CAROLA JACOBS

Practicing Belonging and Navigating Uncertainties:

The Case of Congolese Diasporans in South Africa

KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE
Herausgegeben von Michael J. Casimir

Heft 53

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Editor's Preface

This thesis investigates how Congolese migrants of the first and second generation relate to their countries of origin and stay, and how they deal with the manifold uncertainties they face in their everyday lives. South Africa has long attracted migrants from Africa and Europe. While labour migration from neighbouring countries was common since the colonial period, the end of Apartheid opened up new opportunities. Thanks to its booming economy and liberal asylum policies, South Africa advanced to one of the most attractive migration destinations within Africa, welcoming refugees and migrants from different parts of the continent. Yet South Africa's post-Apartheid transition has been riddled with social and political challenges. In this context, refugees and migrants from within Africa have increasingly been viewed as economic competitors, and have repeatedly been faced with xenophobia and violent attacks. This is also the context that characterizes the situation of the Congolese migrants and refugees, who are the subject Carola Jacobs' study.

While much has been written about migrants from neighbouring and on Somali refugees in South Africa, the case of Congolese refugees and migrants has been not been fully explored so far. By adopting a generation-sensitive approach, and by focusing on migrants' home making practices in an insecure and hostile environment, Jacobs contributes new insights into the situation of African refugees and migrants in South Africa. Moreover, by critically examining if the Congolese in South Africa qualify as a diaspora, she addresses the question formulated by Oliver Bakewell (2008), if and why – different from the case in Europe and the US – there seems no African diaspora on the continent has emerged. Jacobs disagrees with Bakewell, arguing that the Congolese qualify and self-identify as a diaspora, even beyond the first generation. Furthermore, acknowledging migrants' agency, Jacobs prefers the active term 'diasporans' over the collective term 'diaspora'. The thesis was supervised by Prof. Michaela Pelican and was supported with a research grant of the Thematic Network 'Remapping the Global South - Teaching, Researching, Exchanging' of the Global South Studies Center Cologne (GSSC).

Michael J, Casimir

Abstract

This thesis provides insight into south-south mobility within Africa, thus confronting atlanticized research lenses that focus on south-north movements. The case of Congolese diasporans in South Africa iCars in the center of attention. The thesis reflects a generation- and space-sensitive approach. The diaspora concept, belonging, and empowerment are examined. Ethnographic fieldwork for this thesis was carried out in 2018 for a period of three months both in Johannesburg as well as in Cape Town. Volunteering and the notion of apprenticeship constituted the ethical backbone of that fieldwork, which aimed at a reciprocal relationship of give-and-take between participants and the researcher. Triangulation of interactive methods combined with volunteering facilitated deep immersion into the research context. Results allowed for modifications of the concepts of diaspora, belonging, and empowerment. The thesis interlinks categories of belonging with uncertainty via continua of belonging. Uncertainty was closely linked to the prevalent danger of afrophobia in South Africa. Coping mechanisms and the empowering nature of Pan-Africanism among young generations set a positive, courageous tone for future developments.

Acknowledgements

We are all apprentices, engaged in learning to do what we are already doing
… in the process of becoming apprentices to our own future practice
Jean Lave

This thesis is the outcome of a long academic journey that began in October 2017. A journey of apprenticeship in learning, in fieldwork, in data structuring, and in writing process. I would like to thank my family and friends who have supported me through the whole process. Special thanks go to Kira-Kristin Funke who shared valuable GIS insights with me and to my proof-readers Anna-Lena Strehl and Lisa Schmechel.

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The research process in Johannesburg and in Cape Town was tremendously facilitated by two gate openers, Father Did'ho and Isaiah Mombilo. We established deep friendships that are still lasting. These two introduced me to basically my research sample. I feel deep gratitude for each and every participant who sacrificed time to share their stories, opinions, and emotions with me. Without you this thesis would not have evolved the way it did. My uttermost thank you goes to all of you.

MERCI, MATONDO, and ASANTE SANA

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Glossary

ACMS	African Center for Migration and Society
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CPT	Cape Town
CCSSA	Congolese Civil Society of South Africa
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
JHB	Johannesburg
MAFE	Migrations between Africa and Europe
MIP	Migration Policy Institute
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
RSDO	Refugee Status Determination Officer
RRO	Refugee Reception Office
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SIHMA	Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
US	United States

Chapter 1: Introduction

Most Congolese migratory destinations are located on the African continent itself. Research on Congolese migratory movements, however, primarily concerns European destination countries such as France and Belgium (see Owen 2015b). Academic research covered tends to focus on intercontinental migration from the Global South to the Global North, i.e. from Africa to Europe or the Americas (see Schoumaker & Flahaux 2016 / Waite & Cook 2011). For this reason, this study addresses that research bias and puts intra-African migration into the center of attention. Crush also denotes the importance of Africa as the pivotal destination for African migrants (2011). This study concerns the migratory movement of Congolese from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to the Republic of South Africa (RSA). More explicitly, it focuses on Congolese diasporans:[1] This term highlights agency of the individual in contrast to the term Congolese diaspora. Diasporans refers to various actors such as migrants, students, pastors, and refugees who settled in the RSA for different reasons. Unifying factors include their attachment to their home country, the impossibility to return, and finally their experiences in the RSA. Their presence in the RSA provokes changes of the socio-cultural, political, and economic landscape in situ (see Arthur 2010). Behind this background the following research questions are to be answered within the scope of this thesis.

1. Why do Congolese in South Africa represent a diasporic group? Who constitutes this group (actors & institutions)? And what are everyday life realities for them in Cape Town (CPT)?
2. Which forms of belonging can be found and which spacial attachments can be detected?
3. How do diasporans navigate uncertainties in hostile localities?
4. Which strategies are employed for self-empowerment to cope with uncertain life realities?

On a metaphorical level, *navigation* accompanies this thesis: Originally meaning "to sail", navigation reflects the practice of individuals moving "in a moving environment" (Vigh 2009: 420). Particularly Vigh considered how people navigate uncertain circumstances in order to ameliorate their position in society (ibid. 419). This includes coping with pressures

[1]One of the hallmarks of ethnographic work reflects emic perspectives foremost. Instead of finding a theoretical concept apt to informants, concepts should be altered inductively for valid reflection, not the other way round. Since my informants employed the term 'diaspora' to refer to themselves, I felt intrigued to accredit for this notion in theory making.

and social confrontations. These elaborations encompass the major conceptual buoys, i.e. uncertainty, practice, and coping.

Owen conducted fieldwork with Congolese residents in Muizenberg, a seaside urban village in Cape Town that offered rather cheap accommodation in the 1990s and hosts a considerably large Congolese population (Owen In Boswell & Nyamnjoh 2016: 40). The author focused on interactions between South African nationals and Congolese others, on binational relationships with reference to xenophilia (ibid. 63). Owen contrasts the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism arguing that the diaspora concept is not as apt as transnationalism to reflect the Congolese community since the latter one provides more space to discuss transnational activities and processes (see Owen 2015a: 45). For her, a diaspora is a form of a transnational community. The Congolese community is no diaspora "yet" but depends on the consciousness of further generations that she expects to have emotional ties with the host country as 'home' (ibid. 46).[2]

At this point the intergenerational lens of this thesis becomes pivotal: Comparing voices of the children's generations with those of the parental generations offered profound insight into the applicability of the diaspora concept.[3] Also, it bridges the diaspora concept with the notion of belonging. This theoretical bridge induced new analytical categories, which are interconnected to empowerment strategies of Congolese diasporans (see Chapter 7).

The data gathered thus resume theory building where Owen (2015), Inaka and Trapido (2015), and Kadima (2001) left off and adds a contemporary perspective to Congolese migration as well as to diaspora studies. This is to account for Zeleza's (2005) plea to overcome atlanticized, economic concepts of diaspora studies that have dominated analyzes so far. This thesis thus refutes Bakewell and Owen's argumentation on the applicability of the diaspora concept in African and Congolese diaspora studies thanks to this study's spatial and intergenerational angles.

Furthermore, empirical findings allow for conceptual expansions of diaspora, belonging, and empowerment: Elaborations elucidate new academic value to those two concepts since new analytical categories are added. Such conceptual contributions accrued from a place- and generation-sensitive approach, both in theory as well as in methodology.

[2]Transnationality and binational relationships among African refugees in Africa were also studied by Lubkemann (2008). He worked with Mozambican refugees from the Machaze region who fled the Mozambican war. Lubkeman studied Machazian men who started conjugal relations with South African women as well as with Macheze women ("transnational polygyny": 50).

1.1 Congolese Emigration – an Overview

Socio-economic insecurity, poverty, political instability, and unemployment function as significant motives in migratory movements intensifying international emigration to "more prosperous nations such as South Africa" where democratic change and economic prosperity blossom (Dinbabo & Nyasulu 2015: 31 / Kadima In Morris & Bouillon 2013: 96).[4] The DRC has experienced economic and political instabilities since the 1970s when sinking oil and copper prices burdened the economy. Political turmoil (Shaba Wars) exacerbated this situation (see Schoumaker & Flahaux 2013: 3f).

Political instability peaked in the 1990s when Laurent Kabila's rebellion ended the Mobuto regime (ibid.).[5] The 1990s were also characterized by socio-economic instability due to hyperinflation (ibid.). Emigrants targeted multiple destinations including neighboring countries of the DRC, other countries in Africa but also in Europe and the Americas. In a nutshell, economic and political deterioration in the 1980s and 90s led to a decrease in return migration and an increase in migration flows (ibid. 5). In the 2000s, African countries were the main destination (80%) of Congolese departures (ibid. 8). Congolese migration to the RSA supposedly started in the early 1980s (ibid. 48) Kadima subdivides Congolese emigration to the RSA in three "waves"[6] starting with the "first wave" 1990 to 1992 when professionals such as doctors, academics, and engineers left the DRC's Mobutu Regime for the RSA, which did not require a visa for Congolese citizens at the time whereas visa restrictions were hardened in the US and Europe due to human rights violations of the Mobutu regime (Kadima In Morris & Bouillon 2001: 92). With increasing violence in the Congolese provinces of Katanga and Kasai the poor also started to emigrate starting the "second wave" of emigration in 1993. This "wave" concerns primarily the poor searching for political asylum in the RSA and fewer middle class citizens. Kadima's "second wave" runs through the year 1993 when the DRC suffered in an economic sense under the Mobuto

[4]For the majority, Congolese migrants left to neighbouring countries such as Angola, Congo-Brazzaville or Zambia since emigration to the RSA requires extensive financial means for administration, travels and accommodation that not everybody can afford (see also Kadima In Morris & Bouillon 2013: 96).

[5]This shall not negate that migratory movements happened before the 1980s, such as migration in precolonial and colonial eras or during the Mobutu regime (see Owen 2015b: 14ff). For the scope of this paper however contemporary migration patterns from the 80s until today are in the focus.

[6]"Wave" is used in quotation marks to respect the author's terminology but also to account for the controversy around the term "migration wave": Alongside with terms as "flood", "stream" or "swarm" a narrative of the threat of migration is created in public debates. To avoid such undertones, a more neutral term will be used in the following chapters, i.e. stratum, that reflects times of arrival among the informants represented in this thesis.

regime while South Africa became more attractive transiting to a democratically elected government.[7] Between 1994 and 1996 Kadima detects a decrease in Congolese emigration to the RSA since Western countries started to soften their visa legislations. The third and shortest "wave" started in 1997 with Laurent Kabila's coup d'état. In this year, Mobuto's defeated military elite and his dignitaries fled to the RSA as refuge (see Kadima In Morris & Bouillon 2001). The sample in this paper covers migratory movements from the DRC to the RSA within the time frame of the 1990s until today, i.e. 2018. Therefore, this study ties in with Kadima's focus on the 90s – summarized as one stratum of the 1990s – and adds insights from subsequent strata from 2000-2008 and from 2008-2018 (see Chapter 4.1).[8]

Inaka and Trapido (2015) focus on Congolese migrants in the RSA in the Gauteng Province[9] arguing that they constitute a strategic tool to study the relationship between SA and the DRC in terms of economic engagement: After a short historical review of Congolese migration trends in pre- and post-colonial times, the authors identify three class divisions within the Congolese community to interlink each class with economic relationships between the two countries subsequently. Their three-class model includes a class of survivors at the bottom, a middle class of professionals, traders, and criminals, and a top elite class of wealthy politicians and the nouveaux riches.[10] Research undertaken for this thesis reflects mainly the first class consisting of Congolese asylum seekers who arrive with a visitor's permit mostly and are condemned to 'forced informality' due to poverty and low social mobility (Inaka & Trapido 2015: 158). Additionally, the voices of students are included, who are also part of the middle class and shall be added to Inaka and Trapido's enumeration of class members (see Chapter 4).

---

[7]The end of the Apartheid regime led to an immense increase in migration to the RSA in the mid-1990s – this phenomenon was also described by Schoumaker and Flahaux (2013: 8). South-South migratory patterns between Congo and Angola and the Republic of South Africa (RSA) changed in the 1990s with the abolition of Apartheid and timely coincided with politico-economic deterioration in the DRC particularly due to the war in eastern DRC. The RSA thus became a desirable destination receiving more than 70,000 migrants and refugees only in 2015 (Migration Policy Institute, MIP) – not taking into account those who stay illegally.

[8]This further sub-division into migration strata is based on empirical data, i.e. information given by Congolese diasporans gathered for this thesis' fieldwork and covers the time period from the 1990s until 2018.

[9]Their research reflects different geographical focal point than the sample in this paper.

[10]Kadima's analysis coincides with Inaka and Trapido's findings as it focuses on economic aspects of Congolese living in Johannesburg likewise. This further enhances the mainstream research focus on economic contributions (see Kadima in Morris & Bouillon 2013). Kadima highlights the positive economic impact and contributions of Congolese migrants both in the formal and informal sector boosting the South African economy – this was a reaction to South African media focusing on xenophobia, 'alien' narrative and crime (ibid.).

1.2 Profile of South Africa as an Immigration Country

> *These Africans add to and enlarge the ethnic and racial tapestries of their host societies by contesting newer forms of black identities against the backdrop of entrenched racial hierarchies and ethnic categorizations and labels common to American society.* (Arthur 2010: 20f.)

This quote by Arthur applies to the US-American context. Interestingly, it is apt to the RSA as well. Due to its history of Apartheid, racial hierarchies and racialization are still prevalent in the rainbow nation of various ethnicities. Immigrants change South Africa's social tapestry.[11] Black, sub-Saharan immigrants contest black identities in their host society as well as on the continent of Africa (see also African Center for Migration and Society, ACMS). Black immigrants affect "racial positioning" in the RSA as being black is differentiated further into black South African and black foreigner (Glick-Schiller et al. In Vertovec & Cohen 1999: 39). The RSA has long been characterized by internal rural-urban migration as well as labor migration from other Southern African countries such as Mozambique or Lesotho (see Adepoju 2003 / Owen 2015). After gaining its independence, South Africa became a dream destination for many African migrants for instance from Nigeria, Senegal, DRC, and Somalia, in search of more stable economic and political conditions (see also Owen 2015b: 40). South Africa's economy is the most powerful force of attraction in migratory movements directed towards the RSA (see also Dinbabo & Nyasulu 2015: 31). Further attraction forces identified are better employment opportunities, lower inflation, more stable currency, and higher health and education standards (ibid. 44). However, immigration is a highly politically charged issue in the RSA: Mandela's open border policy incited fear among the population, fear of the unknown, of foreigners. These fears are felt by black South Africans in particular:[12] Anger and frustration over unfulfilled promises is often directed towards immigrants told to be burdening the social system, stealing jobs and women, and aggravating crime (ibid.). These depictions fostered an image that "migrants are viewed as a force of disruption rather than as vehicles for economic progress" (ibid. 15). This peaked in violent xenophobic attacks on black foreigners (see Chapter 6).

Nyamnjoh illustrates these drawbacks of enhanced global mobilities which "exacerbated in-securities, uncertainties and anxieties in locals and foreigners alike, bringing about an even

[11]Racial divisions during Apartheid separated white citizens from Asian, coloured and black citizens. The system established a white-minority rule. Etymologically, the term Apartheid itself means separateness in Afrikaans.

[12]Black South Africans suffer the most from the current political and economic situation, i.e. unemployment rates are high and social housing projects are not implemented fast enough to free black South Africans from living in townships and from unemployment.

greater obsession with citizenship, belonging, and the building or re-actualization of boundaries and differences through xenophobia and related intolerances" (2005: 18; 251). Consequently, macro- and micro-level repercussions come in the form of rigidified immigration laws and obdurate local attitudes toward foreigners (ibid. 18). This trend goes hand in with a shift in migration to the RSA: During the Apartheid period, migration was controlled and regular, as contract laborers were recruited mainly from neighbouring countries to work in the mining sector. With the end of Apartheid, competition with local job seekers increased. The ANC government sought to end the recruitment of foreign labor for the mining sector and to end irregular migration to the RSA via the Alien Control Act of 1995 (Tati 2008: 430). This legislation set a new focus on the identification of undocumented migrants and on deportation. Statistical uncertainty about the exact number of undocumented migrants in the RSA fueled anti-immigrant sentiments in the South African society (see ibid.: 427).

Skills make a difference here since highly educated migrants are welcomed as enriching the (human) capital of the local economy whereas unskilled migrants end up with menial jobs and are less welcome (see Johnson 2015). South Africa's legal system underpins this imbalance as it facilitates high-skilled migration but lacks options for low-skilled migration (ibid.). This is also why the RSA experienced a significant increase in asylum application since its immigration legal framework does not address pathways for low-skilled migration.[13] Vast numbers of applications combined with illegitimate claims overwhelmed the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) offices to administer both the asylum and the immigration systems. Consequently, skepticism and "anti-asylum seeker sentiment amongst many officials" (ibid.: 220) provoked difficulties for asylum seekers to obtain legal status in the RSA. Therefore, refugee status determination (RSD) is characterized by immense delays as it takes up to ten, fifteen years to receive visas or work permits (ibid., see also Chapter 6). RROs are regulated by the Refugees Act adopted in 2000: It established "a refugee protection system based upon freedom of movement and local integration" (ibid. 208). It includes freedom of movement, the right to work, local integration as opposed to refugee camps (self-settlement model see Vigneswaran 2008: 42). The infrastructural lack of such camps makes a distinction between migrants and refugees in urban settings rather fluid.[14]

[13]South African Immigration law is regulated by the Immigration Act, 2011 (Johnson 2015: 202).

[14]A further study of urban refugee life worth mentioning was conducted by Sommers (2001) who worked with Burundian refugees that escaped refugee camps in Tanzania in search for greener pasture in the urban setting of Dar es Salaam referred to as "Bongoland" (2) meaning brain land. The significance of language and religion is denounced under fearful, uncertain circumstances. Yet

Visa applications are presented to the closest Refugee Reception Office (RRO) in order to legalize one's status during the wait for one's verdict (Johnson 2015: 202). However, a lack of information and translation offered to asylum seekers hinders efficient and just implementation of the law (ibid.). This fosters "an administrative abyss of long *durée*" limiting mobility and integration (Owen in Boswell & Nyamnjoh 2016: 34). That applies especially to those who came after 2008. Those diasporans who came in the 90s arrived in different legal circumstances, i.e. before the Refugees Act, and managed to get documentation and work permits (see also Chapter 6.2).

Chapter 2: Theoretical and Conceptual Bases

This chapter defines theoretic backbones of this study, i.e. first the notion of diaspora (research question 1), secondly locality (research question 3), thirdly belonging (research question 2), and lastly empowerment (research question 4). These four notions reflect this study's interdisciplinary approach to theory.

2.1 Diaspora as a Concept

The concept of diaspora and diaspora studies have undergone fundamental yet controversial conceptual changes over the last decades: Epistemologically, the term diaspora means *dispersion* in Greek and originally coined different diasporic experiences of the Jewish community from pre-Christian periods onwards (see Ages 1973).[15] It is crucial to distinguish between this historical application and its conceptual usage (Brah 1996 / Clifford 1994): The term has been adapted in various fields such as political and economic science often interlinked with development studies to infer diasporans' potential for economic contributions (see Inaka & Trapido 2015). This politicized the debate and provoked an inflationary usage of the term (Vertovec & Cohen 1999 / Zeleza 2010). Cohen and Vertovec criticized loose references in diaspora studies and sought to endow the concept with more integrity dissecting it into three main categories, i.e. diaspora as a social form, as consciousness, and as cultural production having several subclasses summarized in Figure 1 (Vertovec & Cohen 1999: xvii).

Key aspects from this scheme include for instance "divided loyalties to homelands and host countries" regarding political orientations of diasporans who often function as significant pressure groups due to their engagement with the political distress of their home country

another intra African diaspora is described apart from this given case of Congolese diasporans in the RSA.

[15]Vertovec & Cohen refer to this as "the classic Jewish model" (1999: xvii).

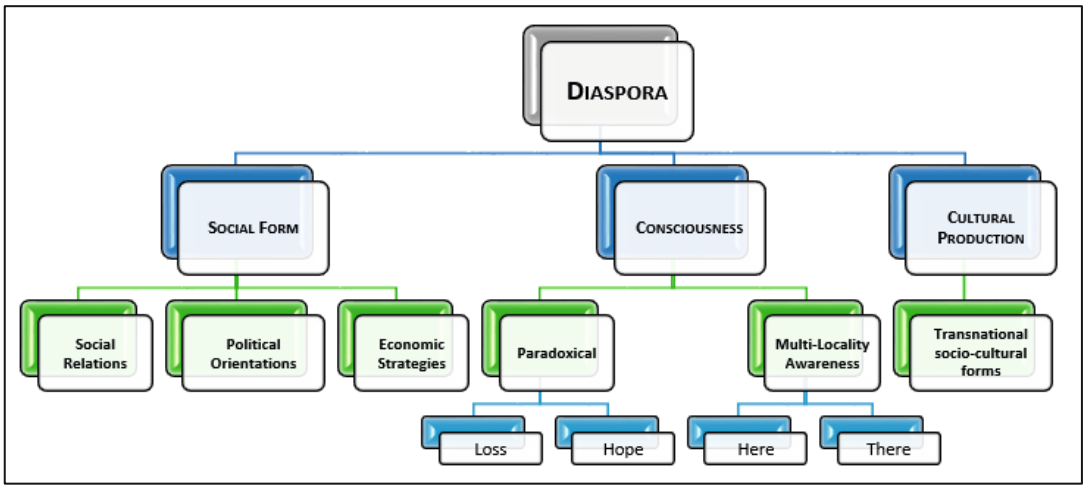

Figure 1 Diaspora Classification (adapted from Vertovec & Cohen 1999)

(ibid.). Worth mentioning is resource pooling among families in terms of economic strategies (ibid.). Mutli-locality awareness – or attachment in Pfaff-Czernecka's term (see Chapter 2.3) – is closely linked to such forms: Tensions between 'here' and 'there' stress multi-locality and transnational[16] linkages created through diasporic and transnational mobilities. It was James Clifford who stressed yet another tension, i.e. that between 'loss' and 'hope' referring to simultaneous loss of a home but positive identification with that same place (1994: 312).

Zeleza's definition of the diaspora concept captures these complex notions as he defines diasporas as emerging "out of processes involving movement, migration from a 'here' to a 'there', from a homeland, real or imagined, to a host land, loved or hated (2010: 5). His works on the African diaspora introduces this geographical focal point: Within the context of African diaspora studies, two trends can be observed. First, a focus on diasporans' contributions to economic development (see Bakewell 2008 / de Haas 2006 / Davies 2007 / Crush 2011). A second research focus both from the Global North as well as from the Global South lies on African diaspora formation outside of Africa (see Okpewho & Nzegwu 2009 / Zeleza 2010 / Bakewell 2009 / Arthur 2010).[17] Consequently, studies on African diasporas

[16]Glick-Schiller et al. (1999) define transnationalism "as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (1). Despite internationalization and globalization of humans and goods, nation states persist and remain an important scale for and frame of analysis when it comes to legal and social rights, to border theory, or feelings of belonging as significant points of reference for people on the move. This shall explain the employment of this term within this paper. Also, transnationalism allows for deciphering connections between nation states established due to new mobilities between them.

[17]The three African authors, Nzegwu, Okpewho, and Zelezaall rely on personal experiences with their research focus on African diaspora outside Africa. The rhetoric is similar to that of "classical diaspora" based on historical experiences of the Jews: Here it is the Atlantic Slave Trade that marks that historical experience. The authors' works re-work this experience to endow the term with a contemporary, "de-Atlanticize[d]" meaning (Zeleza 2010: 5).

within Africa are limited; Zeleza refers to the application of the African diaspora idea within Africa as "an oxymoron" (2010: 5). His argument is reasonable in that it explains that there is no **one** African diaspora in Africa. To overcome atlanticized approaches to diaspora studies, conceptual changes need to be made: Zeleza first subdivides diasporas into Atlantic, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, and intra-African. In a second step, he aims at transcending homogenization and racialization of African diasporas. He classifies intra-African diasporas according to their "reason of dispersal" inducing the following classification (2005: 45): The trading diasporas (Dioula in western Africa), the slave diasporas (West Africans in North Africa), the conquest diasporas (the Nguni in southern Africa), the refugee diasporas (from Yoruba wars of the 19th century), the pastoral diasporas (the Fulani in western Africa). Bakewell acknowledges that African diasporas can be created within Africa but doubts that their diasporic identity extends the first generation. This thesis argues that the diaspora concept should be "spatially inclusive" encompassing African diasporas within as well as outside Africa (Crush 2011: 55). Furthermore, the concept should be intergenerationally inclusive encompassing not only the first but also the second generation within an African diaspora in Africa. Evidently, relationships to places of migration differ between the first and subsequent generation; such multi-local varieties and awarenesses concern this work.

2.2 Multi-locality Awareness and Social Navigation

Contemporary cross-border mobilities are naturally connected to places and localities that are left behind, passed through or lived in. They are facilitated by enhanced communication technologies to maintain linkages with families (see Arthur 2010). The resulting transnational networks become "social capital contributing to fulfilling principally the economic as well as socio-psychological (noneconomic) needs of the African immigrant families at home and abroad" (ibid. 17).[18] To further deepen such ties, diasporans often form associations for economic, cultural, and psychological support (ibid. 89). This engagement in daily life activities across national borders and cultures incites simultaneous social positioning: Such positions are neither static nor safe so that positions in one setting are translated into social, economic or political capital in another setting (Glick-Schiller et al. in Vertovec & Cohen 1999: 29ff). For diasporans Brah explains that contradictions as such are a vital component of "diasporic positioning" creating diaspora spaces as intersections of

[18]Bourdieu coined different forms of capital and defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu In Richardson 1986: 21).

diaspora, border, and dis/location (1996: 204ff). Separation of that original place, dislocation, is "integral to the diasporic condition" while diasporas simultaneously represent "sites of hope and new beginnings" (ibid. 193).

Multilocality and diverse social positionings create a so-called diaspora space, which is inextricably linked with power and hegemony regarding for instance "effects of economic exploitation, political disenfranchisement, social manipulation, and ideological domination" (ibid. 188). This is closely related to inclusion and exclusion, and thus to visibility (see also Böhnisch-Brednich & Trundle 2010: 87). Socially navigating such localities becomes a challenge in everyday life: Pfaff-Czarnecka enumerates key places in social navigation processes that intersect with one another: Parental home, schools, churches are some of these pivotal locations offering guidance and structure that also ask for time, loyalty, and engagement. It is in these places that knowledge and skills are shared and prioritized (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 12). Places also contain feelings and emotions which is why "attachment to place is a significant aspect of modern migration" and triggers "desire for place attachment" (Bönisch-Brednich & Trundle 2010:7). One of the most important localities is 'home' which embodies aforementioned contradictions: Home is an imaginative "place of desire" or a "place of no return"; it is also "the lived experience of a locality" (Brah 1996: 192). Pfaff-Czarnecka creates a link between the two notions of home and belonging as she explains that home "becomes an object of longing" both in retrospect due to the loss of home and also in prospect when individuals search for a new home (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 17). This creates an interconnection between historical and contemporary realities focusing on multiple locations of home (ibid.).

2.3 Belonging – Practices, Politics, Horizons

The adhesive keeping the two notions of diaspora and locality tightly connected is the idea of belonging: "Belonging is an emotionally charged, ever dynamic social location– that is: a position in social structure, experienced through identification, embeddedness, connectedness and attachments." (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 13). This micro-scale approach pays credit to today's mobile world meanwhile reversing top-down approaches in migration studies such as assimilation or integration. It challenges national lenses and, instead, springs from individual, personal and collective resources and practices (ibid. 2013: 26).

