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Black Bodies in Diverse Cities

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ABSTRACT

Diversity in the human composition of cities can be a resource in the development of a diverse city in the future mega city. To be able to achieve diversity in our cities, both systems and the spatial environment need to allow for social inclusion of people of different cultures, races, religion, demographics, among others. The world over, cross-border migration has become very popular as people travel for leisure, work, study, opportunities, as refugees, seeking asylum, among others. However, the black body has always been positioned in a state of immobilization and displacement especially in Western cities. These problems include the circumvention of procedures and design of hostile spaces all aimed at deterring them from travel, access to their destinations, safety, and comfort in their destinations. For instance, some transport hubs such as airports are used as a weapon or barrier to filter which blacks are welcomed or not. Moreover, the built fabric promotes unequal access to facilities e.g., elite establishments, unequal treatment, and security checks in comparison to fellow white travellers. The likely result is architecture being used as a tool to mitigate and support spaces of displacement, imprisonment, and unintegrated planning from the urban scale to the cold concrete finishes that ensure one is uncomfortable and unwelcomed when detained or assessed. In summary, this paper seeks to spark a conversation based on aforementioned factors that have led to marginalisation of certain groups of people in cities' transit hubs, to the detriment of their heritage. Further, proposed solutions towards achieving culturally diverse cities through design will be explored through the role of architecture as an agent to minimize exclusion, create inclusive transit spaces and positive intercultural encounters and exchanges without perceiving certain cultures or races as superior to others.

Keywords:

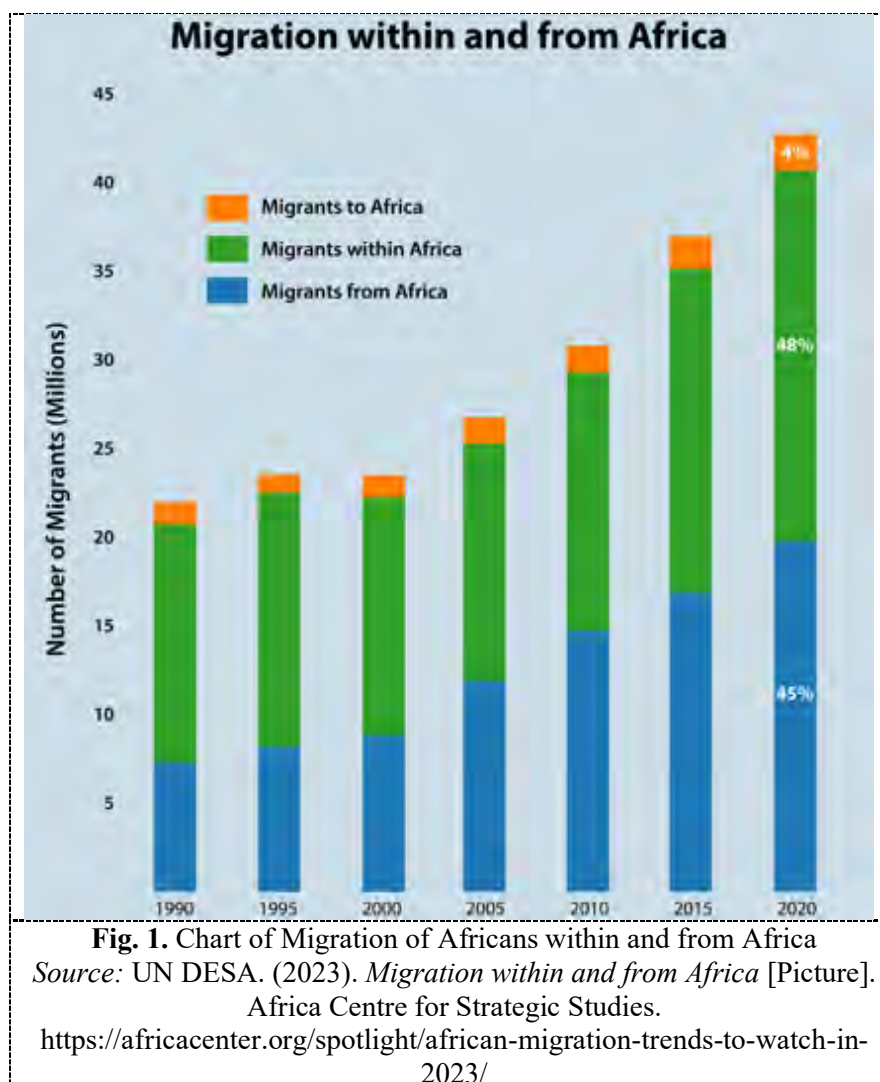
Diverse City; Culture; Immobilization;
Displacement; Heritage; Transit; Black bodies.

1. Introduction

“A stick in a bundle is unbreakable,” Kenyan proverb. Cooperation, inclusivity, teamwork are but a few attributes that form the human geography of a diverse city. Its complexity is characterized by variations of essential factors such as aesthetics, habitation, economic upswing, language, gender,

ethnicity, just to mention a few, as highlighted by Jane Jacobs in the 60s as Sayyar *et al.*, [1] mention. Culture and heritage are some of the catalysts for these key features of urban life, that enrich our social fabric and create dynamic and vibrant diverse communities. In recent times, developed cities have experienced an upsurge of cross-border migration from varied population groups, leading to the creation of enclaves for the rich, low-income settlements known as ‘ghettos’ for the poor and suburbs for the lower and upper middle classes in search of a better life, according to Fabula *et al.*, [2].

According to the International Organization for Migration [3], one in thirty people around the world are migrants, with fourteen percent of this migrant population attributed to black bodies of African descent and non-white persons. On a micro scale, African migration predominantly occurs between neighbouring nations in search of opportunities for employment in the regional economic hubs. Nigeria, South Africa, and Côte d’Ivoire are among the top migrant destinations on the continent, solidifying their status as subregion economic powerhouses. On a macro scale, millions of African migrant populations were recorded crossing to Asia, Europe, Middle East, and the Americas, with this number set to increase exponentially by 2030 as per research conducted by Africa Centre for Strategic Studies [4]. FigureFig. 1 below summarizes the migration statistics of Africans within and from Africa.



Assessment of the mobility conditions for black bodies is significant for diverse cities as it is slowly but surely becoming a silent epidemic if left unchecked. According to multiple World Bank Reports on Africa Transport Infrastructure, the continent accounts for less than 5% of the world’s total coverage on railways and tar roads, with most areas having murrum or all-weather roads leaving the majority population in a state of immobilization, as noted by Agyei-Boakye [5]. This is because, the colonialist

made special emphasis on rails, roads, and air transport to achieve their economic goals in the extraction of minerals, transportation of armament, slaves and leaving most territories destitute. On the contrary, Africa already had her own distinct and innovative transportation system with the use of roads, waterways, animals, and footpaths to facilitate movement with little to no cost. After independence, African governments were caught between two contrasting worlds and have since paid little to no attention in maintenance and inadequate distribution of funding to boost the transport infrastructure. According to Agyei-Boakye [5] this has in turn, given rise to an overcrowded, overpriced, unsafe and unreliable transit conditions to the detriment of its citizens.

“*Okare nka fofa*” a common statement said in Setswana, South Africa, that means, “if only I could fly”. Dillette *et al.*, [6] wrote an article on ‘*The Black Travel Movement: A Catalyst for Social Change*’ and describe the horrific apartheid and discrimination that black bodies in transit were afflicted. After the post-war period, air travel was considered a leisure activity for the white elite in the society with majority of the black population shying away in fear of racial discrimination. Observers at the time studied their behaviour and noticed a cultural pattern of black people travelling in large groups to try and shield themselves from any anticipated retribution. Freedom and equality were still a far-cry despite the many years of perceived peace and an end to decades of slavery. Racial segregation was no longer literal but institutionalized through archaic laws, policies and taxes that could stand the test of time.

Apartheid laws in the 1940’s, separated waiting lounges, lavatories and eating facilities at airports to regulate black bodies’ mobility compared to their white counterparts. Ironically, all passengers enjoyed non-discriminatory services while in the aircraft cabin during flight, courtesy of the Jim Crow practises, but upon arrival, black passengers were subjected to humiliating experiences of going through segregated terminals. This ruthless enforcement was justified through by-laws or local custom rules that couldn’t be challenged as noted by Ortlepp *et al.*, [7]. Masemola [8] further deconstructs the racial undertones at South African airport spaces through a discourse on invidious invisibility and visibility of black bodies at entry and exit points. The article argues that African airports have been recolonised into spaces of exclusion, reterritorialization of African assemblage based on a Likert Scale of blackness and surveillance of movement that infringes upon the right of association despite post-colonial dependence.

