout the process. This complements Gabbriumi and Holstein's sentiment that "[t]he interview process and the interview society are reflexively related, the process giving discursive shape to the social form and the social form prompting us to present who and what we are writ large in its terms" (2012: 30). An example of the discursive shape of the social form of the interview process is evident in my reflections on empathy, power, gender and ethics in earlier sections of this chapter.

Equally imperative in in-depth interviewing is establishing an interpersonal relationship with the participants. The interviewer should create an open climate for the respondent to feel comfortable sharing 'deep' information and knowledge on personal matters concerning "an individual's self, lived experience, values and decisions, occupational ideology, cultural knowledge, or perspective" (Johnson and Rowlands, 2012: 100). My reflections in the research design and paradigm provide the context of how I established trust and a rapport with the participants in this study. I relied on informal conversations, observing and interacting with participants in their natural environment and an ongoing relationship to access a deeper understanding of their lived experience.

It was also beneficial to have *San Juan*, an active community member with an excellent command of the English language, offering critical insight into the Tanzanian stowaway migrants in Durban. He also helped me to make sense of what the interviewees were saying when there were language barriers. According to John Johnson and Timothy Rowlands, "[t]he best informants are those who have been thoroughly enculturated in the setting of the community, have recent membership participation, have some provisional interest in assisting the interviewer, and have adequate time and resources to take part in the interviews" (2012: 105). *San Juan* introduced me to members of his clandestine community. This helped me build intimacy and mutual respect for the interviewees.

Interview Protocol

Cresswell and Poth (2018: 165-6) provided a summary of the procedures for preparing and conducting, which guided the interview protocol for this study (see Figure 4.3).

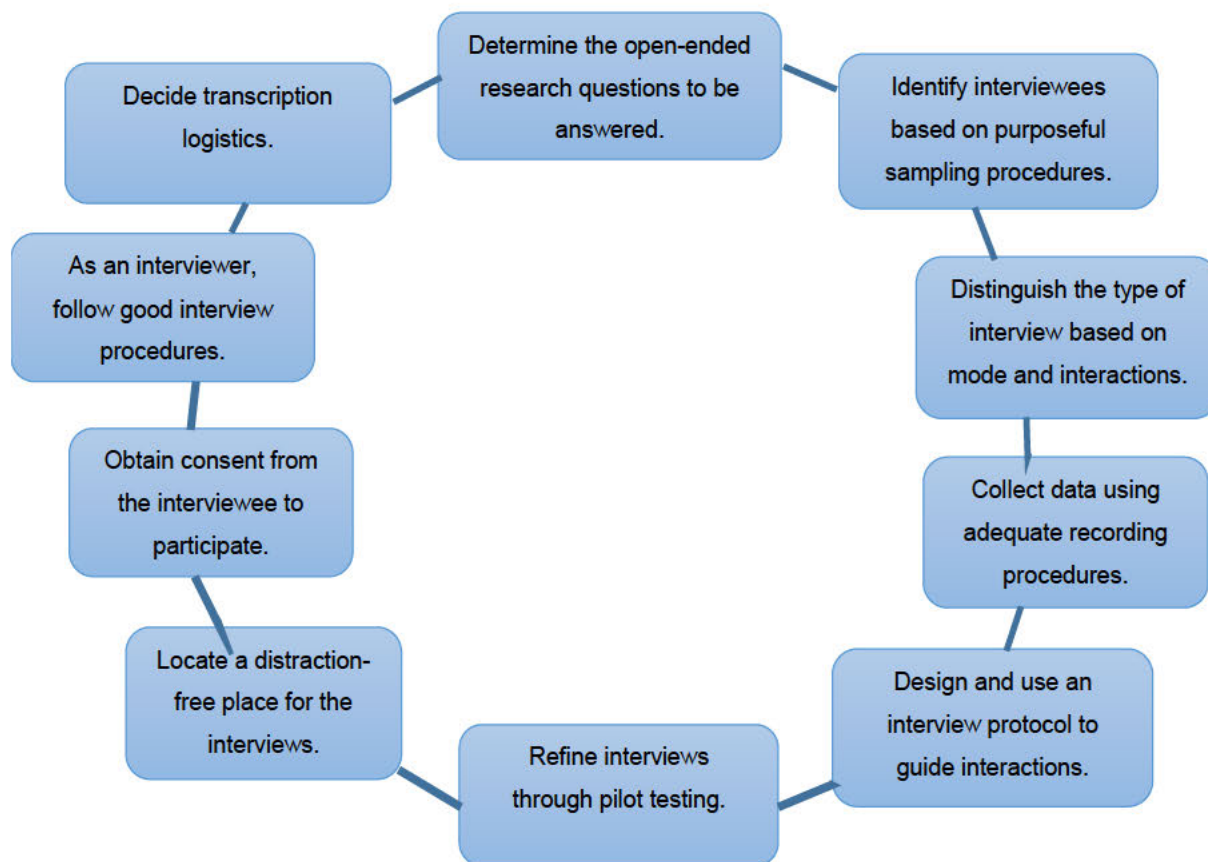


Figure 4.3: Procedure for Preparing and Conducting Interviews adapted from Cresswell and Poth (2018: 165)

As discussed earlier, in-depth interviews incorporate open-ended and more theoretically driven questions to elicit the participants' experiences for a greater understanding of the central phenomenon (Galletta, 2013: 45). Additionally, in-depth interviews require clarity on the broader research questions and objectives (Johnson and Timothy, 2012: 102). My interest in this study was initially piqued by the graffiti on the public walls in the Durban Central Business District (CBD). Samora Chapman and Marlon Oppenheim provided critical insight into the target population and revealed that the graffiti formed a small part of a broader community dynamic amongst the Tanzanian migrants. Marlon Oppenheim encouraged me to read a book by Sean Christie (2016) titled *Under Nelson Mandela Boulevard: Life Among the Stowaways*. Christie provided a detailed ethnography of the Tanzanian stowaway subculture in Cape Town. My initial meetings with Samora and Marlon, along with Christie's book, shaped the trajectory of this study. These early encounters align with Cresswell and Poth's (2018: 165-6) suggestion to refine the interview procedures through pilot testing. It also helped me to design the interview schedule that guided my interactions with interviewees.

Although each interview provided rich details on the unique experiences of the interviewees, I carefully and deliberately steered the focus of the questions towards the research topic.

Gellatta stated, “The objective is to guide a participant in conveying an account of an experience as it relates to the topic under study” (2013: 47). This required an understanding of existing scholarship beyond the scope of the study while remaining open to new insights gleaned from interviewees. I was principally interested in three areas: (1.) how the participants experienced Durban as a place through their involvement in the Tanzanian stowaway community, (2.) the participants’ mobile and immobile experiences and (3.) insider-outsider accounts; people who have/had a relationship with the Tanzanian stowaway community in Durban.

The interview guides (see Appendix Three) had open-ended questions, which made it possible to add questions that arose during the interview. However, I also had to remain cognisant of the topic's sensitivity. This is why the researcher needs to start the interview with questions that are easier to answer, providing an enabling context for the participants to answer more critical and complex questions (Gill et al., 2008). I also recognise that while existing literature (Gill *et al.*, 2008; Gabrium and Holstein, 2012; Gellatta, 2013) promotes a coherent structure, each interview inevitably followed a path, tone and trajectory outside the recommended sequence for varying reasons (Johnson and Timothy, 2012: 106).

In line with Cresswell and Poth’s (2018: 165-6) procedure for preparing and conducting interviews, I held eight face-to-face, one-on-one (in some cases, two participants) interviews in a private room at the Denis Hurley Centre. I conducted three one-on-one interviews on Zoom with people who were not in Durban but had previously engaged with the community. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. I also held follow-up interviews to clarify specific themes broached during the interviews. I obtained written consent for all these interviews (see Appendix Two). Each interview was audio recorded and manually transcribed as part of the data collection and analysis process. Due to the topic's sensitive nature, most participants used pseudonyms to protect their anonymity, and I elected to transcribe each interview to preserve the interviewees’ anonymity (Johnson and Timothy, 2012: 109).

In addition to the one-on-one semi-structured interviews, some participants provided photographs of the clandestine places they frequented to add context to their interview responses. The photographs were mostly rough and obscured due to the secretive nature of the community and the opportunistic attempt(s) to capture a passing moment (Nyman, 2020: 172). They functioned as what Marieke de Goede (2020: 272) called ‘secrecy vignettes’ that made visible what remains typically hidden in research. These vignettes created a ‘reflexivity of discomfort’ as they created tension in giving secrecy a place in academic writing while elucidating the broader phenomenon of undocumented clandestine transnational migrant communities occupying heterotopic sites. Mostly, these vignettes reveal how secrecy is

encountered as a practice and a process rather than a barrier to overcome. Like de Goede (2021: 279), I experienced secrecy as “layered, requiring repeated investments, meetings and dialogues, and multiple iterations of the research questions and objectives. Many of these encounters did not easily match the formal methodological rules of access and ethics protocols established in the literature”. As such, the data collection method created an embodied framework for me to navigate my place as an outsider entering the clandestine world of the research participants.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is about telling *stories* and is the central step in qualitative research (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 7; Flick, 2014). Given the centrality of the data, qualitative researchers must describe the various approaches and challenges encountered (Flick, 2014). Although qualitative researchers often equate qualitative data analysis with approaches for analysing text and image data, it involves a more comprehensive undertaking of organising the data, data familiarisation, coding and organising themes, representing the data, and forming an interpretation of them (Creswell and Poth, 2018: 181). The final analysis is a product of deep and prolonged data immersion, thoughtfulness and reflection. Uwe Flick provided a general definition of qualitative data analysis that guided the analysis of this study:

Qualitative data analysis is the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimensions and structures of meaning-making in the material and what is represented in it. Meaning-making can refer to subjective or social meanings. Qualitative data analysis is also applied to discover and describe issues in the field or structures and processes in routines and practices. Often, qualitative data analysis combines a rough analysis of the material (overviews, condensation, summaries) with a detailed analysis (elaboration of categories, hermeneutic interpretations or identified structures). The final aim is often to arrive at generalisable statements by comparing various materials or various texts or several cases (2014: 5).

Interpretation helps researchers make sense of the data and seeks to answer the question, “What does this mean?” (Willig, 2014: 137). Carla Willig identified two different interpretive positions in qualitative research – *suspicious interpretation* and *empathetic interpretation*. *Suspicious interpretations* are theory-driven and attempt to extract the investigated phenomenon’s deeper meaning informed by a given set of concepts with which to interrogate the text (Willig, 2014: 138). This approach is broadly deductive. *Empathetic interpretations*

require the researcher to enter and understand the phenomenon from within. The researcher refrains (as much as possible) from importing ideas from the outside. The aim is to amplify meaning rather than to explain what something is about. It seeks to generate a shared understanding by helping the interpreter enter the interviewee's world to notice aspects of the experience they had not noticed before (Willig, 2014: 139). This approach is largely inductive. An *inductive* approach draws inferences from the data from the participants' experiences (meaning that our analytic lens does not override the stories our participants tell us). A *deductive* approach draws on the theoretical lens guiding the study (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 60).

Ricoeur (cited in Willig, 2014: 139) acknowledged that while the two approaches to interpretation produce different kinds of knowledge, combining the two is required to generate satisfactory insight. Willig noted that "[p]rior knowledge and what we bring to the interpretive event play an important role in making sense of something. Indeed, it could be argued that the interpretation can tell us more about the interpreter than it does about the material that has been interpreted" (2014: 140). Thus, combining theory-driven and data-driven interpretation makes understanding possible (Ricoeur cited in Willig, 2014: 140).

In phenomenological research, the participant's account is the privileged source for data interpretation. However, I adopted a dialectical approach as my interpretation of the findings utilised a data-driven (or *empathetic/ inductive*) and a theory-driven (or *suspicious/ deductive*) approach (Braun and Clarke, 2013; Willig, 2014).

Reflexive Thematic Analysis

I used Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) to systematically identify, organise and interpret patterns from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013, 2019). The analytic approach allows the researcher to make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 57). The main idea underpinning RTA is the researcher's awareness of the philosophical and theoretical assumptions informing their analytic process. Proponents of RTA are discouraged from attempting to provide 'accurate' or 'reliable' accounts of coding or reaching consensus among multiple coders, aligning with this study's research design and paradigm.

Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2019) encourage researchers to embrace reflexivity, subjectivity and creativity as assets in knowledge production. The more familiar researchers become with the data, the more they can interpret new patterns of meaning (Bryne, 2022: 1393). The analytic process thus requires a reflective and thoughtful engagement with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2019: 14). This corresponds with the dialectic of suspicious and

empathetic interpretation in that the phenomena we engage with become meaningful in response to people, situations and events. Therefore, interpreting the interview process requires an awareness of the dialogical interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee and the social discourses that frame their experiences (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2018: 1005-8).

How Did I do RTA?

Braun and Clarke (2019) proposed a six-phase process to facilitate the analysis. Although the six phases - (1.) *familiarisation with the data*, (2.) *generating initial codes*, (3.) *generating themes*, (4.) *reviewing potential themes*, (5.) *defining and naming the themes*, and (6.) *producing the report* - appear as a logical sequence, the analysis is a reiterative process moving back and forth between phases. This time-consuming process can lead to new interpretations of the data, resulting in a reiteration of earlier phases (Bryne, 2022: 1398). Braun and Clarke (2013; 2020) suggested that the six-phase process should be seen as a set of guidelines that can be applied flexibly to fit the data and research questions.

Phase One: Familiarisation with the Data

The familiarisation phase involves immersing yourself in the data reading, re-reading textual data and listening to audio recordings. This phase is observational and casual rather than systematic. Manual data transcription is valuable in this phase to facilitate a deeper understanding of the data. Data should be transcribed *orthographically*, documenting the spoken and other utterances of the interviewee and the interviewee in audio and audiovisual data (Braun and Clarke, 2013: n/p). Anything of interest is typically written down as a stream of consciousness – a messy ‘rush of ideas’. These initial findings often reflect what the researcher brings to the data but can also limit what the researcher sees. It is thus essential to note that this is not a passive process and requires an active, analytical and critical reading of the data. This is also the phase when the researcher begins selecting and organising the data into data-driven *semantic* codes – participant-generated data – or researcher-driven *theoretical* codes - the implicit meanings in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This phase is generally time-consuming and requires a degree of patience. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) stressed the importance of affording equal attention across the dataset to avoid the temptation of being selective (Bryne, 2022: 1398).

This was the most overwhelming phase because there was so much information to digest. However, it is essential to remember that the data is not the analysis (Trainor and Bundon, 2019). Instead, the analysis is an active process comprising a combination of the philosophical and theoretical ideas underpinning the study, the researcher’s positionality and the

interactions between the researcher and the research participants. This observation corresponds with Braun and Clarke (2019: 14), who noted that “*Quality* [in] reflexive TA is not about following procedures ‘correctly’ (or about ‘accurate’ and ‘reliable’ coding, or achieving consensus between coders), but about the researcher’s reflective and thoughtful engagement with their data and their reflexive and thoughtful engagement with the analytic process”.

In line with the points above, I manually transcribed each interview during this phase to familiarise myself with the dataset. This involved listening attentively to the audio from each interview and *orthographically* transcribing (to the best of my ability) the information (see Image 4.1.). I read each transcript numerous times after transcribing the data from the interviews. At this stage, I noted casual observations and initial trends in the data. I also examined corresponding reflexive diary entries after each interview to provide context and make additional notes (Trainor and Bundon, 2020: 8).

Interview Transcript

'San Juan' – Interview 1

Dennis Hurley Centre - 05/05/2021

The transcription is for the most part verbatim. However, alterations have been made to maintain the flow of the sentence. It must be noted that these alterations in no way alter the meaning of the interview. (Transcription Quality - Poland, 1995)

Shannon Landers (SL): San Juan you were talking about seaman and what seaman means. Please may you explain that?

San Juan (SJ): Seaman is someone with problems who needs help. When you need help, the sea has the power to decide your fate. It means that other people cannot decide. They have to save you and put you on [sic] the community. Therefore, whatever you have to do is on you and your fate. If you need to be in the sea then the sea will need to be you. Therefore, if you try then maybe the sea will help you. Therefore, seaman... |

SL: ... (interrupts SJ) Is it like a power, an entity, a power source?

SJ: Yeah, that's it. It's a power source.

SL: Ok. San Juan, you said that art under the M4 bridge, right? Uhm, you say that not all of it depicts the seamen community. Uhm, can you just explain the art that does; and obviously as we go further you will enlighten me on this artwork, when we look at it and examine it. Uhm, do you know when it started?

SJ: Uhm, [chuckles]. This thing started long time ago, maybe before I was born. Other people before were gone. Long time. Everyone you ask, they met some people, you see. And you know what, people are not staying down there. People are having their works, staying big houses, but when things go awry, they go talk to the seamen; and the sea drives them away from their problems. |

SL: Okay. So, you say it started long ago. Uhm, do you know like any dates, or would you say it is in the 1990s?

Shannon_Landers
Terminology associated with the community
A seaman is someone with problems who needs help.
The sea has the power to decide your fate.

Shannon_Landers
Transient community
People go to the seamen when they have problems,
because the sea drives you away from your problems.

Image 4.1: Interview Transcript

Reflecting on [redacted] interview - 24.02.2022

[redacted] was fun to chat with. Although he does not have in-depth knowledge of the community, I appreciated his willingness to participate in my research. His one-sided questions honestly and confirmed many of the ideas (but from other interviews) I've enjoyed chatting with outside-insiders because they take away the blinkers that I have developed. Chatting with Mookie made me appreciate building trust with disenfranchised communities. I learnt from their collaborative approach that trust is about reciprocity.

I found the point about painting as a form of therapy quite interesting. I also appreciated his honesty in saying that for some people, the painting wasn't particularly interesting. I also thought about the smoke that damaged the mural. Does this imply a lack of interest in the artwork?

Mookie's details of the community was quite rich. I had no idea about the bedding and cleansing of rice. I learn new aspects of this community everytime I chat to someone.

Image 4.2: Reflective Journal Entry

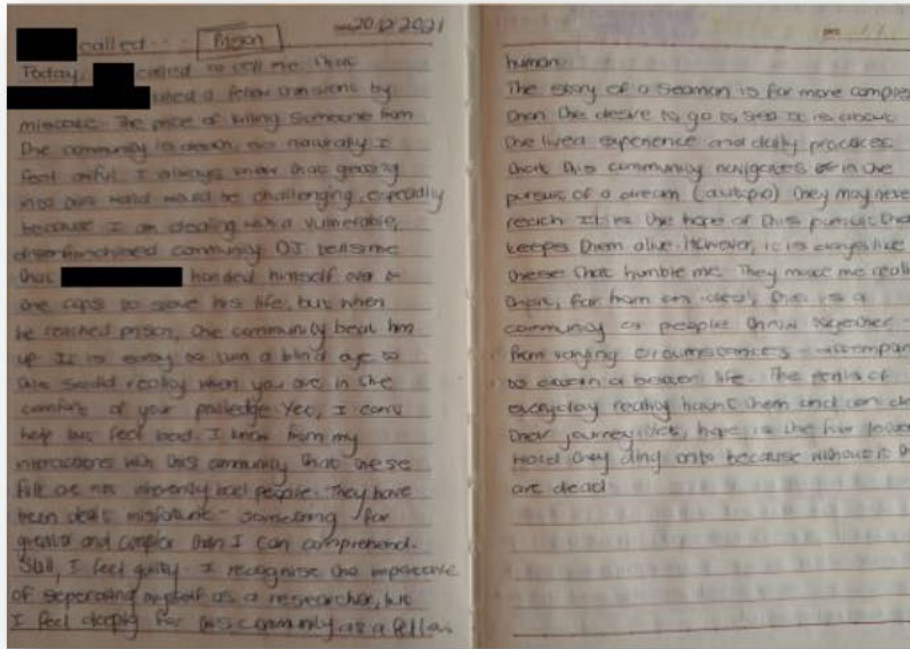


Image 4.3: Reflective Journal Entry

Phase Two: Generating Initial Codes

This phase begins the systematic analysis, where the researcher identifies aspects of data items that may be interesting and informative in developing themes (Braun and Clarke, 2012: 61; Bryne, 2022: 1399). Coding aims to produce *descriptive* or *interpretative* meaning labels from the data that might be relevant to the research questions (Bryne, 2022: 1399). Coding can be done at the *semantic* (descriptive) or *latent* (interpretive) level of meaning. Semantic codes summarise or describe the data, and the codes typically reflect the content of the data and the participants' meanings. Semantic coding corresponds with other data-driven analysis methods like *inductive* and *empathetic* analysis. Latent codes identify meanings beyond the surface and correspond with theory-driven methods like *deductive* and *suspicious* analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2012: 61; Braun and Clarke, 2013; Willig, 2014). However, codes will almost always be a mix of descriptive and interpretive (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

In line with previous studies utilising RTA (Trainor and Bundon, 2020; Bryne, 2022), coding in this study was both theory-driven (deductive) and data-driven (inductive). I tabulated the information that stood out from the transcripts based on the initial trends and patterns I

observed in the previous phase. This information formed the basis of the semantic codes, as they described and summarised the data. Following this, I identified further patterns and meanings based on the literature and theory guiding the study. I subsequently created a coding memo for each research question. The coding memo (see Image 4.4 – 4.8) consisted of an *empirical* indicator column comprising excerpts from the transcripts derived from the emergent patterns in the semantic coding memo. The second column, labelled *anchor code*, aligned the focus of the code with the relevant research question(s). The final column is a latent *code* providing an interpretation of the empirical information concerning the theoretical and philosophical orientation of the study and my personal reflections. I constantly reviewed the transcripts and refined the coding memos until I felt confident. I grasped the data well and was satisfied with similar codes identified across multiple transcripts. Again, this is a reiterative process, and a researcher rarely follows a linear path through the six phases. Throughout the process, the themes changed along with the organisation of the research questions, adding to the fluidity of RTA (Trainor and Bundon, 2020; Bryne, 2022: 1400).

Reflexive Thematic Analysis
Data Coding – First Round

General Notes	
Semantic codes	Interviewee
The graffiti/ artwork is in public spaces	San Juan (interview 1)
The seamen/stowaways are organised and have a community network	San Juan (interview 1)
Writing graffiti for people to know you	San Juan (interview 1)
The graffiti/artwork/scrawling are symbols	San Juan (interview 1)
The graffiti is about hope, remembrance and pride in the community	San Juan (interview 1)
Some people think the graffiti will make them stay in one place permanently	San Juan (interview 1)
There are many rules in the community	Chidi (interview 1)
The sea has power, and the dolphins will protect you in the ocean	Chidi (interview 1)
Rule number one: respect	Chidi (interview 1)
Rule number two: Don't cause trouble with the port officials because you will make it difficult for everyone	Chidi (interview 1)
God (Allah) watches everything you do – you must make <i>dua</i> (prayers)	Chidi (interview 1)
We built a safe house, and we draw on the walls of the safe house	Chidi (interview 1)
We are passing people	San Juan (interview 2)
There is a society of transients	San Juan (interview 2)
There is common respect between homeless transients and transients who are no longer homeless	San Juan (interview 2)
Islam is the dominant religion amongst transients, but you aren't forced into the religion. There are political reasons for this because Muslim Tanzanians are generally poorer and less educated	San Juan (interview 2)
Pray before you do anything	San Juan (interview 2)
Mosques are built everywhere	San Juan (interview 2)
Graffiti reminds people of community values, but it can also touch the lives of people who don't belong to the community. It keeps people's spirits up	San Juan (interview 2)
The most important value is respect	San Juan (interview 2)
The rules are like by-laws	San Juan (interview 2)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respect 2. Be helpful to the community 3. Help someone whenever they are sick 	San Juan (interview 2)

Image 4.4: Data-Coding Table – First Round

Coding Memo – Defining place

Question 1

How do the Tanzanian transients construct place in Durban?

a) How do they perceive and conceive place?

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: San Juan you were talking about seaman and what seaman means. Please may you explain that? SJ: Seaman is someone with problems who needs help. When you need help, the sea has the power to decide your fate. It means that other people cannot decide. They have to save you and put you on [sic] the community. Therefore, whatever you have to do is on you and your fate. If you need to be in the sea then the sea will need to be you. Therefore, if you try then maybe the sea will help you. Therefore, seaman... SL: ... (interrupts SJ) Is it like a power, an entity, a power source? SJ: Yeah, that's it. It's a power source.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 7 – 15 Defining place</p>	<p>Sea as a place</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Ok. San Juan, you said that art under the M4 bridge, right? Uhm, you say that not all of it depicts the seamen community. Uhm, can you just explain the art that does; and obviously as we go further you will enlighten me on this artwork, when we look at it and examine it. Uhm, do you know when it started? SJ: Uhm, [chuckles]. This thing started long time ago, maybe before I was born. Other people before were gone. Long time. Everyone you ask, they met some people, you see. And you know what, people are not staying down there. People are having their works, staying big houses, but when things go awry, they go talk to the seamen; and the sea drives them away from their problems.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 16 - 24 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, that's your community. Would you call a community that you've formed? SJ: Yeah. That's uh, I can say that's a community, of course; cause if someone dies, people sit down, together. They call each other everywhere, everywhere [Inaudible]. That a Tanzanian died or a seaman died. You have to do something. Whether to send back home or whether to bury.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 162 – 179 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>

Image 4.5: Coding Memo – Defining Place

Coding Memo – Social and Material practices

Question 1

1. How do the Tanzanian transients construct place in Durban?
 - b. What are their social and material practices?

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: And what does that mean to you? Like, why did you write those words and why in that particular location? SJ: Yes. I write those words in that particular location cause' the particular people who pass there. Some people have challenges, just like how we have challenges, but they can't explain their challenges, you see? But we try to explain our challenges by the way we explain ourselves; and not just explain, we have to face it because life is hard here, so our challenge is to get out of this life. Yeah. So, that's why. Somebody else - when he passes there - say these people sometimes write good things. Then they at least get something, hope. You, see? It's all about hope. Because we're giving anybody. You see there, not even only the foreigners. Even if you are local, wants to go away. People can just tell come and we gonna show you how to go. That's the culture. When new guy come, there must be some host to take of this guy and show him the town and show him the port.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 66 - 75 Research Question 1 b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Strangers building a social network</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: And so, in particular, if we can call it the stowaway art for now. Uhm, the stowaway art that we see under the M4 bridge. What is the purpose of that art? SJ: Uhm. First the purpose is. Depends on the writer first - the one who write it. The purpose is hope and remembrance. [Pauses] Cause' most. When you see either a name, or I can say like, not a name. You can call it a jingle - a punchline. You know, that punchline used to be for someone, but he is in France now. See it, what you doing here? You just catching the [Inaudible]. You gonna read this punchline and tell other people: "this punchline, [chuckles] the one he wrote, is in Germany". You, see? It's hope and remembrance. And some people are dead, you see. Some people are back home with large houses and some people are cruising [mimicking someone's reaction] - "you see that big car? It's this one".</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 78 - 85 Research Question 1 b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practices Creating hope for future community members</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: When you talk about remembrance, it reminds of memory. One of the things. Uhm, I'm sure in Tanzania there must some form of memory that generations before you left, right? Here [South Africa], we've rock art. The rock art from indigenous communities. Do you think that it [the stowaway art] is similar to that where generations for hundreds or decades of years to come will look back at this art work and see almost like a mark? Thy leave a mark of their... That's what I called. They said that my title is bad, but I called it 'Signs of our passage'. So, in other words, you are leaving a sign there, so that when you leave, someone else who comes there sees that as a form of memory or connection of that identity. SJ: Yes. And maybe, you see, not even down there. Everywhere, when you go somewhere. I didn't come with my bag. In my back pants I have a pen. Maybe when I go to the toilet, I write something there. You write anywhere and put your mark, a sign,</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 96 - 104 Research Question 1 b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practices Creating hope for future community members</p>

Image 4.6: Coding Memo – Social and Material Practices

2. Coding Memo – Mobility and immobility

Question 2

What are the Tanzanian transients' mobile and immobile experiences?

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, you say it started long ago. Uhm, do you know like any dates, or would you say it is in the 1990s? SJ: Uh. Not 1990s, maybe 19. . 60s/50s. Yeah, something like that. Because you know by those days some of the people are brought to work here by the mines. Some of them, they never like the harsh treatment by the mining, so they went to try; and by those days the sea was. The port was just free port and people just sleep and everything, so everything was easy. SL: There wasn't much security? SJ: No, nothing. You see. So, people were moving. When they move, they change lives or they go back to their countries because, it's not only the Tanzanians. Even Burundi, Congos [sic], Kenyans, but things are just changing now.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 25 – 34 Research Question 2 <i>Mobility and immobility</i></p>	<p>Mobility Migration from Tanzania (context)</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: Yeah. So, firstly I'd like to ask, do you consider yourself as someone in transience? SJ: Yes, I'm someone in transience. SL: What is your idea of society and community given your condition of being in transience? SJ: First, even in my country, there are transience. Sometimes, like for example, let me say, I take a ship, I go somewhere else and I'm not accepted to stay there. I'm sent back home. When I go there, first. Even my society, my own society, denies me. You, see? They don't trust me because</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 11 - 23 Research Question 2 <i>Mobility/Immobility</i></p>	<p>Mobility Transience</p>

Image 4.7: Coding Memo – Mobility and Immobility

Interview	Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
Meeting Transient community	13/04/2021	Trust needs to be established between the researcher and participants; Rules and regulations govern people in the transient community; "San Juan (a transient living under the bridge) memorised my number and promised to call me. We agreed to meet a few days later at a busy marketplace late on Friday evening, but San Juan didn't show up. Despite feeling deflated, I knew that this process required patience and trust. Soon enough, San Juan and met and forged what became a complex relationship"	Trust
Aziz	20/05/2021	Aziz lived in South Africa between 2000 and 2004. He boarded a ship to Singapore and worked as a seaman for some time. However, he has since left the transient life behind and now works as a barber at a Tanzanian-owned barber shop in Durban.	
San Juan	19/05/2021	Today, I met with San Juan and could not control my emotions. I couldn't understand why he was so kind to me when his circumstances were so harsh. He always goes the extra mile to ensure I get the best content. My	Empathy

Image 4.8: Personal Reflections about Codes

Phases Three, Four and Five

The subsequent three phases involved generating, reviewing and refining themes. Once I felt confident that I had a good grasp of the data and started noticing similar codes across the interview transcripts, I progressed towards identifying themes. Braun and Clarke wrote, “A theme captures something important about the data concerning the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set” (2012: 63). The focus at this stage shifts from interpreting individual data items in the dataset, towards interpreting the aggregated meaning across the dataset (Bryne, 2022: 1403). The coded data is reviewed to see areas of overlap and shared meanings between codes. It is imperative to reemphasise that themes do not reside in the data.

Themes are actively generated through identifying relationships among different codes. However, their importance is not contingent upon the number of codes or data items that inform the theme. Instead, a theme underpins a clear core idea or concept and should communicate something meaningful to help answer the research question(s) (Terry, Hayfield, Clarke and Brown, 2017; Bryne, 2022). “Good themes are distinctive and, to some extent, stand-alone, but they also need to work together as a whole” (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 65). The aim is for the themes to produce a coherent picture of the dataset. Braun and Clarke (2012: 65) aptly noted that analysing and reporting aim to tell a story that answers the research question(s). It is not about representing everything captured in the data. Therefore, codes and prospective themes that do not fit the analysis should be discarded or placed under a separate (or miscellaneous) category (Braun and Clarke, 2012; Bryne, 2022). Again, no set number of themes is required. However, the themes must be presented in sufficient detail to convey the richness of the data (Terry et al., 2017). Finally, Braun and Clarke (2012: 65) suggested that this phase should end with a thematic map or table outlining the preliminary themes.

During this phase, I revisited the coding memos to identify patterns among the codes. I then started to identify tentative themes for each cluster. Each coding memo addressed a specific research question, making it easier to detect potential clusters of patterned meaning. A theme underpins a clear concept shared across various codes (Terry et al., 2017). These guidelines helped me jump between codes and themes effectively and ensured that themes were indeed themes and not trends or domain summaries. Image 4.9 illustrates the two *overarching*⁷ themes that emerged at this point: (1) how the Tanzanian stowaway migrants created a sense

⁷ Braun and Clarke (cited in Braun, Clarke and Weate, 2016: 12) Recommend three levels of themes:

1. *Overarching themes* – Capture an idea underpinning a number of themes, but are rarely analysed in depth
2. *Themes* – A detailed report on the meaning of a central organising concept
3. *Sub-themes* – Capture and highlight an important aspect of the central organising concept or theme.

of place in Durban (including the process of generating and refining themes involved two key aspects: (1) the participants' experiences (underpinning codes: Durban as a place, the sea as a place, desired destinations, communal practices, such as weekly donations, rules and religion and material practices, such as graffiti and the safe house) and (2) their mobile experiences (including the underpinning codes: illegal movement across borders on foot, trucks, private vehicles or buses, attempts to access commercial ships, and hiding places on ships secretly). These themes were not randomly generated but based on my perceptions of broad patterns of meanings across codes (Trainor and Bundon, 2020: 16).

Contracting perspective on negotiating identity in a place

<p>When somebody gets a problem which needs help, second-hand help, then you need to help. If you are there and you don't, then there will be problems on you. That's how it is. Yeah. So, it's a form of community. Like I say, cause everybody gets his own. Because I mean some are relatives, some are not. Some are from other places. Don't know even each other even in Tanzania, but the community is there for everybody. Not one language. One aim, to go away. That's our aim. To go away. That's how our community started. We need to go away. And how can you go away, you don't have cash? Then it means we have to take everything. You are here. Cause we don't have houses to stay up and manage the town life. You, see? But if you are in problems, you are powerful as we are united to solve the problem. Yeah. But if you stay alone in your house, alone everybody in his house, then how can we help each other? If you stay in your house, then stay, but make sure you have connection with the mother-body which is down there. Yeah. You up doing your businesses, but when there are problems down there then know that you must help. If you don't want to help people will just watch you. If you get problems, they are not gonna let you go, they're gonna help you, but with words, words, words [chuckles], which you cannot even bare. You, see?</p>	<p>* Place is riven with social relationships *</p> <p>“Social space contains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information” (Lefebvre, 1991: 77)</p>	<p>Being and belonging Social capital</p>
<p>SL: So those marks, yet again, just clarify, are only for people in the community to engage with? And that purpose is for hope and remembrance? SJ: Yes. Hope, remembrance, pride but within the community. Where ever you come from which community. From Somalia or from what, but when you set your foot and see that mark, you will just see this is just like me. So, this place, there are people like me. That's how it is.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 264 - 266 Defining place Hope/ remembrance remembrance</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>San Juan - Interview 1 Yes. Yes. Yes. That, you know? The community, as I said, has not agreed that wherever we go, we should do this and that. That's why, some people, you'll never find drawing or writing anything. You, see? They don't even want to leak their identities because something if they put an identity, that might signal that you are going. They just want to vanish like wind. He doesn't want to leave a trace, nothing. So, even the people are different in their perceptions. Some think that the graffiti will make them to stay on a place. That the graffiti will be pulling him back [chuckles].</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 278 - 284 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>Chidi - Interview 1 SL: So, does it mean, like, What is the meaning behind that, 'if sea dry, I'm gonna die'? CD: Sea never dry, if it dries everything is gonna die. SL: Is the sea life? CD: Yeah. Sea life even to get your dream you choose. I've got lots of brothers disappear, who live far from South Africa. Others, they Germany. Others America. Other's...</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 10 - 18 Defining place Lived experience through consciousness empirically measured or subjectively felt real ← → imagined * (von Manen, 1990)</p>	<p>Destination as a place Phenomenology of place (Cresswell and Roth, 2008)</p>

Image 4.9. Links between Emergent Codes and Extant Literature



Image 4.10: Preliminary Themes

Phase four is a crucial step that requires reviewing and refining the themes. This phase is about quality-checking the themes against the collated data extracts and exploring whether the themes work with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2012). A strong theme should have shared and cohesive meanings across the dataset (Trainor and Bundon, 2020: 14). Themes must tell you something important about the data. They offer a higher level of analysis beyond summarising and describing information. An existing theme may need to be discarded if more data is needed to support it, themes may be collapsed into one theme, or some themes could be separated into sub-themes (Trainor and Bundon, 2020: 14), ensuring the robustness and reliability of your research findings.

Image 4.9. and Image 4.10. illustrate the process I used to collapse the codes into preliminary themes and demonstrate how I subsequently created themes and sub-themes concerning the empirical indicators in the dataset. My workflow differed slightly from other iterations of this method (Trainor and Bundon, 2020; Bryne, 2022). However, I remained cognisant of the reiterative and reflexive process of developing themes. This involved re-reading the transcripts (inductive analysis), revisiting the literature review and theoretical framework (deductive analysis) and refining the coding memos. I also remembered that each theme needed to have a centralising concept. I also remained aware of the relationship and boundaries between themes. Finally, I ensured that the themes told a coherent story reflecting the dataset and answering the research question(s) (Braun and Clarke, 2012: 67; Trainor and Bundon, 2020: 15).

Research Question(s)

Primary Question:

How do Tanzanian irregular transit migrants create a sense of place through their mobile and immobile experiences: A Durban-based case study.

Secondary Questions:

- a) *How do they perceive, conceive and experience place?*
- b) *What are their social and material practices concerning place?*

Phase five involved defining and naming the themes. Naming the themes required an analysis of the underlying data items, as demonstrated in Image 4.9 and Image 4.10. (Bryne, 2022: 1407). Braun, Clarke, and Weate (2016: 14) suggested that names can range from ordinary to creative depending on the purpose of the research. Ultimately, the name should capture the essence of the theme. Table 4.2 and Table 4.3. provide an overview of the final names for the themes and sub-themes derived from the empirical indicators, literature and theoretical framework.

At this point, I felt confident in clearly defining the themes for each discussion chapter. The illustrations below describe the essence of each theme and demonstrate their relationships. In the first discussion chapter, I focused on the Tanzanian stowaway community's understanding and experience of place. I also addressed how they created a sense of place through their social and material practices in Durban. The second discussion chapter concentrated on the community members' mobile and immobile experiences in different places, including Durban. The two chapters expand the discussion of place beyond a sedentary state, including meaningful momentary encounters plotted on the journey. In this

context, place can be understood as equally mobile and immobile, imagined and real, contested and lived, constituting a past, present and future identity.

Discussion Chapter One (thesis Chapter Five)

Creating a Sense of Place in Durban

Theme One: The Polysemic Nature of Place	
The essence of the theme	Sub-Themes
This theme captures the complex ways in which a sense of place is understood (conceived) and created (perceived) among the Tanzanian stowaway community in Durban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Durban as a Pit Stop</i> b) <i>Nearness and Locality</i>
Theme Two: Heterotopic Sites	
Essence of the Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme actualises the abstract ideas in the first theme, illustrating how the Tanzanian stowaway community transformed heterotopic (transitory) sites into meaningful places that embody nearness and locality. This addresses how place is perceived, conceived and experienced	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>The busses</i> b) <i>Under the Bridge</i> c) <i>The Safe House</i> d) <i>The Sea</i>
Theme Three: Community Values	
Essence of the Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme contextualises the daily social practices in a specific time and place that govern their being, becoming and belonging in Durban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Respect</i> b) <i>Shared Resources</i> c) <i>Conditional Solidarity</i>
Theme Four: Hope and Memory	
Essence of the Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme is linked to the previous theme (community values) in that it captures community practices. However, it departs from the previous theme because hope and memory traverse time and space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Marking Identity</i> b) <i>Religion</i>

Table 4.2: Final Themes for Creating a Sense of Place in Durban

Discussion Chapter Two
(thesis Chapter Six)
Mobile and Immobile Experiences

Theme One: Motivating Factors	
Essence of Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme captures why people from the Tanzanian stowaway community embark on mobile journeys.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Leaving Africa</i> b) <i>Working on a Ship</i> c) <i>Extorting Money from Shipping Companies</i>
Theme Two: Securitisation of Harbour Ports	
Essence of Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme addresses the nuance of enforcing laws and the agency exercised by different groups to exploit international maritime laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>The Complex Relationship Between Port Security and Stowaways</i> b) <i>Exploiting Loopholes in International Maritime Laws</i>
Theme Three: Land Journeys	
Essence of Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme contextualises the experiences of how individuals moved from Tanzania to Durban with a specific focus on experiences on land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Walking</i> b) <i>Travelling Like Panya (Rats)</i> c) <i>Resourcefulness</i>
Theme Four: Sea Journeys	
Essence of Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme is linked to the previous theme, capturing community members' mobile and immobile experiences. However, these accounts are specific to ships and the sea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Techniques for Accessing Ships</i> b) <i>Hiding on Ships</i> c) <i>Survival Strategies</i> d) <i>Misguided Routes</i>
Theme Five: Necessary Danger	
Essence of Theme	Sub-Themes
This theme captures the risks and fluidity involved in the mobile journeys undertaken by the Tanzanian stowaway community members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) <i>Providing Makeshift Rafts to Stowaways</i> b) <i>Killing Stowaways to Avoid Paying Fines</i> c) <i>Redirecting Dreams</i>

Table 4.3: Final Themes for Mobile and Immobile Experiences

It is important to note that refining themes is a reiterative and fluid process that changes during each phase of the project. The initial coding memos helped me create a coherent narrative because all the data was already organised into categories according to the research questions. It is helpful to do this in the initial stages of the analysis to avoid drowning in the data. Finally, organising the empirical indicators alongside the initial codes provided the data to support the claims in the analysis, which Braun and Clarke (2012: 69) argued is critical to convincing the reader that the established patterns and claims are grounded in evidence.

Phase Six

The final phase of a thematic analysis is the written report. However, Braun and Clarke (2012: 69) stressed that the write-up in qualitative research is interwoven into the entire analysis process, which begins from the informal writing of notes and memos to the formal analysis process. Phase six should be seen as the completion and final inspection of the report. According to David Bryne (2022: 1410), "Themes should connect in a logical and meaningful manner, building a cogent narrative of the data". Here, the researcher returns to the bigger picture of the overall project or the 'so what?' (Terry et al., 2017).

