UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

TOPIC:

'Performing Diversity': Everyday social interaction among migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans in Cape Town

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of a Doctoral Degree in Anthropology

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June 2020

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Abstract

This dissertation is an exploration of everyday social interactions among and between migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans, who live together as neighbours in a post-apartheid South African community. It focuses on the ways through which migrants who are diverse among themselves forge social relations with one another and with the South Africans in an urban township of lower middle class setting. It is an ethnography that interrogates the understandings of belonging and difference in concrete arenas of interaction in these two groups, and how they both mediate their diversity encounters in everyday life.

While living with diversity in everyday life, more specifically in migrant communities and townships of South Africa, has been discussed in much of the related literature as an exposition of xenophobia and violence, I show in this study that in the Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships, South Africans and their transnational migrant neighbours have forged ordinary relations and tolerance. Phoenix and Joe Slovo are interconnected townships where a multiplicity of transnational migrants and intra-migrant South Africans live together as neighbours and engage in various activities that involve regular interactions. Situated close to each other, Phoenix and Joe Slovo are small but overpopulated communities of a lower class setting, located next to the Milnerton suburb near Century City, the largest shopping mall in Cape Town. As such the area has attracted many migrants including Rwandans, Congolese, and Burundians most of whom work as car guards and security guards at the shopping mall while others run informal businesses that include barbershops, hair salons, and restaurants in the neighbourhood.

The central argument of the thesis is that although social relations between (black) South Africans and African migrants have been marked by xenophobic attitudes, and to some extent migrants have experienced xenophobic attacks particularly in townships, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships differences have been mediated through everyday interactions, seemingly since South Africans have come to appreciate and appropriate the practices and cultural forms that migrants from the Great Lakes Region confer to their locality. There is a sense of acceptance, tolerance, recognition, and belonging experienced through everyday practices of diversity and conviviality in all spaces of interaction. South Africans, it seems, refuse to be defined by everyday xenophobic behaviour, but focus on learning new ways of life through regular contacts with migrants. They have embraced their diversities as

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beneficial to their socio-economic wellbeing rather than seeing transnational migrants as threats.

The question that guides this exploration is, how do migrants from the Great Lakes Region deal with everyday living experiences of differences amongst themselves and South Africans in a fragmented community? This raises questions evaded by earlier studies about migrants from a region, which has been ravaged by wars that tore apart and shattered their lives. How do they attach meanings to the differences that exist among them and local South Africans? How do they understand belonging to particular social and emotional spaces? And finally, what are the situations that make conviviality possible in a place where conflict is also possible?

This dissertation produces knowledge that is based on rich ethnographic methods in order to contribute to the existing literature in the field of migration in Africa and to the anthropological literature on diversity in South Africa. To generate answers to the above questions, I have immersed myself in the everyday lives of the migrants from the Great Lakes region and their South Africans neighbours, by living in their locality for twelve months while I engaged in the ethnography of their everyday practices in church, barbershops, restaurants, on the streets, and in other social spaces within the Phoenix and Joe Slovo interconnected neighbourhoods. I have also considered their interactions and practices in events that took place outside their residential areas, such as weddings and shopping spaces.

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My observations during and while interacting with the residents, participation in their varied activities, and semi-structured interviews with a few key informants, have contributed to the ethnographic knowledge that this thesis presents.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that *'Performing diversity': Everyday social interaction among migrants from the Great Lakes region and South Africans in Cape Town'* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Odette Murara,

Signed....... Odewde...............................

Date........... June 17, 2020.........

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to various individuals and organisations whose invaluable efforts have contributed to the completion of this dissertation. I would like to thank Professor Heike Becker who offered me a research assistantship to work on her NRF-funded research project, "Performance and the Politics of Difference in Africa" at the very beginning of my PhD programme; the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York, for granting me a Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship (DPDF), and the Doctoral Dissertation Completion scholarship under the Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa programme in the SSRC. This funding has not only resulted in the completion of my PhD programme, but during the course of the programme I was able to participate in various workshops and conferences for scholarly engagements. As an SSRC fellow, I participated in a fully-funded workshop organised by the DPDF programme which took place in Johannesburg, South Africa; the Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Workshop held in Ethiopia, and I was delighted to participate in two international conferences in Poland and the USA where I presented the on-going PhD work.

Secondly, many thanks to everyone who participated in this study, particularly the interlocutors in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships and Mr John who introduced me to the place and key informant residents. I appreciate your time, your trust in me sharing your lived experiences, and accommodating me to socially engage on a daily basis from your local spaces of interaction. I am not mentioning all your names, but you know very well how much I valued every moment I shared with you in your community as a resident and researcher. To everyone who shared your experiences with me through informal discussions: I cherish the results of our conversations. To the Revival Pentecostal Church (RPC) in Phoenix, thank you for accommodating me as a member of your church family.

To my supervisor Professor Heike Becker: I strongly appreciate your guidance and advice throughout the programme, particularly your rich suggestions on the ethnographic writing for the best anthropological PhD dissertation. The moment I was muted in the writing process, wondering how to approach my rich ethnographic data, you fuelled my energy and proved to me that I was on the right path, encouraging me to read and write more, and this reminds me of the statement found in the notes you once shared with me: "Always keep in mind that the way to learn to write an ethnography is to write an ethnography". Thank you for your encouragement at all times.

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Given all the efforts of the above, my family has also been incredibly supportive. I am grateful to my beloved husband, Gerald Sinza for sleepless nights making sure that everything was well with me in the foreign land where he wished to be by my side, and who even today patiently works harder to ensure he fulfils all our fiscal obligations while I concentrate on completing this thesis. To my parents and siblings (the Muraras), thank you for your care and love, keeping me in your daily prayers, and for your frequent long WhatsApp calls which are always appreciated. To Mr Yvès, the youngest gentleman in the house: thank you for your care; you always lend a hand whenever needed while I focus on books. To all who contributed to this work in whichever way, as diverse as you are, allow me to say- Thank you so much/ Merçi beaucoup/ *Ahsanteni sana/ Enkosi kakhulu/ Murakoze cyane*.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Diversity and everyday interactions from a Cape Town Township

On a Sunday afternoon I visited the Joe Slovo Township, a small but overpopulated community of a lower class setting, located next to the Milnerton suburb near Century City, the largest shopping mall in Cape Town. Upon arrival, my first stop was at the shop corner, a space where we find restaurants, barbershops, and hair salons mostly run by migrants from the Great Lakes Region who live in the neighbourhood, and it is a focal point from which diversity is observed. The musical sounds from the 'California barbershop' could be heard from the street where I had parked.

I then entered the 'California barbershop' which is assembled in a shipping container, as were all the surrounding shops, painted in white and blue with yellow doors and red wording along with three images of male haircuts which many consider to be '*style congolais*' (Congolese style). Inside the barbershop, loud music played on a silver CD radio in the corner, and male and female clients were seated on white plastic garden chairs waiting for their turn to get a haircut. Not only men and women as well as boys were listening, singing along, or nodding heads to the variety of music that was played interchangeably, but a few people were also browsing through a bunch of magazines and newspapers on the small wooden table in front of them, while others were busy scanning through the haircut images displayed on the barbershop wall.

That day, the loud diverse music sometimes eclipsed the sound of human voices and sometimes migrant and South African clients as well as the two barbers suggested songs to be played, changing CDs from *slow*, to *rumba* (famous music from DRC), to South African *house music*, and other varieties from famous Nigerian, Tanzanian, and Rwandan artists, to name a few. I heard songs by Rwandan popular music artists (*abahanzi*) such as King James, Meddy, and Dream Boys; and the '*rumba*' music of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) by Koffi Olomide, (the now late) Papa Wemba; as well as South African songs all played interchangeably. Apart from the diverse music that attracted one's attention, much conversation was going on between clients, passer-by, and barbers.

While I was there, as a passer-by along with a few others, I engaged in informal conversations with people. Both barbers were migrants from the Great Lakes Region, and

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one of them is the barbershop owner who is originally from Burundi but grew up in the DRC. In our conversation we spoke in *Kiswahili*[1] throughout even when he was answering questions I asked in Kirundi[2]. He understands Kirundi he said, but prefers Kiswahili as he uses it more often with his migrant neighbours and clients. I asked him if he understood what the South African songs meant, and replied, 'I understand some, not all'. How do you access them, I asked, and laughingly he said, '*Dada mimi nakuwaka na ma lafiki wa huku, wananileteaka na zingine nanunuwa'* (Sister, I do have South African friends, they borrow me some, and others I buy them).

As I engaged with people in the barbershop, and as we talked and responded to the music, a South African woman approximately in her mid-twenties turned to me and said, 'I love your dress, is beautiful'. That day I was in my colourful knee-length African print (*kitenge)* dress, which was made by a Congolese woman in Harare, Zimbabwe during my vacation. 'Where did you get your dress from'? she asked. Upon my reply she added, 'We have a Congolese tailor who can make you more similar dresses'. By saying so, she directed me to Mr Abdul, the famous migrant tailor from the Great Lakes region who is well known in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix communities. While I was being introduced to him, another South African woman showed up wearing African print attire too. She was on her way from church, she said, and had passed by to check on her son who was getting a haircut.

The conversation over a *kitenge*[3] dress dominated at that moment since both South African women stressed that I should meet the Congolese tailor in Phoenix because he makes good and unique African attire dresses. In a little while, the topic over the African attire dress had shifted to focus on hairstyles as one woman started taking snapshots of her son's haircut, admiring how well-groomed he looked. She was not the only one who was excited; other people were also commenting on each other's haircuts, and boys and young men were taking snapshots of each other's hairstyles. Others were paying a closer look at the haircut images on the wall to decide on a style. The barbers were barbering while singing, and the clients responded to the tunes by nodding their heads or singing along. In a short while, more South

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[1] Kiswahili is the most used language in East Africa, especially in Tanzania, Kenya, and some parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Many Rwandans and Burundians also speak Kiswahili as a result of either having lived in the above Kiswahili speaking neighboring countries or having lived with Kiswahili speakers in exile. Within their setting therefore, the Great Lakes Region migrants often use Kiswahili. It has become a common medium language for Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians when they interact.

[2] The native language spoken in Burundi

[3] The *kitenge is a* wrap-over (mostly of African print/fabric); an everyday dress for a woman from the Congo, Rwanda or Burundi, more specifically at home or in the neighbourhood, resembling a kind of respect by being fully dressed. The *kitenge* is also worn on other occasions in full smart attire.

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Africans and migrants entered the shop while others exited to surrounding shops in the locality.

1.2 Background to the research site: Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships

Figure 1: The map illustrating the geographical location of the fieldwork sites
Source: https://images.app.goo.gl/MKSGGXnwDxkVwyn4A

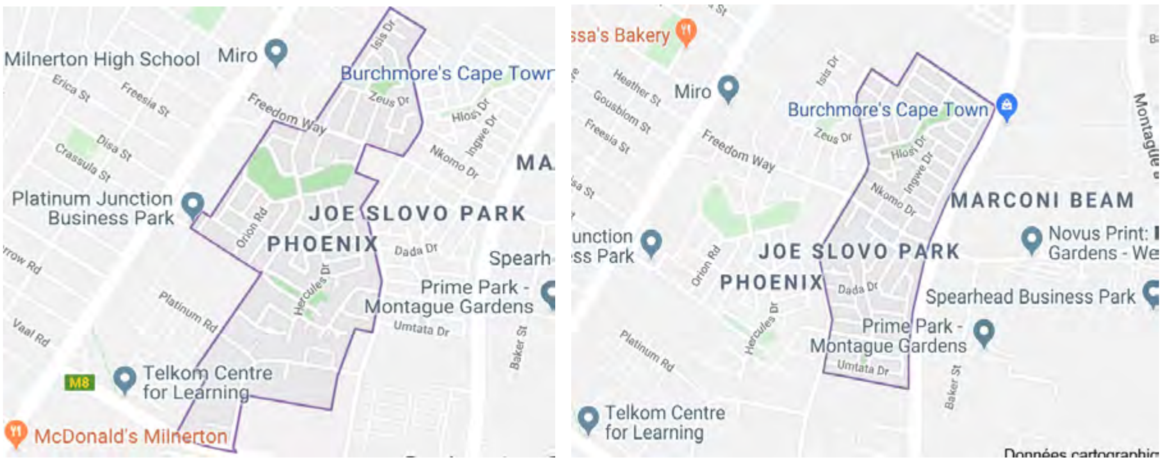

Figure 2: Map of the research sites – Phoenix on the left and Joe Slovo on the right

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The fieldwork to this study was conducted in two interconnected townships, namely Joe Slovo and Phoenix in the city of Cape Town, South Africa. Phoenix and Joe Slovo are small-overpopulated neighbourhoods of a lower to middle income setting located next to the Milnerton suburb near Century City, the largest shopping mall in Cape Town, and surrounded by industrial areas near the Montague Gardens. Although these locations are dominated by South African residents such as black intra-migrants in Joe Slovo and mostly coloureds[4] in Phoenix, same locations have also attracted a number of transnational African migrants, particularly young families and single adults from the Great Lakes region, to work in the nearby mall as security and car guards, while others run informal businesses in the locality as barbers, hairdressers, tailors, and restaurant owners.

The aim of the study is to juxtapose the over-emphasis on conflict, xenophobic violence, social exclusion, and discrimination that have dominated the African migration discourse in contemporary South Africa, and to look how people – transnational and internal migrants relate to each other as they live together. This particular research site was selected on the basis of its multiplicity of migrants from Burundi, the DRC, and Rwanda, who are diverse among themselves and also South Africans, as well as on the basis of their diverse informal activities, which are significant in any anthropological study of diversity, difference, and belonging. Like Forrest & Kearns (2001) put it, residents of poor neighbourhoods spend more time in their local areas than do residents of wealthier neighbourhoods. The community members of Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships thus engage in socio-economic activities that make their diversities visible and their daily interactions feasible.

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1.2.1 Sensory ethnography of the field

Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships are physically distinct, specifically in their dwelling characteristics. There are no road signs to distinguish these two townships geographically, apart from a small signpost reading the name Joe Slovo on one side, and Phoenix on the other. On the Phoenix side we find more formal houses in which, according to SA stats (2011), 93% of the population live, as opposed to informal dwellings consisting of shacks

[4] Coloureds, formerly Cape Coloureds, are South Africans of mixed ancestral origins. Their ancestry includes White European colonisers, indigenous Khoisan and Xhosa people, and slaves imported from the Dutch East Indies.

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and a few RDP[5] housing on the Joe Slovo side. As a place that has experienced an inflow of residents, anyone has the right to purchase a home in Joe Slovo or Phoenix, but as per RDP housing policy, right to access a housing subsidy is limited to South African citizens and permanent residents only (McDonald, 2000). As a result transnational migrants and South Africans have equal rights to purchase a house in their locality given their immigration status and the financial means to afford it, but the refugee migrants I worked with in Joe Slovo and Phoenix do not qualify for subsidised RDP housing because they are not permanent residents but either have refugee status or are asylum seeker s with temporary permits. This meant that the refugee migrants whom I interacted with rented houses or shacks from South African landlords.