To conceptualize the notion of belonging, Pfaff-Czarnecka differentiates 'belonging to'[19] and 'belonging together', which highlights the distinction between collective practices and individual experiences the latter one focusing on personal aspirations. Yuval-Davis explains further that links between the individual and the collective spheres are strengthened via "repetitive practices" highlighting the performative dimension of belonging (2006: 203). In a second step, three scales of analysis are introduced dissecting the concept, i.e. commonality, reciprocity, and attachment.

Commonality refers to the idea of sharing particularly in the form of cultural forms such as language, religion and lifestyle, but also values, experiences, and memory. It is felt individually but negotiated and performed collectively. Thus belonging intersects with diaspora in terms of social relations and political orientation. Anthias stresses the correlation between belonging and commonalities such as shared values, language, or culture (2013: 8). Commonality bears the potential of politicizing the sense of belonging as a "commonality of suffering" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 14).

The second dimension of belonging is reciprocity: This dimension highlights mutual expectations and obligations among friends, families, colleagues, etc. These groups expect loyalty and commitment, participation, and pooling of resources. This corresponds to economic strategies in the diaspora scheme. Pfaff-Czarnecka indicates these as "regimes of belonging", i.e. the price paid to belong and sanctioned if not paid (ibid. 16).

Lastly, attachment connects individuals to places and material possessions (ibid. 17). These components reverberate through smell, tastes but also rights, notably citizenship and property rights (ibid.). Belonging in this sense reflects "emotional investment and desire for attachment" (Yuval-Davis 2006: 204). The academic debate separates Geschiere's neo-liberal approach on belonging from Pfaff-Czernecka's processual perspective. However, this thesis benefits from their combination: Geschiere adds the significance of local perspectives (glocality) to the debate, which helps to grasp the specificity of the South African context including xenophobia. Geschiere interlinks belonging with autochthony emphasizing the global significance of the place of origin to one's belonging (2009: 2). Naturally, this connection relates back to inclusion/exclusion and marginalization in the host country. The relationship between the individual and the nation state, read as "legitimate belonging" in

[19]Pfaff-Czarnecka distinguishes between 'belonging to' and 'belonging together' whose equivalent terms in German would be Zugehörigkeit (belonging in terms of affiliation/membership) as collective we-representations and Zusammengehörigkeit (togetherness) as individual perceptions (2013: 27).

Yuval-Davis' terms draws boundaries between citizenship holders within the national, autochthone, political community and those who do not enjoy citizenship rights (2006: 206).[20] For this reason, the three dimensions sustain belonging and annotate that belonging can be homely and comforting on one side but also quite exclusionary and burdensome on the other. Pfaff-Czarnecka explains further that constellations of belonging are quite distinct so to ascribe forms such as family or nationality diverging from acquired forms like belonging to a university or a certain profession, and finally forms of belonging can be exclusive e.g. to a family or to religion (2013: 21). Forms of belonging are submitted to deviate naturally over time from kindergarten, to school, to a working place, etc. Marriage also changes one's status towards relatives and results in repositioning. Such changes in individual navigations can also combine anchored belonging with new forms of belonging (ibid. 28). 'Anchored belonging' is endowed with a crucial significance when it comes to diaspora studies as it becomes "a necessity for those who almost lost everything when forced into exile" (ibid.). Baumann visualizes this metaphor of an anchor depicting a migrant's journey as a ship's trajectory while the next haven where the anchor should be dropped depends on one's cargo which can be appropriate for a certain haven but inappropriate for another (2011: 434). In addition, upon arrival at this haven one's credentials and papers are examined and re-valued. Cargo here reflects a migrant's resources, experiences, and aspirations, which can beneficial in one place but useless in another. It also stresses the idea of carrying one's culture, norms and values 'dropped' in a new place since migrants do not travel lightly. Finally, the idea of obtaining papers and permission to entering a new port[21], i.e. a new country, is echoed.

Sometimes forms of belonging do not only change but are even abandoned e.g. leaving an association, a club or a group of peers. Belonging also demands for effort to maintain relations; this might also provoke weighing different forms of belonging and desires to belong against each other thus re-practicing one's personal constellation of belonging (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 22). This aspect renders the concept of belonging very apt to elucidate

[20]Francis Nyamnjoh worked extensively on belonging in African politics, which is closely connected to political elites and ethnic loyalties (Nyamnjoh 2005: 34). Here, belonging is closely intertwined with ethnicity and ethnic citizenship as those are synonymous with "greater access to national resources and opportunities", which enhances distinctions between nationals, autochthons on the one hand and foreigners, outsider, immigrants on the other who enjoy different levels of "economic entitlement, cultural recognition and political representation" (ibid. 9; see also Geschiere).

[21]Yuval-Davis refers to this element as "spatial rights" as the right to enter a state (2006: 207).

tensions that individuals have to confront throughout their social and spatial navigation regarding social ties and boundaries (ibid. 24).

Belonging is therefore both temporal and contextual[22] as it is bound to a location outside the self as a point of reference exterior to the self (Anthias 2013: 7). Such outside locations, places or communities for instance, are regarded in a translocational sense[23] emphasizing that belonging is not connected to a fixed location but multi-local as in the diaspora scheme (Anthias 2013: 8, 15). Youkhana refers to this development as "space-sensitive theorization of social relations and belonging" (2015: 10). The stress of locations recognizes belonging as a process in localities, thus further intensifies the adhesive between belonging and locations.[24] The plural form of locations here elucidates that belonging is multifarious/polymorphic: Firstly, locations are both place-based but also reflect movement and flow (Youkhana 2015: 12). Besides, Pfaff-Czarnecka differentiates "collective spaces of belonging" such as nation states on the macro-level or family associations on the meso-level all bearing regimes of belonging (Paff-Czarnecka 2013: 19). These various dimensions of belonging intercross each other as people can belong to two or more countries, professions, or religions simultaneously – these have different "horizons of belonging" (family, nation state, etc.) but do still coexist. As soon as such horizons are institutionalized, borders of belonging or political arenas are established in terms of inclusion/ exclusion – this reflects politics of belonging (see Youkhana).

2.4 Empowerment – Resources, Agency, Engagement

In times of global mobilities, navigating between multiple places often implies reconfiguration of one's resources due to the risk of downward social mobility. This demands for flexibility, faith, and creativity of global citizens. Doing fieldwork for this thesis elucidated the significance of empowerment, it was thus added deductively to the analysis:

Herriger defines empowerment as the developmental process during which people gather strength that they need to live a better life (2014: 13). Main objectives are therefore to liberate from oppression and to attain self-power (ibid.). Since this rather broad definition invites for inflationary application of the empowerment concept, Herriger delineates it

[22]Youkhana refers to this as "spatial and temporal interdependencies" (2015: 11).

[23]"A translocal perspective enables research into these processes in a more open and less linear way and captures the diverse and contradictory effects of interconnectedness between places, institutions and actors." (Greiner 2013: 375).

[24]This contrasts the categorical concept of identity as a possession or attribute based on sharp boundaries which is why belonging is more conceptually apt in this context combining categorization with social relating (Youkhana 2015: 17 / Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 15).

further from four viewpoints: From a political perspective empowerment refers to the unequal distribution of power that people try to confront via democratic participation and political decision-making authority.[25] Secondly, focusing on a life-world perspective empowerment means strength, competence, self-assertion, and agency in order to tackle difficult situations in life out of own resources for managing one's own life. This goes hand in hand with reinforcing belief in one's strengths and capabilities to direct one's own life (ibid. 15). Resources, strengths, and potentials are in the center of attention to manage life despite social deficits (ibid. 16). Thirdly, empowerment can also refer to groups and organizations that succeed in shaping their social life-world – this reflective perspective focuses on solidarity and self-help organizations that can even evolve into political lobby groups (ibid. 16f).[26] Lastly, empowerment can be viewed transitively, which highlights resources within individuals to manage their life (ibid. 17).

This focus is particularly applied in psychosocial studies: Navigating society under uncertain condition needs resources[27]: Drawing from psychosocial practice[28], Lenz explains that overcoming onerous life circumstances demands for personal and social resources. Strong resources enable a person successfully to meet challenges with resilience.[29] Lenz therefore

[25]The political realm is where the concept originated from in terms of political resistance: In the 1970s Barbara B. Solomon first employed it in the context of civil rights movements and black empowerment in the USA supporting self-worth and pride (Martin Luther King). From the USA this spirited spread further to colonial states in Africa fighting for independence and against resource exploitation and socio-cultural subjugation (Fanon, Memmi, Nkrumah). From this political sphere the concept expanded further to the realm of social work and psychosocial practice (Herriger 2014: 21).

[26]Likewise does Rappaport (2018) stress this communal, organizational notion of the concept originating from progressive political agendas. Rappaport criticizes the application of empowerment for conservative political agendas and also for "therapeutic ambitions" as the latter one conceives empowerment as an "individual construct" (2018: 5). For our purposes both the individual and the collective are of interest, hence both perspectives are combined and included here for further analysis.

[27]Bourdieu explains that an agent's accumulated resources are the basis of capital depending on availability and distribution (In Richardson 1986: 19).

[28] Psychosocial studies approach resource activation from a more medial perspective as in treating and diagnosing patients. This is not the aim in this paper since participants are coworkers, friends, and informants to the researcher and surely no "patients" as opposed to "professional helpers" or "therapists" as applied in the medical realm (Lenz 2011: 204). Diagnosing informants in a clinical setting of psychotherapy is certainly not the idea behind the inclusion of this approach. However, Lenz' theoretical elaborations on empowerment can be included in this context and used as an analytical lens later in this study. It comes in useful since it does not include a gender bias focusing on female empowerment or gender studies only. Empowerment does have historical roots in feminism apart from politics to reduce gender specific deficits in education and employment but also autonomy over one's body (Herriger 2014: 26f). This however goes beyond the scope of this paper.

[29]Christina Hölzle defines resilience as a resource in terms of the ability of a person to cope with burdening events of life circumstances referring to a form of psychic elasticity, stress resistance, and resistibility that prevents people from capitulating to life challenges (2011: 74).

argues for activating resources as a basis for coping with encumbrances (2011: 203). Activating personal resources entails the consolidation of self-esteem in order to confront feelings of helplessness and passivity (ibid. 203). Facing difficult phases in life usually impede appreciation of own strengths due to pressure, demoralization or feelings of insufficiency (ibid. f). The aim is therefore to heighten and sensitize people's perception of their powers, potentials, and strengths (ibid. 206). 16 scales are employed to categorize a person's resource inventory:

Those especially relevant for later analysis in this paper are highlighted in *italics*. Personal resources refer to a person's self-esteem and independence but also include tolerance,

social competence	*capability to tackle daily life stresses*	*motivation for self-reflection*	acceptance of own needs
social embedding	*competence to act*	*motivation to learn*	hobbies and interests
familial embedding	*optimism*	*open communication*	*intellectuality*
emotional openness	*autonomous thinking*	*creativity*	*motivation to change*

Table 1 Resource Inventory (adapted from Lenz 2011: 210)

capability to adapt, and flexibility in perspectives (ibid. 209). Social resources are embedded in social networks such as families, friendships, neighbors, co-workers etc. Such networks also offer access to advice and information in order to navigate one's environment (ibid. 225). Feelings of belonging and security enhance self-esteem and health so that one's social backbone functions as a social immune system (ibid. 225). Strong social bonds are characterized by a combination of support, obligation,[30] and rapid availability in times of crises but also embedded in daily encounters (ibid. 226). Consequently, resources do also function as protective factors in terms of stable emotional bonds, social support, social responsibilities, and positive self-concept inter alia (Hölzle 2011: 76). This explanation elucidates the theoretical crossroad, the compass of this theoretical navigation endeavor as belonging, locality, and empowerment coalesce to be applied in diaspora studies. Diasporic experiences reflect upheaval in a person's life, it provokes onerous life circumstances – facing these by means of own resources, engagement, and competencies increases one's sense of manageability even one's well-being, self-guidance, and self-efficacy (ibid. 78).

[30]This relates back to Pfaff-Czarnecka's regimes of belonging.

Chapter 3: Methodological Tools and Ethics

This chapter illustrates how theoretical conceptions can be practically assessed and operationalized for ethnographic analysis.[31] The navigating ethic needle here is the notion of apprenticeship in modern anthropology "to appreciate and to be instructed by unanticipated facets of others' lives and thus to explore the limitations of their own (more official) assumptions" (Lave 2011: 22). Thus, hierarchies of discourse and Western theorizing are put on trial to change ethnographic practice (ibid. 32). Lave coins this approach of critical ethnographic practice as an ethnographer's commitment "to an ethics of social justice and change" (ibid. 35). Such a stance in ethics demands for its practical realization in methodology to avoid "methodological nationalism" and groupist, vertical concepts in general (Youkhana 2015:19). Lave's ethical stance was translated in a practical sense as volunteering during fieldwork: For Lave fieldwork is "a rite of passage in anthropology" (2011: 2) referred to as navigation in this paper. I decided to navigate my field not only as a researcher but also as a volunteer. This resonates the fight for an ethics of social justice as I sought to give back to the community and to ensure accountability in the research process (see Garfinkel 1991). Ethics furthermore refer to reflexivity in the research process with regards to confidentiality, informed consent, and political engagement (see Aull Davies 1998). Different forms of engagement exist in anthropology; the one presented here reflects sharing and emotional support as well as activism (see Low & Merry 2010).[32]

Working for local Congolese and South African NGOs enhanced my presence in the community as I was dedicated to become an active member of the community, not only pursuing research goals in order to legitimize these very goals. Volunteering in terms of engagement was enacted both in the professional realm of NGOs but also on a private level in form of movie screenings and cooking events (see Chapter 4). Engagement is thus a vital aspect in this research overarching empathy and sympathy into action (see also Finnström 2008). Fieldwork-based on volunteering was conducted over a period of three months (February through April 2018) in the Province of Western Cape, in Cape Town.[33]

[31]Jean Lave delineates that the combination of "theoretical and empirical endeavors" are the anchor of critical ethnographic practice and also of social practice theory (2011: 2).

[32]Low and Merry enumerate six forms of engaged anthropology, i.e. sharing and support, teaching and public education, social critique, collaboration, advocacy, and activism enacted in the context of war, environmental justice, violence and human rights stressing that an imperialist shall be avoided (2010: 204ff).

[33]I also worked with residents of Johannesburg (JHB), in the quarters of Yeoville and in Roodeport, which represent quite different social realities as Yeoville is known as an immigrant district with much crime whereas Roodeport is a rich, white area in JHB. I had the chance to meet Father Didho,

Volunteering with the Congolese Civil Association of South Africa (CCSSA) and the Scalabrini Immigration Service allowed for deeper understanding of the local context. Becoming an active member promised different perspectives and profound participation in activities. Volunteering in fieldwork is therefore a bilateral process: On one side, it is a mean to support the community to balance out the community's contribution to the researcher's project; on the other side, it allows for profound learning in the research context.

To portray lived realities, memories about place and belonging, qualitative ethnographic methods were employed, i.e. participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and informal conversations constituted the base of the fieldwork (see also Arthur 2010). Those were further extended with more active, tangible, visible methods such as free listing, object picking, and go-along. Such a mixed-method approach reflects advice given on how to conduct short-term ethnographic research: Sarah Pink illustrates that short-term ethnographies are characterized by intensive, interventional, observational "excursions" into people's lives (2013: 352). Intensity and empathy are key for short-term ethnographic practice ensured through volunteering inter alia (ibid.).

3.1 The Sample

Sampling is the balancing act of accounting for legitimate representation of heterogeneity and complexity in the research context apt to questions and theory (see also de Walt and de Walt 2002: 103). To achieve greater representation and data validity, I sought to be inclusive on the socio-economic make-up of Congolese diasporans in Cape Town, i.e. the three strata each subdivided into parental and children generation (see Table 2).

1st Stratum	1990s	1st parental generation	1PG	1st children generation	1CG
2nd Stratum	2000 – 2008	2nd parental generation	2PG	2nd children generation	2CG
3rd Stratum	2008 – 2018	3rd parental generation	3PG	3rd children generation	3CG

Table 2 Socio-Historic Make-up of the Congolese Diaspora

Prior to entering the field, contacts had been established with key informants as my compass needle in Cape Town: During a field school on Asia-Africa relations our research group encountered the Scalabrini Center of Cape Town which is affiliated with the Congolese Civil Society of South Africa (CCSSA).

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a Congolese priest in Soweto, who introduced me to Congolese refugees in Yeoville whose life stories contrast those of a Congolese doctor family in Roodeport. Results and comparisons between Cape Town and Johannesburg would go beyond the scope of this thesis, which is why the analysis focuses on Cape Townian data, where I spent most of my time during the research process. However, some key quotes and stories of diasporans in JHB will be included, just not as a focal point for comparative analysis.

The head of the CCSSA was my main informant and introduced me to his coworkers, his clients, and his family. This enabled a snowball sampling within his professional as well as private family sphere. In this vein I met families, friends, and colleagues to collect biographic accounts and everyday life experiences from different angles. These encounters and stories elucidated that the Congolese diaspora in the RSA represented in this sample consists of individuals that mainly arrived at three different points in time, i.e. in three strata (see Table 2, p.17). The first stratum found started in the 1990s, the second one starts after the new millennium so from 2000 until 2008, and the last stratum was found to arrive after 2008 until today (2018). The goal of my research was to decipher how experiences among the diasporans of those strata and also in between generations differ and if they reproduce the diaspora. I tried to represent the strata as well as the generations, which was ambitious due to the limited time frame of three months. My network in Cape Town comprised 30 informants (see annex), both parental generations (PG) and children generations (CG) of the different strata. Apart from this stratification, Congolese students are also part of the diaspora. They constitute a separate stratum however, since most of them enjoy a privileged position in society due to financial support of their parents back in the DRC or thanks to scholarships. Their stories are quite different from individuals who do not profit from such resources. Some of them do not even want to be part of the Congolese diaspora, which reflects attitudes of rich migrants from the DRC who also prefer to not intermingle with their fellow nationals. To account for the diaspora's heterogeneity, student voices are also reflected.[34]

3.2 Participant Observation, Informal Conversations, and Semi-structured Interviews

> *As anthropologists, we do our best to participate in the works, questions, joys, and sorrows of our informants' everyday life. Then we take a few steps back, to be able to reflect on what we have learnt and experienced, again to step forward and participate. This we do daily in the field work encounter.* (Finnström 2008: 19)

The opening quote on the intercultural relationship between research and informants in fieldwork perfectly extends Lave's stance on apprenticeship and reflection to contextualize the same into the frame of participant observation demanding profound presence as well as reflection on the learned. Participant observation as "the fundamental method in cultural anthropology" was the basic, explorative method in the beginning to feel and live the research setting that people navigate (Bernard 2006: 342). Alongside with volunteering, it allowed for integration into the community via building of rapport with research participants

[34]Students are also the social group added to Inaka and Trapido's classification of Congolese in the RSA.

(ibid 343f) (see also Lave "legitimate participation" (2011: 149)). Rapport, as one of the hallmarks of ethnographies, represents trust formed through intimate involvement with informants in natural settings (see also Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 10). This was intensified by developing close friendships.[35]

Participant observation was the key tool to observe the make-up of daily life, which included interaction between individuals within certain places, i.e. the NGO, churches, and homes. In this vein, participant observation took place in different settings, private and public. The private one, i.e. the family setting offered insights into family relationships, communication, and values articulated in daily life. Consequently, it refers back to Pfaff-Czarnecka's first foundation of belonging, i.e. commonality, and presents one means to operationalize the same (see research question 2 and 3). Special attention was given to the use of language and the role of religion in the family setting as a cornerstone of belonging. Experience and memory also come into play of commonality construction – here it is fascinating to see in how far this applies to the given research context since the first and second generation of Congolese in the RSA made different memories and had different experiences in the past. Interaction between family members illustrates roles, power, and negotiation processes. Familial settings further demand for loyalty, obedience, and pooling of resources – examples of these can also be observed via participant observation within families, for instance over dinner, and represent the second dimension of belonging, i.e. reciprocity. Loyalty, resources, and commitment also relate back to 'regimes of belonging' as a reminder that belonging has a price with regards to moral economies, duties, and conventions for instance. The more public and professional NGO and church setting shone light upon the second foundation, i.e. reciprocity. Institutional frameworks observed showed different rules of conduct and regimes than private spheres. The potential of these institutions to increase their members' self-esteem and sense of socio-politico belonging was key.

Participation and observation were accompanied by detailed field notes and diaries: Note taking ranged from jotting down key words to actual verbatim record of people's statements. All different kinds of notes, jotted, verbatim statements, atmospheres, emotions, maps, were typed afterwards to secure the data but also to reflect on them. Jot notes were expanded and contextualized. Significant quotations were highlighted. Dates were added in order to sequence events and to link them up in a form of a diary. Three reports were composed

[35]de Regt argues that friendship as a humanistic method can be conveyed in times of "difficult political and economic circumstances" (2015: 43). Established friendships can nowadays easily be kept alive via modern technologies. WhatsApp is the main mode of communication between my Congolese friends and me.

during the fieldwork, i.e. an initial report, a midterm focus report, and a final report before returning home. This was very constructive as it asked for reflection on combining data and theory within the field and to further sharpen the focus in order not to get lost in too many data.

Integration into the field via participant observation led to informal conversations and then further to open and semi-structured interviews during the fieldwork process. Informal conversations were not recorded as audio material but field notes were written to collect and save information. This demanded for "active listening" which is also key for interviewing referring to attentiveness on the context and mental note taking (de Walt & de Walt 2002: 74). Informal conversations mostly happened at the CCSSA office, but also at church, and during social gatherings at respective residences.

Semi-structured interviews had a more formal tone and a recording device was used during the interview for later transcription. These began with a non-directive, open question so that informants chose their own focus regarding key events, places or relationships in their daily life. Interviews addressed research question number 2 (forms of belonging) in particular but also shone light on number 3 (navigating uncertainties) and 4 (empowerment). Storytelling is an important narrative technique to understand meaning and it gives space to the informants to address issues at their heart. Three long interviews were conducted in Cape Town and an additional two were undertaken with multiple informants, one with two individuals, the other one with eight. These interviews reflect the perspective of the latest two strata (2nd PG, 3rd PG) as well as of children from the first generation (1st PG), and the stratum of students. Moreover, a lot of informal conversations delivered deep information on the 1st PG stratum. Additionally, three interviews were conducted in JHB (1st PG, 1st CG) and a visit to the immigration district Yeoville covered the voices of 10 refugees (2nd PG and 3rd PG). Due to timely constraints, the voices of sons are not reflected, it were mainly female voices for those of the children generations. For the parental generations both men and women were represented more equally.

3.3 Free Listing, Object Picking, and Go-Along

Free listing was employed focusing on the empirical delineation of *home* with the leading question of "What is 'home' for you?" Participants wrote down their associations, ordered them according to their significance (hierarchization), and explained their meaning. Hierarchical ordering proved to be very difficult for most participants so that mostly the explanatory part was undertaken. Seven informants participated in this method writing down their associations and explaining them. Represented were the 1st PG, 1st CG, 3rd PG, and

students. In order to achieve this representation, contacts had to be established. This is why free listing took place at a later stage during the research. Awaiting and hoping for contacts to be established evidently demanded perseverance and patience in the process. The results were then not hierarchically structured as planned but put into categories for comparison (see chapter 4).

The cognitive method of free listing was accompanied by an activation method: Home can be also represented materially through emotive objects: Can we detect "some kind of continuity of feeling at home, even though people keep moving and setting up new living spaces?" (Ehn, Löfgen & Wilk 2016: 37). To this end, participants were asked to **pick** favorite objects and arrange them according to emotional significance when research took place at their home. This is one way to understand the figuration of life worlds since places such as home are made up of material belongings like clothes, CDs, utensils or other meaning-bearing objects (ibid. 40; Ploch 1994: 114). Such material possessions do also reflect attachment in the sense of the third foundation of belonging. How people present their social spaces relates back to how they act within them – this human-space performance is related to one basic assumption in cultural anthropology, i.e. the human need for a space offering security, action, and identity (ibid. 115). This activity was conducted with 1st PG, 1st CG, 3rd PG, and 3rd CG, and with students. In some cases, the activity turned into a cognitive method because informants named objects they could not just place on a table, e.g. furniture items.

Since all activities and practices are enacted in a certain locality, this notion is vital to operationalize: In order to accredit for attachment to places (Pfaff-Czarnecka) and also to local practices and meanings, the more traditional methods of observation and interviewing are extended with the qualitative research tool, named go-along (see Kusenbach 2003). It bears the potential to visualize significant spatial structures and meanings attached to them in everyday life in situ. It addressed research question 3 methodologically. Apart from visualization, this ethnographic research tool enhances our understanding of how individuals engage with their "physical and social environment" and how they "interpret their local environment" (ibid. 456, 460).[36] The tool furthermore, accounts for the shortcomings of 'hanging out' during participant observation and of interviewing or the dialectical interview situation as it transcends narrations producing a coherent set of data (ibid. 462f). Instead,

[36]This "proactive" approach extends Garfinkel's ethno-methodological inquiry as Kusenbach insists that transcending the role of a member proactively offers more profound comprehension of others and of everyday life experience (Kusenbach 2003: 461).

Go-Along promotes a shared, egalitarian perspective in a more natural, yet still contrived setting focusing on a certain activity or practice instead of putting talking in the center of attention (ibid.). This mobilizes the interaction between researcher and informant therefore literally setting navigation process in actual motion. Informants become the researcher's compass in this process. The interactional tool provides access to five considerable themes, i.e. perception, spatial practices, biographies, social architecture, and social realms (ibid. 466ff.). I accompanied two informants on their daily routes in Cape Town. Due to timely constraints, another two were asked to mentally recollect their daily navigation in Cape Town (see Chapter 5). References to places were also included in interviews in order to then map Congolese presence in South Africa, where people stay, where they work, where they feel comfortable and also where they feel unsafe (see Chapter 5). These schemes can map movement and interaction between people and spaces (Latham In Knowles 2004: 124). Local maps were then retrieved from these endeavors reflecting the 1PG, 1CG, 2PG, and the student strata. These illustrate social navigation of informants through daily life in the RSA as their moving is visualized. Also, individual experiences in these localities and resulting maps constitute Pfaff-Czarnecka's 'belonging to' assumption.

3.4 Data Analysis, Ethics, and Self Reflection

Data analysis already started in the field in form of reports: Reviewing and summarizing data, searching for patterns and stating first results was both productive and motivating. Direct exposition to the field, to data gathering in social situations and in field experiences was then further developed to an analytical process based on field notes: This development demands for a change of roles from being an observer to that of a commentator and also from being a writer to being a reader (Breidenstein 2013: 106). At this point, it is crucial to add that during and after the analytical process the researcher, again, becomes a writer, which makes this process a circular one in nature that demands for distancing. Distancing was further intensified with geographic distance upon return back in Germany: This newly found distance facilitated objectivity as in less emotional involvement, but also in reduction of data material and themes (see also Breidenstein 2013: 109 and Glaser & Strauss 2010: 124).

This process of re-reading, reviewing and summarizing asked for first, careful categorizations and organization (de Walt & de Walt 2002: 163). Le Compte and Schensul refer to this as "inductive, interactive, and recursive processes to build theories" (1999:15). Glaser and Strauss elaborated further on this explaining that data material is analyzed and compared to detect conceptual categories that can have different attributes (2010: 53). On the basis of such categories, concepts are formed that are both analytical and sensitizing to

create a significant and vivid illustration. The sensitizing aspect shall facilitate the reader's perception of personal life stories and humans behind the concept (ibid. 56).

Indexing and coding, thus, were a simultaneous process: Indexing from theory such as from Pfaff-Czarnecka's categories of belonging was descriptively employed in a first step. In a second step new categorizations and themes were added to a priori categories emerging from the data, which is referred to as coding (Le Compte & Schensul 1999: 166). Coding one event/occurrence for a certain category simultaneously means comparing the event and its category to other occurrences in the same group and in others that can be coded for the same category (Glaser & Strauss 2010: 120). Vital in this process is the comparison of groups within the data body: Groups compared in this case include the three different strata of Congolese diasporans in Cape Town as well as intragroup heterogeneities within one stratum, i.e. commonalities and contrasts between parental generations and children generations.[37]

In terms of self-reflection, it was a challenge to conduct Focus Group Discussions, which finally could not take place due to timely limits. Frustration was triggered when it came to organizing home visits and go-along sessions: It was not easy to find suitable times for the informants and safety came in as another factor because my informants did not want to put me in danger. Therefore, half of the go-alongs ended up as a form of mental mapping when informants would transcribe their daily routes to me. This however lacked the local experience including sensory and audible elements.