According to Braun and Clarke (cited in Bryne, 2022: 1396), the analysis typically involves choosing between an *experiential* or *critical* orientation. An *experiential* orientation prioritises examining how the participant experiences a given phenomenon. This approach appreciates that participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences reflect their personal state and internally held views. A *critical* orientation analyses discourses as if it is constitutive rather than reflective of the respondents' personal states. A critical perspective interrogates patterns and themes of meaning with a theoretical understanding that language can create, rather than merely reflect, a given social reality (Bryne, 2022: 1396).

David Bryne (2022: 1396) stated that researchers use this continuum to decide whether they intend to reflect the experience (experiential orientation) or examine the constitution (critical orientation) of a social reality. I adopted an experiential orientation to the data interpretation, emphasising the meaning and meaningfulness ascribed to the participants. In this regard, the analysis prioritised the participants' experiences and attitudes toward the concept of place, which aligned with the research design and objectives.

Maintaining Quality in Qualitative Research

Qualitative research utilises idiosyncratic and flexible 'tools' to judge the quality of research, prioritising individual experiences, meanings and context over replicability. There are general guidelines for ensuring credibility and trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry (Guba, 1981; Braun and Clarke, 2013). This study acknowledges multiple realities or the context-bound nature of reality. It also acknowledges the researcher's positionality and approach shape the research.

Nonetheless, measures were undertaken to ensure credibility and adherence to research ethics.

Credibility

Despite the researcher's involvement in qualitative inquiry, the work must demonstrate credibility. According to Nahid Golafshani (2003: 600), "...The credibility of qualitative research depends on the efforts of the researcher". To this end, qualitative researchers embrace their involvement and role. Credibility is ensured through congruence between the research findings and reality (Guba, 1981: 64). In other words, credibility addresses the 'fit' between the respondents' views and the researcher's representation of them (Nowell, Norris, White and Moules, 2017: 3).

One method of ensuring credibility is triangulation, which Golafshani (2003: 603) noted as a strategy employed to ensure the validity and reliability of qualitative research. According to Norman Stahl and James King (2020: 26), "Triangulation means using several sources of information or procedure from the field to repeatedly establish identifiable patterns". Some qualitative researchers view this approach as a way to strengthen analytic claims and get a richer or fuller story rather than an accurate one (Braun and Clarke, 2013: n/p). One method of triangulation is multiple data sources. For this project, I interviewed 12 participants, including respondents from the Tanzanian stowaway community, close community associates, previous community members, and a Tanzanian seaman. The different data sources were cross-referenced with previous scholarship on irregular transit migration, irregular maritime migration and theories on place to establish patterns, themes and even contradictions (Guba, 1981: 85).

Another way credibility was ensured was through an audit trail. According to Nowell et al. (2017: 3), this can be achieved by keeping records of the raw data, field notes, transcripts and a reflexive journal to help systematise, relate and cross-reference data. I created an audit trail per Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist for good thematic analysis (see Image 4.11.). This process ensured consistency between the research design, theoretical assumptions and research methods. It also ensured reflexivity in acknowledging that my positionality (or sensitivity to context) and approach shaped the study. Finally, recording and referring to the transcripts, a reflexive journal, and the coded data ensured accountability (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Process	No.	Criteria
Transcription	1	The data have been transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, and the transcripts have been checked against the tapes for 'accuracy'
Coding	2	Each data item has been given equal attention in the coding process
	3	Themes have not been generated from a few vivid examples (an anecdotal approach), but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive
	4	All relevant extracts for all each theme have been collated
	5	Themes have been checked against each other and back to the original data set
	6	Themes are internally coherent, consistent, and distinctive
Analysis	7	Data have been analysed – interpreted, made sense of – rather than just paraphrased or described
	8	Analysis and data match each other – the extracts illustrate the analytic claims
	9	Analysis tells a convincing and well-organised story about the data and topic
	10	A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided
Overall	11	Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly
Written report	12	The assumptions about, and specific approach to, thematic analysis are clearly explicated
	13	There is a good fit between what you claim you do, and what you show you have done – i.e. described method and reported analysis are consistent
	14	The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis
	15	The researcher is positioned as <i>active</i> in the research process; themes do not just 'emerge'

Image 4.11: 15-point Checklist for Good Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006)

Ethical Considerations

In addition to ensuring credibility, the researcher must abide by safe and ethical practices that do good and avoid harm. Protecting human subjects and participants in any study is imperative (Orb, Eisenhauer, and Wynaden, 2001: 93). The principles guiding ethics in social research include obtaining 'informed consent', safeguarding 'privacy', and ensuring 'confidentiality' and 'anonymity'. It is also essential for the researcher not to enter the field deceptively or fraudulently and to ensure the safety of all participants (Ramcharan and Cutcliffe, 2001; Shaw, 2008). More recently, there has been an emphasis on the ethics of care and mindfulness (Reich, 2021).

I was granted ethical clearance from the Humanities and Social Science Research and Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at the University of KwaZulu Natal to conduct this study (see Appendix One). I also obtained written and/or verbal consent from each participant; each informed

consent included a project description with the listed aims, objectives and research questions (Appendix Two). I provided a Swahili version of the informed consent to provide more clarity for participants who were not fluent in English. Fortunately, all the participants conversed in English, and other community members translated information where necessary. Given the sensitivity of the project and the precarious conditions most of the respondents faced, I needed to protect their identities. Therefore, I assigned pseudonyms to most respondents to ensure anonymity (Orb et al., 2000). It is worth noting that the participants choose these pseudonyms for themselves, reflecting their own construction of their identity.

In my earlier reflections, I noted that the project's sensitivity initially made establishing trust with the respondents difficult. According to Wilson and Hodgson (2012: 124), conducting research with marginalised people requires a reflexive approach to interpreting the moral problems that arise during the research. It also requires an openness to viewing the subjects as people, not just research subjects. For me, it meant attempting to understand the choices of community members even if they did not make sense to me. In my journal entries, I reflected on some of the complexities involved in working with a marginalised community:

17/09/2021

Shared humanity

Canada landed in hospital because he was stabbed. San Juan was very concerned, and the community asked him to handle the situation. He messaged me in distress because being an illegal immigrant means that their humanity is sometimes overlooked. I offered to call the hospital as I felt that I would be taken seriously as a South African citizen. Thankfully, the medical staff were willing to share information about his condition, which is fortunately stable.

The research process is complex. You can be positioned as an outsider but adopt an insider position, particularly when the research participants need assistance. This study is more than just research. It is about shared humanity. Yet again, I recognise the importance of trust in this process.

These considerations contradict the institutional ethics guidelines, which tend to characterise marginalised groups as threats to the researcher or vulnerable subjects needing to be protected. These prejudices neglect the complexity of the give-and-take required by the researcher and participants to establish trust. Furthermore, stigmatising marginalised groups provides fertile ground for reproducing ill-thought-out policies (Wilson and Hodgson, 2012: 113). Trust is integral to the encounter, no matter how fragile it is. I gained trust by buying groceries, donating clothes and visiting some community members at the Warwick Triangle bus terminal. Ethics committees often promote a deterrence-based trust process, which ignores the complexities of establishing trust, especially with disenfranchised communities (Wilson and Hodgson, 2012:118).

However, viewing individuals from marginalised groups like the Tanzanian stowaway community as merely passive participants is naive, as there were occasions when the power dynamics shifted. Sometimes, I needed to relinquish power to gain social capital, even if it felt exploitative. I also encountered situations where my gender, age and visiting community members at the busses made me feel vulnerable, given the patriarchal orientation of the community. Reflecting on the ambiguity of qualitative ethics is equally critical to any research undertaking, especially among vulnerable and marginalised populations. Ethics ensures trustworthiness, rigour, and quality in qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003: 604).

Limitations of the Study

Regardless of the format, all studies have limitations. The purpose of presenting limitations is to provide gaps in the extant literature that can cultivate other researchers' curiosity to expand the line of scholarly inquiry. Furthermore, it serves an ethical function, providing transparency and situating the research within a specific context (Ross and Zaidi, 2019: 261). Although the research process was thorough, one cannot underestimate the influence of the research questions and design on the findings. However, I intentionally elected to conduct the study, adhering to Braun and Clarke's (2019) encouragement to embrace reflexivity, subjectivity and creativity in knowledge production.

This study explored a specific irregular transit community in Durban. Although the small sample offered an in-depth lens into the experiences of Tanzanian stowaway community members, restricting the study to Durban provided a particular place-bound perspective. My gender helped and hindered my rapport with the target population. Being a woman granted me access to the predominantly young male participants. However, it was also an obstacle because women were prohibited from entering specific communal spaces like the safe house and the area under the bridge. Finally, the transitory lifestyle of individuals in the community required an opportunistic approach to securing research participants, limiting the possibility of follow-ups.

While the study adopted an exploratory and descriptive approach, this limited the scope of generalisation. However, the study reflects a niche group of people, the study sample. Therefore, the study offers a perspective on place-making and irregular transit migration relevant to the particular context and among a particular group, providing opportunities for future scholarly inquiry.

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the philosophical assumptions, research design, paradigm, data collection and analysis methods informing the study. The final section accounted for the study's credibility and ethical considerations.

Chapter Five: Creating a Sense of Place in Durban

Introduction

The data analysis approach aligns with the social constructivist paradigm, which views knowledge as a human construction that is constantly evolving (Guba, 1990). As discussed in the methodology chapter, social constructivism acknowledges multiple realities but does not endorse relativism. Therefore, the themes derived from the data analysis (inductive reasoning) were compared with those from the literature review and theoretical framework (deductive reasoning). The dialectic interpretive approach helped to facilitate an understanding of the Tanzanian stowaway community, prioritising their attitudes, experiences and perspectives (Byrne, 2022).

Revisiting the objective of the study

The study aimed to understand how Tanzanian irregular transit migrants established a sense of place in Durban. This case study sheds new light on the complex phenomenon of global irregular migration. Despite the Tanzanian migrant community being firmly rooted in a specific location (Durban), they traversed various spaces, hoping to depart the continent. Sean Christie (2016: 7) provided insights into the intentions of the Tanzanian stowaway community residing in Cape Town, explaining:

The men living under the Foreshore bridges are stowaways. To be precise, they live where they do because it is near the port, and they are constantly trying to stow away on the ships that dock there. They are, to a man from Tanzania – youngsters in their twenties and thirties from the slums of Dar es Salaam and Tanga. They want nothing from Cape Town but the means to leave the continent for good.

This perspective was confirmed in my interview with Tanzanian seaman Perfect Junior (2022: 146), who noted, “*most of the stowaways in Africa don’t want to work on a boat; they aim to go to Europe*”. The realisation of transitoriness adds significant depth and credibility to the early stages of this project. I wanted to understand why this predominantly Tanzanian community chose South Africa as a transitory place. San Juan (2021: 2) provided an explanation that aligns with Kotie Geldenhuys’ (2018) point about Durban being one of the busiest ports in Africa:

[Durban] is the second largest [port city] after Alexandria, Egypt, you see? And South Africa by those times. In those days, life was a little bit good because most of them didn’t have jobs, so street life and town life were easy in South Africa, you see? South Africa, you see, is the core of Africa, so

most of the loads are coming and going. Here in South Africa, and most of the bases, [and] the ports, I can say, are running some things which [that] must be coming or going [to] outside. That's why South Africa is the core (San Juan, 2021: 2).

The Politics of Labels

The interviewees offered diverse viewpoints on labelling the community residing in Durban. San Juan, for instance, referred to his community members as seamen attempting to stow away on ships. This perspective resonates with Christie's analysis of the Tanzanian stowaway, which he noted emerged as a subculture operating in port cities like Dar es Salaam, Mombasa, Lamu, and even Djibouti from the mid-1960s, later moving to South Africa after the end of apartheid in the 1990s (Christie, 2016; Christie and Southwood, 2022: 216).

Some interviewees, like Aziz and Chidi, illegally stowed ships docked at different ports but then performed menial tasks when the crew caught them. For example, Aziz recalled, "*I went even to Singapore [...] Yeah. Singapore, and then we turned back to Richards Bay. We take [took] the ship in new pier? Yeah. New pier base, and we survive[d] with the ship for about nine months to Singapore [...] We were working on the ship. Yeah. Because that's what we like to do all the time...*" (2021: 30). Similarly, Chidi noted, "*I worked on the ship. I did the paint colour [...] I'm hiding, but they see me. You see? Someone catch [caught] me already [...] Yeah. They give [gave] me room. They give [gave] us food. Me and a friend. They give [gave] us food*" (2021: 68).

For Perfect Junior, a *seaman* is radically different from a stowaway; the term denotes someone who works on a ship. Perfect Junior (2022: 147) provided a sobering perspective:

There is a big difference between a seaman and a stowaway. A seaman is a guy who is working on a ship like me. There is no such thing as a seaman stowaway because there is no way you can stow away and get a job these days. It is the twenty-first century—there is nothing like that. We find every stowaway on board, and most get deported because of the pirate thing [...] Maybe, if you work in ship repair and the ship captain likes you, he can plan to hide you on board. However, all seamen must have papers according to the Manila Regulation. If you search my name, you will see that I am a listed seaman. Therefore, it is difficult to buy and falsify papers.... (2022: 147).

Marlon Oppenheim (2022: 105) provided a more nuanced perspective of the community's identity, sharing:

So, there was a lot of controversy around the word *seaman*. Some guys I had met said you could only call yourself a seaman if you've been on a voyage, and you only hold that title if you've successfully stowed away. And if you hadn't, and you were calling yourself a seaman, you would get a sound beating. Also, the word seaman is tricky, and so is the word stowaway. Because stowaway has a lot of negative connotations, which these guys are often aware of. It is normally the cops that are calling them stowaways. The word seaman is more aspirational, but you had to earn that title before using it. That was my interpretation (2022: 105)

This chapter will interchangeably refer to the community as Tanzanian stowaways and irregular transit migrants because they intended to stow away. They were primarily undocumented migrants who viewed their time in Durban as a transitory period before reaching a final destination. The subsequent sections elaborate on the identified themes and sub-themes that address the following questions: *How do the Tanzanian irregular transit migrants perceive, conceive, and experience the place?* and: *What are their social and material practices?*

The Polysemic Nature of Place

The Tanzanian community is more than stowaways or aspiring seamen; its members have created a sense of place that is equally lived and imagined, hopeful and painful, while simultaneously representing the past, present, and future. They disrupt the notion that place can exist as an either/or dichotomy, providing a nuanced framework that confirms, contradicts and expands existing theoretical perspectives.

Durban as a Pit Stop

The Tanzanian stowaways' relationship with Durban is a testament to their resilience and adaptability. Despite being in transit, most respondents viewed their time in Durban as a pit stop. The metaphor of a pit stop also captures the literal experience of the migrants, who perceived Durban as a place to restore themselves before moving towards a final destination. Although these perspectives were expressed differently, it was evident that they aspired to move from Africa.

In an interview with Erick (2022: 139), I asked if most people from his community viewed Durban as a stopover, to which he responded: *"We are different. Some people dream of coming here to change their lives, and others see this place as a bus stop like they are just standing there waiting for the bus to take them somewhere"*. He further expressed that people from his community choose not to establish roots in Durban to preserve their desire to go overseas. Erick (2022: 139) explained, "You'll find that they don't look for a job or rent a house

in Durban because they say, *'If I am finding the money to rent a house, it means my life is ending here in South Africa.'* So, *if my life is finished here, I must find a wife and family here*". San Juan (2021: 6) summed up the aim of the community, briefly stating, *"One aim, to go away... That's how our community started. We need to go away."*

Nearness and Locality

While the community primarily perceived Durban as a temporary place through expressions like it being a bus stop and pit stop, it was enlightening to see how they transformed heterotopic sites (spaces other than) like the bus terminal, the area under the M4 bridge and the safe house into lived spaces of nearness and locality where they performed daily rituals. For Heidegger, nearness engenders familiarity through which being, becoming and belonging are forged and preserved (1971: n/p). San Juan provided a perspective akin to the concept of nearness: *"We take home as a place where we've been known by the people. When we go there, we are not new to the places; we are not new to the area...Home is where we are not strangers"* (2021: 24).

Although this study focused on (predominantly) Tanzanian irregular transit migrants, it is essential to note that there are stowaways from across the continent, including Ghana, Sierra Leone and Kenya (John, 2021: 35). Moreover, the stowaway community consists of disparate individuals gathered in a bounded space connected by language and a desire to better themselves. Marlon Oppenheim noted, *"I think the primary unifying factor is actually the language..."* (2022: 104). Erick's recollection of meeting the men under the bridge corresponds with Oppenheim's view. He stated: *"You don't know where to go. When you get here, you just find people who speak Swahili and ask them where to find Tanzanians. Many know you can find the Tanzanians under the bridge, so they show you where to go"* (Erick, 2022: 134)

In many ways, the community adhered to the idea that a place is an event rather than an ontological thing rooted in authenticity akin to Heidegger's notion of a gathering (*versammeln*) of things in bounded space (Casey, 1998). Yet, their formation also aligns with Massey's progressive globalist concept of *throwntogetherness*, which recognises the power of places to gather experiences, histories, language and thoughts while requiring negotiation of social relations, especially among people constantly moving (Massey, 2005).

Marlon Oppenheim described the community as a heterogeneous group of young men, most hailing from poor areas outside Dar es Salaam, while others were middle-class individuals seeking adventure. The men ranged from stowaways to nefarious criminals. However, *"they were united, more often than not, by a desire to better their lot..."* (Oppenheim, 2022: 104). A quote from San Juan supports this claim that

First, people need to know you. Who are you? Yes. Don't come here. Who are you? And this and that. Where are you from? Okay. What [do] you want? Yeah. They must ask you, what [do] you want? You need? *'Ah! I need to sell drugs'*. *'No. This is not your place. Go back. Cause this here is seamen here on drugs, but all are the same. All are the seamen'*. There is division, but all are seamen. *'You smoking drugs? That's your side. This is not your side. Maybe I drink or smoke weed, 'all right, come. Your group with us'. 'Who [do] you know? Where [did] you came [come] from? You know this guy?'* To see if you are truthful or just some bad guy. *'What [are] you are doing? Salon or robbery or what? What are you doing?'* You see? Things like that. Then he says, *'I was this and that. Okay. Take this. Go get water and come to eat'*. Then we [will] show you how [how] town is, how this is. We show you how to get [earn] some money, but not by selling drugs. You see? Yeah, okay. We show you the port there (San Juan, 2021: 5).

Despite coming from different parts of Tanzania, these men formed a bond based on shared language, experiences, desires and, most importantly, their survival. My interview with John and Mohammed revealed that many underage boys flee Tanzania in search of a better life, arriving alone and vulnerable (John and Mohammed, 2021: 37). Most interviewees alluded to young boys joining the community. For example, San Juan (2021: 23) spoke about young kids collecting tomatoes and onions for the safe house. Canada (2021: 58) explained that the community provided a safe space, inspiring hope in young men. Marlon Oppenheim provided a more critical perspective, describing how young kids were forced into the culture of drinking a noxious and intoxicating spirit – *gaveen* (2022: 106). The disparate individuals mostly find refuge in each other to overcome the challenges they experience in Durban. Aziz stated, *"The people under the bridge, they love each other"* (2021: 27). John further noted:

We are looking for [after] each other because we don't have parents here, you see? So, me, I'm going to be the parent of Mohammed and Mohammed is going to be the parent of me. So, maybe in the morning, I wake up and go with Mohammed, and all the people see that John is going with Mohammed. On the way, Mohammed gets in trouble, accident what, what. Me, I must go explain to our friends there, nicely, why. You see? Yeah. Maybe this one gets hurt. Me, I need to go explain to them why, and why, me, I don't fight for him. You see? (2021: 37).

Significantly, the community members entered Durban with nothing and were forced to sleep under bridges or at bus terminals with few belongings. Korea recalled, *"You have to start with*

nothing. Even a blanket. You've got nothing, so you've got to face somebody just to give you something" (2021: 45). These encounters are comparable with Manuel De Lande's concept of social assemblages in which interpersonal networks are formed through *patterns of recurring links* and the properties of those links, including (1) *strength*, (2) *presence or absence*, (3) *reciprocity*, (4) *density*, (5) *stability* and (6) *solidarity* (2006: 56-7).

Korea demonstrated the elements of reciprocity and solidarity in the community, describing his experience of asking someone to share their blanket. He recalled asking, *"My brother, please help to share part of your blanket."* The man answered, *"If you buy food, I can help you..."* (Korea, 2021: 45). The Tanzanian community controlled the area where Korea stayed because they were the majority. He explained, *"The big group is Tanzanians because they have a territory. It's like for them... [Do] You know the bus station? It's for them. They own [the space]. So, you can't enter if you are not the soldier to enter"* (2021: 49).

The symbiotic relationship between Durban being a pit stop and the nearness and locality forged was central to sustaining hope among community members, especially since they lived in less-than-ideal circumstances.

Heterotopic Sites

The marginalised sites occupied by the Tanzanian stowaways aligned with the literature on heterotopology and *thirthing-as-othering* because they are fully lived spaces riven with contractions and acceptance despite existing outside the regulatory controls of society or conceived space. According to Foucault, heterotopias have "the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralise or invert the relations that they happen to designate, mirror or reflect" (1986: 24). They function in conjunction with systems of power and knowledge (Soja, 1996).

Edward Soja noted that heterotopias are "those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others" (Soja, 1996: 149). They are not just 'other spaces' to include in geographical imagination but also spaces 'other than' *established spatial thinking* (1996: 156/163). Such places threaten modernity by disrupting closures and certainties, yet they also subvert narratives of resistance (Soja, 1996: 151). However, they are also places of nearness through which identity is forged and preserved. The polysemic nature of place is actualised through the heterotopic sites - the busses, the space under the bridge, the safe house and the sea - occupied by the Tanzanian stowaway community.

The Busses

The Warwick Avenue Triangle (WAT) was a base for the Tanzanian stowaway community. Korea explained: *“The big group is [are] Tanzanians because they have a territory. It’s like for them. You [Do] know the bus station [The Warwick Avenue Triangle bus station]? It’s for them, they own. So, if you are not the soldier to enter, you can’t enter”* (2021: 49). I asked Korea what the Tanzanians controlled at the *bus station*, to which he responded: *“This one sells alcohol. This one sells anything. This is one is a mechanic. This one is an organiser”* (2021: 50).

The WAT has always existed as a heterotopic space defying apartheid and democratic eras state annihilation strategies. It is one of Durban's oldest integrated residential and business districts because of its location on Berea Road. The area is home to the century-old Early Morning Market (EMM) and other informal traders (Maharaj, 1999; 2023; Desai, 2010). Although African and Indian traders dominate the space, it is also occupied by the Tanzanian migrant community. This is, in part, due to the influx of African migrants to South Africa since the ending of apartheid in 1994 (Maharaj, 2000). Maharaj referred to the EMM as the ‘mother market’ (2023: 505), a sentiment coincidentally echoed by San Juan, who spoke about the importance of female market traders – ‘market mamas’. He noted:

Yes. Even the mamas. The market mums. Because when we go, early in the morning. We go bin surfing. We surf some bins. We got some nice clothes from there, you see? Our market is for those market mamas. We sell to them. You see? Sometimes, they need some supplies; they give you much [a lot of] money, R 1000 if you take things to them. Buy some things, and then you don’t run away. At first, as I told you, it was so untrustworthy, but trust is regained. Trust is earned because they know we don’t have a problem (2021: 26).

In the quote above, San Juan referenced the symbiotic relationship between the female market traders and his community. This aligns with scholarship on the integrated informal trading activities in WAT from the early 20th Century through apartheid and into the post-apartheid milieu (Maharaj, 1999; 2023; Desai, 2010). It is also comparable with De Lande’s idea of assembling places where connections are established between people and things, and constituent parts can be removed and replaced, contributing to new ‘unique wholes’ (cited in Cresswell, 2015: n/p). The relationships formed between people at WAT have remained across space and time; people have come and gone, yet the patterns of recurring links cohere to form trust, solidarity and community among cohabitants of this heterotopic place (De Lande, 2006).



Image 5.1: The buses (Source: San Juan)



Image 5.2: The buses (Source: San Juan)

Under the Bridge

The Tanzanian community also occupies the space under the M4 Southern Freeway bridge. This site is a derelict area accessed by freight trains transporting goods from the port. However, due to its proximity to the harbour, it is the central location for this community. San Juan explained: *“It is the core of the community. When you hear reli mbili (Swahili), it means two railways. That is the home for the community. Every idea is coming from there...”* (2021: 99).



Image 5.3: Railway lines under the bridge (Source: San Juan)

The area under the bridge is also a landing place for Tanzanian men entering Durban. As mentioned, Erick encountered Swahili-speaking people when he entered the port city in 1999, who directed him under the bridge.

Many [people] know you can find the Tanzanians under the bridge, so they show you where to go. So, when you reach the place under the bridge, you find your homeboys there. They welcome you to Durban, South Africa, and ask whether you want to stay in South Africa or take a ship. So, it depends on you. If you tell them you want to stay in South Africa, they will direct you to the streets away from the bridge. If you want to take a ship, the right place is under the bridge (Erick, 2022: 134).

Aziz also lived under the bridge from 2002 until 2004. He viewed the site as a safe space because, as he explained, “*When we came, we had no family over here around us, so nobody could just take you and keep you in his house*”. (2021: 28). Aziz further expressed:

Oh, you know, we *were* not staying in the house. Yeah? Our life was under the bridge and the street, you know? Like, somewhere in the Victoria, Queen’s Street, yeah. You come down here. You’re *gonna* see the people under the bridge there down the railway station. Yeah, you see the people there. Yeah. So, that’s how the life is (2021: 27).

Despite the less-than-ideal conditions, Erick explained, “*That place is the safest for us because the police don’t like going there. It is also somewhere the community feels free*

because you can do anything there, and nobody can judge you" (2022: 135). Aziz echoed a similar sentiment about the sense of community under the bridge, noting:

See, under the bridge. Like, how must I tell? The people under the bridge love each other. You know, like something, like somewhere in a jail. You know? When you are in jail, you always live with people together, so you know each other. Even someone coming from out of Durban, out of where, where, but you know his name, his father, everything. You know about him because you are with him every single day. You stay with him. Yeah. They keep loving each other every time (Aziz, 2021: 28).

Although the research participants had a strong sense of community, it was abundantly clear they valued clandestinity. Given their precarious status in Durban and unsatisfactory living conditions, I often found it challenging to convince the participants to let me record their interviews. Erick told me there was a rule of secrecy, *"You are not allowed to tell anyone anything that happens under the bridge, and no one must know how we are living there"* (2022: 134). This was partly because many people in Tanzania are often misinformed about life in South Africa.



Image 5.4: Under the bridge (Source: San Juan)



Image 5.5: Under the bridge (Source: San Juan)

The stowaway community comprised a heterogeneous group of young men who moved to South Africa for different reasons. Some people were poor and hoped to stow away for a better life. For example, Erick noted: *"My family is poor, and I didn't attend school, so what will I do? So, you decide to take a ship. When you see how other people live from doing that, you choose to do the same thing. And the best place to get a ship is from South Africa because there are so many ports like Richards Bay, East London..."* (2022: 134). They viewed port cities like Durban, East London, Gqeberha (Port Elizabeth), and Cape Town as ideal locations for

stowaway activity (Christie, 2016: viii). Durban is particularly popular because it is one of the busiest ports on the continent (Geldenhuys, 2018: 41).

Contrarily, Marlon Oppenheim and Perfect Junior explained that some individuals come from middle-class families who are purely seeking adventure. San Juan completed his O-levels (equivalent to grade 12) in 2008, and his father gave him money to study computers. However, he sold his possessions and illegally entered South Africa through the Mozambican border (2021: 61-2). San Juan made his way to Cape Town and was captured by the border police not long after that because he needed help understanding how to navigate the port. Significantly, a man he described as his 'young father' bailed him out of jail and paid for him to get on a flight back to Tanzania (San Juan, 2021: 66).

Perfect Junior is employed by a European shipping company, primarily doing maintenance work. He offered a perspective that aligns with San Juan's experience:

Some of these guys come from a standard, perfect family in Tanzania. But because they hang around in the jobless corner and read the news online, they come to South Africa because they think it is easy to get onto a ship. And when they come to South Africa, they have no family. The bad thing is that they find their friends living under the bridge when they get to South Africa. So, whatever money you bring to South Africa is spent on food and shelter. But no money can last if there is no income. So, they eventually sleep on the beach or under the bridge with their friends (Perfect Junior, 2022: 147).

The activities under the bridge were meant to remain a secret to preserve the idea that they had created a better life. Marlon Oppenheim perfectly summed this point, noting:

And, if anything, you were feeding this information back to your family that you were living a better life. I mean, we were burying [men] in full suits. You would take a photo of someone in their coffin buried in a full suit. And everyone would chip together the cash for a full suit for this photoshoot, and you would bury two thousand Rands. Or, you would send a corpse back in a full suit because you would want to create this impression that it was a prosperous existence here, not that you were living under a *fucken* bridge (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 102-3).

These perspectives provide a complex view of life under the bridge. The site offers a safe space and locality for disparate individuals desiring a better life by stowing away, yet it reveals some disturbing truths about life on the margins.

The Safe House

Another example of a heterotopic site is the safe house the community built for sick and injured members in 2015. Aziz explained the purpose of the safe house accordingly, *“We made a house outside the city [Durban] [...] So, one of us, anybody who is sick, maybe, you know? They can’t be sleeping there under the bridge when it’s getting cold because the situation [conditions are] is bad over there. So, you have to take him to that house until he gets better, then he can come back to town”* (2021: 28). Similarly, Canada explained, *“You got a problem – a broken leg – you can’t survive here in town, so you must have a safe place to be healed”* (2021: 57). Mook Lion, a South African researcher, filmmaker and artist who developed a relationship with the community explained:

I actually went there, and we did some murals there as well. It was a proper house with a few rooms, and it had a TV, a kitchen and a chilling section. It was a small plot of land where they had set up the safe house. I’m not sure how it worked. I think they rotated. I’m not too sure how they are. It seemed like a place where all of them would want to be. However, I think they had a rotation system because I understand that it was built for the unwell people, but it didn’t seem like they were all unwell (Mook Lion, 2022: 116).



Image 5.6: Safe House (Photos Source: San Juan)



Image 5.7: Safe House Living Room



Image 5.8: Safe House Chilling Section



Image 5.9: Safe House Cooking area

This idea applies to more than just the Durban community. Christie explained that the Beach Boys rented a rustic shack for their sick house in Blikkiesdorp on the outskirts of Cape Town (2016: 80). When I asked San Juan about the safe house in Cape Town, he mentioned, *“Yes, there is a safe house. It’s not like the one here. It’s not a safe house. Just people’s shacks have been organised, you see? No one will take care of you. No one will take vegetables and what and what”* (San Juan, 2021: 76). Mook Lion observed the Durban stowaway community similarly, *“Yeah. That was amazing because the guys had scarce means, but they seemed to work together so much that they could establish this safe house... They seemed to care for each other in a way I wasn’t accustomed to being”* (2022: 57).

The central point of difference is that the people in Durban built their safe house in [redacted location] through donations from the broader community. Chidi proudly explained, *“We got some mama [mother], Zulu one, [who] like[d] us. She rented her house to us... That mama believes us. We look like her children, see? We stayed there for so long. So many years were passing. Now, we built a house”* (2021: 12). Significantly, these men forged trust and solidarity with a maternal figure in [redacted location] to meet their objective, thus illustrating the resourcefulness of marginalised communities navigating survival.

Ironically, stowaways from other port cities mocked the Durban community for building a safe house because its presence denotes permanence. San Juan noted:

When it comes to the safe house, there is a community. Just this community is the one I am in now. There is a degree of understanding to come to the thing of building a safe house. You see? Because there are challenges and problems that happen every day. People are donating to shelters and that. So, I just came up with an idea: why shouldn’t we get a safe house? However, other communities also mock this community because we are transients. How come we are making a safe house? So, it means you are

making yourself stay. You will not be transient again because we'll make things easier. As a transient, we shouldn't have a safe house. According to other communities (San Juan, 2021: 15).

Building a permanent structure for sick and injured stowaways was also a point of contention among the Durban community members. Canada played a pivotal role in the decision to build the establishment but acknowledged that it did not come without struggle. He stated, "*At first, it was difficult, but we end[ed] up saying we must have it*". He provided insight into some of the arguments, "*Someone can tell you. You see? Me, I don't want to stay inside [the safe house]. Someone can raise another point and say, 'No flop' [problem] if you don't want to stay, but how will you survive if you have a problem? We must [build a safe house] because if young boys come in, they don't know anything, so we must have a place*" (Canada, 2021: 58). When I pressed further on how they managed to convince everyone to contribute towards the safe house, Canada simply replied, "*It was by force. It was by force. You want, you don't want. Not so*" (2021: 58).

Members of the broader community contributed funds towards the upkeep of the safe house. According to Marlon Oppenheim:

You contributed financially to whatever the hell you had. It could be two Rands. It could be five Rands. It could be a hundred Rands. And if you've done well, it could be a thousand rand, which was used to provide food and transport, and, and, and. And booze and cigarettes, and all that stuff, to these safe houses. If you contributed, you could receive care in those safe houses. And it was recorded in a ledger. How that ledger was audited, one doesn't know. Some guys were killed because they had stolen money that was supposed to go to the community. There was a massive power struggle over who controlled that ledger and who then had access to control the funding. (Oppenheim, 2022: 105-6).

The safe house confirms the idea of a heterotopic site – "those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others" (Soja, 1996: 149). The struggle to reach a consensus on building the safe house and the unstructured auditing and policing of the donations confirm Soja's assertion that thirding is not a holy trinity but "multisided and contradictory, oppressive and liberating, passionate and routine, knowable and unknowable...a space of multiplicitous representations, investigable through binarised oppositions but also where there are 'other spaces', heterotologies, and paradoxical geographies to be explored" (1999: 276).

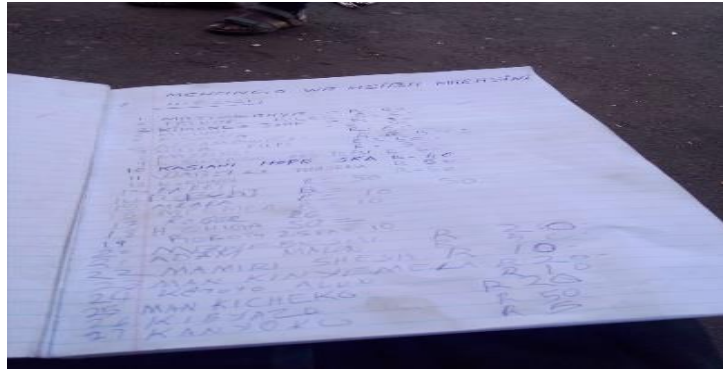


Image 5.10: Ledger

The Sea

Oceans and seas are spaces regulated by states and monitored by the United Nations Convention on the Law and Sea, established in 1982. While the sea can be understood at a highly theoretical level as representing points in a spatial system marked by maritime activity, it carries the emotional significance of hope to the examined community in this study (Tuan, 1975: 152). The stowaway community understood the functional role of maritime travel as a conduit for exiting Africa. Yet, conversations with community members, the engravings on the city's walls with affirmations like '*sea hope*', '*sea power*' and '*sea never dry*' and tattoos on community members' bodies of ships, anchors and ship wheels reveal a relationship with the sea beyond its material and regulatory function. As such, the sea occupied a dialectic of inside and outside consciousness, representing a material and evocative experience for the stowaway community. Most of the participants in this study viewed the sea "as a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live, and this description could be called heterotopology" (Foucault, 1986: 24).



Image 5.11: Tattoo of a Ship



Image 5.12: Sketch of a Container Ship



Image 5.13: Painting of a Ship Wheel



Image 5.14: Sea Affirmations ('Sea Power')



Image 5.15: Jau Rana (name), 2016, Texas



Image 5.16: Adebayo for the Sea Man

For John, 'sea power' carries multiple meanings, outlining, "*First, I explain. You see the dolphin? Yeah. You see the European of [the] ship; the people driving [steering] the ship? They call him [sic] sea power [...] sea power is two different things*". He also noted, "*I can draw the ship, and then maybe I can write the sea power, which means the sea got a power. Like, it can carry the ship, you, see?*". He concluded by stating, "*The sea is like another world because many things are living there [...] Besides the fish, there are other things [...] We say sea power because the sea is carrying many things*" (2021: 31-2). John's account of the sea aligns with San Juan, who explained:

As you know, the sea covers a large space on Earth. You know that? And the sea takes you to every corner of the world. You understand that? So, the sea didn't just exist. It was created by Allah. You see? And the power of the sea is due to the power of God. So, there's a connection between the sea and Allah. The sea is very powerful. That's why so many things are in the sea. The sea contains so many things, more than the land itself. Yeah, and it has very powerful forces. Yeah. That's why we say 'sea power'

because the sea has so many power forces, of which some are sea [sic], and some can't be the sea (San Juan, 2021: 17).

The mythic depiction of the sea also helped them rationalise not hearing from their friends. San Juan explained that the sea has *"forces to make someone vanish or make some disappear. Yeah. That's how you can see the people are overboard. They never be seen again..."* (2021: 17). The idea of *sea power* inspired Chidi's engravings. He had dolphins jumping out of water tattooed on his belly and scrawled a sign on a wall with the affirmation '*Chipanje sailor: sea hope*', with two dolphins jumping out of the water. Chidi explained:

I put the dolphin. I believe, even if I'm taking the ship. I told you, it's got a good heart and a bad heart. You see? Like that. If you're thrown in the water, other fish can eat you, huh? Sharks can eat you. The big fish, too. But dolphins can help you; they can't eat you (Chidi, 2021: 10).

Yet the sea marked hope for this community. For Chidi, *"sea life even to get the dream you choose. I've got lots of brothers to disappear, who live far from South Africa. Others, they [live in] Germany. Others, [live in] America. Others...Got a family now"* (2021: 10). When I pressed John on how much of what he said was real and what aspects were imagined, he stressed that they communicate with friends who have successfully stowed away on social media. He poignantly expressed,

Let me explain you nicely. Okay. I've got hope. I want to vy [go] now Canada, maybe. Okay? I've got no money. I've got no passport. Maybe I've got no complete documents that need to be there. So, that's why I'm a stowaway, yeah. I'm going to take a ship. Okay. Because why? I've got hope to vy [go] there. My friends are already there. They are doing life there, you, see? But they're going with the ship. You see? That's why even me, too, I'm trying to do that way because they are explaining to me: we take a ship, you, see? Yeah, and we got no passport, no what, what, but I'm in Spain now. You see? But the government of Spain take me, put me in a camp, you, see? I'm staying for six months. Make something for me, parent what, what, and now I am free. You see? It's like that, so me, too, I've also got too many hopes. It's like that, uh no, I'm forcing. That's why because the others are there (John, 2021: 34).

The Tanzanian stowaways provided a dynamic account of Durban, reconciling phenomenological, abstract, and material perspectives on place. Their fragmented

experiences illustrate the polysemic nature of place. These views confirmed, contradicted, and expanded existing theories.

Community Values

According to Collyer (2007), social networks are paramount to the success of migrant journeys. [Irregular] migrants are forced to trust the strangers they encounter despite the violence and uncertainty on the road. The literature review identified social, religious, and technological networks essential to undocumented migrants' journeys. These networks build *bounded solidarity* (camaraderie and identity in a particular time and place) and *enforced trust* from the commonalities in experiences (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Muanamoha et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the community values are entrenched through members' *being, becoming, and belonging*. *Being* refers to their temporal (the now) and spatial (the here) present, articulated through their physical and sensory encounters in the identified heterotopic sites (the busses, under the Bridge, the safe house and the sea). *Becoming* refers to their past and present experiences as well as their future ambitions, akin to David Seamon's *place-ballet* metaphor, where places are performed through daily rituals (1980). Finally, *belonging* refers to the identity created through their experience with being and becoming in Durban. *Being, becoming and belonging* are actualised through social and material practices. There are several values intrinsic to the sustenance of this community elaborated below.

Respect

Chief among all values in the community is *respect*, respecting community members, the process and the sea. For San Juan, one earns respect for the time they've been active in the community. He noted, "[There] is no leadership structure. There is no age, but there is respect for the older and younger. That's how it is. And there is about the... I can say the, the time, the timeframe, you know? The new one cannot control the old. No. That's how it is. There must be respect." (2021: 5). Chidi and Canada addressed respect from an interpersonal perspective. The former stated, "...Don't shout [at] others. Talk like you are talking. You must talk nice, brother's leave you. Like that. The rule of respect. If you break respect, people can chase you..." (Chidi, 2021: 11). The latter concurred with Chidi's point, explaining that "... Everyone must respect everyone inside the group. Respect is number one...If someone is coming with some point, you [can't] ignore it. Try to listen, and you can understand what he is willing to talk and you can have an idea inside. Because if you don't listen, it will end up being a problem. He will say he talked before, but people ignored him" (Canada, 2021: 52-3).

Respecting the process is also highly regarded. Chidi and Erick noted that individuals are encouraged to refrain from fighting with the harbour security as it causes problems for

subsequent community members attempting to stow away. Chidi explained, “... [If] Even you fight with security... you make hard times for others coming... if security hits you, he will hit the next person, too” (2021: 11-2). Similarly, Erick stated, “You mustn’t steal anything because if you steal or cause trouble in the harbour, you’ll get other seamen in trouble. The security will say that you aren’t coming for the ship; you are coming to steal. So, some people get hurt or get beaten, you see?” (Erick, 2022: 134). Respecting the process requires that individuals consider the impact of their actions on other members of the community.

Finally, there were inferences about the sea as a mythical figure (also discussed in the previous section). More Fire noted, “You are supposed to respect the sea because there are things you can’t see with your eyes, you check? So, you are supposed to have a prayer and then [pause]. In the sea, some human beings live under the water. I don’t know what you call it, like a genie” (More Fire, 2022: 131). Correspondingly, San Juan mentioned that the sea can determine one’s fate. Therefore, “Sea respect means respecting the sea, the rules, and everything that makes you live with the other sea powers” (San Juan, 2021: 92). Sea power in this context refers to the broader community.