Although I also collected data from Phoenix, most of my fieldwork time was spent in Joe-Slovo where there are more shops, bus terminals, and movement since residents intensely move up and down the streets from one shop to another. On the Joe Slovo side of the neighbourhood this movement starts very early in the morning as residents rush to catch public transport to work and children go off to school, and ends very late not only as the residents come back from work shifts but also as they enter and exit shops in the locality. All shops in Joe Slovo including barbershops, restaurants, and hair salons are made in shipping containers and are positioned on the main street. On this same main street one can hardly escape from the barbeque smell of meat, sausages, and chickens especially over the weekends, as Xhosa women position their braai stands as a means of making a living. On the Phoenix side there are fewer shops compared with Joe Slovo, and the shops are within a small complex that could be regarded as a shopping hub in the area, though the available businesses in this complex are limited to restaurants, a tailoring shop, an internet café, and hair salons.

Most of the above informal businesses in the area are run by migrant refugees from the Great Lakes region except a few such as a driving school in Joe Slovo that is owned by a South African, and a small grocery store owned by a Somali refugee migrant. Joe Slovo as compared to Phoenix in general seemed busier and noisier due to the high movement of

[5] The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a South African socio-economic policy framework aimed at very poor and property-less citizens. The programme ensures the replacement of the shack dwellings with the construction of formal houses and the Government funded low-income houses are known as 'RDP housing'.

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people and their sounds, and minibuses in street corners hooting in search of passengers, to mention a few.

On both sides of the neighbourhood residents use the streets as walking spaces to access other destinations, or to simply walk around and meet others; the extent of such interactions depends on the time of the day, the day of the week, and the season of the year in general. There is a remarkable influx of people, and men and women, young and adult, walking around the streets in the afternoon and evenings than in the morning hours. In the morning hours students are at school, and adults are at work or at home resting because they have night shift work at a security company or a restaurant in the city, as most interlocutors told me, and/or are simply at home doing household duties. Although movement around the streets is an everyday event, more people are encountered around the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix on weekends than on weekdays, and on public and school holidays. This may be due to the fact that school goers are off school on weekends and holidays, spending more time in their neighbourhood streets playing than they would if they were occupied with school schedules on weekdays.

The movement of people around the streets is also affected by the South African weather; during the winter season which is around May, June, and July which are the coldest months in the city of Cape Town, when there are fewer people on the streets than during summer or springtime, which is October through to March. In December, when summer is very hot, it gets darker at later hours and the days are longer than the nights, consequently people are around in the streets till 9 or 10 pm. Not only December is one of the hottest months of summer season in Cape Town, but it is also a month featuring the gathering of friends and family members for Christmas celebrations, and also a school holiday month, hence encountering many people on the street. Identifying who the South African or migrants were in the streets involved paying closer attention to how people were dressed, the way they walked which could be either relaxed or fast, the sounds and languages, and their physical appearances, among other representations.

1.2.2 Situating the study: Intranational and transnational migration on the site

The Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships consist of mixed populations, the majority of which are black South Africans (in Joe Slovo), and coloureds (on the Phoenix side), plus migrants from the Great Lakes Region and southern African regions such as Zimbabwe. Most of the

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migrants live side by side with their South African landlords in shacks and or RDP houses. From my observations as well as what I learnt from South Africans and their migrant tenants in Joe Slovo, South Africans who have acquired houses through the RDP programme, create spaces for shacks in their back yards and rent them out, as an additional source of income. Most of the migrants I talked to, who reside in Joe Slovo, mentioned that they found the rentals affordable and favourable as they were close to their places of work. In this study, through the analysis of the space and embodied performances, I focus on and investigate the everyday experiences and interactions between migrants from the Great Lakes Region (who form the majority among other transnational migrants on the site and yet are diverse among themselves) and South Africans – in order to unsettle the common belief that there could be no everyday conviviality between these two groups. I here refer to black South Africans who are internal migrants from other parts of the country to Cape Town and who, due to socio-economic hardships and marginalisation, have been reported as engaging in more xenophobic behaviours than other races such as coloured or white South Africans.

Intra-migration in Joe Slovo

Historically, Joe Slovo (Park) is a small township designed to replace the shack settlement of Marconi Beam[6] with an orderly working-class suburb, although the area is still barely distinguishable from the informal settlement it was meant to replace. The place was named after Joe Slovo, the anti-apartheid activist and former South African Minister of Housing (Robins, 2002). Joe Slovo as opposed to Phoenix is a mixture of fixed houses and shacks, next to Montague Gardens. The growth of Marconi Beam was quite rapid, with 834 households being situated on the property by June 1993, and a total population of 2 836 people. A socio-economic survey at the time found that the community was relatively homogenous (with over ninety percent of residents being Xhosa speakers who came from other informal settlements in Cape Town or from the previous homelands Ciskei and Transkei[7]) and quite poor, with average household incomes of only R576 per month (Urban Foundation 1993).

[6] Marconi Beam is a 256 ha site next to the Montague Gardens Industrial area, the major source of employment, located in the centre of Milnerton. Given Marconi Beam's access to sites of employment, the area received black intra-migrant squatters who erected shacks on this land for a considerable period of time (Rollins, 1991).

[7] Since the early 1970s, Cape Town has been experiencing a significant influx of black Africans, predominantly people whose mother tongue is a Bantu language, from rural areas, in the Eastern Cape province. Most of these new arrivals are Xhosa speakers who migrated from the former apartheid homelands of Transkei and Ciskei in the Eastern Cape, some 1000 kilometers from the city (Barry & Rüther, 2005).

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In his survey conducted in 1997, McDonald (2000) found similar demographic results although the total population had increased to an estimated 5 775 people living in 1 343 shacks. For McDonald, such rapid growth was based on the fact that the transit Maconi Beam site was located next to Montague Gardens - the largest industrial location in the area and a source of employment for many Marconi Beam residents - as well as being relatively close to job opportunities in neighbouring industrial areas. Second, political and criminal violence in other, larger informal settlements in the early 1990s drove people to look for new informal housing locations. And, finally, with the relaxation of apartheid legislation after February 1990 and the (rather reluctant) declaration by the Milnerton Town Council in November of 1990 to make eight hectares of land on the Telkom site available as a 'temporary transit area for the housing of homeless persons,' there was additional intra-urban and rural-urban migration to the settlement (Saff, 1996). By 2005, an estimated 48000 people moved into the city every year (Weaver, 2004), and this influx had contributed to the large number of informal settlements in the city, with estimates of 164 settlements (Dreyer, 2004).

Joe Slovo therefore is a township that was put in place to replace an informal settlement and is overpopulated because both intra and transnational migrants continue to make it their residential home. According to the 2011 census for instance, Joe Slovo Park had a population of 12 629, and was inhabited by 95% black Africans 66% of which was Xhosa; while the neighbouring Phoenix had a population of 4 219, and was inhabited by few black Africans while the majority consisted of coloureds. In Phoenix, it is estimated that 83% of the labour force (aged 15 to 64) is employed; while at least 28% of households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less (SSA, 2011 census). This figure is higher than the employment and income demographic representations found among shack dwellers in Joe Slovo, where only 32.7% were permanently employed. Robins also carried a study in the Joe Slovo Park in 2002 and found that about 47% of the population by then was unemployed (Robins, 2002). This high unemployment rate is found in most black South African communities and townships, and inhabitants mostly depend on short-contract jobs from nearby industries and shopping centres, while a few South African and the majority of transnational migrant residents run informal businesses to cope with their socio-economic challenges. In Phoenix as mentioned earlier, there is a small complex of formal houses, and migrants rent room in the complex to run their businesses be they tailoring, restaurants, hair salons and barbershops, while in Joe Slovo they rent or own shipping container shops positioned on the main street.

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It is on the basis of this diversity and migration in a contemporary South African township, that this study produces knowledge that contributes to the existing literature in the overall study of migration in Africa, and to the anthropological literature on the performance of diversity in South Africa. In this dissertation I focus on everyday performances of diversity and conviviality, the ways in which transnational migrants and South Africans rebuild or disconnect from existing social relations in a natural and social setting. This will provide a platform to understand 'new forms of cosmopolitanism' (Vertovec, 2007:1046), where empathy, toleration and respect for other cultures and values, are realised both through 'living together with difference' (Werbner, 2008:2). I also consider diversity among this category of migrants from the Great Lakes region, as instituted in their countries of origin and ethnicities other than seeing them as homogenous.

1.3 Brief note on the Great Lakes Region migrants' trajectories

The people from the Great Lakes region I have worked with in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are refugee migrants who passed through other African countries before coming to South Africa. Most of them had lived elsewhere in Africa as refugees in camps and cities, while some like Pascaline, the hairdresser whom we encounter in Chapter 3, came to South Africa via other countries through particular family arrangements and connections with established refugee migrants in South Africa. Whether they lived in other countries as refugees before coming to South Africa, or came directly from their home countries, these transnational migrants have mixed reasons for coming to South Africa. Some fled persecution while others wanted to make a better life for themselves and their families.

As pointed out by researchers such as Daley, 2006; Kuperman, 2006; and Lemarchand, 2006 among others, Great Lakes Region migrants from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Rwanda share common histories of war and conflicts. In addition, they have been crossing each other's border (Malkki, 1995; Lamarchand, 1997), and in many cases have encountered ethnic conflicts across borders (Autesserre, 2010). This category of migrants has also passed through other countries en route to South Africa; a process that Vigouroux (2008) describes as engaging in 'transitional or semi-direct' migration.

In 1993 following the death of the Burundi President Melchior Ndadaye, thousands of Burundians fled to neighbouring countries, namely Rwanda, the DRC, and Tanzania (Lamarchand, 2000:7). A few months later, genocide and war erupted in Rwanda (April and

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July 1994 respectively), and Rwandans fled to Burundi, the DRC, and Tanzania (Lamarchand, 2000; Malkki, 1995). Two years later, between 1996 and 1997, during what Berwouts called the 'first Great African war' (Berwouts, 2017:4) in the DRC, thousands of Congolese together with Rwandan and Burundian refugees who were in the Congo at the time had to flee to neighbouring Tanzania (Lamarchand, 2000). In the midst of moving back and forth Rwandan, Burundian, and Congolese migrants shared struggles and opportunities (if any) in the process of living together in cities and in refugee camps in the Great Lakes Region and beyond.

This category of migrants, apart from living in suburbs and refugee camps in the Great Lakes Region in Rwanda, Burundi, the DRC, Tanzania, and Kenya, later moved to other parts of southern African countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, and Malawi, countries which are known to host migrants from war-torn countries. In the process of living together as refugees, they perhaps developed a sense of sameness from suffering of the same horrific experiences of war and conflicts in their countries and the region as a whole. What I consider to be important is that living together in the camps reminded this group of migrants that they were not that different but humans with the same struggles, fleeing from the same kinds of political unrest, which did not mean they had no differences which were instituted in their countries of origin and ethnicities.

While Vigouroux (2008) talks of transitional migration to South Africa, that transitionality can be understood as a process which applies to a few migrants who intentionally left their countries with South Africa as a destination in mind, while the majority presented in this dissertation are refugees who have not only passed through but lived in other countries as refugees before coming to South Africa. In this thesis, I respond to a general assumption about this category of migrants, which has been judgemental in terms of how they relate to each other. For instance, from an informal discussion I had in Cape Town, Rwandan migrants who have gone via many countries before coming to South Africa, continue to live in fear of fellow Rwandans who came directly from Rwanda, especially those who have work/business or study permits.

There have also been tensions between Rwandans and Congolese people based on wars and unrests in the region (the literature that refers to Rwanda's invasion of the DRC), and the situation continued to haunt migrants resulting in mistrust and uncertainties particularly among Congolese and Rwandans. One assumes that people's social relations in Cape Town,

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as residents of the same city or neighbourhood would therefore be worsened by doubtful relations among Rwandans and themselves, Rwandans and Congolese, and largely between South Africans and transnational migrants in general.

It is worth a reminder that in South Africa there are no refugee camps as compared to other southern African countries like Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi that host migrants from war-torn countries. Consequently, the majority of Great Lakes Region migrants who are refugees live in the same neighbourhoods as local South Africans, whose history of social exclusion (Coplan, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Posel, 1987) has resulted in negative attitudes towards the 'other'; an attitude which is re-enacted in everyday life, more particularly towards African migrants. As a result African migrants' social relations with South African internal migrants have been negative, ranging from everyday social exclusion to assaults, for instance the xenophobic attack of May 2008, which left some migrants dead, injured, and others displaced (Misago et al, 2009:2).

Previous studies on migrants of the Great Lakes Region in South Africa have pointed out that this category of migrants run informal businesses to make a living (Amis and Ballard, 2005; Steinberg, 2005). While many, like other migrants, face difficulties to secure formal employment, they secure their own ways to negotiate challenges of socio-economic livelihood. Following this, Congolese, Rwandese, and Burundian refugees for instance, have been reported to survive on unskilled work, mainly as car and security guards, taxi drivers, or working in hair dressing and other informal businesses (Owen, 2011; Steinberg, 2005; Vigouroux, 2008) and street vending (Steinberg, 2005; Vigouroux, 2008).

While the literature cited above has focused on Congolese migrants, their means of survival are not so different from those employed by Rwandan and Burundian migrants in South Africa. For instance, in her study with Francophone[8] migrants in Cape Town, Vigouroux (2008) argues that Congolese, Burundians, and Rwandans participate in the local economy, especially in craft trading and introducing products that are not provided by South Africans. I discuss the latter in Chapter 6 where I talk about the connectivity of Great Lakes Region migrants with their home countries; connections through which they introduce products from home to South African communities which leads to Chapter 7 where I discuss how South Africans appropriate such materiality, and other forms of conviviality.

[8] 'French-speaking'

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Nevertheless, engagement in informal businesses by people from the Great Lakes Region is not something new. While one may argue that Great Lakes Region migrants in their migrant neighbourhood run informal businesses as the only way to make a living, one should also ask why all these informal activities are done by transnational migrants mostly and not intra-national South Africans who also live in townships and experience socio-economic hardships due to poverty and unemployment. Rather, the ability to establish social spaces like shops in a township of Cape Town, reflect the socio-economic life lived in their home countries, which is re-enacted throughout their trajectories and in South Africa today. Like De Boeck (2015: 148) notes in the mid-1990s, about ten percent of the population in Kinshasa, the Capital city of the DRC, was estimated to participate in the formal economy. This implied that the rest of the population (ninety percent) had no other choice but to engage in the informal economy to make a living.

In the process of surviving in the cities of the DRC, inhabitants engaged in informal businesses ranging from street corner vending to barbering and hair dressing, tailoring, running restaurants, and trading (De Boeck, 2011; Iyenda (2005). The same self-employment is present in the cities of Burundi and Rwanda. This perhaps forms the backbone for migrants from the above countries to manage social and financial support for themselves in an expensive city like Cape Town where, as before, refugees get no support from the UNHCR like others who live in southern African countries which host refugee migrants. Not only do inhabitants establish shops in their neighbourhoods, they also form churches as socio-spiritual spaces and to some extent as a way of also making a living. This diversity and presence of African migrants into South African communities have however has resulted in social tensions which I discuss in the section below.