Moreover, volunteering triggered very profound sympathy with my informants and co-workers. French language skills allowed for deep conversations, comfort in talking even in secret, and also appreciation. A repercussion on this was that it rendered an objective scientific lens difficult at times due to strong emotional attachment to their emic perspective. Confronting and admitting such bias dangers is vital to any research process for the sake of explicit reporting (see also de Walt & de Walt 2002: 81). To overcome this approaching ethnographer bias, I involved with South Africans as well and searched for interview partners to restore balance in perspectives (see annex). This conflict brought to light the balancing act between understanding the emic perspective without going native. It demands for "participant reflection" in empathetic engagement (Finnström 1998: 19). Finnström states that such an approach does not justify the claim of having suffered with the informants

[37]Glaser and Strauss coined this process as "comparative analysis" employed in close connection with the sample. They subdivide this process into four phases, i.e. comparing the re-occurrence of categories (1), integrating categories and their attributes (2), limiting the theory (3) and finally indicting the theory (4) (2010: 116ff).

due to one's safe, privileged haven waiting at home (ibid. 17). I would argue against that stance as this explicit privilege rather enhances global injustice and privileges and therefore also one's suffering. Some stories that participants shared drove me to tears later on. Even if life circumstances are different, emotions can be shared. In the end, suffering cannot be measured or compared objectively. Related to this is the aspect of gender: As a young, female researcher informants do treat you differently than men, especially in societies marked by masculinity and patriarchy. Standing up to flirtatious advances and avoiding one on one home visits with male informants was also part of my research experience that should not be silenced.[38]

Volunteering therefore comes at a price, i.e. vulnerability. De Walt and de Walt refer to this as adopting "the path of vulnerable observation" (2002: 24). Awareness and reflection on emotional involvement and cultural enmeshment are a prerequisite to data collection and analysis as they bear the potential of affecting the same.

Chapter 4: Congolese Diasporans in Cape Town

Life realities, experiences, hopes, dreams, and fears of Congolese diasporans living in urban settings the RSA are reflected in this chapter. Firstly, groups of actors and informants are described. Secondly, voices and opinions of my informants give answers to the first main research question asking whether Congolese represent a diasporic group in the RSA. Thirdly, this chapter elucidates generation dynamics; and finally, it describes heterogeneities among the Congolese diaspora.

The three different strata and six different generations are filled with more details in this chapter, i.e. groups of actors are classified: Who are those diasporans? Looking at the sample, for the majority Congolese diasporans are political refugees of war plus their children. Also economic migrants and students searching for better jobs and education as well as professionals, missionaries, and pastors constitute the diaspora. Such actors can be categorized into affluent and less affluent with some overlaps (see Table 3). Further explanations on the different colors follow below on the detailed overview of informants (see Table 4, p.29).

Affluent	Less affluent
Professionals	Political refugees
Pastors	Refugees of war
Students	Students

Table 3 Groups of Actors among Congolese Diasporans

[38]Owen coins this "research as a gendered and embodied space" when her research interest was misunderstood as romantic interest (Boswell & Nyamnjoh 2016: 45).

Professionals in this case mean doctors, engineers, teachers and technicians. Pastors are affluent and privileged as they enjoy the respect of their respective parish and community and are less exposed to social insecurity or xenophobia. Lastly, a group of very affluent students whose parents stay in the DRC and finance their children's education from afar was added. Students are found in both columns since some also enter the RSA using refugee status and stay in townships or other unsafe areas. The latter also applies to political refugees and refugees of war. While for political refugees it is mostly men who flee from the DRC, whereas for refugees of war it is both men and women.

In contrast to professionals and pastors, refugees are mostly self-employed due to lack of legal support in terms of work permits and visa (see Chapter 6). Differences in financial and legal status and thus in social standing and in diasporic positioning (see Brah 1996) reflect certain power dynamics between those actors.

Pastors

The sample includes three influential pastors in total. The first one I encountered in Soweto; he has lived in the RSA for a period of more than 16 years and first came as student. He then followed his "calling" to become a pastor and now preaches both at a South African church and a Congolese church. He is fluent in various South African languages and preaches in Sotho and in Zulu. With his Congolese congregation he preaches in Lingala since "hearing preaching in Lingala is how you make yourself feel at home" (Did'ho – 1st G – P). He also connected me to Congolese families living in Yeoville, another district of Johannesburg, close to the Central Business District (CBD), known as one of three immigrant districts where a lot of crime prevails. We made our way there in the pastor's car with the doors locked. Inside Alain Makeba's music from the DRC was playing. Upon arrival, we heard five young men speaking Lingala in the street: "you feel like you're in Kinshasa", "coming to Yeoville is like coming to Kinshasa" (ibid.). The market in Yeoville is run by many Congolese and named Gambela after one of the central markets in Kinshasa.

The second pastor I encountered preaches in Cape Town's city center close to the Scalabrini Centre. In our first meeting at his office he explained the essential characteristics of his congregation: He outlined that Congolese do not mingle easily, i.e. those with a linguistic background in Lingala do not interact much with those in Swahili as well as the poor and the rich. Separation of the latter is also due to localities as the poor cannot afford to live in safe areas (see affluent vs. less affluent). Apart from this intra-community separation, he outlined major challenges namely xenophobia, unemployment, and unsafe conditions. He criticized that a lot of South Africans feel hatred, particularly black South Africans, towards

foreigners. Lastly, he spoke in his role as a father "To raise a kid here is difficult, I try to take them 'home' to Congo as much as possible … I need to protect my kids from this society" (Renaud – 2nd G – P).

Lastly, I met a pastor from Salt River, one of the resident areas for foreigners (Congolese, Zimbabweans, Angolans, Burundians, Zambians) and known for its high density of Congolese. One could see a difference among the congregation as those at the church in the city center were more affluent than the ones in Salt River. The pastor explained that for him receiving papers was no problem, since the church covered that for him. He seeks to support the community of Salt River, to "encourage people, to give hope / encourager les gens, donner l'espoir" while integrating South Africans as well (Laurent – 2nd G – P). He explained that his financial controller is a South African lady, that way they were able to open a bank account, which is often blocked for foreigners. Also, he envisions two main social welfare projects for a strong system of intergenerational support: A kindergarten shall be founded for the little children "so that mothers can go to work and support the evolution of the community" (ibid.).

All three pastors are significant to their respective community as they offer safe places (see Chapter 5). A strong sense of support and encouragement is transferred to individuals (see Chapter 7). The well-being and a positive development of the community for social empowerment is the intrinsic driving factor for all informants.

Professionals

In fact, many of my informants hold academic degrees or aspire to study in the RSA. However, only a few manage to uphold this social status thus avoiding downward social mobility. Professionals I encountered include a doctor family in Roodeport, JHB. The father of the family came to South Africa in the early 80s; he and his wife have four children, the last two were born in the RSA. All family members hold South African passports and they travel back to the DRC from time to time, which entails applying for a DRC visa. They do not consider themselves as refugees and distinguish themselves clearly from Congolese refugees who they know "suffer a lot in Yeoville". Such privileged life circumstances do not apply for the family of a self-made professional in CPT: The father of this family founded his own IT business on Apple products in the late 90s and manages to offer a middle-class lifestyle to his family. They own a car and live in a more or less safe neighborhood. Professionals present a minority among Congolese in the RSA and therefore likewise in this sample. The majority of Congolese are refugees and students (see below).

Political Refugees

Refugees in the sample are either political refugees or refugees of war. These two ideal types do also overlap since political refugees are as well affected by the ongoing war in the DRC. Political refugees sided with opposition parties back in the DRC and had to flee to survive. However, those who remain very much engaged in politics and are motivated to fight for change in the DRC are here considered as political refugees. Political refugees are male for the most part but women also start raising their voices in NGOs run by Congolese women. Congolese diasporans do not have political support from Congolese embassies abroad. Nevertheless, their intrinsic motivation to fight for their homeland is a strong characteristic of the diaspora expressed in political manifestations and marches. Those are organized by local, Congolese NGOs in Cape Town which thus raise their voice and demonstrate visibility (see more in Chapter 7). They are very passionate about their visions for the DRC. Within the frame of NGOs, they try hard to unite Congolese in CPT to increase their impact on the South African society and parliament. South Africa is thus used as a neutral platform to overcome tribalism. Unity among the opposition is lacking in the DRC thus further weakening its impact. Having a united voice among political refugees is a great goal of politically engaged refugees in the RSA. This struggle is a difficult one to fight since its basic platform is fighting its own post-Apartheid fights as in social inequalities, racialization, unemployment etc. Such are sensitive political and socio-economic circumstances to use grounds for yet further issues that lay far beyond South Africa's national borders. Finding common ground in those diverse uprisings and valid claims is a very ambitious balancing act.

Refugees of war

The second even larger group of refugees consists of refugees of war who flee from the DRC due to deteriorating economic circumstances as a result of armed conflict on their country's rich soils and resources. Violence in the Eastern Congo (South Kivu, Béni) affects women and their families since rape has been used as a weapon of war. Most women and their men are traumatized from atrocities committed against them by soldiers in the East. Most of the victims argue that Rwandan soldiers and Kabila's soldiers, who are often one and the same, aspire to eradicate the Congolese population via infertility of their women. Such deep physical and emotional traumas are imported into the RSA: Women explained that the RSA offers psychological support for women and many have undergone free therapy sessions. Psychological stress remains among victims and their families (see Chapter 6). Stories are devastating since life does not necessarily get better in the RSA. During xenophobic attacks,

violence against women, even pregnant women, continued in CPT. But not only during such high phases, even in normal daily life violence is a constant, fearful companion as some South African home owners used violence against their Congolese tenants when they could not pay rent on time because "finding a job is all complicated". Refugees from Johannesburg's district Yeoville as well as from Cape Town are being heard in this paper.

Students

Students represent the last group of the sample for this paper. They are enlisted on both sides of the affluent/less affluent coin as their backgrounds are quite contrasting. There are those who are supported by their parents in the DRC, it is them paying for their children's tuition to get a good education in the RSA.

This takes off a lot of pressures of these students who get to concentrate on their studies without worrying about accommodation or papers. The same applies to the second group of students, i.e. those who received a scholarship. Life is very different for the third group of students who enter the RSA as asylum seekers. They tend to stay in rather unsafe areas such as in Mitchell's Plain as they cannot afford to live in safer and thus more expensive districts. As asylum seekers they do not have a work permit, which creates a vicious cycle since starting or finishing a South African university degree would help to better one's economic situation but getting there is a difficult path. A lot of students who are poor and face such struggles find shelter in Congolese churches where they can sleep and receive food as well.

In the following chapters and subchapters diverse voices from within the Congolese diaspora will be presented to account for differences among strata, generations, and groups of actors. The illustration below depicts those voices from the sample as well as the quoting system employed in the following sections. This accounts for diversity but however bears the risk of confusion due to quantity. There were no singular vignettes chosen but a multiplicity of characters is included to present a holistic and valid picture. Starting with the yellow row, actors from the first stratum are reflected: The first two, Adèle (M) and Béatrice (D), are mother (M) and daughter (D), thus parental and children generation for that stratum. Adèle fled the DRC together with her husband as political refugees. She is the head of the *Union des Femmes de la Diaspora Congolaise*. Béatrice, her daughter, also founded her own NGO, Congolese Network Foundation (CNF) on the campus of CPUT.

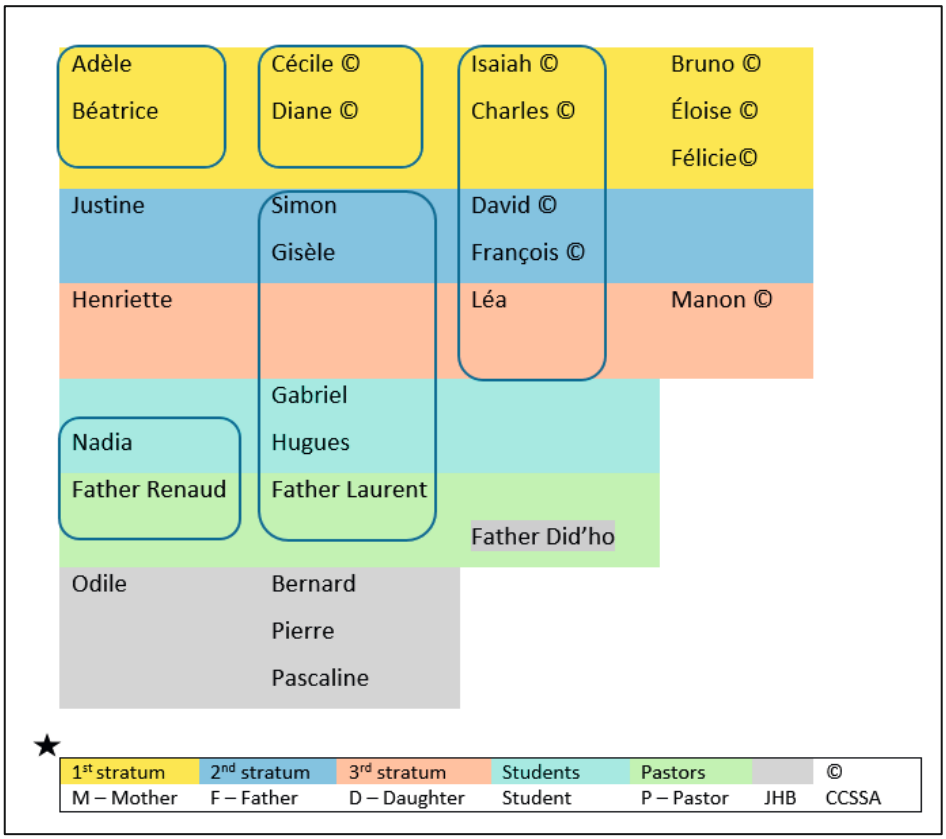


Table 4 Overview of Informants

The quotation would look like this: (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B)[39] and for Béatrice equally (Béatrice – 1st CG – D-A).[40] The next two, Cécile (M) and Diane (D), are mother and daughter as well: Cécile is a single mother who works in Cape Town's Greenmarket Square where she sells her self-made clothes and other items; she has managed to offer an education to her four daughters, Diane is the youngest. Diane was born in the RSA and will graduate from high school this year. She founded her own NGO, the African Youth Congress (AYC). Both of them are members of the CCSSA, abbreviated as ©. The following square encompasses three rows, i.e. three strata, the first four are brothers who arrived in the RSA at different points in time; Léa (Léa – 3rd CP – D-I) the last one, followed her father Isaiah. Isaiah is also the chairperson of the CCSSA and gate-opener to the research, he came to the RSA as a political refugee. He preferred to have his actual name included in this thesis, which is why it is unchanged. All four brothers are freelancers in IT, tourism, and arts. David is married to a South African woman; his business is quite successful as he even employs South Africans. The last three individuals in the yellow row are all members of the CCSSA: Bruno is also one of the chairpersons, Éloise works as a cleaning lady at the Scalabrini

[39]Mother to Béatrice
[40]Daughter to Adèle

Center; Félicie escaped from the Eastern part of Congo and shared her traumata that keep hunting her and her family in the RSA. The latter two, Éloise and Félicie, are refugees of war.

Continuing with the second stratum in blue, Justine is a remarkable young lady who arrived together with her parents and little sister in CPT, she founded her own NGO as well, Self-Defined, which spread to several African countries. The next square encompasses Simon, Gisèle, Gabriel, Hugues (refugees of war), and Father Laurent: The first four are all members at the church in Salt River, CPT, where Father Laurent preaches as a pastor (P). The group of pastors is highlighted in green. Gabriel and Hugues are students in CPT, which is why their group is highlighted (see also Table 3, p.24). Simon is married to a South African woman and explained the legal repercussions that marriage had on his wife (see Chapter 5). The last square encompasses Nadia and Father Renaud who preaches in the city center of CPT, at La Borne Church, Nadia is a student and belongs to Father Renaud's congregation. Henriette and Manon (refugees of war) are the last two to be mentioned for the 3rd stratum: Henriette teaches English at the Scalabrini Center but disassociates herself from the Congolese diaspora causing multiple displacements thus she weighed different forms of belonging to the disadvantage of her fellow Congolese. Manon however is also a member of the CCSSA and engaged with another Congolese member of the CCSSA; her legal status was unclear, which is why she came looking for assistance with the NGO.
Finally, Father Did'ho preaches in Soweto and Yeoville in JHB, which is why his name is highlighted in grey: Odile (Odile – 1st PG – JHB) is married to a professional doctor in JHB, the two have four children, of whom I got to meet two. Pascaline, Bernard, and Francois are refugees of war staying in Yeoville.

Their stories and statements are diverse due to different geographical, socio-cultural and biographical backgrounds. Some commonalities were still deduced in the form of dominant narratives. The first narrative is that of a highly pronounced work ethos among Congolese diasporans. The second narrative refers to the commonality of suffering reflecting deep-felt pain and imprisonment. It is closely related to the third one, i.e. perceiving the RSA as an enemy. The final narrative concerns that of a different mindset between Congolese and South Africans as well as intra-diaspora differences in mindsets.

4.1 Diaspora Characteristics

Which term succeeds to encompass this diverse sample? Congolese community does not do justice to such heterogeneities. Neither is the term 'Congolese refugees' inclusive. However, what can be detected as a common base – no matter which circumstances made one leave the DRC – is the commonality that the DRC turned into a place of no return for almost all of them. Affluent students have not seen their parents in ten years, political refugees cannot return as they would be incarcerated upon arrival and economic refugees do not see prosperous perspectives back in the DRC. All are torn between their life here in the RSA and a lost life in the DRC, all long for change in their homeland (see Vertovec & Cohen on "divided loyalties" between the host and homeland). These are typical characteristics of a diaspora, a "refugee diaspora" in Zeleza's denomination. What finally convinced me to employ the terminology of diaspora – or diasporans in a more active, agent-focused discourse – were my informants' voices. Supporting the academic stance to reflect emic perspectives, also emic linguistic choices and preferences must be accounted for. Those different groups intermingle in various Congolese organizations in the RSA, whose labeling substantiate the argument in favor of the diaspora concept: The names of some of the civil society organisations in the Western Cape illustrate that the community itself employs the term: *La Diaspora Congolaise de Western Cape* or *L'Union des Femmes de la Diaspora Congolaise*. The quote below embodies this approach and empiric justification for the use of that terminology.

> *It is our task as the Congolese diaspora to build the country, to work very very hard now. We have to do something urgently for the country …* [laughs] *… ah Carola sometimes it hurts, it's very tough. The diaspora supports its country throughout history. We are concerned, we want to find a solution for the better life of the Congolese. La diaspora congolaise doit être interconnectée globalement pour sauver le pays. We are in and out, out there [DRC] and in here [SA].* (Bruno © 1st PG)

This extract reflects an evident linguistic choice at first glance since the collective 'we' is referred to as "the Congolese diaspora". Such a 'we' necessarily includes 'social relations' among its members (see Figure 1 Diaspora Classification, p.8). It encompasses the first sub-category of "social forms" of the diaspora concept referring social relations and political orientation to unite in the case of Congolese diasporans. This unity is achieved inter alia via resource pooling on a micro- and a meso-level: Family members support one another with running their businesses. On the meso-level of organizations Congolese members do fundraising for informative events, for manifestations but also for social events such as marriages and funerals. Less evidently, the quote also shines light on Congolese work ethic: A very strong identification with willingness and ability to work hard was a dominant narrative in conversations and interviews. This relates back to 'economic strategies' as a

building block of diasporas in general. Determination to strive together for a better homeland again underlines social relations as well as multi-locational and transnational activities between loss and hope and here and there, the two main diasporic dichotomies or paradoxes. Strong desires are felt among those who are politically active who strive for political change in both places simultaneously, in the RSA and in the DRC – here and there. They are interconnected and affect one another.

This mental feeling of being torn and present in both places reflects the diaspora consciousness (second sub-category) in terms of multi-locality awareness. This awareness is not neutral but emotionally charged with a longing for a homeland, a desire to fit in somewhere despite the dominant feeling of being uprooted. Also this awareness is a politically and socially charged process since life in the RSA goes hand in hand with disenfranchisement, social manipulation, and marginalization (Grabska 2006 In Owen 2015b: 52). Diasporans are confronted with xenophobia and self-exclusion – the label bears both legal and social implications, it is a process, a bureaucratic label and a social position (Owen 2015b: 52).

The third sub-category speaks of cultural production as in transnational socio-cultural forms connecting the diasporans' notions of here and there in diverse material forms, which flow in both ways, it is not a one-way street of interconnections: On the one hand, Congolese in the RSA support their relatives back home financially to cover for their rent if they are able to. This flow goes the opposite direction as well when parents back in the DRC finance their children's studies in the RSA. Apart from money, other trade goods are exchanged which come in the form of food, particularly dried fish, and cloth. These are linkages that foremost apply to Congolese women who sew clothes for their children in the RSA and sell clothes and bags in marketplaces. Other women specialized in food items and sell dried fish imported from the DRC. Such transnational ties intersect the notions of diaspora, border and dis/location supporting the argument of a strong linkage between diaspora, border, and locality (see Brah 1996: 204ff).

These diasporic characteristics do not only refer to parent generations but are transferred to the next generation. Looking first at children who were born in the Congo one female informant, who came to South Africa at the age of eight, shared the following attitude:

> *So from this, the Congo doesn't sound like a safe place to be, it doesn't sound like a place where I would grow, where I could live comfortably, yes I guess it's my home, but do I wanna go back and live there? No. Not at the moment anyway. If things were to turn around, if things were to get better, financially stabilized and comfortabilized I'd happily go back I'd be more than happy to go back cause it would feel like home, and this is where I belong.* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

For her, home is a place of no return for the moment, but there is a strong and determined hope for things to get better. Despite the fact that she spent most of her infant and teenage and early adult life in the RSA there is still this sense of belonging to the DRC. This explicitly refutes Bakewell's presumption that diasporas end with parental generations.

During one of the film screenings of the movie *The Congo Tribunal* one of the children, who were even born in the RSA, said the following:

> *This is my language [Lingala] shame … ah sorry my people, this is so sad … it's so beautiful, I wanna go there, to my country.* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

That film screening was the first time she saw the DRC's natural environment and its beauty. It filled her with a lot of pain and joy at the same time. In total, three film screenings took place with various informants, each time, the event was accompanied with Congolese food that we prepared together. The significance of food as material culture to remember home and to create a "sense of belonging" in form of "attachment and belonging" has also been described by Henrietta M. Nyamnjoh (2018: 37f) for making the case for Anglophone Cameroonian migrants in CPT (see also Chapter 5). Watching the movie elucidated strong emotional ties with a country those children have never been to. This finding justifies engaging, social methods of data gathering. Also, it debases Owen's argument that the notion of diaspora ends with the first generation instead confirming its applicability and sustainability. Even though she was born the RSA, she associated herself with the Congolese population in the DRC where she has never been and which is an imaginative place to her.

Reflecting upon her life in the RSA she said this:

> *And living here, there's nothing wrong with this place but the problem is perception and the way people look at us as if we have nothing. If we go back home we have the richest minerals there, we have everything we need, there's a lot of things. I'm proud to be a Congolese because there is a lot of good within that country … The situation back home is hard because we don't have a leader fighting for us.* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

This is where diaspora intersects with belonging: She pronounced pride into her national origin despite the fact that she has never set foot in her country. It does not diminish her strong feeling of belonging as Congolese. She feels torn between two places while the imaginary, unknown place is still considered as *home*.

These two examples justify that both, children who were born in the RSA and those who came at a young age, continue their parents' and their own national roots into the present. The first story also included some deeper information on belonging as a process, that she actually felt the need to reconnect with her roots because she was so much entrenched into South African culture, i.e. regarding food and language. That is the stage which her little brother finds himself in now at the age of 17. In her early 20s, she began to remember her

Congolese history and made an effort to grow closer with the community. She even founded an NGO for Congolese students at her university, CPUT, which demonstrates strong social relations (diaspora as a social form). These intra-family differences even intra-generational differences nicely illustrate that belonging is bound to change, that some belongings are paused or stopped and can be rediscovered at a later stage (more on that in chapter 5). Her quote finally elucidates the dichotomy of here and there, of a longing for change in her homeland, a longing to return, which is not yet possible. This longing, this multi-locality awareness, continues to be felt among the younger generations despite making a living would be possible for them in the RSA. Their parents' diaspora consciousness is thus transferred to the next generation.

4.2 Dynamics among Generations

This subchapter presents similarities and dissimilarities among Congolese parent and children generations and also among the different strata. Generally, dominant trends are the parental fight for cultural preservation and parents' worries and pleas for their children's future. Among these dominant lines of culture and future further characteristics will be included, i.e. culture, future plans, language, and intra-diaspora heterogeneities.

Culture

Congolese cultural heritage or cultural preservation is highly valued among parents (see also Chapter 2.1: cultural production, diaspora concept). The first generations of migrants seek to pass their culture on to their children who grow up in SA, they try hard to teach them Congolese languages, and to prepare Congolese food – these are the main ingredients for their preservation efforts.

> *I tell my children, we are not South African, we are Congolese, we have to practice our culture: cook home food, we eat the way we ate at home, remind them, not forget our culture, Sundays are for Congolese food, pondu, manioc, pap [laughs] … I make clothes from DRC for them [her children], today you must wear this I say. And Congolese music: religious music and coffee music, that I like too much.* (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D)

Such practices create transnational socio-cultural forms in the RSA and thus represent the diaspora in terms of cultural production.

Some Congolese parents take that preservation a step further and want to found a center for Congolese culture including books from Congolese authors and on Congolese language thus creating commonality (Pfaff-Czernecka 2013) and promoting transnational socio-cultural forms (Vertovec & Cohen1999). This however, goes too far for some of their children who did not support the idea and were rather disinterested.

The children's generation is more engaged into the South African society. This fact is hard to accept for Congolese parents because they try to protect their children both in terms of safety and culture: They would prefer for their children to make friends with Congolese children, and they do not trust the system in the RSA. Some children are quite reflective about this tension such as the very first informant mentioned:

> *I've been speaking so much Afrikaans, I've been eating so much Afrikaans food that I don't even know what my food tastes like anymore, which is quite sad. So I started to learn how to cook our own food again which is great.* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

So she actually felt a need to reconnect with her cultural origins in the DRC.

Different from that there are also children who do not lose touch with their parents' culture during puberty but continue to value it highly.

> *Even though we are in a new country it is very important to keep our culture because that is where we have our roots and our identity. So it would be really sad if we forget about our language, our cooking, I would say then I'm lost because those things give us a sense of belonging and of identity, I can say that in my culture we cook this and this and this and it's a lovely meal and I can prepare it myself and I can be proud of it because it's something that the people of my country do and it would be really sad if my family would forget where we come from and I would embrace another culture that is not my own. So I'm really … glad that we still have that in our house.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

Future Plans

London, Canada, America, Australia – those are the places where children want to go study and where parents want to relocate to. South Africa is not felt to be a permanent place of residence, it is more temporary and transitive. Surprisingly, only such Anglophone Western countries and cities were mentioned, not francophone countries such as France or Belgium where many diasporans have relatives and friends.

Many high school students aspire to study abroad. This is true for children of successful, well-off professional families and also for those children whose parents struggle more to survive:

> *I don't want to stay here, there is no opportunities for foreigners here. I want to leave, finish high school and study abroad in London.* (Léa – 3rd CP – D-I)

Interestingly, even those individuals who managed to create their own business to pay for their children's education and manage to support relatives back in the DRC, are still inclined to leave the RSA. That is quite remarkable since they managed to find a way around the system, their pains and sufferings still dominate as in Maman Cécile's continued example stating: "We all want to go to America, not work the way we suffer here" (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D). Some others are more reflective upon those aspirations to change places such as Béatrice. She feels that moving to another country would bring problems as well, different

from the ones in South Africa, but it would definitely be a struggle since one has to start from the beginning. Plus, she knows her way around Cape Town. It is where she grew up, where she knows the food and the language.

> *I don't know any other place, I know my way around here, I know where to get what, and I feel like this is where I somewhat belong, and if I go anywhere else, I'd have to start from scratch, it's a pain, and I don't have time to start looking. … And for me, every country has a problem so you're running away from this country because there is a problem, you're gonna get another problem in that country in the end, so what are you gonna? Run away again? I think it's a matter of being stable and finding stability, and just stick to it.* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

Apart from the notion of mobility and changing places, parents show one important characteristic and that is future anxiety for the children's education. They value education highly and do their very best to raise enough money for school fees and materials. This strive after offering a good education to their children is prevalent throughout all generations and social backgrounds. It goes hand in hand with heartfelt worries on security: Parents are worried because a lot of foreign children are beaten at school. This is why for them the ideal scenario would be the opening of a Congolese school for their children. One predicament to getting an education are language barriers and discrimination.