In light of above, the problem statement is that black bodies have been immobilised in airports as transit spaces and this has effects on achieving diversity for future cities. Moreover, the architectural nomenclature of these airports has been designed as a weapon of seclusion to safeguard spaces of displacement and hostility aimed at deterring black bodies from transiting through them to any destination. It is evident that the human migration phenomenon has played a key role in contributing towards diversity and in turn, redefined the concept of culture and heritage on urbanism.

In a nutshell, the hypothesis of the study is that architecture is used as an agent to encourage exclusion, create segregated transit spaces, and negative intercultural encounters and exchanges while perceiving certain cultures or races as superior to others. Additionally, analysing the diverse mobility patterns that existed, modified, lost or otherwise, will assist in trying to correct these imbalances of black mobility as highlighted by Haas *et al.*, [16].

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Concept of Black Bodies Migration

Human migration arises from a combination of factors including but not limited to lack of employment, inequality amongst the youth, conflict, endemic poverty, natural causes, economic and political instabilities, among others. Mother Africa bears the brunt of past discretions in a never-ending cycle of turmoil, shifting from crisis to crisis but still clings to hope of light at the end of the tunnel. Amidst all the chaos and disaster, are the black bodies that have always taken a back seat during global

conversations in pursuit of freedom and equality. This forms the premise upon which an understanding of how a largely poverty-driven migrant populace tries to seek solace in destinations far from their habitat, that have a comparatively higher levels of development as indicated by United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) [9].

In a bid to understand the idiosyncrasies around human mobility over hundreds of millennia, archaeologists and historian scholars have engaged in continuous scientific discourse around Charles Darwin's Theory of Human Evolution from mere Neanderthals to Homo Sapiens Sapiens. Unearthed archaeological research suggests Africa as their birthplace, tracing transit routes and collocation across the continent until eventually travelling out of Africa to Europe and Americas many years ago as noted by Tishkoff *et al.*, [10]. Fast forward to less than 2000 years ago, one of the largest migrations ever recorded in recent times was seen through the spread of Bantu-speaking People, originating from today's Nigeria and Cameroon. This migration necessitated displacement and/or integration of culture and heritage among the indigenous inhabitants and 'intruders' as argued by Lucas [11]. See FigureFig. 2 below.



Fig. 2. Artistic illustration showing Africans are people in constant state of mobility

Source: Lekalakala, K. (2017). Author's own interpretation through digital print

Tales of black bodies transiting through a sparsely populated African landscape over centuries, has stood the test of time from indigenous African nations' expansions to modern-day migration in forming continental circulations. From Hamites displacements in North Africa, to Nilotic movements in the East and a bit of the Sahel regions, saw the amalgamation of cultural practices of communities fleeing religious, political, or military persecution and perceived as either settlers or invaders as argued by Antil *et al.*, [12]. Bilger *et al.*, [13] further describe the hypothetical waves of migrations causing a ripple effect across the continent from all ethnic groups and distribution of languages, forming a

beautiful juxtaposition composition of Africa and her people (See Figure Fig. 3 below). African intellectuals and scholars have written about “Mfecane and the Great Trek” in Southern Africa in the 19th century highlighting the expansion of the Zulu and by enlarge Nguni Nations that changed the social, demographic, and political configuration of Southern and Central Africa forever.

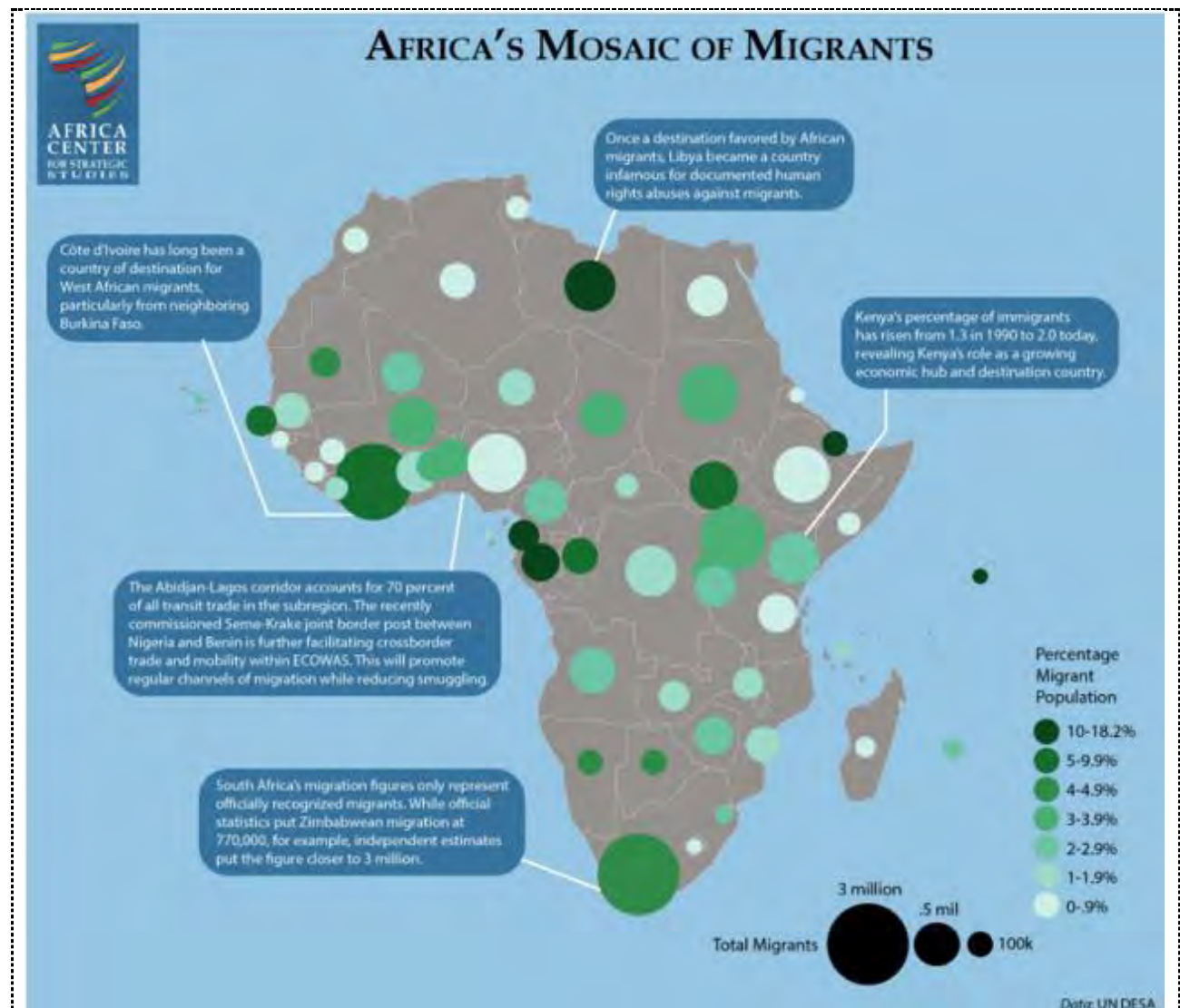


Fig. 3. Africa Mosaic of Migrants and their population densities

Source: UN DESA. (2023). *Africa's Mosaic of Migrants* [Picture]. Africa Centre for Strategic Studies. <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/african-migration-trends-to-watch-in-2023/>

These narrations resembled putative migrations in a not-so-distant past, served as a catalyst for mythical-historical discourse and justification for colonial expansion in the 20th century. Colonialist invaded Africa under the guise of “missionaries” and “adventurers” but only to be revealed as harbingers of chaos during the scramble and partition of Africa. Thereafter, arbitrarily drawing borders to mark areas of conquest, leaving traditional tribal land, nomadic routes and families divided and fragmented as highlighted by Geiss [14].

2.2 Impact of Colonialism on Migration

Effects of colonization on black bodies' mobility and migration is a critical theme in Africa on a grand scale as argued by Bilger *et al.*, [13]. It was experienced in form of forced labour to work in

mining, industries, emerging towns, commercial farms, among others, to locations far from places they call home. These conspicuous forms of migration were intended to create patterns of imbalance for black bodies to be perceived as landless spatial nomads. It was the birthplace of capitalism in form of monetization of black bodies who were hidden in the periphery of urban concrete jungles, powered by the same peasant economy and sanitized by mundane policies. The concept of temporality caused by oscillating migration nuances was the ideal breeding ground for deliberate inception of “labour reserves” as noted by Samir [15].

During apartheid in South Africa, the indigenous black bodies were forced to leave of their native habitations and made to live in ethnic camps referred to as ‘homelands’ as highlighted by Brauns *et al.*, [16]. These homelands, (see Figure Fig. 4 and Figure Fig. 5 below), were in remote areas away from the urban areas and perceived as sources of labour for the neighbouring farmlands that were taken over by the white invaders. The colonialists went on decree the myopic Natives Act of 1923, with a skewed perception that black bodies should be alienated from urban settings as Davenport [17] further notes. Spontaneous migration was feared by the racist apartheid regime as it would cause disorder, disrupt their objective, and endanger the collection of hut taxes as argued by Bilger *et al.*, [13].