Image 5.17: Sea Affirmations (‘Sea Blood’, ‘Sea Power’, ‘Power of Allah’ and ‘Must all rescue sea or die’)

Shared Resources

In one of my interviews with San Juan, I asked if he would call the men living under the bridge at the busses, Dalton and the Point Waterfront, a community to which he responded:

Yeah. That’s uh, I can say that’s a community, of course; cause if someone dies, people sit down, together. They call each other everywhere,

everywhere [Inaudible]. That a Tanzanian died, or a seaman died. You must do something. Whether to send back home or whether to bury. When somebody has a problem which needs second-hand help, you need to help. If you are there and you don't, then there will be problems for you. That's how it is. Yeah. So, it's a form of community (San Juan, 2021: 6).

According to Alejandra de León, the 'transient community' provides (1) an identity, (2) strategic information relevant to the journey, and (3) resources that compensate for the help kinship cannot provide. Notably, de León rejected the natural assumption by scholars (see Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Singer and Massey, 19998; Muanamoha et al., 2010) that *solidarity* and *trust* work hand in hand. His study on Central American transit migrants revealed that individuals reluctantly trust social networks to survive (de León, 2022: 898). However, de León described his research population as a community "not anchored in local or national imaginaries" (2022: 898). Instead, their shared experiences of suffering generate a common identity, facilitating a coordinated trust (de León, 2022).

In this study, the research population was anchored in a local and national imaginary (Tanzanian stowaways) while simultaneously living in uncertainty (undocumented transit migrants). This bears similarities with a previous study on undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa, where links to a social network of an established migrant community provided social capital for the Mozambican immigrants to access jobs, accommodation and financial assistance in South Africa (Muanamoha et al., 2010: 894). Unlike the study on undocumented Mozambican migrants, the Tanzanian stowaways view Durban as a transitory place before leaving for their desired destination.

A central community value was sharing resources, like donations for the safe house and burials, translating for community members who cannot speak English, and sharing information. San Juan expressed that a

'Ship is not a taxi'. It's not something you are going to board. You hope. You don't know when you'll go because you are still living in the community. So, don't just forget. You think that tomorrow you'll be gone. You'll say tomorrow, and then you can leave even ten years [from then]. If your luck is not there, you'll be counting years. So, you'll have to count years while helping the community to survive. Then, how do you help the community to survive? You should go to the safe house. Help the sick. You see? You should take the sick to hospital (2021: 20).

More Fire confirmed what San Juan said: “ *Even if you go to the hospital and someone knows English very well, he can take you there and translate for you*” (2022: 129). This account complies with Susann Huschke’s concept of *illegality knowledge* fostered by informal social networks to access humanitarian health care while being on the move (2014: 2018). A Dennis Hurley Centre (DHC) clinic coordinator provided health and food services to vulnerable communities in the Durban Central Business District (CBD). San Juan was essential to the community because of his English proficiency. He told me: “*If you speak nice English for someone who doesn’t know how to speak English, then you can make a good interpreter. You need to help. As I told you, I brought some guys to see [clinic coordinator] because I interpreted*” (San Juan, 2021: 22).

Even Marlon Oppenheim – a friend to the community - became a helpful resource in this regard, carting people in his pickup truck. He explained:

But in the process of doing murals all over, it was soon figured out that I had a *bakkie* [pickup truck], and you could fill it up with people. And if there is an emergency, you can call this *Mlungu* [white person], and he would arrive in a *bakkie* and help the situation. So, then, of course, I was called in for all sorts. We were taking people to the hospital. We were taking people off to rehabilitation. We were taking them off to the police station. We were moving bodies. We were taking people to funerals. I was an asset that this community could use in many ways, but I wasn’t really taking anything from it. There was an understanding that I wanted to help in some way or form. And while I wasn’t rich [...] I assisted where I could [...] And I became glorified transport for a while (2022: 103).

Mook Lion also spent time with the community working on a joint graffiti project where he witnessed other communal social and material practices, noting:

The one thing would be the communal cooking and eating. They’d have these huge meals they prepared at the train tracks [under the bridge]. A lot of them [...]. They had these big piles of rice that they used to kind of clean out. It was very time-consuming. They would pick through these piles of rice. I don’t know if they’d got cheap second-hand rice that needed to be cleaned. They seemed to have these different operations. The one was a betting operation; I don’t quite know what they were betting on. They also used to make jewellery together. Their other thing was the shelter they’d invested in [blank area]. I don’t know if you’ve heard of that (2022: 115).



Image 5.18: Communal Cooking area at the Safe House

People collected money for the upkeep of the safe house twice a week. It is unclear how the money was collected or audited, but each participant accounted for the donations. Marlon Oppenheim shared: *“You contributed whatever the hell you had. It could be two rands. It could be five rands. It could be a hundred rands. And if you’ve done well, it could be a thousand rand, which was used to provide food and transport [...]. And booze [alcohol] and cigarettes, and all that stuff to these safe houses. If you contributed, you were eligible to receive care in the safe house. And it was recorded in a ledger. How that was recorded, one doesn’t know”* (2022: 105-6). Canada explained that the collections were also used to pay for transporting community members to their hospital appointments (Canada, 2021: 59).

Correspondingly, More Fire added: *“People by the railway lines – down there - where foreigners stay and sell ganja [marijuana] administer the donations. So, people with a book collect the money from everyone... But not every day; it happens two days a week. The people without money must donate fifty or a hundred Rand, but those with money must give two hundred to five hundred Rand”* (2022: 128-9). I then asked (SL): *“What if you don’t have money?”* More Fire responded: *“They’ll tell you that you must find the money, or those people will sell anything to get the money”* (2022: 129).

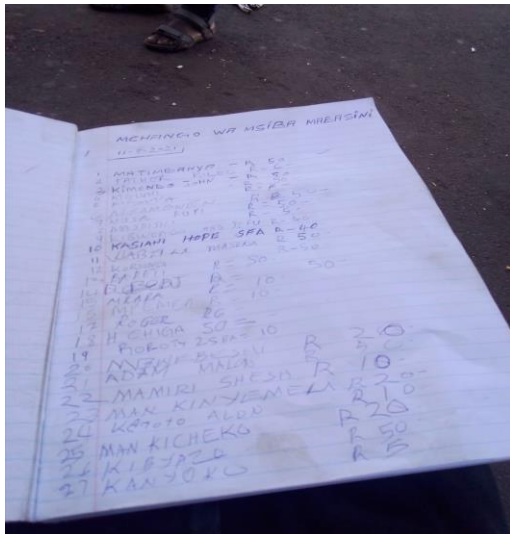


Image 5.19: Ledger for Donations

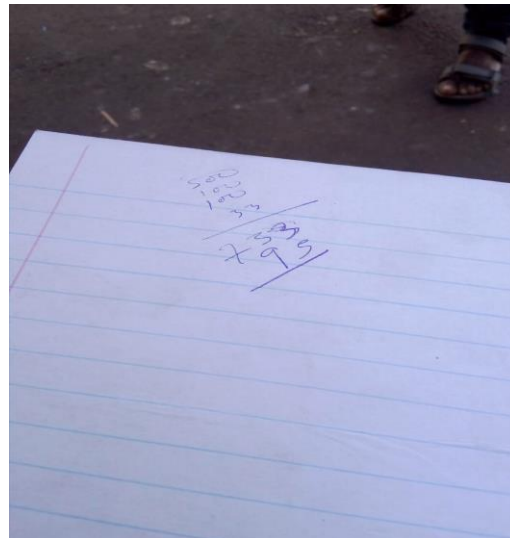


Image 5.20: Ledger for Donations

The financial contributions also paid for the funerals of community members. In my interview with Korea, I asked: “So, when someone dies, do you all put money together for the funeral?” He responded: “Somebody gonna come with the book. How much? R 20, R 50, R 30, R 100? Yeah, everybody gonna pay by force” (Korea, 2021: 49). Marlon Oppenheim offered a similar explanation about the leaders collecting money, though his experience indicated that these were often people who were no longer active in the stowaway community. He explained, “There were those who were reluctantly called back to deal with funerals and organise transporting of bodies” (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 112).

San Juan recorded images of funeral preparations and burials during the data collection for this study, where community leaders collected money and arranged transport to Red Hill cemetery. He provided a detailed explanation of the recorded images, stating:

When we go to bury. First, when we bury a person, we don't put a tombstone. We put flowers. If we are Christians, we put a cross. It depends. Some are Christian, but most of them are Muslims [...]. Then, when the grass is uprooted, we clean the grave. These ones are cleaning the grave. Me too, I clean for my friend who I worked with. My very best friend. Yeah. I cleaned his grave. While other people are burying, other people are cleaning at the grave. You uproot the grass... That's a blessing because, you know? No drinking and smoking when you bury someone. Other people are drunk and smoking. They clean graves [... [Red Hill cemetery] is mainly for the Islamic burials. We also use Adam's cemetery for Christians.

The images provide a lens into how community members come together for funerals, reinforcing previous scholarship on how shared experiences and suffering help irregular migrants generate a common identity that fosters solidarity and trust (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Collyer, 2007; Muanamoha et al., 2010; de León, 2022).



Image 5.21: Red Hill Muslim Cemetery



Image 5.22: Community cleaning a grave



Image 5.23: Islamic burial for a fallen community member

Conditional Solidarity

I witnessed the community's solidarity when I visited *the busses* one afternoon in June 2021. The WAT bus station is a bustling space with people from different backgrounds (local and international) selling different goods and services. Korea noted, "*We are a dangerous brotherhood. We are too close. Don't touch him. Don't try. If you touch him, I'm coming. The other one is coming. Another one is coming. We will finish you because you are wrong. And everybody is like a soldier*" (Korea, 2021: 49). I captured my experience in one of my journal entries:

10/06/2021

The Busses

I saw men selling pills in broad daylight. Apparently, these pills were Viagra. My research participants sold small helpings of a clear alcoholic beverage for five rand. Canada said he aimed to make a seventy rand profit from his sales today, enough to buy food and airtime [...]. Korea reminded me of the day I interviewed him while offering to repair any of my damaged shoes.

At one point, the Durban Metro Police came to the busses and created a scene, padding down the people opposite from where we were sitting, suspected to be selling drugs. People within the community tipped off the culprits, so when the police arrived, they did not find anything. It turns out a petite Zulu lady selling legitimate goods at the busses was hiding the drugs. The police were all male, so they could not search females. I witnessed the power of community.

However, solidarity among the stowaways was conditional and usually based on one's adherence to the rules. Violence is not unique to this migrant community. Noelle Brigden (2015) and Alejandra de León (2022) critiqued the romantic notion of social capital in irregular transit migrant journeys. They identified distrust, nonconformity and criminal violence as the leading factors for harm and danger in such communities.

Marlon Oppenheim said, *"If you broke certain rules, you would be punished. And there was punishment for all those different rules. And it was principally based on the Quran in many ways"* (2022: 106). Canada confirmed what Marlon said, opining, *"Sometimes, you get slapped. It depends on what you do. If you did [a] big issue, you get [a] big punishment. If you [do] a small thing, they can say, okay, collect tomatoes and bring them to us"* (2021: 54). In extreme instances the punishment result in death – exemplifying the *dangerous* brotherhood. Erick provided a harrowing account:

I can tell you something. If you walk by the bridge and look down, you can see a meeting. If you kill, you must be punished. That life is very dangerous, sister because you live without family. If we get cross and we don't understand each other, I can take a knife and kill you. About one or two months ago, four people died from fighting. If you get arrested for killing someone, we have a large community meeting where you have to explain what happened to the leadership. They will ask why you didn't tell them you had problems with the person you killed because killing someone is incorrect. Therefore, because you killed someone, you must die. If you are lucky, maybe you will go to the hospital, but the people hit you with many stones [...] I would never want to kill someone, so if I hit someone with a

stone, it would haunt me because I've caused someone to die (2022: 137- 8).

These sentiments give credence to Lefebvre's argument about the dynamic nature of social space, in which he stated, “[c]ontains a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such ‘objects’ are not only things but also relations” (1991: 77). Although Lefebvre’s argument is situated within the broader discourse of abstract and material space, this study addresses the relational nature of marginalised communities occupying heterotopic or ‘other spaces’ (Foucault. 1984; Soja, 1996).

Hope and Memory

Marking Identity

Making marks or constructing markers are ways people communicate identity, claim or personalise and memorialise space (Lange, 2016). Several studies report the significance of material items like bags, clothes, electronics, food, hygiene/aid and personal documents in migrant journeys (De León, 2013; Barry, 2019; McGuire, 2020; Martin, 2023). Migrants also tend to leave markings on public surfaces, exhibiting a universal human tendency to mark the existence of our being in places we inhabit and occupy, even if only for a limited time (Zieleniec, 2017; 2018). In the same way, the Tanzanian stowaway community makes its presence visible to the broader citizenry through public art and material objects.

Public graffiti is not unique to the Durban stowaway community, as Sean Christie documented the graffiti and scribbles with slogans like ‘Seas are forever and ever’, ‘Today Africa Tomorrow Yurope’, ‘Sea never dry’, and ‘*Escape from Cape*’ in public spaces by the *Beachboys* in Cape Town (2016). Likewise, public surfaces are littered with markings specific to the stowaways’ identity, such as ‘*Sea to Sea, Sea Blood, Sea Power, Sea Hope, Sea Respect, My Dream, You Never Know*’ (see Image 5.24). Other slogans include a person’s name, date, and desired city or country. For example, ‘*Njingi Alone 019 [2019], Bremen [Germany]; Full Hope*’ (see Image 5.25). It is also common to encounter imagery with sea motifs, including ship wheels, container ships, anchors, boats and dolphins on public surfaces, tattooed on people and scribbled in books (see Image 5.24, Image 5.25, and Image 5.26).

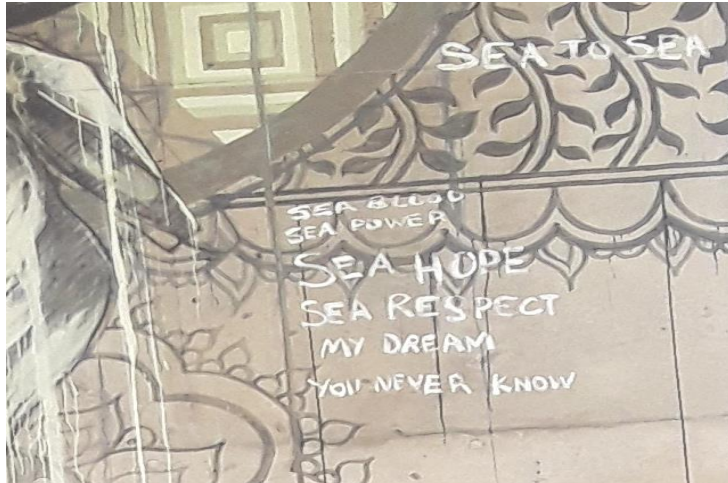


Image 5.24: 'Sea to sea, sea blood, sea power, sea hope, my dream, you never know.'



Image 5.25: Njingi, 2019, Bremen, Full Hope **Image 5.26: Tattoo of a Ship Anchor**

Two words repeatedly appeared during the interviews regarding the rationale for the graffiti: *hope* and *memory*. San Juan provided a reason for the public graffiti capturing this perspective:

The purpose [of the graffiti] is hope and remembrance. When you see either a name or a jingle, you can call it a punchline. That punchline used to be for someone, but he is in France now. You will read this punchline and tell others: 'This punchline, [chuckles] the one who wrote [it] is in Germany'. You see? It's [about] hope and remembrance. And some people are dead, you see? Some people are back home with large houses, while others are cruising. (2021: 3).

Hope and memory are understood in multiple ways. First, it gave the community something positive to cling to in their sordid conditions. Second, it connected them with community members who passed through Durban. Erick moved to South Africa in 2001. He recalled: "*I felt proud of the people who passed through South Africa because many people have written*

their names; others are now overseas. So, even if I dream of going one day, I must write your memory there. The people who come after me will see that I was here and get hope that they can pass through South Africa" (Erick, 2022: 138). Finally, the affirmations can also resonate with the broader citizenry. San Juan provided a rich perspective on the impact of the graffiti beyond community members, noting:

You know? The words *'mind time, no matter how long you are here'*. If you encode [decode] it from your perspective, it will touch you in any way. You will know that this one is touching me in this way, you see? It's transients because it's directed to transients. But other people, when they read it, they'll get something (San Juan, 2021: 87).

Beyond hope and memory, the graffiti captures the community's existence. Mook Lion noted that *I mean, it's recording history. Whatever the artists choose to represent and the materials they use to capture a moment in time that is passing and keeps changing. I guess it gives a feeling of hope and meaning to living and existing*" (2022:122). Correspondingly, Marlon Oppenheim stated, *"You are actualising life by writing and proving to yourself. Like, 'Time never stops, no way'. It is one of the major signs written all over the place. It is an acknowledgement of that, that you've written something today and don't know what the fuck is going to happen tomorrow. But your writing will still be there. It might not, but it might still be there"* (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 111). Despite being hidden in plain sight, the community communicates its existence through inscriptions in public spaces, constructing what philosopher Edward Casey labelled a *place memory*: "the stabilising persistence of place as a container of experiences that powerfully contributes to its intrinsic memorability" (1987/2002: 186-7).

Similarly, they marked their identity on the safe house walls, which only community members visited. In addition to the popular refrains and personalised markings, San Juan presented a captivating image of elephants walking in unison towards a palm tree along a shoreline painted on a wall in the safe house. He interpreted the image (see Image 5.27) accordingly:

This is the sea, and this is Egypt. The elephants are going to the pyramids of Egypt. It is where the knowledge has started. The seamen are hungry for the knowledge and the sea. Egypt is also linked to Islam. The Red Sea is significant for the seamen and sea power. If there is no sea, then there shouldn't be any picture in this place... The man by the palm tree is a seaman with a bag. He is waiting. When the elephants pass near the sea, it means the horn of the ship coming to the harbour (San Juan, 2021: 97).



Image 5.27: Mural in the Safe House

These images fuel optimism in the community, allowing its members to cling to hope despite their challenging circumstances. John told me, “*You see. Our life first is hope. You can’t live without hope. You know the story, you see? We are living there, but we’ve got a hope in our heart*” (2021: 33). Canada equally listed hope as a cardinal rule for the community. He expressed:

Don’t lose hope. Keep on trying. It is like you are trying to do something today, and you fail. Don’t say God doesn’t love me. I failed. No. Just wake up the next day and keep on trying—same thing. Next day, you are going to fail, too, the next day. Keep trying until you get it because there were people who stayed there for ten years getting nothing, but one day, they took ship, and now they are in America. They are working in big companies (Canada, 2021: 53).

Marking spaces extends beyond designating territories and reinforcing identities (Lange, 2016: 872). It memorialises the past, serves as a symbolic reference for the future, and actualises the present experiences of community members, illustrating the power places have to traverse the spatial (here) and temporal (now) present.

More specifically, it provides the Tanzanian stowaways with the agency to take ownership of the heterotopic sites they occupy. This view aligns with Gabriella Soto's argument that the vernacular markings of undocumented migrants on the concrete surfaces of two culverts in Southern Arizona transform non-places (like highways and rural roads) into particular migrant contexts (2017: 183). Mook Lion provided a helpful analysis of the community’s public markings: “*As a disenfranchised person, it can give you a sense of worth. Especially when you drive or walk past and see your mark on the wall, you get a good feeling. You can say: ‘Yeah, I bombed it. I left my mark.’ It boosts your self-esteem in a way, I think*” (2022: 120).



Image 5.28: Public Engraving



Image 5.29: Public Engravings

Religion

As in many African countries, Tanzania was affected by the impact of identity-based division resulting from German and British colonialism. Although identities were primarily divided along racial lines (European, Asian, Arab and African), religion played an integral role in separating people. There are two predominant religions among the African population: Christianity and Islam. According to the 1967 population consensus on the Tanzanian mainland, 32 per cent were Christians, and 30 per cent were Muslim (Poncian, 2015: 54). European colonialism introduced missionary schools, which benefited Christians and sidelined the educational development of Muslims who could not enrol in these schools unless they denied their Islamic faith.

However, tensions simmered during the Arusha Declaration and its socialist Ujamaa policies. The abandonment of socialist ideologies and policies and its replacement with economic and political liberalisation in 1985 resurrected Christian-Muslim tensions, with Muslim leaders accusing the Tanzanian government of discriminating against them in education, employment and several other spheres (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Poncian, 2015). San Juan confirmed the socio-political historical context, explaining: *“Most Christians in Tanzania, like me, I can say, are so educated. It is very hard to find them in this life. Yeah. So, many of the people who are coming into this life are Muslims because they are uneducated, and their lives are a bit. Because they are denied advantage, you see?”* (2021: 16).

Islam plays a significant role in the Tanzanian stowaway community. Marlon Oppenheim said the community rules were *“principally based on the Quran in many ways [...]”* (2022: 106). He also commented, “Eating with the guys, there was always a prayer, whether a Christian prayer or *dua* [calling out to Allah]. There was always a prayer before and after a meal. There were always handwashing rituals before and after the meals. I suppose that is from the Quran or Bible, whatever that might be from” (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 107). Islam is so significant that San Juan noted, *“Even the Christian, when we eat, will never make the sign of the cross. He will just say Bismillāh [In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful]. Even*

when we talk about things for tomorrow, we say *inshallah* [God willing]. Something it brings in us, hope [sic]. And that's why people who are drunkards when it comes to Ramadan [holy month of fasting] fast thirty days because they have that hope. They believe that God will help them" (2021: 17). Chidi poignantly added: "You must make *dua* [prayers]. You must pray to God. God is watching" (2021: 12). If the public and personal markings promote hope, religion arguably sustains it.

The community also created makeshift mosques in the safe house and under the bridge. According to San Juan:

There's a house that has rooms where people can sleep. A place where people can get *wudu* [Islamic procedure for cleansing parts of the body before praying] – clean themselves before *salahs* [prayers performed by Muslims]. It's called the mosque because it was intended for the mosque. And there are places down there. There's not a house but a nice place with a carpet. Clean every time. And, even the utensils used are written this is for the mosque. So, they can't be mixed with other things [...]. I can say that even in jails, some places are kept [reserved for praying]. That is a mosque. You can't even get in with the shoes [...] If I want to pray and go there early, I do *muezzins* [the official who proclaims the call to prayer], you know *muezzins* – *Azzam* – call to prayer? I do it, and I stand as Imam. I wear nice clothes, stand there as an *imam* [leader], and read the prayer. I may read the morning prayer. Somebody may read the evening prayer. (2021: 18-9).



Image 5.30: Makeshift Mosque Area



Image 5.31: Makeshift Mosque Utensils

Erick and More Fire also mentioned that people attend mosques on Queen (now Denis Hurley Street) and St George's Streets (now Maud Mfusi Street) in the CBD. Noteworthy, More Fire explained, "You'll find that the Durban Muslim community helped them a lot" (2022: 131). Although Erick was more familiar with the mosque on St George's Street, he acknowledged:

We made a place for people who don't want to go to the mosque. But it's a special place we use for dua—for the people who die—because many people are dying. When people take the ship, they sometimes get lost. Sometimes, we use it [the mosque under the bridge] to pray for them, and sometimes, we want to make a dua for everyone, so you must take your shoes off and pray. It's a small place; it's not too big (Erick, 2022: 135).

The *Beachboys* in Cape Town also pray in their makeshift accommodation under the Foreshore Bridges. Christie provided an account of his experience at the funeral of a slain community member, *Kiziwe*, in which he observed “upwards of a hundred young men lining the highway embankment, their faces bowed, and their eyes closed. A tall, dark man in a white robe chants a *du'a* above the sound of gulls and hammer blows in the nearby port” (2016: 62). Christie translated the prayer accordingly, “*O Allah! Surely Manyama Kiziwe is under Your protection and in the rope of Your security, so save him from the trial of the grave and from the punishment of the Fire. You fulfil promises and grant rights, so forgive him and have mercy on him. Surely You are most giving, Most Merciful*” (translated prayer cited in Christie, 2016: 63).

Yet, *Kiziwe's* death offers insight into the sordid reality faced by most men in these communities. Living in makeshift heterotopic sites renders one vulnerable to violent uncertainties. The community acts outside the parameters of the law and, as such, can take the law into its own hands. Marlon Oppenheim lamented the fact that many community members drank an alcoholic substance called *gaveen* (a toxic alcoholic drink), which he argued “was used as a means of manipulation” (2022: 106). More Fire said that a good Muslim should not drink or smoke. However, he acknowledged that the men in the stowaway community drink and smoke because it makes them forget about their stress. He noted, “*You'll find that some don't want to lose hope, so [they] drink to stay hopeful*” (More Fire, 2022: 132). In line with More Fire's observations, many people I interviewed used alcohol and drugs to fuel their hopes.

San Juan fleshed More Fire's sentiments in one of our final interviews, noting:

You know, every day, you ask me why you are living this life. You know? We know this life is not a good life, but we are living it. We know what we are doing is dangerous. We like good things. We like things to be cool, but we are still living this life. As I told you, many people are living in this life. Some guys are just running, but we don't deserve this life. That's why we need to go. But we are still living, you, see? (San Juan, 2021: 89).

Conclusion

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the findings, illustrating the complex experiences of the Tanzanian stowaway community in their attempt to create a sense of place in Durban. The community in this study revealed that a place can be dynamic and fluid, yet it relies on nearness and locality. Moreover, social relations (in solidarity and discordance) are where being, becoming, and belonging are actualised through space and time.

Chapter Six: Mobile Journeys

Introduction

The previous chapter delved into how the Tanzanian stowaway community created a sense of place through their social and material practices in Durban. This chapter addresses the motivating factors that resulted in their mobile and immobile encounters, particularly the routes they undertook from Tanzania to South Africa and the challenges they faced while accessing and concealing themselves on ships. The chapter also discusses how ambiguous international maritime laws create loopholes to exploit by all actors involved in stowaway activities. Although there are parallels with previous and ongoing scholarship in irregular transit migration, this chapter provides an account that personalises the experiences of the Tanzanian stowaway community living in Durban.

Motivating Factors

Leaving Africa

The stowaways attributed several diverse and compelling reasons for leaving Tanzania. First, they wanted to leave the continent in search of a better life. Durban Harbour, one of the busiest ports in Africa, was an ideal place to achieve this goal. However, their journeys comprised multiple challenges. While the desire for a better life united the community, their reasons for embarking on this risky journey were diverse, adding a layer of complexity to their experiences. John and Mohammed, for instance, left home as young boys in search of good fortune. Upon arriving in South Africa, they were told success stories about young stowaways like themselves, which instilled a sense of hope in them. John explained:

Let me explain [to] you nicely. Okay. I've got hope. I want to vy [go] now Canada, maybe. Okay? I've got no money. I've got no passport. Maybe I've got no complete documents that need to be there. So, that's why I'm a stowaway, yeah (John, 2021, 34).

Alternatively, *Canada* initially viewed his time in South Africa as more permanent, but he met people who convinced him to stow away. He expressed:

Yeah. I met up with my friend, and he told me it was a better way. You can get a ship to go overseas because South Africa is different from how it was before. Everything was well, but everything is *vying* (going) down for now. So, you take [a] ship and go somewhere, Canada, America. You see? (Canada, 2021: 51).

San Juan's motivation was deeply rooted in his yearning for a place to call home, a sentiment that resonates with many. He shared, "*Home is where we are not strangers [...] Yeah. Where we left our mark and identity. However, we have a perception of home as a place we need to go to—our destinations. You see? Thought destination. As I told you, I like Puerto Rico – San Juan. I can call it home to my friends*" (San Juan, 2021: 24). Chidi, on the other hand, left Tanzania in 2013, motivated by his longing for a better life. He explained that he came to South Africa "... *Because I found a life here. I want[ed] to escape here...*" (Chidi, 2021: 67). His aspirations were simple, "*My dream. Me, I want to win in my life [...] I want my wife and my kids there. I want my life to be in the right way*" (Chidi, 2021: 73).

Contrary to the desires expressed by individuals mentioned above, Korea's (a stowaway from Ghana who lives among the Tanzanian stowaway community) journey started in 1993/4 when he hopped on a ship from Takoradi port in Ghana that he thought was headed to Australia, but docked in South Africa. Since then, he claimed to have stowed away to Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Guinea Bissau, Namibia and Puerto Rico, which he remarked, "*Ay, baba! [an endearing expression] All nonsense*" (Korea, 2021: 43). However, he was particularly excited to discuss his time in South Korea, which is how he earned the epithet, *Korea*. He recalled his time in the country by first listing the places he had been and subsequently recounting his experience:

Seoul, Incheon, Seoul, Busan, Daejeon, Ulsan. There is no place I haven't been. My first job, I started it. Ay! That *laanie* [intelligent, well-to-do person] was very nice. The golf courses. You know the golf? That man, he liked me. He wanted to leave the business for me and the [his] son. That man, he loved me but he was very strict. He doesn't give a chance [...] I stayed maybe three or four years. Let's say four years. I got money there. Too much. I tried to build... but the house never finished, till now [...] In Ghana, I was having three cars. Let's say this Quantum, I was having three and two taxis (Korea, 2021: 44).

When I asked why he left the country, he noted, "*Immigration bamba'd [caught me]. They put you [me]. You have to take a plane by force. Ay, Baba! The way I fight [fought] immigration*" (Korea, 2021: 44).

Working on a Ship

The second reason attributed to stowing away was the desire to make money from working on commercial ships. This coheres with scholarship categorising stowing away beyond trespassing and theft to include refugees, economic migrants and asylum seekers (NEP&I, 2004; Chen et al., 2005; Walters, 2008). John explained in our interview, "It's not maybe if you

take a ship, you vy [go], maybe the European going to leave you there, no. Other Europeans, there's a place here to work, you see? Yeah. You got documents, maybe, to work on the ship. You don't have, they make for you [...]" (2021, 34).

In another instance, Aziz claimed to have worked on a ship he boarded from the port in Richards Bay to Singapore. He also acknowledged that some people stow away to leave the continent, noting, "*We were working on the ship. Yeah. Because that's what we always like to do [...] You can make money [and] if you don't like to work on the ship as long as you are out of Africa. So, you can drop anywhere overseas*" (Aziz, 2021: 30).

Alternatively, Chidi did not intend to work on a ship, but he was caught hiding on a ship he claimed was en route to Montevideo from Cape Town. According to Chidi, "*I worked on the ship. I did the paint colour [...] I'm hiding, but they see me. You see? Someone catches [caught] me already [...] Yeah. They give [gave] me room. They give [gave] us food. Me and a friend. They give [gave] us food*" (2021: 68).

Although verifying the accuracy of these accounts is difficult, they align with scholarship and first-hand accounts on stowaway mobilities by current seamen. According to the North England Protection and Indemnity Association (NEP&I), shipmasters have a humanitarian obligation to provide food, shelter and toilet facilities to stowaways (NEP&I, 2004: 5). Perfect Junior (a seaman) also confirmed that there was a time when people could access ships at Maydon Wharf without papers. However, this changed since the port security measures had tightened after the 'Manila Amendment' in 2010. He explained:

I remember there was a time when you could walk from Maydon Wharf to gate number one, near the boats by the Yacht Club. It was like a free port that you could walk around. However, things got more challenging in 2010, and it isn't easy to stow away nowadays. If you don't have documents, you can't go near a ship. Before, the captain could make a plan for you if you were strong enough to work on a vessel (Perfect Junior, 2022: 149).

Extorting Money from Shipping Companies

The International Maritime Organisation's (IMO) guidelines are not straightforward or binding. They place the burden of returning stowaways to their home country or place of embarkation on the ship crew and its agents. Furthermore, shipping companies are responsible for paying hefty fines of up to USD 5000 in countries like the USA, Canada and Australia and up to USD 160,000 in Spain (Walters, 2008: 4). Perfect Junior (2022: 149) explained:

Let's say we go from Durban to Mauritius, and then, on the way, we find a stowaway on board. We must report the stowaway to the port control and

all the agencies when we get to Mauritius; we must follow all the rules. After that, the company must pay for the stowaway's pocket money, air ticket, shopping money and hotel costs because we are responsible for deporting the stowaway to their home country.

According to Kotie Geldenhuys, this has resulted in the proliferation of 'professional stowaways' (predominantly Tanzanian nationals) in East, West and Southern Africa (Geldenhuys, 2018; gard report, 2023). The result is often a lengthy game of the crew trying to ascertain the stowaway's point of embarkation and birthplace (Walters, 2008; Christie, 2016). Therefore, the quickest and cheapest solution is often for the captain to offer stowaways a bribe in US dollars (USD) (Christie, 2016; Geldenhuys, 2018).

Sean Christie contextualised the complexity of catching stowaways on vessels. He provided an account from Adam (a *Beachboy* from Cape Town) noting:

It is not as simple as them just buying us a ticket [...] The agent must first get the stowaway's name and then check that this is correct with the Tanzanian embassy in Pretoria [...] The hustle is fairly straightforward. The stowaways understand that time costs money in the world of shipping and that chances of being offered a bribe rise if they drag out the process of deportation (Christie, 2016: 96).

Sometimes, stowaways use the ships to return home with extra pocket money. According to Perfect Junior:

Also, some guys don't have money or a passport to go home. So, the easy way for them to get deported is to take the ship. When they do that, they only get USD 100 for pocket money, which seems a lot, especially if you have nothing, because, in my country, USD 100 amounts to 20,000 Tanzanian shillings. So, he can survive for a month doing whatever he wants to do, but it isn't much to survive outside Tanzania. So, some guys do that to get home because there are guys under the bridge who have been there for so long and are now tired (Perfect Junior, 2022: 150).

Securitisation of Harbour Ports

As discussed in the literature review and previous chapter, private security companies are increasingly prevalent at harbour ports internationally (Walters, 2008). These agencies provide centralised databases illustrating stowaway hotspots, providing sniffer dogs and routine searchers (NEP&I, 2004: 5). Marlon Oppenheim (2022: 108) noted that "... a lot of the young kids were coming in with this wonderful idea that they would jump on a ship and get

out. *Meanwhile, you're going to get caught because there are about forty-odd dogs released on every ship*". This view was confirmed by Perfect Junior (a seaman), who explained that "...companies do a stowaway search before they leave the port. So, we call those guys with the dogs and stuff like that to avoid these problems" (Perfect Junior: 2022: 152).

The Complex Relationship Between Port Security and Stowaways

The relationship between stowaways and security personnel is complex. Chidi expressed that previously, stowaways could befriend port security, who would, in turn, help them access ships. Geldenhuys (2018: 42) also acknowledged that bribing port security allowed stowaways to board vessels. However, the increase in private security personnel has resulted in a violent relationship between the two groups. Chidi (2021: 72) noted:

You're gonna make friends before, not now, because the security's changed, you see? There is different security. Before, it was KwaZulu-Natal [a state port-security contingent], but now it is *Fidelity* [a private security company]. *Fidelity* don't play with people. *Fidelity* kill[s]. It beats you until you kill [die]. That KwaZulu-Natal can beat you, but can say leave it. But *Fidelity* can kill you, but others, *Mjayel* [also a private security company]. You know the *Mjayeli* security [company]? It kill[s] too. And the *Isidingo* security [company]. Ah! Security is killing someone. Before, we used to be friendly... Can go there in the harbour. Got *ganja* [marijuana], even smoke. Gonna show where you gonna pass. See? Gonna give Ganja and money small, and I'm gonna show you. There, pass there. Even go drink. They're gonna give you. See?

Following Chidi's harrowing account, Marlon Oppenheim (2022: 110) provided a nuanced perspective of the violent encounters between the Tanzanian stowaway community and private port security companies:

Yeah. You always got told the gory stuff, and you got told the beating, and you were told – every now and again – there was a really nice captain that put you in work overalls and sent you off when you got to your destination. It was long ago, so I wouldn't really know, but I was documenting those stories. I was also chatting with the port security guards [laughs]. The stories you heard from the security guards compared to the stowaways were chalk and cheese. The stowaways were rough (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 110).

Exploiting Loopholes in International Maritime Laws

Ambiguous laws and increased port security have created a situation that ship companies, port security, law enforcement, and stowaways can exploit. While the 'Manila Amendment' regulates and ensures the safety Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping for Seafarers (STCW), shipping companies must pay hefty fines if stowaways are found on board. Despite the International Maritime Organisation's (IOM) advocacy for the humane treatment of stowaways, there have been instances of abuse and killings of stowaways (Walters, 2008: 4). This was confirmed by Perfect Junior (2022: 152): *"Last year, I saw a guy thrown overboard with a Chinese ship coming out in Richards Bay somewhere, and it was all over the internet, but I didn't know the guys"*.

Additionally, stowaways exploit ambiguous laws for selfish gains. San Juan accessed a ship at Durban Harbour heading towards Madagascar. However, he was caught when the ship reached Richards Bay. He said he hoped to get caught outside South Africa to make money. San Juan (2021: 85) explained, *"If I had went [gone] up to Mozambique, at least, I would have got something. Maybe, \$ 2 500 [USD]"*. This experience is in accord with Noelle Brigden and Cetta Mainwaring's (2016: 21) argument that migrants exercise their agency by leveraging their knowledge of international laws to negotiate safer travel conditions with authorities, even when immobilised. The Tanzanian stowaways understand that shipping companies stand to lose much money from fines imposed by government authorities, so paying a bribe is a cheaper and less arduous option. In some cases, stowing away is the only way of getting home. The dynamic at the Durban Harbour reveals the agency the stowaway community can exercise in exploiting loopholes in international maritime laws.

Land Journeys

The journey to South Africa was arduous for the Tanzanian stowaway community members; some people walked for days, and others were illegally transported by vehicles. This experience concurs with Ángela Irazo's (2021: 5) claim that being on the move is fraught with friction, breaks or entrapment, which departs from normative approaches that describe mobility and immobility as binary actions (Schapendonk and Steel, 2014: 268). Furthermore, a single journey may include multiple modes of transport, including a boat, a freight train, a bus, a private car and the secret compartment of a cargo truck (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016: 13). These complexities were evident among the Tanzanian stowaway community.

Marlon Oppenheim claimed that people utilised multiple means of entering South Africa, stating, *"Some guys flew. Some walked, and some took a bus or hitchhiked. However, it was all primarily based on whether you had a criminal record behind you. Moreover, if you did,*

there was a solid chance that you would get caught. So, those with criminal records often went with truckers” (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 112). This confirms Susan Coutin’s viewpoint that:

Like cargo, migrants become objects to be smuggled. As they cross borders without authorisation, it is as though a border forms around them, alienating them from their social surroundings and making their very humanity questionable (Coutin, 2005: 199).

Walking

The Tanzanian stowaway community described their perilous journeys, dangerous encounters and misguided routes, mostly walking across borders (Coutin, 2005: 199). Most of the participants in this study illegally crossed the Tanzanian border from the southeastern city of *Mtwara* into Mozambique. The conditions were challenging, with San Juan (2021: 155) explaining:

I experienced some very harsh experiences. You see? Those guys. You see? That river has got crocodiles – Ruvuma/Rovuma River – you see? Yeah. There, there are crocodiles and big hippos. Before you cross the river, they tell you that the money to cross the river is, maybe, R 10 [10 rand]. But when you get to the middle of the river, they change the story; they want like R 50 [50 rand]. And then if you say no, they say, ‘We are staying, and we are not going’. There have been many instances of people dying.

More Fire illegally crossed the border into Mozambique, where he tried making money from illegal mining. Unfortunately, he could not sustain himself because tourists were not buying the illegal stones. He then moved towards South Africa through Mozambique, from Mtwara to Pemba and from Beira to Katembe (near the South African border). According to More Fire, *“We walked in some places and took trucks in other areas...”* (More Fire, 2022: 124). The journey was filled with uncertainties and unplanned trajectories, resulting in a perpetual transitory phase (Collyer, 2007; Schapendonk, 2014). After crossing the Tanzanian border, More Fire and his friends took two months to reach Katembe – a town near the South African border. He noted:

We slept in Katembe for two days, and then after that, we took the lorry again. We didn’t have money because the money we made in Beira was finished. We didn’t eat or drink water; it was very tough, you see? Moreover, we were feeling hungry, you see? Our stomachs were empty. So, we took the lorry again, but we had nothing in our pockets. We were three guys, and we thought we could explain to the guy that we didn’t have money. However,

he kicked us out of the car when we told him about not having money. He said, 'We don't give you guys any help. You need to jump out of the vehicle because here we need money.' Yeah. We jumped out of the car near a bush, which was already nighttime. So, we decided to walk, walk, walk (More Fire, 2022: 125).

Additionally, More Fire (2022: 125) noted, "*Yeah. It was dangerous because there were lions and all these dangerous animals, but people weren't scared. We walked until we reached the border. After two days, we got to the border because we walked day and night [...] our feet were swollen from walking for long*". This account captures the disturbing stories of fear, violence and risk of injury en route (see Coutin, 2005; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Horsti, 2018).

Like More Fire, other participants also talked about walking long distances between hitchhiking lifts from passing trucks to compensate for their lack of finances. Canada shared that he left Tanzania in 2009, travelling through Mozambique. He noted, "*Yeah. I didn't have the money, but I end[ed] up walking on foot [...] It was like 14 days*" (Canada, 2021: 50-1). Erick also explained how having limited finances forced him to walk. He noted,

I used a bus from Tanzania to the Mozambican border and took a small car to Nampula in Mozambique when I got to the border. After that, there is a bus to Maputo, but you have to walk if you don't have money. Ay! It is tough because you have to walk from Nampula to the next village. You stay in that village for maybe two or three days and then take a walk again to another town until you get to someplace called Inchope, which is like a [city] centre (Erick, 2022: 133).

San Juan had a Tanzanian passport, which made accessing states slightly easier (see Image 6.1 and Image 6.2). He described a time when he travelled from Cape Town to Angola in an attempt to journey North towards Morocco because he had overstayed his three-month stay in South Africa, and his passport was about to expire. During this trip, San Juan experienced multiple challenges, leading him to re-route through Namibia, Zambia and Botswana multiple times. This journey resembled the fragmented and unplanned migrant trajectories that complicate the relationship between mobility and immobility (Schapendonk and Steel, 2014; Iranzo, 2021). The excerpt from an interview with San Juan provides a detailed account of his journey:

Yeah, my passport stamp had three days to expire, and the road to get the stamp is very far. I walked and walked. Whenever I [hitch]hiked, the trucks

are going. They are just coming from the way I am coming. There was nowhere to go. I had nothing. I just had a book and a bible (San Juan, 2021: 82).