Language

For parental generations it was key to transfer language skills in French and either Swahili or Lingala to their children. Such appreciation for languages was rarely found among children, i.e. except for three children of the professional doctor family, which elucidates that the value of language depends on social and legal status.[41] Their children are fluent in languages from the DRC, except the fourth and youngest, who was born in the RSA had a harder time to acquire French language skills. Their mother shared that for her it is vital that their children can communicate when they have visitors, anything else would be a disgrace because "they must not forget French, if we get visitors from Congo, they must communicate" (Odile – 1st PG – JHB). This trend is true for less affluent parents as well: Usually the youngest siblings have the least knowledge of their home languages but also older siblings struggle. Generally, those children who were born in the RSA know less of Congolese languages than those who were born in the DRC. Oftentimes children do understand Congolese languages but have a hard time speaking. Children are more in touch with South African languages at school. Depending where they live and where they go to school they either learn Xhosa or Afrikaans from their fellow students. They depend on

[41]Diasporic positioning here corresponds to one's status in the host society as a diasporan. Diasporic space means "the place where one is now living" (Brah 1996: 599).

social networks at school and are obliged to communicate. Parents on the other hand have a harder time to learn South African languages because they are less exposed to them. By the end of the day most of them gave up as well because South Africans would still hear an accent and consider them as foreign. Consequently, most parental generations did not want to put in much effort to acquire such language skills.

Justine's example here elucidates linguistic varieties in her household as well as discrepancies between older and younger siblings:

> *At home I speak English and Nyanja, that's from Zambia, because my parents and most of my family members went to Zambia*[42] *… and we also speak Swahili and Lingala, French just a little bit, I'm still working it. It's Nyanja, Swahili and Lingala in our household. And English because my sister was born here. So she doesn't know any other language. You can say she's South African. Me, I am African. Most people say I'm South African because when I speak my languages, my accent is different. So they would say I'm lost, because I grew up in South Africa that I embraced the culture here …* (Justine – 2nd CP)

Language also featured as significant in terms of data collection and rapport: Volunteering demanded for knowledge of the French language in order to be part of conversations. It also created safe spaces for expression in Anglophone South Africa. Vigouroux puts it like this: "The choice of a linguistic code by a speaker in a multilingual interaction where interactants share more than one linguistic resource can be analyzed as a claim of symbolic territory" (2005: 249). This was felt in several situations when informants wanted to bring across sensitive information that might be harmful to them. In the open space where we usually sat sensitive information was always spoken in French such as "l'insécurité est pire ici qu'au Congo, au Congo vous savez qui vous attaque, ici ça peut être n'importe qui. Chaque jour nous vivons dans l'insécurité. La plupart des étrangers veulent partir d'ici dès que possible" (Bruno © – 1st PG). Insecurities and uncertainties will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Intra-Diaspora Heterogeneities

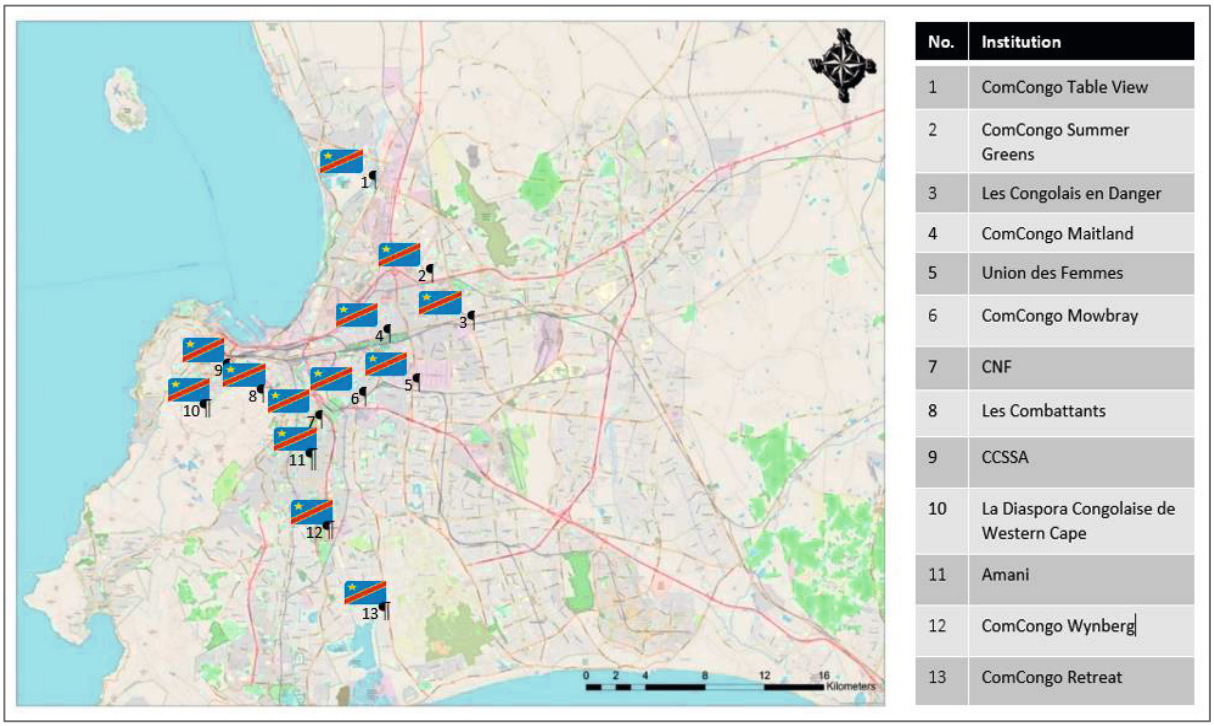
Comparing strata, generations, and individuals in this chapter among the dynamic lines of culture, language, and, future plans elucidated quite a range of heterogeneities among Congolese diasporans in Cape Town. They are not a homogenous group but show a lot of diverse stories, backgrounds, and opinions. Still some major trends, beliefs, and hopes can be detected, e.g. regarding religion, education, and cultural preservation. The last two, education and cultural preservation, are closely connected to social status, meaning that children of well-off families sometimes value Congolese culture and education more. Children of refugees are often ashamed of their origin and cannot show pride in their

[42]This interview elucidated the significance of Zambia as a transit country as well.

nationality. They do not want to speak Lingala or French but to fit in with South African children and prefer to learn English very well.[43]

Thus, legal status determines cultural value and diasporic positioning in a sense. Financial backgrounds extend further into divisiveness as with as the poor stay with the poor, and the rich with the rich. There is not much intermingling so that refugees stay with refugees and doctors stay with doctors. Apart from the divide between rich and poor, another dominant one is found between being politically active and passive: There are those individuals who are highly involved in political movements, and there are those who stay out of it due to fear, fear that something might happen to them or their families back in the DRC. Some of those who decide to stay out of politics exclude themselves from Congolese diasporans as a whole, which can be read as a form of triple displacement to coin a term for displacement from one's home country, host country, and the diaspora there.

> *I don't have many Congolese friends, our community is not good, I prefer to stay by my own home, there is no love between the Congolese because of different opinions, and everybody wants to be better than the other, the community judges each other … I don't get involved in political movements because I'm scared. I still have family there [DRC] and I don't want them to get hurt.* (Henriette – 3rd PG)



No.	Institution
1	ComCongo Table View
2	ComCongo Summer Greens
3	Les Congolais en Danger
4	ComCongo Maitland
5	Union des Femmes
6	ComCongo Mowbray
7	CNF
8	Les Combattants
9	CCSSA
10	La Diaspora Congolaise de Western Cape
11	Amani
12	ComCongo Wynberg
13	ComCongo Retreat

Map 1 Congolese Institutions in CPT

[43]This attitude was first described by a mother in Yeoville who laments that their children do not know much French or Lingala "only small small" (Pascaline– 3rd PG – JHB). Mai described a similar attitude of Cameroonian migrants in CPT who value Cameroonian vernaculars less than English because of South African linguistic hegemony. Migrants even develop negative attitudes against Cameroonian Pidgin English because South African English is the means for success in one's professional life. Emotionally Cameroonians remain attached to their vernaculars (2006: 140).

Intra-diaspora heterogeneities easily extend to conflicts and exclusion which also characterize the Congolese diaspora in South Africa: In Cape Town alone there are various different organisations representing certain fractions of the community. The multitude of organisations elucidates the scattered nature of the Congolese diaspora in CPT (see Map 1, p.38). Using SA as a platform to overcome tribalism, religious, and political differences, CCSSA seeks union among Congolese in CPT. Everybody faces the same challenges in the RSA. This common struggle can set the impulse needed to unify since Congolese settled here hopingfor change in their home country so that they can leave SA. It is interesting to observe that a lot of Congolese seeking help at Scalabrini or learning English at Scalabrini's English School, have never heard of the Congolese Civil Society.[44] Within their specific group they are closely connected on social media and share updates via the messaging service WhatsApp. This also applies to the receipt of news from the DRC as most reliable information comes from YouTube and is then shared via WhatsApp due to media censorship in the DRC. The 1st PG who engages in such organisations is strongly attached to the DRC. Their main goal is to fight for political change in their country. This is practiced from various political standpoints, which can be feminist (*Union des Femmes de la Diaspora Congolaise*) or otherwise progressive in terms of the political opposition of the DRC (*Freedom Fighters*). However, they struggle to find a common voice, a common ground, and therefore struggle to be united. "Kabila must leave" is their common ground (see Chapter 7). Still, there are also pro-Kabila members residing in CPT, those would not join such events, unless they are to report back to the regime in the DRC as spies.[45]

[44]This is a clear indicator that the NGO needs more public outreach as it is not well known yet – this is also due to its young age, since it was only founded in 2015.

[45]During one of their meetings that I assisted the different organisations and individual Freedom Fighters came together to discuss issues they are facing in South Africa with the Minister of Internal Affairs, but he however cancelled last minute in fear of violence. The discussion went into another direction, namely towards the DRC instead of problems in SA. The main goal is to use SA as a platform to incite change in the DRC since everybody is frustrated with the politics of Kabila who has been ruling unlawfully since 2016 when he should have left office. This is the common ground for most of the participants. But in fact, there are also those Congolese in South Africa who are in favour of Kabila. They are hiding from the Congolese community and do not mingle. There was a similar event once when one of the pro-Kabila members showed up apparently to report back to the Kabila regime what is happening in SA. He was thrown out of the meeting violently. This is another factor proving that internal Congolese conflicts do now change the South African social and political environment.

Chapter 5: Practicing Belonging in the RSA

Do I belong here? There are times where I feel like I should change my citizenship because I can, I'm allowed to, I took the application forms from Home Affairs … I've been here for 18 years and I still can't do it, I can't do it… I don't feel like I belong here. Yeees, given the evidence that I've been in this country for a long time, gives me a reason to want to belong here, but no, to be honest I don't think I belong here and I don't actually know where I belong. Do I want to go back to the Congo? No, why because of how the economy is there and all the troubles would not benefit my living at all. And I know a lot of foreign-nationals who come here and who tell me, no, you need to go to Europe, you can live better there. But I don't belong there either. … It's not where I belong and it would ***still*** *not feel like* ***home****.*

(Béatrice – 1st CG – D-A)

This quote taken from a semi-structured interview with Béatrice sets the tone for this chapter: Béatrice is a young Congolese woman of 27 years who came to the RSA at the age of 8 with her parents, her mother Adèle used to work as her hairdresser before she founded her own NGO. Béatrice grew up in an Afrikaans-speaking neighborhood. She is fluent in Afrikaans, which helped her to integrate at school. Nowadays, pursues her studies in management at CPUT. Her opening quote touches upon various key aspects of this thesis for instance on the category of legal belonging with reference to citizenship, on diasporic tensions, on loss of orientation, and on longing for a homeland. First, this chapter discusses different forms of belonging among Congolese diasporans. Afterwards, three subcategories are analyzed, i.e. materialized belonging, localized belonging, and finally longing for a homeland. Thus, answers to the second research question concerning forms of belonging and attachment are given within the scope of this chapter. To commence, categories of belonging, that Congolese diasporans practice, differ in terms of place and time. Thus, belonging is nothing static. It changes over time, and it is multi-dimensional since it is practiced at various places and levels such as the family level, the institutional level, and the national level (micro – meso – macro). Exonerating from Pfaff-Czernecka's three scales of analysis, i.e. commonality, reciprocity, and attachment, further categories of belonging deepen the concept: social, religious, legal, economic, political, cultural, and post-belonging (see Figure 2, p.40). These categories are ideotypes. They can intersect and reinforce one another. Also, they are to be attained fully in an ideal case to overcome uncertainty. Each category can thus be imagined on a

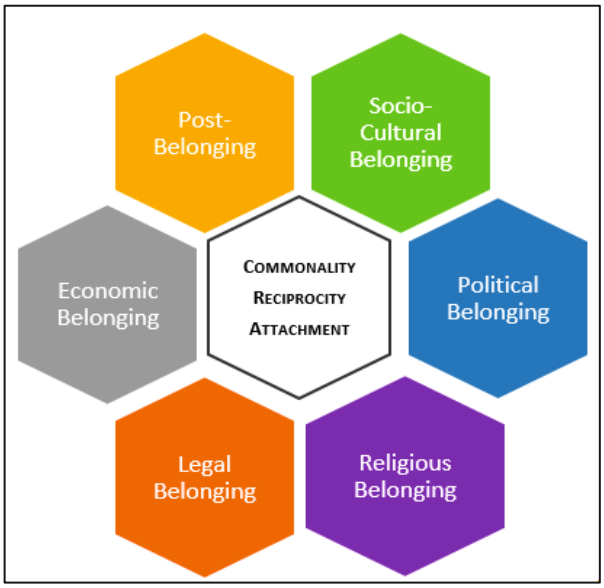


Figure 2 New Conceptual Categories of Belonging

continuum. Some categories of belonging are more accessible than others as the analysis below illustrates. Those parts of belonging that remain unachieved create their respective counterpart in form of uncertainties inflicting upon one's feeling of worthiness (see Chapter 6). Continua elucidating this proportion are illustrated for each category of belonging while each continuum reflects an estimated average level among all strata.

Legal belonging

Legal Belonging or 'legitimate belonging' defines the relationship between the individual and the nation state (see Youkhana 2015). In that sense it further intensifies differentiations between autochthones and allochthones or nationals and non-nationals (see Nyamnjoh 2006).

Legality and documentation are the major concern for migrants and refugees in SA. Restricted access to basic services such as documentation, safety, and medicinal services provoke alienation and separation into first- and second-class citizens. Interviewing the chairperson of *Union des Femmes Congolaises de la Diaspora* – Maman Adèle, mother to Béatrice, was of great value here since she underwent the whole process from asylum application, to refugee ID, to residence permit, to green ID. Legally she is a resident and so are her husband and her children. Nonetheless, they do not enjoy the same rights as South African citizens nor have the same access chances because "you still don't have the same rights, passport no is not valid, one cannot travel" (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B). Also her daughter Béatrice (see opening quote) appreciates all her mother's efforts:

> *My mom was very courageous and wanted to get all our documentation in order. At that time, I couldn't understand. From refugee, you apply for permanent residence, and after a certain amount of time, you can have a green ID. And she did all those steps. People look at you differently when you are a refugee, so it was not just another document. That was quite uncomfortable for me. With permanent residence people have bit more respect for you. And the green ID helps you get a job much easier, gets you into university much easier, almost like a South African.* (Béatrice – 1st CG – D-A)

This expresses explicitly that legal belonging is constituent to effective participation and fundamental to reduce uncertainties on the one hand as well as to increase (financial) security on the other.[46] It also elucidates that legal belonging equals capital: Capital in form of greater access to social and economic services. Her story reflects that legal documentation enhances

[46]"Juridical belonging, such as citizenship, is fundamental also to the sense of safety that many writers see as an important element in forging a sense of belonging (Loader 2006, Anthias 2006, Alexander 2008). Legal status or formal membership and formal belonging constitute a condition for effective participation also (see Anthias & Pacnik 2014).

one's diasporic positioning among other diasporans who still suffer from legal disenfranchisement and legal invisibility.

Despite all struggles on bureaucratic levels, some individuals manage to perceive their legal belonging even without proper, tangible documentation:

> *Mandela said that SA belongs to everybody who lives here, I am part of that everybody, we are paying tax here, if I don't belong here, give me back my tax* [laughs] *We contribute to the economy here, we are building the country, so I belong here. We found our space in the constitution.* (David © – 2nd PG – B-I)

David expresses reflections of his status in terms of economic contributions and the South African constitution. This approach demands for economic success and good information. These two together endow David with the strength to demand his legal belonging. Economic success reinforces one's self-esteem (see empowerment Chapter 7). In this sense, belonging can be converted into different forms of capital, i.e. employment, documentation, education, etc. and intersects with economic belonging. David here is married to a South African woman. So is Simon: He explained that such international marriages come at a price, a regime of romance so to say (see regimes of belonging). Marriage does not solve legal constraints of documentation but provokes subsequent distress for one's partner:

> *It is also affecting my wife: there are certain loans she cannot get because she is married to a foreigner. With property for instance, she cannot get a house. So that means I must have permanent residence or a green ID to qualify for a house.* (Simon – 2nd G – P-L)

Interestingly, even when offered legal documentation as in Béatrice's case (opening quote), many individuals struggle to give up their Congolese nationality, again elucidating this diasporic tension between *here* and *there* triggering a feeling of being stuck in a nimbus of uncertainty where to belong.

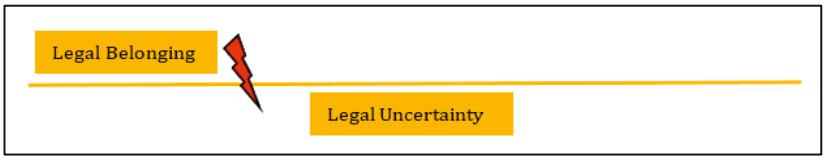


Figure 3 Legal Belonging Continuum

Economic belonging

"We are hard-working; we want to work" – this strong pronunciation of a profound work ethos is viral among Congolese diasporans (1st narrative). This makes unemployment even more bitter. Most Congolese diasporans struggle to find financial security in SA because of the country's economy. Unemployment is a national South African predicament. Therefore, finding a job is difficult for everybody. Consequently, social tensions arise when non-nationals are better off than nationals. Some jobs are for South Africans only: They demand South African citizenship, so that non-nationals are excluded from economic opportunities.

Many informants also expressed fears to take a job that a South African might want. This is why many Congolese diasporans work below their educational level or shift to other occupational fields. Many work as car guards, waiters, or cashiers. Such discrepancies between qualification and occupation cause frustration: "Le travail qu'on fait ici ne cadre pas avec nos qualifications, cela fait qu'on n'est pas à l'aise dans le pays on vit." (Gabriel – 2nd PG P-L).

There are, however, also economic success stories to tell: Jo for instance built a successful tourism business and employs South Africans. With economic success comes economic belonging, which in turn enhances self-worth and incites legitimate demands for deeper belonging in terms of legality since "I pay taxes" (David © – 2nd PG – B-I). Successful economic practices thus imply occupation and advancement bolstering self-esteem. Financial insecurity causes a lot of anxiety, psychological stress, and frustration. Parents are concerned about their children's education and future because they cannot provide what should be provided. This elucidates how different categories of belonging are complementary and presuppose one another as lacking legal belonging infringes upon economic opportunities and consequently hinders economic belonging. The continuum again reflects an average estimated level of those who found good jobs, those who freelance, and those who are unemployed. Since the proportion of those suffering from economic uncertainty is very high, the flash is placed in the center only.

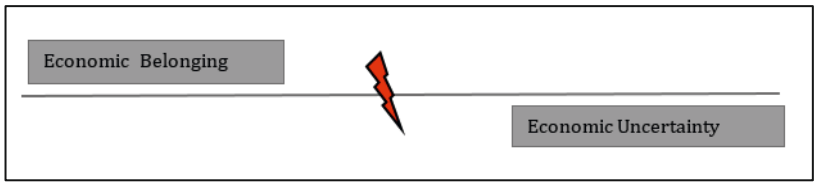


Figure 4 Economic Belonging Continuum

Socio-cultural belonging

Socio-cultural belonging includes one's language, mindset, food; lifestyle, and memory and thus reflects commonality. Usually, commonality also refers to religion but since religion plays such a significant and complex role in Congolese diasporans' lives, it has been dedicated an extra category (see below). In the special case of diasporans, a continuous tension between *here* and *there* is felt in this category of belonging, i.e. socio-cultural belonging in the DRC on the one hand and in the RSA on the other. For parent generations and generally those born in the RSA, Congolese socio-cultural belonging comes in form of anchored belonging. Diasporans'

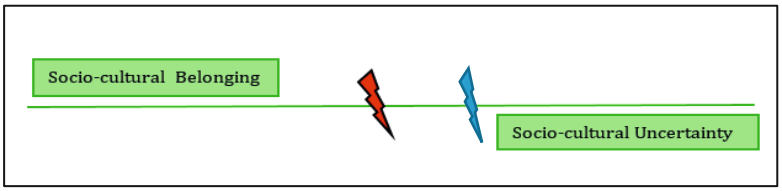


Figure 5 Socio-cultural Belonging Continuum

transitive, challenging and ever-changing life realities to new havens demand a source to hold on to, i.e. anchored belonging. Social ties with one's loved ones are kept via calling mostly, some even succeed to visit (see post-belonging). With regard to Congolese food, Sunday is the day for qwanga (Congolese pap), pondu (cassava leaves), matembele (sweet potato leaves), manioc, and salted fish. Some food items, particularly fish, are even imported from the DRC. The repetitive nature of such practices, for instance cooking on Sundays, elucidates the performative dimension of belonging. Transnational flows of food accrue between the RSA and the DRC connecting markets in both places.[47] Children generations describe such culinary practices on Sundays as "very special" bearing a "wow"-effect (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C).[48] Lifestyle is represented through clothing for instance one mother sews clothes for her children made with cloth from the DRC. Such material ties via cloth and food between the DRC and the RSA exemplify translocality and thus interlink socio-cultural belonging with the notion of locality and localized belonging (see Chapter 5.2).

Also, Congolese music, i.e. religious music and coffee music from Alain Makeba is very popular. Regarding language, it is mostly the parents and children who were born in the DRC who speak Lingala or Swahili. The last-borns usually understand it but do not speak it. Also, appreciation of Congolese cultural and linguistic heritage depends on one's socio-legal status, i.e. on diasporic positioning between pride and shame: Children of refugees who really struggle to pay for rent, food, and clothing, children are rather ashamed, they seek to speak English and want to make friends with South African children since they are living a better life. Another intergenerational difference refers to mindset, which is the 4th dominant narrative: Children argue that "Congolese have a different mindset, I feel the mentality wouldn't work, they operate differently, the thinking is different I feel, we might wear the same clothes and speak the same language but we have different minds" (Béatrice – 1st CG – D-A). When it comes to socio-cultural belonging in the RSA another intergenerational difference becomes evident: Parental generations rather seek integration with Congolese and prefer their children to make Congolese friends as they are taught the same values, which are more conservative and Christian than South African educational upbringing. Since children are more exposed due to education in South African schools and make friends with South African pupils, they speak local South African very well. Their socio-cultural capital

[47]Pelican, Tatah, and Ndjio worked on another case study of intra-African migration to the RSA, i.e. that of Cameroonian migrants: Transnational flows between the two countries are reciprocal in this case as well (monies to Cameroon, food items and prayers to the RSA) (2008).

[48]Henrietta M. Nyamnjoh argues that Anglophone Cameroonians in CPT "use foodways to preserve a sense of who they are in the alien cultural setting of Cape Town" thus creating "sensual caresses through the foods" (Nyamnjoh, H.M. 2018: 36ff.).

in the RSA is thus higher than for their parents. It also connects socio-cultural belonging to economic belonging as South African graduation certificates promise better employment in the future. This is why this continuum presents two flashes, one for parents in red and the other for children in blue: The one for children bears less uncertainty than for their parents since their socio-cultural capital in the RSA is higher than their parents'.

Religious belonging

Commonality includes religious belonging as another form of anchored belonging imported to one's new country of residence. Churches are places of comfort and safety thus interlinking religious belonging and localized belonging (see also chapter 5.2). Religion and faith ease the second diasporic tension between *loss* and *hope* towards the extreme of hope as pastors preach strength and self-esteem to their congregation. Religious practices thus trigger courage and optimism for the future and restore self-esteem: "On a toujours l'espoir, on peut pas perdre l'espoir, on prie, on prie pour les enfants" (Eloise © – 1st PG).[49]

Being member of a congregation comes with its price, i.e. its regime of belonging, since financial and emotional support are expected.[50] In that sense, religious belonging also falls into the analytical scale of reciprocity. Also, collective practices such as praying reinforce 'belonging to' as well as 'belonging together'. Congolese churches also represent governmental failure and lack of support as the following two quotes illustrate:

> *A sense of belonging is created when you form yourself into group for consolation: knowing that the government and the locals do not do a good job at hosting them, they form evangelical, Pentecostal churches.* (Did'ho – 1st PG - P)

Congolese pastors are even referred to as substitute parents for the young generation (students) whose parents reside in the DRC:

> *Pastor Renaud is my daddy, it's like a family of course there are disagreements but you stick together. Pastor Renaud has been a real father to me. It's really important, most foreigners are in the same situation that you leave mom and dad at home others don't even have parents alive, so when you come to a place like this meeting people like Pastor Renaud and Maman Clarisse they are just like parents. They guide you when you need guidance, they rebuke you when you need rebuking, they tell you the truth, … Church plays a very big role in my life...they have faith in me even when I don't have faith in me. They actually think I can do this, you discover things about yourself and that really helps you to grow as a person, when they push me, when I'm out of my comfort zone. … It helps me grow, it helps me belong. It's also a place of belonging. Obviously, the way I feel I belong at campus is different from the*

[49]The same stance can be found in JHB: "L'eglise donne espoir: many churches were established because people are tired. We want to live, we are not respected in this country" (Bernard – 3rd PG – JHB).

[50]See also Arthur: churches are thus a "system of reciprocity and exchange" since roles and expectations are clearly communicated, e.g. who is preaching, singing; giving announcements, youth leader, couples' counsel, etc. (2010: 90).

> *way I feel I belong here a church but it's still the sense of belonging. On campus you belong to a faculty, you meet people who love the same thing as you but not all of them are Christians ... I can't tell you what God told me because you would think I'm crazy but here it's like a safe space, what I say is gonna to be taken seriously* (Nadia – Student – P-R)

Nadia, a student enjoying financial support from her parents back in the DRC, stresses that church offers an environment of personal growth, a place where one can develop new skills.[51] She also distinguishes – even hierarchizes – different forms of belonging, i.e. localized belonging on campus as a student and religious belonging at church, while the latter is more important to her.

A fascinating inter-strata difference can be observed for religious belonging: Those diasporans who have mostly been residing in the RSA for a longer time decide to join South African or international churches instead, as they are looking for good environments for their children and to improve their language skills:

> *We have to be connected, I feel ok there, accepted, supportive environment, kids get involved, easily connected to South African community, they also speak the same language … South African church is better than Congolese to grow out of my environment, to be connected with other people, and to make friends with South Africans. We have to be connected, I feel ok there, accepted, supportive environment, kids get involved, easily connected to South African community, they also speak the same language.* (Bruno © – 1st – PG)

South African and international congregations form a safe environment for themselves and also for their children. Joining a South African church reflects reaching out towards citizens of one's host country:

> *It's better to meet other people also, they might want to know about you, that is a good environment for me and my children.* (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D)

These quotes by parents who arrived in the 1990s (1st stratum) illustrate an urge not only for a safe space in the RSA where many things and spaces are left unsafe but they also show a deep wish for involvement and interaction with South Africans and other foreign nationals outside their national group of Congolese. This demonstrates intrinsic willingness to exposure and to move out of one's comfort zone within the frame of Christian belief. New arrivals, i.e. those who came between 2008 and 2018 (2nd and 3rd strata), show a different trend as they feel more inclined to join Congolese services such as the one in Salt River whose pastor was already introduced. A group discussion we had after one service elucidated that most of the informants arrived only some three to ten years ago and feel safe among their fellow Congolese as stated by a young student who stays in one of Cape Town's Townships, Kayelitsha:

[51] See also Arthur: churches represent "collective self-improvements and group altruism" in that sense (2010: 90).

> *I like this church here, where I live I'm surrounded with Xhosa people but when I come this side I feel home, people speak your language. Eat the same food, people with the same background as you.* (Gabriel – Student – P-L)

Finally, churches in general offer safety, connectivity, and hope to their congregations. Church is an inclusive place, nobody can be excluded as long as everybody respects reciprocity and regimes of belonging. This category is the only one fully achieved for parents and children alike (see Figure 6). Each and every one is a profound Christian and no religious uncertainty could be detected, which makes this category all the more significant and worth an exclusive category.