1.4 African migration and social tensions in South Africa

Most studies on African migration in South Africa have documented the social and economic tensions[9] which have existed among transnational migrants and South Africans, characterised by social exclusion, hatred, discrimination, and, to some extent, xenophobic attacks on African migrants, particularly in South African townships[10]. The Phoenix township consists

[9] See Muzondidya, J. (2010); Linden, M. (2010); Misago, P. et al (2009); Nyamnjoh, F. (2006); Sichone, O. (2008); Wa Kabwe-Segatti, A. & landau, L. (2008); Crush, J. (2000 & 2008); Reilly, J. (2001); Harris, B. (2001); Danso, R. & McDonald, D. (2000); Amisi, B. (2006) among others.

[10] Typical townships in South Africa are made of shacks dwellings, even though we recently find but a few

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of formal built houses dominantly inhabited by South African coloureds who are known to be less hostile compared to black South Africans who dominantly inhabit the shacks of Joe Slovo. In the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), Crush (2008) talks of the levels of hostility among South Africans, questioning whether they are all equally xenophobic. He finds that xenophobia among employed South Africans is less virulent compared to unemployed (Crush, 2008:35) populations. This is in line with what other scholars have noted about the root causes of xenophobia; namely that African migrants are stereotyped as stealing jobs and other opportunities from local nationals (Sichone, 2008; Harris, 2002 & 2008; Misago et al. 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2008). Therefore the blame for social ills is based on the deprivation and poverty that exist among locals, particularly black South Africans, as most of them, especially in informal settlements and townships, are unemployed (Crush, 2008).

Crush (2008) notes that xenophobia in South Africa has historical, material, political and managerial derivatives. The latter means that the massive income gap, poverty, and inequality have resulted from apartheid policies and from the government's failure to redistribute the post-apartheid economic boom to the poor. These developments have caused frustration, which has resulted in xenophobic attitudes towards so-called "others" (Ibid). In the informal settlements and townships of South Africa, we find many cases of xenophobic attacks due to the competition of resources and high rate of poverty, and these are the same areas where crime is high due to the lack of necessities such as houses and employment (Harris, 2001; Yakushko, 2009). Xenophobia is therefore explained in relation to limited resources such as housing, education, employment, and health care, coupled with high expectations during transition. Foreigners who are perceived as a threat to jobs, housing and education, become scapegoats once nationals become frustrated due to ongoing deprivation and poverty (Harris, 2002:2). Xenophobia also arises from a subjective feeling of discontent based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. This embraces what De

formal tiny houses next to the shacks that are constructed under the Reconstruction and Development Program. One of the characteristics of the townships in South Africa, is the overcrowd of those shacks and houses as opposed to the to middle-income suburbs. Townships are overpopulated and are homes for lower-income residents, though exceptions apply. Townships are known as the most insecure places to live in South Africa, because of high crime rates. I quote what a reporter said in a Johannesburg Star Newspaper regarding South African townships (in) security, back in 1990s 'Every evening township people scuttle – like frightened cockroaches – out of packed trains and buses at various stations into the streets on their way home from work. Nobody among them knows for sure whether he will reach his destination safely. The homeward bound crowds know that anything can happen for the incidence of crime has almost become a way of life'. African reporter, Johannesburg Star, 1966

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la Rey (1991) notes when he states that when there is a gap between ambitions and reality, social discontent is likely to result.

Another trigger of xenophobia among South Africans towards African migrants is lack of knowledge, due to lack of interaction and contact between migrants and locals. In this sense, the hatred towards African transnational migrants is a result of the isolation that black South Africans experienced during the apartheid era in South Africa. Under this regime, black South Africans were isolated from the international community (Harris, 2002), and due to this international isolation nationals become hostile and unwelcoming to non-nationals. Isolation from the international and local communities affected the majority; it caused ignorance about other countries and about their neighbours, causing fear and hostility towards them, regarding them as total strangers and "unknown". According to Hook & Harris (2002) when a group has no history of incorporating strangers, it may find it difficult to be welcoming.

In his study, Crush (2008) for instance states that the South Africans he interviewed said to have not known or have had close contact with a migrant, yet they participated in the xenophobic attacks against people they have never engaged with. This poor contact and lack of knowledge about the reasons why immigrants were present in their territories added to their frustrations and resulted in hatred.

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Considering the above, how then are good interactions between transnational migrants and South Africans possible in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships? In what way do these interactions reveal a different set of social relations from the dominant discourse of conflict and (xenophobic) violence? What are the situations that make conviviality possible at a place where conflict is also possible? Among the African migrants in South African cities and townships, as already mentioned, are migrants from the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and more especially from war-torn countries, namely Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC. Some of these migrants are refugees and others diaspora migrants. The migrants in my study who live in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships were all refugee migrants, on refugee status or asylum seeker/temporary permits. This dissertation hence focuses on the ways in which South African intra-migrants and Great Lakes Region migrants in a Cape Town township relate to each other, how they have managed to forge relations despite their differences, and more importantly how encounters with such diversity are mediated in everyday life. I aim at

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answering the overall question, namely what are the situations that make conviviality possible where conflicts are also possible in a fragmented migrant community in South Africa?

During my stay in Phoenix and Joe Slovo, where I lived for the period of 12 months exploring the social relations of Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town, specifically how they lived together among themselves and South Africans, I encountered and observed residents engaging with each other on a daily basis. They interacted from local spaces, which included barbershops, hair salons, restaurants, streets, and the multinational Pentecostal church in their neighbourhood. Their intermingling, which involved the way they talked, greeted, walked together, among other embodied performances, represented a form of conviviality that was contrary to what we know about relations among South Africans and African migrants on one hand, and secondarily among migrants themselves on the other. The question therefore is in which ways do they mediate their encounters of difference?

Migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans residing in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, as I show later in this thesis, have managed to live beyond fear of the other, particularly after the incidents of xenophobic attacks in 2008, as one informant narrated. They have continued to engage in informal businesses, rent South Africans' shacks in backyards, rooms inside landlords' homes, prayed together, and participated in the various programmes of and at church, to mention a few encounters. They have presented themselves in local public spaces including streets, instead of hiding or excluding themselves.

This presents us with another understanding that needs to be interrogated. While South African townships in general are considered the most unsafe, unsecure places for migrants to live or mix with locals, the migrant and South African residents in in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships present themselves in social spaces as people who belong. Both migrants and locals have chosen to focus on improved lifestyles as business owners, shop owners, clients, landlords, and tenants, and also ordinary neighbours who need each another rather than focusing on the possible negative impacts of their otherness and differences. I argue that both transnational and intra-migrants have embraced their diversities as valuable to their progressive lives together.

The central argument of the thesis is that although social relations between South Africans and African migrants had been marked by xenophobic attitude, and to some extent migrants

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have experienced xenophobic attacks particularly in townships, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships where South Africans and migrants live together as neighbours, they have managed to mediate their differences through everyday interactions because South Africans appreciate and appropriate practices and cultural forms that migrants from the Great Lakes Region confer to their locality. There is sense of acceptance, tolerance, recognition, and belonging experienced through everyday practices of cosmopolitanism and conviviality at every space of interaction. South Africans, as it seems, have refused to be defined by everyday xenophobic behaviours, and instead focus on learning new ways of life through regular contact with the transnational migrants.

Unlike other African migrants in Cape Town who target formal employment such as Zimbabweans, migrants from the Great Lakes Region in these townships mainly run informal businesses to make a living. Informal businesses run by migrants from the Great Lakes have therefore created social spaces for regular contact, which override the idea of social exclusion, isolation, and lack of knowledge that has been known to contribute to xenophobic behaviour in South Africa. The more regular the contact and interaction with migrants, the more South Africans gain knowledge about other people and other cultures, and come to appreciate that the migrants do not steal jobs like the theories on xenophobia assume (see Harris, 2002). Instead South Africans have learnt that the migrants are innovative, and benefit from the fact that the migrant businesses operate close to them at reasonable costs, enabling them to save costs on transport, as they do not have to commute to have a haircut, for instance. They have clearly embraced their diversities as beneficial to their wellbeing, learning new ways of life and enjoying the opportunities that are established in their neighbourhood rather than seeing migrants as threats.

As I will show in subsequent chapters, local migrant-created spaces in Joe Slovo and Phoenix such as restaurants, barbershops and salons serve not only as business or income generating spaces but also social contact points where people can pass by to check on others, meet and socialise, and leave their parcels for short, free, safe keeping. Engaging with ethnographic work on spaces and places, Fischer (1977, 1982) describes urban spaces as points of diversity, tolerance, sophistication, sociation, public participation, cosmopolitanism, and personal network-formation. With interest in the spatial and social compositions of urban regions an urbanist, AbdouMaliq Simone, provides another meaning to urban spaces. Simone (2004:415) finds for instance that in the inner city of Johannesburg in South Africa, the

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spatial parameters compel uncertain interactions and cooperation among long-term residents and new arrivals, South Africans and Africans from elsewhere. Both of these writers stress the importance of space as a contact point where people of differences ordinarily meet, intermingle, and interact.

In this dissertation, I examine the interactions in migrants' shops, on the street, in the local multinational Revival Pentecostal Church (RPC) in Phoenix led by a Congolese migrant, and at marked events to which migrants and South Africans invite each other, to meet and celebrate or mourn together. In this thesis, we learn how the approach to interactions of diversity could change depending on the space, meaning that people's engagements at church differed strongly from those at shops or on the streets. Each space therefore offered distinct forms of interaction, which in turn affect conviviality.

As most of the literature on xenophobia in South Africa suggests, African migrants have coped in different ways to the xenophobia directed at them: avoiding contact with townships, avoiding speaking in public spaces, and avoiding walking in unsafe places in isolation (Murara, 2012; Hehenkamp, 2010; McLellan, 2009). However, while some migrants left townships including Joe Slovo during the 2008 xenophobic attacks to settle in middle-income neighbourhoods which were regarded as safer, others chose to remain or left and came back to Joe Slovo again after the situation was stabilised.

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In this thesis I therefore attempt to provide answers to a number of questions: How do migrants who are diverse among themselves, live together and negotiate their multi-layered differences and diversities in a correspondingly diverse local South African setting? Despite the recurring xenophobic behaviours specifically towards African migrants living in townships alongside locals, we find migrants living and running tuck-shops and other informal businesses in a township like Joe Slovo. Given these instances, what are the situations and factors that make conviviality possible at a place where conflict is also possible? What are the transnational migrants' and South Africans' own understanding of ordinary practices of belonging and difference in concrete arenas of interaction? How do they rebuild or disconnect from existing relations?

Landau & Madhavan (2011:480) assert that in the absence of social associations that provide bridging and bonding opportunities, the state or other government bodies should intervene to foster community and to negotiate patterns of inclusion and exclusion. As alternative to

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negotiations of inclusion and exclusion facilitated by top-down mechanisms, I propose in this dissertation the notion that it is vernacular cosmopolitanism - cosmopolitanism from below- that governs the practices of localised individuals (Khan, 2008) through everyday interactions between individuals and groups, and practices of popular cultural activities. In addition to this I review the concept of 'embodied performance' and conviviality to make sense of the ways in which migrants rebuild or disconnect from existing social relations among themselves and others in a natural and social setting. The notion of conviviality states that where people live, being different is not a problem, but the denial that people are different, is (Gilroy, 2004).

1.5 On making sense of 'Embodied performance' concept

The concept of 'embodied performance' is used in this study as an anthropological approach to make sense of everyday interactions; in this case how migrants mediate encounters of the everyday in their neighbourhood in Cape Town. With regard to the concepts of conviviality and cosmopolitanism that guide the discussion of this thesis, embodied performance provides a framework through which we understand diversity. I draw on work done by scholars such as Richard Bauman, Erving Goffman, and Judith Butler who have all defined and employed the notion of performance in different settings of everyday social life.

Richard Bauman, an American anthropologist, has conceptualised and applied the concept of performance in various settings in the field of linguistic anthropology. In a paper titled 'Verbal art as performance', Bauman (1975) shares his understanding of performance as a mode of speaking; performance to him is an approach of doing or communicating something to others. He also defines performance as a practice, a cultural performance, and states that the poetics of oral performance offer perspectives on the symbolic constitution of social life (Bauman, 1986:132). In defining performance as a practice, Bauman suggests that it is a preferred term among folklorists and linguistic anthropologists because the concept evokes the artfulness of symbolic forms of interaction.

Another understanding of performance as cultural performance refers to symbolic enactments and framed events such as rituals, festivals, and ceremonies (Ibid). In cultural performance these events and enactments are occasions in which members of society put their culture on display for themselves and others through performance. This concept is relevant to my study; I discuss rituals in the multinational church of Phoenix, the popular culture in the

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neighbourhood barbershops, rituals of greeting from the streets, and also other presentations such as wedding ceremonies in migrant communities of Cape Town - and how migrants and South Africans respond to these performances. In relation to my study, performance is a practice in the sense that it embodies forms of social interaction through which transnational migrants and South Africans mediate their otherness in everyday life.

By considering performance as an act of expression (Bauman, 1975), I argue that migrants and South Africans ‘perform’ diversity and cosmopolitanism through popular culture and other informal enactments, which they present and engage with as they continue to live together. This is what Goffman (1959) calls presentation of everyday life. As Bauman (1975; 1990) states, performance systems are well organised by members of a community in terms of speech acts that conventionally involve performance. This means that in people’s embodied performances, not only what they do but also what they say, is important to their social interactions and relations. The author views an act of performance as situated behavior; situated within and rendered meaningful with reference to relevant contexts. Such contexts may be identified in terms of cultural or institutional settings where the performances occur; in the context of my study for instance at barbershops where popular culture is expressed and observed, and at the multinational church of Phoenix where the church represents context for performing diversity in the neighbourhood. The setting, space, or event within which a performance occurs becomes meaningful to how everyday interactions take place (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1974).

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Another understanding of the concept of performance is provided by Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau, who conceptualise it in relation to space and everyday contexts. Everyday here implies repetitive gestures of work (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987) as social products of social spaces (Lefebvre, 1974; 1984). Performances are therefore everyday practices (De Certeau, 1984) incorporated in particular spaces. In Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships where migrants and South Africans live together, I engage with social spaces of interaction as these places bring residents into contact with each other, determine their relationship to the spaces, and also guarantee specific levels of performance (Lefebvre, 1991).

Much of my ethnography therefore builds on the embodied forms of performance that include the everyday practices through which people build social networks through interaction, which is illustrated in the ways they dress, greet each other, eat together, walk, or talk in their social spaces (Lefebvre, 1987; de Certeau, 1988). In this regard, performance is a

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form of informal enactment, as presentation of the self in everyday life (cf. Goffman, 1959) that allows for a dynamic understanding of informal scenarios. Everyday practices are 'performed' and can be seen as presentations of the individual or collective self. In such instances social categories are enacted (Ibid). In this study I make sense of people's interactions and conviviality through formal and informal enactments.