Image 6.1: San Juan's Passport (Source: San Juan) Image 6.2: San Juan's Passport (Source: San Juan)

Travelling like Panyas (Rats)

In addition to walking, the Tanzanian stowaways described travelling in illegal transport across borders. Chidi explained that it took him a month to travel to South Africa, noting, *"I [it] take [took] so long. Maybe, one month [...] I came with a bus. [The] bus [travelled] that way [through] Mozambique"* (Chidi, 2021: 67). More Fire did not have adequate documentation or the financial means to travel to South Africa, so he relied on small trucks. He explained, *"... We didn't have a passport, and we only travelled with a paper – a travel document – but it was temporary [...]. We always travelled in a truck because we didn't have money to take a bus"* (More Fire, 2022: 124).

Correspondingly, San Juan described travelling to South Africa illegally. He stated, *"We took the truck there in our country, you see? (San Juan, 2021: 64). He clarified, "Not just a truck. It can even be a small car for someone who knows. Panya. It's called a panya, like a rat. That's according to us, like Tanzanians [...] It can get across. [Do] You see rats? They just cross the ways in which..."*

Erick corroborated this account, noting that private vehicles were used to transport people without passports or visas. He explained, *"When we got to Maputo, we took a private car, which usually takes people without a passport or visa, to the border of Mozambique and South Africa. We jumped the fence and entered South Africa at the border. Once in South Africa,*

you can get a truck to Manguzi. After Manguzi, we take it easy because we are already in South Africa." (Erick, 2022: 133).

The illicit modes of transportation were uncomfortable and dangerous. San Juan explained, *"Yeah, it's uncomfortable. Because even a car that transports five people may transport twenty-six people. You see? So, I remember one of the guys was from Mozambique. He wanted to come to South Africa. Just suffocated, but he never died"* (San Juan, 2021: 64-5). This concurs with the experiences of people being smuggled from South to North America, like cargo in station wagons with 15 to 20 people or contorting their bodies in cramped vehicles, forced to urinate on themselves or take pills to prevent them from defecating (see Coutin, 2005; Basok *et al.*, 2015; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2017).

However, this group also bypassed authorities by bribing corrupt officials. San Juan noted, *"The driver has ways of bribing the soldiers or the police"* (San Juan, 2021: 64). Concerning the incident of the passenger almost suffocating, San Juan mentioned that the authorities *"ask for bilhete – like an ID. Moreover, when you don't have them, they ask for corruption. You see? So, when you give the driver the cash, he will give them"* (San Juan, 2021: 65). Corrupt officials exist at various intervals en route exploiting precarious migrants. San Juan and his friends crossed the border from Mozambique into South Africa with a Volkswagen Kombi operated by soldiers. He described entering South Africa, noting:

We crossed the border the illegal way. Yeah, and the Kombi was driven by the soldier. It's their business. Moreover, if you decide not to take the Kombi, some soldiers are in the bushes, and they search you, take everything, and let you go. They never tell. They let you go with nothing. So, at least you should pray that some vehicles can cross you over the border. From there, there is Durban (San Juan, 2021: 66).

Despite the inhumane conditions of *"concealing yourself in an interim moment on a truck [...]"* (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 112) The rationale for boarding the illicit transportation was simple: one was unidentifiable. According to Marlon Oppenheim, *"Papers were necessary. You stick out like a sore thumb as a foreigner. Even if not a passport, papers are essential. You had to have some form of document. If you didn't, you weren't going to get very far. That was my understanding. You needed some form of documentation. Whether it was refugee status or anything, you needed something to identify you as someone who existed from somewhere"* (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 113). However, he clarified this was *"[n]ot people smuggling on mass. Not to my knowledge. I've never encountered any of that. Not to say that it doesn't exist, but I stopped asking many of those questions"* (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 113).

Resourcefulness

As mentioned in the previous chapter, encounters of solidarity, trust, and resourcefulness are inherent to migrant mobilities and survival (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016). More Fire (2022: 123) left Tanzania in the mid-1990s after completing primary school. He sustained himself by selling stones from illegal mines. However, this business was not profitable because the stones did not have monetary value. Similarly, Erick described a transitory period when he first entered South Africa in 1999. After jumping the fence into South Africa, he and his friends bordered a truck to Manguzi – a town 15 kilometres south of the Mozambique-South Africa border. Although they planned to move south to Durban, they needed money to survive. Erick said, “*After Manguzi, we take [took] it easy because we are[were] already in South Africa. So, we relax[d], do [did] small jobs boxing goods and help[ed] people with trolleys to make money. Once we make [made] enough money, we take [took] a taxi or truck to Durban*” (Erick, 2022: 133).

San Juan illustrated an act of solidarity en route by a fellow Tanzanian in Maputo. He explained, “*We met sister Sarah. She is a Tanzanian. Most of the people went there, she says [inaudible]... We were given rice and chicken, you see? We ate, and she gave us a link. That’s a business. You carry things for us. You take things you pass on the street. Like a street hawker, right? You pass like the watches, sweets, earrings, and bangles. Yeah. You can sell and make cash. We stayed for like a few weeks*” (San Juan, 2021: 65).

Strangers also displayed acts of kindness to the transients. More Fire described a time when his ‘brothers’ jumped onto a moving truck in *Mtubatuba* (Northern KwaZulu-Natal), but he could not keep up with them because his feet were swollen from all the walking, so he was left alone. He said:

I was left to walk on my own to *Mtubatuba*, but I met two workers from Spoornet (now Transnet) who gave me a lift. They asked me where I was going, and I explained that I didn’t know where I wanted to go, so they told me to jump inside the car. They gave me water and some food, but it had been a long time since I ate food, so I got a running stomach – I was in so much pain. When we reached *Mtubatuba*, one guy took me to his wife, and she told him that they could help me because I was still young (More Fire, 2022: 126).

Correspondingly, San Juan narrated a story about a family that helped him while moving through Zambia. He explained:

I met a family at night, and it was raining. I met a family, and they never trusted me. Do you see? However, they can speak English in Zambia. They gave me potatoes and a room for the father's girl who went to town, Lusaka, to school. Yeah. After seeing the bible on the bag, they trusted [...]. They gave me mangoes to eat in the morning, but I was very grateful. I ate the mangoes on the way, you, see? [...] I walked for about ten hours until I reached the market town. I fed on the mangoes. From the market town, there are trucks, you see? There were some other people. I just ran and jumped on the truck but was happy (San Juan, 2021: 83).

The participants' experiences in this study reveal the significance of solidarity, trust, and resourcefulness required while moving. Moreover, their examples demonstrate that mobility is a fluid and fluctuating relational concept (Iranzo, 2021: 5). This confirms literature characterising irregular migrant routes as journeys within journeys with meandering routes. At the same time, transit migrants strategically forfeit or reclaim control over their bodies, leaving them in a perpetual transitory phase (Collyer, 2007; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016).

The enforced solidarity and social practices increase the agency of the Tanzanian stowaway community en route. It also stretches the idea of place to include transitory spaces, confirming the scholarship that acknowledges the complexity of mobile and immobile journeys among irregular transit migrants (Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Iranzo, 2021). The findings in this study further suggest that a sense of place can be created in both transitory and stationary moments in the journey.

Sea Journeys

Techniques for Accessing Ships

As detailed in the previous section, the motivation for moving to South Africa and stowing away on ships varies. However, the Tanzanian stowaways expressed the importance of their community in accessing ships. According to John, the Tanzanian community has a different way of accessing ships than other communities. He explained, "*Here in South Africa, many people know us stowaways as the people from Tanzania only, but there are people from Ghana, there's the people from Sierra Leone. They are taking a ship here*" (John, 2021: 35).

A technique for accessing the ship involved using "*the chain lock, which makes the ship stop*" (More Fire, 2022: 129). Another avenue was explained by Erick, who claimed, "*Then, there is a rope, and there are stairs, so you can decide whether you want to climb the rope or the stairs. When the [security] guard loses concentration, you rush to get on the ship*" (Erick, 2022: 141). Canada also tried accessing a ship by climbing the rope. However, he was unsuccessful

in his attempt, noting, *“The security caught and beat me, and I came back, you see? [...] I was on top, but the camera was watching me”* (Canada, 2021: 56).

Moreover, the Tanzanian stowaway community relied on knowledge and resources, aligning with Alejandro de León’s (2022: 898) assertion that the transient community provides (1) identity, (2) strategic information relevant to the journey, and (3) resources that compensate for the help kinship cannot provide. John noted that the rules established within the Tanzanian stowaway community dictate how community members access ships. He noted:

Them, they don’t like, like that. And, them [they] are taking ship for other [another] way by the water. You see? For a ship by the water. It’s not like us. We are going by the feet. We are going by the harbour. No. Them, they are going by the water. You see? Maybe they put a plastic. They take a big plastic. Maybe bin plastic, you see? They put all the things inside. Maybe, the clothes, boots, you see? Food and everything. You see? [...] Us, we don’t go in like that. We use the gate. Maybe, you, other [inaudible], maybe go in the gate. Maybe one check[s] the security. Maybe he’s sleeping, what? I can jump the fence. You see? It’s like that. Do you see the difference? (John, 2021: 35).

More Fire also addressed the significance of following rules in the community, explaining, *“Yes, there are rules. They all tell each other about the timetable and share information. They know where the ships are going, maybe Italy, Australia or America. So, they usually enter before the ship leaves the port. They can even stay on the ship for one month before it sails. Some can surrender and come out, while others can survive and manage their food, you see?”* (More Fire, 2022: 129). Chidi confirmed this perspective, stating, *“Sometimes I can check on the phone. I can see which ship and where it’s going”* (Chidi, 2021: 67).

For Erick, it was essential to surveil the security and wait for the opportune moment to enter the harbour and board a ship. He explained, *“There is security, and the seamen give them time to guard the vessel. So, when you jump into the harbour, you have to hide and wait for the security to lose concentration”* (Erick, 2022: 141). The community also befriended the security guards working at the port or *“foreigners working in the harbour on fishing boats”* for information about ships entering Durban Harbour (More Fire, 2022: 130). Navigating complicated security systems and sharing resources facilitated the creation of a collective agency among the Tanzanian stowaways.

Hiding on Ships

Stowaways generally find unusual and dangerous hiding places where they can go undetected, including spaces on the roof of rafts or trailers, inside the holes of the trailer where the *Mafi* (heavy-duty trailer used as a loading platform) that load and unload the ship are hooked, inside the refrigerated platforms, the ship chain chest, the funnels, the lifeboats, inside containers (González-Almeida *et al.*, 2022). Kotie Geldenhuys (2018: 42) added other areas, including rudder shaft spaces, store rooms, engine room bilges and the funnel casings, where hot gases and exhaust noises make it extremely difficult for even specially trained dogs to sniff stowaways. While these hiding places may seem inviting, they often become deadly.

Congruently, the participants in this study described the unusual and dangerous places they hid on ships. According to Marlon Oppenheim, a friend of the Tanzanian stowaways in Durban:

They had blueprints of the boats. They knew when the boats were arriving. They knew when they were leaving. They knew which crew members were on the ship—the real seamen—the guys who really knew what they were doing. The average individual hoped for the best. I used to get that information from the younger guys who had heard drunken stories, and they would tell you those stories. However, the real hardcore guys didn't let on their trade secrets (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 109).



Image 6.3: Evergreen Agency Timetable (Source: Samora Chapman)



Image 6.4: Ships (Source: Samora Chapman)

This view aligns with Erick's experience, who explained that one must listen and learn from people who have experience jumping on ships. He noted, "*The first time you get on a ship, you don't know where to hide because you don't have experience. Before you try jumping on a ship, you must learn and listen to people with experience*" (Erick, 2022: 140). According to Erick, "*A safe place is a thing called a tunnel. When you open it, there are steps to go down. There are big places to hide*" (Erick, 2022: 141).

However, Erick expressed the danger of hiding on ships, pointing out, "*It is very dangerous because you can fall and break your leg*" (Erick, 2022: 141). Chidi echoed this point, noting, "*You must hide. You feel pain all [over your] body that [by the] time you come to the top*" (Chidi, 2021: 73). Korea also explained the risks of hiding on a ship, stating, "*You see the ship? The top is there, but the down is dangerous. The engine, everything is down*" (Korea, 2022: 46). Chidi described his dangerous experience hiding on a ship, "*Do you know ballast water? [...] That side, the north there [...] Yeah. Under there, inside [...] [It] so dangerous. It's got water there. My friend died that time we were there. He vomits, vomit[ed] until he died. Even me, too, I lost power that time*" (Chidi, 2021: 69). According to Perfect Junior, "*You can't hide in those [ballast] tanks because they are closed and mainly used for diesel and water. If you go there, you won't survive because you will sink in the fuel or the water. The only way to enter the ballast tank is when the ship is docked, and the water is drained from the vessel*" (Perfect Junior, 2022: 151).



Image 6.5: Hiding Place for Stowaways
(Source: Perfect Junior)



Image 6.6 Hiding Place for Stowaways
(Source: Perfect Junior)

Moreover, Perfect Junior (a registered seaman working on a ship in Europe) comprehensively explained where he and his crew members often found stowaways. He explained:

Oh. We find them. Like, you see, the two guys I was telling you about, we found them in a place called a bridge, where the captain is operating or *driving* the ship. We used to have cupboards under the bridge, but they are two or three meters big. That is where you find all the cables for the ship. So, we found the guys hiding under the bridge – or in the cupboards with the cables. Once, we found someone in an engine room under the main generator. That place is so risky because once the ship starts and the engine is working, it gets hot like a microwave or stove. You can get cooked because it is too hot. We've even found guys in the *funnel*. When you take a guy out from there, he looks like charcoal from the smoke, and you can only see his eyes and teeth because they are white. Another place the guys hide is in the *chain locker*. Every ship has an anchor, and the anchor chain is usually stored in a locker. That is a very dangerous place to hide because the chain can fall on you, and you can die because it is heavy (Perfect Junior, 2022: 150–1).

According to Perfect Junior (2022: 151), “*The only safe place to hide is the bridge if you manage to get under those f*****n cupboards and hide there*”. Unfortunately, the safe and dry spaces are generally locked, leaving stowaways with limited and often lethal options for hiding places like the chain locker, funnel and engine room (Perfect Junior, 2022: 151).



Image 6.7: Perfect Junior Working on a Ship
(Source: Perfect Junior)



Image 6.8 Perfect Junior's workspace
(Source: Perfect Junior)

Survival Strategies

In addition to the perilous conditions, the Tanzanian stowaways described their survival strategies, including provisions for sustenance and uncomfortable attempts to avoid detection. The staples for survival were bottled water, biscuits, glucose, a torch, a jacket and construction boots. Erick explained, *"You have to wear construction boots"* (Erick, 2022: 140). More Fire added, *"There are steps, so you can break your leg if you fall, and it is slippery. People wear boots because you can be crippled or die if you fall"* (More Fire, 2022: 132). Canada mentioned carrying an additional bottle for urinating (Canada, 2021:56). Alternatively, San Juan explained, *"We carry plastic bins. We live on plastic bins. We carry wipes or toilet paper. Water is very important. You never get hungry, but you will get thirsty"* (San Juan, 2021: 86).

Besides provisions to sustain the stowaways, the participants described the awkward ways they contorted their bodies to avoid detection. Korea provided an account of a painful experience, noting, *"Nine hours. Not a nice place you are squatting on [demonstrates how he squats on the ship]. [Do] you know that style? If I sit like this, I can sit [for] twelve hours. Like this, no change. Like this. Twelve hours, I can sit"* (Korea, 2024: 46). Similarly, San Juan described how he manoeuvred his body in a tiny space, remarking, *"It was on the back side of the cranes, the crane's rope. It's like a narrow space in which you stand, and when you are tired, you squat. However, when you squat, you don't look forward. You stay to the side. That's how it is. And, there is too much oil, so when you come out, it's like..."* (San Juan, 2021: 86).

It is thus understandable why a container ship is a more alluring option for stowaways. A more pragmatic reason is that there are hiding places between containers, and there is space for

we go to Cape Town. After Cape Town, we went to Namibia. Namibia, we want to leave the ship, but someone sees us. Catch us" (Chidi, 2021: 68). Erick only attempted stowing away twice. He ran out of provisions the first time, so he jumped off the ship in Namibia. The second time Erick attempted stowing away, the ship went to Djibouti. He explained:

I went to Djibouti. I had bad luck with taking ships, so I decided to stop and live in South Africa [...] I didn't know because I didn't have the timetable [...] It was in January 2013 (Erick, 2022: 142).

The main reason many stowaways are misguided is because they lack knowledge of ships. Perfect Junior (2022: 147) offered a sobering perspective, claiming, *"These guys under the bridge don't know anything about the ship, so they fail most of the time because we know where to find them"*. However, this perspective is too simplistic because there are instances where opportunistic stowaways have succeeded. For example, Erick shared, *"I have a friend in Spain who took a ship during the Corona [...] He was lucky because ships couldn't enter other countries at that time, so they were forced to take him to Spain."* (Erick, 2022: 142).

Part of the confusion relates to the labels assigned to this Tanzanian community because, as Marlon Oppenheim aptly noted:

So, there was a lot of controversy around the word seaman. Some guys I had met said you could only call yourself a seaman if you've been on a voyage, and you only hold that title if you've successfully stowed away. And if you hadn't, and you were calling yourself a seaman, well, you were going to get a sound beating. Also, yeah, that word seaman is tricky, and so is the word stowaway. Because stowaway has a lot of negative connotations, which these guys are often aware of. It is normally the cops that are calling them stowaways. The word seaman is more aspirational, but you really had to earn that title before you used it (Marlon Oppenheim, 2021: 105).

Perfect Junior further complicated the rationale for Tanzanian men stowing away, arguing:

Most people staying near Durban port don't even have a passport. They don't even have a document to say that they are seamen. Most of those guys have a stupid mind because you can't think of starting a life somewhere else when you don't have a plan. The stowaways at Durban port aren't even seamen; they don't have a plan. Most of them sit in a jobless corner and lie to each other about going abroad. Some of these guys come from a standard, perfect family in Tanzania. However, because they hang around in the jobless corner and read the news on the internet, they come to South

Africa because they think it is easy to get onto a ship. Moreover, when they come to South Africa, they have no family. The bad thing is that they find their friends living under the bridge when they get to South Africa. So, whatever money you bring to South Africa is spent on food and shelter. However, no money can last if there is no income. So, they eventually sleep on the beach or under the bridge with their friends (More Fire 146-7).

However, the journey for most community members is aspirational, even if it sounds delusional. The community comprises a heterogeneous pool of people entering Durban and attempting to stow away for various reasons. More Fire's response to my question about why people stow away was simple yet profound: "*For a better life*" (More Fire, 2022: 132). The desire for a better life fuels people despite their precarious situation.

Necessary Danger

The mobile journeys of irregular migrants are violent, hazardous and complicated (Coutin, 2005; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016). Yet, most of the participants viewed the journey as necessary. Many irregular transit migrants experience traumas, witnessing people fall, lose limbs, and even die. However, most of the respondents in this study were willing to endure the risks for their desired goal.

Providing Makeshift Rafts to Stowaways

Korea provided an elaborate account of an experience in 2009 when he and three friends were caught on a ship off the Namibian coast. He described the experience with great emotion:

Now, the crew they *bamba* [to catch] us, but they were good. They were people with a heart. They make a box. They put us inside. Give us food inside. It was very... They put us inside the box... on [in] the sea [...] No mother, no father. We are [were just] three [...] We entered a cave, a big mountain island. Like an island. We woke up and saw that this place was not right. The blanket [inaudible]. No choice but to survive. This story, even my mother, every time I tell him. I die and wake up. So, there is no death again. Me, I won't die. Only God *gonna* [is going to] kill me... (Korea, 2021: 41).

According to San Juan, a *mbao* is a Swahili word that translates to wood in English. In this context, a *mbao* refers to the drums a shipping crew uses to create a makeshift raft to help stowaways float in the sea. He stated, "*It can be anything which makes you not to die, but you float on the sea, but very risky. When you are thrown out of the ship. When you are overboard, you just float. No eating, no what*" (San Juan, 2021: 41).

Korea further described the treacherous conditions they encountered when they reached an area that resembled an island. He stated:

[by] The time we reached down there, they put us into a box now three guys. We got no choice. The food is finished. What are you *gonna* do? Now we have to send somebody to hustle. Just to reach somewhere, do or die. Because we gonna die there. [Pauses] Ay! This [is] my [the] worst story in my life [Pauses]. Ay! These white bulldogs [sea lions], they are coming to eat. Inside the cave, you can't sleep. Don't try to sleep. And then, you know, bat? You know that animal, where they. That one inside the cave? (Korea, 2021: 42).

San Juan provided a similar account of his late friend who was given a *mbao* (a box/raft), which helped him to reach the shore in Senegal (San Juan, 2021: 40). Ironically, these stories corroborate an occurrence addressed by William Walters (2008: 4), in which stowaways from Cameroon, Gabon, and Nigeria were put overboard on two small drum rafts by the crew of a cargo ship they had boarded in November 2003.

Yet, even the rafts are risky because the ocean is a vast expanse with dangerous conditions. Perfect Junior stated:

And the sea is big, hey. So, if thrown overboard, you can't stay in the seawater for more than a month because the body starts melting from the salt. And also, the big fish. Forget about the sharks; there are whales and shellfish. The seadogs just chow (eat) you entirely, and you die. You can't stay in seawater for more than a week without food or anything to drink. That's why we have special biscuits in our lifeboat that can make you survive for more than 24 hours. So, if you don't get saved, you will die (Perfect Junior, 2022: 153).

Killing Stowaways to Avoid Paying Fines

Given the stringent maritime regulations, especially after the 'Manila Amendment' in 2010, some shipping crews and companies have resorted to violent measures to avoid the burden of reporting stowaways, paying fines to port authorities and absorbing the costs of returning stowaways to their birth country or place of embarkation. Perfect Junior explained:

Most stowaways get deported or dumped in the water if they go on the wrong ship. At least before, they would throw you overboard and give you a jacket and a drum to save yourself. Nowadays, once the crew members catch you, they find any weight to tie around your waist or your leg, and they

dump you overboard because they don't want any witnesses to come up. After all, if it comes up, the whole ship is in a problem. If you are caught on a boat, the company has to pay a fine, and they must pay the ticket for the guy to return home, plus the additional expenses of hotel fees and pocket money (Perfect Junior, 2022: 147).

Further in our interview, he presented a more disturbing perspective: "*Sometimes, crew members don't even inform the captain when they find stowaways. If the ABs (Able Seaman) or engineers find them, they sometimes throw them overboard. Because once you report, it's another situation for the company and crew*" (Perfect Junior, 149). Geldenhuys (2018: 42) made a similar observation in their report on stowaways in Durban, claiming, "Sometimes the master and crew take justice into their own hands to get rid of stowaways. This happens when they are killed and thrown overboard. It is expensive to maintain on board a ship and even more expensive to repatriate them to their home countries..."

There were also violent clashes that took place between the Tanzanian stowaway community and port security officers at Durban Harbour and Richards Bay. According to Marlon Oppenheim:

In the one murder case I got involved with, two young boys had climbed onto a ship – one had no arm. They had been thrown off the ship, and port security had accosted them, beat one of them to death and chucked him over a bridge. The other guy managed to escape, and then the broader stowaway community rose and started attacking security guards as reprisals on their way to work. That didn't seem to do anything, so they stormed one of the police stations. That's why I got involved because now you are causing *kak* [trouble] with cops; you are going to get shot. So, there was huge animosity between port security, onboard security and the stowaways (Marlon Oppenheim, 2022: 110).

Comparable to the literature on unauthorised migrant mobilities (see Coutin, 2005; Collyer, 2007; Schapendonk, 2012b; Schapendonk and Steel, 2014; Mainwaring and Brigden, 2016; Iranzo, 2021), this study found that the desire for a better life outweighs the risks of hazardous conditions, violent altercations, and even death. It also splinters the binary of mobility and immobility and powerlessness and agency, demonstrating the effects of ambiguous international maritime laws on the unorthodox [im]mobilities of unauthorised migrants. The uncertainties create fertile conditions for port security officers to take bribes, the ship crew to commit violent acts that can go undetected and unauthorised migrants to create social bonds that facilitate collective agency in the form of shared resources, information and networks.

Redirecting Dreams

Their complicated experiences, fleeting encounters, and imagined destinations add to the tapestry of place-making practices among the Tanzanian stowaways in Durban. Although the community faces perilous conditions, their desires are fuelled by hope. However, some individuals have resigned to the reality that the *pit stop* is [possibly] the destination.

Chidi gave himself a timeline of nine years to get a ship or redirect his dreams. He stated, *“Me, I want to drive. Drive for a company. Like a truck. You see? Now, I’ve got 26. If I’ve got 35, I’m going to leave this life. I must use my mind. [...] I’m going to see where I am at that time. But if I’m 35 and I never take a ship, I must challenge my mind.”* (Chidi, 2021: 74). Erick was committed to making a life in Durban, noting:

My urge is gone because we waste so much time waiting for a ship here, sometimes 10 or 15 years. It is also tricky because there is so much security by the harbour. It used to be easy to board a vessel in South Africa because it was a free port before (Erick, 2022: 143).

Similarly, Korea remarked that he was done with the stowaway life, *“Nothing, it’s finished. Me to travel again? I am old enough. No wife, no children, no baby. At least God bless me with small, small money, but it’s not the best for me. I am not there. I’ve been there. I saw it’s bad, so I have to use another style.”* (Korea, 201: 42). Though, as we approached the end of the interview, he admitted, *“If I get a ship. If I get another one, I take it.”* (Korea, 2021: 47). More Fire took a more pragmatic stance, noting, *“It was very challenging. I also realised that I could go overseas using other ways, by making money and applying the right way. That is why I cancelled the idea of the ship”* (More Fire, 2022: 130).

Conversely, Canada was still hopeful. He explained that despite his failed attempts, he desired to stow away. He stated, *“I always liked Canada because my friend was living in Canada, in Vancouver. He was selling ganja [marijuana] on the naked beach. Eventually, the cops caught him, and they deported him”* (Canada 2021: 57). Again, the theme of hope is the source of motivation that fuels people's desire despite the perilous conditions faced by the Durban stowaway community.

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates the fragmented journeys the Tanzanian stowaway community faces, detailing the challenging encounters, resourcefulness and collective agency among disparate individuals. It also illuminates the nuance of irregular migration and how multiple people can exploit ambiguous laws. The complexities involved in unauthorised migration break the binaries of passivity and agency and mobility and immobility addressed in global scholarship

on irregular transit migrants, which were discussed in previous chapters. Finally, the stories in this study reveal the hope that people cling to when they experience troubling circumstances. Even if their aspirations sound deluded, they are anchored in the desire for a better life. Chidi poignantly captured why people choose this life, saying, “*My dream. Me, I want to win in my life*” (Chidi, 2021: 73).

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The final chapter summarises the research process by demonstrating how the study's aims, objectives, and research questions connect with the findings and the theoretical and methodological choices. Each section not only elucidates the approach to the study but also highlights the relevance and importance of the findings in the field of migration studies, place and mobilities. Finally, the chapter explores avenues for future research on irregular transit migration and stowaways in Southern Africa, inviting researchers to explore these areas further.

Revisiting the Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

The undertaking of this study attempted to understand how a Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community created a sense of place in Durban, South Africa. It explored the community members' understanding of place by examining their perceived, conceived and lived experiences through their social and material practices in the heterotopic sites they occupied in Durban. The second part of the study endeavoured to comprehend their complex mobile and immobile experiences en route, in Durban, on ships and at sea. Although this was not the first study focusing on the Tanzanian transit irregular migrant or stowaway community, it stands out for its concern with how disenfranchised people create a sense of place in spaces 'other than' established spatial thinking.

This perspective departs from the binary of power and resistance in urban spatial planning (Sutherland et al., 2018; Desai and Bond, 2019; Maharaj, 2023), demonstrating that heterotopic sites are organised places with entrenched community values. This view also aligns with Soja's (1999: 276) idea that such spaces are "... multi-sided and contradictory, oppressive and liberating, passionate and routine, knowable and unknowable..." Guided by Soja's proposition of Thirdspace and critical thirding-as-Othering, I explored the central research question: *How do Tanzanian irregular transit migrants create a sense of place through their mobile and immobile experiences?* I assessed this question through two sub-questions: a.) *How do they perceive, conceive and experience place?* b.) *What are their social and material practices in relation to place?*

Methodological Considerations

Following the recommendation of the African Migration Report (2020), the study examined migration and mobility from the perspective of people impacted by the phenomenon on the continent. The objective was not to make inferences about global trends and contested meanings of being in 'transit' but to understand individuals' experiences as unauthorised migrants. To this end, the study prioritised the subjective meanings attached to the investigated phenomenon, whether real or imagined, empirically measured or felt (Van

Manen, 1990: 9). It acknowledged the influence of the researcher and participants on the data collection and analysis, recognising that meanings and contexts are not fixed, yet we can say something salient about the situations we relate to (Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis, 2008: 354). However, the inductive accounts were triangulated deductively through existing literature and theoretical perspectives on place, global irregular transit and stowaway migration. Furthermore, including previous community members, associates, and a currently employed seaman in the sample population provided diverse viewpoints, enhancing the study's credibility.

The rationale for conducting a study with a small sample was guided by the need to humanise the participants' motivations, attitudes, and experiences. Such studies also help contextualise heterogeneous clandestine migrant journeys. The semi-structured, in-depth, one-on-one interviews established a framework for understanding the respondents' journeys. This approach helped to create an environment for sharing sensitive information, fostering a sense of empathy and understanding towards the participants' experiences. However, this process should not be romanticised as this sometimes resulted in bending rigid institutional ethics guidelines to gain the participants' trust, addressed in the previous chapter (Tomaselli, Dyll and Francis, 2008; Wilson and Hodgson, 2012).

Situating the Study

This study was situated within the broader context of irregular transit and stowaway migration. Much of the extant literature prioritises mobilities from sub-Saharan Africa to Europe through the Maghreb region (Collyer, 2007; Kassir and Dorugnon, 2014; Schapendonk and Steel, 2014; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Berriane, 2020). However, this study challenged the prevailing idea that South Africa is a destination country for African migrants (Muanamoha et al., 2010; McAuliffe and Mence, 2017; IOM, 2023).

The uneven development and urban processes of inclusion and exclusion in Southern Africa have inspired migrants to use the region as a launching pad for regular and irregular migration to Europe and the Americas (IOM Regional Strategy for Southern Africa, 2019: 1). Durban is a popular destination for irregular migration because it has one of the busiest harbour ports in Africa, making it a hotspot for stowaway activity (Geldenhuys, 2018; IMO FAL Report, 2019).

The project was also inspired by a compelling ethnography of the Tanzanian Beachboy subculture in Cape Town by Sean Christie (2016). It was also motivated by Mook Lion and Samra Chapman's documentary (2018) titled 'Footnotes in the City', an extension of Mook Lion's Master of Technology in Fine Arts (2019) titled 'Street Art and Mural Art as Visual Activism in Durban: 2014 – 2017'. Sean Christie provided a lens into the Tanzanian stowaway community's experiences in Cape Town. On the other hand, Mook Lion and Samora Chapman

broadly examined the transformative impact of street and mural artwork in public spaces in Durban's Central Business District (CBD), briefly engaging with the Durban-based Tanzanian migrant community's graffiti.

However, the point of departure in this study was the focus on how the Durban-based Tanzanian transit irregular migrant or stowaway community created a sense of place in the heterotopic sites they occupied (the area under the M4 Southern freeway bridge, the busses, the safe house and the sea). This was a crucial undertaking, as most research focuses on contested definitions concerning global migration, statistics, and policy analysis that tend to characterise migrants within the dichotomies of passive victims or nefarious criminals. However, this point should not be undermined due to human trafficking, smuggling and kidnapping threatening the security and survival of unauthorised migrants (Iranzo, 2021). Notwithstanding, it is essential to humanise irregular migrants, specifically East and Southern African irregular migratory practices, an under-researched area.

Making Sense of the Findings

The literature review and theoretical framework provided a comprehensive overview of place by first engaging with it from the perspective of relative matter with fixed positions relating to each other in a systemic whole (Casey, 1987/2002: 185). This perspective relegates the concept of place to the realm of meaninglessness. Second, the chapters engaged with place from the phenomenological perspective of being somewhere. In this context, a place represents particularity (both real and imagined). It also involves nearness and locality, with embodied rituals where memories and identities are forged (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Heidegger, 1971; Tuan, 1975; Relph, 1976).

The theory chapter additionally engaged with the relational and political aspects of place, which include an assemblage of people in space and time who participate in social practices, institutions, and relations, providing cohesive and contradictory encounters (Whitehead, 1920/2013; Lefebvre, 1991; Harvey, 1996). These assemblages also include the throwntogetherness of disparate people and objects in a singular location that can be temporary or permanent. The literature review explored the perilous journeys of people moving from sub-Saharan Africa through the Maghreb to Europe and South and Central Americans moving to North America (Coutin, 2005; Collyer, 2007; Kassar and Dorugnon, 2014; Heller and Pécoud, 2014; Soto, 2017; Berriane, 2020). However, the theory and literature review established that global irregular migration further complicates earlier understandings of place as it encompasses elements from various perspectives at different moments within the migratory journey.

For the Durban-based Tanzanian transit irregular migrant community, place was polysemic. The community consisted of an assemblage of disparate young men from Tanzania who predominantly viewed their stay in Durban as transitory—a point in their journey towards a desired destination. Their daily rituals and community values created a locality and permanence through which being, becoming, and belonging were forged. Their complex experience with place was actualised in the marginalised sites they occupied in Durban while situated in a global migration framework.

It is remarkable to witness how, despite residing in ‘heterotopias of deviance’ – spaces that do not fit the dominant social norms of modernity, such as adhering to *institutional* controls and *regulatory* forms of power – they demonstrated a strong sense of community values and practices (Foucault, 1986; Cenzatti, 2008: 3). This addressed the research question: *What are their social and material practices in relation to place?* The Tanzanian transit irregular migrants adopted regulatory practices specific to their community, such as mutual respect and shared resources (including exchanging information on how to access ships, translating for people who were not proficient in English, and protecting each other). Additionally, the weekly donations for the safe house and burials of deceased members strengthened their kinship. They also performed prayer rituals, like making dua before eating and attempting to stow away on ships. The social and material practices fostered a sense of belonging among the diverse individuals. However, there were consequences (often violent) for breaking the rules, including death. The final point highlights that such communities are not utopian but contradictory, intense and transformative (Soja, 1996).

Furthermore, the public graffiti made this invisible community visible to the broader citizenry while personalising and memorialising their identity in Durban. Graffiti is a massive part of this community’s identity, marking their presence in a particular place at a specific time. These markers fuel hope in individuals that they can achieve the aspirations of those who came before them. Likewise, the makeshift mosque and utensils, the markings in the safe house, tattooing sea motifs on their bodies, and the grave sites of deceased community members add to the varied place-making practices of this community. These place-making practices bear similarity to the section on migrant materiality discussed in the literature review (Basu and Coleman, 2008; De Léon, 2013; De Léon et al., 2015; Soto, 2017; McGuire, 2020), confirming that migrant marks and markings communicate identity, claim or personalise and memorialise spaces (Lange, 2016).

Another objective of this research was to answer the question: *How do they perceive, conceive and experience the place?* While the Durban-based Tanzanian transit irregular migrant community functions outside the confines of dominant spatial thinking (or conceived place),

their physical organisation (under the M4 Southern freeway bridge, the busses, the safe house and even the sea) through ritualised social and material practices (perceived space) helped them to exercise collective agency, transforming heterotopic sites into cohesive and contradictory places with symbols and emotions (lived space). This perspective contradicts the view that the [predominantly] Tanzanian men living in these 'other spaces' are vagabonds without structure, plans and agency. Instead, it demonstrates that they can organise and create a sense of belonging in a 'transitory' place while remaining motivated by the hope of reaching a desired destination outside Africa or, at the very least, acquiring a better life.

The findings also challenge the fact that unauthorised migrants are monolithic. Instead, the Tanzanian irregular transit migrant community consists of heterogeneous individuals, some poor and others hailing from middle-class families with passports and/or travel documents, shifting between legality and illegality. Moreover, this study confirmed the view that irregular migrant routes are characterised by journeys within journeys with meandering routes. More Fire and Erick's similar elongated trip from Tanzania to South Africa through Mozambique and San Juan's trip from Cape Town to Namibia, then Zambia through to Botswana, and back to South Africa confirms the fluid, fragmented and fluctuating experiences of irregular migrants, opposing the linear logic of migration and mobilities (see Collyer, 2007; Brigden and Mainwaring, 2016; Iranzo, 2021).

Similarly, their risky strategies to access and hide on ships docked at Durban Harbour capture the dialectical relationship between mobility and immobility. The respondents described their dangerous hiding places and the awkward ways they contorted their bodies, squatting and manoeuvring through tiny spaces to avoid detection. Moreover, the proliferation of 'professional stowaways' bribing ship masters, owners, and companies or, contrarily, ship masters throwing stowaways overboard to avoid paying hefty fines splinter the binary of mobility and immobility, powerlessness and agency. They also confirm perspectives that increased securitisation results in more significant [in]security for clandestine migrants (Collyer, 2010; Basok et al., 2015; Iranzo, 2021).

Contribution to Scholarship

As a contribution to existing scholarship, this study articulates that heterotopias of deviance can exist as lively spaces where disparate people come together and form a sense of community without intentionality. This position departs from studies that dichotomise people on the margins resisting dominant spatial thinking and planning. Furthermore, the study illustrates that although this group functions as a community, it signifies a point of embarkation to a future destination via the sea. Therefore, this advances the study's argument concerning the polysemic nature of the place.

Implications and Limitations of the Study

This study added to the extant literature and reports on irregular global transit migration, migrant mobilities, stowaways, and social and material place-making practices. However, it examined a single Durban-based community of predominantly Tanzanian migrants, limiting the scope of research to irregular migration in East and Southern Africa. While the participants mainly viewed their stay in Durban as temporary, many have resided in Durban (and other parts of South Africa) more permanently than they had initially hoped. While the dream is more aspirational than practical, community members cling to the hope of stowing away because it helps them to accept their sordid reality. Quite simply, this community is motivated by their desire for a better life.

The findings confirm, expand, and contradict theories on the place. The theoretical framework provided a comprehensive lens for exploring place, relevant to the experience of the Tanzanian irregular transit and stowaway community. However, most perspectives limit place to separate categories, like locality and nearness, where identities are formed, performed and memorialised. Other perspectives emphasise the politics of place, such as spatial boundaries, ownership and the social relations that dictate these practices. In the latter part of the twentieth century into the twenty-first century, the emphasis has been on transnational migration and transient spaces like airports and transit hotels. However, this study revealed intersections between these perspectives, demonstrating that ephemeral non-places can be turned into meaningful places of nearness and locality. The places can also provide material traces where memory and identity are forged and preserved, traversing space and time.

There is also a tendency to adopt normative approaches to place, migration and mobilities, reducing the concepts to binary categories: regular and irregular, mobile and immobile, active and passive, and secure and insecure. However, this study confirms the scholarship that necessitates a relational approach to the fragmentary, fractured, and fragile nature of clandestine migratory journeys. The Tanzanian irregular transit community created a meaningful sense of place in the marginal sites they occupied. They organised around core values of trust, sharing valuable information, respect, religion, solidarity and kinship, requiring [enforced] consensus among community members. They also created rules and different types of punishment for people who broke them, ranging from a small beating to murder.

In this sense, they created a lived space parallel to dominant spatial thinking (or conceived place) while interacting with the existing organisation of space (perceived place) yet creating routines and activities specific to their structure. In this context, the concept takes on a polysemic orientation where the Tanzanian irregular transit community embodies multiple iterations of place actualised in 'heterotopias of deviance' (Foucault, 1986; Cenzatti, 2008).

These place-making practices extend beyond Durban, including their pit stops en route to Durban and their methods of accessing ships, where solidarity networks, information and religion form an integral part of the journey.

The exploration provided novel insights into how the Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit community created a sense of place. However, as with any study, there are always limitations. While the participants provided rich information on their experiences, attitudes and motivations, the small sample limits the transferability or generalisability to other contexts. Despite the narrow focus, the conclusions drawn from this study could provide a valuable lens for understanding other irregular transit migrant communities. Moreover, this study humanises unauthorised migrants by engaging with the factors influencing their decisions. This research provides critical insights to policymakers in their approach to curtailing irregular transit migration within an African context.

Recommendations for Future Studies

This research provided a launch pad for understanding how disenfranchised migrant communities exercise their collective agency in different parts of the migratory phase en route, in Durban and on ships. However, there is scope for further studies to examine the place-making practices and mobile and immobile journeys of irregular transit migrants and stowaways. First, there could be a comparative analysis of different Tanzanian irregular transit migrant communities occupying heterotopic sites in other port cities in South Africa. Second, studies could analyse place-making practices among other African irregular migrant communities to assess their kinship, solidarity and consensus. Third, the problem statement outlined that most African transit migration studies focus on sub-Saharan Africans residing as irregular transit migrants in North Africa. However, there is scope to expand research on South Africa as a transit country for regular and irregular migrants, a point identified in the IOM Regional Strategy for Southern Africa report (2019: 1). Finally, the qualitative approach and phenomenological design provided rich data, generating a nuanced understanding of the topic. While this approach gained a unique understanding of the collective agency by Tanzanian irregular transit migrants occupying heterotopic sites, future studies can apply different approaches, such as a mixed-method design, by expanding the sample size. This would increase the potential for transferable and generalisable findings.

Conclusion

This study demonstrated the polysemic nature of place created by the Durban-based Tanzanian irregular transit and stowaway migrant community. It highlighted that while the community viewed their time in Durban as temporary, they managed to create a meaningful place that is dynamic and fluid yet relies on nearness and locality. Although the community's

memory is preserved through its markings, its structure contradicts the historicist view of time as a linear, teleological progression. Instead, the foregrounding of spatiality for this community is contradictory, intense and informative, where being, becoming and belonging are actualised.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Approved Ethical Clearance



21 March 2021

Miss Shannon Leigh Landers (216074111)
School Of Applied Human Sc
Howard College

Dear Miss Landers,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002330/2021

Project title: Signs of our passage: Examining the role of stowaway art in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal

Degree: PhD

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 17 November 2020 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted FULL APPROVAL.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 21 March 2022.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8350/4557/3587 Email: hssrec@ukzn.ac.za Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics>

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix Two: Signed Informed Consent

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 7 May 2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED].