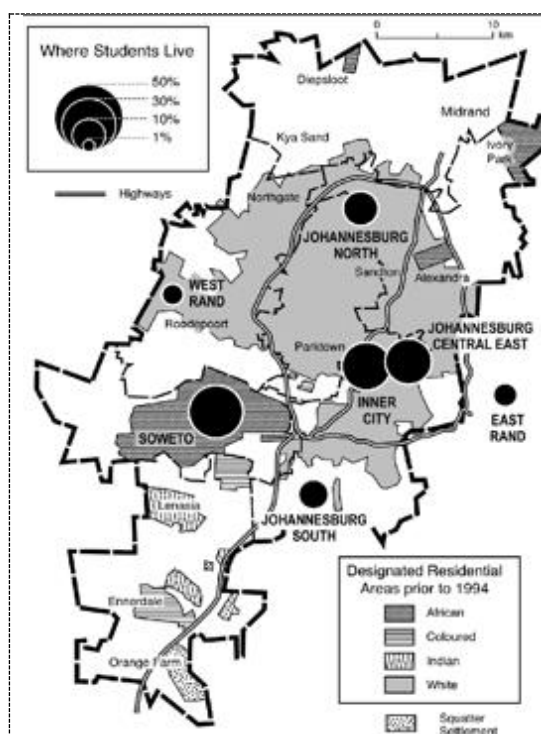


Fig. 4. Residence of learners by old apartheid spatial boundaries
Source: McKay, J. M. T. (2015). *Residence of learners by old apartheid spatial boundaries* [Picture]. ResearchGate.
https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Residence-of-learners-by-old-apartheid-spatial-boundaries_fig3_292355769

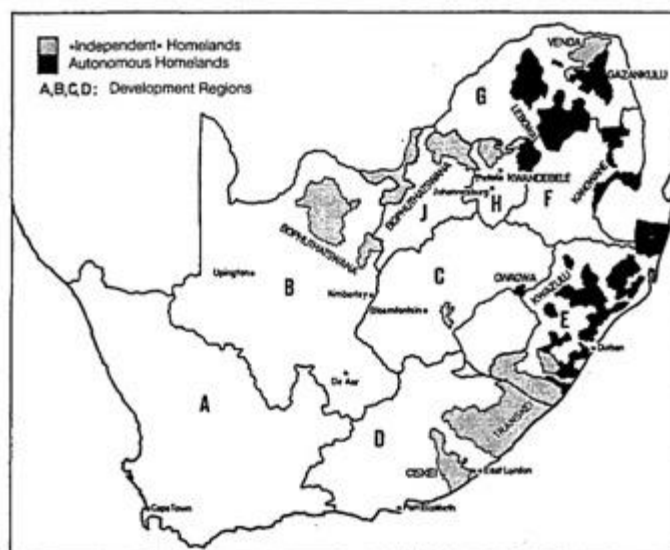


Fig. 5. Regional distribution of homelands and development regions.
Source: Halbach, A.J. (1999). *The South African homeland policy and its consequences: An evaluation of separate development* [Picture]. Taylor & Francis Online.
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03768358808439423>

2.3 Implied Barricades to Migration

Oucho *et al.*, [18] indicate that with the inception of demarcation by colonial powers in the late 1800s was viewed as a catalyst for xenophobic tensions across borders and constant intolerance to indigenous communities and hence, their social fabric remained disfigured. As earlier highlighted,

urban agglomerations grew in popularity and size during the colonial period in the creation of centres of governance. This was made possible through consolidation of resources and commercialization by a bustling trading diaspora and actively engineered by slave mobilization areas, according to Haas *et al.*, [19].

Such is the case in mineral rich Democratic Republic of Congo, that has seen tensions rise at her border with Rwanda since the colonial rule of Belgian King Leopold, as he attempted to detach resource rich areas and productive landscapes of the DRC from Rwanda. The symbolic handing over of these landscapes by the colonial administration to Congo, set fire to the conflict in the border as Rwandese migrants were rendered landless and mortified to be regarded as migrants and not indigenes of Congo as highlighted by Oucho *et al.*, [18]. This meant that, Congo was no longer a safehouse as they tried to escape the violence and crossing borders implied alien trespass with eventual enslavement by their neighbours who were once relatives as Haas *et al.*, [19] further expounded. Figure Fig. 6 shows the number of IDPs as a result of barricades and colonization, as armed conflicts and social instability continue to befall Rwandese migrants to this day dispensed by Congolese authorities in total disregard to their past culture and heritage.

	Period	Peak year	IDPs	IDP/POP	Peak year	Refugees	RFG/POP	Main destination(s)
			000s	%		000s	%	
North Africa								
Algeria (independence war)	1954-62	1960	1,200	10.9	1960	260	2.4	Morocco/Tunisia
Former Portuguese Africa								
Angola (independence war)	1961-75	1976	350	4.8	1979	652	8.1	Congo-Kinshasa
Angola (civil war)	1975-2001	2002	4,300	24.5	2001	471	2.8	Congo-Kinshasa
Mozambique (civil war)	1976-92	1990	3,500	27.0	1992	1,445	10.5	Malawi
Great Lakes area								
Rwanda (civil war)	1959-62	1965	1964	166	5.2	Uganda/Tanzania/Burundi
Rwanda (civil war)	1990-94	1995	1,545	26.5	1994	2,258	38.0	DRC/Tanzania/Burundi
DRC (Second Congo war)	1998-2002	2003	3,200	6.2	2004	462	0.9	Tanzania/Congo Rep
Uganda (civil war)	1980-86	1983	1983	315	2.3	Sudan/DRC/Rwanda
Horn of Africa								
Ethiopia/Eritrea (civil war)	1974-91	1984	1,650	4.0	1980	2,568	7.0	Somalia/Sudan
Somalia (civil war)	1980s-	2006	1,300	12.1	2012	1,157	8.9	Kenya
Sudan (civil war)	1983-2011	2011	2,423	5.4	2017	2,440	4.7	Chad/South Sudan
West Africa								
Nigeria (Biafra war)	1967-70	1969	3,500	6.7	1969	81	0.1	Equatorial Guinea
Sierra Leone (civil war)	1991-2002	2000	750	16.4	1999	490	11.0	Guinea
Liberia (First Liberian civil war)	1989-1996	1994	1,100	53.4	1994	798	40.2	Guinea/Côte d'Ivoire

Fig. 6. Table showing numbers of IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) and International Refugees caused by wars and colonization

Source: Haas, M. D. and Frankema, E. (2022). *Numbers and shares of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and international refugees (RFGs) in major African wars, 1954-present* [Table]. Taylor & Francis Group. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/oa-edit/10.4324/9781003225027/migration-africa-michiel-de-haas-ewout-frankema>

These artificial and arbitrary boundaries generated by the colonial powers altered the meaning of territoriality and interspersed circulatory flows of transit, leaving them porous for recolonization. The current state of migration debates is continuously challenged by historians and decision makers alike, attempting to break free from the rhetoric. Furthermore, mobility of black bodies is often viewed in a negative lens by contrast to, agents of development in many aspects of shaping our livelihood, Oucho *et al.*, [18] noted.



Fig. 7. Borders acting as barricades for disrupting black bodies' mobility
Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print

Figure **Error! Reference source not found. Error! Reference source not found.** below shows the disruption of migration through the notion of spatial configurations defined by boundaries. Borders have created demarcation of permanence which surveil entry and exit points of a country, controlling the migration and accessibility. The artifacts in this image represent how black bodies are dehumanized and easily displaced in space. Depiction of mass migration of black figures moving through floods of oppression where policies of colonial spatial systems and concepts of immobilization and apprehension during transit.

With the ease in which education has become more accessible to black bodies, a term referred to as “African Exodus” was coined by alarmists to try and blow a trumpet over how migratory flows are expected to intensify in the coming years due to disparities in healthcare, employment and social security as indicated by Haas *et al.*, [19]. Through colonization, migration generated identities for both the colonized and colonizer from the lens of culture and abstract understanding of the current state of the world. Its tangibility may be far-fetched but the ideology on cultural identities situated in economic, political, and social hierarchies was the foundation for opposition in the creation of the identity of the colonized as argued by Kortright [20].

An examination on Morocco's new ‘humane’ migration policy centred around human rights and integration through an ethnographic perspective, has expanded rather than dismantled the border barricades to repurpose her territory. Racialized poor black bodies have been repeatedly abandoned in contrast to the working-class population, limiting their accessibility to transit spaces to traverse border points. Hence, sanitized by their migration policies that still lacks substance to address its effects on achieving cultural diversity as indicated by Gross-Wyrtzen [21].