In her study on performative acts and gender constitution, Butler (1988) suggests that a social action requires a performance, which is repeated. This repetition is at once a re-enactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; it is a mundane and ritualised form of legitimation. These repeated enactments are what she calls social performance, and I find them significant to people's relations with each other since people repeatedly act from their social spaces. Social interaction involves performative acts in the form of deeds, behaviour or illustration (Ibid,). This study therefore considers the notion of performativity as stylised repeated acts (Butler, 1988), where residents' social interactions are observed as ordinarily lived and performed, based on their here and now practices. In order to understand these everyday practices among migrants and locals, I also explore them through staged performances as marked events and acts of culture (Turner, 1986), for example rituals in the multicultural church of Phoenix and other artistic performances such as those held during wedding events in Cape Town.

To perform is to do, which Bauman (1975) calls a practice; to perform is to behave as an expression of everyday life (Goffman, 1959); and to perform is to show (Bauman, 1975; Butler, 1988). All the definitions of performance are relevant to my study of diversity and social interactions among migrants and South Africans in many ways. First, I look at people's everyday practices as embodied performances; secondly I look at how people respond to various presentations of social spaces within their neighbourhood including how they behave towards the popular culture observed in local barbershops for instance, and how they engage with one another whenever they meet in these spaces. I also consider the last definition of performance as a show, which resonates with the idea of cultural representation of one culture to another. In this vein, I look at the practices of appropriation among South Africans as a way through which they show appreciation for the cultural forms that migrants from the Great Lakes Region present to them in their locality. Examples are hairstyles and African music in the barbershops, *kitenge* dress-styles as a migrant homestyle introduced in South African community, and observing how food is made in restaurants and at braai stands

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and then served and presented in general (sensory performance of food). This performance of diversity through what migrants confer is discussed in the following chapters to show that South Africans not only observe and appreciate what migrants do, but have also shown willingness to appropriate these enactments.

I start from the presupposition that all these activities and performances of everyday social and economic life have brought about a space through which migrants and South Africans meet and talk; a space through which people mingle and interact. Based on the context and experiences as lived and observed in the Joe Slovo locality, social relations are understood as on-going lived performances that people ordinarily do in mere interaction throughout their stay as they live and work alongside each other, as clients, as neighbours, and as human individuals. The migrants' home and exile experiences are fundamental in making sense of the spaces they occupy while in a South African community, and the performances that take place therein.

As I set out to show in this thesis, despite different nationalities, ethnicities, opinions, and other identities that denote residents' diversity, the spaces created within their local migrant neighbourhoods such as Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships allow for regular and yet ordinary interactions through which they build relationships and a sense of belonging. Black South Africans in Joe Slovo, I argue, have seen the diversity around them as an opportunity to learn more about migrants and appreciating what these migrants contribute rather than seeing them as a threat. Such social conviviality and cosmopolitanism are born out of the locals' willingness to learn from migrants, and to a great extent the migrants also make efforts to encourage inclusive practices and representations in their locality in a natural setting. Through local spaces therefore, internal migrants and transnational migrants from the Great Lakes Region have managed to (re)build and maintain social relations through repetitive interactions.

The conceptual framework of this study is based on two connected concepts – cosmopolitanism and conviviality, to make sense of local practices and social, historical, and economic resources which migrants and South Africans use in living together. These concepts therefore help us to make sense of not only how migrants from the Great Lakes Region cope with settling into a new and yet emotional environment, but also how South Africans respond to the presence of and living together with migrants in their locality.

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1.6 Conceptualisation of Conviviality

A consideration of conviviality in this study is about how people accommodate one another in their everyday social and economic lives of being together (Illich, 1979; Bauman, 2003). I found the concept of conviviality relevant in many ways. While this concept was propounded by Gilroy (2004) in Britain and employed to understand the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculturalism an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere, the concept is useful in answering the main question of the thesis, namely in which ways do migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans continue and manage to live together in harmony in a place where conflicts are possible.

Thus drawing from Gilroy (2004), despite the existence of national, ethnic and racialised differences, people can sublimate the idea that racism should shape historical and social relationships, even where the majority were found to have difficulties in accepting the idea that even though racism exist, people can still learn to live with differences. This is what Gilroy refers to as 'convivial culture'; everyday social interaction which are continuously forged, more specifically as practised by second-generation migrants in Britain. In a South African context, this study examines situations that make conviviality possible at a place where ethnic and national differences are present. For Gilroy (2006), where people live, being different is not a problem, but the problem is the denial that people are different. Gilroy states that people's differences have resulted in conflicts and poor relations within neighbours, but they still manage them. The alternative possibility of resolving and managing such differences is what he calls 'conviviality', just living together (Gilroy, 2006).

African anthropologist Francis Nyamnjoh has analysed the concept of conviviality in the African context, as a currency for frontier Africans (Nyamnjoh, 2017). Nyamnjoh finds that frontier Africans are people who are flexible in mobility, identity, citizenship, and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 259), who reach out, encounter, and explore ways of complementing themselves with encounters born out of incompleteness, - not with intention of becoming complete but to bridge differences and to simply relate. Nyamnjoh defines conviviality as recognition for our being incomplete, and also the ability to be open-minded in our articulations of identities, being and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 262).

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The fact of incompleteness militates in favour of being open to other beings, other ways and other worlds not as questing for completeness but as seeking enhancement through the richness of encounters with incomplete others, to make us more efficacious in our relationships and sociality (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 266). For him, conviviality stresses the pursuit of sameness and commonalities by bridging divides and facilitating interconnections.

> Conviviality rests on the nuances inscribed and absorbed in everyday relations by individuals and communities involving cultivating and sustaining, accommodating and interdependent styles of relating, of sociability and communality through careful and innovative negotiation of the constructive and destructive dimensions of being human. It is an everyday ability to accommodate one another socially, economically and otherwise, as the surest way of survival, getting by and aspiring for the good life (Nyamnjoh, 2017:265).

This concept is employed in this study to investigate the everyday interactions among migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. These residents live in a township as opposed to a suburb, and their social contact/interactions are unavoidable as they shop from the same tuck-shops in the area, attend the same churches, use the same hair salons and barbershops, and commute in the same buses or trains. There is therefore a spatial consideration as to whether residents in the above townships have managed to live with their incompleteness and relate well with one another. This leads me to the conceptualisation of another yet important concept to make sense on how people of differences live together and practice friendliness, namely vernacular cosmopolitanism.

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1.7 Vernacular cosmopolitanism in the context

Apart from the concept of living together with difference, I found vernacular cosmopolitanism useful to make sense of the encounters and diversity in the South African context and how these are mediated. With its genesis in Greek meaning ‘citizen of the world’ (Cheah, 2006 as quoted by Werbner, 2008:2); the concept was developed by Bhabha (1994; 1996) and later adopted by Stuart Hall in Britain. Other scholars such as Werbner (2008) also applied it to different settings. For Bhabha (1996) vernacular cosmopolitanism exists in contrast to a kind of ‘entrepreneur’ cosmopolitanism, which is elitist in nature. For him vernacular cosmopolitanism is a type of cosmopolitanism from below, particularly for those ordinary citizens who are forced to migrate and settle in other countries on one hand, and their native neighbours on the other. Thus Bhabha’s (Ibid) explanation of vernacular cosmopolitanism appears well-suited to the focus of my study. Similarly, Khan (2008)

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emphasises that vernacular cosmopolitanism governs the practices of localised individuals and institutions, everyday interactions between individuals, and group and popular cultural activities.

Like conviviality, cosmopolitanism emphasises empathy, and tolerance and respect for other cultures and values, both of which can be realized through "living together with difference" (Werbner, 2008:2). Importantly, cosmopolitanism entails the idea that all of humanity belongs to a single community, emphasising that despite having travelled or migrated, the notion of differences is everywhere hence there is no need to fear others. The issue of identity should not be a cause of concern for migrants in different cultures; their worldviews should be tolerated (Appiah, 2006). Thus in his account of cosmopolitan ethics in a 'world of strangers', Appiah (ibid) argues that a cosmopolitan person respects other people's memories, traditions and qualities; and s(he) is open to change, and to 'contamination'. Similarly Hannerz (1990) notes that a cosmopolitan is open towards different cultures, tolerant of diversity, commanding what is culturally alien.

Baban (2006:106) also asserts that cosmopolitan thinking could provide people with new ways of relating to others and imagining new solutions to complex problems emerging from the processes of globalisation. In rethinking the cosmopolitan act in a globalised world where distances are short and encounters with otherness are a daily reality, the author argues that realising the potential of cosmopolitan thinking in present times rests on willingness to accept that the cosmopolitan act should not be about erasing differences, but about finding ways to live with them (Ibid). In that vein, Baban further argues that firstly, cosmopolitanism should not be a form of cultural imposition, but should be identified with democratic governance and pluralism on a global level. Secondly, cosmopolitanism should lead to new forms of relationships between universality and particularity in which moral universalism and cultural relativism are not acceptable options. Finally, in order to realise the new relationship between universality and particularity, cosmopolitanism should be imagined and read within the context of margins, local experiences, and cultures.

In a South African township where diverse residents are living together and encountering each other on daily basis, more practices of assimilation and appropriation were evident. In this locality, residents have embraced the idea of cosmopolitanism, which emphasises that nothing is innate in cultural belonging; one's sense of culture and belonging can be transformed in the process of meeting with others (Baban, 2006). In addition to this, Rapport

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(2002) argues that cosmopolitan anthropology appreciates categorical difference as an achievement, a voluntary attachment, while recognising the fulfilment of ontological difference, individuality beyond all attachments, to be a viable life project in itself. Thus everyday interaction involves people, space, and structures through which daily practices are formed and performed.

The assumption under study is that even though transnational migrants and South Africans have differences, they forge social and economic relationships to manage their diversities. The issue of ‘living together’, which is being put forward in this study, is more than migration. It asks questions about how people encounter one another and find ways to live and work alongside each other in their own neighbourhoods. Local streets, shopping areas, churches, and even places outside the neighbourhood where parties are held; all ‘changing places’ with new people constantly moving through them and where encounters take place, are of interest to this study. How they interact and communicate, and what efforts they make to create hospitable, welcoming places is important.

In fieldwork in Melanesia, Hirsch (2008) found that individuals had a significant history of living with outsiders, of facilitating outsiders’ entry into their lands and social lives. Their capacity to incorporate and live side by side with outsiders suggests a form of cosmopolitanism. As observed from both conviviality and cosmopolitanism notions, differences can be negotiated through ordinary practices in the everyday, and such conviviality does not take away or ignore the effects of differences as experienced in South Africa and elsewhere. In a similar study in Cape Town, Sichone (2008) notes the shift of xenophobic treatment towards non-nationals to the love for the foreigner by some South African women whom he referred to as ‘Xhosa Mamas’. For him, the Xhosa Mamas practice their cosmopolitanism by welcoming and hosting strangers, offering them food, providing new arrivals with accommodation, and engaging with foreigners as their fellows. This is in deep contrast to xenophobic encounters. This thesis therefore aims to identify the possible interactions among South Africans and transnational migrants through which they practice cosmopolitanism to manage their differences and live together in conviviality in South African townships.

The spaces of ethnography around the local shops and the streets in the neighbourhood of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, also extended to the local multinational church based in Phoenix. What

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is pertinent here on the one hand is how I managed to get access to these migrants' spaces, in my search to study the people of my own region - that is, the people from the Great Lakes Region - given the unrest conflicts that the region has gone and still going through, and how won win their trust in me as a Rwandan researching Congolese, on a visa researching Rwandan refugees. On the other hand, entering South African township to research citizens in a place where conflicts and crime rates are high, particularly xenophobic behaviours towards the African migrant group that I belonged to, was a risk. Below I share my experiences of entering and living in the field for a period of twelve months gathering the data that I present in this thesis.

1.8 Experiences of entering the field

Before I discuss how I conducted the fieldwork, I find it important to give an account of how I got access to the field, and my experiences upon my entry to the migrants' and South Africans' spaces, and their perceptions of me. How I got to the field is the result of keeping a longstanding established friendship with John (pseudonym), a Rwandan refugee migrant in Cape Town; and thanks to an invitation and participation in his wedding ceremony of June 2012. He wedded a woman from my rural home, in Butare (back in Rwanda), whom we also met in Zimbabwe in 2008, and as the friendship grew stronger, I always felt free and comfortable to chat with them to learn about their and other migrants' living experiences in South Africa. Their experiences are not far different from mine as a migrant in Cape Town, although I was a student on a study visa, and they had refugee status.

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Hence, since 2012 when I got the idea of conducting this research, I spoke to John in search for the spaces that encompass migrants from the Great Lakes Region living together with South Africans, as I aimed at studying their experiences with diversity given the differences among themselves and from South Africans to juxtapose the over-emphasis on xenophobia. He introduced me to the Phoenix Township, a place where he stayed for more than five years and from which he only left during the 2008 xenophobic attacks[11], to relocate to a (safer) suburb in the city.

[11] While xenophobic incidents in South Africa are nothing new, in May and June 2008 attacks by local residents and leaders in townships and informal settlements took a particularly violent form; 62 people (most of them African migrants) lost their lives, thousands of others were displaced, properties were looted and women were raped (Misago et al 2009:2).

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It is after we visited the site that I realised there was another interconnected township, namely Joe Slovo, and that there were more migrants from the Great Lakes Region and their informal businesses in Joe Slovo than on the Phoenix side. The movements of people in the Joe Slovo streets was intense and residents moved forth and back between Joe Slovo and Phoenix since there were also businesses run by migrants in the Phoenix complex. These two townships were inseparable if I needed to study resident interactions. I chose to focus on both townships because many social interactions took place at the multinational church that was based in Phoenix. In general much of my time was spent in Joe Slovo where we find more black South Africans residing with other African migrants.

During my first field visits, John accompanied me to the site and later I carried out a pilot study, which was supported by the Social Science Research Council's Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship (SSRC-DPDF) programme, from June to September 2013. Interacting with migrant residents on our first visit I, as a researcher, was at ease on one hand but faced with some challenges on the other. The easy part might have been due to of the fact that I was researching people whom I shared (some) life trajectories as I lived in a country other than Rwanda before coming to South Africa (I lived in Zimbabwe as a student on a study visa, but was able to interact with refugee migrants in that country), had the same current status as a migrant in South Africa, and was able to speak languages that most of the migrants speak such as KiSwahili[12], Kirundi, Kinyarwanda[13], and French, but more importantly thanks to my companion who was known in the area and who was trusted.

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However, researching Rwandans as a fellow Rwandan whose face was not familiar in the neighbourhood brought about kind of uncertainty and fear among the few Rwandans I met in the Joe Slovo migrant restaurant on the first visit, as I was perceived as a spy; a person who might have been sent by the ruling government to haunt Rwandan refugees, as one of the migrants told me later during the field work. Such fear for their security was waived by my introductory opening; I presented my student card and letter from the university to show that I was there specifically for research purposes and not to spy on people. As I then remained to

[12] Although the KiSwahili language is popularly spoken in East African community, mainly in Tanzania and Kenya, most of the Great Lakes Region specifically the migrants, use Kiswahili so often as they interact. It becomes kind of medium language for Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians when they interact.

[13] The local language spoken in Rwanda, the only shared mother tongue by all Rwandans regardless of their ethnic group.

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live in the neighbourhood as well, the same people who showed uncertainties on my first visits became my regular interlocutors in the research processes.