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED]) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal-(UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I SAN JUAN have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED].

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview

Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO
 YES / NO

[REDACTED]
Signature of Participant

7th May 2021
Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 14 May 2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (Shannonleighlanders@gmail.com/ +27 72 678 6974) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

AZIZ TALIBU have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban; KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED] / [REDACTED]).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
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Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview

YES / NO

Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO

[REDACTED]

Signature of Participant

17/05/2021

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 24 May 2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at [REDACTED] / [REDACTED] or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I MOHAMED ALI have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED] / + [REDACTED]).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 · Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview

Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO
YES / NO

[REDACTED]

Signature of Participant

24/5/2021

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 24 May 2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*. My contact details are [REDACTED] + [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED] / + [REDACTED] or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

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Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	██████████	██████████@ukzn.ac.za
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I John Nyanga have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ([redacted] / + [redacted]).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview
Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO
 YES / NO

[redacted signature]

24/5/2021

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 29/05/2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED] / + [REDACTED]) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

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Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal.(UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I Korea have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED] / + [REDACTED].

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview

YES / NO
YES / NO

Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

[REDACTED]

29-5-2021

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 30/09/2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

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2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED] +[REDACTED]) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+██████████	██████████@██████████.za
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I CANADA have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED])

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview
Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO
 YES / NO

[REDACTED]

Signature of Participant

30/05/2021

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 26/06/2021

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED] + [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the artwork. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at ([REDACTED]@gmail.com/ + [REDACTED]) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za



CONSENT (Edit as required)

I _____ have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at (_____) + (____).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview YES / NO
Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes YES / NO

Signature of Participant

22.06.2021

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 11/03/2022

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.* My contact details are [REDACTED].

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining the contribution of 'stowaway' graffiti/street art towards the social production of an urban aesthetic in Durban city centre. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the social production of urban space by examining the 'stowaway' graffiti/street art, situated under the M4 Bridge, near Margaret Mcnadi (Victoria Embankment) street. The study is expected to enroll 10 participants (4 artists and 6 city experts). It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how 'stowaway art' constructs an urban vernacular
2. To examine the meanings inscribed in urban graffiti/street art
3. To examine the negotiation of power in the use of public space for urban expression

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of graffiti/street art in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. It is also my intention to understand how space can be used to benefit the urban citizenry.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at [REDACTED] or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

CONSENT (Edit as required)

Mo Fire
I (Name) have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the role of 'stowaway art' in the social production of urban space in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate).

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED].

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Tel: 27 31 2604557 · Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview
Use of photographs of graffiti/ street art for research purposes

YES / NO
 YES / NO

[REDACTED]

Signature of Participant

11.03.2022

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 15/03/2022

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*. My contact details are: [REDACTED] / +27 [REDACTED]

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining how the seaman community constructs place through material and social practices. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the production of place by examining the seaman graffiti, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the graffiti and the community. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how the Durban seaman community constructs place.
2. To examine the social and material practices in place.
3. To examine the meanings inscribed in place.
4. To examine the seamen's experiences of (im)mobilities and (dis)placement.

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of how transient communities construct place through social and material practices.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at [REDACTED] or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I **ERICK** have been informed about the study entitled (*Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*) by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED].

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

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Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview
Use of photographs of graffiti for research purposes

YES / NO
YES / NO

[REDACTED]
Signature of Participant

15-03-2022
Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 24 February 2022

Dear Sir/Madam

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: *Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*. My contact details are [REDACTED].

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining how the seaman community constructs place through material and social practices. The aim and purpose of this research is to analyse the politics and values attached to the production of place by examining the seaman graffiti, located in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enroll participants who have knowledge of the graffiti and the community. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how the Durban seaman community constructs place.
2. To examine the social and material practices in place.
3. To examine the meanings inscribed in place.
4. To examine the seamen's experiences of (im)mobilities and (dis)placement.

I hope that the study will provide a greater understanding of how transient communities construct place through social and material practices.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at [REDACTED] or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

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Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview at any time or withdraw altogether. However, we hope that you will participate in this interview since your views are important.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for purposes of verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Thank you for your time.

Your willingness to participate in this study is greatly appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research:

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Shannon Landers	+ [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Department	Centre for Communication Media and Society (CCMS)	+27-31-260-2505	http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban South Africa.	+27-31-260-1813	www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Prof Ruth Teer-Tomaselli	0312602505	teertoma@ukzn.ac.za

CONSENT (Edit as required)

I Daniel 'Mook Lion' Chapman have been informed about the study entitled *(Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal)* by (Shannon Landers).

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED]).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

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Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-recording of my interview

YES

Use of photographs of graffiti for research purposes

YES

[REDACTED]

24 February 2022

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

My Name is Shannon Leigh Landers. I am a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). I am collecting data for a study titled: ***Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal***. My contact details are [REDACTED].

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research examining how the seaman community constructs place through material and social practices. This research aims to analyse the politics and values attached to the production of place by exploring the seaman graffiti in Durban city centre. The study is expected to enrol participants who know graffiti and the community. It will involve semi-structured interviews of approximately 40 minutes each. Your participation will help me achieve the following objectives:

1. To explore how the Durban seaman community constructs place.
2. To examine the social and material practices in place.
3. To examine the meanings inscribed in place.
4. To examine the seamen's experiences of (im)mobilities and (dis)placement.

I hope the study will better understand how migrant communities construct place through social and material practices.

The UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSSREC/00002330/2021). In the event of any problems or concerns/questions, you may contact the researcher at (Shannonleighlanders@gmail.com/ +27 72 678 6974) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences

Whatever information you provide will be strictly confidential. Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary. If we should come to any question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know, and I will proceed to the next question. You are also free to stop the interview or withdraw altogether. However, we hope you will participate in this interview since your views are essential.

I will not pay you for this interview, but I may give you a small token of appreciation for your participation. As a participant, you will be treated with respect and dignity. Additionally, you will not be deceived or tricked into providing information unwillingly. The data will be kept securely for five years for verification by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you request an electronic copy of the final project, I will send it to you upon completion.

Perfect Junior (PJ): I, **Perfect Junior**, have been informed about the study entitled (***Signs of our passage: Examining the construction of place among the seamen community in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal***) by (Shannon Landers). I understand the purpose and procedures of the study. I have been allowed to answer questions about the research and have had answers to my satisfaction. I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits I usually am entitled to. If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study, I understand that I may contact the researcher at [REDACTED].

Appendix Three: Interview Guide

- 1.) How did you enter Durban?
- 2.) How did you meet the Tanzanian community in Durban?
- 3.) How long have you known the Tanzanian migrant community?
- 4.) Do you consider the men living under the bridge and at the busses a community?
- 5.) What makes you/them a community?
- 6.) Why do community members draw on the walls of the city?
- 7.) What does the graffiti on the city walls mean?
- 8.) Have you ever been on a ship?
- 9.) Do you know the techniques people use to access ships?
- 10.) Has anyone ever made it overseas?

Appendix Four: Initial Memo

Personal Reflections about Codes

1. How do the Tanzanian transients construct place in Durban?
 - a) How do they perceive and/or conceive place? (*defining place*)
 - b) What are their social and material practices? (*social and material practices*)
2. What are the Tanzanian transients' mobile and immobile experiences? (*mobility and immobility*)

What is my objective?

The goal of this project is to examine how Tanzanian transit migrants construct place through social and material practices in Durban, South Africa. I am also interested in their mobile and immobile experiences as transients.

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
Meeting Transient community 13/04/2021	Trust needs to be established between the researcher and participants; Rules and regulations govern people in the transient community; "San Juan (a transient living under the bridge) memorised my number and promised to call me. We agreed to meet a few days later at a busy marketplace late on Friday evening, but San Juan didn't show up. Despite feeling deflated, I knew that this process required patience and trust. Soon enough, San Juan and met and forged what became a complex relationship"	Trust
Aziz 20/05/2021	Aziz lived in South Africa between 2000 and 2004. He boarded a ship to Singapore and worked as a seaman for some time. However, he has since left the transient life behind and now works as a barber at a Tanzanian-owned barber shop in Durban.	
San Juan 19/05/2021	Today I met with San Juan and could not control my emotions. I couldn't understand why he was so kind to me when his circumstances were so harsh. He always goes the extra mile to ensure I get the best content. My heart aches whenever I think about the fact that he could die in his pursuit of freedom. He is one of the most intelligent people I have ever met; I still cannot comprehend why he has chosen this life. What is running from? Or, put	Empathy

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	differently, what is he chasing? My pain is rooted in the thought that he - and other people in his community - may die at sea.	
Reflections 25/05/2021	<p>Recruiting participants for the study has been a complex process. I have had to learn to trust people I barely know, while simultaneously earning their trust. Ethics is a blurry line when people are vulnerable. Although the participants are open to sharing their experiences with me, they are uncomfortable with recording their identities because they fear being exposed. It is often difficult to colour in the lines when the subject matter is literally life and death.</p> <p>I am struggling to comprehend that the people I've met can hop on a ship at any time – 'ship is not a taxi' (San Juan). I fear that the people I have met can die at any moment, but I feel a sense of comfort knowing that they are prepared to die if it is Allah's will. Perhaps, the unknown brings greater optimism than their sordid reality.</p>	
Reflections 10/06/2023	<p>I had the privilege of visiting the buses located near the morning market in central Durban. I must admit, it was slightly daunting, but I felt safe. I walked through the bustling streets during the peak midday traffic. Load shedding was in full swing, so all I could hear was a cacophony of murmurs as we waded through an ocean of bodies to get to the buses (the bus rank near the market).</p> <p>I was welcomed by the transient community with open arms; I even got to sit on the best chair – a broken plastic seat placed on a tin can. I felt safe and protected among these men. I watched in awe how the men sold small helpings of a clear alcohol beverage (Kavini) for five Rand. Canada told me that he can make up to 70 Rand in profit per day from his sales, which enables him to buy airtime and food.</p> <p>His 'wife' recently kicked him out of their house, so he is sleeping at the bus rank in the thick of winter. It is evident he is hurt, and he chooses to numb the pain with alcohol. He told me that if he is sober he will think too deeply about life and lose hope. These men haven't bathed in days and, at one point, they didn't eat for two days. One can only imagine the resilience of the transient community for hope to be in their lexicon.</p>	

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	<p>I can't believe how safe I felt; I was treated like a sister and these men would die before letting anyone harm me. The visit was about developing trust and balancing the power dynamics.</p> <p>I must admit that I was slightly nervous when I saw the municipal police searching and patting down the traders for drugs opposite us. A transient tipped off the culprits, so the cops were unable to find anything. I later learned that a female trader was hiding the drugs, and the male police couldn't search her – the power of a community.</p> <p>Although I've never visited this part of the city, I left the bus rank feeling a sense of place. Immersion is critical to understanding the transient community.</p>	
Reflections 12/06/2023	<p>Building trust is integral to the data collection process. It requires navigating ethical boundaries by giving time and providing resources to win over your participants.</p> <p>Power: Power is generally explained as a linear process; the researcher is often characterised as an authoritative figure while the participants are perceivably passive. Through this process, I've learnt that power and agency exist on multiple levels. For example, I need access to a community with strict rules against sharing information with strangers, so I enter the field in a disempowered position. Although I have power in terms of class, education and citizenship, I am bound by the rules and regulations of the world I've accessed. I've had the privilege of meeting a resourceful and knowledgeable person in the community, but we have a quid pro quo relationship. He requested I bring food for every meeting as well as clothes and vegetables for the community. While it might seem like he is taking advantage of me, I've benefited from honouring his requests. I've had to learn how to relinquish and exercise my power to maximise my research objectives.</p>	Power Relations
San Juan 20/08/2021	I interviewed San Juan about images he took to help me understand the transient community. He appeared to be inebriated, which made him act different than usual. Most times, I feel safe around the transients, but Friday was unusually different. San Juan was	Gender

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	<p>restless and he behaved aggressively – demanding cigarettes and sipping on alcohol. He even ripped my mask off my face and I insisted I complete the interview before leaving. I was aware of the fact that I could not overpower him, so I sat and continued with the interview. Luckily, a worker at the interview complex smelled the cigarette smoke, and removed me from the volatile situation. Although I was able to gain insight into the photographs San Juan took, I was shaken by the ordeal. It once again revealed that power relations can change in an instance. I was fortunate to be in a safe space, but I am grateful someone intervened.</p>	
<p>Reflections 22/08/2021</p>	<p>Gender plays a significant role in this project, and my gendered identity is always present in my interactions with the transient community. Although I have benefited from it at times, I am hyper-aware of what it means to be a young female in a country with a gender-based violence epidemic. While I entered this project in an empowered position, my gender disempowered me in many ways.</p>	<p>Gender</p>
<p>Canada 17/09/2021</p>	<p>Canada landed in hospital because he was stabbed. San was very concerned and the community asked him to take care of the situation. He messaged me in distress because being a transient means that their rights are not necessarily prioritised. I offered to call King Edward hospital to enquire about Canada's condition because I felt that people would listen to me because of my status as a South African. Thankfully, Canada is in a stable condition.</p> <p>The research process is complex. You can be an outsider, but also adopt an insider position. My project is more than research, it is about shared humanity.</p> <p>Canada will probably go to the safe house once he is released from hospital.</p> <p>It is sad that it was one of his own that stabbed him – a fellow transient. The community beat him up and vowed to kill him if Canada dies. Although the bond of brotherhood is visible, the underbelly of physical and structural violence is apparent. Canada makes money from selling alcohol (Kavini), and his friend stabbed him over alcohol.</p>	
<p>Reflection 17/09/2021</p>	<p>Canada is an alcoholic because he can't handle the stress of his life. San Juan is depressed/stressed due to his homelessness (displacement)</p>	

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	<p>It would be naïve of me to romanticise the notion of community, but there is an ‘imagined community’ albeit the issues.</p> <p>Canada and San Juan drink excessively to soothe their depression and forget their problems.</p> <p>Canada sells alcohol and San Juan collects and sells scrap metal for survival. They sleep at the bus rank – near the Durban market. Life is tough for transients, and while they live in a material place, they are displaced. Despite being mobile, they are immobile.</p>	
<p>Canada 20/12/2021</p>	<p>Canada called to tell me that San Juan killed a fellow transient by mistake. The price of killing someone from the community is death, so naturally I feel awful. I always new that it would be difficult entering this world, especially because they are disenfranchised. Canada told me that San Juan handed himself over to the cops to save his life. However, members of the transient community beat him up. Despite their sordid conditions, my interactions with the transients taught me that they are not inherently bad people. They have dealt with misfortune – something more complex than I could ever comprehend. Although I recognise the importance of separating myself from my research participants, I feel deeply for this community as a fellow human being.</p> <p>The story of a transient/seaman/stowaway is far more complicated than the desire to go out to sea. It is about the lived experience and daily practices of a community navigating the pursuit of a dream they may never reach. Days like these remind me that the life of a transient is tough, and that hope is a better option than death.</p>	
<p>Marlon Oppenheim 17/02/2022</p>	<p>Marlon reflects on his position, privilege and power because he doesn’t want to exploit the transient community. He also knows that he is a resource to the community; he is a white South African with a car. Although he confirmed many outstanding concerns, I got the that he was being conservative with the truth. There were two possible reasons for this. The first being that he views himself as a custodian of the transient community. The second reason is more sinister; perhaps, he didn’t want to share information for me to use in my study.</p>	

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	<p>He made critical distinctions between seamen and stowaways, noting that a seaman is someone who has been to sea; he has boarded ships.</p> <p>Marlon also discussed the strong criminal element: drugs, trafficking and extortion. I appreciated his reflection on the community as an imperfect unit because it is easy to romanticise the social and material practices. I like what he said about the community 'living in the now'. They focus on the present because it is all they have. They don't know what the future holds and the past is nightmarish.</p> <p>He promised to send pictures of tomb stones he constructed with ply wood and cement. He told me that while the tomb stones were not perfect, they honoured the fallen members of the community.</p> <p>I also don't know what term to use to describe the community – transient/stowaway/seaman. Each term is loaded with different connotations. A seaman is someone who has worked on ships; he has earned the title because been out to sea. Stowaway is a crude term used to describe people in this community. Marlon has a social currency I don't possess – he is a white male. The community saw him as someone of value because of his identity. I am a female of colour, and any gesture I made could be perceived as an invitation for sexual advances. My identity as a researcher was secondary to my gender, whereas Marlon's identity as an <i>Mlungu</i> male was powerful.</p>	
Mook Lion 24/02/2023	<p>Mookie is a fun guy. I appreciated his willingness to share information despite not knowing much about the community. He answered questions honestly and confirmed the data extracted from previous interviews. I enjoy chatting with people who have intimate knowledge of the community because they remove my blinkers by offering sobering accounts of their experiences with the transients. Mookie revealed the value of building trust with research participants. I learnt a great deal from his collaborative approach that trust is reciprocal. I found his point about painting as therapy quite interesting. I equally appreciated his honesty in saying that some people didn't find the process interesting. He also discussed interesting social practices in the community, such as betting and cleaning rice.</p>	

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
More Fire 11/03/2022	More Fire provided a detailed account of his trek from Tanzania to South Africa. His story is no different from the other harrowing accounts. He spent months on the road trying to get to South Africa in search of a better life. This endeavour has proven to be difficult because he is illegally living in the country. Despite going to prison, he is incredibly kind and willing to help with my project. Although More Fire thinks he is too old to stow away, he supports younger boys who desire going out to sea.	
Erick 15/03/2022	Erick is an amazing person with a heart of gold. He was willing to open his heart and share some painful stories. I am intrigued by his resilience.	
Perfect Junior 15/03/2022	<p>Perfect Junior provided a sobering account of the seaman/stowaway experience. He is a licensed seaman, so his account provided important contextual information that members of the stowaway community have either concealed or lack the ability to explain. A seaman is someone who is certified to work on ships. He would have a certificate and legally occupies a ship for work. A stowaway is someone who occupies a ship illegally. He cannot work on a ship because he doesn't have the qualifications. Most Tanzanians view being a stowaway as a means out of poverty. However, little do they know that life at the Durban docks is harsh and painful. Many men never return to Tanzania and are instead buried in South Africa or thrown overboard. PJ didn't elaborate on how crew members chuck stowaways overboard to avoid paying fines.</p> <p>Interestingly, I can make connections between the dialectical relationship between perceived, conceived and lived space. The perceived refers to the material conditions and social practices of the transient community. The conceived refers to their ideas, dreams and hopes. This keeps them hopeful and gives them strength to push through their conditions. Finally, lived space encompasses the combined perceived and conceived experiences of transients. It is a continuum of fact and fiction – where does one begin and the other end. All of their experiences engender their triad of perceived, conceived and lived space.</p> <p>PJ is fortunate because he works for an international company, but he also faced challenges. He lived in South Africa as an asylum seeker/refugee. This would have</p>	

Interview and Interview Date	Reflections	Codes/Themes
	<p>affected his mobility and placement in South Africa. However, he is educated so his circumstances and experiences are different. He views the transients with hostility. While I understand his position, I keep thinking about the interviews I had with members from the community who view stowing away as a way out of poverty. They don't have a plan, but they have a hope and dream. It is difficult to comprehend, but we have everything to lose whereas they have nothing to lose.</p>	

Appendix Five: Coding Memo – Defining Place

Question 1

How do the Tanzanian transients construct place in Durban?

a) How do they perceive and conceive place?

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: San Juan you were talking about seaman and what seaman means. Please may you explain that? SJ: Seaman is someone with problems who needs help. When you need help, the sea has the power to decide your fate. It means that other people cannot decide. They have to save you and put you on [sic] the community. Therefore, whatever you have to do is on you and your fate. If you need to be in the sea then the sea will need to be you. Therefore, if you try then maybe the sea will help you. Therefore, seaman... SL: ... (interrupts SJ) Is it like a power, an entity, a power source? SJ: Yeah, that's it. It's a power source.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 7 – 15 Defining place</p>	<p>Sea as a place</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Ok. San Juan, you said that art under the M4 bridge, right? Uhm, you say that not all of it depicts the seamen community. Uhm, can you just explain the art that does; and obviously as we go further you will enlighten me on this artwork, when we look at it and examine it. Uhm, do you know when it started? SJ: Uhm, [chuckles]. This thing started long time ago, maybe before I was born. Other people before were gone. Long time. Everyone you ask, they met some people, you see. And you know what, people are not staying down there. People are having their works, staying big houses, but when things go awry, they go talk to the seamen; and the sea drives them away from their problems.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 16 - 24 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Okay. So, that's your community. Would you call a community that you've formed?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. That's uh, I can say that's a community, of course; cause if someone dies, people sit down, together. They call each other everywhere, everywhere [Inaudible]. That a Tanzanian died or a seaman died. You have to do something. Whether to send back home or whether to bury. When somebody gets a problem which needs help, second-hand help, then you need to help. If you are there and you don't, then there will be problems on you. That's how it is. Yeah. So, it's a form of community. Like I say, cause everybody gets his own. Because I mean some are relatives, some are not. Some are from other places. Don't know even each other even in Tanzania, but the community is there for everybody. Not one language. One aim, to go away. That's our aim. To go, away. That's how our community started. We need to go away. And how can you go away, you don't have cash? Then it means we have to take everything. You are here. Cause we don't have houses to stay up and manage the town life. You, see? But if you are in problems, you are powerful as we are united to solve the problem. Yeah. But if you stay alone in your house, alone everybody in his house, then how can we help each other? If you stay in your house, then stay, but make sure you have connection with the mother-body which is down there. Yeah. You up doing your businesses, but when there are problems down there then know that you must help. If you don't want to help people will just watch you. If you get problems, they are not gonna let you go, they're gonna help you, but with words, words, words [chuckles], which you cannot even bare. You, see?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 162 – 179</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>SL: So those marks, yet again, just clarify, are only for people in the community to engage with? And that purpose is for hope and remembrance?</p> <p>SJ: Yes. Hope, remembrance, pride but within the community. Where ever you come from which community. From Somalia or from what, but when you set your foot and see that mark, you will just see this is just like me. So, this place, there are people like me. That's how it is.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 264 – 266</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 Yes. Yes. Yes. That, you know? The community, as I said, has not agreed that wherever we go, we should do this and that. That's why, some people, you'll never find drawing or writing anything. You, see? They don't even want to leak their identities because something if they put an identity, that might signal that you are going. They just want to vanish like wind. He doesn't want to leave a trace, nothing. So, even the people are different in their perceptions. Some think that the graffiti will make them to stay on a place. That the graffiti will be pulling him back [chuckles].</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 278 - 284 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: So, does it mean, like. What is the meaning behind that, 'if sea dry, I'm gonna die'? CD: Sea never dry, if it dries everything is gonna die. SL: Is the sea life? CD: Yeah. Sea life even to get your dream you choose. I've got lots of brothers disappear, who live far from South Africa. Others, they Germany. Others America. Other's... SL: The ones that left, are they living a good life? Are they happy? CD: Got a family now. Look life. See? Do a job. Got a baby. SL: What woman did he marry? A woman from that country? CD: Yes.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 10 – 18 Defining place</p>	<p>Destination as a place</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: What does sea blood mean or sea power? CD: Sea's got power. Do you see, some ship is parked there? CD: [Lights a cigarette] You see, sea's got power. SL: Is the sea power also like the dolphin? Is that why you also put the dolphin on your body? CD: I put the dolphin. I believe, even if I'm taking ship. I told you, it's got a good heart and a bad heart. You, see? Like that. If you're thrown in the water, other fish can eat you, huh? Shark can eat you. The big fish, too. But dolphin can help you; can't eat you.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 23 – 31 Defining place</p>	<p>Sea as a place</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: And, sea hope means that there is hope in the sea? CD: Yeah. There's life. We want to change our life.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: But what about within your community, so within the transient community. Would you say that you guys have formed your own community? Would you say that you are a community or a society outside of the mainstream society? SJ: Yeah. I'd say that. We are a community of our own. As I told you before, when I see a transient. Even, I don't know his name, but I just see by the look. I'll judge that he may be a transient like me. I'll say hi, what not, to him. There are even women who are transients, too. Yeah, because the transients, as I told you, doesn't have to be based on sea. Some are even going to Brazil by planes, you, see? Some are moving by buses, alright? So, there's a society of the transients. So, we know each other and we've established a common understanding or a common sense in which, when I see a transient, I understand that that is a transient. Even if he is in a house, in a flat, or what. But one day, one time, I would've heard that he has moved to somewhere else, Maputo, or Johannesburg, or Namibia, you, see? That won't astonish me because it's already there.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 31 – 36 Defining place</p>	
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: So, there is camaraderie. I want to actually stick on this idea of community and respect because you mentioned there's a respect. You mentioned the word respect. You mentioned that you can identify a transient. I want to ask, what defines this community? Can you explain the characteristics (safe spaces, the safe house and even the artwork) that you have as a community, that establishes this transient community? SJ: Let me make you understand this. You, see? When it comes to safe house, there is a community. Just this community, the one I am in now. There is a degree of understanding to come to the thing of building a safe house. You, see? Because there are challenges and there are problems which happens every day. People are donating for shelters and that. So, just came an idea, why shouldn't we get a safe house? But also, other communities are</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 55 – 86 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place - The safe house?</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>mocking this community because we are transients. How come we are making a safe house? So, it means, you are making yourself to stay. You will not be transient again because we'll just take things easier. As a transient, we shouldn't have a safe house. That's according to other communities. Alright? Like, Cape Town or Tanzania or Richards Bay or what. You, see?</p> <p>SL: So, this safe house is only a Durban thing?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. Other places, they just higher a room or if your friend is up, you, see? Or if your friend is up, or your friend got something. Your friend will help you.</p> <p>SL: Okay. Let me press on this idea of a safe house. You say it's something unique to Durban. I'm not sure if you were part of discussions to build a safe house.</p> <p>SJ: No. I found the safe house already when I came here.</p> <p>SL: Okay. Do you have any idea of the rationale for building the safe house?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. The rationale behind the safe house was first to save money and to be ready for problems because this is our life and the problems never end. They keep circling. And, as life goes, life changes. So, it's better to have a safe house, for in which it doesn't have a name for anybody. The name of the safe house is <i>Mr seaman's house</i>. You, see? And, the safe house is there for any Tanzanian. Any seaman. Even if he left the life in which we are now. He's on another life. One day, if he's got problems. What can I say? Maybe, I can say. Maybe, someone got a woman and the woman change, took everything. Chased him. Or, maybe took some people to beat him. He doesn't have nowhere to go. As long as he is he needs a home, nobody will chase him from the safe house. Even if he was staying in a flat, owning a flat. But as long as there is a safe house. That safe house is for nobody [The safe house is not owned by anybody; it is for everybody in the community].</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: You mentioned the word <i>sea power, sea blood, sea hope</i>. I see those words in the pictures you've sent. What's the connection between those affirmations on the wall and your belief in Allah? Is there a connection or is the sea a different power from Allah? Is the power of the sea mythical?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 143 – 160</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Sea as a place</p> <p>- Sea power</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SJ: As you know, sea covers the large space on earth. You know that? And, sea takes you to every corner of the world. You understand that? So, and, sea didn't just exist. It was created by Allah. You, see? And, the power of the sea is due to the power of God. So, there's a connection between the sea and Allah. The sea is very powerful. That's why so many things are in the sea. The sea contains so many things, more than the land itself. Yeah, and it has very powerful forces. Yeah. That's why we say sea power because sea has so many power forces, in which some are sea and some can't be the sea.</p> <p>SL: What do you mean when you say powerful forces? Is it mythic or...?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. First, mythic. And, also the forces for us seamen. The forces to vanish someone, or make someone disappear. The power to make you lost. Yeah.</p> <p>SL: So, if Allah, who controls the sea, is not in favour of you going, you could be banished by the dark forces in the sea?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. That's how you can see the people are overboard. They never be seen again. And, other people went to leave. They never call. They are never seen again.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: What is your idea and understanding of home?</p> <p>SJ: Home? Which home? My home, home?</p> <p>SL: Yeah, because you are a person in transience.</p> <p>SJ: To me, home is somewhere which, the place where heart is relaxed and everything which you want you can get and you can live nicely with the people around you or what. It doesn't have to be surrounded by relatives or what. Home can be anywhere. Just.</p> <p>SL: So, can home be the community you are living in now?</p> <p>SJ: This one I can't call home because it's not permanent. I'll call home when I go somewhere else. Maybe, I can say, Puerto Rico. If I go there, I can call that home because I am not moving, you, see? It depends, too, because life as I told you, home can be anywhere. Because, even if I go there, sometimes there will be blunders or things which will make me to move, so I'll call another place again, home.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 329-359</p> <p>Defining place</p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: So, this community you live in. This space you live in. You will never call it home because desire to leave this place.</p> <p>SJ: And, let me tell you about home, for us, you, see? We call home many places where we have connections, or we've passed and we've left our identities. That, we call those places home. For me, now, I can say that Tanzania is home. I can say Cape Town is home. I can say Durban is home. Just the simple meaning of home, for us, which we take. We take home as a place where we've been known by the people. When we go there, we are not new. We have passed those places, area. Or, we have rented those places. When we go there, we are not new to the places, we are not new to the area. We call those places home. Yeah. That's how we take it. I can say, that's how I take it. Even me, I can call...</p> <p>SL: So, home is where you are not a stranger.</p> <p>SJ: Yes, that is how we take it. Home is where we are not strangers.</p> <p>SL: It sounds like you are talking about home in the past tense. It almost seems as if home is where you leave your mark. Is that correct?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. Where we left our mark and identity. Though, we have a perception of home as a place we need to go. Our destinations. You, see? Thought destination. As I told you, I like Puerto Rico – San Juan. I can call it home to my friends. And, other places, we call home, like our colonial masters' places. England, Germany. We call those places home. For, we think, when we take the ship to those places, it's easy to be accepted to stay there. You, see?</p>		
<p>Aziz – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: If you can just explain to me how you got into the stowaway community? How did that come about?</p> <p>AT: Yeah. I get into the stowaway community when I came to Durban. When I came to Durban, this was my first place to know the docks. So, we were there, so many guys. And we just take like a camp. You, know? When you see the camp. I mean, everyone which is coming is reaching at the camp. So, that's what you see. Like, the way you see. They're putting some sign and then someone is passing. So, anybody coming from all the other</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 5-18 Defining place</p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>sides, eh? When they came to the camp, what is the wall say. 'Uh, my brother was here, pass here. And that the sign which he put over there'. It's not over. Even here too. All over when they're passing, those people they must leave the name. Even the trees, they just leave the name. Want to know this way they're passing these trees. Someone can hang the trees up and then can put the sign and can jump down and can carry on. Someone, when he's coming the deck and he passes there, he can say, 'ay! My brother's passing this way'. That's how they used to be. Yeah. So, either way, the guys are doing it.</p>		
<p>Aziz – Interview 1 SL: When did you come to Durban and did you live under the bridge where that graffiti is? AT: Ay, that was long time ago. From 2002, 2003, 2004. Those were the years I was living there. Yeah. It was long, long time ago. SL: Explain your experience in the stowaway community? Like, what was it like? Explain. Where did you stay and what was that community like? AT: Oh, you know, like we was not staying in the house. Yeah? Our life was under the bridge and the street, you know? Like, somewhere in the Victoria, Queens Street. Yeah. You come down here, you're gonna see the people under the bridge there. Down the railway station. Yeah, you see the people there. Yeah. So, that's how the life is. And that is. It's not you going to be suffering for that. If you're going to be working hard to find a ship, you're going to be there for one year and after one year, you disappear. No more living that life. Just going to be like examination and the life. You, know? Some people have to get some examinations. Not that they going to bring some paper for you to do, to write. They just giving you the hard life, hard time in your life. After that, you passing through good life. That's what you believe in that. Yeah. SL: So, are you saying that the whole idea of being in that area is about passing through so that you can get to a better life? Is that what you are saying? AT: No. It's not what I'm saying that because now, us we used to be like that because the time when we came, we got no family over here around us, so nobody can say just take you and keep you in his house. He don't know who, where you come from. No one can accept that to take you, so what you decide to do? You decide to help yourself. How you</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 28-61 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place - Under the bridge</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>can help yourself? You decide to sleep somewhere, where you know this place here for me is going to be safe. But someone who, who's going out of where is here, it's not safe for him, that place. But by yourself, it is safe, for your life how it is. You, see? Like, this place, I'm going to be safe. So, that's why you going to decide to sleep on like a <i>page</i>.</p> <p>SL: Well, tell me something. Explain the life under the bridge. What is the experience of the people? Like, I heard that it's a very big community. Everybody looks after each other. Was that your experience?</p> <p>AT: See, under the bridge. Like, how must I tell. The people under the bridge, they love each other. You know like something, like somewhere in a jail. You, know? When you in the jail, you live with people always together, so you know each other. Even someone, they coming from out of Durban, out of where, where, but you know his name, his father, everything. You know about him because you are with him every single day. You stay with him. Yeah. They keep love each other every time.</p>		
<p>Mohammed and John – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: So, I want to ask. What's the meaning behind <i>sea hope, sea blood, sea never dry, sea power</i>? Can you explain what all these sayings mean? Maybe, we can start with <i>sea power</i>. What does that mean?</p> <p>JO: <i>Sea power</i> is two things is different. First, I explain you. You see the dolphin? Yeah, you see the European of ship, the people driving the ship? They call him <i>sea power</i>. You, see? <i>Sea power</i> is two things different. One, is the dolphin, is <i>sea power</i>.</p> <p>SL: The mammal? The fish? Okay.</p> <p>JO: Yeah. And <i>sea power</i>, maybe, like me, I can draw on the wall. I can say, I can draw the ship and then maybe I can write the <i>sea power</i>, which means the sea got a power. Like, it can carry the ship, you, see?</p> <p>SL: What does it mean that the sea has a power? You can also talk, Mohammed, if you want to. What does it mean that the sea has got power? What is the meaning behind that?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 19-42</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Sea as a place</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sea power

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>JO: Okay, like. You know why? Let me explain. The ship. You know the sea? The sea, us we take like other world because there are many things there on the ship. There are too many things living there on the ship. Besides the fish, there are other things.</p> <p>SL: Like a power? Would you say like a God or something? Like, special powers?</p> <p>JO: Yeah. Why we say <i>sea power</i> is because the sea is carrying many things. Yeah, and sea got many things inside.</p> <p>SL: So, does that determine your fate? So, does the power of the sea determine whether you make it to your destination or whether you vanish?</p> <p>JO: Yeah, it's like that.</p> <p>SL: So, you say that the sea has the power to determine your fate? Mohammed just said that the ship is like a dolphin. It can take you to where you want to go.</p> <p>JO: Yeah, yeah.</p>		
<p>Mohammed and John – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Now, I want to stick with that. How much of that is your imagination? So, the idea that you have a hope to go. Uhm, how much of it is more of your imagination and a dream to go somewhere and how much of it is real? So, do people actually get to their dream destination? Does it ever happen?</p> <p>JO: I don't get you... You're asking maybe I dream to go overseas?</p> <p>SL: I am asking, does it actually happen?</p> <p>JO: You, see? Other friends already moved there. You, see? Either, we're talking to them on Facebook, WhatsApp, what, what.</p> <p>SL: So, is it often that if you have a hope to get to sea that you get there? Does it happen? If you say to me, today, that you are going to hop on ship, do you get to your destination?</p> <p>MO: Sometime, we're gonna say, today, I want to go Europe, neh? You're not gonna go. Sometimes, you're gonna go. To take ship is not easy.</p> <p>JO: Let me explain you nicely. Okay. I've got hope, I want to vy [go] now Canada, maybe. Okay? I've got no money. I've got no passport. Maybe, I've got no complete documents that needs to be there. So, that's why I'm a stowaway, yeah. I'm going to take a ship. Okay.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 93-114</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Destination as a place</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Because why? I've got hope to vy there. My friends are already there. They are doing life there, you, see? But they're going with the ship. You, see? That's why even me, too, I'm trying to do that way because they are explaining me: <i>we take a ship, you, see? Yeah, and we got no passport, no what, what, but I'm in Spain now. You, see? But the government of Spain take me, put me in a camp, you, see? I'm staying for six months. Make something for me, parent what, what, and now I am free.</i> You, see? It's like that, so me, too, I've also got too many hopes. It's like that, uh no, I'm forcing. That's why, because the others are there.</p>		

<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: When you entered that community, where did you stay?</p> <p>KO: You have to start with nothing. Even a blanket. You've got nothing. No blanket, so you you've got to face somebody just to give you something. Just for the time being.</p> <p>SL: So, where did you stay when you met the seamen?</p> <p>KO: You know that bus rank? You have to manage. Everybody is now locked up in the therapy, so you have to move from that side if your brain is working because no choice. No blanket for you. You brought a blanket? 'My brother please help me to share part of your blanket now?' If you buy food, he I can help you. At least, it can't be terrible. My brother, at least. They will give you.</p> <p>SL: So, this is the Tanzanian community?</p> <p>KO: Every. Baba! Because we don't have no discrimination. Ghana, Tanzania, we are similar, but there are small differences between us.</p> <p>SL: Are you a seaman?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 182-195</p> <p>Defining place</p>	
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: But the big group here is Tanzanians?</p> <p>KO: The big group is Tanzanians because they have a territory. It's like for them.</p> <p>SL: Explain that to me?</p> <p>KO: You know the bus station? It's for them, they own. So, if you are not the soldier to enter, you can't enter.</p> <p>SL: So, the Tanzanians own the bus station? Explain the bus station for me?</p> <p>KO: If you are not a soldier, you can't enter.</p> <p>SL: [Small interruption] Sorry, continue. So, you said that there by the buses the Tanzanians are in control. What do they control?</p> <p>KO: This one sell alcohol. This one sell anything. This one is a mechanic. This one is an organiser. You, you make me cry today.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 315-325</p> <p>Defining place</p>	

<p>Canada – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: What is the community like under the bridge with your Tanzanian brothers? Is it a sense of home?</p> <p>CA: Yeah. Everyone has got a sense of home, and everyone believes in going back home because we came here to look for money to build something there so we can have a wife and children at home.</p> <p>SL: I would like to talk about the sense of home under the bridge. What kind of community exists there? What keeps the brotherhood together?</p> <p>CA: Okay. Those people who there before created something. Everyone must respect everyone inside the group, and we say respect is number one. From that time, we have our rules.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 64-73</p> <p>Defining place</p>	
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Would you say that most people living under the bridge think Durban is a bus stop?</p> <p>EK: I would say so because all of them are dreaming of going overseas. You'll find that they don't look for a job or rent a house in Durban because they say, <i>'if I am finding the money to rent a house, it means my life is ending here in South Africa.'</i> So, if my life is finished here, I must find a wife and family here. That's why they only find the money for food and ganja.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 212-216</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a transitory place</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: I also see a lot of paintings of dolphins. Some people even have the dolphins tattooed on their bodies? What do the dolphins mean to people in the community?</p> <p>EK: Dolphins are important because the seamen used to kill and throw the stowaways in the sea when they found them on the ship, so many people believe they got support from dolphins. Dolphins can guard and protect you from dangerous sea creatures, and they push you to shore.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 227-232</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>The sea as a place</p>

<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1 PJ: ...For me, most of those guys have a stupid mind because you can't think of starting a life somewhere else when you don't have a plan. The stowaways at Durban port aren't even seamen; they don't have a plan. Most of them sit in a jobless corner and lie to each other about going abroad. Some of these guys come from a standard, perfect family back in Tanzania. But because they hang around in the jobless corner and read the news on the internet, they come to South Africa because they think it is easy to get onto a ship. And when they come to South Africa, they have no family. The bad thing is that they find their friends living under the bridge when they get to South Africa. So, whatever money you bring to South Africa is spent on food and shelter. But no money can last if there is no income. So, they eventually sleep on the beach or under the bridge with their friends. This happens because these guys don't have a plan...</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 121 – 132 Defining place</p>	<p>Durban as a place</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1 PJ: On one of my ships, we found a guy in the funnel. Can you imagine? A funnel is an exhaust where the smoke from the engine comes out. We found a guy hiding there. But all of this is because he doesn't know about a ship. He doesn't know where to hide. I have experience on a boat, so if I wanted to stow away, I could promise you that I could get to where I want to go because I know where to hide.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 135 – 140 Defining place</p>	<p>Ship as a place</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2 PJ: Sometimes, we used to park in Maydon Wharf birth 13; then, we were told to shift by port patrol to the container terminal because other ships came to offload cargo. So, when we move from there, we go to another birth, and after two or three days, we'll find a stowaway. And, if we ask how long they've been in the vessel, they often respond by telling us that they've been hiding there for a week. So, once we find a stowaway, we must determine how many others are on board because there could be others left behind or stuck somewhere on the vessel; some can live, and others can lose their lives, and we'll never know until we start to smell something funny.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 23 – 29 Defining place</p>	<p>Ship as a place</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 88-105</p>	<p>Ship as a place</p>

<p>SL: Thanks, PJ. You've provided rich information on the complexities of stowing away, such as the extortion and fees ship companies must pay if the crew find stowaways on board. I want to discuss where the stowaways hide on the ship. Where do you find them?</p> <p>PJ: Oh. We find them. Like, you see, the two guys I was telling you about, we found them in a place called a bridge, where the captain is operating or <i>driving</i> the ship. We used to have cupboards under the bridge, but they are big, maybe two or three meters. That is where you find all the cables for the ship. So, we found the guys hiding under the bridge – or in the cupboards with the cables. One time, we found someone in an engine room under the main generator. That place is so risky because once the ship starts and the engine is working, it gets hot like a microwave or stove. You can get cooked because it is too hot. We've even found guys in the <i>funnel</i>. When you take a guy out from there, he looks like charcoal from the smoke, and you can only see his eyes and teeth because they are white. Another place the guys hide is in the <i>chain locker</i>. You see, every ship has an anchor, and the anchor chain is usually stored in a locker. That is a very dangerous place to hide because the chain can fall on you, and you can die because it is heavy. I am giving examples of where people hide on my ships, but container vessels are different because they hide on the yacht or between the containers, which isn't a permanent place because you can hear people walking around. So, if someone is nearby, you can dodge them and hide in another container. That's what I know, yeah.</p>	<p>Defining place</p>	
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: How dangerous is it? You've described the <i>main generator</i>, the <i>bridge</i>, the <i>engine room</i>, the <i>funnel</i>, the <i>anchor</i>, and the <i>chain locker</i>; they sound very dangerous.</p> <p>PJ: The only safe place to hide is the bridge if you manage to get under those f*****n cupboards and hide there. The chain locker, funnel, and engine room are not safe places. Staying down in the engine room is difficult because the fumes are unbearable; it isn't healthy. The safe and dry places to hide are generally locked, while the dangerous areas like the chain locker and funnel are usually open.</p> <p>SL: What is the ballast tank?</p> <p>PJ: You can't hide in those tanks because they are closed and mainly used for diesel and water. If you go there, you won't survive because you will <i>sink</i> in the fuel or the water. The</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 115-127</p> <p>Defining place</p>	<p>Ship as a place</p>