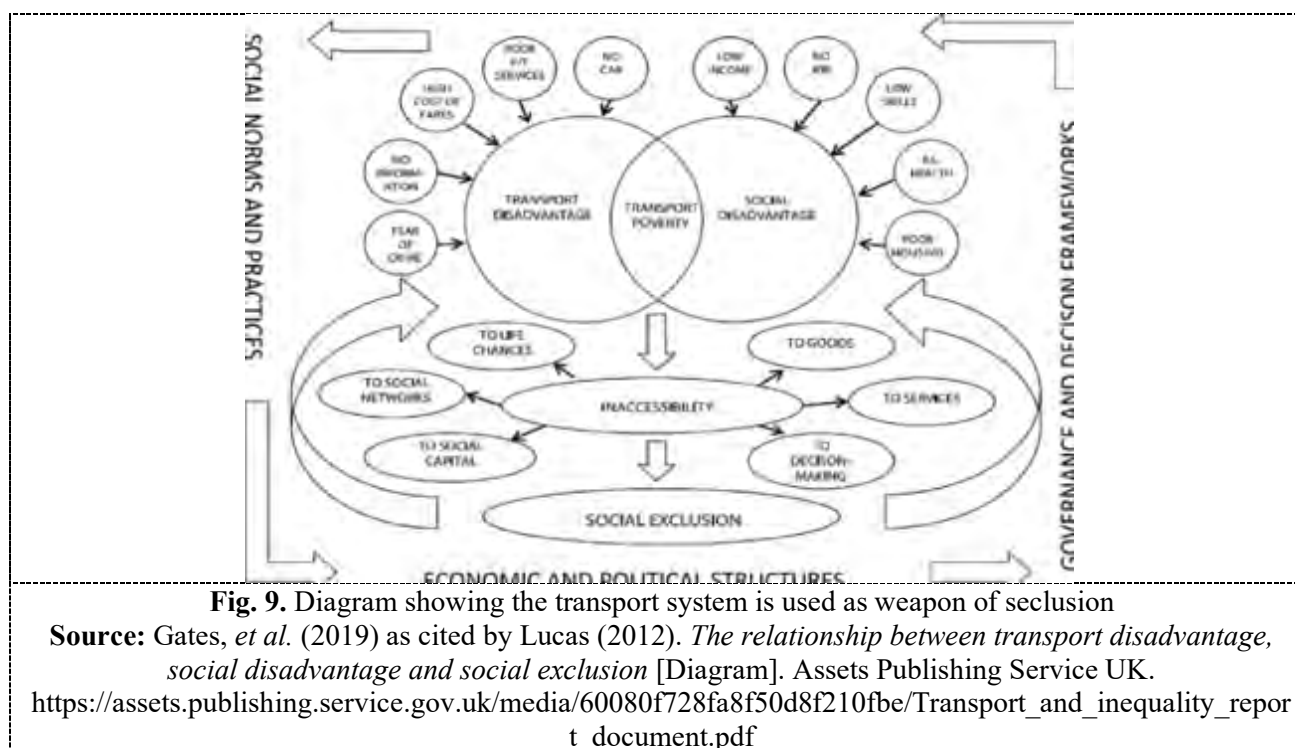


Fig. 8. Black bodies migrating to urban concrete jungles
Source: Lekalakala, K. (2019). Author's own interpretation through digital print

Figure Fig. 8 above explores concepts of black bodies transiting beyond the border due to necessity and opportunities. Whether across countries or native to urban, the black body remains as a constant visitor in the new landscape; unsettled and unwanted.

2.4 Why Airports in particular?

Transportation policies in many 1st world and developing countries have been perceived as drivers of inequality and deployed to augment black bodies oppression, disproportionately to the white community. There is continuous underdevelopment in black communities sustained by the difficulty in accessing transit spaces, especially airports caused by a burdensome transportation system that deprives resources and retains them at the bottom of the economic ladder as argued by Archer [22].



In deconstructing this abstract paradoxical machine of the airport regarded as “zones of exclusion”, black bodies have fluctuated mobility patterns in this area of global transit in the greater regional integration discourse. In summary, understanding of the links between spatial inequity, mobility or lack thereof, is still inchoate around air transport policies and its inadequacies. This complex interplay between social, economic, and spatial factors contributes to inaccessibility and seclusion as argued by Jennings *et al.*, [23] (see Figure Fig. 9 above).

2.4 Airports as places of Surveillance

Airports are used as spaces of social seclusion and misplacement of black bodies, coupled with heightened surveillance with advancements in technology. There is inherent racial profiling, especially at Western airports, that stifles the developmental thrust since migration is always challenged by vectors of African assemblage as argued by Masemola [8]. Such an instance was studied at South African Airport establishments with racial profiling surveillance protocols of procedures at ports of entry and exit, that culturally dismember the strides made to achieve a culturally diverse nation as noted by Hofmeyr [24]. These motors of surveillance and racial profiling of black bodies as ‘usual suspects’ are undermining the spirit of diasporic passage and homecoming as Masemola [8] further highlights. Further, Lee *et al.*, [25] noted that black travellers feel safer travelling in companionship as a tactic to avoid racial discrimination. However, challenges arise on the likelihood of being perceived as threats, when groups of black bodies travel together.

2.4 Airports as Barricades to Migration

Recently, there were claims by African passengers of segregation in the Brussels airport that has since manifested into built fabric. Predominantly black Passengers travelling to Africa were transported by bus to a segregated “African Terminal” fortified from the rest of the airport. There was a clear disparity in this terminal’s the quality of shopping options in comparison to the other ‘non-black’ terminals. It lacked facilities such as pharmacy, fancy shops, book shops and has a small coffee booth in contrast to other present eating establishments. Further, the glass wall barricades the main

terminal to the African Terminal creates an illusion of “two worlds”, perceived as dehumanizing for the passengers as argued by Dark [26]. Figure Fig. 10 below illustrates a similar case of segregation at an American airport.



Fig. 10. Segregation at old airports in America

Source: Ortelepp, A. (2012). *A photograph taken in 1961 shows signs indicating the location of the “colored” waiting room at Dannelly Field Airport in Montgomery Alabama.* [Picture]. United States v. City of Montgomery, Case Files, National Archives, Atlanta. ResearchGate. https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Residence-of-learners-by-old-apartheid-spatial-boundaries_fig3_292355769

Similarly, Frankfurt Airport in Germany was highlighted in cases of institutionalized barricades to migration. It was noted that upon arrival of black body travellers, they are subjected to further scrutiny and ‘random checks’ guised as targeted screening. Larry Madowo, a renowned CNN International Correspondent in a tweet dated 17th December 2023 stated that, “I fly @lufthansa a lot. When a flight lands in Frankfurt, there are police outside as you exit the plane. They check passports and ask for visas, regardless of destination. It’s not Immigration, just an extra check. There are no cops when flights land from the US.” Ahmed Ogwel, the Acting Director of the Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, alleged mistreatment upon his arrival in almost carbon copy circumstances. He stated that he is happier and safer back home in Africa after his ordeal and it was time to stay away from unwelcome territories as reported by Associated Press [27].

The above cases highlight the genetic makeup of a discriminatory system that is evident in its contribution as barricades to immigration indicated by Conrad [28]. TableTable 1 below illustrates the refusal rate percentage for Africans in Schengen countries.

Table 1

A table showing the refusal rate percentage number of Schengen visa, residence permits and processing asylum seekers

Source: Lucas, R. E. B. (2013). *Schengen visas, residence permits and processing asylum seekers* [Table]. Taylor & Francis Group.

https://www.bu.edu/econ/files/2012/11/African-Migration_Lucas.pdf

Place	Applications Per 1000 Population	Refusal Rate Percentage
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Sub-Saharan Africa	4.2	16.6
North Africa	19.2	24.7
Rest of the World	8.4	6.2

2.5 Airports that promote inclusion and diversity.

The United Arab Emirates (UAE) was chosen as an example of a nation that made strides to motivate diversity in its population composition, while still maintaining security which is often seen as a threat in immigration. In this case, Suter [29] explained that Dubai International Airport is a smart airport, designed in a way that is welcoming to visitors regardless of race. It prides itself as an automated self-service border control system as Kent [30] mentions (see Figure Fig. 11 below Fig. 11. Dubai airport automated self-service border control). Immigration passport control processes has been seamless made, enabling travellers to scan and validate their travel documents. The system adopts a new generation multimodal biometric system that allows for speed and efficiency at ports of entry and exit as highlighted by Mahoney [31]. This self-service process eliminates any chance for biased personnel to exercise their influence of racial segregation and discrimination as a common phenomenon in Western airports. Overall, the airport lacks the system of barricades and racially profiled surveillance to make it more welcoming.