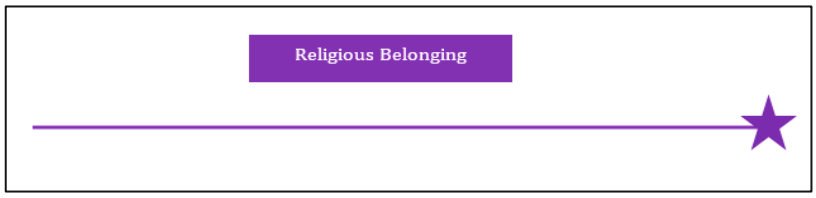


Figure 6 Religious Belonging Continuum

Political belonging

Congolese diasporans in CPT show that belonging and political practice are closely connected forming the category of political belonging. Since many individuals had the same political motives to leave the DRC, they found themselves united in the RSA. Although the opposition is divided in itself, diasporans strive for unity in the RSA to strengthen their political ideals as well as political power, thus their political capital and influence. Most political activists are found among parental generations using the RSA as a platform to raise voices. They are organised in many different Congolese NGOs (see Chapter 7.1). The rather high quantity reflects diversity in political dimensions, even in the RSA. Activities and support offered by these institutions and their impact on people's feeling of belonging despite uncertainty. Again, activities, participation, and dedication reflect reciprocity and regimes of belonging empirically. High numbers of membership in institutions elucidates how Pfaff-Czarnecka's 'belonging together' as a collective can be practiced in Congolese institutions. Collective practices such as marches enhance their sense of political belonging and strengthen their 'belonging together'. Simultaneously, political belonging provokes intra-diaspora division: Children either shy away from political activities because they are afraid of violence enacted by Congolese government officials upon opponents abroad, or they form their own platforms which extend their parents' vision for the DRC to a more Pan-African perspective (more on that in chapter 7). This is one main intergenerational difference. High quotes of involvement render political

Figure 7 Political Belonging Continuum

belonging a rather strong category enhancing their group consciousness as in 'belonging together'. Belonging is not fully attained because the political fight is far from over, uncertainty for the political future of the DRC and Africa remains.

Political belonging is interlinked to the diaspora concept as well: Politics are the bond between the tension of *loss* and *hope* in diaspora consciousness. Emotions of desperation and loss are triggered when reminiscing about the state of their home country – hope on the other hand incites diasporans to fight for political change in order to render their home country a place of return. They do not accept it as a place of no return but keep hopes up that circumstances will improve to have (economic) opportunities back in the DRC. The political crisis is the one main reason why Congolese leave their home country. Therefore, their diasporic consciousness is closely connected to a political consciousness.

The post-belonging

The final category to explore is post-belonging. It exceeds the diasporic tension between *here* and *there* to a new level of reflection on the one hand, but also incites precarity on the other. [52] It refers to those diasporans who had the chance to travel back to the DRC where they discovered that their country of origin had changed to such an extent that they do not fit in anymore.

> *South Africa is my second home, I stayed long time here, now that side [DRC] is new to me, it's not safe, SA became home, I feel better here than that side. I cannot adapt to that life anymore, it's totally different.* [she went back several times to see her mother, she had sent money to her to build houses for her and to rent out for her mother's safety] (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D)

Post-belonging offers a form of easement to the tension as it consoles discomfort in the RSA, it allows for more appreciation of one's country of residence. It also comes with building new forms of belonging in the form of family ties in the RSA:

> *I belong both sides, I import my behavior from Congo, but staying here for a long time I also belong here, SA is my second home, my son belongs here, so I belong here. (*David © – 2nd PG – B-I)

Transition and settling into a new place of residence inevitably adds onto anchored forms of belonging, i.e. new forms of belonging: Post-belonging exemplifies this transition perfectly illustrating that belonging changes and that different forms are weighed against each other even to the extreme of replacement.

[52]Meiu's work on Kenyan ethnicities and belonging in Kenya offers a vivid example of the precarity of belonging (2017). Meiu represents in the case of Maasai, Samburu, and Chamus. One of his Samburu informants stated that the Samburu lost a lot of "collective cohesion due to an ecological crisis". This is comparable to the case of Congolese diasporans in the RSA who face various difficulties to unite and use their collective power.

Since this self-discovery does not solve one's quest for belonging as it simultaneously triggers follow-up questions such as where *do I finally belong*, the estimated average flash is placed at the center of the continuum.

The following two subchapters will further elaborate on the analytical scale of attachment, i.e. materialized and localized forms of belonging. The last subchapter concerns the most vital locality of belonging, i.e. longing for home.

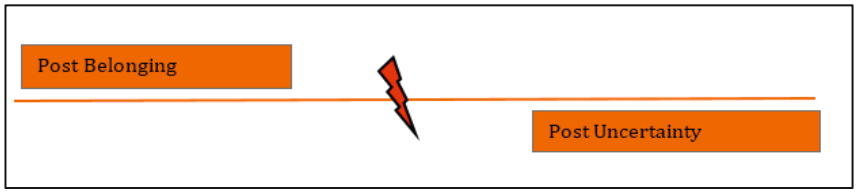
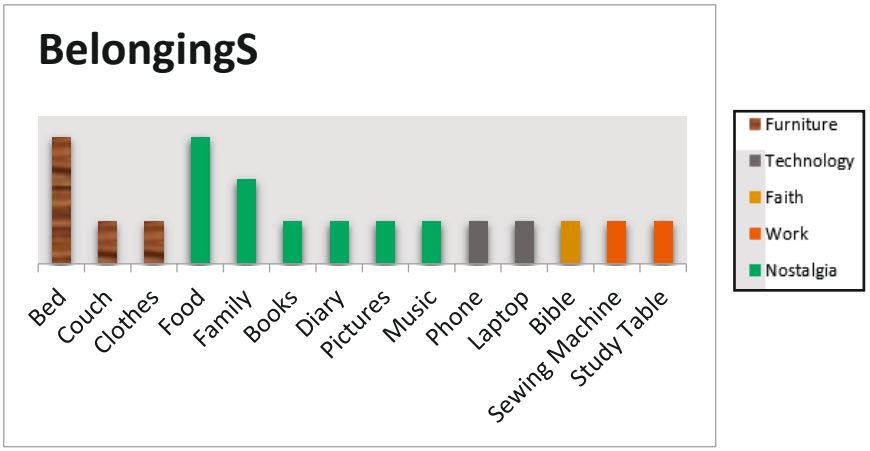


Figure 8 Post-Belonging Belonging Continuum

5.1 BelongingS – Materialized Belonging

The analytical scale of attachment means a strong desire for attachment in terms of possessions and places. This sense has been empirically translated into one's tangible, materialistic belongingS.[53]



Graph 1 Results of Object Picking for Belongings

BelongingS can be either in collective or in individual ownership; they reflect the connection between belonging and materiality in terms of material possessions. Methodologically, object picking was used to shine light on "a property of mate-rial attachments" (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2013: 17). In total, ten informants offered insights into their belongingS of everyday life objects:[54] Graph 1 illustrates the specific answers such as bed, books, phone or bible. The three top answers given are *bed, food,* and *family*. It was a fascinating

[53]The spelling with a capital *S* shall illustrate the linguistic double entendre of the concept of belonging, which is extended with the material notions of one's belongings that one possesses.
[54]Hölzle accentuates the significance of everyday objects as they reflect a person's biography (2011: 80).

realization that a question of objects might incite answers reflecting nutrition and family ties. The three top answers do also reflect very basic human needs to survive, namely safety (bed), food (survival), and comfort or love as a safety net (family). Once those are met, others follow. Food thus represents material culture as a means to build collective belonging and attachment in a foreign place (see also Nyamnjoh 2018). For both parents and children, food incites memories and imaginations of home. In a second step, all answers were grouped into five categories, i.e. furniture, technology, faith, work, and nostalgia.
One example of exact answers is given below (Manon © – 3rd PG):

- *Congolese gospel music and food: my cuillère, I like it so much, wooden grinder, Eboka, cleaning it to make it look new all the time.*
- *My Bible, I write paragraphs within, when I get into my bedroom and sit on my bed to read the Bible I know I'm home.*

5.2 Localized Belonging – Mapping Belonging

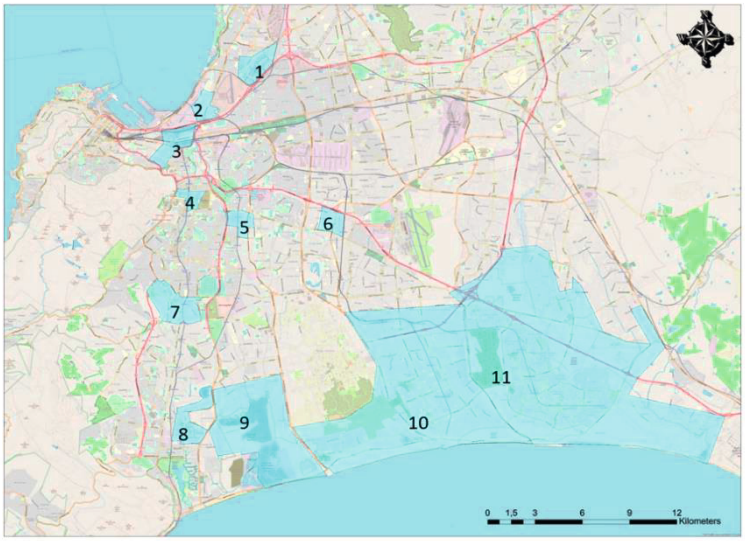
Mapping belonging was employed in order to elucidate geographical locations outside the self. It is a space-sensitive approach to individual practices enacted in certain locations and movements, not only fixed places, which illustrates the concept's dynamism. Mapping Congolese presence and visibility in Cape Town illustrates how they make use of places to visualize belonging and home in a geographical sense. It thus takes a step back from translocal ideas of international connections to instead concentrate on the local scene in CPT. This has been done via accompanying individuals through journeys of their daily life and also asking specific questions regarding where people stay, where they like to go and spend time. In this vein, the concept of social navigation and localized belonging shall be illustrated in a practical sense.[55] Different places reflect politics of belonging as well as inclusion/exclusion, hegemony and power, and thus social hierarchies.[56] Methodologically data were gathered via mental mapping of places of reference, such as residence, school, church, restaurants, etc., and also via three different forms of go-along as in ride-along and mental go-along for cases in which actual go-along was not feasible due to timely or safety constraints. Places covered are residence, safe places, favorite places, no-go places; and key places referred to as individual places of belonging in contrast to collective places of

[55] This analysis is also a vital reminder of the strong linkage between diaspora, belonging, and locality.
[56] In the context of the DRC it would be worthwhile reflecting to include Geschiere's sense of access to national resources (see Geschiere 2009).

belonging as in institutions (see Chapter 7.1). Those places informants enumerated capture localized belonging and social navigation in a geographical sense.

Residence

To understand Congolese localities in CPT, mapping residence is key. Cape Town's city districts are still highly racialized, i.e. one finds white people in this area, coloured people in that area, and black people in such area. Where do foreign nationals, particularly Congolese diasporans, create their place of residence in this racial mosaic? Map 2 illustrates that eleven main residence districts were deciphered in total:



No.	District
1	Century City
2	Brooklyn
3	Salt River
4	Rosebank
5	Athlone
6	Heidveld
7	Wynberg
8	Retreat
9	Grassy Park
10	Mitchell's Plain
11	Kayelitsha

Map 2 Residence Areas

As refugee camps are not allowed, refugees are forced to find housing in the city like nationals. The idea behind is to enhance integration, which remains a mere hope:

> *It's not easy to stay together with South African people, so we hide in expensive areas, like Parkland, many migrants, c'est calme, c'est cher mais pacifique, where it's cheaper it's more dangerous, it's easy but everyone is in one's own corner, not much interaction.* (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D)

As a consequence, international city districts emerged such as Salt River (Map 2: 3) and Brooklyn (Map 2: 2), where many foreign nationals intermingle:[57]

> *Here this side* [Salt River] *is like Congo, you hear people shouting in Lingala, speaking French. I come here on Fridays and leave on Sunday, I sleep here, I am comfortable, there's my people here, same thoughts, same mentality, same ideas, we understand each other much better. I feel comfortable in this place.* (Simon – 2nd G – P-L)

This illustrates that place and language are also deeply intertwined.

[57]Congolese are especially close with Angolans due to language (Kikongo and Lingala) and culture. With Rwandans the picture is a bit torn, friendships among Congolese and Rwandans do exist in the RSA thus one could argue that the acrimonious relation is slightly neutralizing in CPT. Some Congolese remain skeptical however and maintain their antipathy (see also Owen 2015b: 49).

> *And we live in Brooklyn now and Brooklyn is predominantly foreign-nationals, and … you hear the next person shouting … they say yeah Brooklyn is like Congo. Almost like Congo has a negative impact on people, or is like a negative place, you know. I think that is why it gives me a mindset of not wanting to go back because of all the stereotypical things people say about it. So I kinda feel like I'm 10% in the Congo at the moment. There are so many Congolese people and Congolese people operate differently, do things differently … Brooklyn is considered as a disadvantaged area and its's cheap, so affordable and unfortunately those are the uncivilized people. When I think of my neighbor for example, she's so loud, and somewhat inconsiderate…* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

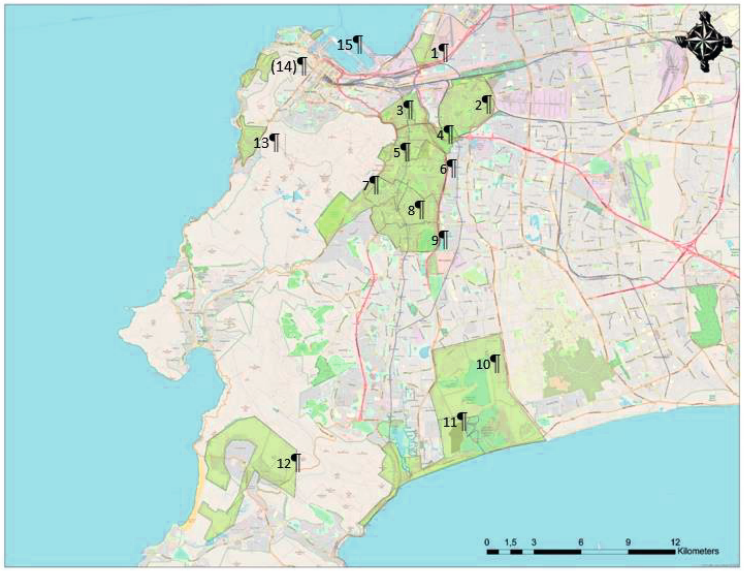
Whereas Salt River is characterized as international, Brooklyn is dominated by Congolese. As stated by Béatrice, this can be challenging for the children generation when they have become accustomed to South African districts before (her family stayed in a coloured area before). It confronts children with a clash of two places, i.e. children navigate. Even when parents might argue that it is beneficial for the children to be surrounded by fellow Congolese, the children themselves might have different impressions such as in this case. The demeanor of Congolese is even discouraging and reflects a negative image of the DRC translocally in CPT.

Apart from international districts, some diasporans decided to reside in the Cape Flats area[58] or in other Townships such as Mitchell's Plain (Map 2: 10) or Kayelitsha (Map 2: 11). For those who cannot afford high rents for more secure apartments, they end up in such areas. Mapping residences and further background information therefore elucidate local as well as societal inclusion and exclusion since those in unsafe areas are less likely to enjoy economic opportunities. Thus, power relations and social hierarchies are embedded in Map 1 (p.38) as well. Furthermore, such a procedure illustrates politics of belonging provoking differing levels of political and cultural recognition as well as economic integration.

Safe places

After having mapped residences, it was worthwhile to investigate in how far residences overlap with places that are considered safe and comfortable. Out of eleven, two places overlap, i.e. Grassy Park (Map 3: 10) and Brooklyn (Map 3: 1).

[58] Athlone is part of the Cape Flats bearing Cape Town's repercussions of segregationist forced removals in the early 20th century.



No.	District
1	Brooklyn
2	Pinelands
3	Observatory
4	Mowbray
5	Rosebank
6	Rondebosch
7	Newlands
8	Claremont
9	Kenilworth
10	Grassy Park
11	Muizenberg
12	Nordhoek
13	Campsbay
(14)	(Sea Point)
15	Waterfront

Map 3 Safe Places

New places that were added are close to residences but too expensive to be affordable. It is interesting to mention that the university area and the southern suburbs (Map 3: 5-9) are considered safe:

> *I feel comfortable in the Southern Suburbs. Like from Kenilorth to Claremont, Newland, Rondebosch, Rosebank. That is my, ah I can walk there with my eyes closed. And the Claremont Gradens, sometimes I go just to sit there, just spend some time there all by myself, because I feel very at home there, that's where I lived all the time that I've been been. My campus is in Rosebank so it's always the same trajectory. I feel very comfortable. There are other places when I go there I know like Table View I feel like it's a new country, new landscape, I'm used to seeing Table Mountain from Kenilorth, and at Table View it's another angle.* (Nadia – Student – P-R)

Alongside these spots, touristic sights such as Muizenberg, Seapoint, Campsbay and Nordhoek were enumerated as safe and comfortable (see Map 3). Those are very high-class areas known for their richness not only in terms of finance but also in terms of environmental beauty thus the large amount of tourists.

In addition, city centers and malls were declared safe areas where one does not need to worry too much about one's belongings being mugged: "I feel safe in places like town, because town is big, it's a city place, there are lot of people around, you can walk around with your phone, your devices" (Justine – 2nd CP). In fact, areas that are considered as safe can be considered unsafe at the same time, which is why Sea Point (Map 3: 14) is inserted in brackets. This discovery is based on the following comment:

> *And I realized even when you're in the nicest of places, in the safest of places in Cape Town, there are people who are willing to do crime. And I remember I was going from Sea Point, a very posh and nice area, I was walking from school, and a guy came and wanted to hijack my phone because I was walking with earphones and I screamed and then he ran away, but I was in shock because I almost got robbed in Sea Point. So I realized that no matter where you are, people always try to take opportunities. And that was pretty sad.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

It is this sudden realization of imaginative safety, this realization of being lulled into a false sense of security which is alarming. It is alarming in a sense that safe places can turn into unsafe places anytime, anywhere, unexpectedly. It thus aggravates bodily harm uncertainty immensely (see Chapter 6). Such an ambiguity relates back to diasporic positionings of dichotomies as in *here*/*there* and *loss*/*hope*. A third dichotomy can thus be added to these existing two (Vertovec & Cohen), which is *safe*/*unsafe*. Therefore, supposedly safe places can turn into no-go areas, rendering the two categories ideotypical.

No-go places[59]

No-go areas refer to the Cape Flats and townships in general. Congolese and other foreign nationals alike avoid these places and are afraid of going there[60]. However, some still end up living there (see Map 2) and find their strategies to cope (see Chapter 7). The majority however is obliged to find safer and thus more expensive, places to reside. The quote below illustrates the fear incited among foreigner due to xenophobic outbreaks in the last decade. As a consequence, everybody keeps their distance, and everyday life also becomes somewhat unaffordable as high rents, school fees, and nutrition are added onto one another exceeding salaries of the most:

> *On se méfie de vivre avec les Sud-Africains à cause de leur comportement 2008. Ils sont xénophobes, ils ont un esprit de discrimination raciale, ils n'aiment pas vraiment les étrangers. Donc nous sommes obligés de vivre là où il y a la sécurité, la demande une dépense pour que vous soyez un peu sécurisé, mais nos salaires ne sont pas suffisants pour ces loyers, ça nous empêche aussi à soutenir la famille au pays. Donc notre vie ici n'est pas une bonne vie.* (Gabriel – Student – F-L)[61]

Such no-go places are thus appropriated by South Africans, in particular black South Africans; access for foreigners is very limited, even dangerous, and most diasporans vocalized that they avoid them by all means: "Il y a certains quartiers ou en tant qu'étranger on peut pas y aller surtout les quartiers des noirs, là c'est vraiment dangereux" (Francois © – 2nd PG – B-I).[62] Since only a minority of diasporans can afford high-class, secure areas,

[59]The Map for no-go places is found in the Annex.
[60]The same attitude and fear was found in JHB: Congolese were surprised to hear that I am heading there and could not believe that a Congolese pastor stays there. He in fact loved the area. His religious status and authority was above his status as a foreigner and thus allowed for him to stay there.
[61]English translation: "People are suspicious of living with South Africans because of their behaviour in 2008. They are xenophobic, they have a spirit of racial discrimination, they don't really like foreigners. So we are forced to live where there is security, it requires an expense for you to have some security, but our salaries are not enough for those rents, it also prevents us from supporting the family back home. So our life here is not a good life."
[62]English translation: "There are certain neighborhoods where as a foreigner you can't go, especially the black neighborhoods, where it's really dangerous."

one's walk home can be quite uncomfortable due to high crime rates in and around township areas, where rents are cheaper: "I feel unsafe when I go to townships or when I go home, it's an area near townships, so there is crime where I live" (Justine – 2nd CP).

Key places

> *L'endroit agréable pour moi c'est l'église, c'est là où je me sens plus à l'aise. Dans la famille des Chrétiennes je me sens à l'aise.* (Gisèle – 2nd G – P-L)[63]

This introductory quote connects key places in the challenge of navigation for many diasporans, i.e. church and home as in family. They function as reference points, as a navigating needle so to say. Christian faith and religious figures offer support and guidance that makes churches a safe place, a place of solitude when uncertainty becomes overwhelming. The fellow congregation evolves into family, a substitute family for the loved ones back in the DRC. Likewise, pastors become father figures. A strong attachment (see Pfaff-Czernecka's third analytical category) is felt towards churches. Membership demands for loyalty and time and offers structure and safety in return. Churches therefore fulfill Congolese diasporans longing to belong, as churches are key places for belonging. Everyone is united in faith collectively practiced via songs and prayers.

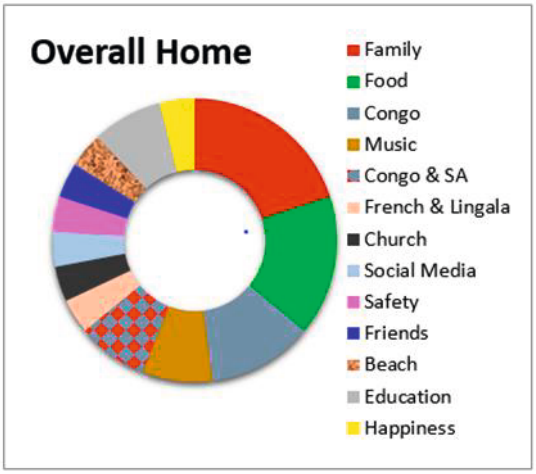
Another key place worth adding to Pfaff-Czernecka's list (see Chapter 2.3) is the market place: It is here that translocal business ties between the RSA and the DRC materialize to sell African fashion in CPT. It is also a place of inter-African connectivity since merchants from the DRC, Kenya, and Angola closely cooperate as they share the same linguistic base, i.e. Swahili. Sharing the same language is a pivotal component interlinking the scales of attachment with commonality. Such informal market places and business activities are often final options of last resort for asylum seekers and diasporans to be economically active to survive. Therefore, place and economic belonging explicitly intersect as well. Further individual key places of reference in one's own Cape Townian compass were deciphered in go-along or ride-along sessions: Those referred to everyday routes and habits including places of necessity, i.e. passing by one's bank or grocery story. The most important place of attachment of all, home, is discussed in the following sub-chapter.

[63]English translation: "A nice place for me is the church, it's where I feel more comfortable. In the Christian family I feel comfortable."

5.3 Be-Longing for a Home[64]

A key component of attachment to places is to be longing for a home. Where is the central haven called home in the life of Congolese diasporans in CPT and JHB? And what does it consist of? Via free listing along the question *what is home?* informants wrote their associations on index cards and later explained what each item meant. Graph 2 illustrates free listing results entitled overall home, i.e. it reflects summarized answers of all generations and strata.

The top three answers were *family*, *food*, and *Congo* that interlink the scales of commonality and attachment. It is remarkable as well that the two categories of family and food also featured as belongingS therefore merging belongingS with home. The third answer here, Congo, reflects a deeply felt longing to return to Congo. An intergenerational differentiation was detected here as this state of being in longing for the DRC was more strongly asserted among parental generations, the children generations do not feel the same depth of longing for the DRC.



Graph 2 BelongingS in terms of Material Possessions

> *When there's peace in Congo, when everything is fine, I will decide to go back to Congo. Your place is your place. But now there's no peace, what is happening now is not right, it's not good, it's not good.* (Odile – 1st PG – JHB)

Usually, for parental generations the answer to where home is and what constitutes it, is very clear as in David's example:

> *Home never changes, home is home, SA is the country of my residence, Congo can become a holiday place since his father has a great fruit farm that his children can develop: there are fresh fruit trees 20 types of mango trees, also avocado, pineapple, and oranges, we can build a great guesthouse, it's not far from the airport, and there is beautiful nature. Home is where the project is unfinished, the land is very fertile, here [South Africa] there is structure and economy. God bless our home, it's a sweet place, a small paradise.* (David © – 2nd PG – B-I)

Home in the DRC is romanticized and equalized to paradise. Parents often dwell in nostalgia about the DRC. For children, on the contrary, home became much more connected to family and less connected to a country:

[64]Belonging here has been hyphenated to illustrate two aspects: Firstly, 'longing', as in longing for a home, is part of belonging; secondly 'be-' stands for the continuity of that feeling, of that desire, it is a constant companion, to **be** in the state of **longing**.

> *Home is where I live with my parents. There's no place like home. I want to go to Germany, but I would still remember where my home is, where my parents are, where they raised me because where I stay now is a home since primary school. Even though we are just renting, it's the only home I know, and that is the place I would show them. And that is my first home.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

The DRC is a place of origin, a place of reference and somewhat home for some children who end up in confusion of where they belong and where home is:

> *Home is very confusing for me, all my life I have known home to be here, home is where my family is, home is where I stay, where I sleep, that is home for me, and that is here. But when you go down to history and you think, then you find out that my real home is actually in the Congo, that's where I was born, that's where my people are. I want to belong here, I don't actually don't know where I belong, language struggle. I feel like I'm stuck, I'm a bit frustrated with this country.* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

What remains a constant is that home and family are used in a synonymous sense among children generations. Another interesting discovery is the hierarchization of different kinds of homes as in first home, second home, temporary home, permanent and imaginative home. This hierarchization reflects the significance of one's place of origin (see also Geschiere).

> *I do believe you have a place you call home, it's very important. But I realized one thing as a foreigner, wherever we leave for long, is our temporary home, and the permanent home is where we come from ... I always believing* [sic] *one day I will change people life in improving their social life that why where I come from will be the permanent home. I feel home when I'm surrounding my brothers (Cape Town), when I speak to my dad over the phone, when I'm eating occra, dongo dongo.* (Isaiah © – 1st PG – F-L)

Hope to returning to one's permanent home, one's original home remains strong. Multiple locations of home which can be related to differences between home back in the DRC and home in the RSA also considering material belongings in the social space (see also Pfaff-Czernecka on multilocality).

> *Home is in Congo, in Kinshasa but there is no money to go home; South Africa is not my second home because I must feel safe and loved. The US is my second home.* (Roxane – 3rd PG)

Despite the fact that Nora has never been to the US it feels to her like a future, imaginative home. Many parental Congolese diasporans are eager to return home or to continue to USA or Canada (see Owen In Boswell and Nyamnjoh 2016: 34) whereas many children generations are less eager to emigrate as they would "have to start from scratch again" (Béatrice & Nadia). As their socio-cultural belonging is more enhanced than their parents', their social networks are a safety net, which makes leaving the RSA more attractive for them than for their parents. Children usually speak South African languages and know how to navigate safely. This illustrates a close link between home and socio-cultural belonging.

Home is also connected to Congolese institutions in CPT (see Map 1, p.38) since "interconnections and identification with home are given resonance" through cultural associations and shared essences that form an institutional framework (Arthur 2010: 90).

In fact, for those parents that find themselves somewhere on the continuum of post-belonging it is easier to embrace the RSA as a place of residence and a home:

> *South Africa became home, I had the chance to go home after I got permanent residence, mais home n'est plus le meme, ah il vaut mieux se retourner en Afrique du Sud, and the kids grew up here, they speak Afrikaans, they play in the same soccer team but don't have the same privileges, so they feel like they belong here.* (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B)

They realized that the DRC changed drastically to such an extent that they cannot identify with it anymore. The quote again stems from Maman Adèle who managed to climb the bureaucratic visa ladder to one of the highest rungs. Thus, legal belonging and home are inextricably linked. Belonging and homing both depend on social and legal belonging. A further interlinkage is found between home and religious belonging since "hearing preaching in Lingala is how you make yourself feel at home" stated one of the Congolese pastors (Did'ho – 1st G – P). Church as a safe place feels like home and is further deepened with linguistic commonalities and food (see Chapter 4.3).