The access I had to South African residents was through encounters at the migrants' restaurants, barbershops and hair salons, as well as my participation in the multinational Pentecostal church.

1.8.1 Day 1 field experience

On a Sunday, June 09, 2013 I visited Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships accompanied by John, a Rwandan friend and a former resident of Phoenix Township as stated earlier. Upon arrival in the area, our first stop was at the shops in Joe Slovo that are mostly run by migrants from the Great Lakes Region, and these include restaurants, barbershops, and hair salons. We parked along the street next to the open space in front of the shops in the space that serves as omnibus rank. It is a bus terminus for all public transport, mainly the sixteen-seater minibuses to and from other locations and suburbs around Cape Town, and the drivers and conductors were shouting in search of clients to intended destinations.

We then walked towards the tiny restaurant shop made out of a shipping container, as were other surrounding shops including barbershops and hair salons. Like the opening vignette states, people's movements were intense, moving up and down the streets, entering and exiting one shop after another. When we entered the restaurant, there were two men seated around a medium-sized square dining table with a multicolour tablecloth, and one of them recognised my companion and shouted, calling him by name, 'Eeeh my friend John', with a surprised look on his face. They hugged each other saying in *Kinyarwanda/Kirundi*[14] '*Muraho, iminsi myinshi* (Hello, long time)', and we all shook hands. A set of questions accompanied the greeting gestures '*Uracyaba muri* Cape Town, *umeze gute? Uratwibutse* (Are you still living in Cape Town? How have you been? You have now remembered us)'. In a moment, following the noise of laughter and all the talking that were going on in a mixture of Kirundi and Kiswahili, the restaurant owner dressed in her wrap-over *kitenge* and a t-shirt, who seemed to be busy in the food preparation corner, came out and greeted and welcomed

[14] Kinyarwanda is a local language spoken in Rwanda, and Kirundi in Burundi. They are the only shared mother tongue by all Rwandans or Burundians regardless of ethnic group, as opposed to multiple languages spoken in other African countries, including the DRC. Kinyarwanda and Kirundi sound the same in some simple terms such as greetings, although some certain vocabularies differ significantly. '*Muraho*' meant ' hi or hello ' in both languages.

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us in a mixture of *Kinyarwanda/Kirundi* and *Kiswahili*[15] (*Muraho, karibuni* – Hello, welcome).

Residents whom we encountered from the restaurant and who knew John were extra happy to see him after a long time, hugged him with loud laughter, jokes, and those who attended his wedding were commenting on his new married life look. People were joyful to have met their friend and colleague again including the restaurant owner who is originally from Burundi, and the rest of the clients of mixed nationalities – Burundians, Rwandans, Tanzanians, Congolese, and South Africans residing in Joe Slovo and Phoenix. Not only was he familiar and known at the research site for he had lived there before, he also still had kept in contact with the people with whom he stayed and who still reside and run businesses on the site. After all the hugs, he turned to the fellow migrants to introduce me, '*Uyu ni mwene wacu ni umunyarwandakazi, yiga hano UWC ari mu bushakashatsi'* ('This is our fellow Rwandan, she studies at UWC and she is here for research purposes'). Rwandans and Burundians were happy to welcome me '*Kaze neza rero hano iwacu* (A very warm welcome to our place)' and started talking to me in my mother tongue, *Kinyarwanda*. Although my colleague had introduced me, the restaurant owner approached me and wanted to know more about me:

Restaurant owner: *Muraho (*greetings -hello*)*

Me*:* *Muraho (*response - hello*)*

Restaurant owner*: Ko tutabamenye se? (*You do not look familiar*)*

Me*:* *Nkuko umuvandimwe yabibabwiye, ndi hano nk'umunyeshuri w'umunyarwanda, niga kuri UWC. Ubu nkaba naje hano Joe Slovo mu rwego rw'ubushakashatsi nk'umunyeshuri. (*As my brother introduced me, I am a Rwandan student here in South Africa at the University of the Western Cape, and I am here at Joe Slovo for academic research purposes*).*

Restaurant owner*: Karibu sana (Kiswahili* phrase - a very warm welcome*)*

Me*: Ahsante (*Thank you in *Kiswahili)*

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[15] '*Karibuni*' is a Kiswahili word meaning ' welcome'. Kiswahili is the most used language in East Africa, especially in Tanzania, Kenya, and some parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Moreover, many Rwandans and Burundians speak Kiswahili too as a result of either having lived in the above Kiswahili speaking neighboring countries or having lived along with Kiswahili speakers in exile. Within their setting therefore, migrants from the Great Lakes Region often use Kiswahili. It is a kind of lingua franca for Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians when they interact.

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After about an hour, seated and enjoying the conversation that ranged from wanting to know how John, my companion, was doing since he left the township to another part of the city, to my introduction to the restaurant owner and the rest of the customers present, Olivier another migrant from Rwanda entered the shop. He quickly recognised my companion too and pointing on him said in *kinyarwanda* ' *Aaaa usigaye ubahe sha, watwibutse ute ra*? (Aaahhh where have you been, how come you have remembered us today?') They hugged each other and shook hands with laughter. It was a reunion for both of them after five years since my companion left Phoenix. John had briefed me about the place and some of the migrants from the Great Lakes Region whom he knew from there, and whom he hoped to meet in the local migrants' shops or streets. Olivier was one of the names he had mentioned and he later became my daily interlocutor.

In a short while many more adult male customers came in the restaurant, and as I learned later from our conversations, some of them worked in the nearby barbershops, hair salons, and tailoring shops in the neighbourhood, while others were merely residents in the neighbourhood and or workers in the nearby construction firms. The single adults who included Rwandan and Burundian migrants had passed by the restaurant on their way home from work as some clearly mentioned, and were still in their security guard uniforms - perhaps tired and avoiding cooking at home. As we engaged in informal conversations on that day, I learned that among the clients were Rwandans, Burundians, Congolese, Tanzanians and a few South Africans.

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Among the migrants themselves, both customers and the restaurant owner conversed in *Kiswahili*, although they also mixed it with some mother tongue (*Kinyarwanda* and *Kirundi*) words and phrases. As stated earlier *Kinyarwanda* and *Kirundi* languages are similar in basic terms and most Rwandans and Burundians, and some of Congolese[16], understand either of these two native languages. In a situation where the migrants were interacting with local South Africans, they used a bit of English and the majority preferred using *IsiXhosa*[17], especially migrants who have been living in Cape Town for quite a while - as I later learned during my fieldwork.

[16] These are Congolese who lived near the Rwandan borders, such as those from Bukavu or Goma provinces of the DRC. Further to that, many Congolese have lived side by side with Rwandans and Burundians in refugee camps and cities in exile before even coming to South Africa.

[17] South African local language spoken mainly by people in Cape Town.

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The restaurant, as opposed to the next-door barbershop, was quiet, free from the sound of music except when clients, especially young adults, entered playing music on their smart phones. Other than that, the space was dominated by people's voices by talking, jokes, laughter, disagreements and arguments. That day both customers and passersby in the restaurant avoided any rush and took their time talking, but since the space inside the restaurant was too small to accommodate more incoming clients, those who finished eating but still wanted to hang around and talk, vacated to create room for the incoming clients, and extended their seats to the outside of the restaurant where some sat on the floor while others borrowed chairs from the next door shop (s). In that way, they as well as my acquaintance and I still remained part of the conversation that was taking place inside the restaurant. Since the container shops were close to one another, they kept no secrets. Nor did they hinder anyone from participating in the conversation. People who were talking from the restaurant often got responses from next-door clients though this depended on the nature of the topic under discussion.

From the restaurant, we entered other shops in Joe Slovo, including the barbershops and hair salons. It was interesting to see how people in Joe Slovo were familiar with one another, calling each other by name, and noticing new faces in their locality. My companion an Olivier walked me to the next shop, the barbershop run by a half-Burundian half-Congolese man (born of a Congolese man and Burundian woman), trying to show me around. When we entered the next-door salon, people started looking at me, with questions on their faces, some with a smile, others were seemed amazed: What kind of a person is this? Where is this person coming from? This I could tell from their facial expressions. Some of them were aligning with me while others looked very unsure.

In the salon I saw a number of different types of hairpieces for making braids, as well as weaves. The hairdresser was a Congolese, and clients included Rwandans, Burundians and South Africans. I started asking about the hairstyles, pointing to the styles were pictured on the hairpieces on display. Two women whom I later came to identify as Burundians, started saying, 'Aaahhhh, where did you get your hair done from?' Because you seem to have all this kind of unique hair dressing[18], and your skin is very different from us, and even your lotion,

[18] At that time I had a kind of hairstyle on my head, which we actually do not find around among South Africans and migrants unless they find a migrant hairdresser who can do the same style from migrants-owned hair salons in South Africa. Personally I was plaited by a migrant woman from Uganda. Most of the time, when we see that style, we tell that someone is a non-South African or was plaited by a migrant.

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the way you smell. Where do you stay? When did you come?' They started posing all sorts of questions and I had to attend to them laughing, trying to break the fear around, through laughing, through sharing jokes in *Kinyarwanda*. What I observed from Joe Slovo on that day was not different from what I learned later as my companion and I went down the road to Phoenix, the other side of the fieldwork site. As we entered shops and on the street in Phoenix, we could hear same sounds of talks and laughter, and embodied performances of handshaking and hugging were repeatedly practised as residents encountered one another. There were also boys and girls playing various informal games along the street, as on the Joe Slovo side. That interactive day ended at the multinational church based in Phoenix where I was also introduced to a few members of the Revival Pentecostal Church, some of whom were friends of my companion.

The above leads me to a brief discussion of my reflexivity in the field as well as ethical considerations as they naturally unfolded through talks in the social space of interaction – the restaurant. Below I show how my first experience at the research site led to further research, and how I ended up staying in the field for 12 months.

1.8.2 Reflexivity and ethics in a natural setting of interaction

As we interacted in the social spaces, I concluded that the aftermath of the experienced war and violence in the Great Lakes Region in general, but Rwanda in particular, continues to haunt Rwandans who live in exile, particularly refugees. Consequently Rwandans who have been in exile and have refugee status live in a fear and doubt of fellow Rwandans who are on visas. The assumption is that the Rwandans who come to South Africa on visas might be working for the ruling RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front) to spy on those who are against the government, meaning the refugees.

I did not escape from such a perception from people in Joe Slovo on my first visit to the site. A Rwandan male resident wanting to know who I really was, asked, '*Mwaje muturutse mu gihugu se* (Have you come to South Africa directly from Rwanda),. '*Oya jye simperuka mu gihugu, nabaga Zimbabwe niho nigaga, naje ariho nturutse* (No, it has been a while since I left Rwanda, I was staying in Zimbabwe, was studying there, therefore I came here from Zimbabwe), I answered. Nodding his head he said that he thought I was one of the spies who were sent by the government to harm Rwandan refugees in exile. This special field situation is something I discuss later in the dissertation to show how Rwandans in Cape Town,

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possibly like elsewhere outside Rwanda, feel about one another and how they form, rebuild, or disconnect from their existing relationships. Having lived in Zimbabwe, was enough guarantee to the interlocutor(s) that I had more in common with them than people who had come to South Africa directly from Rwanda. They perhaps assumed that I understood their struggle better than people who had never lived elsewhere outside Rwanda, and also that I had not gone to Rwanda for a while meant that I had no connection with the country which they mistrust.

Apart from the comfort gained from my being introduced by someone they knew and trusted and telling them about my previous stay in another country other than Rwanda, I also had to present them with my university credentials which included my UWC student card, and assure them that when my data collection started I would supply the interlocutors with a letter of introduction and consent approved by the University of the Western Cape. People then understood my reason for being in their neighbourhood, and also I explained what my research was about and why I aimed to do the research. They all started telling me about their (life) short stories randomly, sharing their experiences about everyday struggles to get legal papers such as refugee status permits that allow them to work freely rather than temporary permit papers that they have to renew every four months. Their life stories were based on life in South Africa except in the one-on-one interviews where a few individuals felt free to tell me their stories of and before coming to South Africa.

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1.8.3 The fieldwork journey continued: Reflection on my relationships in the field

On my second visit with John, we went to the same spaces of interaction, and observations went on while engaging in conversation with residents in informal settings. In the hair salon, women talked of hair -styles and clothing fashions, and many door-to-door vendors came in with different items to sell, including lotions, hair-food, women clothes and hairpieces. We were moving from one shop to another. While in conversation at barbershop earlier on, a South African woman admired my African attire dress, and said, ‘But there is a tailor here who can also make these dresses’, and I was introduced to the Burundian tailor in Phoenix who told me that he can make more nice dresses for me from African print material.

It was interesting to learn how South Africans also got to know a good tailor from the Great Lakes Region which implies how through being together with migrants in the same neighbourhood, South Africans learn about them and what they are able to do, and people are

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able to socially interact over an African attire dress. This is in opposition to the idea that South Africans see African migrants as a threat, do not mix with them, to not relate to them, are just xenophobic. It shows how they perceive migrants as good in dress-making, and also how they start building networks with the migrants from local social spaces. This means that these spaces serve not only as spaces for food making and eating as in restaurants, or haircuts as in barbershops, but also as points of contact and interaction.

As John and I moved around the neighbourhood shops, he then introduced me to the migrants who run businesses in Phoenix. We entered Mr Abdul's shop, and in a few minutes learned that he was the same tailor whom the women in the barbershop referred to. Abdul, who is originally from Burundi, grew up in DRC and is married to a Rwandan woman, the owner of the restaurant in Phoenix, whom he introduced to me. While I interacted with Mrs Abdul in Kinyarwanda, Abdul spoke both Kirundi and Kiswahili but preferably Kiswahili. We interacted in both languages and he asked me where I got my dress made. 'Back home' I replied, and then he asked me to come to him because he makes very original dresses. As I moved around, the question that kept coming into my mind was, 'How do South Africans come to know good tailors from the Great Lakes Region and what does Abdul himself mean when he says that he makes very original dresses?'

After several visits to the site, and after having identified potential interlocutors and spaces of ethnography, I decided to reside in the field as a resident for a duration of 12 months for the purpose of data collection. By that time I had already established good relationships with the restaurant owners and the residents. This is the same connection through which I was directed to the Rwandan family with whom I lived in Phoenix, renting one of the rooms in their house. My host family is known in the area for always having a room to rent out. By the time I showed interest to stay in the field, I was chatting with clients from the restaurant and one of them volunteered to find out if the room was vacant. I shared my contact number with this particular resident and received a call two days later confirming that the room was vacant for almost two months. I had to make a call, and made arrangements to meet the host family who then welcomed me to stay at their place for a 12-month contract.

1.9 Interaction with space and people: Fieldwork processes

When I embarked on this longer period (12 months) fieldwork in January 2014, I had already identified the spaces, which were convenient for studying the interactions among migrants

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and South Africans. Based on the nature of the study, I decided to use using migrant shops, the streets in the neighbourhood, and the local multinational church as spaces of ethnography. During my fieldwork, I also considered the saying that ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’[19] and therefore carried my small camera with me all the time to record photographic representations of ‘intergroup contact spaces’ where various activities were performed.