Fig. 11. Dubai airport automated self-service border control

Source: Mahoney, C., (n.d). *Dubai International Airport Inaugurates New Generation Automated Border Control Solution*. [Picture]. Security Middle East. <https://www.securitymiddleeastmag.com/dubai-international-airport-inaugurates-new-generation-automated-border-control-solution/>

Likewise, Changi International Airport in Singapore, has received the World's Best Airport award several times and its immigrant friendly nature. It offers an alternate approach to the one used in Dubai International Airport where, the entire architecture is based on creating a warm experience and traveller friendly environment. According to PSYKHE [32], the design of the airport is inclusive and considers the "extremes" in terms of the types of travellers, multilingual nature, literacy levels, disposable incomes, cultural backgrounds, just to name a few. Given the busy nature of airports, the carpeted floor minimises noise from the numerous footsteps and luggage wheels which can be overwhelming and increase anxiety levels. Additionally, lush indoor plants that can be found all over the airport, gardens, and the interplay with water e.g. HSBC rain vortex, serve a similar function to create a salutogenic and favourable environment, as seen in Figure Fig. 12 below.



Fig. 12. Water, plants, and carpeted flooring at Changi Airport to create a salutogenic and welcoming environment

Source: Chai, X., (2023). *Terminal 3's koi pond is a hit with young children*. [Picture]. Changiairport.com. <https://www.changiairport.com/corporate/media-centre/changijourneys/the-changi-experience/care-for-koi.html>

3.0 Methodology

This paper aims to highlight the cases of marginalisation and immobilisation of black bodies in airport transit spaces and exploring mitigate measures to allow for diversity and inclusion of different cultures. A mixture of qualitative and quantitative research methods captures the narrative by giving an understanding of current thoughts and experiences, while quantitatively, observing and testing to scenarios carried out on site by using case studies selected by the authors.

Literature review was conducted to understand and highlight the concepts of black bodies migration and how it affected by concepts of colonialism, barricades, and airports as places of surveillance and seclusion. Similarly, some case studies of airports that promote inclusion and diversity were also studied to understand different approaches in achieving inclusivity and diversity in future megacities. Figure Fig. 13 below indicates how this research has used qualitative and quantitative methods where racial and spatial parameters are defined and articulated around the black body.

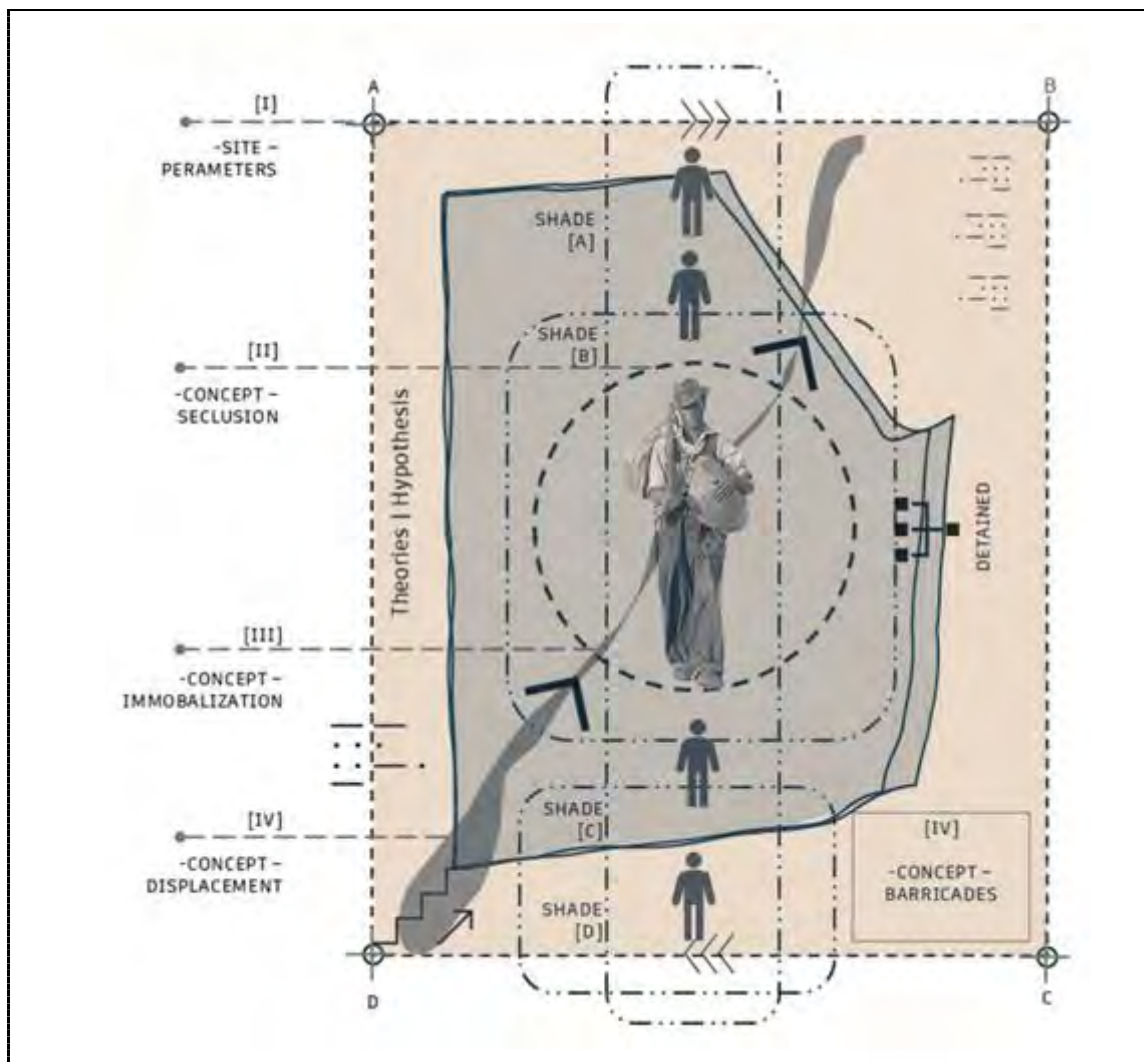
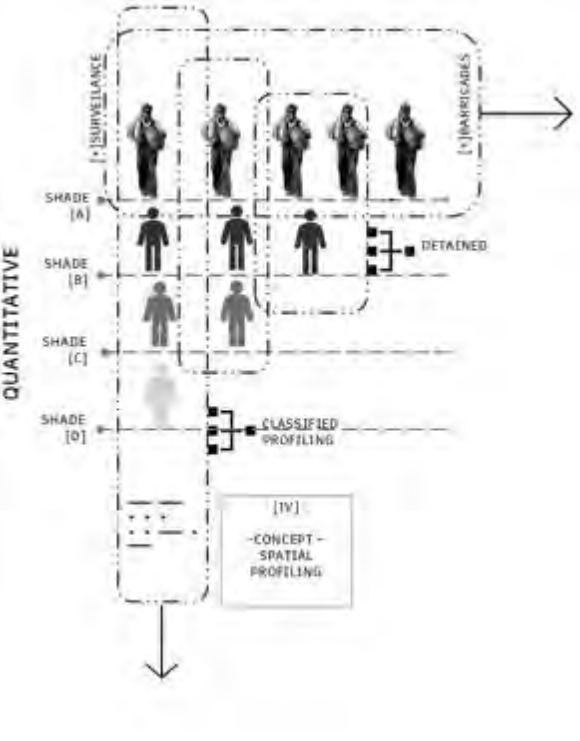
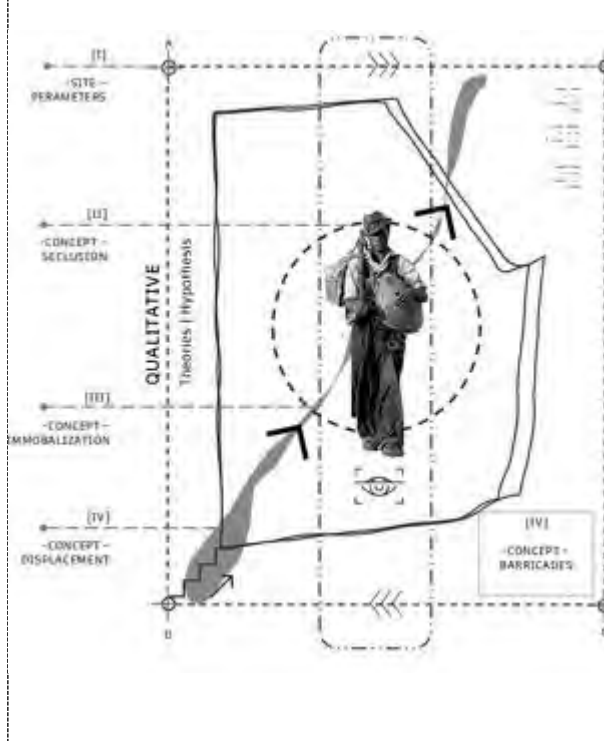


Fig. 13. Methodology Diagram- Combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses with regards to measure of discrimination around black bodies.

Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print

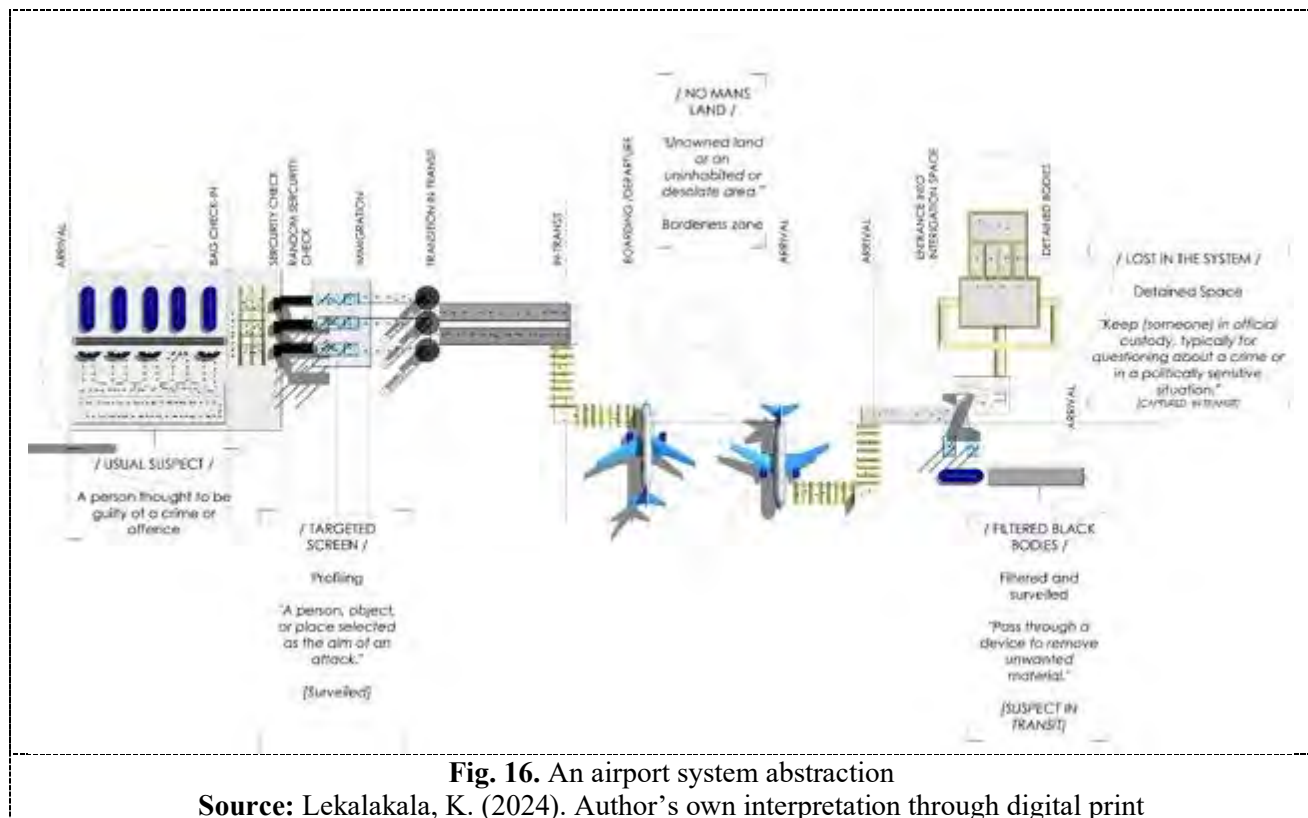
Quantitative research from the data collected is well suited to establish cause-and-effect relationships, testing hypotheses and determining the attitudes, opinions of black bodies in transit spaces. Figure Fig. 14 below explores how racial profiling is used as a measure to determine how much surveillance is required on the body. The Case studies used are of black bodies that find themselves immobilized, detained and discriminated due to their blackness. Qualitative research on the other hand, seeks to develop theories and hypotheses to describe concepts such as barricades, seclusion, immobilization, displacement as catalyst for a progressive and more inclusive future megacity. Figure Fig. 15 below indicates how the concepts mentioned above are used as a measure of discrimination around black bodies. Hence, to understand give a holistic perspective on issues discussed, a mix method approach is adopted in the procedure of analysis and data collection to achieve the desired outcomes.

	
<p>Fig. 14. Quantitative analysis with regards to racial profiling. Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print</p>	<p>Fig. 15. Qualitative analysis with regards to concepts of seclusion, displacement, immobilization and barricades affecting the black body. Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print</p>

Non-random sampling was adopted in the selection process for case study airports using the following criteria: a Western airport, Frankfurt International airport in Germany and African airport establishment, OR Tambo International airport, South Africa. These were picked due to their relevance, which would have otherwise been missed in a more structured probability-based approach.

4.0 Results

As discussed in the literature review, airport establishments show a conflation of two zone of exception, enabling motors of profiled surveillance to incapacitate vectors of African assemblage for black bodies in transit spaces. Figure 16 below is an artistic critique of the monochrome surveillance system used in airports, where the 'usual suspect' in transit checks-in at the first point of entry. They move through a sequence of security checks prior to getting an immigration check then transition into spaces of transit and eventually board. Thereafter, an entry into the 'no-man's land' with no demarcations or barricades and at the next destination, they are faced with more surveillance leaving them constantly navigating clouds of suspicion. During lay-over, the 'usual suspects' are taken into spaces of seclusion for interrogation and further detainment, while others filter through to their next destination.



4.1 Airports as places of surveillance and filtration

As highlighted by Masemola [8] in the literature review, airports have been used to create vortexes of profiling black bodies upon entry by unduly casting a cloud of suspicion in advance. This was the case at OR Tambo International Airport in South Africa through active observation where, a group of 5 number black people were queuing amongst white travellers (see Figure 17 below). The assistant airport marshals picked the black travellers to preview their passports before check-in, while the white travellers were left. As soon as the black traveller were previewed, they were already flagged as person of interest. It was as if the profiling criteria of surveillance was monochrome regarding black bodies as either terrorists or criminals while white people were tourists.



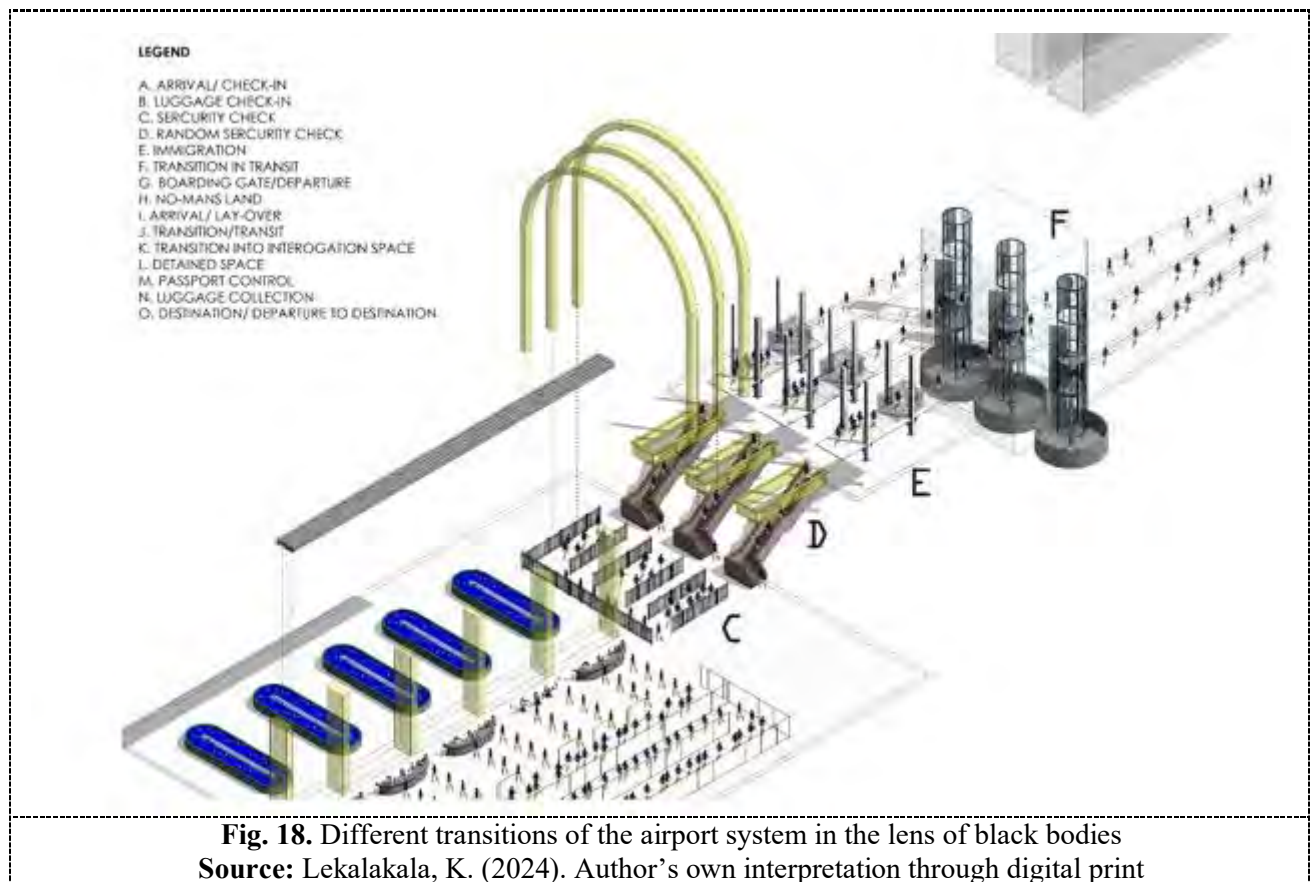
Fig. 17. Surrendering in Transit

Source: Braxton. (2020) further edited by Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation of OR Tambo Airport through digital print