Chapter 6: Insecurities, Uncertainties, and Afrophobia in the RSA

> *Insecurity is worse here than in Congo, in Congo you know who attacks you, here it can be anyone* [we were talking in the open office space in Scalabrini, and he switched to French to say this secretly] *everyday we live in insecurity. Most foreigners want to leave here as soon as possible. La loi doit protéger but it doesn't protect us from xenophobia, we live in an unclear situation, this is why our association is here to defend because we are humans.* (Bruno © – 1st PG)

This entry quote illustrates that insecurity and uncertainty are constant threats in Congolese diasporans' lives in South Africa. It stresses the aspect of precarity in the discussion on belonging (see post-belonging). On the belonging continua, unfulfilled belonging potentials are filled with respective uncertainties that diasporans have to face. There are legal uncertainty, economic uncertainty, socio-cultural uncertainty, political uncertainty, post-belonging uncertainty, and finally bodily harm uncertainty. Thus it is more appropriate to pluralize the term into uncertainties. The following two subchapters address such uncertainties in further detail and display closer attention to the issue of afrophobia in the RSA.

6.1 Uncertainties and Insecurities

Legal uncertainty

The first form is legal uncertainty: Congolese refugees feel legally uncertain because they are unable to receive legal residence permits in SA in case they arrived after 2001. Being forced to live a life in an illegal vacuum for an uncertain amount of time creates feelings of displacement in the new locality. It recreates doubts on their value as a human being; it

makes refugees a sub-category of humanity, being considered as lesser human beings.[65] This lack of legal certainty results in a feeling of stagnation: Diasporans do not see development here in the RSA neither do they have any possibility of returning home to the DRC. A lot of informants compared it to being imprisoned in the RSA, as there is no going further and no going back. This stance reflects narrative number three of the RSA as one's enemy.

This form of uncertainty originates from an asylum seeker system that is dysfunctional (see also Chapter 1.2). Receiving visas and work permits is an immense struggle. Individuals are not recognized by law but instead discriminated against at RROs.

The refugee reception system envisaged in the legislation consists of four parts: entry, application, hearing, and documentation. The first stop after the entry in the Republic of South Africa is the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) which issues temporary permits to asylum seekers and redirects to a Refugee Reception Office (RRO). In a second step, official claims for asylum are then made at one's respective RRO "in a free, transparent, and accurate manner" according to the law (Vigneswaran 2008: 44). This includes that the RRO officer informs the applicant of his or her rights and obligations, provides assistance with forms, offers interpretation, and ensures confidentiality (ibid.). In a third step the RRO officer hands the application to a Refugee Status Determination Officer (RSDO) who determines the applicant's status in South Africa. This includes another interview with the applicant. The fourth and last step in the legislation provides temporary protection during the period of status determination to prevent deportation. This temporary asylum seeker permit needs to be renewed by RRO officers at regular intervals. This determination system contains "strong procedural safeguards for applicants" which is why Vigneswaran coins it a "Global North-style status determination system, albeit located in the Global South." (ibid. 42).

The author evaluated this system empirically with a sample of 400 applicants who were interviewed in 2007. His study revealed diverse barriers in the system, the first one already in the beginning since many interviewees had been denied their right to apply at DHA offices already. Their applications were denied by DHA officials, which demands for an explanation (ibid.). Receiving an appointment at a RRO is equally difficult with many individuals even sleeping in front of RROs to keep their spot in line (ibid.: 46). Queuing, often with children, is actually dangerous: About 33% of informants "reported being hurt, threatened, or robbed whilst waiting in the queue" (ibid.). Furthermore, informants reported that they received little to no help on filling out forms, and were not informed about their rights, e.g. of bringing

[65]Vigneswaran also cites a anonymous asylum seeker who feels the same way: "You feel like you are dead and not human anymore." (2008: 41).

a lawyer to their appointment, nor their duties for instance of bringing evidence to their case for the appointment. This is read as lack of preparation by applicants while in fact "intentional" lack of information by officials provoked this situation (ibid.: 47). Women's request for having a female officer is often neglected. Translation is often not provided when needed. Lastly, the RROs duty of issuing permits is a process characterized by many delays: The majority of applicants do not receive protective documentation upon their first appointment, which states that they have lodged their application for asylum. Also, asylum seekers need to renew their documentation five times a year. Usually it takes another five days and subsequent appoints to receive a new permit (ibid.). This fact causes difficulties for asylum seekers in daily life, given the frequency of police controls in public. This seems more so the case in Johannesburg than in Cape Town according to informants for this thesis: Members of the CCSSA confirmed that police presence is higher in JHB than in CPT and that controls are much more frequent also in JHB than in CPT.

NGOs such as the Scalabrini Center try to compensate for this lack of information and service by offering legal assistance and information on legal rights.

Arrival times make a significant difference on the likeliness of receiving documentation[66] due to changes in legislation and Black Economic Empowerment (BBE) measures:[67] Those who arrived before 2008 managed to find their way through the different steps towards a Green ID which is equivalent to a lifelong visa and work permit. This type of documentation is officially called permanent residency. It resembles the green South African passport but does not endow foreigners with the same rights as citizens for instance Green ID holders are not entitled to participate in governmental elections. Therefore, permanent residency or a Green ID does not equal citizenship. In some cases the identification code on the card is invalid due to untraceable proceedings at RROs, which makes it impossible for individuals to apply for visas to other countries or yet to travel to other countries.[68]

The two stories of Maman Adèle's family (1st stratum) and of Manon (3rd stratum) will fill these legal facts with life: Maman Adèle was determined to get all possible documentation for her family starting with asylum applications for herself and her husband when the children were still minors. She succeeded in getting refugee status for herself and her

[66]This is also the reason why strata within the sample were created.

[67]My informants connected that date to BEE. In the course of that initiative a lot of officials at the DHA offices were replaced for black personnel. Informants complained that with this change a lot of expertise and actual papers got lost and that xenophobic treatment increased from black personnel towards black foreigners.

[68]"In South Africa the continental 'African' refugee is constructed as a burden on state resources." (Owen 2015b: 52).

husband, a process that nowadays takes more than ten to fifteen years. After that first step, the next rung on the documentation ladder is the one of residence permit in the RSA. After another five years of residence one can further apply for a Green ID. Meanwhile, files of her children got lost at the DHA, which was around a time when her son was meant to participate in a football tournament with his team outside the RSA. They managed to get enough funds together with South Africans during a fundraiser. Finally, he was still not allowed to leave. "There are people who are really willing to help, DHA don't know what to do with refugee children when parents have the residence permit or South African citizenship, so papers are a struggle". The same happened to her daughter a few years ago when in fact all family members had Green IDs: Béatrice wanted to spend a year in the US as an Au Pair, had found a host family and was ready to go. In the end, the American embassy could not process her visa application because her ID code is invalid due to proceedings at the DHA, as her mother explained.[69] So even after having succeeded all bureaucratic hurdles, one is still stuck and not free to move. The last resort would be applying for South African citizenship, which can take years as well. The issue that comes in on top of bureaucratic ones, is emotional and nostalgic:

> *There are times where I feel like I should change my citizenship because I can, I'm allowed to, I took the application forms from Home Affairs, and I promise you, I'd sit with it and I get half-way through and then decide not to because the Congolese constitution only gives you one citizenship. So if you decide to give it away, you give it away. I've been here for 18 years and I still can't do it, I can't do it … you don't want to lose your identity.* (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)

This quote from Maman Adèle's daughter reflects an inner tension, yet another tension that diasporans cope with on a daily basis, which is related to one's identity, origin, and integrity. It tests one's moral values and solidarity with one's home country asking to weigh pros and cons with high emotional weight.

The second story on legal uncertainty is of a young woman Manon, who came to the RSA in 2008 at the age of 19 and joined her uncle in the RSA. Unfortunately, she could not join him in legal terms on his papers since she was no longer a minor. Hence, she applied for asylum in 2008. Ten years later her case has been finalized and on that day she came to the CCSSA because she received her deportation notice giving her two weeks to leave the country. Together we headed to the Cape Law Society to apply for a pro bono lawyer, the receptionist told her that it is rather unlikely that she will get a lawyer because they receive too many applications and that it would be better to find a private lawyer, which can be

[69]Vigneswaran noted such inaccuracies in the status determination process as well: "Laxity, incompetence, and to a lesser extent corruption create unnecessary blockages in the system and jeopardize the rights of claimants." (2008: 48).

costly. After this discouragement we left the building and met a South African in the elevator going down: He actually shared that he always found a lawyer and that it is worth trying. Manon's work permit was still valid for another couple of months. Her fiancé and father of her child has refugee status hence Manon will try to receive a permit to stay via her fiancé's legal status and her work permit.

The two stories illustrate that arrival time plays a crucial role in the likeliness of obtaining documents because laws are bound to changes over time.

Economic uncertainty

The second form of uncertainty worth exploring is economic uncertainty, which originates from employment discrimination on the one side and general economic stress combined with high unemployment in the RSA (27,1 % in 2018 according to OECD data). Such high rates of unemployment coincided with tightening immigration laws. Consequently, the situation became particularly difficult for migrants arriving after 1995 when South Africans themselves struggled to find formal employment (see also Kadima In Morris & Bouillon 2013: 96ff). Due to this struggle, immigrants are more and more perceived as threats on the job market. Many South African companies reacted to this and employ only those with South African passports. On top of this bureaucratic and social obstacle, diasporans struggle with the degrees they obtained abroad. In most cases they are not recognized in the RSA so that many dreams regarding employment and careers cannot be realized. Oftentimes, diasporans end up studying different subjects. For the majority, new arrivals (3rd stratum) are affected as shown in the two examples below given by two young men in Salt River: François cannot work as an engineer in the RSA since he does not have South African papers – thus legal and economic uncertainty are closely connected. Just as different categories of belonging (see Figure 2, p.40), various uncertainties are ideotypes as well, i.e. categories of uncertainties that result from the different continua of belonging do also overlap. The following examples of Francois, Gabriel, and Pierre illustrate this matter.

Francois shifted his domain of expertise from engineering to craftsmanship:

> *Malheureusement ici on a un problème des papiers, il est vraiment difficile à trouver les papiers, ça affect aussi mes études pour trouver un bon travail parce que tu n'as pas un bon papier, difficile de trouver un bon maison, c'est difficile aussi d'accéder les autres domaines de la société pour permettre de travailler. Everything is linked to papers … Je travaille maintenant dans l'électricité, c'est pas ce que j'ai étudié.* (François © – 2nd PG – B-I)[70]

[70]English translation: "Unfortunately here we have a problem of papers, it's really difficult to find papers, it also affects my studies to find a good job because you don't have a good paper, it's difficult to find a good house, it's also difficult to access the other areas of society to allow you to work. Everything is linked to papers ... I now work in electricity, that's not what I studied."

The second example shows the same trend: Instead of following criminology, Gabriel had to switch to tourism as that seemed to be more promising to find employment after.

> *Je voulais me spécialiser dans la domaine de criminologie ici mais pour cela il faut un papier sud-africain. Donc ce qui marchait bien ce temps-là, les hôtels marchaient bien. Donc je me sentais obligé à étudier le tourisme. Je voulais faire l'investigations criminels pour continuer ce que j'ai commencé au Congo.* (Gabriel – Student – F-L)[71]

However, some diasporans manage to find a way to success: Maman Cécile used to be a primary school teacher back in the DRC and switched to seamstress in a Cape Townian marketplace. Her business became quite successful, as she employs three people from Kenya to help her with her three stands in the market. Her business grew, which helped her to get an education for her three children. Positive examples such as this explain why the rupture on the economic belonging continuum is somewhat balanced in the center of the continuum between the ends of belonging and uncertainty (see Figure 4, p.43).

Evidently, economic hurdles affect people's self-worth. It hits Congolese especially hard since all of them identify with the ideal of hard work (1st narrative): "We Congolese we love to work, but here are no opportunities" (Pierre – 3rd PG – JHB). This situation incites anger and frustration and also accelerates feelings of being stuck because, again, doors are closed. In terms of gender roles, economic opportunities and employability are particularly crucial and problematic for men:

> *Mais qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire ? Tu peux pas rentrer avec rien, rentrer ça te demande aussi des documents, $3000, tu veux rentrer comment ? Tu peux pas vivre avec les parents à cet âge* [in his 30s]*, en tant que l'homme*[72] *… They want us in this country to do jobs they don't want to do, to build this country, to develop this country, just like slaves in the U.S.* (Pierre – 3rd PG – JHB)

Downward social mobility extends further to transnational social ties and future visions: Men cannot envision to return to the DRC because they would not be able to provide for their families, instead they would be forced to live with their parents, which equals failure. Pierre complains further that the South African state keeps foreigners in the country to do menial jobs and compares this situation to slaves in the United States, which relates back to Arthur's introductory quote (see Chapter 1.2).

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[71]English translation: "I wanted to specialize in the field of criminology here but for that you need a South African paper. So what was working well at that time, the hotels were doing well. So I felt obliged to study tourism. I wanted to do criminal investigations to continue what I had started in the Congo."

[72] English translation: "But what has to be done? You can't go back with nothing, you have to bring documents, $3000, how do you want to go back? You can't live with your parents at that age, as a man."

Socio-cultural uncertainty

The fact that diploma are not recognized provokes downward social mobility for most diasporans who complain that what they do does not correspond to their qualifications which further intensifies frustration on the one hand and self-doubts on the other. This incites yet another sphere of uncertainty, i.e. socio-cultural uncertainty filling the void left open from attaining socio-cultural belonging: Within the context of South African schools, foreign students are treated differently than South African students, i.e. educational discrimination and exclusion take play.

> *Teachers treat you like a foreigner. If it's a coloured teacher they basically treat you according to your skin color, but if they are black, the teacher will speak Xhosa language with you knowing you can't understand. So we have to learn it, Xhosa and Afrikaans.* (Gisèle – 2nd G – P-L)

This example applies to both university as well as high school students. This situation evidently bears the threat of perpetuating educational disadvantages for the children generation. Despite such systemic discrimination, being in the educational system is still of advantage for children generations since they find it easier to intermingle with South African children and learn their languages more easily. This intergenerational difference constitutes the reason for two average flashes on the socio-cultural belonging continuum (see Figure 5, p.43). In addition, many informants often stated that "our mind is different" (4th narrative).

> *It's first of all the way we respect people, the way we think, we have things we cannot say, things we cannot do. Here in SA you hear people swearing, they use insulting language. When I'm at school, I find it weird when the lecturer is talking and another student is talking a bit louder than the lecturer, this is very rude to us. South Africans swear it's normal. But when I'm sitting with older people, I have to control my tongue. But they, they don't care. So when I'm coming here, I know how the other person thinks, but this is different with South Africans… I was expecting a totally different life, I only knew there were Zulus and whites, when I arrived, I knew there are Xhosa and Colored and all. The way they do things is different from us. For example when it comes to planning for school, but they would rather planning on the party after the activity you should be planning. That's a different focus, they are spending more effort on having fun, drinking. Like on Sunday they don't go to church. For them Friday is: Yo we have to go to the club. For us Friday is: Yo we have to prepare for Sunday. … I expected them to be decent in their minds. You can see people younger than 15 smoking. And if an old person lectures him, it's child abuse.* (Gabriel – Student – F-L)

Generally, diasporans critique a lack of respect in the South African society, of e.g. the way students do not honor their teacher's standing or the way younger people talk to the elderly using swear words. Teenagers using drugs is also perceived as a threat. Finally, religion comes in which is of high importance for Congolese diasporans and which they perceive to be valued differently by South Africans. Congolese diasporans came with different expectations in their own minds and find themselves confronted with a society they did not anticipate. For many this confrontation is read as a lack of decency in South African society.

Political uncertainty

Political uncertainty stems from two sides, political uncertainty in terms of lacking political support for diasporans in the RSA and also from political instability back in the DRC. Thus, political uncertainty is both local and translocal. Diasporans demonstrate for political change as well as withdrawal of South African support of Congolese politics. Waiting for an actual change of political practice provokes uncertainty. This vacuum causes feelings of imprisonment and aggravates suffering (2nd narrative).

Post-Belonging Uncertainty

For those individuals who realize that the Congo has changed to an extent where they cannot see themselves reflected anymore increases attachment and appreciation of the RSA. At the same time, lack of legal and political representation in the host country opens further wounds for those affected. The question "Where do I fit?" in remains unanswered.

Bodily harm uncertainty

The last form of uncertainty is coined bodily harm uncertainty as many diasporans fear violence in South African society, which is a real threat. There is not one of my informants who has not been mugged or stabbed irrespective of their age and gender. Many have lost relatives due to gun violence. Such fears are daily companions and individuals got used to such anxieties. Hence, socio-economic anxieties are further aggravated to those of bodily harm. Many stories were told of foreign uber drivers who were shot by black South Africans which happens mostly in and around townships. One day at CCSSA, a woman came in to lament on the death of her brother-in-law who parked his car, walked towards the entrance door and was shot in front of it. His killers took the car keys and drove off. She came to the CCSSA to ask for support for the funeral. Severe attacks on black foreigners affect not only Congolese but generally all black foreigners. In case of uber and taxify[73] drivers, many Zimbabweans fall victim to attacks when customers lure them into empty streets and take their money and valuables or even try to kill the driver. It became a dangerous business and unsafe to own a car for foreigners.

Attacks in townships mostly happen on businesses owned by foreigners which are mostly hairdressing saloons and barber shops. On yet another day at CCSSA, a Congolese barber came in whose barber shop was robbed. He reported the incidence to the police who in turn said they could not help him. That is why he came to the CCSSA and to Scalabrini to ask

[73] Uber and taxify are smartphone applications that allow for calling a taxi.

for help so that "the police would do their job". He told the police that he was threatened by gangsters where he lives (Sirlory Park Township). He was working in the barber shop in the area, and there were two guys, one outside, one inside, pointing a gun at his head, and asked for money, took all the cash and two cell phones. This happened on Thursday March 1st 2018. On Sunday March 11th, another gang member came to threaten him not to report the case to the police, or they would kill him. He reported it to the police, but the police advised him to drop it because he would endanger his life. The owner still wanted to report it, so the police started the investigation. The Scalabrini Center supports his case with its legal department and is in contact with the investigators. In the meantime, the owner had to look for accommodation elsewhere. Such distrust in the system, especially in the police, worsens uncertainties.

6.2 Afrophobia

Bodily harm uncertainty due to violent attacks in townships, taxi driver murders, stabbings in local public transport over smartphones are all afrophobic actions since they are directed towards black immigrants. To accredit for both severity and frequency of such stories in conversations and interviews, this subchapter describes the issue of afrophobia in the RSA. Fear of violence combined with systemic uncertainties including educational and legal discrimination forges the third narrative, i.e. the RSA as the enemy. When asked to describe life in the RSA, insecurity and xenophobia were always mentioned. Sadly, it inevitably consumes Congolese diasporans, no matter what age or wave. It all starts with language: *amekwerewere*[74] is the local South African term to refer to black foreigners. This is where separation and exclusion start and where disrespect is conveyed: "…but people don't respect that, they call us names like makwerewere" (anonymous informant at a workshop on self-development, Scalabrini Center). Such terms are extended further into bullying of immigrant children at high school: Maman Félicie shared that her daughter of eight years is called "smelling fish" because Congolese are known for eating salty dry fish: "on fait sentir a l'enfant qu'elle est etrangère"[75] (Félicie © – 1st PG). Some children were also excluded from field trips because they had no South African papers. The same situation is retold by another female informant, Justine, who experienced the very same treatment:

[74]"*Amekwerewere* is a term local South Africans use in reference to the black continental African other or stranger. Derogatory in meaning, it refers to the diverse lingua franca of continental Africans. The morphology of the word therefore mimics the strangeness of a foreign tongue" (Owen In Boswell and Nyamnjoh 2016: 65). Francis Nyamnjoh (2006 and 2016) elaborates further on the term and its connection to citizenship and mobility.

[75]English translation: "they make the child feel like she's a stranger."

> *For me as a foreigner in South Africa, as a refugee, at first it wasn't a challenge to belong here. But I became to realize that I'm not part of South Africa when I started school and people would call me names, identify me as a refugee or makwerewere. And that is how I knew this country was not my home. Even though I came here at a very young age, at 3 years old. So I don't remember anything from the country I came from. Coming here I already knew I knew, I'm* ***not*** *part of South Africa. And it was difficult for me because I wanted that belonging. I wanted to be accepted, I wanted to be part of this family. But I wasn't.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

From there it continues to university where students are excluded in terms of language abilities (see also Pinteh & Mulu 2016). This kind of institutional afrophobic actions resembles those experienced at DHA offices (legal uncertainty) and it extends further to the personal sphere of accommodation and personal belongings. Adèle shared the story of how white South Africans burned down her husband's car in the neighborhood of Brooklyn: "On a été victime de la xénophobie aussi: Ils ont brûlé la voiture de mon mari" (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B).[76] The attackers burned down more cars that were in his garage, as he is a mechanic. Their children were traumatized after the attack and needed counseling. The whole family avoided to be visible afterwards and stayed home a lot.

Foreigners are forced to stay in more expensive areas for their own safety: "Soweto is much cheaper, but that is only for South Africans" (Pascaline – 3rd PG – JHB). A typical situation between tenant and owner is described in the quote below:

> *We have been in this house for five years, the owner is a coloured South African. He is abusive, he is racist, calls us makwerewere, threatens us with the rent saying we have to leave the house if we don't have money. And the rent is expensive, so we have to share the accommodation with many people.* (Roxane – 3rd PG)

Even worse atrocities were committed when one female informant was beaten so severely in her left eye for not paying her rent on time that she lost her eyesight shortly after. The stereotype triggering such actions lies in the accusation that foreigners steal jobs and women. This is the point where verbal attacks extend to violent attacks on taxi drivers and random pedestrians. Attacks relate to feelings of injustice and undeserving: Who deserves to have a smartphone and who does not, who deserves to own a car and who does not – such distinctions reinforce distance between citizens and non-citizens.[77] It is actually described as a remnant of Apartheid nowadays in times of post-Apartheid South Africa: Harris explained that xenophobia as "a function of a discourse of otherness, was initiated during

[76]English translation: "We had been victims of xenophobia as well. They burned down my husband's car."

[77]Such distinctions between nationals, citizens, and autochthones on the one side and immigrants, foreigners, and strangers on the other, has also been described by Francis Nyamnjoh. He studies the paradoxes of globalization and xenophobia in South Africa focusing on how immigrants subvert "structures of inequality" (2006: 4).

apartheid. It is maintained within contemporary South Africa so as to bolster the creation of a new nationalism" (Harris In Owen 2015b: 45). In this new form of nationalism, foreigners are held accountable for government failures, with support by the media. Increasing diversity has therefore not been appreciated by all South African citizens in the post-Apartheid "rainbow nation" since foreigners are perceived as threatening one's own livelihood which was not satisfying in the first place (see also Morris & Bouillon 2013: 13).[78]

Such insecurities were common among some South African citizens. Statistical uncertainty about the exact numbers of undocumented migrants in the RSA fueled those insecurities further. They are related to fear of crime, of loss of job opportunities. These factors incited xenophobia in the RSA especially towards black foreigners from other African nations (afrophobia). Xenophobic attacks peaked in alarming outbreaks of violent attacks and murders in 2008, 2010, 2013, and 2017 (see also Crush et al. 2017). During a period of more than four weeks each time foreigners were on self-imposed domiciliary arrest because death threats were a real danger in the streets of South Africa. During these attacks even pregnant women were stabbed in the stomach and there have been rumours that many who ended up in hospitals even with minor scratches did not make it out alive since their organs were taken.

> *They don't welcome us here in South Africa, we are scared, xenophobia can happen again, we are always scared, everything can happen … Even when you're inside your apartment, you might wake up one morning and they say xenophobia is happening and you're stuck inside, you can't go outside.* (Roxane – 3rd PG)

Circumstances are disempowering and do not fulfill the human need for security. As a result, most diasporans feel psychological stress and anxiety, which extend to diseases such as heart disease and high blood pressure:

> *We have no mental peace, people are dying because they are stressed with thoughts. They cross the street and are run over by a car. We want peace. It's better to die in Congo, here it's like we walk around in prison, it's like we are in jail.* (Bernard – 3rd PG – JHB)

Some informants also admitted suicidal thoughts "to end my suffering" (anonymous). An alarming amount of Congolese refugees, in particular men, suffer from psychological stress that oftentimes provokes strokes so that fathers are not able to work and provide anymore (nine out of thirteen male participants in this study). There are centers for psychological counselling in CPT and also therapy offered to families and children. Traumas however

[78] "the African foreigner becomes a scapegoat for government's failures" while the state "determines who belongs and who does not" (Owen 2015b: 40ff.).

remain.[79] Thus Congolese diasporans face a second form of displacement in their host country after having fled the first one in the DRC.

What is reassuring in this struggle against afrophobic mindsets is that Congolese diasporans support one another as the following vignette by Nadia illustrates:

> *Oh and yes another challenge, also on a taxi. We were two Congolese, two foreigners on the bus, and there was a colored lady looking at us. And you know who is South African and who is not South African … She started attacking, but the guy you could see that his English wasn't really good, so he couldn't really defend himself. So me, the Congolese there, I started speaking for him and said no you can't speak like this, you don't know why he left his country. Because we didn't come here to steal your jobs, we came to make a future, and other people on the taxi were blaming her. It's just that mindset, that attack out of nowhere. And you could see the face of the guy, no he was broken, he was broken. Because imagine if he was there alone, you don't even know how to defend yourself. It's quite traumatic because you could see he was new in the country, he didn't really know much, and this is one of the first experiences that he had. The challenge of prejudice is quite real.* (Nadia – Student – P-R)

Chapter 7: Coping and Empowerment Mechanisms to Navigate Uncertainties

> *Eventually you just have to keep yourself safe within this society. If you are a foreigner and you enter in a space where there are a lot of South Africans, you are bound to feel: yeah I'm not part of this space. You are **trying** to be together and learn their language … they still treat you like an outsider* [lowers voice]. *My mom had to learn Xhosa because she was in a South African environment. But you could still feel the tension, like you are not my people. But what they don't understand is that we are **one**.* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

Having elucidated the diverse uncertainties that diasporans have to confront in the RSA, the subsequent step concerns coping mechanisms and means to remain confident via individual and collective empowerment. This chapter addresses research questions 3 and 4 to elucidate navigation processes in an uncertain environment. Arriving in a new place represents the reassessments of one's capital. It means conversion of one's resources, be they personal, emotional, educational or materialistic. Such changes adjusted to rules of the country come with attrition rates, i.e. depreciation and value losses are inevitable. This includes degrees and qualifications being unrecognized for instance. Coping with downward social mobility demands mental strength and intrinsic motivation to keep going even if economic, legal or social odds might be against you. The crucial factor here is hope, hope for a better life and opportunities in the future. The difficulty lies in the paradoxical conundrum of oppression

[79]Traumas provoked due to refugee experiences are global. Arthur describes that they too play a significant role in discourses of the refugee community in the United States: "Psychologically, the aftermath of forced migration and statelessness still dominates the day-to-day discourses of the refugee community." (Arthur 2010: 86).

being faced: Congolese diasporans left their home country to confront yet other forms of oppression hindering autonomy.

Navigating the new environment thus includes coping with informality and corruption as well as accepting that no police assistance is offered and that one has to account for bodily harm such as misuse at the hospital. Accepting distrust and uncertainties instead of trying to keep fighting the very same made space for creative solutions to find one's way around the system as it does not work in one's own favor. To achieve better living conditions under various systemic uncertainties social deficits must be balanced. The aim is thus to maneuver socio-economic structures via reducing vulnerabilities and to increase self-power despite systemic and or personal hindrances "in order to avoid nullification as well as to achieve some sense of governing their own fate" (Jackson: 1998: 18-19). On an individual level, several personal resources based on Lenz' 16 scales of empowerment are activated (see Table 1, p.15): The aim is to overcome demoralization and negative feelings in order to perceive personal strength and potential to tackle helplessness and passivity. Key terms in this personal endeavor to empowerment are *social competence, familial embeddedness, tackle daily life stress, intellectuality and autonomous thinking*. Categories added to Lenz' scales are *safety strategies* and *religiously inspired hope*.

Social Competence

Congolese diasporans are socially competent on two levels, first among themselves and secondly in their host society with South Africans which translates into a double consciousness (Du Bois 2015). Both are crucial to navigate social uncertainty in the RSA. For most parental generations, their social competence acquired with other Congolese is stronger than their social competence with South Africans. They gain confidence and support among themselves and prefer to have their children in that social milieu as well. However, those among parental generations who decide to join South African churches do find their social niche in the RSA and trust in finding good people and friends at church. Such connections in terms of social capital ease their navigation via flows of information.