Weekends and public holidays were the most busy and vibrant moments in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix open spaces, and some of the interlocutors were off work on Saturdays, opting to gather around the shops. From the last time I had visited the site to January 2014, I kept in touch with interlocutors through phone calls and social networks such as WhatsApp. On that day I contacted one of the potential interlocutors, Olivier a Rwandan refugee, whom I knew through John and who had volunteered to walk me around the Joe Slovo and Phoenix areas on future visits. He waited for me at the Joe Slovo shops where I found him chatting with other migrants, some of whom I met on previous visits. We chatted in a group of 5 people for approximately 30 minutes, and I told them that I was back to do research. He then walked me around in order to see the area freely.

While moving around, our informal discussion started with his life story ranging from his personal life, to how he ended up in South Africa, and in Joe Slovo in particular, to what he does for a living. He was also told me how migrants rent the small shacks constructed in the yards of the South African RDP houses. It was interesting to learn from him about current social relations among migrants and locals as he opened the conversation on how the encounters of differences (xenophobia) ceased after the local landlords realised that they were missing out on clients (migrant tenants) since the 2008 xenophobic attack. “The landlords complained to community leaders who responded by warning every citizen in the area that they must stop their evil thought of killing, looting and stealing from migrants. The emphasis was put that, whoever found harassing or acting in a xenophobic way towards migrants, will be exemplarily punished”, he added.

As we continued our walkabout in the area, moving in tiny walkways between shacks in Joe Slovo, Olivier waved to South African residents, greeting them in one of the local languages, *IsiXhosa*. From tiny walkways we entered the main road that connects Joe Slovo and

[19] www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/a-picture-is-worth-a-thousand-words.html

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Phoenix, and Olivier took me to his sister's restaurant shop in Phoenix: Mama Abdul whom I met earlier during the pilot study. When Mama Abdul saw me, she remembered me, and when Olivier thought it was a good time to tell her about me saying ' *Uyu yitwa Odette, ni umunyarwandakazi* (This is Odette, she is from Rwanda), Mama Abdul had quickly responded ' *Uyu ndamuzi* (This one, I know her). His sister hugged me, and gave me a seat. My interaction with her was quite interesting, as after I introduced myself further she was very interested in meeting me again, reconnecting with a new home-mate in Joe Slovo – Phoenix settlement. Our chats were about her entire journey from Rwanda, the fact that she is married to a Congolese man who is a Burundian by birth, and their struggle through the migrating journey from Rwanda to Tanzania, till they got to Cape Town.

Mama Abdul runs a restaurant, but she had left her employees cooking and serving clients, and she had come to sit with me to chat. We kept on talking about life experiences, what she does for a living, and how comfortable she was with her life so far, but she emphasised that her main worry was getting a long-term legal South African document like a permanent resident permit, since being on a temporary permit did not give her family immigration security. The endless renewal of the temporary permit and refugee status gave her no sleep, she added. As we sat together and chatted, she introduced me to her younger sister who supervises in the kitchen, her daughter who simply passed by to check on her mother, her husband who runs a tailoring shop next door - and our chat that day ended with a photo together holding hands in front of her restaurant shop. Her restaurant in Phoenix and the other restaurant in Joe Slovo owned by a Burundian woman therefore became my spaces of ethnography.

Following the aim of this study, namely of exploring how transnational migrants and South Africans live together, paying attention to their everyday performances through which they negotiate their encounters of difference, I could not hang out as 'a fly on the wall', but needed to actively interact with participants in barbershops, restaurants, and church at different times of the day, while also participating in other occasions such as weddings, birthdays, and others. In order to do so, I had to reside in Phoenix, with the Rwandan family living in South Africa under refugee status. The family was introduced to my research and were aware that I was a student from Rwanda on a visa.

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My relationship with my host family was that of landlord-tenant so I could wake up with a programme of where and how to spend my day in migrant social spaces instead of spending time at home to socialise. The relationship emphasised the respect we had for each other, and we both ensured that our responsibilities were duly fulfilled. That is to say, I paid my rental in full and on time, and they made sure all the amenities were available. Sometimes I also played with their two kids who called me 'aunt', and so I was a proud aunt to two (non-biological) nieces, five and three years old. In those twelve months, I enjoyed the company of my landlord, calling each other 'sister'. We did a number of household duties together such as cleaning, going shopping at vegetables markets outside Phoenix, and though we cooked separately we shared some utensils like pots and even salt. In the evenings I could join them in the living room to watch famous South African soap operas like the legendary soap 'Generations' shown on SABC[20] 1; Muvhango at SABC 2; and 'Scandal' on e.tv. These shows refreshed my mind, and enabled us to chat as we commented on the soaps. By staying with this family, I was also introduced to other residents in the area particularly the transnational migrant women from the Great Lakes Region who sold food products.

a. Everyday hang-outs at the migrant shops

The migrant shops in Joe Slovo and Phoenix were convenient in that they brought the residents into contact. As like Lefebvre (1991) put it, such social spaces determined the relationships of people to that space and also guaranteed specific levels of performance.

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Every day Monday to Sunday, I sat in both migrant restaurants (Phoenix and Joe Slovo), in the barbershops and hairs salons, tailor shops, and stood in Joe Slovo and Phoenix streets especially next to South African braai stands on Saturdays, to observe and interact (engage) with clients, shop owners, and passersby. I actively spent time at these spaces every day during different hours of the day. In morning at around 10 am, I would pass by the Phoenix shops, sit at the restaurant and chat with the restaurant owner who most of the time arrived at 9 am every Monday to Friday, and passby again later to interact with her clients who arrived between noon and 2 pm (lunch hours). On Saturdays, she used to come in at around 11 am, and I went to her shop at around 3 pm. Unlike in this restaurant in Phoenix where clients came in randomly, I had no specific hour to visit the restaurant in Joe Slovo but could pop in any time because there were always people gathered around the assembled shipping container shops in Joe Slovo.

[20] South African Broad casting channel

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I would go to the Joe Slovo shops at around midday for a period of two hours, which was busy lunchtimes at the restaurants, and I could enter one shop after another and sit outside with the residents. From 2 pm I moved around the migrants' hair salons and barber shops, and most of the time I could not escape sparing time to have a chat with the Burundian tailor in Joe Slovo who always had jokes to share, updating me of all the events around the area, even those that happened before I started my fieldwork. On Tuesdays I would also spare time for the church and join the RPC choir practice that took place once a week from 4 pm to 5 pm. Soon after that I would go back to the shops to hang around since by that hour many individuals would be knocking off from work, and they would pass by the migrants' shops on their way home, to buy food or socialise a bit.

At these migrants' shops I observed people's ways of gathering, the way people greeted one another, the kind of conversations they engaged in, who initiated the conversation, things they enjoyed doing or saying most, and what they avoided to say or do. The longer I stayed, the better I got treated as a sister and friend by the residents of the research site, and the migrants felt open to engage me in much of their narratives. I also listened and got involved in what Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2005) refers to as the sharing of 'small stories' rather than only depending on the big narratives.

At the barbershops and hair salons, I paid attention to the popular culture, the signage around and inside the barbershops, the entertainment provided to clients, which songs played and in what languages, who the clients were and what services were provided in general. I checked closely on door-to-door vendors, wanting to know who sold what, at how much, to whom, who was most targeted for such sales and why. This involved observations of what people came to the shops with, and how they engaged in business with the shop owners and their clients. The dress code and the hairstyles were also considered as identifiers particularly in the hair salons and on the street. I focused on how dress was sufficiently symbolic for the formation of identity and relationships and how residents could tell who a person was based on dress code, hence deciding on the level of opening up to the other. Instead of relying on the observations of and interactions among people in public spaces, households were also considered as spaces for listening to experiences during one-on-one interviews and informal discussions to describe the relationships away from the shops or streets, where people live in the same room, share a house, or the same yard.

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Observations therefore took place on a daily basis on the streets, in shops, households, and at church yet on specific days such as Tuesdays (choir practice day), Saturdays (many activities taking place at church) and Sundays (church service day).

b. Going ‘born-again’: attending the local Revival Pentecostal Church (RPC)

I could not make sense of the transnational migrants and South Africans’ experiences of living together and negotiating their differences if I did not immerse myself in their other possible social spaces that bring this multiplicity together. Consequently I considered attending and participating in the local multinational Pentecostal church to compliment the ethnographies of day- to-day interactions on the streets and in the neighbourhood shopping spaces. As a religious baptised Catholic woman, I had to be ‘born-again’, the term applied by Pentecostal church members to mean not just being a member of the church but more importantly acquiring the attachment of brother and sister (Tank ink, 2007:216), through re-baptism especially if the church member is transferring from another faith or institution to the Pentecostal church. My being born-again however did not mean being re-baptised but meant attending the Pentecostal church services for the entire 12 months, learning new hymn songs, which differed from the Catholic hymns I was used too, and also giving up my every Sunday Eucharistic celebration that I was used to in Catholic Church services.

I attended every event of the church, including weekdays programmes. The observation during the service focused on determining the congregants’ level of participation in the church bodies and activities such as in choir, Sunday service rituals, Bible study, weekly home cells in the households, and the charity programmes of ‘feeding the homeless’ project that took place on Saturdays at the church. During Sunday services I paid attention to the medium of language that allowed congregants to participate or not, and I took notes of the themes the migrant pastor used and how he related them to the congregants’ social lives, to be analysed at the later write-up stage. I also paid attention to the decoration of the church, and the church set-up in general to identify the possibilities of inclusiveness, as well as the congregants’ dress code, to identify how people’s networks were formed and maintained.

Apart from my participant observations from the local open spaces of interaction, I also took into consideration that there are activities that are not performed on a daily basis but through which people practice good relations and develop empathy. I attended weddings, funerals, and birthdays in the city of Cape Town, to learn about the performances of and among

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migrants from the Great Lakes Region whom I regarded not homogenous but having their own disturbing differences; and the South Africans who might be invited. I was interested in exploring their processes of coming together, the dishes they make, the music they play, their enactments and responses to their diversity, and other informative rituals around their gathering.

C. One-on-one interviews

The intense ethnographic work in the migrants' spaces of daily interaction, as well as my participation in the church activities and other performed events, opened up a number of narratives in the Joe Slovak and Phoenix residents. However, I avoided to only complement my observations with the residents' narratives and discussions, but also to conduct semi-structured interviews with interlocutors from each ethnographic space. In my interactions with residents in the open spaces of the neighbourhood, a number of themes merged, but due to the nature of the study, focusing on the migrants whose life histories were sensitive, the one-on-one interview became important as it provided a terrain of privacy and confidentiality.

At the migrants' shops, I interviewed the shop owner(s), and both South Africans and migrant clients from the Great Lakes Region. Although questions were semi-structured and guided by the interlocutors' responses, I started with questions like: 'Tell me how you spend your days in general (asking about their businesses if the interviewee was the shop owner)' – and I would later go on to ask questions like, 'Why did you choose to come and live in Joe Slovo? What were your experiences before, during and after the 2008 xenophobic attacks?' All the questions were asked in a rather informal way, and most of the ideas and themes emerged from interlocutors' stories. They were more conversations between the informants and the researcher than interviews. For business owners, questions were designed to probe their businesses, their clients, and their relationships with clients and other fellow shop owners in the locality.

With regards to the church, I interviewed the main pastor who is a migrant from the DRC, the church secretary who is a Zulu South African, the migrant and South African congregants, and at some point migrants from Uganda who attended that church, sand were willing to talk to me so I informally interviewed them. I asked the pastor to tell me about the naissance of the Revival Pentecostal Church (RPC) he headed, how the church he started and

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led had become known and how he managed to attract South Africans (this question was also addressed to the South African congregants – how they got to know and attracted to the RPC), his role and main activities as the head pastor and founder of the church, about the church itself and its programmes, and lastly about his social life and relationships with the people around him, in the church and outside the church community. For the congregants, the questions were centered on their level of engagement in the church activities and programmes, and what it meant to them to be born-again Christians. In other words, I posed questions that provided details about their involvement in the church programs and what such involvement and the idea of belonging to RPC meant to them. During all the one-on-one interviews, I used a digital voice recorder to ensure a faithful record of the stories for later analysis.

In summary, being an insider and at the same time an outsider, doing research among fellow migrants from the Great Lakes Region and local South Africans, was both beneficial and potentially detrimental. It was beneficial because I could easily gain access to the group; I could speak to them in French, Kiswahili, Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. I was also familiar with some of the events, which they narrated. This helped in analysing and discussing emerging themes together. Nonetheless, it was also potentially detrimental in the sense that bias has to be managed. Subjectivity could be unconsciously present. I also knew in my preparation for the field that some migrants might feel offended to tell their life stories to someone whom they might meet in the future who would keep records of their narratives as an insider. Being aware of this, I did not focus much on life histories; rather those stories, which we could share as fellow migrants, and through face-to-face interactions as Goffman (1971, 1967) suggests, collecting information as expressed by the individual. By paying regular visits to migrants' shops, I was able to access South African residents through informal chats and practices in the barbershops, salons, and restaurants. In that sense my observations and interactions depended on what brought up in discussion, particularly in open spaces like shops and streets. At the RPC church I engaged more openly with South Africans as an insider, a churchgoer, and a participant in the church programmes and activities.

1.10. Outline of the thesis

Following the nature of this study, the outline of the thesis findings is based on a socio-spatial frame. Chapter one starts with ethnography of people's interactions in the social spaces in their neighbourhood followed by a description of the research site. As the main

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aim of this introduction chapter is to set the background of the study, I develop the main claim, and offer research questions and conceptual framework that guide the thesis. I contextualise the notion of embodied performance, conviviality, and vernacular cosmopolitanism to identify the ways through which differences are mediated between migrants and South Africans in everyday life. The chapter provides a note on the researcher's relationships to the field, and the processes through which I carried out this ethnographic fieldwork.

Chapter two provides an account of the everyday practices in the migrants' restaurants at Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships, as well as the South African-owned braai stands owned by Xhosa women, with the intention of exploring the social relations and conviviality among South Africans and migrants from the Great Lakes Region through food performances. In both spaces of food performances, I focus on sensory ethnography; the smell and taste of the food and its effect on people's interactions and relations. I draw on work done by authors such as Sutton (2001 & 2006) who talks about the travelling tastes and smells of homelans that accompany people across national borders; and how food produces a sensory memory that serves as a key mediator of social relationships. In the same vein, I review the work done by Nuggent (2010) and Verwey & Qyayle (2012) who note how the concept of unity is reflected in the performance of food, for instance in Braai in South Africa.

I also focus on the notion of 'sharing' as a representation of self from which we understand residents' meanings attached to ordinary conviviality and belonging. At these spaces above, residents share dining space like tables, dine from the same plates, and engage further to share information pertaining to food, particularly how they access the food products that are not produced in South Africa but are still made available from back home to Cape Town. I show in this chapter how the memory that the food creates among migrants from the Great Lakes Region enables regular contacts and practices of cosmopolitanism. We also learn in this chapter that migrants gather at the restaurant, to not necessarily eat or take food away but to check up on who is around to socialise. Some come there to seek advice while others pass by to leave their items/ parcels for short safekeeping. When migrants among themselves interact, they talk more of social matters like the issue of permits (valid legal immigration documents), their everyday struggles and joys, and they also talk of what happens in their countries back home provided they do not dig deeper into political issues that may involve unpleasant situations.