<p>PJ: Yeah. It's true because if you don't have that dream, you give up on life. Some guys end up selling drugs under the bridge, and others sell stolen goods. Most guys aim to get on the ship to escape Africa; they want a good life. Those who haven't been lucky to hop on a ship hoping to get deported because it is easier to get home that way. Many guys have families with decent homes in Tanzania, which are more comfortable than living under the bridge.</p>		
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Appendix Six: Coding Memo – Social and Material Practices

Question 1

3. How do the Tanzanian transients construct place in Durban?
 - b. What are their social and material practices?

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: And what does that mean to you? Like, why did you write those words and why in that particular location? SJ: Yes. I write those words in that particular location cause' the particular people who pass there. Some people have challenges, just like how we have challenges, but they can't explain their challenges, you see? But we try to explain our challenges by the way we explain ourselves; and not just explain, we have to face it because life is hard here, so our challenge is to get out of this life. Yeah. So, that's why. Somebody else - when he passes there - say these people sometimes write good things. Then they at least get something, hope. You, see? It's all about hope. Because we're giving anybody. You see there, not even only the foreigners. Even if you are local, wants to go away. People can just <i>tell</i> come and we gonna show you how to go. That's the culture. When new guy come, there must be some host to take of this guy and show him the town and show him the port.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 66 - 75 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Strangers building a social network</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: And so, in particular, if we can call it the stowaway art for now. Uhm, the stowaway art that we see under the M4 bridge. What is the purpose of that art? SJ: Uhm. First the purpose is. Depends on the writer first - the one who write it. The purpose is hope and remembrance. [Pauses] Cause' most. When you see either a name, or I can say like, not a name. You can call it a jingle - a punchline. You know, that punchline used to be for someone, but he is in France now. See it, what you doing here? You just catching the [Inaudible]. You gonna read this punchline and tell other people: "this punchline, [chuckles] the one he wrote, is in Germany". You, see? It's hope and remembrance. And some people are dead, you see. Some people are back home with large houses and some people are cruising [mimicking someone's reaction] - "you see that big car? It's this one".</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 78 - 85 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practices Creating hope for future community members</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: When you talk about remembrance, it reminds of memory. One of the things. Uhm, I'm sure in Tanzania there must some form of memory that generations before you left, right? Here [South Africa], we've rock art. The rock art from indigenous communities. Do you think that it [the stowaway art] is similar to that where generations for hundreds or decades of years to come will look back at this art work and see almost like a mark? Thy leave a mark of their... That's what I called. They said that my title is bad, but I called it 'Signs of our passage'. So, in other words, you are leaving a sign there, so that when you leave, someone else who comes there sees that as a form of memory or connection of that identity.</p> <p>SJ: Yes. And maybe, you see, not even down there. Everywhere, when you go somewhere. I didn't come with my bag. In my back pants I have a pen. Maybe when I go to the toilet, I write something there. You write anywhere and put your mark, a sign; and the guy maybe you met in Johannesburg because - even Johannesburg – there are seamen. Someone is tired of here, they go to... but me, I was in Cape Town and here; and Joburg, they know me. You, see? If I put my mark, anybody else I met in Joburg, and he came here and see my mark, he says: "Uh! Who draw that? Uh! It's San Juan. Uh! That guy. I met this guy..." And other stories, then you, see? That's how... And we are everywhere. Even on the planes, imagine. Even on the ships. Even the migration offices. They know us.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 96 - 104 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practices Creating hope for future community members</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: And you've explained, in a way, like what this graffiti means in a way. It's a sense of memory and hope, right? One of the guys, his name was Sam Steven said: "sometimes, maybe I can take my ship to go overseas. You, see? So, if my young bra, he gonna come maybe after two years. When he come here, he is going to find my name to [sic] the wall. He can feel so happy and say, ah! Even my bra he pass [sic] here. Ok. So, even me too, I am gonna go overseas because when we go overseas, we contact our brothers who are in Africa and give them hope". Would you say that is an accurate kind of...?</p> <p>SJ: ...Yeah! That's accurate because you, know? It doesn't have to be like that. There are people who came here, brothers. You, see? There are uncles. There is younger father and son-y. You, see? So, the brother is still, the young brother is don't know because sometimes</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 113 - 118 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>we don't know where somebody went but he doesn't call back because, when people go, they have contacts: "Yes, my man, I am in France", but others never, never, never, never, you see? They are brothers but one is gone and never came back, but their signs are in the world. You see, uh! That's my brother. I don't know why. That's how it is.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: To go back again. You said that, uhm. From what I understand, that seaman is obviously a source of power, it's your fate; but it also sounds like you are talking about - to be a seaman – it's almost like a community, it's an identity to be called a seaman. How do I get into that group? How does one enter into that community? Do you have to be Tanzanian? How do you enter it? SJ: As I said. When you came there, your problems are up to your neck and you need to run away. You just go to the guys and you talk to them. When you talk to the guys, then guy tells you what you are supposed to do. What your role is, as a seaman. As a new body, you need to do some tasks, right? Yeah.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 124 - 127 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Is it like a test? SJ: Yeah, that's uh... First, people need to know you. Who are you? Yes. Don't come here. Who are you? And this and that. Where are you from? Okay. What you want? Yeah. They must ask you, what you want? You need? "Ah! I need to sell drugs". "No. This is not your place. Go back". Cause this here is seamen here on drugs, but all are the same. All are the seamen". There is division, but all are seamen. "You smoking drugs? That's your side. This is not your side". Maybe I drink or smoke weed, "alright, come. You group with us". "Who you know? Where you came from?" "You know this guy?" To see if you are truthful or just some bad guy. "What you are doing? Salon or robbery or what? What are you doing? You, see? Things like that. Then he says, "I was this and that". "Okay. Take this. Go get water and come to eat". Then we show you how town is, how this is. We show you how to get some few money, but not by selling drugs. You, see? Yeah, okay. We show you what with the port there. This is how it goes. Your power, if you need to go, is up to you. 'Head is your government'. That's what it is.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 133 - 145 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: In this formation of seamen that you speak about. Is there... You speak about head being your government, which I find very interesting. Because if the head is your government, that means you have autonomy over yourself, if I am not mistaken? So, in this formation, does that mean there is no kind of leadership structure? Is there a leadership structure? SJ: No leadership structure. There is no age, but there is just respect the older, respect the younger. That's how it is. And there is about the... I can say the, the time, the timeframe, you know? The new one cannot control the old. No. That's how it is. There has to be respect.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 150 - 152 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SJ: You've been active. How many years you've been active as a seaman, not go come, go come. Right? That's how you earn your respect. And that doesn't mean you are the leader; there is no leader. Everybody leads himself. SL: And as long as you show respect to each other, there... Like, so the rules are almost like agreed but based, not anything formal, but based on understanding?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 158 - 159 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, that's your community. Would you call a community that you've formed? SJ: Yeah. That's uh, I can say that's a community, of course; cause if someone dies, people sit down, together. They call each other everywhere, everywhere [Inaudible]. That a Tanzanian died or a seaman died. You have to do something. Whether to send back home or whether to bury. When somebody gets a problem which needs help, second-hand help, then you need to help. If you are there and you don't, then there will be problems on you. That's how it is. Yeah. So, it's a form of community. Like I say, cause everybody gets his own. Because I mean some are relatives, some are not. Some are from other places. Don't know even each other even in Tanzania, but the community is there for everybody. Not one language. One aim, to go away. That's our aim. To go, away. That's how our community started. We need to go away. And how can you go away, you don't have cash? Then it means we have to take everything. You are here. Cause we don't have houses to stay up and manage the town life. You, see? But if you</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 162 - 179 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>are in problems, you are powerful as we are united to solve the problem. Yeah. But if you stay alone in your house, alone everybody in his house, then how can we help each other? If you stay in your house, then stay, but make sure you have connection with the mother-body which is down there. Yeah. You up doing your businesses, but when there are problems down there then know that you must help. If you don't want to help people will just watch you. If you get problems, they are not gonna let you go, they're gonna help you, but with words, words, words [chuckles], which you cannot even bare. You, see?</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: So, just moving back to the art because we are focusing a bit more on the seaman life, which I think is important because there's that relationship, but I guess, almost just to close our session for today. Uhm, I wanted to ask, are you all aware of fact that this particular art work... Is it? Even, you said your art work was at the morning market. Is it a very purposeful decision to make it, in a way, or to put it in a space where the citizenry of that space is able to see it? I know, I am coming from a completely different suburb, driving into the town I now see it. Has there been because, I mean? Arguably, one could say, if it is done behind the freeway, no one can actually see it? So, is there a purposeful reason that you have all chosen to put it in a place that the public can see it? Could you just explain that for me? SJ: Uhm. You, know? When you try to put something, either you want people to see it or you want to explain yourself towards the people. Cause you can't write inside your room, only inside your house. Only if you want to give it hope to yourself. But as a community, because you were inspired by stories to do this thing. So, you inspire others, just to as like I say, when you pass, like when I say, you come from outside the town. You, see? You see even on the bridges. You, see? Yeah, So, it means, even when I pass, I'm inside that car, but I remember that thing. And, even if I am with my friend who doesn't know, I have to explain what that means. It's about explaining those meanings to other people and to make yourself comfortable because there is something which makes you. It is not, uh, purposeful that it was all together made by the decision of 100 or 1000 people who do that, but that is inside the heart, inside the head of every seaman. Even a youngster because that is not only... Even in our country, people are</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 215 - 230 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>used to drawing graffiti. Even the houses of other people in the street, I used to. We used to. You, see? When we used to come from football. We go to play football in other places. When we play football and we are going back home, we see a new home and we do graffiti - the names - so that other people know you. You, see? Know you, and know what you are saying. If it's... It's lucky it's not about crime, it's about life. Yeah.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: So those marks, yet again, just clarify, are only for people in the community to engage with? And that purpose is for hope and remembrance? SJ: Yes. Hope, remembrance, pride but within the community. Where ever you come from which community. From Somalia or from what, but when you set your foot and see that mark, you will just see this is just like me. So, this place, there are people like me. That's how it is.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 264 - 266 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: Are there any rules where you stay? CD: Ay! So many rules.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Line 38 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: What is wrong? What can you do that is wrong? CD: If you do something wrong, the people are going to hit you. SL: What is rule number one? CD: Respect. SL: Respect? CD: Respect. Don't shout others. Talk like you are talking. You must talk nice, brother's leave you. Like that. The rule of respect. If you break respect, people can chase you. The first one [rule]. SL: What's the second rule?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 41 - 61 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Respect</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>CD: We've got lots of rules. SL: What rules can you think of? CD: Even if you want to go inside the ship, make sure you are passing same way nice. Don't go like, you, see? Do you understand? SL: No. CD: If you go there inside. You want to go escape. You must make sure you go the right side. You, see? No people look you. Even you fight with security. You, see? That you make hard times for others coming. SL: Oh. So, if you go, you must make sure that you don't fight or cause problems for... CD: Even if security can hit you? SL: When someone else... CD: ... coming, he gonna get hit, too.</p>		
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: Okay. I get it. What about Islam? What role does it play? CD: Yeah. Islamic and Christian people pray. We fast and pray. Do you know Allah? SL: Yes. That's God. Do you have an Imam there? CD: Yeah. SL: Really? SJ: He, the last time he went to jail, he read the <i>Salah</i>. SL: So, you know your religion very well? CD: Yes. SJ: He was even Imam. He read the <i>Salah</i>. SL: Is Islam very important to you as a stow away? CD: God watches everything you do. SL: So, you know that even if something bad happens Allah wasn't in favour of what you were doing? CD: Yeah. You must make <i>dua</i> [prayers]. You must pray to God. God is watching.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 62 - 75 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Religion</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: What about the safe house? CD: Yes. You know that place KwaMakutha? SL: How did the safe house come about? Do you guys build it? CD: Yes. We all make a donation. Slow, slow. We got some <i>mama</i> [mother], Zulu one, like us. Before, she gives us a house to stay. Must pay rent, you, see? We must pay rent. So old, is she. We help something. We got a goat there, see? You open the goat, goes eat grass. After that, you put it inside. That <i>mama</i> believes us. We look like her children, see? We look like her children. Now, we stay there so long. So many years passing. Now, we are building house. We draw in the safe house.</p>	<p>Potential Empirical Indicator Lines 76 -84 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practice Safe house – the building</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 1 SL: You also draw in the safe house? There’s drawing in the safe house? CD: Yeah. Inside, there is drawing. The elephant is going to Egyptian pyramids with the palm tree.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 85 - 87 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: So, there is camaraderie. I want to actually stick on this idea of community and respect because you mentioned there’s a respect. You mentioned the word respect. You mentioned that you can identify a transient. I want to ask, what defines this community? Can you explain the characteristics (safe spaces, the safe house and even the artwork) that you have as a community, that establishes this transient community? SJ: Let me make you understand this. You, see? When it comes to safe house, there is a community. Just this community, the one I am in now. There is a degree of understanding to come to the thing of building a safe house. You, see? Because there are challenges and there are problems which happens every day. People are donating for shelters and that. So, just came an idea, why shouldn’t we get a safe house? But also, other communities are mocking this community because we are transients. How come we are making a safe house? So, it means, you are making yourself to stay. You will not be transient again because we’ll just take</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 55 - 68 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – Donations Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>things easier. As a transient, we shouldn't have a safe house. That's according to other communities. Alright? Like, Cape Town or Tanzania or Richards Bay or what. You, see?</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: So, the only rule to enter your community is to identify as one of you from the time they arrive in Durban? What part does religion, particularly Islam, play in this community? SJ: Yeah, it plays a very big part. That's the core, you can say. Because most of the people. Some are Christians. I can say, because Tanzanians, we are Christians and Islam. Most of them were changed to Islam, you, see? And they were changed due to the, I can say. You know the records. Islamic records or videos, you, see? I can say they. I forgot this word. People adopted these Islamic views in one way or another. You, see? People are changed. You know, like I said, there are different regimes. So, other regimes are being led to. Being led or controlled by Islamic views. You, see? People are forced to change, you, see?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 101 - 109 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Religion</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: What role does religion, particularly Islam, play in anchoring hope among the transient community? SJ: Yeah. Religion plays much hope. Even me, myself. Even before I try to go to the port recite some Islamic verses. Maybe, <i>inshallah</i> [if Allah wills it], you, see? Or, maybe. Let me see. You came in December, down there. I wasn't there because was in jail. So, every time I was going to the podium to meet the judge, I was reciting some Islamic verses. That is honest. Even the Christian, when we eat, he will never to the cross sign. He will just say <i>Bismillāh</i> [In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful]. Even, we talk about things for tomorrow, we just say <i>inshallah</i>. Something it bring in us, hope. And, that's why people who are drunkards, when it comes to <i>Ramadan</i> [holy month of fasting], they fast thirty days because they have that hope, and they believe that God will help them. And, that's why everything. We say every step with a prayer. You, see? In Swahili, it is <i>Kila hutua dua</i> [Every step prayer]. So, everything you do, first, you pray. SL: You mentioned the word <i>sea power, sea blood, sea hope</i>. I see those words in the pictures you've sent. What's the connection between those affirmations on the wall and your belief in</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 130 - 166 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Religion</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Allah? Is there a connection or is the sea a different power from Allah? Is the power of the sea mythical?</p> <p>SJ: As you know, sea covers the large space on earth. You know that? And, sea takes you to every corner of the world. You understand that? So, and, sea didn't just exist. It was created by Allah. You, see? And, the power of the sea is due to the power of God. So, there's a connection between the sea and Allah. The sea is very powerful. That's why so many things are in the sea. The sea contains so many things, more than the land itself. Yeah, and it has very powerful forces. Yeah. That's why we say sea power because sea has so many power forces, in which some are sea and some can't be the sea.</p> <p>SL: What do you mean when you say powerful forces? Is it mythic or...?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. First, mythic. And, also the forces for us seamen. The forces to vanish someone, or make someone disappear. The power to make you lost. Yeah.</p> <p>SL: So, if Allah, who controls the sea, is not in favour of you going, you could be banished by the dark forces in the sea?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. That's how you can see the people are overboard. They never be seen again. And, other people went to leave. They never call. They are never seen again.</p> <p>SL: So, is the connection between Allah and the affirmations about the sea? If it is your destiny, the supreme will guide you there?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. That's why we say <i>inshallah</i>. It means if God wish. You, see? First, we say <i>inshallah</i> – if God wish, the sea will take me away, you, see? Cause, sometimes, if God doesn't wish. Even if you go, even twenty times, you won't vanish. You will be going and coming, going and coming. But another guy, only one and he is living somewhere.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. There's a house in which we have rooms, people can sleep. A place where people can get <i>wudū</i> [Islamic procedure for cleansing parts of the body before praying] – clean themselves before <i>salahs</i> [prayers performed by Muslims]. And, it's called the mosque because it was intentional for the mosque. And, there are places, like down there. There's not a house, but there's a nice place with a carpet. Clean every time. And, even the utensils used, are written</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 177-200 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Religion – Islam/praying Material practice Mosque – the building</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>this is for mosque. So, they can't be mixed with any other things. And, even incarcerations. I can say, even in jails, there are places which are kept. That is a mosque. You can't even get in with the shoes.</p> <p>SL: So, is there space dedicated for a mosque where you live?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. This place which is known six years, as the mosque. You can't pass there with your shoes on or you can't do something stupid there because everybody is watching you.</p> <p>SL: Is there a seaman leading the mosque?</p> <p>SJ: Yes, of course. And, there is not only one because people know. Even me, today, if I want to pray and I go there early, I do <i>muezzins</i> [the official who proclaims the call to prayer], you know <i>muezzins</i> – <i>Azzam</i> – call to prayer? I do it and I stand as Imam. I wear nice, I stand there as Imam and I read the prayer. I may read the morning prayer. Somebody may read the evening prayer.</p> <p>SL: So, is there a Koran?</p> <p>SJ: Of course. Everything.</p> <p>SL: And who keeps all these documents safe?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, they are kept safe. Though sometimes, when the metro and the SAPS come, they put everything on file, you, see? They come with their boots because these people. I'm sorry, but religion, yeah, they respect, but they don't take it so seriously. So, they won't take their shoes off, or if they like something, they just like.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2</p> <p>SJ: ...So, when you see that graffiti. Because some people come this community, but don't believe that you can really get lost to other continents by sea and by ship. So, from those graffiti, these people can be told that: <i>You see this graffiti? It was written by someone who is France.</i> You, see? So, it is keeping the spirit up.</p> <p>SL: So, it's a form of memorialisation in a way. Memory?</p> <p>SJ: It's memory, keeping up the spirit, you, see? Reminding of the community's values, you, see? Because people are getting some reminder to remember the values of the community. What does the community want? So that people shouldn't just forget everything because, as I</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 213-226</p> <p>Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practice</p> <p>Graffiti – memory and hope</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>told you, <i>ship is not a taxi</i>. So, it's not just something you are going to board. You hope. You don't know when you'll go because you are still living in the community. So, don't just forget. You think that tomorrow you'll be gone. You'll say tomorrow then you can leave even ten years. If your luck is not there, you'll be counting years. So, you'll have to count years while you help the community to survive. Then, how do you help the community to survive? Like that now. You should go to the safe house. Help the sick. You, see? You should take the sick to hospital.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: What are some of the by-laws? SJ: Like, as I told you, if there is a way in which you can be helpful to the community, never escape to do that. Example, there is someone who is dead, you, see? Needs to be buried or needs to be sent home. You've got a permit or passport to be a verifier there – relative of the deceased. You need to do that. You are not forced, but... SL: It's a community value? SJ: Yeah, you, see? It's an obligation for you to do that. And, if you don't want to do that, and there is no other way, people will even force you one way or another. You can even get hurt. SL: What's another by-law? SJ: Another by-law? You can say, when somebody is sick, you, see? You need to help. If you can do that. Like, if you speak nice English for someone who doesn't know how to speak English, then you can make a good interpreter. You need to help. As I told you, I brought some guys to see Ruth because I interpreted. Yeah, you, see? So, when I wake up, if someone went someone, his leg or knee is injured, was told go to see that guy. So, when he came. Even if I have something else to do, I have to postpone it to take him, you, see? SL: What other by-laws are there? SJ: Other by-laws? You can say, you need to go to safe house. SL: I heard that there's a contribution that everybody has to make. How often do you have to make this contribution? SJ: Two days a week. Mondays and Thursdays. SL: And, do you know how much people give?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 266-289/ 302-318 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules – By-laws</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SJ: Yeah. On Monday it's R 3 and on Thursday it's R 5. For people like us.</p> <p>SL: And who administers these funds?</p> <p>SJ: The funds are kept somewhere. I'm not sure. To a guy, one of us.</p> <hr/> <p>SL: So, the chemist is...</p> <p>SJ: ... The chemist is one of us.</p> <p>SL: The chemist is like the president of the community. And, how does the chemist get elected? Is it a change of leadership? Do you vote for the chemist?</p> <p>SJ: Ah! You don't vote. It's just people standing and ask that the chemist is going somewhere. Maybe, the chemist wants to go to sea or the chemist is tired. We need another one, so, from there you can ask, but it is based on someone who has already stayed for a time. Though, things are changing. Those who stayed for time, they don't want that thing because they know it's a...</p> <p>SL: What is the responsibility of a chemist?</p> <p>SJ: Like I said, when things come to call some of the people for meetings. You, see? When you have a problem. You need money to go to hospital. You need money to send someone to go to hospital, you talk to a chemist. When there is funeral, you, see? You talk to the chemist. He summons the people and you talk together. So, he is there, not because he's the president or what. He is there because...</p> <p>SL: He keeps everybody together?</p> <p>SJ: He doesn't keep everybody together. Just to hold the community.</p> <p>SL: Yes. He's the glue that sticks the community together.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: So, there is almost a kinship you have formed with the locals on the other side, the <i>paras</i>.</p> <p>SJ: Yes. Even the mamas. The market mums. Because when we go, early in the morning. We go bin surfing. We surf some bins. We get some nice clothes from there, you, see? Our market is for those market mamas. We sell to them. You, see? Sometimes, they need some supplies, they give you much money, a R 1000 if you take things to them. Buy some things and then you don't run away. At first, as I told you, it was so untrustworthy, but though trust is regained. Trust is earned, because now they know that we don't have a problem. When you give them R 1000,</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 398-414</p> <p>Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>they just change and go to Cape Town. But you see, those things now are changing because when you are in a place, a community, in which because we stay down there but we walk on top. So, I can say, when I stay with my friends in <i>maskani</i>. You know <i>maskani</i>? It means a place where people meet frequently for something. Either smoking weed, or drinking alcohol, or gambling. All the things together. Selling phones together. You, see? When somebody comes and tells you R 700, go buy something, and that person runs away. When that person comes back, we have to go harass him because that's how it comes to the issue of respect. You can't do something to destroy the livelihood of other people just for your own benefit, especially on <i>maskani</i>, a place where people meet every day. You cannot go. When you change that place, then you destroy the economic flow, then you get hurt. If you don't run, people will hurt you.</p>		
<p>Aziz – Interview 1 SL: What. Uhm. So, you say that the function of the graffiti is to, uhm, leave your mark so that someone who comes after you can see that you were here and that you have done it, so they can do it to? AT: Also, so that they can make their sign, too, because when you are here, we leave the sign. After that, maybe after two/three months' time, we're gone. You already took the ship and we disappear in the sea. Yeah. So, and now, even they are there in the overseas side, someone can ay see, 'Ekse, I was passing there by your beach, Durban, and I saw your sign name there. Which year you was? Ay, it was long time. Maybe, it was 2009, somewhere like that'. Yeah.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 19-27 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practice Graffiti – memory and hope</p>
<p>Aziz – Interview 1 SL: Well, tell me something. Explain the life under the bridge. What is the experience of the people? Like, I heard that it's a very big community. Everybody looks after each other. Was that your experience? AT: See, under the bridge. Like, how must I tell. The people under the bridge, they love each other. You know like something, like somewhere in a jail. You, know? When you in the jail, you live with people always together, so you know each other. Even someone, they coming from</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 53-61 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>out of Durban, out of where, where, but you know his name, his father, everything. You know about him because you are with him every single day. You stay with him. Yeah. They keep love each other every time.</p>		
<p>Aziz – Interview 1 SL: What about the safe house? AT: Safe house. No, they. You, see? There is some donation there used to be to make it for us as stowaway people. We made a house outside the city. There's one house we made. So, one of us, anybody who is getting sick, maybe. You, know? They can't be sleeping there under the bridge when it's getting cold there because the bad situation over there. So, you have to take him to that house until when he can get better, then he can come back to the town. Yeah. That's how it is. SL: Explain. Did you ever contribute towards the safe house? Like, does everybody contribute towards the safe house? AT: That is a.... That house is for all of us. You, know? The house for all of us. Is no one's house. For all of us.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 67-77 Research Question 1 b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – donations Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>
<p>John and Mohammed – Interview 1 Shannon Landers (SL): Hi, John and Mohammed. So, you were explaining why people write on the walls in town, near the harbour. John (JO): Yeah, it depends. Because other ones, they draw maybe ship, or the wheel of ship. Other ones, they draw maybe the names, you, see? There are many names there. If me, I write my name on the wall, which means everyone is maybe coming in this place, he will know that John was here, you, see? Maybe, I can draw the ship, and that ship I can write my message from my heart, what I like to draw. Maybe, if I draw the ship then maybe behind the ship, you, see? Then, maybe behind the ship, I write the message: <i>Don't lose hope</i> or <i>sea hope</i> or <i>sea never dry</i> or <i>ship is my life</i>, because my life depends on the ship. You, see like the magazine on the wall, it means like that. SL: So, it's like a memory? It's a way to leave your mark in a place?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 7-18 Research Question 1b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Material practice Graffiti – memory and hope</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>JO: Yeah. It's like a memory.</p>		
<p>John and Mohammed – Interview 1 SL: What does it mean when you see Mohammed's name (who came before you), and you know him. What does that mean for you when you come to the port and you see his name? Explain that feeling? JO: You, see? Our life first is hope. You can't live there without hope. You know the story, you, see? We are living there, but we've got hope in our heart. SL: Explain this hope for me. JO: Yeah, it like that. I can get hope because I see Mohammed he draw here and say, even Mohammed was here. Even me, I can stay here because even Mohammed was here and even the home, he was together with what, what. So, I can live here because even Mohammed lived here. Mohammed took ship here. Even me, I can take a ship. That's why. SL: So, the whole thing is not only about memory, it is also about hope? You leave your mark in a place, but you also want to leave hope for people coming after you? JO: And memory, too. Because you know why? The life we are living. You know? This life, we are dying, you, see? We disappear. Maybe, other ones, they go Europe. So, sometimes we remember you by the. You, see? We stay like this. We smoke, we say: <i>You see this man, he maybe Belgium.</i> You see those things? Yeah, it's like that. It's memory and hope, too. We say: <i>Eish! Even Mohammed was here. He's in Belgium now. Maybe, he's in USA. Even us, maybe we can go.</i></p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 75-92 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practice Graffiti – memory and hope</p>
<p>John and Mohammed – Interview 1 SL: For sure. Now, I want to understand this community you've developed because from my understanding, there's a safe house, there's a mosque under the bridge. There are rules and regulations. So, when you come to this society here in South Africa, it's a community. Although you are transients, it's a community? Explain that life and community under the bridge? JO: Yeah. There are rules there.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 179-210 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules – By-laws</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: What kind of rules?</p> <p>JO: One, is because we are taking a ship, yeah? We are not allowed to smoke drugs. And, maybe, to be with girlfriends. To fight each other and robbing people. And, maybe, to care about your brothers. It's me like you, you like me.</p> <p>SL: Who comes up with these rules? Who made these rules?</p> <p>JO: Even me, too, I don't know who's making these rules because this life is not starting today. It goes way back, long time. Yeah. And, maybe if we because we are a community. If everyone maybe wants to live his life, imagine how...</p> <p>SL: It would be anarchy. Everyone would be doing their own thing.</p> <p>JO: You, see? That's why we make those rules. Why we say we don't smoke drugs is because the police are down there, and many police know that. Because, at first, the police were asking why are we too many people sleeping outside. They don't know about stowaway. Yeah? Once we started explain them. Maybe, they think we are smoking drugs because there were people near that place smoking drugs. The next time the police come they see these people there are different. So, even the police when they are coming there, they know this place is safe. They are going there where the people are smoking <i>whoonga</i> [drug]. You, see? That's first rule. Why we say no girlfriend, why? Because if you've got a girlfriend, you can't take a ship. You will take, but you will be late. You know the story. You can't look at a ship. We are not allowed. Not that we are not allowed to be with a girl. No, we can, but it's not maybe down...</p> <p>SL: Serious?</p> <p>JO: Not serious. And why we say we are looking for each other is because we don't have parents here, you, see? So, me, I'm going to be the parent of Mohammed and Mohammed is going to be the parent of me. So, maybe me, in the morning I wake up and I go with Mohammed and all the people see that John is going with Mohammed. On the way, Mohammed gets in trouble, accident what, what. Me, I must go explain our friends there, nicely, why. You, see? Yeah. Maybe, this one gets hurt. Me, I need to go explain them why, and why, me, I don't fight for him. You, see?</p>		

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>John and Mohammed – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: And, if you break the rules, what happens?</p> <p>JO: Yeah. Other one, maybe, can maybe say, go another place. You, see? Or, maybe the judgement was, maybe if me I can say, okay, you're doing something wrong, we can maybe judge for other judgements. There are many judgements. Yeah, it depends.</p> <p>SL: Do people get stoned? Is there a judgement where people throw stones at you?</p> <p>JO: [laughs] Yeah, there's a judgement like that. And, if you are doing maybe big things, like to kill someone. Maybe you are fighting with someone and you just panic that this one is going to die what, what. Then maybe others think it is bad luck. If you kill someone, two things are supposed to happen. Either, you are going to die or you can take a ship fast.</p> <p>SL: So, if you do something wrong, you need to run away?</p> <p>JO: Yeah. Big things like that. Maybe to kill someone. Maybe fight with someone. Maybe take out his eye, what, what. See, its big things, not like these small ones, to fight with him. No, that's small one.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 211-223</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Community Rules – Punishment (sub-theme)</p>
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: How is the seaman community like a brotherhood?</p> <p>KO: We are a dangerous brotherhood. We are too close. Don't touch him. Don't try. If you touch him, I'm coming. The other one is coming. Another one is coming. We will finish you because you are wrong. And everybody is like a soldier. We live by timing. See?</p> <p>SL: So, when someone dies, do you all. Even, like your Tanzanian brothers, do you all put money together for the funeral?</p> <p>KO: Somebody gonna come with the book. How much? R 20, R 50, R 30, R 100? Yeah, everybody gonna pay by force.</p> <p>SL: And it doesn't matter where you're from? Whether you are from Ghana or Tanzania?</p> <p>KO: No. If you are in territory, you're gonna.</p> <p>SL: So, who are the dominant people in the territory? Is it Tanzanians, or is it everybody? The dominant people are Tanzanian?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 301-325</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and Material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>KO: Tanzanians? Me, I'm Ghana. Tanzania, they get their lifestyle. You understand? Ghana, too, they have another style, but we all move in the same style. Because all are seamen.</p> <p>SL: But the big group here is Tanzanians?</p> <p>KO: The big group is Tanzanians because they have a territory. It's like for them.</p> <p>SL: Explain that to me?</p> <p>KO: You know the bus station? It's for them, they own. So, if you are not the soldier to enter, you can't enter.</p> <p>SL: So, the Tanzanians own the bus station? Explain the bus station for me?</p> <p>KO: If you are not a soldier, you can't enter.</p> <p>SL: [Small interruption] Sorry, continue. So, you said that there by the buses the Tanzanians are in control. What do they control?</p> <p>KO: This one sell alcohol. This one sell anything. This one is a mechanic. This one is an organiser. You, you make me cry today.</p>		
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Okay. So, when did you meet the seamen?</p> <p>KO: We came to meet because I see many are hustler. This is brothers.</p> <p>SL: When you entered that community, where did you stay?</p> <p>KO: You have to start with nothing. Even a blanket. You've got nothing. No blanket, so you you've got to face somebody just to give you something. Just for the time being.</p> <p>SL: So, where did you stay when you met the seamen?</p> <p>KO: You know that bus rank? You have to manage. Everybody is now locked up in the therapy, so you have to move from that side if your brain is working because no choice. No blanket for you. You brought a blanket? 'My brother please help me to share part of your blanket now?' If you buy food, he I can help you. At least, it can't be terrible. My brother, at least. They will give you.</p> <p>SL: So, this is the Tanzanian community?</p> <p>KO: Every. Baba! Because we don't have no discrimination. Ghana, Tanzania, we are similar, but there are small differences between us.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 180-195</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and Material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: Are you a seaman? KO: Yes</p>		
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: I would like to talk about the sense of home under the bridge. What kind of community exists there? What keeps the brotherhood together? CA: Okay. Those people who there before created something. Everyone must respect everyone inside the group, and we say respect is number one. From that time, we have our rules. SL: What are the rules? CA: <u>Respect</u> is number one. That is the first one, and the second one is <u>don't ignore anyone</u>. SL: What does it mean: don't ignore anyone? CA: If someone is coming with some point and they just ignore. Try to listen, and you can understand what he is willing to talk and you can have an idea inside. Because if you don't listen, it's going to end up a problem, and he will say that he talked before, but people ignored him. SL: So, this would be a brother from Tanzania? CA: We are all Tanzanians. When I come to you with my point, today I see this and this and this, but I end up you, see? I found this and this and this. Okay, no <i>flop</i> (problem), just watch out, and someone else will say, this person may be drunk. <u>Learn to listen and listen to learn</u>. So from that point, we've got another one. We say, don't lose hope. Keep on trying. SL: Is that rule number three? CA: Yes. SL: What does that [rule] mean? CA: <u>Don't lose hope. Keep on trying</u>. It is like you are trying to do something today, and you fail. Don't say God doesn't love me. I failed. No. Just wake up the next day and keep on trying—same thing. Next day, you are going to fail, too, next of next day. Keep on trying until you are going to get because there were people who stayed there for ten years getting nothing, but one day they took ship and now they are in America. They are working in big companies. Other people are in Canada. Another people are in Mexico. Another people are in India. Many</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 74-123 Research Question 1 b) Social and Material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules – By-laws</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>countries. And we were living together like this. You are going to end up talking stories. Ah, we were living with this <i>ou</i> (man), now he is just calling us with the video call, and he is showing you where he is riding with shoes on the road [sound effect to express what he is saying], with the beautiful ladies – white people. He is the only black one. And he says, home, I am building a flat. I send car to my mother. Everything is okay. They are always giving us hope. That's why we keep on contacting them.</p> <p>SL: Are there any other rules?</p> <p>CA: Yes. Next one, <u>get rich or die trying</u>.</p> <p>SL: 50 Cent (American rapper)?</p> <p>CA: Yes. That one is a song, but it's got a meaning to us?</p> <p>SL: What is the meaning?</p> <p>CA: In our life, we are playing for the risk because the ship is like maybe this flat, they've got many people. Many people who get onto the ship die on the ship. We die in the water, but someone can win. Someone can pass away. You must try your best, you see? Don't think about other people. No. God has created you the way you are. You've got your luck, and I've got my luck. So, life is <i>vying</i> (going) like so. That's why we carry on trying our best until we get what we want. We aren't scared of anything.</p> <p>SL: Rule number six?</p> <p>CA: When you do things, it must be <u>sincere</u>.</p> <p>SL: Sincerity?</p> <p>CA: Yes.</p> <p>SL: What do you mean?</p> <p>CA: Don't do something like [a] fashion. You must think about what you want to do, and you must be sincere. I'm going to do and I can. Don't be put can't. I can.</p> <p>SL: What happens if you break any of these rules?</p> <p>CA: If you break the rules, they take you to the police station, and you <i>vy</i> (go) to jail.</p> <p>SL: Is there any place where these rules are written? Can you find these rules anywhere?</p> <p>CA: No. These rules you are getting from the people who were living before. There are some young boys who don't know some rules, but if you are elders, you can understand them.</p>		