For the children generations' social competence, i.e. social resources, is usually much higher since they grew up in the RSA (see socio-cultural belonging). Thus, their resource inventory is naturally higher than for their parents. Their schooling helps them significantly in understanding their environment and also in learning South African languages and making friends with South Africans. With South African certificates more doors will open for them than for their parents, even if getting scholarships and employment will remain more difficult for foreign nationals than for South Africans – which is understandable to a certain extent

since South Africans themselves suffer from lack of opportunities and high unemployment. Seeing foreigners succeed may incite social unrest among South Africans, which is why governmental support for foreigners is limited. Despite the fact that a feeling of exclusion remains, the following quote expresses nicely how children are socially competent:

> *I don't know any other place, I know my way around here, I know where to get what, and I feel like this is where I somewhat belong.* (Béatrice – 1st CG – D-A)

Individual social competence is further developed into collective *social embedding* via Congolese institutions in CPT creating a safety net, particularly membership in Congolese NGOs (see Chapter 7.1).

Familial Embedding

The nuclear and extended family are a significant resource for Congolese diasporans. Family offers a safety net of support, understanding, love, comfort, and reassurance. In terms of love and comfort, family is an emotional safety net; in terms of support, family is also a financial safety net. Among my informants were also four brothers who all run their own businesses in different sectors. When things would not go well for one, the other would chip in – this exemplifies the empowering nature of reciprocity.

Besides, the results of my enquiry related to home and belongingS elucidated the high relevance of family for belonging in CPT. In this chapter we learn that it can be read as an empowering mechanism, thus simultaneously illustrating the analytical benefits of the empowerment perspective.

Even if family is separated geographically between the DRC and the RSA, a deep embedment and reciprocal relations empower all family members: Regarding the case of privileged Congolese students, their affluent parents support them both financially as well as emotionally. The same is true for a less fortunate elderly couple of Congolese refugees in JHB: Their children working in the DRC support them financially. Looking at family members in the RSA who support their kin back in the DRC, the same form of empowerment can be detected. Thus, financial flows first exist both ways, they are no one-way street, and secondly they contain empowerment flowing in both ways as well. Empowerment in terms of financial support can deduce financial anxieties and that can be reinvested in business or other education-related activities. Thus individuals are empowered to navigate the system via financial flows. Buttressing such intercontinental ties with agency and self-assertion for familial support reflects the second perspective of Herriger's concept of empowerment via family embedding.

Capability to Tackle Daily Life Stresses

Many individuals stated mental unrest and preoccupation with worries – that affected diasporans in JHB more than in CPT. But still many also find ways of dealing with mental stress, the knowhow to navigate one's fears mentally and emotionally. Thus, navigation is endowed not only with a geographic, directory perspective but enriched as well with a mental and an emotional side. Navigating such mental preoccupations means gratitude for what is enjoyable in the RSA what others back in the DRC might not be able to enjoy. Thus, mental strength reflects an empowering resource in one's inventory. The following quote shows how Justine reflects on her blessings and makes every effort to perceive benefits despite struggles over unsafe conditions:

> *I'm not lost, I know where I come from, I know the reasons why we came here, I know why it's important for me to find a good living. Because my country back home is not good at the moment. And me taking for granted that I am here would be very selfish of me. Even though South Africa might not be the most welcoming of places, but not many people are lucky to be here. I'm safe here away from any dangers, I had an education, I'm able to freely interact with people, I can move from one place to another. I don't know if people back in Congo are able to do that. Do they have the finances? Did they go to school? Are they safe where they are? All of those things. You might look at you not being welcome in a country, that you might forget what other people are suffering that side. And you might not see that you are actually very lucky to be here, even though it's not the best of places, but you are lucky to be here. So when I think of that, it makes me calm down when I'm stressed or somebody tried to hurt me.* (Justine – 2nd – CG)

Intellectual Growth and Autonomous Thinking

Many Congolese diasporans value education highly and are *motivated to learn* – which is another key term for empowerment's inventory. Many diasporans always seek to keep track of political events in the RSA and in the DRC. From this they develop their own strategies of answering with a common voice from local Congolese NGOs showing their own, autonomous perspective of what they think is best for the DRC (see more in Chapter 7.1). Children generations all seek to continue their education at university. Reading is also highly valued in general: "My lecture is a part of my life, I cannot stay away from it. Lecture is my passion and my nature" (Bruno © – 1st PG). Educational resources are therefore an important tool for personal growth and empowerment.

Another founding partner of the CCSSA plans to create a Congolese library for education on Congolese culture, history and language for the children generations. It is meant to be a safe place to study and learn for personal growth and to foster their national, cultural, and linguistic roots. This business idea reflects both the Congolese ethos of work and high valorization for education. Intellectual growth and autonomous thinking also play a significant role for those young generations that see beyond national frames, i.e. who

promote Pan-African ideals (see Chapter 7.2). Also for post-belonging, reflection is key – again, belonging and empowerment do intersect directly.

Optimism or Religiously Inspired Hope

> *Even with that challenge gone, new challenges kept coming. For instance we don't really talk about it but there is still the problem of racism, of xenophobia. You know some people don't like people from other countries coming into South Africa. They not gonna say it to your face but you see it in their body language. They are not really keen to interact with you. So that was a challenge, but I learned to close my eyes with it. If on one side there are people who don't accept me, I also know that on the other side there are people who accept me. So I focus on the positive.* (Nadia – Student – P-R)

Focusing on the positive fights victimization and thus empowers individuals as the girl in the opening quote to this subchapter. Despite uncertainties, fears of xenophobia and ever-coming challenges, keeping a "positive", *optimistic* mindset is key in daily life to *tackle daily life stresses* (see also Herriger 2014). Closing eyes to the negative and wanting to see good people where one is confronted with negative people, is quite empowering. It demands a serious amount of perseverance and mental strength since the other side of negativity and uncertainties is quite heavy.

Reading positivity as hope, religious belonging and faith as a resource interplay here: Going to church stands for social development and is an investment to improve lives, as pastors uplift the spirits of their congregation. "DIEU est grand, DIEU est l'espoir"[80] (Gisèle – 2nd G – P-L) is a key quote for optimism and hope. The phrase entails that even in the darkest hours, gratitude and hope are held up high, hope which is found in faith. Pastors encourage their congregation with preaching that same hope and reminding everybody of their self-worth: Complaining does not get them any further but believing, praying and hoping does:

> *You are the light, vous êtes illumines, laissez des traces[81], impact people's life, stop complaining, be courageous, you have a powerful weapon, which is prayer.* (Father Laurent – 2nd PG – P)

Safety strategies

In order to navigate one's environment in the RSA safely, social resources are a must to be informed about dos and don'ts: Avoidance is the first resource of safety for survival. Avoidance in terms of minimizing interaction, for instance, is becoming invisible on public transport: Many informants stated that they would try not to speak when they are using public transport in certain areas, i.e. close to township no-go areas, so that no one would notice their accent. Those who can afford their own car avoid taking taxis because the simple greeting

[80]English translation: "GOD is great, GOD is hope."
[81]English translation: "You are enlightened, leave traces."

unveils that one is a foreign national. The doctor's family in JHB, for instance, always tries to take their own vehicles, and drives their children even when the distance is short.

Conflicts in general are avoided in CPT in not going near townships. However, some Congolese diasporans do stay there (see Chapter 5.2) and employ several safety strategies: They keep music volumes very low and avoid cooking dishes with a strong smell – both could be offensive to South African neighbors. While culinary food practices serve as a means to make sense of oneself and to build collective belonging and attachment in an "alien cultural setting", one's geographical emplacement in CPT impinges practicing these exact practices (Nyamnjoh 2018: 36ff). Customary curfews must also be respected, i.e. not leaving the house before 5am and coming home before 5pm – the hours in between are known as high risk times to be assaulted. The following quote by a resident exemplifies these avoidances:

> *You just have to know the rules: don't leave before 5 am don't come later than 5pm. Don't cook anything with a strong smell.* (Hugues – Student – F-L)

Time acts as a safety resource. A second story further enhances this fact as fathers would accompany their children if they needed to leave before the customary curfew or would arrive late:

> *Early early in the morning, like before 6 around 5, I can't go alone to the taxi rank. I'd need to ask my dad to accompany me. At those times, you can't move around on your own. Same for the evenings when you come back too late, like past 7. People are in their homes, it's dark. So time is also dangerous. So time can also work in your favor as a safe guard. That is my experience with safety in Cape Town.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

A third avoidance for securing safety concerns employment: Congolese diasporans avoid taking jobs that South Africans could envy them for and accuse them of taking "their" jobs. Therefore, creating one's own business is an important tool for empowerment in two ways: as a resource for avoidance on the one hand and for self-agency on the other. Thus, one avoids being classified as competitor on the job market.

One last strategy is supporting South Africans: This was experienced at Congolese churches where pastors explicitly help South Africans, particularly children living in the street, who might cause trouble e.g. by stealing or vandalizing.

These avoidances reflect one's *ability to tackle daily life stresses*, reflect *social embedding* and the *competence to act*. They are important resources for empowerment, in particular in the unsafe Cape Townian context.

But after all, these empowerment resources are not attainable for every individual since mental stress and pressure can become overwhelming that some prefer death over life despite family obligations: "J'ai demande à Dieu de me donner home, to welcome me dans sa

maison"[82] (Félicie © – 1st PG). This is the saddening and tragic other extreme of the diasporic tension between loss and hope, i.e. when loss and pain become too overwhelming to keep fighting because all senses of self-control and self-worth have been lost bit by bit.

7.1 Agency for Individual and Collective Empowerment

Individual Empowerment

Autonomous thinking and *competence to act* (agency) are closely connected to Congolese diasporans' entrepreneurial spirit and their resistance to economic censorship. A lot of Congolese migrants and refugees prefer to create their own business employing personal resources in order not to depend on the system; this exemplifies their search for self-reliance, economic self-sufficiency, and also distrust in the system because "the system does nothing for you" (Charles © – 1st PG – B-I).[83] While men tend to engage in electrician and IT business, women rather engage in hair dressing and food: Most hairdressers with small saloons in the city center are Congolese; other women also create their business at home, for instance the wife of one if my key informants at CCSSA prepares dry fish at home to sell it among the community. This phenomenon of self-agency and internal motivation for self-reliance is comparable to Cameroonians trying to be successful independently from the governmental system (see Ndjio 2008).[84] What is more is self-censorship: Even the receipt of a work permit would not necessarily lead to well-paid job in a company because most diasporans are reluctant to "take South African jobs", which, alongside "taking 'our' women" is the most prevalent stereotype towards foreigners. In this vein, the state of being devoid of agency is fought against via self-mastery. Freelancing is promoted as the one economic panacea to achieve freedom from economic dependence: "they don't employ us en tant que réfugié, c'est mieux de créer que de chercher du travail"[85] (Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D). Individual entrepreneurial responsibility in the sense of going from job seeker to job creator in an urban context is a phenomenon that reflects the Congolese work ethic (1st narrative): Flexible agents fight for economic self-reliance and self-sufficiency because of distrust in the system. Uncertain circumstances thus become advantageous in promoting

[82]English translation: "I asked God to give me a home, to welcome me in his house."
[83]See also Glick-Schiller et al. in Vertovec & Cohen: "transmigrants [are] able to ex-press their resistance to the global political and economic situations that en-gulf them, even as they accommodate themselves to living conditions marked by vulnerability and insecurity" (1999: 36).
[84]Basile Ndjio (2008) described the practice of *feymania*, i.e. navigating economic exclusion and disenfranchisement via creating new opportunities for economic success contravening state laws. Thus *feymen* are trickster figures.
[85]English translation: "they don't employ us as a refugee, it's better to create work than to look for work."

business creativity and agency. The quotes below reflect how the narratives of suffering and of the RSA as the enemy, i.e. in form of imprisonment in the RSA, incite personal resources reaching for independence. Also, they address Congolese work ethic (1st narrative) as David outlines Congolese courage to freelance while South Africans tend to be averse towards risk-taking:

> *If we are refugees, we can have space, but we are hostage. We have to take responsibility and create something. We have to make our own business, don't be dependent.* (Bruno © – 1st PG)

> *South African people are afraid to fail, are afraid of challenges. It's a lack of knowledge. Foreigners are less afraid, they are courageous, create opportunities as entrepreneurs. They work harder than South Africans. We can learn from one another, like Somali business or Congolese pushing education. Education is expensive you must sacrifice. Motivation comes from far, you sweat for it, you can't play with money.* (David © – 2nd PG – B-I)[86]

The same logic is true for distrust in security in the RSA: "If you have a problem in SA, the police doesn't help, so I solve my problem myself" (Bruno © – 1st PG). This is where agency might evolve into vigilante justice elucidating that there is a downside to agency when lack of structural support becomes too profound.

Collective Empowerment

Collective agency was found to be an important tool for collective empowerment among Congolese NGOs, comprising self-help groups and political lobby groups: The NGO landscape is diverse, vast and is still struggling to find unity: However, each single one empowers their members and community, e.g. through group events, discussions, or trainings. These events reinforce personal resources such as self-esteem to reestablish value in oneself that has been lost for many members.

This reflects Lenz' remarks of activating personal resources for consoling one's self-esteem via social embedding.[87]

CCSSA	**Congolese Civil Society of South Africa**
UDFCDD	Union des Femmes Congolaises de la Diaspora
ComCongo	Community Congo
CNF	Congolese Network Foundation
Les Combattants	Freedom Fighters

Table 5 Overview of major Congolese Institutions

[86]Some of David's freelancers are South African, so he even creates jobs here for the nationals.

[87] Empowering personal resources and collective practices relates back to belonging, particularly reciprocity regimes of belonging, and 'belonging to' as groups expect loyalty, pooling of resources, and participation.

Table 5 shows the main organizations included in this sample. Starting with the CCSSA[88], which is run primarily by three representatives who work on a voluntary basis. The motto of CCSSA is "United we stand, divided we fall". They seek to unite the Congolese community in Cape Town (CPT) since union is the basis for the second goal, i.e. fighting for political change in the DRC. Thirdly, CCSSA offers immediate help to the community. The CCSSA also supports community and society members financially in case of death, marriage, and birth. To reach their political goals the CCSSA organizes marches to parliament to raise public awareness and to give Congolese a voice. This way, the NGO raises awareness and functions as a mouthpiece for the diaspora and for its political lobbying. They perceive themselves as "the ambassadors of our country [DRC], no political party affiliation, Mamans, les jeunes, the church" (Isaiah © – 1st PG – F-L) focusing on women, the youth and faith. One informant stated that the "CCSSA brought people together and made them know their value and that there is importance in Congo" (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C). To re-establish a positive consciousness, a belief in one's value as a human being, is one of the goals of CCSSA: They know that their diasporic community loses faith in their value as human beings due to lack of legality and fear of random persecution or afrophobic attacks. Feelings of helplessness are also confronted by the Congolese Network Foundation (see Lenz 2011), which is a student service for Congolese students at CPUT helping them to navigate structural and bureaucratic procedures as well as sharing information on opportunities (see Herriger on solidarity). *Union des Femmes Congolaises de la Diaspora* strives for multinational collaboration with South Africans, i.e. their management board consists of Congolese (2 women, 1 man) as well as of South Africans (1 woman, 1 man, coloured): Together they organize projects for South African children in disadvantaged areas, mostly townships as well as for Congolese children. "The South Africans also want to help the Congolese community because we work great together, they even march with us" – this resonates with the transcendence of inner-African borders, may they be geographical or mental (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B). Generally, membership in and support of these various organizations enhance one's self-esteem (personal resource) and one's sense of belonging in the respective locality (social resource).

> *Il y a beaucoup d'ONGs. On se bat pour être neutre, no political party affiliation. We have many interests, many groups, but there is no union. We have to find common ground.* (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B)[89]

[88] The CCSSA is where I volunteered for this research.
[89]English translation: "There are many NGOs. We fight to stay neutral."

The goal is to find common ground within the diaspora. This is an ambitious goal given the diversity of opinions and future visions for the DRC (see also Map 1, p.38). This divisiveness can be frightening so that some diasporans decide to not engage in political activities. This in turn reduces social relations within the diaspora. Stories were told of individual political fighters getting killed in their ambition, which scares individuals off, adults as well as children. There have been rumours among Congolese diasporans that Kabila upholds strong linkages to his middlemen who function as contract killers in the RSA to weaken the fight of the opposition.

7.2 Pan-Africanism among the New Generation

This final subchapter on empowerment illustrates that lack of a sense of belonging, lack of agency, and a general feeling of being lost among the children generations do bear the potential of being transferred into empowering capital after all: Statelessness is not necessary negative only, as stateless children among Congolese diasporans profoundly advocate Pan-African[90] visions among their own organizations. They show great amounts of empowering resources such as *intellectuality*, *motivation to learn*, *accepting one's needs* (see Table 1, p.15) in terms of a union amongst the youth to fight together. The Congolese youth is uprising in the RSA and recruit other nationals to join their movement. Two final stories of powerful young women exemplify this inspiring movement born out of the imbalance of uncertainties and belongings.

The first vignette tells the story of Diane who founded the *African Youth Congress* (AYC) in reference to South African's ANC party. The first part of her story outlines that xenophobia, exclusion, and grudge directed by South Africans towards foreign-national youths, is a hurtful attitude which South Africans would not be confronted with if it were them searching for help:

> *For us youth it's kinda hard because we're trying to fit in with South Africans. And at the same time we get discriminated against, we get called certain names, makwereres. It makes us really sad ..they are our brothers and sisters, they are supposed to welcome us. Because if a foreigner comes into our country, we would welcome him with open hands. But for* ***us*** *they rather want to steal from us because we come here with nothing, no money, nothing. But we come with what we have, we want to start a life, and when we do that, we might get robbed or … killed.* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

[90]Pan-Africanism originated from 'Ethiopianism' and 'Negritude' (19th century) to describe a movement promoting "solidarity among peoples of African descent" on the basis of the shared experience of racism "regardless of geographic location" (Ndletyana 2014: 147). In the context of the RSA, xenophobia replaces racism in this definition.

This inequity encouraged her to found her own organization, the AYC, with international youth in the RSA. During their meetings they share news and updates on their respective country in Africa, they are eager to learn from one another. They studied history well and have profound knowledge on international relations. They organize further activities such as marches to parliament. To this end, they collaborate with the CCSSA and the Scalabrini Center. They are tired of corruption, tired of exploitation, tired of greediness. These are political values they share with their parental generations' organizations founded by the latter. In contrast to NGOs of parental generations, Diane's organization has a Pan-Africanist vision and does not focus on the DRC only.

> *Americans assassinated Lumumba and put in a person they can control. And they've been sucking us, and they will until we live with nothing. They bring cheap labor and our greedy leaders accept that. That's why things don't change. That is why we have created the African Youth Congress to have leaders within our community. We have diverse countries inside, Ghana, Liberia, South Africa. When we spoke about the group, there's no borders around us. The people who colonized us made us believe in borders: but within our hearts we know that we are one people, we come from the same soil, we drink the same water, we speak the same language, they are very similar, like Swahili, Zulu, and Shona. It's all similar, that's how we see it. Congo is the heart of Africa, we could supply the whole of Africa, the soil is so rich. The resources have quality. At least we are grateful that they brought the bible to us. That's one aspect. Also infrastructure and technology. But we also have our own herbs and medicines that they need to understand. ... We want to encourage our youth to engage into politics so that our future can be better. Because if **we** do change. Something there's bound to be change. But if we sit around, we gonna end up in the same generation. So the reason why we made this group was to make the government know: hello we are here, we are coming, and we have the right to be here. ... There's a lot in the youth, but they can't let it out because there's no opportunity, there's no motivation. We want them to progress, so in the future we have better things…. When we talk about things, it makes them emotional, it's about making them aware, that this is happening to your brothers and sisters, what are you going to do about it? It's all about letting them know. ... When it comes to serious things like the future and Africa, that's when you be like: **I** am the future. It's either I put away my madness and start something now, and if I not do that I end like my parents.* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

The second young woman is Justine, who was born in the DRC but escaped at a very young age with her parents through Zambia into the RSA. She speaks Nyanja, Swahili, Lingala, Xhosa, Afrikaans, English and little bit of French. This allows her to "embrace" different cultures, what makes her feel "African":

> *Me, I am African. Most people say I'm South African because when I speak my languages, my accent is different. So they would say I'm lost, because I grew up in South Africa that I embraced the culture here, that I speak like them. I get what they are saying, but for me, I feel like I am African, I can embrace any culture that comes my way.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

Despite her linguistic efforts, she still felt excluded in the RSA, she was striving to belong but did not. This inner conflict sparked her to found her own organization for young girls who also feel unaccepted for various reasons. She runs her organization, *Self-Defined* together with a South African friend of hers; the two met in high school, they are the same

age, he is a black male South African. Justine was so successful with her mission that Self-Defined expanded in other African countries.

> *So I finished high school and as you know I started an organization empowering women. It also came partially from that, not being accepted, not being what you need to be, but what **you** want to be. Because Self-Defined is about accepting your own identity and knowing who you are and accepting it yourself. Even though people around you might not accept it but you are different, you are created differently from the next person. And I noticed it was hard for young women to accept who they are. So the challenge with that was the mindset, it was hard for them to focus on their actions and goals. And I wanted to change that, their mindset, I wanted them to think more positively about themselves so they can impact other girls around them, Cause being different is not something bad, but it's a gift. When I started Self-Defined and programs and trainings, it actually proved true that girls wanted to belong to a family, that's why Self-Defined is not just an organization but it's a family on its own. They want to belong to a certain group where they are accepted, where they are loved, regardless of where they come from, regardless of their skin color, or what they've done in the past, and receiving attention. We look at everyone's dreams and goals, I'm their friend, I'm the person they can text and I'll be there. And me creating such an environment here felt like a really big achievement, and I felt like there is **hope**. Some of might think: Oh my God this place is not for me, no one wants to accept me. And I wanted to build a community where you can be accepted, where you can be loved, regardless. I did have my good and bad experiences, but at the end it made me empower other girls and impact other people's life.* (Justine – 2nd CP)

These powerful stories show that feelings of being lost or stuck bear positive potential for strength and empowerment in Pan-African visions. They depict the next generation of African leaders with new ideals and morals. The youth is inspired and motivated to fight back so that their parents' struggles were not fought in vein. The youth is inspired and shares this inspiration to expand the movement for a better future for the youth in Africa.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Outlook

This thesis presents the diversity of Congolese diasporans in the RSA shining light on various stories, stories of suffering but also stories of success. Navigation is a constant companion on a metaphorical level to delineate how Congolese diasporans navigate and cope with uncertain life circumstances and manage to maintain or create new forms of belonging. The study combats the Northern research bias in migration and diaspora studies by focusing on an African diaspora in the global South. Contentwise, it enriches diaspora studies as the research foci are anthropological combining societal issues and political considerations.

The study revealed the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary implementation of theories from sociology, psychosocial science, and anthropology. The theoretical concepts of diaspora, belonging, and empowerment found new depth partly due to the combination of empirical perspectives (Geschiere 2009) and processual approaches (Pfaff-Czernacka 2013). Methodological triangulation and interactive research methods allowed for deep immersion into the research context. Volunteering and apprenticeship were key approaches to data

collection to overcome inequities in the research process between informants and the researcher. Engagement for empathy, activism, and equity reflects ethics of this research: This encompasses apprenticeship as in acknowledging our own shortcomings in knowledge, learning from one another, appreciating to listen, and being aware of one's pre-assumptions. Vulnerable observation and deep reflection extended these key values to balance short-term research via intensity and empathy.

This approach enabled a new perspective on who constitutes the Congolese diaspora in the RSA: Inaka and Trapido's (2015) economic elaborations have been enhanced with a societal perspective which illuminated further groups of actors. Owen's (2015a, 2015b, 2016) study on Congolese in Muizenberg has been extended with new geographical aspects of Congolese in various districts of CPT. This geographical diversity combined with an intergenerational lens shone new light on the applicability of the diaspora concept. The generation-sensitive approach brought to light that the term applies to Congolese residing in the RSA. The existence of a Congolese diaspora has been proven, which debases Owen's findings as well as the hypothesis of Bakewell (2008) of the absence of African diasporas in Africa. Also, strata differences and generation differences have been pronounced illustrating intra-diaspora heterogeneities. Those heterogeneities are expressed via the vast dispersal of Congolese NGOs in CPT reflecting various societal and political stances. Despite differences, four dominant narratives were coined: a) the narrative of a Congolese work ethos, b) the narrative of suffering, c) the RSA as the enemy, and d) the narrative of different mindsets between generations as well as between Congolese and South Africans. Further characteristics of the Congolese diaspora are political involvement, nostalgia for the DRC, and a strong pronunciation of cultural preservation e.g. via food as material culture. The most serious worries concern legal documentation, economic integration, afrophobia, and physical violence.

Belonging has been enhanced with differentiating between analytical categories, i.e. legal, economic, socio-cultural, religious, political, and post-belonging. These categories endow Pfaff-Czernacka's scales of analysis of commonality, reciprocity, and attachment as well as belonging to and belonging together with more contextual depth since they are apt to the case of Congolese diasporans. Localizing belonging in a geographical sense elucidated residence places, safe places and no-go places: This approach brought to light a third diasporic dichotomy apart from *loss/hope* and *here/there*, i.e. *safe/unsafe* relating to places that lure one into perceiving a place to be safe while that location can easily turn into a no-go place. *BelongingS* and *be-Longing* embellished the concept linguistically as puns but

more importantly, they endowed belonging with further contextual depth. These have also been put on an estimated average scale based on stories gathered from informants during data collection (see continua).

Continua of belonging reflect the theoretical interconnectivity between belonging and uncertainty. Both concepts are held together by the metaphorical glue of navigation, the balancing act of navigating uncertain conditions on the search for belonging and homing.
Uncertainty can be read as belonging's evil twin: Uncertain life circumstances are hindrances to belonging and safety to certain extents. Each category of belonging (except for religious belonging) has its counterpart in uncertainty, i.e. legal, economic, socio-cultural, political, and post-belonging uncertainty. In addition, one major uncertainty had been added, namely that of bodily-harm uncertainty since afrophobia in the RSA poses a constant threat to non-nationals, especially black foreigners from other African countries. In this sense, Congolese diasporans are confronted with a form of double displacement, from their home country and in their host country.

Each diasporan has to find means and practices, may they be individual or collective, to cope with such uncertainties: Herriger's (2014) scales of resources for empowerment constituted the basis in form of *social competence, familial embeddedness, tackle daily life stress, intellectuality and autonomous thinking*. This resource inventory has been interpolated with the scale of *safety strategy* for the given case.
Endowed with empowering scales of resources, two young women among the children generations were motivated found their own Pan-African NGOs. This exemplifies that statelessness and an imbalance between uncertainty and belonging can be converted into future inspiration, and thus a better future for the African youth.

This constitutes a promising gateway for future studies on the Congolese youth in the RSA and their Pan-Africanist aspirations. This movement is worth to be followed since global dynamics and perspectives between North and South are submitted to recent, radical changes. A new African confidence is rising that seeks to combat global inequities (see also *Fallism* in the RSA). It would also be worth to quantify the analysis of belonging further: Instead of estimations, a numerical scale from one to five could be used for informants to cross their sense of belonging for each category. Furthermore, post-conflict relations between Congolese and Rwandese in the RSA are worth exploring – two examples came up during the data gathering process but were left out in the scope of this work.

Another promising point of academic departure lies in a comparative study on the U.S. and the RSA: Both countries' racial mosaics have been rearranged since black identities are changing. Diasporic movements under uncertain conditions and lack of legal support incite a constant threat of violence in both contexts (see police brutality in the U.S.).