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Like at most migrants' shops in the area, the popular spoken languages at the restaurants and braai stands are Kiswahili and IsiXhosa respectively. Among migrants, the use of Kiswahili is based on the belief that almost every migrant from the Great Lakes Region can speak it. When migrants are seated with South Africans at a table, they speak English and IsiXhosa, although a South African woman whom I met and who has a boyfriend from the Congo, enjoyed talking in *KiSwahili*, calling the male migrant clients *shemeji*[21]. Analytically food plays a big role for the performance of sharing and conviviality, as it allows regular contact through which residents interact and learn each other's culture; a form of cosmopolitan conviviality. South Africans for instance have not only liked the taste of beans served in the migrants' restaurants, but they also talked about their appreciation for the cultural forms that come with the food performance, including the assisted-handwash.

Chapter three provides an ethnographic account of the observed popular culture represented in the barbershops and hair salons run by migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town, and Joe Slovo in particular. In a sense, I present the resources that migrants use to accommodate and entertain fellow transnational and South African clients and at the same time the experiences of how South Africans make sense of these presentations in everyday life. Departing from the work done on popular culture in cities of the DRC, particularly Kinshasa, (Pype 2005 & 2015; Braun, 2010; De Boeck, 2005) and in South Africa (Becker, 2012 & 2015), I show how music, hairstyles, haircuts images and paintings, low prices, flexible working hours and modes of payment, among others, in the migrants barber shops and hair salons convey a message to attract and maintain good relations with clients. In this chapter, I analyse and document the meaning attached to the popular cultural practices found in the barbershops and salons, including the naming and signage as migrants use particular symbols to name their social spaces such as 'Mama Africa' salon and the 'California barber shop' for instance.

As public open spaces, the migrants' barbershops in Joe Slovo and Phoenix neighbourhood serve as spaces in which migrants and South Africans encounter one another and practice their willingness, tolerance, acceptance and belonging through popular culture and embodied performances. The musical entertainment, images and names appropriated with the migrants' barbershops for instance, translate into how migrants feel about welcoming diversity into

[21] *Shemeji* is a Kiswahili word, which refers to the brother in-law

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their space on the one hand, and on the other hand, people's responses to such a call, gathering at the shops not only as clients, but also with a need to meet others and to socialise - and all this represents a kind of mediation of differences and a sense of belonging. South Africans who make regular use of these shops are more open to migrants, less hostile, and engage with them as they admire the migrants' performances, including hairstyles in the making.

Chapter four examines the experiences of living together and negotiating differences through religion-influenced spaces. Like other migrants' created spaces, the multinational Pentecostal church in Phoenix does not only serve as a space for spiritual needs but a space that provides responses to social relations crises. This chapter opens with a short vignette on how social matters like refugee papers and immigration issues are brought forward in church before and for the congregation, both locals and migrants, to engage in finding solutions together. I provide a brief note on the genesis of the Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix. This chapter is based on the participation, interactions, informal discussions, and interviews I had with the church pastor and congregants, and builds on the growing research on Pentecostal churches done in migrants' countries of origin (for instance the ethnographic work by Grant, 2014 in Rwanda, Pype , 2006; and De Boeck, 2005 in Kinshasa, DRC) and in South Africa (see Vigouroux, 2010; Nzayabino, 2010; Owen, 2011), studies by Birgit Meyer on (African) religious studies and Pentecostalist issues in African states, and also on studies on migration and spirituality in South Africa.

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The chapter documents the performed rituals during the Sunday services, special events such as church conferences, daily prayer meetings and the congregants' involvement in church organised activities within which differences among migrants and South Africans are mediated. I explore people's interactions and relations through the weekly organised 'home cells', youth programmes, charity project involvement choir membership as well as an ethnographic note from the church Easter conference attended during my fieldwork. I consider the role and level of involvement of South Africans in the migrant-led church, their motivations to be part of a migrant-dominated church and the impact to people's social lives within and beyond their local setting. I argue in this chapter that the migrant Pentecostal churches in South Africa, and particularly in Phoenix, serve as a good platform on which migrants and locals bring together social matters to be dealt with spiritually, hence treating each other as people facing shared problems and seeking solutions together rather than

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treating them as general stereotyped experienced outside the church. The nature and culture of the born-again church led to the understanding that the issues that migrants cannot disclose in public, or on the streets - as they would not wish to disclose foreignness or lack of proper immigration papers - is put forward at church in front of locals to deal with it together, another form of conviviality and belonging.

Chapter five explores the kind of 'on the street' interactions in the South African migrant townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix. Inasmuch as at every social space in the locality, there is a symbol that bring people together to interact, in this chapter we learn how what members of the communities do when at church, barber shops, and restaurants among other spaces, differ significantly from their 'on the street' experiences of relating to one another as neighbours. People identify each other based on cultural visible signifiers such as dress code, hair styles, physical appearance, and use these symbols to practice their willingness and mode of interaction on the street. I show in this chapter, how Congolese, Rwandan and Burundian women in Joe Slovo/Phoenix when they meet at shopping malls or elsewhere, identify each other based on their dressing of *kitenge,* hence informing how they greet each other and how they proceed further in their conversations. Interestingly the *kitenge*, as a simple cloth/wrap-over becomes a code of identity. Language is another symbol they rely on to open up to each other on the street, more specifically when one bumps into a group of people or individuals already engaged in conversation. In this chapter I emphasise the embodied performance of greeting on the street, through which residents build their friendships. I also document the indigenous street games played by South Africans and migrants, stating that even in a situation where some could not take part in the game, watching their fellows is significant in engaging with others and learning new ways of life.

Chapter six is an exploration of migrants' connectivity with 'back home'. I am interested in how migrants who are diverse among themselves interact and build relations over scarce commodities accessed from the Great Lakes Region in their diaspora and refugee localities in Cape Town. In this chapter, like I did in chapter two where I looked at the role of food as embodied performance of sharing and conviviality, I look at how sharing information related to and the materials from back home contribute to how migrants negotiate their differences and belonging. I engage with ethnographic work done on the anthropology of food by, for example, Lind and Barham (2004) who investigate the social life of food; Haltzman (2006) who suggests that food should be understood as a cultural construct like the family, gender,

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or religion, and that there are embodied memories constructed through food particularly among diasporic and expatriate populations.

I argue in this chapter that the national, ethnic, and other sorts of differences that exist among this group of migrants are mediated through the performance of connectivity with their home countries. Their connectivity with home countries informs how this group of migrants and connect or disconnect to one another, share information, and support one another whenever necessary. I show in this chapter how at social events like weddings, or even funerals, migrants from the Great Lakes Region dress in specific traditional attires from home, play home music, make traditional dishes and share this particular moment with invited others. I also show in this chapter that among migrants however, particularly Rwandans, the connection with home can bring about tensions among the migrants about visas and refugee status. In the following chapter we learn how South Africans appropriate things, which migrants confer such as *kitenge* dresses accessed from migrant sellers and tailors from the DRC, in South Africa.

Chapter seven focuses on South Africans, who by living side by side with migrants from the Great Lakes Region, have shown cosmopolitanism in living with diversity through the way they appropriate migrants' clothing styles made out of African prints accessed from migrants' home countries. In such circumstances, fashion provides another platform at which migrants and locals mix and befriend each other based on dressmaking. As the literature on the '*sapeurs*'[22] states (Mabanckou, 1998; Thomas, 2003), I show how Great Lakes Region migrants specifically from the Congo, who are well known in the region as being good dress makers and tailors, use their skills to make a living in South Africa, while the performance of dressmaking provides opportunities for interactions and relations among locals and migrants. I recall while at the hair salon during fieldwork, how I was directed to the tailor, the story that started with the African print dress I was dressed in. A South African woman introduced me to the Burundian tailor. It was interesting to learn how locals came to know about a good tailor from the Great Lakes Region. The tailor is perceived as original in making dresses in a unique way, even when the fabric is from South Africa. Locals also appreciate migrants in everyday life in Joe Slovo as good tenants, an issue I also discuss in this chapter is to learn

[22] The term refers to varied meanings depending on the context. In the context of clothing in Democratic Republic of Congo, the *sapeurs (*sappers) are the stylish people, also known to be ambience lovers. In other words, in DRC, members of the society group of ambience lovers and stylish people are commonly called sappers. *La sape* is a French slang for elegant and fashionable clothing.

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how the practices of welcoming migrants took another form after the May 2008 xenophobia attacks.

In **Chapter eight**, I draw together the major claims put forward in the thesis. I wrap up the idea that in everyday life at particular social space in the neighbourhood, there are resources on which processes and forms of interactions are constructed, which counteract the overemphasis on conflict and xenophobia as migrants and locals continue to live together. Such forms of interactions include the performance of greeting, chatting, sharing, walking together, praying together, visiting and inviting one another, exchanging goods and gifts, playing together, eating together, entertainment, among other forms of social interactions that people use in living with diversity and in mediating their differences.

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CHAPTER TWO

Presentation of diversity and conviviality through food performances

2.1 Introduction

On another day at Mama Abdul's restaurant in Phoenix, I encountered Mr Mngqibisa, a black South African and Joe Slovo resident. My interaction with Mr Mngqibisa who seemed to be in his mid-fifties, started on a Saturday noon in Phoenix when he found Mama Abdul and I chatting and was interested in knowing who I was. I cheerfully introduced myself as a new Phoenix resident, carrying out academic research. Before I proceeded with my self-introduction he had already asked me a number of questions – 'How often do you come to this restaurant? Do you know this lady's name (pointing to Mama Abdul)? Do you know what I like most about this place?'

All these questions were directed at me with a serious facial look, and as I replied that I visit the restaurant on daily basis, that I like the food prepared, Mr Mngqibisa said, 'I love the way they assist me to wash my hands with warm water; even my wife cannot do this to me, even at KFC nobody has given me water and helped me to wash my hands, but this lady whom I call '*Umama wethu* – Our mother' has provided such a service to me and to others'. As we continued with our conversation he went on to elaborate emphasising that he has learned something new from the migrants' restaurants: 'I now know so many things from my African sisters and brothers here. I appreciate the way they treat me and other people who come to this restaurant. I love their way of doing things, and I like coming here to get same hospitality', he added.

The above interaction between the South African client and myself in a Phoenix township was not unique but rather an illustration of residents' encounters and everyday interactions. In this chapter I explore the role of food performances in mediating differences and bringing about conviviality in a Cape Town township. As I moved around migrants' shops on the site, most of my time was spent in their restaurants where I at least spent two consecutive hours every day during lunch, and more time later before sunset. When residents entered the restaurant, they seemed to be familiar with one another, calling one another by names, hugging and shaking hands, and the restaurant owner had a respectful way of addressing women as '*mama*. …(sometimes adding the name of her child, husband, or her own name)'.

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The room was dominated by people's voices as they talked, as opposed to the next-door barbershop that was dominated by musical sounds.

In Joe Slovo for instance, there was a continuous inflow of residents in the tiny restaurant, some with no intention of buying food but just passing by to greet the restaurant owner, or to check up on who was present there so they could chat or cheer each other up together. One day a resident came in and after greeting us all, and chatting a bit with the restaurant owner, said in Kinyarwanda "*Nihitiraga nti reka nceho mbasuhuze*" (Was just passing by to say hi). A few women also came in to check on their parcels kept by the restaurant owner. In this sense, the restaurants in the neighbourhood were perceived as spaces of contact. As one Congolese woman asked mama Bukuru who runs a restaurant in Joe Slovo, in Kiswahili '*Habari mama, hakuna mtu ameniachia mzigo hapa*?' (Hello mother, was there no parcel left here for me?). This passer-by really knew that someone had left her a parcel at the restaurant, as they always did, according to Bukuru. Likewise, Bukuru did not hesitate to confirm it, as she quickly grabbed the parcel and passed it on. It also seemed to me that these two ladies were familiar with each other, based on how they furthered their talks after handing over the parcel.

In order to make sense of how differences among migrants and South Africans were mediated through food performances, I considered not only the migrants' restaurants but also the Xhosa Women' s braai stands that were positioned on the streets every Saturday. As with most social spaces in the neighbourhood, these food spaces were important points of contact that brought about gathering of both transnational migrants and South Africans. The restaurant shops opened their doors very early and closed late in the day, from Monday to Sunday and the movement around these restaurants was intense. In this chapter I focus on the sensual performance of food as in taste, smell, how it is served, and what it means for creating community and conviviality at a place where conflict is also possible.

In this chapter, I show how the Great Lakes Region migrant restaurants and South Africans' braai stands on the site served as important resources that provide spaces for everyday social interactions and networks among migrants and South Africans, and between clients and shop owners. As opposed to the interactions at other social spaces in the neighbourhood such as local churches, that take place on specific days of the week, the encounters at the local restaurants was an everyday experience. People's interactions in the restaurants were also different from everyday interactions on the streets where people feared muggers; at the

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restaurants according to my (participant) observations, people seemed to be aware of what to expect and whom to encounter. They in most cases knew one another when they gathered at these restaurants. Similarly, despite their positions on the street, the braai stands were spaces where people interacted freely; the importance was on the enactments of the braai as food rather than the street location it occupied.

Considering the multiplicity of residents within the Phoenix and Joe Slovo settlements, and the encounters that accompany differences, questions arise as to how migrants who are diverse among themselves and South Africans manage to relate and live together as neighbours. Where people live, differences that exist among them affect where, how, and with whom they spend their time and other resources. On the same note, arguably the issue of living with others of different nationalities in South African neighbourhoods has always been reported as violent and conflicting experience There are also socioeconomic questions involved in analyses of violent and conflict-prone experiences, where African migrants are blamed for social ills such as housing, unemployment, poverty, disease and crime within South Africa (Harris, 2002; Danso & McDonald, 2000). Consequently I pose the following questions: 'What attracts the multi-layered migrants and South Africans, clients and passersby to migrant restaurants and Xhosa women's braai stands? What practices and kind of conversations do they share when they encounter one another at these spaces? How does then the restaurant as a space and people therein impact one another in mediating differences and diversity encounters? In other words, what is the role of food for the performance of sharing and conviviality?'

This chapter answers the above questions by looking at the available localised resources that restaurants and braai stands owners use to accommodate people, including the space setting, the food itself and how it is prepared and served to make sense of the sensual performances of taste and smell, and also other embodied enactments through which people perform cosmopolitanism and the conviviality of belonging. This pinpoints some of the reasons why people in their neighbourhood find it important and perhaps get attracted to spend their resources (time and money) at these food and social spaces. The interest is on understanding how their differences are ordinarily mediated through these daily practices and interactions.