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: Does everyone respect the leader? CA: Everyone respects the leader. SL: What happens if you don't respect the leader? CA: You get some punishment SL: What is the punishment? CA: Sometimes, you get slapped. It depends on what you do. If you did big issue, you get big punishment. If you [do] a small thing, they can say, okay, collect tomatoes and bring to us. SL: I know that the Tanzanian transient community doesn't only live under the bridge. Some Tanzanians live in Congella, the Durban market and at the point. Do these rules also apply to them, or are there different rules depending on where you stay? CA: The rules are the same everywhere. SL: So, the different communities have a leader and follow the rules? CA: Yes.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 129-141 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules – punishment</p>
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: I want to talk briefly about the safe house? Were you part of the decision to create a safe house? Why did people want a safe house? CA: Yeah, because sometimes, you see? You got a problem – a broken leg – you can't survive here in town, so you must have a safe place in order to be healed. SL: Were you part of the decision to create a safe house? CA: Yes. SL: How did you get together to make this idea a reality? How did that work? CA: Yeah. First time it was difficult, but we end up saying we must have it because we believe that life is [inaudible] SL: Was it difficult to convince people to contribute money towards building the safe house? CA: It was difficult. We even fought. SL: You fought? CA: We end up fighting, but we end up sitting down.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 212-231 Research Question 1b) <i>Social and material practices</i></p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – donations and forced collections/submission Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: Explain that. Explain the fights. What were people saying? What were the fights about? CA: Someone can tell you, you see? Me I don't want, you see? To stay inside. Someone can raise another point and say, <i>no flop</i> (no problem). Even if you don't want to stay inside, but if you get a problem, how are you gonna survive? We must, because sometimes they come in, young boys. They don't know nothing, so we must have place. SL: So, what eventually convinced everyone to contribute towards the safe house? CA: It was by force. It was by force. You want, you don't want, not so.</p>		
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: So, tell me, after convincing people to building a safe house, by force. How do you acquire land? Is everyone donating bricks and money? How does this space come into existence? CA: No. It was everyone was paying 500. SL: 500? CA: Yes. SL: Wow! So, someone collects the money. CA: Yes. We collect that money and we bought the place. SL: Do you know how much you ended up collecting after everyone donated R 500? CA: The total maybe was like 200 000. SL: Now, you have your money. Who buys the land? Was it you or someone else who bought the land? CA: It was group because you can't do something one person. Everything must be group. SL: Okay. You've got the 200 000. You've got the land. Who builds? CA: Yeah. We just pay someone to build because we've got no builder. SL: When did you build the safe? When did this all happen? CA: It take like 8 months to 10 months. SL: And, what year was this done? CA: It was 2015.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 242-259 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – donations/ Forced collections Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Canada – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: So, the safe house has really been a place where you can kind of...If you need to get assistance or get better, or just need to stay in a safe place. It's been that space for you in the community to really... So, explain, is there a nurse or a doctor in that place? How does it work in the safe house?</p> <p>CA: Yeah. We have some contribution every Fri, Saturday, no, Thursday and every Tuesday. You see?</p> <p>SL: How much do people contribute?</p> <p>CA: Yeah. It's Five Rand, everyone. Yes. So, we just buy food and another money, we just send there for a person who got appointment for the hospital. He can get transport and someone can take it for him. They can go together.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 263-272</p> <p>Research Question 1 b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Safe house – donations/ Forced collections</p>
<p>SL: Who keeps the money to ensure that no one steals the money?</p> <p>CA: No. We just choose anyone who is trustful, you see? We can give you a hundred, so all of us know we give you a hundred.</p> <p>SL: So, let's say I steal the money...</p> <p>CA: You're gonna get punishment.</p> <p>SL: What punishment?</p> <p>CA: Same story. It depend.</p> <p>SL: What is the punishment for stealing?</p> <p>CA: [laughs] You see? The main point is that everyone got wrong luck in this life. Someone can get small punishment. Another one can get big punishment, but it is the same story.</p> <p>SL: Yes. It's punishment. And, it's hard to get trust again once you break the trust. More than just being punished.</p> <p>CA: <i>No flop</i> after punishment...</p> <p>SL: Oh! You are forgiven?</p> <p>CA: Yes. <u>Forgive and forget</u> is another point. All our life we are living like so.</p> <p>SL: So, is that rule number eight?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 273-292</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Community Rules – punishment</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>CA: Yes. When you do mistake, you get punishment and we forgive you. We give you cigarette now then we give you money and give someone to send you hospital. When you come back, we send you home. You <i>park</i> there <i>lukka</i> (good). We wash your clothes. You watch TV. Everything is fine, but I beat you yesterday (laughs).</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 4 SJ: Yes. A shack. They organised like three or four shacks and they just built a safe house. SL: So, there is a safe house in Cape Town as well? SJ: Yes, there's a safe house, it's not like the one here. It's not really a safe house. Just people's shacks have been organised, you, see? No one will take care of you. No one will take vegetables and what and what. SL: So, what's that safe house for? SJ: Yeah, if you are hurt, and you can't stay in town. No one will ask you for rent. And, if anybody comes to visit then you get something. Because, in the area, people are selling weed and some are selling drugs. Like, some people might remember you. And, there are also some other Tanzanians and shops. Yeah. So, you can visit, at least, rather than staying in the bush. Yeah. So, when I went there. That time, my young father was into drugs. So, when some people saw me, they were like, <i>what you want? Why you look like someone. Yeah, he's looking like someone. You, see?</i></p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 50-62 Research Question 1 b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 4 SL: Explain the significance of the mosque under the bridge. SJ: The mosque is for prayers. The people pray. They do salahs. They do duas. When they pray, you take the bad omens away from your surroundings and you get yourself lucky. SL: What is the significance of having the mosque under the bridge? SJ: That's the significance of the mosque. The Muslims are using it to pray because, as I told you, the community is mostly occupied by Muslims. There is another mosque in town. People go there to pray. That one is there for emergencies. There is an Imam and everything.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 195-201 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Religion – Islam/praying Material practice Mosque – the mat, the kettles</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 4</p> <p>SL: We are now looking at figure 23 at the grave yard.</p> <p>SJ: You, know? When we go to bury. First, when we bury a person, we don't put a tomb stone. We put flowers. If we are Christians, we put a cross. It depends. Some are Christian, but most of them are Muslims.</p> <p>SL: So, they just put flowers?</p> <p>SJ: Then, when the grass is uprooted, we clean the grave. These one's are cleaning the grave. Me too, I clean for my friend who I worked with. My very best friend. Yeah. I cleaned his grave. While other people are burying, other people are cleaning at the grave. You uproot the grass.</p> <p>SL: What does it mean to you when you clean your friend's grave?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. That's a blessing because, you, know? No drinking and smoking when you bury someone. Other people are drunk and smoking, they clean graves.</p> <p>SL: Does everyone get buried at the Red Hill Muslim Cemetery?</p> <p>SJ: We are using this place mainly for the Islamic burials. We also use Adam's cemetery where there are Christians.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 273-286</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Burial rites</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 4</p> <p>SL: Explain the image with the accounting book. What happens here?</p> <p>SJ: This was the people's names and the donations for the funeral.</p> <p>SL: And the Quantum. Who paid for the transport?</p> <p>SJ: These donations were for the transport. There's a donation for the buses. There is also a donation for the bridge.</p> <p>SL: What does the picture with the safe house mean?</p> <p>SJ: They are all Tanzanians. They live under the bridge. They are either sick, or there to tender the sick, or they are visiting. Just like how I went, but all are transients. Some of them are drug addicts. The drinkers are drinking and the smokers are smoking. We are all gathering. If a person is sick, he is shouted at not to touch anything.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 307-316</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices</p> <p>Donations – burials and safe house</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 4 SJ: That is our main place. It is the core of the community. <i>Reli mbili</i> – (two railways). When you hear <i>reli mbili</i>, it means two railways. That is the home for the community. Every idea is coming from there. The idea for the safe house. The idea for the what. Every idea is coming from there.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 365-367 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules – meeting point</p>
<p>Marlon Oppenheimer – Interview 1 SL: I know about the safe houses. MO: So, the safe houses and there were multiple houses. Those were run and funded by a broader community. So, there were young individuals who had to go around to the various sectors that comprise this broader community, and you wrote your name down. You contributed financially whatever the hell you had. It could be two rands. It could be five rands. It could be a hundred rands. And if you've done well, it could be a thousand rand, which was used to provide food and transport, and, and, and. And booze and cigarettes, and all that stuff, to these safe houses. If you had contributed, you were then eligible to receive care in those safe houses. And it was recorded in a ledger. How that ledger was audited, one doesn't know. There were guys that were killed because they had stolen money that was supposed to go to the community. There was a massive power struggle over who controlled that ledger and who then had access to control the funding. And it was year in and year out because the last people who were controlling the funds had been stealing, so they were punished or killed. So, there was that element that really cemented the community. And these were disparate characters. There were dealers contributing money if they had done very well. There were guys who had come back from America, who had stowed away, joined the army there, earned money, came back—gone to those old places they used to hang out at and contributed towards the fund. And that financial contribution, in many ways, created a sense of community, as did the safe houses. So, there was that. Yeah. Then there were a few other things that I won't speak of that are a little bit more nasty. If you broke certain rules, you would be punished. And there was punishment for all those different rules. And it was principally based on the Quran in many ways. It was pretty hardcore punishment, albeit that community wasn't made up purely of</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 223-254 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – donations/ Forced collections Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>individuals that follow the Muslim faith, or the Christian faith, or the Rasta faith, or. I didn't encounter any Buddhists. Those were the three major religious groupings, and there were subjects within that. There was an adherence to an unwritten code, and if you were a seaman or a stowaway, you had to abide by that code. But there were loose interpretations associated. One big issue was that what it meant to be a stowaway or seamen was that you had to drink, and that was used as a means of manipulation. Those that had failed or were then stuck in purgatory; not able to leave the country and go back home because they had spread all these lies about how amazing they were doing in South Africa or they just didn't have the finances to go back home. Many of them would go to drugs and alcohol. And <i>gaveen</i> – I'm sure you've encountered <i>gaveen</i>. So, <i>gaveen</i> was part of quote-unquote <i>their culture</i>. One had to drink <i>gaveen</i>. I've got drunk on <i>gaveen</i> a few times, and it is not nice [...]</p>		
<p>Marlon Oppenheimer – Interview 1 SL: That's an interesting point because, as you said, much of the community codes or rules are premised on the Quran or Islam, which prohibits one from drinking. Did you find that primarily Christians and Rastafarians drank? MO: You could heed that religious undertone not to drink, but more often than not really [...] SL: [...] Adhered to? MO: [...] Adhered to. MO: Yeah. Eating with guys, there was always prayer, whether it was a Christian prayer or a dua. There was always a prayer before and after a meal. There were always handwashing rituals before and after the meals. I suppose that is from the Quran or Bible, whatever that might be from. That had a lot to do with it, but drinks superseded a lot of those beliefs.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 260-269 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Religion – Islam/praying</p>
<p>Marlon Oppenheimer – Interview 1 SL: I have two final questions. The one is: Why does this community draw on the walls? And I guess it is pretty complex because you said you've got seamen who have been ships, people who intend to get on ships, but what do you think is the intention of inscribing their experiences on the wall, or in such public places?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 414-431 Research Question 1b)</p>	<p>Material practice Graffiti – acknowledgement</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>MO: It makes you alive. It makes you real. You've left a mark – it boils down to human nature. It boils down to what art is. All art is completely and utterly unnecessary, and that's what makes it so human. It is unnecessary, but in the same light, it is so necessary. You don't need it to survive; you don't need it as food, water or shelter. But it's the thing that makes you human, and it's from other people that you exist. That's why they wrote it. So, it's showing themselves that they exist, but it's also proving to themselves that they exist. That was my big drawcard.</p> <p>SL: And when you say leaving a mark? I get that it also ties in with existence, but leaving a mark for who? Is it for people in that community who may come after them or everybody - people like you and me?</p> <p>MO: To yourself, to your community, to a broader community. That you are actualising life by writing and proving to yourself. Like, '<i>time never stop no way</i>'. It is one of the major signs written all over the place. It is an acknowledgement of that, that you've written something today, and you don't know what the fuck is going to happen tomorrow. But your writing will still be there. It might not, but it might still be there.</p>	Social and material practices	
<p>Mook Lion – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: What were some of the social practices you witnessed that established this unit as a community?</p> <p>ML: The one thing would be the communal cooking and eating, I guess. They'd have these huge meals that they prepared at the train tracks. A lot of them. They also, and I don't exactly know what they were doing. They had these big piles of rice that they used to kind of cleanout. It was very time-consuming. They would pick through these piles of rice. I don't know if they'd got cheap second-hand rice that needed to be cleaned. They seemed to have these different operations. The one was a betting operation where they would work out all these betting. I don't quite know what they were betting on. They also used to make beaded jewellery together. Their other thing was the shelter they'd invested in [blank area]. I don't know if you've heard of that.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 54-64 Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rituals</p>
<p>Mook Lion – Interview 1</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 79-101 Research Question 1b)</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rituals</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>SL: Returning to the social practices. You were talking about the communal cooking and eating, as well as their various operations. There was something else you were talking about, but we lost connection.</p> <p>ML: Yeah. It was the tasks that they were always busy doing. One of them would always be doing a task. It was tabulating these numbers to do with betting or sorting the rice. Rolling joints and smoking weed was a thing the community did. And then we added to that with the painting, I guess. The painting was something we did together as a community. It was something that symbolised them in a way as well.</p> <p>SL: Before we move on to the painting, I've just remembered that you were talking about the shelter in [blank area]. I asked if it was the safe house you were referring to, but we lost connection.</p> <p>ML: Yeah. That was amazing to me because the guys had scarce means, but they seemed to work together so much that they were able to establish this safe house, where, from my understanding, if anyone were unwell, they would have a place to recover and recuperate. They seemed to really take care of and look out for each other in a way that I wasn't accustomed to being.</p>	<p>Social and material practices</p>	
<p>Mook Lion – Interview</p> <p>SL: I find that very interesting. One of the things I took from it, which is why I am interested in markings and marking memories, is because I found it to be a way of inscribing one's memory. So, in one way, the graffiti provides hope because you see words of affirmation like <i>sea hope</i> and <i>sea never dry</i>, but it's also about memory – preserving memory and marking identity. Is that a connection you made?</p> <p>ML: Yeah, definitely. I mean, it's recording memory, and it's also recording history. Whatever the artists choose to represent and the materials they use to capture a moment in time that is passing and keeps changing. I guess it gives a feeling of hope and meaning to living and existing.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 298-306 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material Practices Graffiti – hope and memory</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Mook Lion – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: You spoke about the poetic aspect of the graffiti. Did you ever ask why they wrote so symbolically and poetically?</p> <p>ML: I don't think I ever really got any clear explanations on that. Yeah, I guess it's somehow a culture. They had their own unique culture of their kind of graffiti writing, and I guess it developed from itself. You know? They would see someone start writing a poem, and they would kind of. The form that they used, I would imagine. Do you know what I mean? I don't know if I'm explaining it well. Graffiti tagging involves writing your name, putting a number, and putting an exclamation mark at the end. And you see that people all kind of stick with that. So, I don't know where the original, where it originally came from. Maybe it's something to do with the culture they have back, but it's kind of like a culture that developed on its own. And they kind of feed off each other because they have this insular culture.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 262-272</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material Practices</p> <p>Graffiti – hope and memory</p>
<p>Mook Lion – interview 1</p> <p>SL: But coming back to graffiti and tagging. I watched the documentary wherein someone named Steven stated that the purpose of the graffiti is to give hope to people who come after you because they will see the graffiti and be inspired that you were able to get onto a ship. What are some of your observations regarding why they tag or write graffiti on the wall?</p> <p>ML: Yeah, I remember that quote you are talking about. I guess it was about passing through and that they are foreign people passing through this space. It is an attempt to leave some form of mark that they were there and that they have been there. And I guess what he was saying is so that the next generation will see that <i>'someone like me was here before, and perhaps there's hope for me as well.'</i> And maybe that would mean that they would feel more at home and less alien, I guess. Perhaps, having recognised the marking all over the city. So, I think that would be it. It's also human nature. Beyond the stowaways, it really is human nature to leave a little scribble or a little scrawl, but I think most people manage to restrain themselves from that urge. Maybe for whatever reason, these guys are. Perhaps their precarious lifestyle led to them losing restraint and leaving a mark. So, I guess it's to do with that. As a disenfranchised person, it can give you a sense of worth. Especially when you drive or walk</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 210-226</p> <p>Research Question 1b)</p> <p>Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material Practices</p> <p>Graffiti – hope and memory</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>past and see your mark on the wall, you get a good feeling. You can say: 'Yeah, I bombed it. I left my mark.' It boosts your self-esteem in a way, I think.</p>		
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Do you know anything about the safe house? MF: Yeah, I know. That house is for people who are sick. If someone has a fever, HIV, sores on their feet, they go there to get help. They get medicine, and someone will take care of them to ensure they take their medication on time. SL: Do you know anything about the donations to the safe house? MF: People by the railway lines – down there - where foreigners stay and sell <i>ganja</i> [marijuana] administer the donations. So, people with a book collect the money from everyone. SL: Do they go to Dalton, the market, under the bridge and the point? MF: After Dalton, they go to the market, St Georges. There is even that place I told you about for Tanzanian stowaways on the highway. SL: So, everyone has to donate money for the safe house? MF: Yes, yes. But not every day; it happens two days a week. The people without money must donate fifty or a hundred Rand, but those with money must give two hundred to five hundred Rand. SL: What if you don't have money? MF: They'll tell you that you must find the money, or those people will sell anything to get the money.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 177-193 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – donations/ Forced collections Material practices Safe house – a shelter for sick people in the community</p>
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: What about helping each other? For example, if your brother needs to go to the police station or hospital but can't speak English and you can, you have to help him. Is there something like that? MF: Yeah, it's like that. Even if you go to the hospital and someone knows English very well, he can take you there and translate for you.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 194-198 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Is there a difference between how Tanzanians get on the ship and other African communities? Does the Tanzanian community have set rules for stowaways? MF: Yes, there are rules. They all tell each other about the timetable and share information. They know where the ships are going, maybe Italy, Australia or America. So, they usually enter before the ship before it leaves the port. They can even stay on the ship for one month before it sails. Some can surrender and come out, while others can survive and manage their food, you see?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 213-219 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Kinship</p>
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: What do you know about the graffiti on the wall? MF: Yeah, that graffiti is like a memory. It is a sign for people to know that they were here. They write their sign and the year to show that they were in South Africa to show people they passed through. SL: Does it give people hope to see their brothers' names on the walls? MF: Yes. They even put signs on the walls in jail and the police stations. SL: Why do they do that? MF: It is to show that they were there. SL: So, it's for memory? MF: Memory, yes. SL: So, you say the people do it for memory and hope. MF: Yes.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 229-240 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practices Graffiti – hope and memory</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Earlier, you spoke about praying. What part does Islam play in the stowaway and seamen community? Do they pray before they try to go out to sea? MF: Yes, they pray. The Christians pray to Jesus, and the Muslims pray for Allah. SL: Are most of them Muslim? MF: Yes. SL: Some of them convert to Islam from Christianity. MF: Yeah. They do that. SL: Why? MF: They all believe that Islam is about peace and the real religion. You'll also find that the Durban Muslim community helped them a lot.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 264-273 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Religion – Islam</p>
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: What about Kavini and Ganja? They are Muslim, yet they drink? MF: Yeah, you'll find that they don't follow the rules despite being Muslims, so they drink Kavini. But if someone follows the rules of Islam, it means they can't smoke ganja or drink Kavini. SL: Why do you think they drink and smoke? MF: They say it makes them feel good if they drink or smoke because they have lots of stress. You'll find that some don't want to lose hope, so drink to stay hopeful.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 274-280 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community rituals – drinking and smoking weed</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: I would like you to tell me about life under the bridge. I heard that there are rules for stowaways. What are the rules? EK: First of all, you are not allowed to anyone anything that happens under the bridge, and no one must know how we are living there. Then, respect. You musn't steal anything because if you steal or make trouble in the harbour, you'll get other seamen in trouble because the security will say that you aren't coming for the ship; you are coming to steal. So, some people get hurt or get beaten, you see? That's why we've got our house there [undisclosed location] if you get hurt or sick.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 67-74 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community Rules</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: Describe life under the bridge. What are the rules around cooking, sleeping religion? EK: We sleep outside under the bridge. That place is the safest for us because the police don't like going there. It is also somewhere the community feels free because you can do anything there, and nobody can judge you.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 82-85 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Kinship</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: I have a picture of the mosque they created under the bridge with the mat and kettles. You're not allowed to stand on the mat with your shoes when you pray, and it is for anyone who wants to make <i>dua</i>. EK: Of course. We make a place for people who don't want to go to the mosque. But it's a special place we use for <i>dua</i> – for the people who die – because many people are dying. When people take the ship, they sometimes get lost. Sometimes we use it [the mosque under the bridge] to pray for them, and sometimes we want to make a <i>dua</i> for everyone, so you must take your shoes off and pray. It's a small place; it's not too big.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 96-103 Research Question 2 Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Religion - Islam</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: What about helping your brothers that can't speak English? Do you have to help your brother if they need to go to the police station or hospital and require translation? EK: I'm the one who was using the people. If someone got arrested in the police station, they called me, and I spoke for them. I was the one who took guys to the hospital when they got sick and translated for them because many people who come here from Tanzania don't finish school. SL: What encourages you to help each other like that? EK: I don't understand what encourage means? SL: Okay. Why do you help each other? Because you don't know each other before you come to South Africa, yet you assist each other. EK: We must help each other because we don't have a family in that place. We have no mother or brother, so if someone gets into trouble. No one can help him, we have to help because you become family when you stay there for a long time [...] When you first come to South Africa and go under the bridge, you go to the leadership, you sit down, and they ask you questions</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 104-122 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Kinship</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>about where you come from in Tanzania. Suppose you come from a place in Tanzania, the leadership will call people from that area and ask if you know them because, in Tanzania, people meet and plan how they will leave the country [...]. They discuss how people live in South Africa and how they take the ship, so you should know a few things when you go under the bridge.</p>		
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: I want to know a little about the safe house. How did the community decide to build a safe house? EK: Because most the stowaways sleep outside, which is very dangerous. Sometimes, the police come and beat or chase them, you see? So, if you are sick or maybe got hurt, it is difficult to stay outside because you will get in trouble. Therefore, they decided that the people who get ill or hurt must go to a safe place to recover. SL: Who looks after the people in the safe house? EK: The leadership looks after them because they are the ones who collect the money in town.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 142-150 Research Question 2 Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Safe house – Kinship</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: Is <i>Shariah law</i> practised in the community? So, if you kill, you will be killed? Can you explain that to me? EK: I can tell you something. If you walk by the bridge and look down, you can see a meeting. If you kill, you must be punished. That life is very dangerous, sister because you are living without family. If we get cross and we don't understand each other, I can take a knife and kill you. About one or two months ago, four people died from fighting. If you get arrested for killing someone, we have a large community meeting where you have to explain what happened to the leadership. They will ask why you didn't tell them you had problems with the person you killed because killing someone is incorrect. Therefore, because you killed someone, you must die. If you are lucky, maybe you will go to the hospital, but the people hit you with many stones. SL: What happens if you die? EK: No problem. They will bury you and tell your family the truth about how you died that you killed someone, so you were killed in return. SL: That's a lot.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 155-174 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Social practices Community rules - punishment</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>EK: So many things happened down there, sister. SL: Like what? EK: I would never want to kill someone, so if I hit someone with a stone, it would haunt me because I've caused someone to die. SL: So, that affects you; it makes you feel? EK: Yeah. It makes me feel so bad, and that's why so many people go crazy there.</p>		
<p>Erick – Interview 1 EK: Okay. I can say that it is locally made alcohol. SL: Yes. EK: That thing is bad for you, but it's cheap. SL: And it isn't good for your health. EK: Yes, it's unhealthy, but they drink it because it's cheap and takes away stress. SL: Do you think the alcohol keeps them believing in the dream of getting on a ship? EK: Of course! Alcohol makes you [...] I didn't even try to drink, but I smoke ganja because it intensifies my feeling to get onto a ship. It makes me feel like I must go.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 180-187 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices?</p>	<p>Social practices Community rituals – kavini and ganja</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: What do you know about the graffiti on the wall? EK: The graffiti is a sign of someone. It's like a memory, '<i>Erick in South Africa 2001.</i>' So, it means that those who came after 2001 will know that Erick was passing here. SL: So, people write for memory and hope? EK: Yeah, for memory and hope. SL: How did you feel when you saw people's signs on the wall when you first arrived? EK: I felt proud of the people who passed through South Africa because many people have written their names; others are now overseas. So, even if I have a dream to go one day, I must write your memory there. The people who come after me will see that I was here and get hope that they can pass through South Africa. SL: I also see that people have signs on their bodies, in the prisons on ships; people write everywhere. EK: Like me. I've got a picture of a steering wheel on my arm.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 188-200 Research Question 2 Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practice Graffiti – Memory and hope</p>

Empirical Indicator	Anchor Code	Code
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: Why do people paint an anchor, the ship's steering wheel and ships on their bodies? EK: The seamen's life is in your blood, so you must have a sign, and people must see that you are a seaman. If you've got that sign on your body, you are a stowaway [...]</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 222-224 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Material practice Scrawling – identity</p>

Appendix Seven: Coding Memo – Mobility and Immobility

Question 2

What are the Tanzanian transients' mobile and immobile experiences?

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, you say it started long ago. Uhm, do you know like any dates, or would you say it is in the 1990s? SJ: Uh. Not 1990s, maybe 19...60s/50s. Yeah, something like that. Because you know by those days some of the people are brought to work here by the mines. Some of them, they never like the harsh treatment by the mining, so they went to try; and by those days the sea was. The port was just free port and people just sleep and everything, so everything was easy. SL: There wasn't much security? SJ: No, nothing. You see. So, people were moving. When they move, they change lives or they go back to their countries because, it's not only the Tanzanians. Even Burundi, Congos [sic], Kenyans, but things are just changing now.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 25 – 34 Research Question 2 <i>Mobility and immobility</i></p>	<p>Mobility Migration from Tanzania (context)</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 2 SL: Yeah. So, firstly I'd like to ask, do you consider yourself as someone in transience? SJ: Yes, I'm someone in transience. SL: What is your idea of society and community given your condition of being in transience? SJ: First, even in my country, there are transience. Sometimes, like for example, let me say, I take a ship, I go somewhere else and I'm not accepted to stay there. I'm sent back home. When I go there, first. Even my society, my own society, denies me. You, see? They don't trust me because they know this guy is here for few days, and will be gone. Maybe, never seen again. That's how it is. Even in this society and community, the way they see us, or they take us, they think we are not trustworthy. We don't even want to work. Like, I can say, not</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 11 - 23 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Transience</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>temporary, but permanent. Someone cannot offer you a job if he or she knows that you are in transience. Yeah. Because they can say. They call us seamen. Alright. So, they think. Though, some they don't know how we do these things, but they know that we are passing people. We are not there; we are not here. So, we are not trusted.</p>		
<p>Aziz – Interview 1 SL: When you were in that community, where did you hope to go? Did you have a dream to go somewhere? AT: From that time, I had many hopes. Even, I was trying to go...I went even to Singapore. SL: Did you go? AT: Yeah. Singapore then we turned back to Richards Bay. We take the ship in new pier? Yeah. New pier base and we survive with the ship for about nine months to Singapore. SL: Did you work on the ship? AT: We were working on the ship. Yeah. Because that's what we like to do all the time. Because you can survive on the ship more than one year. After that, then you can shift up, you can drop down. You can leave the ship today. You can live your life. SL: So, is the hope to get on a ship so that you can work on the ship to make money? AT: Yeah. You can make money. If you don't like to work in the ship, but as long as you are out of this Africa. So, you can drop anywhere overseas.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 110-122 Research Question 2 Mobility and immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Working on the ship</p>
<p>Mohammed and John – Interview 1 SL: So, is it often that if you have a hope to get to sea that you get there? Does it happen? If you say to me, today, that you are going to hop on ship, do you get to your destination? MO: Sometime, we're gonna say, today, I want to go Europe, neh? You're not gonna go. Sometimes, you're gonna go. To take ship is not easy. JO: Let me explain you nicely. Okay. I've got hope, I want to vy [go] now Canada, maybe. Okay? I've got no money. I've got no passport. Maybe, I've got no complete documents that needs to be there. So, that's why I'm a stowaway, yeah. I'm going to take a ship. Okay.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 101-114 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Imagined experiences?</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>Because why? I've got hope to vy there. My friends are already there. They are doing life there, you, see? But they're going with the ship. You, see? That's why even me, too, I'm trying to do that way because they are explaining me: <i>we take a ship, you, see? Yeah, and we got no passport, no what, what, but I'm in Spain now. You, see? But the government of Spain take me, put me in a camp, you, see? I'm staying for six months. Make something for me, parent what, what, and now I am free. You, see?</i> It's like that, so me, too, I've also got too many hopes. It's like that, uh no, I'm forcing. That's why, because the others are there.</p>		
<p>Mohammed and John – Interview 1 JO: And other ones, they are working the ship. It's not maybe if you take a ship, you vy, maybe the European going to leave you there, no. Other European, there's a place here to work, you, see? Yeah. You got documents, maybe, to work on the ship. You don't have, they make for you. Maybe, he's a [inaudible]. Maybe, some course to get a job on a ship. You, see? Our friends work on the ship.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 116-120 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Working on the ship</p>
<p>Mohammed and John – Interview 1 JO: Yes. Them, they don't like, like that. And, they are taking ship for other way by the water. You, see? For a ship by the water. It's not like us. We are going by the feet. We are going by the harbour. No. Them, they are going by the water. You, see? Maybe they put a plastic. They take a big plastic. Maybe, bin plastic, you, see? They put all the things inside. Maybe, the clothes, boots, you, see? Food and everything. You, see? And, they put another one on top of that one plastic. It will be two plastics. Why you doing that? Because even maybe you float in the water, even maybe swimming in the water, this thing can be... SL: Safe? JO: Yeah, you, see? And, then. Maybe, they want to climb by the roof of the ship, yeah. You, see, the harbour, there's things like tiles, like a tile for the car. One, you're going to sail the tile and then you start to put on the clothes. Then, you take the roof and go on the ship. Us, we don't go in like that. We use the gate. Maybe, you, other [inaudible] maybe go in the gate.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 142-162 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Techniques of getting on the ship</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>Maybe, one check the security. Maybe, he's sleeping, what. I can jump the fence. You, see? It's like that. Do you see the difference? And then, they don't, even to cooking. It's different to us. Even, maybe, the way to get money, do your things, it's not like us.</p> <p>SL: Is it because the Tanzanians are such a big community? You guys are very community-based? I want to go into that a bit. So, you speak about how you guys are very community-centred. Is there a sense, like when you are a transient, a stowaway, and you meet your brother from Tanzania, that you look after your brother?</p> <p>MO: Yeah. Tanzania, we like to stick, like stay together. Because if we stay together, we talk about if we go Europe.</p>		
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>KO: Yeah. It was? I forget it now. I <i>bamba'd</i> [to catch] that ship.</p> <p>SL: At which port was that?</p> <p>KO: I took it from Takoradi port. I took that ship. We were seven guys. We were not coming here. We were going to Australia. Not here as our destination. Now, friends, ay, we reached South Africa. We saw the lights. It was very bright. We came out from the ship. We saw outside is dangerous – <i>Skhotheni</i>. Now we came. Two days we came to one brother in Victoria Street just to help us to organise nothing. Now, wrong direction, we have to go back. The time we reach the port again, the ship has just left.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 23-30 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences</p>
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>KO: I took it from Takoradi port. I took that ship. We were seven guys. We were not coming here. We were going to Australia. Not here as our destination. Now, friends, ay, we reached South Africa. We saw the lights. It was very bright. We came out from the ship. We saw outside is dangerous – <i>Skhotheni</i>. Now we came. Two days we came to one brother in Victoria Street just to help us to organise nothing. Now, wrong direction, we have to go back. The time we reach the port again, the ship has just left.</p> <p>SL: Did you make any money on the ship at that time?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 25-113 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – violent encounters</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>KO: No. How are you going to get the money? No.</p> <p>SL: Did the seamen know that you were on the ship?</p> <p>KO: They never knew. We just came out by possibility, but by wrong direction. You went, the ship is moving. So, no choice again just to...</p> <p>SL: Stay here?</p> <p>KO: [Pauses]. Eish! I don't know. It's my secret, every time. Of the seven guys, five died. Only me and they all die here. All of them finish here. Seven guys. Only left with two.</p> <p>SL: How long are you here in South Africa? Or, when did you come with that first ship? What year?</p> <p>KO: 2009. I don't like to talk this story, eish! And not my first time I took a ship, baba. I took to Namibia. You know that bull dog, that white one - the sea dog? The dangerous one? I've suffered, but God is on my side.</p> <p>San Juan (SJ): Sea dog ate our friend's testicles in Cape Town. Yeah.</p> <p>SL: What's a sea dog?</p> <p>SJ: Sea dog is like a seal. You know a seal? Yeah. It's very dangerous. There are so many along the coast of Cape Town and Namibia.</p> <p>KO: Wait. Let me tell you the last story before I leave. Before, before I took another ship.</p> <p>SL: Which was your first ship? The one when you came to South Africa?</p> <p>KO: I took more than seven.</p> <p>SL: Wow! Okay, let's start from the beginning. Which was the first ship you boarded and what year was it?</p> <p>KO: I think 1993,94. Yeah. 93, 94. I was very small.</p> <p>SL: Where did that ship take you?</p> <p>KO: I took it same place. These stories are getting to my head. I took that ship, we were three. We swam to meet the ship. We entered the ship. Now, this ship it takes us a nice way. On the way, it dropped us in Namibia.</p> <p>SL: So, you went to Namibia with the first ship?</p>		

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>KO: Yes. Now, the crew they <i>bamba</i> [to catch] us, but they were good. They were people with a heart. They make a box. They put us inside. Give us food inside. It was very. No, they help us. They put us inside the box, give food and the box on the sea.</p> <p>SL: You were floating in the sea?</p> <p>KO: No mother, no father. We are three.</p> <p>SJ: <i>Mbao</i></p> <p>SL: What does that word [<i>Mbao</i>] mean?</p> <p>SJ: <i>Mbao</i> means wood in English, but when it comes to seaman, it means something they just put you. It can be those drums. You know, drums? The iron drums? It can be iron drums. It can be anything which makes you not to die, but you float on the sea, but very risky. When you are thrown out of the ship. When you are overboard, you just float. No eating, no what.</p> <p>SL: What about sharks?</p> <p>SJ: Uh! People die.</p> <p>KO: Sharks, they never enter because it's a box.</p> <p>SL: But obviously, you need food, air?</p> <p>KO: Those people were very good. They gave food. They put food inside the box – three guys.</p> <p>SL: How long did it take for you to reach shore?</p> <p>KO: When, when? We entered a cave, a big mountain island. Like an island. We wake up, we saw, this place is not right. The blanket [inaudible]. No choice to survive. This story, even my mother every time, I tell him. I die and wake up. So, there is no death again. Me, I won't die. Only God gonna kill me.</p> <p>SJ: Do you remember our friend, the late Kimoka?</p> <p>KO: Kimoka!</p> <p>SJ: He was also given that <i>Mbao</i>. He hit the shore by Senegalese shore, but he's dead now. I told you that he just died when I was in jail. I used to work with him, together.</p> <p>SL: Okay. So, you get to Namibia and then what?</p> <p>KO: The time we reached down there, they put us into a box now three guys. We got no choice. The food is finished. What you gonna do? Now we have to send somebody to hustle.</p>		

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>Just to reach somewhere, do or die. Because we gonna die there. [Pauses] Ay! This my worst story in my life [Pauses]. Ay! These white bull dogs [sea lions], they are coming, to eat. Inside the cave, you can't sleep. Don't try to sleep. And then, you know bat? You know that animal, where they. That one inside the cave?</p> <p>SJ: [Clarifies] Bats.</p> <p>SL: A bat, oh gosh!</p> <p>SJ: They are vampire bats. You know vampire bats? They suck blood.</p> <p>SL: Yes.</p> <p>KO: Ay, Baba! No choice. There is no food. We have to make somebody do or die. If you die, you die. Inside the cave, we brought some [inaudible]. It's an old cave. You see that plant we suck, suck. One of my friend's said, no, he is going to suck it first to try see. If it take[s] him, it take[s] him. If we win, we win. Baba! Now, on the sea, helicopter is running on top. Now, they saw this man inside the sea, so he surrendered. The helicopter [sound effects of the helicopter], come land on the island. Even the place to land, no place. Crossing, crossing. One way, crossing, crossing. No space to park. They brought the ladder down. I got no power even to get up [long pause]. Ay!</p> <p>SL: But you survived.</p> <p>KO: Me, I have seen the worst. Only the best I want to see. The worst, I already finished.</p> <p>SL: So, how long did you stay in Namibia? Did you come to South Africa?</p> <p>KO: They took us back.</p> <p>SL: To Ghana?</p> <p>KO: No, deportation. They have to keep us. You know the story. We are coming from. The helicopter takes you out of. Immigration now, so they have to. We stay there for. That side, too, dangerous place. I tell you, baba. You eat once a day, 12 o' clock. And my skin, if you touch it like this, it's like peeling. That sea water. Eish! No, you make me stress. God is on my side. I always thank God. I love God. My mother is a Christian. I love God. God is always on my side. I don't know when I'm dying but God is always with me [breaks down].</p>		

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>Korea – Interview 1 SL: So, tell me something. You said you've been on a ship seven times. So, you went to Namibia, you've been to South Africa. Where are the other five places? KO: Ay, Baba! If you take a wrong ship, it takes you to nonsense direction. You can work in Africa and it going to take you again. The ship gonna take you to Nigeria. Gonna take you to useless places. SL: So, where have you been with the ship? KO: Cameroon. Ay, baba! All nonsense. SL: Where else? Cameroon. KO: Côte d'Ivoire. The ship takes me... SL: So, all through west Africa? KO: No. That one is useless. SJ: What about the one, which was going to Korea? You took. KO: Korea was better. Busan port. SL: Where did you get the ship that took you to Korea? KO: No. All that stuff I did. SL: Okay. So, you went from. You went to Cameroon, Namibia, South Africa, Côte d'Ivoire, Korea? Where else did you? KO: Guinea Bissau. SL: Okay. That's also on the west coast of Africa. KO: Puerto Rico? Puerto Rico! Puerto Rico, another nonsense place. SL: How long did you stay in Puerto Rico? KO: Ay! Another story [inaudible dialogue].</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 122-143 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – On the ship</p>
<p>Korea – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, you got the name Korea. So, tell me. How did you get to Korea and what did you do there? KO: The ship just landed. That one was right. Ay! Now, immigration, they <i>bamba'd</i> me. Maybe three years, but I was right. I was trying to build a house, big house in Ghana. Now they</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 144-164 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experience – on the ship</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p><i>bamba'd</i> me, everything gets F****d up. Immigration took me to Ghana. I went, I sold one car, I went to stay in the city. Make plans for business. Business was... I said I want to travel again.</p> <p>SL: Did you go to Seoul?</p> <p>KO: Seoul, Incheon, Seoul, Busan, Daejeon, Ulsan. There is no place I haven't been. My first job I started it. Ay! That <i>laanie</i> [smart, well-to-do person] was very nice. The golf course. You know the golf? That man, he liked me. He wanted to leave the business for me and the son. That man, he loved me but he was very strict. He doesn't give chance.</p> <p>SL: How long did you stay in Korea?</p> <p>KO: I stayed maybe three, four years? Let's say four years. I got money there. Too much. I tried to build... but the house never finish, till now.</p> <p>SL: In Ghana?</p> <p>KO: In Ghana. I was having three cars. Let's say this Quantum, I was having three and two taxis. Ay! Money's there, not here. Here you are gonna die.</p> <p>SL: So, why did you leave Korea?</p> <p>KO: Immigration <i>bamba'd</i>.</p> <p>SL: Oh. And then they put you on a plane?</p> <p>KO: They put you. You have to take a plane by force. Ay, Baba! The way I fight immigration.</p>		
<p>Korea – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: How did you [emphasis added] survive on the ship?</p> <p>KO: You see the ship? The top is there, but the down is dangerous. The engine, everything is down. Me, I can swim from here till point. If I enter the sea, I can move like a... [motions movement].</p> <p>SL: Dolphin?</p> <p>KO: [Nods in agreement]. After you reach the ship, put anchor. You know anchor? I've tried my best in life. Only the worst I never see.</p> <p>SL: Tell me about life on the ship.</p> <p>KO: It's very hard. You can squat? You know a squat?</p> <p>SL: You have to squat?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 211-223 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Experiences on the ship</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>KO: Nine hours. Not a nice place you are squatting on [demonstrates how he squats on the ship]. You know that style? If I sit like this, I can sit 12 hours. Like this, no change. Like this. 12 hours, I can sit.</p>		
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: Okay. So, maybe explain. When did you come to South Africa from Tanzania, and how did you come? Did you come on a ship? CA: No. I came through the way. You, see, I pass through Mozambique. Yes. It was 2009. SL: Was it by foot? By taxi? CA: Yeah. I didn't have the money, but I end up walking on foot. SL: You walked? CA: Yes. SL: How long did it take you? CA: It was like 14 days.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 9-17 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experience – on land</p>
<p>Canada – Interview 1 SL: Yes. So, just to maybe explain one of your experiences trying to get on a ship. How was it? CA: Yeah, it was difficult. SL: Did you climb up the ropes? CA: I did try the ropes, but the security caught and beat me, and I came back, you see? SL: Did you ever get onto a ship? CA: I was on top, but the camera was watching me. SL: Did you ever manage to get into a tunnel to hide on the ship? CA: Yeah. Another time, you see? I did park there for two days. SL: How far did you get? CA: Nah. They ended up taking me out before the ship left because they used to call us stow away. SL: How was your experience on the ship for the two days? Can you explain what it was like?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 175-194 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Techniques of getting on a ship Ship experience</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>CA: Yeah, it was so difficult.</p> <p>SL: Where were you hiding? In a tunnel? Did you have food?</p> <p>CA: Yeah. I did have glucose and one litter of water.</p> <p>SL: How did you go to the toilet?</p> <p>CA: You just pee (urinate) in the bottle.</p> <p>SL: The same water bottle?</p> <p>CA: No, you have another bottle.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 3</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. It's just like matric. After 2008, I went back to home and then from there, my father just gave me some small money for congrats that I finished school and I had to go study computer, you, see? Yeah. So, I took that money and the other stuff I had, because I had a small computer and a printer. I sold them and I just left. I went straight. I passed through Mozambique.</p> <p>SL: So, from Tanzania, you went straight into Mozambique?</p> <p>SJ: From Tanzania, I passed through Mtwara and there by Mtwara, I crossed the border to Mozambique.</p> <p>SL: Is Mtwara in Malawi?</p> <p>SJ: No, it's in Tanzania. From there, I crossed the border to Mozambique. There's a river there and that river is [I just forgot the name]. But there by the river, I experienced some very harsh experience. You, see? Those guys. You, see? That river's got crocodiles – Ruvuma/Rovuma River – you, see? Yeah. There, there are crocodiles and big hippos. Before you cross the river, they tell you that the money to cross the river is, maybe, R 10. But when you get in the middle of the river, they change the story, they want like R 50. And then if you say no, they just say that: <i>we are staying and we are not going</i>. There have been many instances of the people dying.</p> <p>SL: What is that river called, again?</p> <p>SJ: Ruvuma/Rovuma River. It starts from Songea region to Mtwara region. It even goes to Mozambique.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 11-28 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experience – On land</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>San Juan – Interview 3</p> <p>SL: How did you start the journey again? How did you move from Mozambique to South Africa?</p> <p>SJ: We took the truck. Like a truck. There in our country, you, see? It was for too long because it was called Chai Bora. You, see? Like a bus. But it's not a bus, it's like a small truck. But the seats look at each other like this and it is put like a bus. So, we took that.</p> <p>SL: Is that an illegal way of transporting bodies across the border, or is it a legal transport?</p> <p>SJ: No. That's not a legal transport, it's illegal. Because some.</p> <p>SL: So, basically you are travelling like cargo on a truck?</p> <p>SJ: We are travelling like passengers, but the driver has ways in which he can manage to bribe the soldiers or the police.</p> <p>SL: Like, what do you call that type of transport that takes people across the border? You call it a truck, but is there...?</p> <p>SJ: Not just a truck. It can even be a small car for someone who knows. <i>Panya</i>. It's called panya, like a rat. That's according to us, like Tanzanians.</p> <p>SL: So, is that a colloquial or slang word you call the truck?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah.</p> <p>SL: Because a truck can mean anything. But in this case, it is not a truck. Yes, the vehicle is a truck or car, but its purpose is to get migrants from one destination to another. So, the word you call that transport is panya. And that means rat because it can get across the border?</p> <p>SJ: It can get across. You see rats? They just cross the ways in which...</p> <p>SL: ... That can't be detected.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah.</p> <p>SL: So, it's almost like a rat that gets you across. Yeah, so you got on there and obviously paid a small fee. The reason I used the word cargo is because, generally, if you talk about mobilities and travel, it is generally something that is comfortable and scenic. If you have your</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 71-99 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – travelling on trucks or buses (<i>Panya</i>)</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>passport and it's done legally, it's a comfortable experience. Here, it's like your body is travelling cargo.</p> <p>SJ: Yeah, it's uncomfortable. Because, even in a car that transports five people, may transport twenty-six people.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 3</p> <p>SL: ...When we went by the bridge, we met another Kombi, Kombi like a bus. A Volkswagen – the small one. We crossed the border the illegal way. Yeah, and the Kombi was driven by the soldier. It's their business. And, if you decide not to take the Kombi, there are some soldiers in the bushes and they search you and they take everything, and they let you go. They never tell, they let you go with nothing. So, at least you should pray there are vehicles that can cross you over the border. From there, there is Durban. And, Durban by those days, was full of shit. So, for me, I decided to go straight to Cape Town. So, I went to Joburg. From there, I went to Cape Town. When I got Cape Town, I went by the beach. By that time, my father was in Cape Town those days. So, when the people asked me and what, and they knew that I had someone who is very potential to them. So, they just reached me and called. When he came, he said: <i>Ah!</i> Call back to San Juan because he is my young father, but I was very young at that time. So, he just booked me a plane. I just stayed for a few weeks. I just went for a few weeks. So, when I went there, the first thing to know. You should know the port. So, when I went to the port with a friend, I was like captured by the border police, so I was sent to juvenile for a week. So, they just called my father and he came and bailed me out and booked me flight back to Tanzania. That was the first time.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 139-153 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 2</p> <p>CD: I came with a bus. Bus that way Mozambique.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 15 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – travelling on trucks or buses (<i>Panya</i>)</p>

Anchor Code	Empirical Indicator	Code
<p>Chidi – Interview 2 SL: How do you know which is the right ship to go on? How do you choose your ship? CD: Sometimes, I can check on the phone. I can see which ship and where its going.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 30-31 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Selecting a ship</p>