Finally, an appeal shall be made to both the Congolese and the South African governments to hear their citizens out, to respect their citizens' right to human dignity and equity.[91]

[91]In the aftermath of the research for this thesis, the CCSSA finalized their digital representation. For further information, their homepage can be accessed via:
https://congolesecivilsocietyofsouthafrica.org/

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Annex

I. Sample Overview

II. Interview Overview

III. Institution Overview

IV. Object Picking

V. Free Listing: Home

VI. Further Key Quotes

VII. Pictures

I. SAMPLE OVERVIEW

	Name	Stratum	Sex	Quotation Code	Motives to leave DRC	Place of Residence in SA	Occupation in SA
1	Odile	1	F	Odile – 1st PG – JHB	Join her husband	JHB	Housewife
2	Son to Odile	1	M	-	Born in the RSA	JHB	Student
3	Daughter to Odile	1	F	-	Family reunification	JHB	Teacher
4	Father Did'ho	1	M	Did'ho – 1st G – P	Church mandate	Soweto	Pastor
5	Pasacaline	3	F	Pascaline – 3rd PG – JHB	War	Yeoville	Housewife
6	Maman 2	3	F	-	War	Yeoville	Housewife
7	Bernard	3	M	Bernard – 3rd PG – JHB	War	Yeoville	unemployed
8	Pierre	3	M	Pierre – 3rd PG – JHB	Economy	Yeoville	unemployed
9	Maman 3	3	F	-	Economy	Yeoville	Housewife
10	Maman 4	3	F	-	War	Yeoville	Housewife
11	Koffi	2	M	-	Economy	CPT	Receptionist
12	Isaiah	1	M	Isaiah © – 1st PG – F-L	Politics	Brooklyn	Cell Phone Repair
13	Father Renaud	2	M	Renaud – 2nd G – P	Church mandate	CPT	Pastor
14	Léa	3	F	Léa – 3rd CP – D-I	Joined her father	CPT	High school student
15	Thierry	2	M	©	Politics	Heidveld	Electrician
16	Bruno	1	M	Bruno © – 1st PG	Politics	Grassy Park	Waiter
17	Harold	3	M	©	Economy	CPT	Unemployed
18	Manon	30	F	Manon © – 3rd PG	War	CPT	IT specialist
19	Nadia	3	F	Nadia – Student – P-R	Studies	Rosebank	Student
20	Charles	1	M	Charles © – 1st PG – B-I	War/Economy	Athlone	IT specialist
21	Wife to Charles	1	F	©	Join her husband	CPT	Housewife/hairdresser

22	Mamychou	2	F	Eloise © – 1st PG	Economy	Retreat	Cleaner
23	Diane	1	F	Diane © – 1st CG – D-C	War	CPT	Student
24	Jenny	-	F	Friend to Diane	Born in the RSA	CPT	Student
25	Maman Cécile	1	F	Cécile © – 1st PG – M-D	War	CPT	Seamstress/market
26	Yan	3		-	Economy	Mitchell's Plain	Student
27	Justine	2		Justine – 2nd CP	War	CPT	Student
28	Vanessa	1		Daughter to Cécile	War	CPT	Accountant
29	Henriette	3		Henriette – 3rd PG	War/Economy	CPT	Freelancer
30	David	1		David © – 2nd PG – B-I	Politics	CPT	Freelancer
31	Adèle	1		Adèle – 1st PG – M-B	War	Brooklyn	Freelancer
32	Béatrice	1		Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A	War	Brooklyn	Student
33	François	2		François © – 2nd PG – B-I	Economy	Salt River	Musician
34	Gisèle	3		Gisèle – 2nd G – P-L	War	Salt River	Musician
35	Véro	3		-	Economy	Salt River	-
36	Selom	3		-	Economy	Salt River	-
37	Hugues	2		Hugues – Student – F-L	Studies	Salt River	Student
38	Simon	2		Simon – 2nd G – P-L	Economy	Wynberg	
39	Gabriel	3		Gabriel – Student – F-L	Studies	Kayelitsha	Student
40	Cleo	3		-	-	CPT	-
41	Father Laurent	2		Laurent – 2nd G – P	Chuch mandate	Salt River	Pastor

II. Interview Overview

Name	Sex	Date and time	Place	Duration	Language	Interview type	Documentation	Keywords
Odile	f	16.02.2018, 3pm	Roodeport, JHB	50min 36	english, french	formal interview	record, notes	post belonging
Sara	f	16.02.2018, 8pm	Roodeport, JHB	24min 20	english	formal interview	record, notes	job search
Father Did'ho	m	17.02.2018, 11pm	Soweto, JHB	1h 23min 32	english, french	formal interview	record, notes	three homes
Bernard, Pierre, Pascaline	m, m, f	17.02.2018, 1:30pm	Yeoville, JHB	1h 14min 36	french	formal interview	record, notes	imprisonment, papers
Nadia	f	12.03.2018, 4pm	Rosebank, CPT	36min 07	english	formal interview	record, notes	religion, student
Diane & Tati	f, f	17.03.2018, 2pm	City Center, CPT	1h 44min 54	english	formal group interview	record, notes	Pan-Africanism
Justine	f	03.04.2018, 3pm	Scalabrini Center, CPT	35min 46	english	formal interview	record, notes	power of the youth
Beatrice	f	19.04.2018, 3pm	Scalabrini Center, CPT	38min 37	english	formal interview	record, notes	search for belonging
Father Laurent, Simon, Gisèle, Gabriel, Hugues	m, m, f, m, m	25.03.2018, 12pm	Salt River Church, CPT	1h 46min 20	french	formal group interview	record, notes	religion, papers, xenophobia
Adèle	f	17.03.2018, 4pm	Brooklyn Church, CPT	~ 30min	english, french	formal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	post belonging
Cécile	f	14.04.2018, 2pm	Green Market Square, CPT	~ 45min	french	formal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	post belonging, transnational ties
Félicie	f	13.04.2018, 4pm	Scalabrini Center, CPT	~ 1h	english, french	formal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	trauma
Bruno	m	16.03.2018, 11am	Scalabrini Center, CPT	~ 45min	english, french	informal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	insecurity
Isaiah	m	07.04.2018, 9pm	Brooklyn Home, CPT	~ 1h	english, french	informal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	temporary home
Léa	f	04.03.2018, 3pm	Coffee Shop, CPT	~ 30min	english	formal interview	verbatim quotes, notes	future away

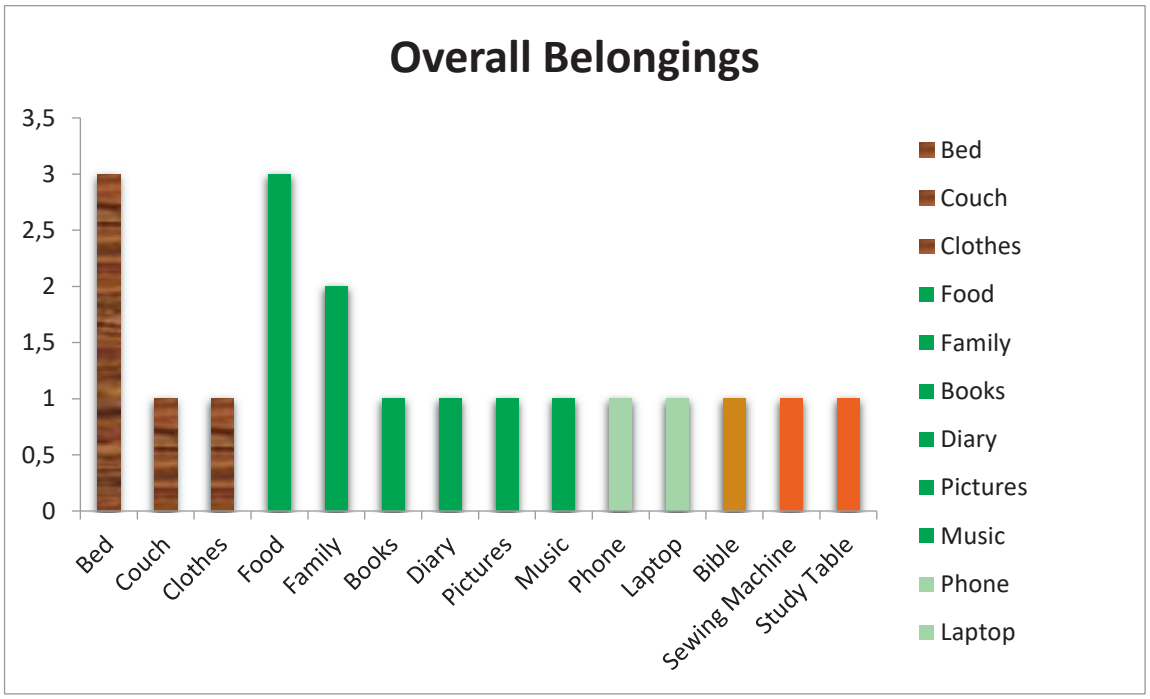
III. INSTITUTION OVERVIEW

	CCSSA	UDFCDD	ComCongo	CNF	Les Combattants	Self-Defined	AYC
	Congolese Civil Society of South Africa	Union des Femmes Congolaises de la Diaspora	Community Congo	Congolese Network Foundation	Freedom Fighters	Self-Defined	African Youth Congress
Founder	Isaiah	Maman Adèle	unknown	Béatrice	unknown	Justine	Diane
Target Group	Congolese Diaspora in CPT	Congolese women in CPT	Congolese in CPT (per neighborhood)	District residents: Wynberg ComCongo, Retrest ComCongo etc.	Congolese in CPT, those who are politically engaged	Young women and girls	African youth
Aim	The CCSSA is run primarily by three representatives who work on a voluntary basis. The motto of CCSSA is "United we stand, divided we fall". Their ambition is first, to unite the Congolese community in Cape Town (CPT) since union is the basis for the second goal, i.e. fighting for political change in the DRC. Secondy, CCSSA offers immediate help to the community, in particular refugees who arrive or who arrived after 2001 because these are the ones facing problems with obtaining papers. CCSSA also supports community	stand and stop violiations of human rights of Congolese, ca fait peur, ca fait mal On est lion de chez nous mais quand meme ca fait mal, on n'est pas bien chez nous, non plus ici, on lute pour que ca soit mieux chez nous Projet dans le Christianisme: l'histoire de Esther, et son pays en danger, si je dois mourir pour ma nation, jemeurs, nous les mamans sont comme Esther, les droits de l'homme South Africans are also involved, experts for advice, who worked in the same domaine, il faut se lever	it's a network, so every Congolese person should know other Congolese people, we have whatsapp groups where we are trying to get everybody connected, so if you're in Wynberg for instance you'd have a Wynberg ComCongo and if you're in retreat you'd have a Retreat ComCongo, it says community. So I think now people are trying to come together and it's a good thing because it sort of uplifts us, it gives a positive feedback for those raised here and	It's a group of Congolese people having three aims: We help those coming to university with the registration, there's an example of one person who paid 50.000 Rand for registration and is still not registered. It is sad because people get stuck when trying to make a living. So that's the aim we're trying to get people into university, we've been in the country for a long time, and we know how things run. So we're trying to help those who come freshly from the Congo. And then those who are already there, we try and tutor them. And then lastly, people who finish and can't get a job because of documentation or	Patriotic movement: Combattants (Freedom fighters) 1.Le combat pour le pays 2.organiser la communaute Congolaise en Afrique du Sud Notre avenir ensemble en tant que diaspora, etre ensemble malgre les differences religieuses, politiques, culturelles…	Self-Defined is about accepting your own identity and knowing who you are and accepting it yourself. Even though people around you might not accept it but you are different, you are created differently from the next person. And I noticed it was hard for young women to accept who they are. So the challenge with that was the mindset, it was hard for them to focus on their actions and goals. And I wanted to change that, their mindset, I wanted them to think more positively about themselves so they can impact other girls around them, Cause being different is not something bad, but it's a gift. When I started Self-Defined and programs and trainings, it actually proved true that girls wanted to belong to a	we have created the African Youth Congress to have leaders within our community. We have diverse countries inside, Ghana, Liberia, South Africa. When we spoke about the group, there's no borders around us. The people who colonized us made us believe in borders but within our hearts we know that we are one people, we come from the same soil, we drink the same water, we speak the same language, they are very similar, like Swahili, Zulu, and Shona. It's all similar, that's how we see it. Congo is

	and society members in case of death, marriage, and birth to organize financial means collectively.	La lute est dangereuse, c'est pas facile, mais c'est mieux de mourir pour une bonne cause, Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda invaded the country in the East, and open refugee camps in their country, beaucoup de Congolais quittent le pays et se retrouvent dans les camps des refugies dans ces pays It's too much, we have to do something On adresse aussi les autres, comme les Zimbabweans parce qu'on est tous humains, on veut que le people congoloais se rejoient dans son pays, le people est victime de sa richesse (Adèle – 1st PG – M-B)	always heard negative things about the Congo. (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)	because you're a foreign-national and people don't wanna employ foreign nationals, you know. So when we know you're qualified from CPUT we try to link you up via a database to a company that can help you. So that is how I'm trying to give back to the community. I think I've always had this heart to help, I think it's because I know where I'm coming from, if I see a young Congolese, I sorta know what lies ahead for that person because I've been there. (Béatrice – 1st CP – D-A)		family, that's why Self-Defined is not just an organization but it's a family on its own. They want to belong to a certain group where they are accepted, where they are loved, regardless of where they come from, regardless of their skin color, or what they've done in the past, and receiving attention. We look at everyone's dreams and goals, I'm their friend, I'm the person they can text and I'll be there, and me creating such an environment here felt like a really big achievement and I felt like there is hope, some of might think … no one wants to accept me, and I wanted to build a community where you can be accepted, where you can be loved, regardless. (Justine – 2nd CP)	the heart of Africa, we could supply the whole of Africa, the soil is so rich. The resources have quality. At least we are grateful that they brought the bible to us. That's one aspect. Also infrastructure and technology. But we also have our own herbs and medicines that they need to understand. With new technologies there's also new problems, they should have bargained with us fairly, not by manipulating our leaders. (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

IV. OBJECT PICKING

V. 1st PG	1st CG	2nd CG	3rd PG	3rd CG	students
ma machine, couch, bed, laptop	my bed and my journal	My bed, my little table to study, my clothes	My children pictures, Congolese food, gospel music	my Bible	my phone to communicate with my mom
Family, I like reading, so my books, and Congolese food			my cullière *Eboka*, music, food, my Bible		



Graph 3 Individual Results Object Picking

V. FREE LISTING: HOME

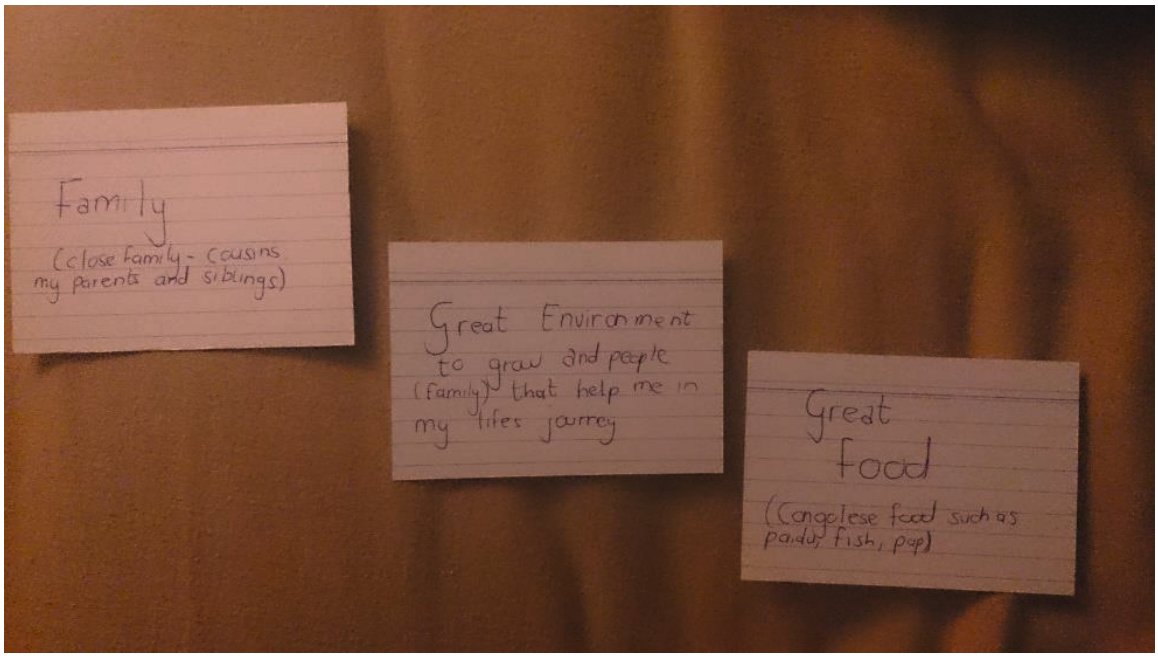


Image 1 Free Listing Home 1st CG

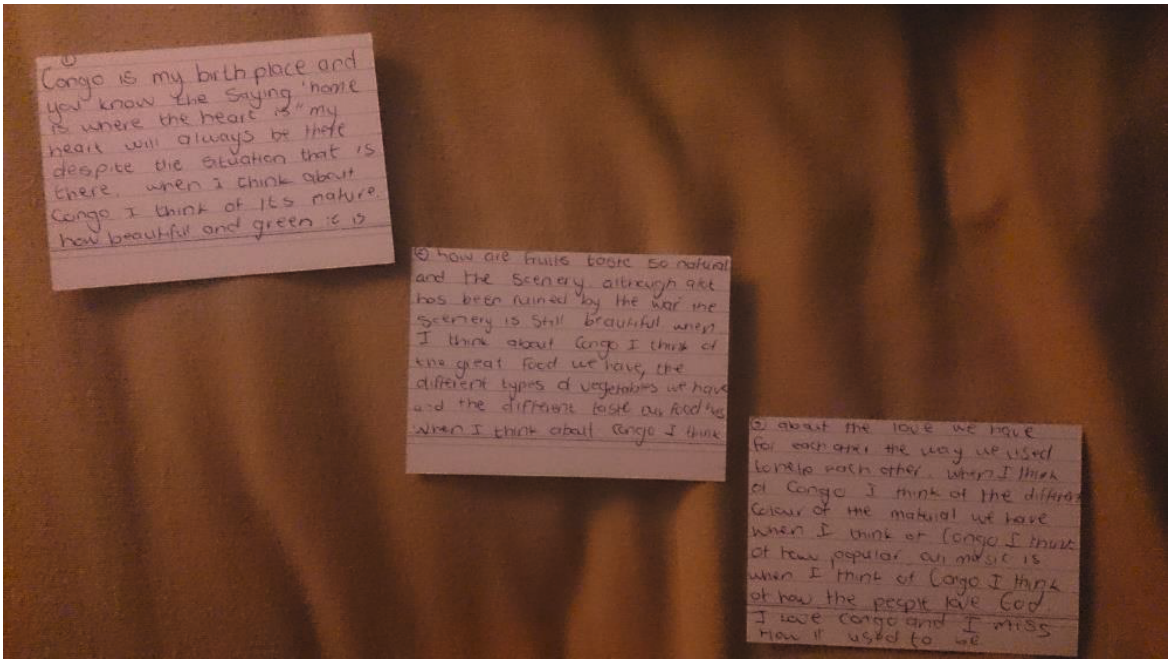
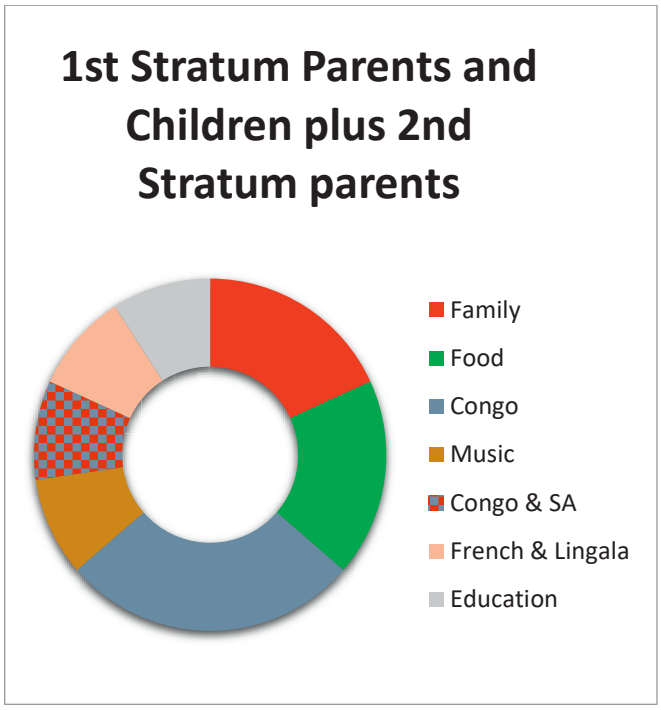
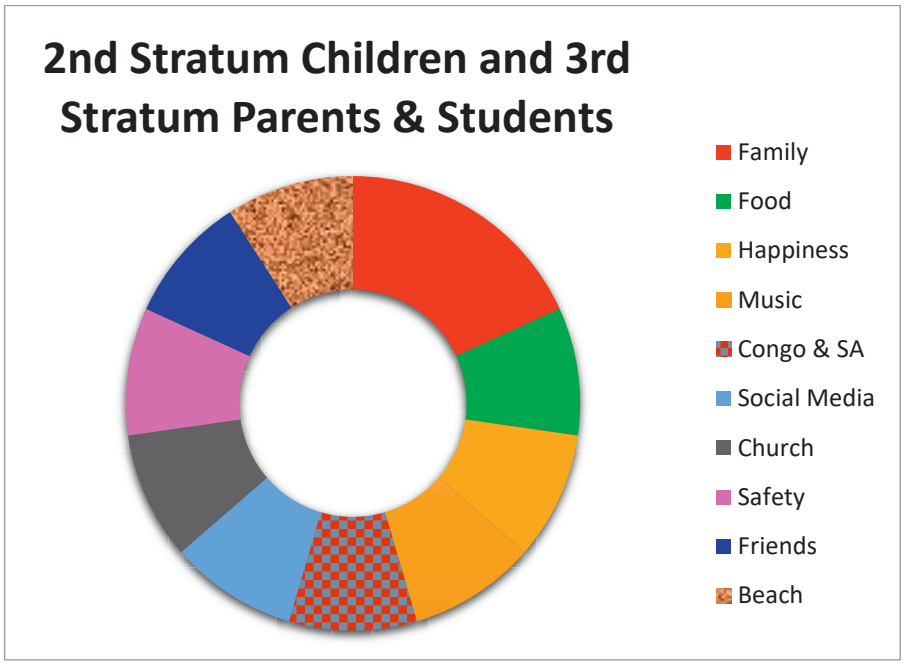


Image 2 Free Listing Home 1st PG



Graph 4 Results Free Listing Home Stratum 1 and 2



Graph 5 Results Free Listing Home per Stratum 2 and 3

VI. Further Key Quotes

Home

Now I do feel comfortable in Cape Town, obviously I had to adapt, it was hard in the beginning to I feel like I belong here because everything was so foreign to me, everything was so new, like I said I even wanted to go back. But you get used to it. A friend of mine asked me last week do you miss home? And it has become a very difficult question for me because this is my home now but I still have my roots back there. If I go back to live there, I have to adapt again. And I'm really going to miss this place here, my friends are here, everything that makes my life is here now. If I go back I'll have that same existential crisis again, I'll have to adapt, there'll be people that I'll miss and it's only my family that makes me wanna go back to Congo all my friends have moved out to America, even Ukraine, all of them left. So if I go I have to build new relationships, so it would just be for my parents. For other relationships I have to start at zero again. (Nadia – Student – P-R)

Pastors

It is not easy to travel with a Congolese passport, congregation laughs, I'm not a foreigner, I'm from heaven, I am a son of God
We have to grow, reach out and reach our full potential, reach maturity; we are the light of this world, born from heaven. The problem is we don't develop ourselves, bad company corrupts good manner, go higher, higher level in Christianity, you have traffic in your life because you're flying low, we have to use our wings, don't keep on saying SA economy bad, or diseases are there, no, you must fly
There is no weapon against you when you are high, stop complaining, the rain is there, yes, it will always be difficult, but fly, don't be scared, when you pass through clouds, there is no traffic, no rain, you need to go to a level, where the problems of the Earth cannot touch you, don't fight, go together, the wind and the storm are dangerous but when you are higher you enjoy them
You see life in a different way, change your mindset, be conscious about who you are, I know who I am, when he calls you up, no prison can hold you back
You're identity is screaming inside of you, you have been sleeping for so long, achieve your work among your people (Renaud – 1st G – P)

Pan Africanism

Americans assassinated Lumumba and put in a person they can control, and they've been sucking us, and they will until we live with nothing. They bring cheap labor and our greedy leaders accept that. That's why things don't change. That is why we have created the African Youth Congress to have leaders within our community. We have diverse countries inside, Ghana, Liberia, South Africa. When we spoke about the group, there's no borders around us. The people who colonized us made us believe in borders but within our hearts we know that we are one people, we come from the same soil, we drink the same water, we speak the same language, they are very similar, like Swahili, Zulu, and Shona. It's all similar, that's how we see it. Congo is the heart of Africa, we could supply the whole of Africa, the soil is so rich. The resources have quality. At least we are grateful that they brought the bible to us. That's one aspect. Also infrastructure and technology. But we also have our own herbs and medicines that they need to understand. With new technologies there's also new problems, they should have bargained with us fairly, not by manipulating our leaders … It started with an event on the World War and the Atomic Bomb, that was built with resources

from Congo. Some textbooks do not reveal this information. Proof was there that the bomb was built in Africa, and Congo is the heart of Africa. So for this event we had to get people together for chairs and the set up. And so we sat together why do we not create our own Congress like the ANC? For them it's not working out no more because of corruption. But the thing is ***we*** *decided to make one which is diverse. We have a group of youth where we speak about problems in different countries, like this week we talked about Nigeria. We want to encourage our youth to engage into politics so that our future can be better. Because if* ***we*** *do change, something there's bound to be change but if we sit around, we gonna end up in the same generation. So the reason why we made this group was to make the government know, hello we are here, we are coming, and we have the right to be here. We had a march to the Parliament because of the slave trade in Libya or a get-together at Scalabrini, it's all about encouragement to speak out and not waste our time on party, like to party our future away, because if we keep on partying now, in the future we gonna end up in the generation our parents were stuck in. We have to fight for what is right. When society looks at youth they see you wanting to smoke and have fun but if you sit down and talk you see it's not all about that. There's a lot in the youth, but they can't let it out because there's no opportunity, there's no motivation. We want them to progress so in the future we have better things. We are about 25 people. When we talk about things, it makes them emotional, it's about making them aware, that this is happening to your brothers and sisters, what are you going to do about it? It's all about letting them know. ... When it comes to serious things like the future and Africa, that's when you be like* ***I*** *am the future, it's either I put away my madness and start something now, and if I not do that I end like my parents. And the fact that we work with a* ***diverse*** *group including their own people creates opportunities, we get together, letting them know that there is no borders. We are going for people who are into economics and business, people that have talent, designers, people that are understanding, even though you are a teenager and you want to party, once you hear, you'll stop and listen. ...For us youth it's kinda hard because we're trying to fit in with South Africans and at the same time we get discriminated against, we get called certain names, makwereres. It makes us really sad ..they are our brothers and sisters, they are supposed to welcome us. Because if a foreigner comes into our country, we would welcome him with open hands. But for* ***us*** *they rather want to steal from us because we come here with nothing, no money, nothing but we come with what we have, we want to start a life, and when we do that, we might get robbed or we might get killed* (Diane © – 1st CG – D-C)

VII. PICTURES

Image 3 Flyer CCSSA Calling for Participation in a March to Parliament

Image 4 Banner of the CCSSA at the Scalabrini Center

Image 5 Final Day of Volunteeering: Certificate Receipt

KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE
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Die Kormoranfischer vom Erhai-See
Eine südwest-chinesische Wirtschaftsweise im Wandel

HEFT 2 **ANNIKA WIEKHORST 2002**
Die Verwendung von Pflanzen in der traditionellen Medizin bei drei Baka Gruppen in Südost Kamerun

HEFT 3 **IRENE HILGERS 2002**
Transformationsprozeß im Norden Kirgistans
Sozio-ökonomischer Wandel am Beispiel eines Dorfes

HEFT 4 **BRITTA FUCHS 2002**
Wenn der Muezzin rufen will
Diskurse über ein Moscheebauprojekt im Kölner Stadtteil Chorweiler

HEFT 5 **KERSTIN HADJER 2003**
Illegalisierte Identitäten
Auswirkungen der Sans Papiers-Problematik auf den Alltag afrikanischer Migranten in Pariser Wohnheimen (Foyers)

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HEFT 7 **CLAUDIA LIEBELT 2003**
Die Wasserwirtschaft im südmarokkanischen Dratal im Spannungsfeld von lokaler und staatlicher Ressourcenkontrolle

HEFT 8 **NADIA CORNELIUS 2003**
Genese und Wandel von Festbräuchen und Ritualen in Deutschland von 1933 bis 1945

HEFT 9 **HENRICA VAN DER BEHRENS 2003**
Gartenbau der Himba
Ackerbauliche Bodennutzung einer pastoralnomadischen Gruppe im Nordwesten Namibias und Wandel von Festbräuchen und Ritualen

HEFT 10 **TOBIAS SCHMIDTNER 2004**
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„La vara es recta, no es torcida“
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Der Yaqona-Markt in Fidschi
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HEFT 13 **ANNE SCHADY 2004**
"Community Participation" and "Peer Education"
A critique of key-concepts in HIV/AIDS prevention in Swaziland

HEFT 14 **THEKLA HOHMANN 2004**
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Wasser und Land im klassischen islamischen Recht unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der mālikitischen Rechtsschule

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Tanz und Geschlechterrollen in Zagora, Südmarokko

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"Being coloured" in Namibia als Konstruktion und Praxis

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Die Rolle der Emotionen im traditionellen chinesischen Medizinsystem

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Student Protests and the Decolonization of Education in South Africa

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Life on Sauerkraut Hill
Representation and Practices of Freedom and Constriction among German Immigrants in Cape Town, South Africa

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