In another similar scenario, social media woke up to the alarming story of Dahaba Ali Hussein being temporarily denied entry into UK as she attempted to board a train from Paris to London. Khan [33] describes Dahaba Ali Hussein, a Dutch citizen of Somali decent, had lived a greater part of her life in London and just concluded her solo holiday in Paris. As she attempted to pass the barriers for EU queue at the railway station, it denied her access and was later told she would be subject to further scrutiny. As she tried to investigate why the sudden harsh treatment amidst the confusion, she was told that she “failed immigration checks” and handed forms to fill stating the reasons for entry denial and detention under UK immigration law. As frantic phone calls were being made to get into the bottom of the matter, the hullabaloo drew social media attention with calls for her immediate release growing ever louder as the day progressed. In a miraculous turn of events, the UK Home Office buckled under media pressure and granted her access to the train under tight escort by the Border Force officials. Ms. Hussein was not fazed by the events as she already had previous encounters with her UK settlement status and even denied on several instances. She further highlighted that “*they do it to people of colour mostly*” with regards to immigration matters according to Khan [33].

Further, the 5 number black bodies were asked to step aside for further scrutiny as the matter was ‘delicate’ and needed to be handled with care. These individuals were then interrogated separately to ascertain their purpose of travel, accommodation arrangements upon arrival and expected monetary expenses while on tour. Figure 18 below shows the different transitions of the airport system. It is evident how the number of black bodies at points of entry of the system either can surveyed or lost within the system. This paper uses collage prints to capture and expose the absurd racial discriminations that black bodies experience when in transit. The first section (A) shows the check-in point where black bodies are initially seen as ‘usual suspects. As the suspected body navigates in space it moves through barricaded system (C, D, E and F) that forces one to constantly surrender in transit.

The body eventually gets lost in the system and detained in space and are prevented from arriving at the destination, leaving only one black body reaching the destination.



The interrogation room was large enough for three or four individuals for the black bodies to psychologically escape into the void, with the walls and ceiling insulated to dampen unwanted noise. An estimated three metres by three metres of space, door made of solid materials like a segregation cell door, a large one-way mirror for constant surveillance and no windows. The furniture was all stainless steel, 4 chairs and a table but the investigator's chair had a cushion for comfort while the interviewee sat on the bare steel to make the experience as unpleasant as possible.

It was observed as a more rigorous visa process application at the airport and considered highly dehumanizing and unnecessary. It was not long before their visas were cancelled with a big 'x' drawn in their passports after interrogation for more than 1 hour, because the nimbus cloud of suspicion was too palpable. Figure 19 below is an artistic illustration of black bodies surrendering in transit after filtering through profiled surveillance but are captured and surrender in 'no-man's land' trying to gain access to these esteemed cities.



Fig. 19. Black bodies surrendering in transit

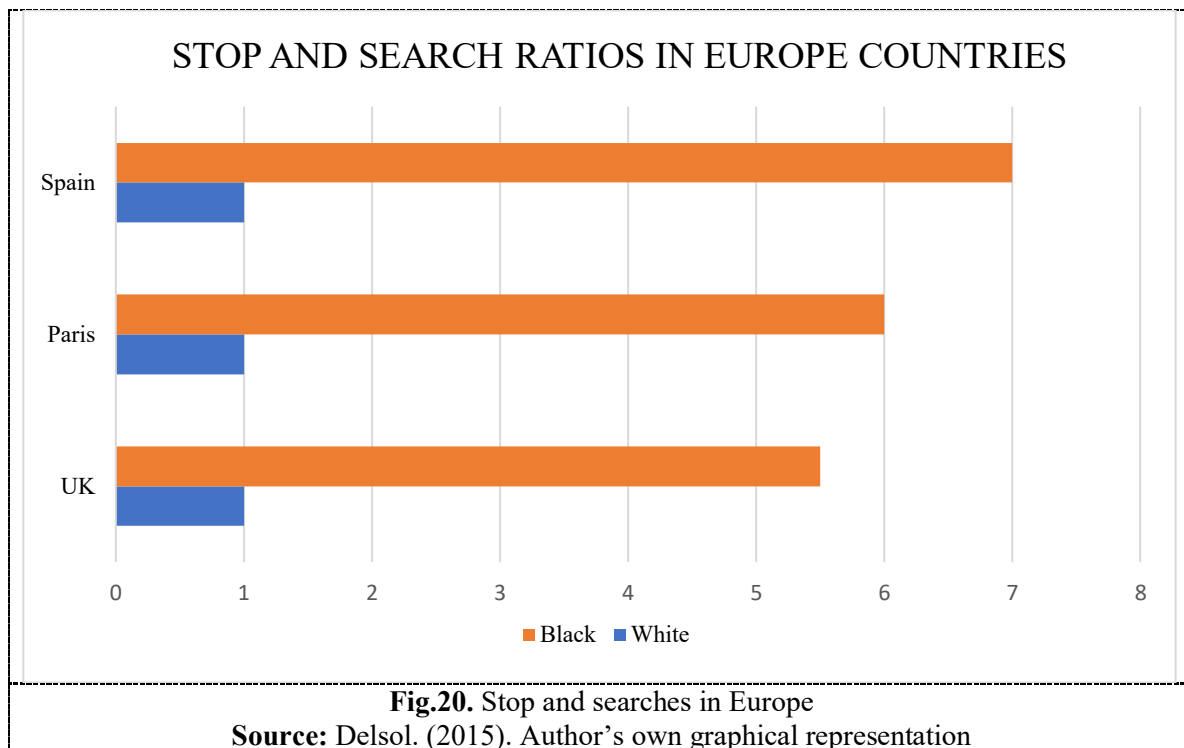
Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print

Other scenarios of racist profiling are evident in other European and western countries where there has been a long history of racial profiling in stop and search practices. The Figures below show how black people and other people of colour, for example Arabs, are more likely to be the victims of these stop and search exercises. In the UK, Black people are 4 to 7 times stopped and searched, in Paris 6 times more likely, and in Spain 7 times more likely to be stopped and searched all in comparison to white people. Table 2 and Figure 20 below illustrate this.

Table 2

COUNTRY	POPULATION BY RACE	
	White	Black
UK	1	4 - 7
Paris	1	6
Spain	1	7

Source: Delsol. (2015). Author's own graphical representation



4.2 Airports as places of segregation and captivity

In a case study of Frankfurt International Airport, through diligent observation, various scenarios were observed to unfold concurrently on the same day. Upon the arrival of a Lufthansa flight from Johannesburg at Frankfurt airport, an announcement was made regarding a random document check for all passengers disembarking from the plane. As standard practice, document checks typically occur at passport control during departure and upon arrival but this case, deviated from the norm with further scrutiny conducted by armed policemen when disembarking. Several passengers, predominantly black bodies, were singled out from the queue of disembarking passengers, with one white individual among them. This observation underscores the ostensible “random checks” were in fact, targeted screenings driven by racial profiling. Figure 21 below shows capturing of black bodies in ‘no-man’s land upon arrival at Frankfurt Airport then being lost in the system at the detained space.