<p>Chidi – Interview 2 SL: Have you ever been on ship and where did you go with the ship? CD: Yeah, I go on the ship, but it goes to F****d up country. SL: Where did it go? CD: First port, we go to Cape Town. After Cape Town, we went to Namibia. Namibia, we want to leave the ship, but someone see us. Catch us.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 47-51 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Experience on the ship</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 2 SL: When you went to Namibia, were you working on the ship or were you hiding on the ship? CD: I worked on the ship. I did the paint colour. SL: Oh, so you painted? CD: I'm hiding, but they see me. You, see? Someone <i>catch</i> [caught] me already. SL: So, they made you work? CD: Yeah. They give me room. They give us food. Me and a friend. They give us food.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 57-62 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Working on the ship</p>
<p>Chidi – Interview 2 SL: Now, when you were on that ship, right? Where did you hide? CD: I must hide under. SL: Where? Explain. Where were you hiding? CD: Ballast water [ballast tanks]. Do you know ballast water? SL: No. What is that? CD: That side, the north there. SL: Oh, like the nose of the ship? CD: Yeah. Under there, inside. SL: [Gasp!] Is it dangerous? CD: So dangerous. It's got water there. My friend died that time we were there. He vomits, vomit until he died. Even me, too, I lost a power that time. SL: How do position yourself there? You stand, you sit, you lie down? Is there space? CD: It's so hard. No big space. SL: How did you get onto the ship? How did you get into that spot?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 75-96 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Immobility Hiding places on the ship</p>

<p>CD: You, see? That time was the under. Six days, that ship was not going. That time ship was going, was night. Me, I am not asleep, but my friend is asleep. Was supposed to wake up. 'Hey, hey. Ship is going. What is gonna do?' Must pray – make duā, see? But my friend, that time, was sleeping. Don't have appetite to eat biscuit what, what. Just to vomit. You know people who vomit, you supposed to give water. Yeah, I give water. Water nearly finished. There was maybe ten days – four days after ship going...</p> <p>SL: They caught you?</p> <p>CD: Yeah. Big problems...</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 4</p> <p>SL: Explain for me how you went from Tanzania through Uganda to South Sudan?</p> <p>SJ: That was a bit easy not so scary. It was easy. Because it was in 2013/2014. Yeah, between those years.</p> <p>SL: How did you go across the border?</p> <p>SJ: Just after. Because I had a passport. I just struggled because I finished the university, the Northern region, you, see? It was easy when I finished the university in the same year. I had some cash because I was dealing with weed. I was taking weed from there to another university, so I had some cash. Then I travelled past Uganda. I took a ferry from Bukoba [city in northern Tanzania]. From there, I took the buses and cars.</p> <p>SL: Are those the same buses like the ones you took when you were coming to South Africa?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah. Because some of the people don't have passports.</p> <p>SL: So, it's the same mode of travelling?</p> <p>SJ: Yeah.</p> <p>SL: Okay. So, you went from Tanzania, to Uganda, to South Sudan. Did you ever get to Egypt?</p> <p>SJ: I just ended by <i>Wau</i>, a town like 50km to 75km from the border to North Sudan. That's where I ended because there was the Ebola virus at that time; it had already reached Congo. There were some police and health convoys because we were walking. The transport was very hard. That's how they captured and took us to United Nations. From there, we were given Ebola vaccines. And, from there, we were sent back to our places. We were taken to the</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 98-120 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>

<p>Ugandan border. I showed them my passport and then they left me. But the other guys, they were going to be restricted.</p> <p>SL: So, you went back home.</p> <p>SJ: From there, I went back to Tanzania.</p>		
<p>San Juan – Interview 4</p> <p>SJ: ...Though at the same time, I was participating in college. I was studying in college. Oil management. Though, I just left the college because my father was just crazy. Why should I study when there are other sisters of mine who are still studying? So, when the job came, I left my studies. And I never wanted to stay in my family surroundings. And when I left this time, I never left in a way that was harsh. I just passed Zambia. Zambia, Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe, South Africa via Beit bridge. I went to Musina. The police took us into custody for a few hours after suspecting drugs. They searched us, no drugs. They left us. I went to Joburg. Joburg, I never stayed for two days. I left to Cape Town. In Cape Town, I went straight to the beach. This time, everybody said: <i>You are grown up now</i>. The next day, I just went to my father. When I went to my father in the morning because he just told me his place where he is. He was shocked to see me. He just took me in his car, it was a <i>skorokoro</i>. And then he drove me to the places and showed me all the transients.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 202-212</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Mobile experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>
<p>San Juan – Interview 4</p> <p>SL: Before we end, I would like you to explain the position of your body when you were on the ship for four days? Did you sit, lie down, squat? How was your body positioned in that space?</p> <p>SJ: It was on the back side of the cranes, the crane's rope. It's like a narrow space in which you stand and when you are tired you squat. But when you squat, you don't look forward, you stay to the side. That's how it is. And, there is too much oil, so when you come out, it's like. That was the one going to Madagascar. But the other one was on the life boat.</p> <p>SL: Which is better?</p> <p>SJ: The life boat is open. On the life boat, you just open the chair for the drive and there is a space you get. There is a kind of space, but there is too small. From there, you just lie down.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 368-392</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Immobility</p> <p>Hiding places on the ship</p>

<p>And then, you sense the movement. When the movement is right, you open. Then, you at least sit. Yeah.</p> <p>SL: How long does it take you from South Africa to the next big port?</p> <p>SJ: From Cape Town to Brazil, it is seven to ten days on a flat container ship.</p> <p>SL: So, you could be sitting in the position you described for seven to ten days?</p> <p>SJ: You sit and you get up. Because sometimes the food might get finished. Then you get up. You go to the dustbins. You eat the remains. You, see?</p> <p>SL: And if you want to relieve yourself?</p> <p>SJ: No. We carry plastic bins. We live on plastic bins. We carry wipes or toilet paper. Water is very important. You never get hungry, but you will get thirsty.</p> <p>SL: Is it easier to go with people or to go by yourself?</p> <p>SJ: For me, it is easier by myself. That's why I try to go by myself. When you are with people, it increases the risks. If something happens and you get caught and the person you are with dies or gets hurt and you run away, you have to face punishment. The people ask questions about why you ran away? Why did the other one get hurt?</p>		
<p>Marlon Oppenheim – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: It is a very sad reality. Very sad. I would like you to explain the extortion a bit more because I've got the sense that there are two types of seamen. I was informed that you have a seaman stowaway and a seaman who works on the ship. I mean, it was loosely described to me as people who work on the ship. Is the latter explanation of seamen the extortion part?</p> <p>MO: No. The extortion I'm talking about is that if you get on a ship in international waters and they find you, they have to pay a minimum of a hundred thousand dollars. They have to pay for your flight to Dar es Salaam. They have to pay for your interim accommodation, and then they have to give you money to survive in the interim. But, there is a severe prison sentence for stowaways in Dar es Salaam. So, if they fly you back to Dar es Salaam, they are also in breach of some contraventions knowing that you are sending someone back potentially to their death or unfair treatment and things like that. These guys are well aware of that, and they milk it for all its worth. So, often you get kicked off at a port with a chunk of money in your back pocket. And you can use that chunk of money to buy more drugs and do it over again.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 323-335</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Extortion</p>

<p>Marlon Oppenheim – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: What were some of the narratives and experiences about getting onto a ship?</p> <p>MO: Rule number one. Don't go anywhere near the anchor well. If you go near the anchor well, you will die. It depended. A lot of these guys were sharp as fuck. They had blueprints of the boats. They knew when the boats were arriving. They knew when they were leaving. They knew which crew members were on the ship—the real seamen – the guys that really knew what they were doing. The average individual was hoping for the best. It varied, but a lot of the guys were not willing to share their trade secrets. I used to get that information from the younger guys who had heard drunken stories, and they would tell you those stories. But the real hardcore guys didn't let on their trade secrets. There is also power behind those secrets.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 351-359</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Immobility</p> <p>Hiding places on the ship</p>
<p>Marlon Oppenheim – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Generally, what were some of the people's experiences on the ship? Did you encounter any stories of experiences?</p> <p>MO: Yeah. You always got told the gory stuff, and you got told about the beating[s], and you were told – every now and again – there was a really nice captain that put you in work overalls and sent you off when you got to your destination. It was long ago, so I wouldn't really know, but I was documenting those stories. I was also chatting with the port security guards [laughs]. The stories you heard from the security guards compared to the stowaways were chalk and cheese. The stowaways were rough. In the one murder case, I got involved with; two young boys had climbed onto a ship – one had no arm. They had been thrown off the ship, and port security had accosted them and beat one of them to death and chucked him over a bridge. The other guy managed to escape, and then the broader stowaway community rose up and started attacking security guards as reprisals on their way to work. That didn't seem to do anything, so they stormed one of the police stations. That's why I got involved because now you are causing <i>kak</i> [trouble] with cops; you are going to get shot. So, there was huge animosity between port security, onboard security and the stowaways. It was not a friendly relationship - at all. It is life and death stuff. At one stage, if you were caught on a boat, you would be done, and your body would, maybe, float. You really were taking life into your own hands. Then there was the case where one of the ship captains got caught after a stowaway</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 360-381</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Violent experiences on the ship</p>

<p>survived after being chucked overboard, and that calmed things down enormously. After the murder conviction that I was involved in – that calmed things down enormously. So, the stowaways weren't being killed. They were still getting beaten, but there wasn't the murder happening.</p>		
<p>Marlon Oppenheim – Interview 1 SL: Do you know how most of the people actually get to South Africa? Do they get on ships to South Africa, or do they travel on land? MO: From my understanding, it is all land. It was too dangerous to get on a ship in Dar es Salaam or Mozambique because there was no accountability. If you are caught, you will die. There is no shortage of labour. You are just another mouth to feed and a potential issue, so if you are jumping on a ship in Africa, you are dead unless it's in South Africa. Even the international shipping companies. So, my understanding is that it was all overland. It was a bus or a Kombie, or it was hitchhiking.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 442-449 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile Experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>
<p>Marlon Oppenheim – Interview 1 SL: Did you ever hear of some of those experiences of how they travelled to South Africa from Tanzania? MO: Some guys flew. Some walked, and some took a bus or hitchhiked. But it was all primarily based on whether you had a criminal record behind you. And if you did, there was a very strong chance that you were going to get caught. So, those with criminal records often went with truckers. Those without a criminal record would fly. SL: So, you would say hiding in a truck? MO: Yeah. Concealing yourself in an interim moment on a truck. But the trucks had a huge deal to do with it. SL: So, you are talking about big trucking companies and not designated trucking companies that transport people. It's more of the trucks that transport goods? MO: Not people smuggling on mass. Not to my knowledge. I've never encountered any of that. Not to say that it doesn't exist, but I stopped asking a lot of those questions. More Fire – Interview 1</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 450-462 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences</p>

<p>Shannon Landers (SL): Thanks for the interview More Fire... Could you briefly explain how you travelled from Tanzania to South Africa and the year you came here?</p> <p>More Fire (MF): Okay. I'm starting the time I was finishing primary school. And the time I finished writing the last exam for primary school, I thought it was time to go out of the country, you see? And I decided to go to Mozambique. The first time I decided to travel, I just go Mozambique. I went there just to check how the situation is in Mozambique, and then after that, I stayed less than maybe one year. And then, I was going with the big radio –the big one – Panasonic. It was a double speaker, but that speaker you can take it out. You can put one on the other side and the other on the other side. And the middle is that you check? Then, after that, I decided to sell the radio because I didn't have money. After I got the money, someone told me that I could buy stones, but I didn't know about the stones; I'm not professional in doing that business. But someone said that I could make more money from doing that, you see? That's why I bought the stone, and then I went home with the stone. I decided to go back to Tanzania, and I thought I'd make more money to sell the stones to the white people from overseas. They used to be there by the <i>poster</i> in town. There's a place we call <i>poster</i> in Dar es Salaam. So, I went there, and the people said that 'this stone is not a jewel; it's burning by the fire.' I don't know what kind of burning by the fire, but they just told me like that. Somebody told me: 'you can't sell it here in Tanzania. If you've got money, you're supposed to travel to Kenya. Maybe, you can sell it in Kenya.' You, check? Then I didn't have money to go to Kenya. So, after that, I decided to return to Mozambique and South Africa because someone was saying: 'if you go to South Africa, you can sell the stones because there are many Indian and white people.' So, I just travelled with my brother who had just finished form four. In Tanzania, we call it form four, which means it was his last year. But he didn't wait for his result to see if he passed or failed. We just travelled together to Mozambique. When we got there, we met with another guy – the place near to the border. Before you even enter the border to Mozambique, there's a place, Mtwara; it's near the border. Yeah. So, the guy said he wanted to go to South Africa, but he didn't know the way. And then [...]</p> <p>SL: Can I just interrupt. How did you travel from Tanzania to Mozambique? Did you walk? [...]</p> <p>MF: [...] I was taking the bus, you check? You take the bus from [...]</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 5-123 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile Experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>
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<p>SL: [...] Did you have your passport when taking the bus? Like, what bus was it?</p> <p>MF: No, no. We didn't have a passport, and we only travelled with a paper – a travel document – but it was temporary.</p> <p>SL: So, you got to <i>Mtwara</i> by bus?</p> <p>MF: Yes. Then we met the other guy who said he wanted to go to South Africa, but he didn't know the way. So, we took the guy with us and jumped the Tanzanian border into Mozambique. After that, we decided to travel again. There in Mozambique at that time, there were no buses; there were lorries – trucks.</p> <p>SL: Were these commercial or private trucks?</p> <p>MF: It is not that big truck with the containers that carry cargo. No. It is a small truck.</p> <p>SL: A truck that carries furniture?</p> <p>MF: Yeah, like that one. So, we took that one and travelled to <i>Pemba - Cabo Delgado</i>. Before we reached <i>Pemba</i>, we first stopped at a place called <i>Mocimboa da Praia</i>. The people there also speak Swahili. From there, we passed over until we got to <i>Pemba</i>. From <i>Pemba</i>, we went to [...]</p> <p>SL: And this was all in the lorry, the truck?</p> <p>MF: Yes. We always travelled in a truck because we didn't have money to take a bus.</p> <p>SL: Was this the truck from <i>Mtwara</i>?</p> <p>MF: No, no, a different truck. We changed trucks.</p> <p>SL: So, you hitchhiked?</p> <p>MF: Yeah. We walked in some places and took trucks in other areas. We took trucks and then walked on foot, took trucks and walked on foot until we reached a place called <i>Beira</i>. Before we got to <i>Beira</i>, we were in a place called <i>Quelimane</i>. So, there in the middle, before we arrived in <i>Beira</i>, there was a border gate. The police caught us there, you see? They took the stones I was carrying to South Africa, you check? They were going to arrest me after they took the stones, and they wanted to take my bags. I was buying the bags from Tanzania to sell in Mozambique. They took some of the bags, but they didn't arrest me.</p> <p>SL: Were they South African border soldiers?</p> <p>MF: No, they were Mozambican soldiers. We eventually reached <i>Beira</i>, but we were lost and had no money. So, after the money was finished, we didn't know how to travel to the other</p>		
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<p>side called <i>Katembe</i>, a place close to the South African border gate. So, we slept outside and started begging people to help us. So, we found this other guy – a businessman. He was on a bus. He told us that he didn't have money to give us, but he gave us something to sell to make money. After getting some money, we travelled with a lorry again until we reached <i>Mashishi</i>. From there, we went to <i>Xai Xai</i> then to <i>Maputo</i>. After we got to <i>Maputo</i>, we went to the boat; there's a boat there. We went on the boat to the other side of <i>Maputo</i> called <i>Katembe</i>. After we reached <i>Katembe</i>, we didn't have money, and it was close to Christmas and New Year, you check?</p> <p>SL: So, how long did it take you to get from Tanzania - through all the places in Mozambique – to <i>Katembe</i>?</p> <p>MF: It took like two months until we reached there, and then we had some [...] We slept in <i>Katembe</i> for two days, and then after that, we took the lorry again. We didn't have money because the money we made in <i>Beira</i> was finished. We didn't eat or drink water; it was very tough, you see? And we were feeling hungry, you see? Our stomachs were empty. So, we took the lorry again, but we had nothing in our pockets. We were three guys, and we thought we could explain to the guy that we didn't have money. But when we told him about not having money, he kicked us out of the car. He said, 'We don't give you guys any help. You need to jump out of the vehicle because here we need money.' Yeah. We jumped out of the car near a bush, and it was already nighttime. So, we decided to walk, walk, walk. We even thought we would get to the border by walking until [...]</p> <p>SL: [...] How dangerous was it?</p> <p>MF: Yeah. It was dangerous because there were lions and all these dangerous animals, but people weren't scared. We walked until we reached the border. After two days, we got to the border because we walked day and night. We didn't know which side of South Africa we were at when we approached the border. We wanted to go to Durban, so we decided to turn left, but that was near farm areas. It was nighttime, and we didn't know where we were. We were scared to ask people because we didn't want to get into trouble. So, we walked until morning but realised that we were lost. So, we decided to turn back to see how we could get to <i>Manguzi</i>. And that time, we didn't know how to speak English properly, so people couldn't understand us. Most people there speak Zulu, and that language is very tough to know. After</p>		
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<p>reaching <i>Manguzi</i>, we decided to walk again because we didn't have money to take a taxi to Durban.</p> <p>We walked day and night; our feet were swollen from walking for long [...]. Even when asked for help, they refused because people had stolen from them before. So, we decided to continue walking – we passed <i>Jozini</i> – until my two brothers saw a truck. At first, it stopped and then it started moving again. My brothers began running towards it when it moved and jumped on the truck. I also tried running with them, but my feet were too swollen to keep up with them, so I was left alone. I was left to walk on my own to <i>Mtubatuba</i>, but I met two workers from Spornet (now Transnet) who gave me a lift. They asked me where I was going, and I explained that I didn't know where I wanted to go, so they told me to jump inside the car. They gave me water and some food, but it had been a long time since I ate food, so I got a running stomach – I was in so much pain. When we reached <i>Mtubatuba</i>, the one guy took me to his wife, and she told him that they could help me because I was still young [...]</p> <p>SL: Before you go any further, how did you into South Africa from the Mozambican border?</p> <p>MF: We just jumped over the fence.</p> <p>SL: So there weren't any border officials?</p> <p>MF: There were no border officials. Where we jumped is far from the border gate.</p> <p>SL: How long did it take to get to Durban from <i>Mtubatuba</i>?</p> <p>MF: It was a long distance. No, but I lived in <i>Mtubatuba</i> because those people took me in. I stayed there for one or two months. The wife wanted to take me to the farm area to work as a driver. So, we went to a place called <i>Nongoma</i> – her home farm. She first took me to a shop with the <i>mlungu</i> (white person) called Mr Bond. He has a shop where he sells clothes. That mama talked to Mr Bond about giving me a job, but he told her that he couldn't give me a job because I was too young and he could get in trouble with the police for employing me, so he never gave me a job. From there, we went to the mama's farm home and stayed there for one month, but it was cold. She wanted to get me a driving job, but I didn't have my license. Then, she took me to <i>Empangeni</i>, and we went to a supermarket to look for a job, but the owner explained that it wouldn't be easy for me to work there and encouraged her to send me to school.</p> <p>SL: At what point did you get to Durban?</p>		
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<p>MF: It was more than six months because I stayed in some places before coming here.</p>		
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Do you know where the stowaways hide on the ships? MF: They hide in the engine or the exhaust – it’s like a thing where the smoke comes out - it’s like a chamber. Some, in the engine where there is oil and water, yeah. There are too many places where they can hide. But they can’t hide in the area for the cargo because it is locked. The engine is more accessible. SL: Do you know how they get onto the ship? MF: They used to go with the chain lock, which makes the ship stop. SL: The anchor? MF: Yes.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 204-212 Research Question 2 Mobility/Immobility</p>	<p>Immobility Techniques getting on the ship Hiding places on the ship</p>
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Is there a difference between how Tanzanians get on the ship and other African communities? Does the Tanzanian community have set rules for stowaways? MF: Yes, there are rules. They all tell each other about the timetable and share information. They know where the ships are going, maybe Italy, Australia or America. So, they usually enter before the ship before it leaves the port. They can even stay on the ship for one month before it sails. Some can surrender and come out, while others can survive and manage their food, you see?</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 213-219 Research Question 1b) Social and material practices</p>	<p>Mobility Getting on the ship</p>
<p>More Fire – Interview 1 SL: Do you know what they take on the ship? MF: They take water, biscuits, glucose and a torch. There are steps, so you can break your leg if you fall, and it is slippery. People wear boots because you can be crippled or die if you fall. SL: Do people get overseas, or do they just imagine that they can get overseas? MF: Many Tanzanians took ships overseas from Port Elizabeth (Gqeberha), Cape Town, Durban and Richards bay.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 281-289 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Immobility Experiences on the ship</p>

<p>SL: A final question. Why do you think people want to take a ship? MF: For a better life.</p>		
<p>Erick – Interview 1 EK: I first travelled to South Africa in 1999. I travelled from Tanzania and passed through Mozambique. After Mozambique, I came straight to South Africa. SL: Which border did you use to enter South Africa? Did you come through Mozambique or Zimbabwe? EK: No. [...] I jumped the border from Tanzania to Mozambique and after Mozambique to South Africa.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 7-12 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile Experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1 SL: What did you do? Did you go on foot? Did you work? Did you take a truck or bus? MK: I used a bus from Tanzania to the Mozambican border, and I took a small car to <i>Nampula</i> in Mozambique when I got to the border. After that, there is a bus to <i>Maputo</i>, but you have to walk if you don't have money. Ay! It is very hard because you have to walk from <i>Nampula</i> to the next village. You stay in that village for maybe two or three days and then take a walk again to another town until you get to someplace called <i>Inchope</i>. <i>Inchope</i> is like a centre. You can get a car travelling to <i>Maputo</i>, and another place in Mozambique called I've forgotten the name. It can take two days from <i>Inchope</i> to <i>Maputo</i>. It is easy when you reach <i>Maputo</i> because it is near the border of South Africa. When we got to <i>Maputo</i>, we took a private car, which usually takes people without a passport or visa to the border of Mozambique and South Africa. We jumped the fence and entered South Africa when we got to the border. Once you are in South Africa, you can get a truck to <i>Manguzi</i>. After, <i>Manguzi</i>, we take it easy because we are already in South Africa. So, we relax, do small jobs boxing goods and helping people with trolleys to make money. Once we make enough money, we take a taxi or truck to Durban. SL: Is that what you did? EK: Yes.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 20-43 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile Experiences – On land (illegal border crossing)</p>

<p>SL: So, to recap, you spent two months and a week travelling to South Africa from Tanzania? You walked from the Mozambican border town <i>Mtwara</i> to the different villages; you took a car from <i>Nampula</i> to <i>Maputo</i> [...]</p> <p>EK: [...] No. I took a car to <i>Nampula</i>, and from there, I took a car to <i>Inchope</i>. From there, I took a car to <i>Maputo</i>.</p> <p>SL: And then you took a private car to the border? Then you took a truck from the border to <i>Manguzi</i>.</p> <p>EK: Yes.</p>		
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Have you ever been on a ship?</p> <p>EK: Of course! I've been on a ship twice.</p> <p>SL: Where did you go?</p> <p>EK: I went, but I jumped off in Namibia.</p> <p>SL: Were you caught?</p> <p>EK: They didn't catch me, but I finished my food. I had no stock left.</p> <p>SL: Explain the stock you need for the ship.</p> <p>EK: Water, biscuits, glucose and dates.</p> <p>SL: Do you take a jacket?</p> <p>EK: We take a jacket, a watch because you have to know the day and a torch.</p> <p>SL: What about your shoes? What kind of shoes do you wear in the shop?</p> <p>EK: You have to wear construction boots.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 240-251 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Mobile experiences - on the ship Ship supplies</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Where did you hide in the ship?</p> <p>EK: The first time you get on a ship, you don't know where to hide because you don't have experience. Before you try jumping on a ship, you must learn and listen to people with experience. You hear them talking about hiding in the engine room, chain locker, the safe boat or anywhere you can find. You must use your brain to find somewhere to hide because you often don't know what you are doing. Let me tell you my story. When you get the ship that</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 252-266 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Immobility Hiding places on the ship</p>

<p>is waiting for cargo, you see? There is security, and the seamen give them times to guard the vessel. So, when you jump in the harbour, you have to hide and wait for the security to lose concentration for two minutes. Then, there is a rope, and there are stairs, so you decide whether you want to climb the rope of the stairs. When the guard loses concentration, you rush to get on the ship. Once you are onboard, you must be careful because there are many seamen, so you need to disappear quickly. A safe place is a thing called a tunnel. When you open it, there are steps to go down. There are big places to hide.</p> <p>SL: Is it dangerous?</p> <p>EK: It is very dangerous because you can fall and break your leg.</p>		
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: So, the first place you went was Namibia. Where did you go the second time?</p> <p>EK: I went to Djibouti. I had bad luck with taking ships, so I decided to stop and live in South Africa.</p> <p>SL: Where did you think the ship was going?</p> <p>EK: I didn't know because I didn't have the timetable.</p> <p>SL: How did you get off the ship in Djibouti? Did you think you were somewhere far away?</p> <p>EK: They caught me hiding in the safe boat. I couldn't get into the tunnel because it was already locked.</p> <p>SL: What year was this?</p> <p>EK: It was in January 2013.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 286-295</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Mobile experiences - on the ship</p>
<p>Erick – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Do you still have hope that you will go one day?</p> <p>EK: My urge is gone because we waste so much time here, sometimes 10 or 15 years, waiting for a ship. It is also tricky because there is so much security by the harbour. It used to be easy to board a vessel in South Africa because it was a free port before.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 315-318</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility/Immobility?</p>

<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1</p> <p>PJ: ... I came to South Africa for marine school to get a job on a ship. However, I didn't have the paper to go to school. So, I needed to find a paper to allow me to go to school. Then, I went for asylum seeker as normal foreigners do. So, you get that paper for three months before stamping it again at Home Affairs. So, after I got that, my first job was at Dormac – a ship repair company. I worked there from 2006 to 2007. And 2008 is when I started sailing on a fishing boat. But before I began sailing, I saved money for a marine school in South Africa. Because at that time, the country didn't recognise our seamen documents from Tanzania. So, you had to save money to get a marine certificate, which I did. I started sailing for the first time in 2018. Yeah. It was a Spanish fishing boat, and I sailed with those guys for two years. But we weren't lucky with that ship because we sunk near the South Pole. I was fortunate to survive that accident; there were 37 crew members, but we came out with 17 people. I came home for a year and got another fishing boat with a different company. But you must remember that these fishing boats we go back in the day weren't like the ones you have now in South Africa. Now, you can find fishing boats owned by a South African or a Mozambican company registered and recognised. Most of the companies I sailed were not registered, and I wasn't lucky because I didn't get the right one. We sunk at the South Pole with the first company, and with the second company, we sank along the South American coast and came out near the Uruguayan coast. So, after that, I stayed home for two years without sailing. I owned a barbershop, so I worked as a barber with guys. That was the game. I got calls to do ship repair work a few times and learned how to weld and use [inaudible]. I started to sail with my current company after the 2010 football world cup, and I've worked on three ships with this company. So, that is how I got into this game. Thanks to Jah, it wasn't easy, but I made it here.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 47-69</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Mobile experiences – on the ship</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1</p> <p>SL: Did you say that the ships sunk on your two trips – the one to the South Pole and Uruguay?</p> <p>PJ: Yeah. The fishing boat sunk because the South Pole is very cold, and sometimes you are sailing at sea, and it is frozen. It is like a block of ice. So, the first time at the South Pole, we</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 70-81</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Experiences – on the ship</p>

<p>had around 600 tonnes on board because we had fish. Then, the weather wasn't that good because the wind was too strong and we hit a rock. The ballast tank got a hole and filled the vessel, and it was at night. It was too late when we realised the situation wasn't right. We woke up to see where the water was coming in because the ship was lifting on one side. But we identified the problem too late. It was the middle of the night - in the dark and freezing; It was at night – around maybe four in the morning. We were 37 people on board, but only 17 people survived. And you can't believe it; I was the only black person on the crew. The other guys were Malaysian, Indonesian and Filipino. I worked in the engine room as an oiler at that time because I like mechanics. But yeah, it was good.</p>		
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1 SL: Do you know of the stowaway community? PJ: I know because [...] I've saved more than five or six stowaways on board the old vessel. The crew tends to call me if they catch Swahili-speaking people. So, I've met many of them, and I know those guys that sleep under the bridge, those in Dalton and by the market. Sometimes, I used to sit with them and try to change their ideas because there were people interested in working on ships. However, most of the stowaways in Africa don't want to work on a boat; they aim to go to Europe. But sometimes, the guys go on the wrong ship because not all the ships go to Europe. Some vessels go to Angola, and others go to Mozambique. Like the other time, we had a project in Mozambique, so the ship went there [...]. You see, those people don't understand the actual situation and don't know what they want. Most people staying near Durban port don't even have a passport. They don't even have a document to say that they are seamen. For me, most of those guys have a stupid mind because you can't think of starting a life somewhere else when you don't have a plan. The stowaways at Durban port aren't even seamen; they don't have a plan. Most of them sit in a jobless corner and lie to each other about going abroad. Some of these guys come from a standard, perfect family back in Tanzania. But because they hang around in the jobless corner and read the news on the internet, they come to South Africa because they think it is easy to get onto a ship. And when they come to South Africa, they have no family. The bad thing is that they find their friends living under the bridge when they get to South Africa. So, whatever</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 110-143 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility/Immobility?</p>

<p>money you bring to South Africa is spent on food and shelter. But no money can last if there is no income. So, they eventually sleep on the beach or under the bridge with their friends. This happens because these guys don't have a plan. If a guy has a paper, he will never sleep under the bridge or walk around on the street. He will get work in ship repairs on the docks at <i>Dormac, South Africa shipyard</i> or <i>Elgin Brown and Hamer</i>. That is where all the guys who know the game work because it is where you can find the connections to get onto a ship. Most of the stowaways are not sailors or seamen – they have never been on a vessel. On one of my ships, we found a guy in the funnel. Can you imagine? A funnel is an exhaust where the smoke from the engine comes out. We found a guy hiding there. But all of this is because he doesn't know about a ship. He doesn't know where to hide. I have experience on a boat, so if I wanted to stow away, I could promise you that I could get to where I want to go because I know where to hide. I'd know what time to look for food and water. But these guys under the bridge don't know anything about the ship, so they fail most of the time because we know where to find them. Even those guys who search the vessels know precisely where to find these guys.</p>		
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 1 SL: So, you've clarified the distinction between a stowaway and a seaman because I've struggled to understand the difference. However, throughout the interviewing process, there has been confusion regarding these terms because some people call themselves stowaways, others call themselves seamen, and others say, stowaway seamen. PJ: Can I tell you something, Shannon? There is a big difference between a seaman and a stowaway. A seaman is a guy who is working on a ship like me. There is no such thing as a seaman stowaway because there is no way you can stow away and get a job these days. It is the twenty-first century – there is nothing like that. We find every stowaway on board, and most of them get deported because there is the whole pirate thing. Especially in West Africa, we are aware of this because we can find someone who calls themselves a stowaway and they end up being a pirate. Therefore, there is no such thing as a stowaway seaman. Maybe, if you work in ship repair and the ship captain likes you, he can make a plan to hide you on board. However, all seamen must have papers according to the Manila Regulation. If you</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 144-164 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Explaining the difference between a seaman and a stowaway</p>

<p>search my name, you will see that I am a listed seaman. Therefore, it is difficult to buy and falsify papers. Most stowaways get deported or dumped in the water if they go on the wrong ship. At least before, they would throw you overboard and give you a jacket and a drum to save yourself. Nowadays, once the crew members catch you, they find any weight to tie around your waist or your leg, and they dump you overboard because they don't want any witnesses to come up because if it comes up, the whole ship is in a problem. If you are caught on a boat, the company has to pay a fine, and they must pay the ticket for the guy to return home, plus the additional expenses of hotel fees and pocket money.</p>		
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2 Can you briefly describe your experiences? How many times have you encountered stowaways, particularly stowaways from Tanzania? PJ: I've been lucky to meet many of them on the ship. Most of the stowaways we find on my ships are Tanzanians. And the youngest was 17 years old, and the other was 19. I've encountered stowaways around five or six times. On the old ship in Durban port by Maydon Wharf 13 – I don't know if you know Maydon Wharf 13? It is close to the dry dock. Most of the ships that were birth there required people to spend three or four hours looking for stowaways on board the vessel because it is easy for stowaways to get in. And sometimes, the stowaways have ways to escape the security [...]. We spend lots of time at the harbour because our vessel owners have properties in Durban and Cape Town. Sometimes, we used to park in Maydon Wharf birth 13; then, we were told to shift by port patrol to the container terminal because other ships came to offload cargo. So, when we move from there, we go to another birth, and after two or three days, we'll find a stowaway. And, if we ask how long they've been in the vessel, they often respond by telling us that they've been hiding there for a week. So, once we find a stowaway, we must determine how many others are on board because there could be others left behind or stuck somewhere on the vessel; some can live, and others can lose their lives, and we'll never know until we start to smell something funny. So, when we find a stowaway, they need to tell us the truth about where they are from, how many of them are on board, and the duration they've been on the ship. If he says he is from Tanzania, the guys will say, "Power Junior, it's your guy",</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 12-38 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility/Immobility? Finding stowaways on a ship</p>

<p>and I talk to them. We caught the two guys I was telling you about on the Bluff side of Durban port. Once we found them, we took them out of the ship. However, legally, we have to report them. So, the police and port control came and took a statement. It wasn't a hassle because we didn't arrive with the stowaways from Norway, and the authorities knew about the stowaways' activities in Durban. But if you enter a country with a stowaway, that's another story. Luckily, we've never had a situation where we've travelled with a stowaway from one country to another.</p>		
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2 PJ: Yeah. You see. Let's say we go from Durban to Mauritius, and then on the way, we find a stowaway on board. We must report the stowaway to the port control and all the agencies when we get to Mauritius; we must follow all the rules. After that, the company must pay for the stowaway's pocket money, air ticket, shopping money and hotel costs because we are responsible for deporting the stowaway to their home country. Some companies throw the stowaways overboard if they are far out at sea to avoid paying all their expenses because you are not allowed to enter or leave a port with anything or anyone that is not supposed to be there. That is why the authorities search the ship, and if they find anything on the vessel that is not supposed to be there, the company must pay for it. Sometimes, crew members don't even inform the captain when they find stowaways. If the <i>ABs</i> (Able Seaman) or engineers find them, they sometimes throw them overboard. Because once you report, it's another situation for the company and crew.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 43-54 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility/Immobility Finding stowaways on a ship</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2 SL: Is there an element of extortion? Do these guys know that they can make money if they get caught? Is there a possibility that there are syndicates that hop on ships to make money? PJ: Yeah. That's the thing I wanted to tell you. You see, most of the guys from Durban - I am not sure about the guys from Cape Town and Saldhana Bay because I know this is happening there. Like I told you, I would go under the bridge whenever I was in Durban because I know some of the guys from back home in Tanzania. Since 2010, the Tanzanian guys have talked a lot about this stowaway thing, which is why the port's entry isn't open like before. Because</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 55-87 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Extortion</p>

<p>I remember there was a time when you could walk from Maydon Wharf to gate number one, near the boats by the Yacht Club. It was like a free port that you could walk around. But things got tougher from 2010, and it isn't easy to stow away nowadays. If you don't have documents, you can't go near a ship. Before, the captain could make a plan for you if you were strong enough to work on a vessel. That is now impossible because of all the paperwork for you to be on board as a seaman. So, nowadays, if the guys have been in South Africa for a long time, some of them have lived under the bridge for over ten years, dreaming of taking the ship, but they get tired and give up.</p> <p>Also, some guys don't have money or a passport to go home. So, the easy way for them to get deported is to take the ship. And, when they do that, they only get USD 100 for pocket money, which seems a lot, especially if you have nothing because, in my country, USD 100 amounts to 20 000 Tanzanian shillings. So, he can survive for a month doing whatever he wants to do, but it isn't much to survive outside Tanzania. So, yes, some guys do that to get home because there are guys under the bridge who have been there for so long and are now tired. Like I told you yesterday, there are guys living under the bridge with families back in Tanzania that don't sleep outside. Most of them leave Tanzania because they sit with guys in a jobless corner, talking and looking at pictures on Instagram and Facebook of guys in South Africa. Hence, they decide they also want to live the good life, not realising that people only take pictures in nice places. So, when they get to South Africa, they find that life is different. They sit and wait for a ship for days, months and years until they eventually realise that they are wasting time and decide to go home. However, they don't have money to buy a ticket, even for a bus, so hopping on a ship is a way of getting home because the captain reports them, the police deport them, and the company pays for them to fly home with at least USD 100 in pocket money. But now, the police know their tactics, so sometimes they slap and threaten the stowaways [...]. Not every stowaway in Durban wants to take a ship; some want to be deported back home, and others want to go to another country for a better life – but if they can make it. But, if you can't make it in South Africa or Tanzania, you will struggle in Europe because it is challenging.</p>		
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<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: Thanks, PJ. You’ve provided rich information on the complexities of stowing away, such as the extortion and fees ship companies must pay if the crew find stowaways on board. I want to discuss where the stowaways hide on the ship. Where do you find them?</p> <p>PJ: Oh. We find them. Like, you see, the two guys I was telling you about, we found them in a place called a bridge, where the captain is operating or <i>driving</i> the ship. We used to have cupboards under the bridge, but they are big, maybe two or three meters. That is where you find all the cables for the ship. So, we found the guys hiding under the bridge – or in the cupboards with the cables. One time, we found someone in an engine room under the main generator. That place is so risky because once the ship starts and the engine is working, it gets hot like a microwave or stove. You can get cooked because it is too hot. We’ve even found guys in the <i>funnel</i>. When you take a guy out from there, he looks like charcoal from the smoke, and you can only see his eyes and teeth because they are white. Another place the guys hide is in the <i>chain locker</i>. You see, every ship has an anchor, and the anchor chain is usually stored in a locker. That is a very dangerous place to hide because the chain can fall on you, and you can die because it is heavy. I am giving examples of where people hide on my ships, but container vessels are different because they hide on the yacht or between the containers, which isn’t a permanent place because you can hear people walking around. So, if someone is nearby, you can dodge them and hide in another container. That’s what I know, yeah.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 88-105</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Immobility</p> <p>Hiding places on ships</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: How dangerous is it? You’ve described the <i>main generator</i>, the <i>bridge</i>, the <i>engine room</i>, the <i>funnel</i>, the <i>anchor</i>, and the <i>chain locker</i>; they sound very dangerous.</p> <p>PJ: The only safe place to hide is the bridge if you manage to get under those f*****n cupboards and hide there. The chain locker, funnel, and engine room are not safe places. Staying down in the engine room is difficult because the fumes are unbearable; it isn’t healthy. The safe and dry places to hide are generally locked, while the dangerous areas like the chain locker and funnel are usually open.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 115-127</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Immobility</p> <p>Hiding places on a ship</p>

<p>SL: What is the ballast tank?</p> <p>PJ: You can't hide in those tanks because they are closed and mainly used for diesel and water. If you go there, you won't survive because you will <i>sink</i> in the fuel or the water. The only way to enter the ballast tank is when the ship is docked and the water is drained from the vessel. Otherwise, the ballast tank is filled with water when the ship is sailing to balance the vessel, making it an impossible place to hide.</p>		
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: I would like to know whether this is a common occurrence? Are people often thrown overboard?</p> <p>PJ: Not really, but I've read and heard of stories where such things happened. Last year I saw a guy thrown overboard with a Chinese ship coming out in Richards bay somewhere, and it was all over the internet, but I didn't know the guys. However, this doesn't often happen because companies do a stowaway search before they leave the port. So, we call those guys with the dogs and stuff like that to avoid these problems. When you save those guys from the sea, they often don't know the name of the shipping company or where the ship is going. You also find that the people under the bridge will tell you they have friends worldwide, yet if you ask whether they've personally contacted their friend overseas, they'll say no. They'll often tell you they've heard stories from other people about their friends living abroad. I want to tell you, sister, that most of the guys that try to stow away from South Africa to Europe end up dying because – although I can't prove it – most of them have been thrown overboard. After all, you will contact your friends and family if you make it overseas.</p> <p>Most people haven't heard from their family for over ten years back home. And the sea is big, hey. So, if thrown overboard, you can't stay in the seawater for more than a month because the body starts melting from the salt. And also the big fish. Forget about the sharks; there are whales and shellfish. The seadogs just <i>chow</i> (eat) you entirely, and you die. You can't stay in seawater for more than a week without food or anything to drink. That's why we have special biscuits in our lifeboat that can make you survive for more than 24 hours. So, if you don't get saved, you will die.</p>	<p>Potential indicator Lines 157-176 Research Question 2 Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility Finding stowaways on a ship Surviving in the ocean</p>

<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: One of my other participants told me about an experience of being caught on a ship, and the captain was kind enough to put him in a drum with some food before throwing him overboard. Does this sound realistic to you?</p> <p>PJ: Yes, some guys get lucky because the crew makes a float for them with a few drums. So, the guys sit on those drums until someone can hopefully save them. You can't put people in a drum because they will sink in the water. However, the fishermen are the only people that can help them because big ships must report everything to the post guard due to piracy. For example, Somalia has problems with pirates, so we usually don't help people stranded in the ocean because it could put the crew's lives at risk of attack.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 209-217</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility</p> <p>Surviving in the ocean</p>
<p>Perfect Junior – Interview 2</p> <p>SL: Thanks for your time, Perfect Junior. I've learnt a great deal from you today. You've highlighted that stowing away is a dream for many people living under the bridge – it's like a fantasy they've imagined. Some people are lucky because they've managed to go overseas on a ship, but it is a dream that many cling to because if they lose hope, they have no reason to live. Does this sound accurate?</p> <p>PJ: Yeah. It's true because if you don't have that dream, you give up on life. Some guys end up selling drugs under the bridge, and others sell stolen goods. Most guys aim to get on the ship to escape Africa; they want a good life. Those who haven't been lucky to hop on a ship hoping to get deported because it is easier to get home that way. Many guys have families with decent homes in Tanzania, which are more comfortable than living under the bridge.</p>	<p>Potential empirical indicator Lines 220-229</p> <p>Research Question 2</p> <p>Mobility/immobility</p>	<p>Mobility/Immobility?</p>

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