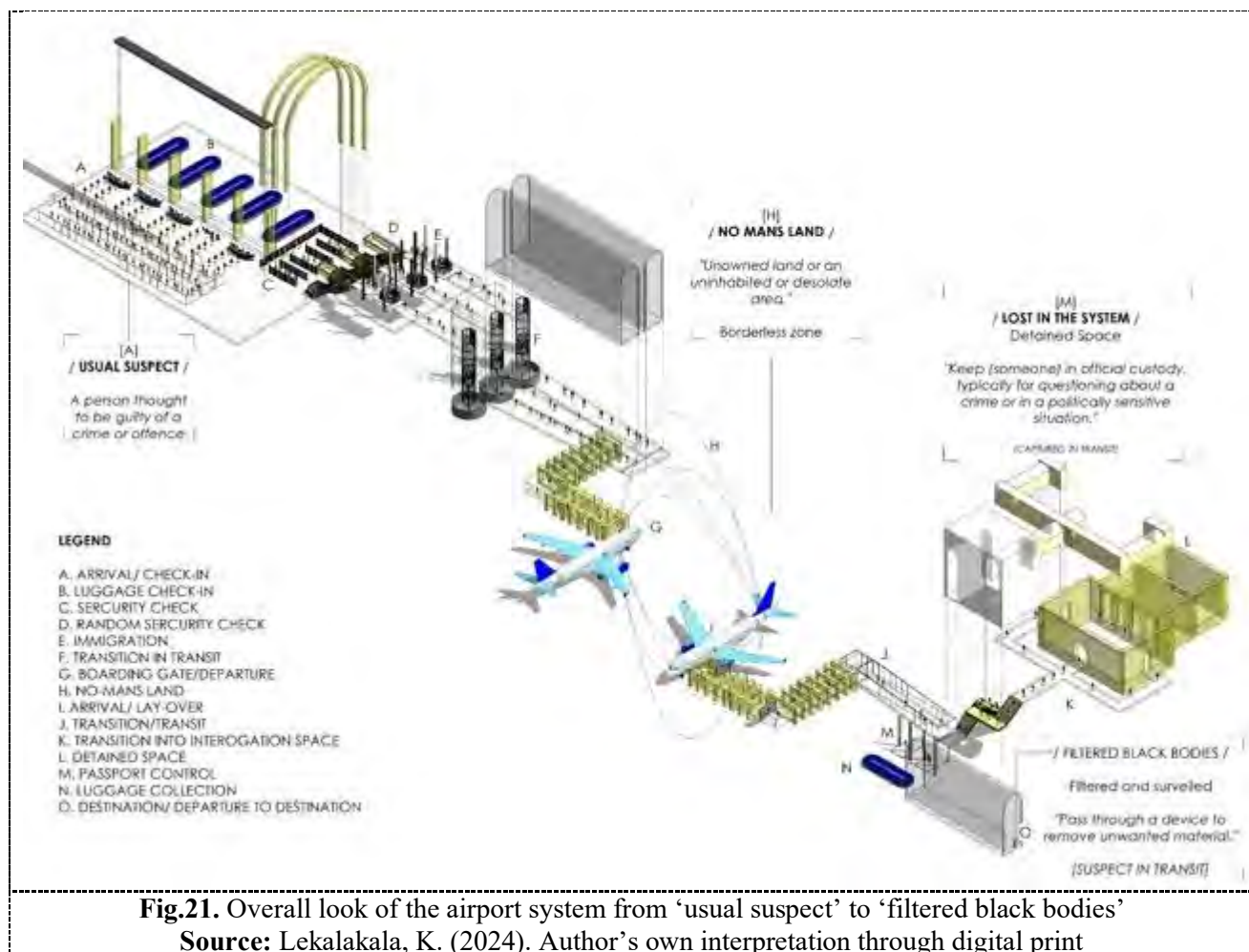


Fig.21. Overall look of the airport system from 'usual suspect' to 'filtered black bodies'

Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print

In Case 1, a young white woman was flagged for a document issue and was promptly given priority and assisted, allowing her to proceed in less than an hour. In Case 2, a group of black African professionals encountered a different experience. As highlighted in the literature review by Lee *et al.*, [25], black travellers often feel safer in groups due to concerns about potential racism. However, as noted by Jetten *et al.*, [34], such group presence can sometimes be perceived as threatening, potentially placing them at a disadvantage. This is what happened to the group as they were all flagged down, leading to approximately 12 hours of captivity, humiliation, and exposure to harsh conditions at the Frankfurt International airport. Despite possessing and presenting all relevant travel documentation to the authorities, they endured fruitless interrogations. Between interrogations, they were held in a cold concrete room with additional cold air circulation, seated on cold metallic seats as depicted on Figure 22 below. The austere design of the space seemingly aimed to intimidate, instil fear, impair reasoning, or induce surrender despite no wrongful doing. Ultimately, the group was deported.

This ordeal is not an isolated incident at Frankfurt airport. As documented in the literature review, numerous other black individuals, including high profile figures such as Larry Madowo and Ahmed Owell, have reported experiencing racially motivated challenges at the airport. These cases collectively highlight a pattern of racial segregation and exclusion at an airport that should instead serve as a gateway to integration of different cultures and places. In a world where airports are often the first point of contact with a country, such experiences shape initial perceptions and could hinder involvement towards the development of the future mega cities. These future megacities should foster integration of diverse cultures in a way that promotes positive place making.



Fig. 22. Detained black bodies in transit spaces

Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through digital print

The experience at Frankfurt International Airport markedly differs from that observed at Dubai International Airport and Changi International Airport. Dubai International Airport, recognized as a smart airport, exudes a welcoming atmosphere for visitors. The hospitality has played a pivotal role in fostering a harmonious multicultural environment, facilitating the coexistence and collaborative development of different cultures. This has contributed to the UAE's status as a top-ranking tourist destination and technological hub. Conversely, Changi International Airport boasts a design of ethos centred around human-centric principles, emphasizing warmth, hospitality, and comfort of travellers, thereby enhancing their transit experience. This underscores airport designs geared towards inclusion and integration of cultures from around the globe.

Figure 23 below shows how black bodies have been filtered through the systems and captured ones with backs against the wall. Alone and displaced in transit, they never make it to their designations. They are lost in the system, detained, undignified, subdued and alienated from the natural habitation to ensure inaccessibility of esteemed cities. The collage evokes the psychological fear and trauma faced by black bodies in transit and places emphasis on systemic barricades engineered by racial profiling.

'We are immobilized in transit'



Fig. 23. Filtered Black Bodies

Source: Lekalakala, K. (2024). Author's own interpretation through collage digital print

5.0 Conclusion

The results of this study highlighted key implications of immobilization and displacement of black bodies in the case of airport establishments, owing to their spatial context, structured built environment and shaped by urban form. Such influences were illustrated through barricades and racially profiled surveillance analysis applied at different cognitive scales of inaccessibility. In order to understand diversity, a background study from the native habitations of black bodies was required to appreciate their spatial position in the African context and beyond. Possibility of further studies into other airport establishments with similar racial undertones and apartheid tendencies, will ascertain the gravity of the situation at hand. Facilitated by hierarchical and multi-level anatomy, creation of positive intercultural encounters and exchanges assists in creating more inclusive and diverse landscapes.

As highlighted in the literature review, this monograph identified the exclusionary nature on South Africa and Germany's urban sprawls with respect to the transportation systems' counterproductive and contradictory location of ports of entry and exit perpetuated by apartheid inequity. There is an acknowledgement in these airport establishments that, historical, economic, and spatial marginalization further fan the flame of transport poverty and create substantial travel burdens for black bodies. Despite the challenges, black bodies continue to be in a constant state of mobility shaped by their patterns of migrations over hundreds of millennia and finding innovative ways of accessing esteemed cities. An important lacuna in our understanding of how architecture has been used as an agent to mitigate and support spaces of displacement, imprisonment, and unintegrated planning in the urban scale, individuals' perception in developing the future megacity must be altered to have an inclusive spatial context. Reimaging and redefining the arbitrarily drawn demarcations known as boundaries by the colonial powers, will be key in attenuate barricades and promoting African assemblage and urbanism. International migration is in the forefront of global development agenda.

Limitations of the study have greatly impacted on the interpretation of the research results. First, there is a paucity of past academic investigations on this problem cross-referencing with the incarceration of black bodies in airport establishments. Second, majority of the literature examines airport establishments within the realm of architecture, policy, transport and the like, that offers little to no preceding research on the plight of black bodies within these environments. Third, the best-case studies were examined utilising desktop review, therefore there is little material that can be interpreted to support the assertions.

In conclusion, diverse cities can be achieved with integration procedures of races and culture as future recommendations. This includes air travel policies, personnel, and airport infrastructure that needs to be able to accommodate and more importantly encourage diversity by being welcoming instead of being harsh towards racial and cultural diversity. Integration between diverse cultures will shape the future megacities, as travel is not going to cease as in fact, worldwide travel is increasing. According to United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) world tourism barometer, international tourism in 2023 ended at 88% of the pre-pandemic levels. It further highlighted that the tourism industry is resilient and undergoing rapid recovery with the expectation being that pre-pandemic numbers are expected by the end of 2024. In expectation of the future growth of the industry, the critical task of progressing sustainability and inclusion in tourism development is highlighted by UN Tourism [35].

Arguably, the findings of this study carry essential knowledge on black bodies in diverse cities at all cognitive levels and role of architecture as an agent to minimize exclusion. This is achieved by creating inclusive transit spaces and positive intercultural encounters and exchanges without perceiving certain cultures or races as superior to others. Hence, this will immensely contribute to safeguarding our culture and heritage for future megacities.

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