Analytically and as observed closely on a daily basis, I argue that embodied performances of food in a South African township which ranges from popular ways of preparing and serving it, to the smell and taste it produces, are significant to the way residents get attracted to these

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spaces of food. When migrants from the Great Lakes Region smell and or taste food from migrants' restaurants, they are reminded of their food back home- memory reproduced by food; while South Africans learn new food tastes and appreciating human diversity. I argue further that the way they intermingle and interact with one another through sharing, contribute to their relations, tolerance, and sense of belonging. While eating together from the same table(s) or around the same braai stand, people comment on the taste, others ask questions about how and where to access same food products, others ask about ingredients, engage in talks and information sharing, thereby creating community and conviviality within their social setting. Like the opening vignette to this chapter suggests therefore, the migrants' restaurants offer a friendly welcoming space of encounter, as people gather even with no intention to buy food. At the restaurants I could encounter people who had come to these food corners to meet others and socialise, although they could still end up having meals shared by and with their friends. By sharing space and food, people manage to negotiate their diversity and conviviality through networking, and amusement.

Before I discuss the significance of food as embodied performance, and its role to conviviality and vernacular cosmopolitanism, I start with a brief setting of migrants' established informal restaurants and South Africans' braai stands in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, followed by a discussion on food-related practices, and their significance to people's interactions.

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2.2 The emergence of migrants' restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix

As the Great Lakes region migrants' small stories unfolded during our informal conversations and interviews, what pulled them to Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships was the ability to make a sustainable living through available opportunities based on the geographical setting of the locality. As mentioned earlier, the neighbourhood is situated next to Century City, the biggest mall in Cape Town, which as a shopping centre offers job opportunities to migrants from the Great Lakes Region most of whom survive on unskilled work as car and security guards. Most of the refugee migrants from the Great Lakes Region I worked with told me that they had come to Joe Slovo to live closer to their places of work, namely Century City. Most of them were single or young couple adults with ages ranging from late twenties to early forties. They also mentioned that they chose to live in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, because in Joe Slovo shacks were cheaper than a room in the suburbs: R500 per month for a one-room shack, or R800 for a room in Phoenix (in Phoenix we find

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built houses). In the suburbs they would have to pay R1000 or more for a rented room.

While most of the refugee migrants started living in the townships with the intention of living closer to their work places and also to save some money as township living was cheaper than life in the suburbs, they ended up becoming their own bosses by running informal businesses in their localities. This complements with what we already know through the scholarly work done on Great Lakes Region migrants; like any other migrants in South Africa who face difficulties to secure formal employment, they are left to devise their own ways to meet their socioeconomic needs (see Amisi & Ballard, 2005; Steinberg, 2005 and Vigouroux, 2008). Similarly Owen, in her study on the social networks among Congolese transnational migrants in Muizenberg, Cape Town (see Owen's doctoral thesis, 2011 and Owen, 2015) points out that despite the unsafe political and economic environments that African migrants face, they are intent on creating environments conducive to their welfare in the urban and surrounding areas while in South Africa.

It is the same spirit that I came across in a number of African migrants' shops in Cape Town's various suburbs and townships including Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships. Transnational migrants often run informal businesses including restaurants in their neighbourhoods and the city at large. Two restaurant shop owners I spoke to have come to Phoenix and Joe Slovo in search of cheaper residential accommodation in the first place, and the geographic setting[23] of the neighbourhood created good opportunities for them to run restaurants as they sell food to a number of single adult residents and others who work in the surrounding areas of Joe Slovo Park.

I also learned from my interlocutors that as time went on, and as migrant residents kept their contacts with their friends in (other) suburbs of Cape Town, the majority moved to Joe Slovo to stay on and carry out informal businesses. Being made out of shipping containers makes the stores in Joe Slovo affordable to rent and, like a number of migrants explained, an individual migrant may have one or two containers of his own, running business in one while renting out the other to generate more income.

Despite the idea of finding cheaper places to live, the Great Lakes Region migrants I spoke to found the over-populated Phoenix and Joe Slovo locality ideal for their businesses, allowing

[23] Located next to Montague Gardens Industrial area, the major source of employment to Joe Slovo residents, and also near the biggest shopping mall in the city, from which residents work as security guards, car guards, restaurant attendants, to mention a few.

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them to make little but quick money, and also to easily connect with one another as opposed to living in middle to upper class suburbs. The same applies to why South Africans do the braai on the streets. The lower-middle income South Africans in Joe Slovo, particularly women in their late forties and above, rely on informal activities to make a living. By positioning their braai stands on the streets, they pay no rental fee for the space they occupy, and the neighbourhood serves their needs.

Although the braais bring people together to interact, the initial purpose is to make money, to earn a living, targeting weekends when many residents are off-work. In addition, some South African women told me, most South Africans in formal employment get paid every Friday and therefore a weekend is a good day to spend money on a braai. As Forest & Kearns (2001) note, residents of poor neighbourhoods spend more time in their local areas than do residents of wealthier neighbourhoods. This is entirely true in the at Phoenix/Joe Slovo townships where migrants among themselves and together with South Africans have engaged in socio-economic activities which have brought about connections and networks as they encounter one another on a daily basis. It is also in South African townships however, as discussed earlier, that such multiplicity and differences have resulted in negative attitudes and conflicts among neighbours due to high levels of poverty and unemployment, compared to residents in suburbs who might be well-off in terms of income and whose contact with their neighbours is minimal.

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The local practices presented in this chapter are based on the socio-economic resources in place as created by migrants - both shop owners and clients. But who are the clients? At the local migrant restaurants the majority of clients and passers-by are mainly Burundian, Congolese, Rwandan migrants as well as a few other African migrants and local South Africans. On weekdays, the number of people in and out of the restaurants is smaller than over weekends and public holidays. The gatherings mostly consist of young male adults who are single and spend much of their time at the restaurants on their way from work, and or on their off-days. The few women I encountered at both restaurants were passing by to greet the restaurant owner or to leave behind parcels for short safekeeping while their journeys continued to other spaces of interest.

Notwithstanding the fact that Joe Slovo and Phoenix residents opt to gather at the restaurants to meet others and converse, the main purpose of the restaurants is to make and serve food.

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Therefore, in the section below, I look at the performance of food both in preparing and in eating it.

2.3 On Performance of food: Everyday experiences from migrants' restaurants

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1999) writes on the convergence of food and the concept of performance in terms of how food is made, served, sensed; the health and sanitation around the food place, as well as the entertainment at the presentation of the food.

The dishes prepared at both migrants' restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are the same and include pap, rice, beans, green vegetables, chicken, and fish; costing R25 per plate. Bukuru also known as Mama Fils in the area, who is originally from Burundi, owns the restaurant based in Joe Slovo and runs it with her helper who is also a female migrant from Burundi, and they take shifts in food preparation. The same is true at the restaurant on the Phoenix side, run by Mama Abdul the owner who is originally from Rwanda, with two women helping in the kitchen in food preparation, serving, and cleaning. One of the two kitchen helpers is a sister to Mama Abdul, and is responsible for handling cash payments and controlling the business in the absence of her sister, the shop owner.

I am employing the concept of 'food performance' to refer to acts (Bauman, 1975), namely processes through which the raw food products are ordered, prepared, served, and eaten as readymade food. All these encompass the notion of performance of food as doing, behaving, and showing (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Goffman, 1959; Butler, 1988), as restaurant owners prepare and present food to customers, who in turn interact over the taste and smell of the food when they eat it. Like Butler suggests in her study on performative acts and gender constitution, a social action requires a performance which is repeated (Buttler, 1988), and the above processes in food spaces in the neighbourhoods are reenacted each and every day, effecting people's social interactions, sense of belonging and conviviality. The restaurant is therefore a space from which social practices are enacted and reenacted in the form of deeds, behaviours, and illustrations (Ibid). These repeated enactments are what she calls social performance, and I find them significant to people's relations with each other as people repeatedly act and present themselves in certain ways in these their social spaces, namely the restaurants.

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2.3.1 On accessing the food materials in the city

While the restaurant owner does the food preparation with her helper as learned from both restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, the ordering of the raw food products is the responsibility of the shop owner. Restaurants owners are the ones who know where to get products in bulk and at cheaper (ordering) price, they disclosed. They had identified ‘fruits and vegetables’ free markets around the city of Cape Town, whose prices are far much affordable as compared to the prices found at popular grocery stores such as Shoprite, Pick n Pay, and Fruits and Veg marked Stores they added. Thus in the quest of accessing raw food products, the shop owners consider finding places where they can order cheaply so as to serve cheaper food to the consumers. They are aware that their townships are inhabited by lower-income residents who are not only willing to pay less but are socio-economically unable to meet high costs. There is a kind of consideration in this practice; cosmopolitanism from below.

According to Bukuru and Mama Abdul during different interviews, they order fresh produce from the farmers’ market located in Epping, Cape Town. Such markets offer bulk sales and operate from very early in the morning and close at around 11 am. ‘I must be there as early as 7 am in order to buy fresh and cheaper vegs. The good thing about these free markets, we also bargain for prices, as most of the people who sell in those open markets are African migrants. They get the produces direct from farmers,’ said Mama Abdul, the restaurant owner at Phoenix. The restaurant owners’ narratives about the processes of accessing raw food products allow us to understand the role of food for the performance of conviviality and cosmopolitanism. In a sense, the process allows these owners to engage in interactions as they bargain prices with sellers forming networks particularly when they have to keep in contact for future orders. Similarly these networks and interactions go back into the neighbourhood to the food consumers who appreciate the taste of fresh vegetables, and also the low prices. The township dwellers benefit from this, and as services are brought closer to them and at a cheaper price, they view migrants from the Great Lakes Region as innovative and not a threat; they conduct businesses that South Africans are not willing to which benefits South Africans.

The two shop owners had also identified the butcheries that sell cheaper food products in the suburbs of Cape Town where they source meat, fish, and chicken. They mentioned places such as Parow, Maitland, and Salt River, suburbs of Cape Town, where they buy sacks of

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rice, dry beans, and other food products at cheaper prices. This process of identifying and ordering at lower prices has resulted in managing affordable food prices to their final consumers who, as mentioned earlier, could buy a plate of meat/fish/chicken with beans, vegetables and rice or pap for only R25.

2.3.2 Playing with senses: Tasty food from migrants' restaurants

The food from the Great Lakes Region migrants' restaurants attracted people in the neighbourhood, both migrants from different African nations, and South Africans. According to Mama Abdul, most of her clients are Swahili people, Zimbabweans and also truck drivers. 'Most of the trucks drivers buy food from my restaurant, and most of them are Zulus and Zimbabweans', she told me. As she explained, Swahili people meant fellow migrants from the Great Lakes Region, specifically migrants from Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, and the DRC who most of the time interacted in Kiswahili. It also shows how content Mama Abdul was in her ability to serve food to a number of people from different backgrounds.

Mama Abdul and I became friends, seeing each other on a daily basis; being asked if I was enjoying my stay in Phoenix. We talked as sisters each day, and she could update me on anything interesting that might have taken place at her shop in my absence. In our conversations over a plate of rice, beans, fish, and pap (see photo below) she told me that people know her and call her by name (Mama Abdul – named after her husband Abdul) as they enter the restaurant. 'They know when I am around and when I am not. When they enter this restaurant they enter calling my name, and when they don't hear my response they know I am not around', she added. As we continued chatting, she emphasised:

> '*Wananijua kwa jina* -They know me by name'
>
> '*Wananijua kwa ju ya jinsi ninawapokea* -They know me by the hospitality I offer'
>
> '"*Wanajuwa hapa kwa sababu tunafurahiya watu* -They know this place for the joy it provides'

According to mama Abdul's statements, people feel at home when they come to her restaurant. Behind their feelings however, lies the embodiment of the food that she makes both in the sense of smell and taste and yet at an affordable price.

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Figure 3: I, taking lunch at mama Abdul's restaurant (on the left). Myself with Mama Abdul (on the right) in Phoenix. Photo taken by Pascal, the migrant client.

From my experience as a client, taking fish, beans, and pap, I enjoyed the taste that came with that food, especially the beans. I felt as if I was eating the same beans I used to have at home whenever I went for holidays. I was going through what Holtzman asserts a relationship between food and memory (Holtzman, 2006), in this case remembering my dish from back home. According to Lind and Barham (2004), people do not merely eat for nutrients, but to experience taste produced from how the food was produced as raw food, how it was prepared as in cooking which also involves the combined seasoning that produces different smells and flavour sensations. The food from migrants' restaurants such as beans for example, had attracted clients on the basis of taste as homemade as opposed to canned beans that taste of added sugar because of preservatives. And fresh vegetables tasted better than vegetables, which had been refrigerated.

The smell of food was also an important aspect of how clients interacted with the space. After they come in, clients place food orders verbally, some by first asking about the food available for the day as these shops have no written menu, while others could tell by the sense of food they smelled as they entered the restaurant. Most of what people told me about these restaurants was about original food taste, cheap prices, and customer care in general. I personally as a regular client to both restaurants during the fieldwork period, can testify to the good taste and smell of foods such as the fish and beans. The fish was simply deep-fried with only salt added. No food were preservatives added, unlike other fish dishes at food courts or fast food outlets around the city. I would say the same about the beans, which from the way they smelled and tasted had only salt, cooking oil, onions, and raw tomatoes

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ingredients added in, as opposed to beans I tasted in restaurants which tasted of added sugar among other ingredients.

For instance, these two women explained their process of preparing their dry beans. They boil raw beans for about three hours, which is the same way it is prepared back in their home countries; the same way most African migrants like to cook them, as opposed to canned baked beans in supermarkets and fancy restaurants. The smell and taste reminded me among other clients of real bean dishes, and is what most migrant clients referred to as an 'original taste from home'. South Africans also mentioned that they had enjoyed the different ways of food preparation and tasting, particularly beans and pap. South Africans I encountered had told me that they loved re-cooking baked beans and when the raw beans were barely prepared they added sugar for a better taste.

Despite the sensory embodiment of food that attracted people to the restaurants, other important resources were observed as practices through which individuals and groups of people formed a sense of community and conviviality, and these included customer care related practices such as welcoming clients verbally and through gestures, the provision of seats, assisted hands-washing, low food prices, selling on credit to regular customers, and keeping clients' parcels. These repeated enactments are what Butler (1988) calls social performances, and are significant to people's relations with each other. The repeated interactions and regular contact from the restaurant, fostered good social relations as opposed to the social exclusion that has been caracterising experiences of living together between African migrants and South Africans. This performance of conviviality was extended to all clients regardless of their age, gender, ethnic, or national background among other diversities. People have attached meaning not only on the food itself, but also to the customer care practices as performed by the restaurant owner and or her assistant(s) in the process of serving the food.

Although local migrant restaurants offer original taste meals with discounted prices, my interlocutors disclosed other reasons for visiting these restaurants. Migrant restaurant owners on the site have been praised for being good at providing basic but crucial practices that clients find important in cooperating with shop owners. Both migrants and South Africans who make regular use of these restaurants, reported to have enjoyed the cosmopolitan way of treatment which means they get a warm welcome and sense of respect and acceptance. Their diversities therefore I argue, are negotiated through these everyday enactments of living

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together, where the Joe Slovo / Phoenix residents expressed their joy and appreciation over the way they are treated from the moment they enter the restaurant. These practices of conviviality are discussed below as experienced by diverse residents in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix neighbourhoods.

2.3.3 *Tunakaribishwa* (We get a warm welcome): Sense of acceptance and belonging

The performance of food promises a sense of solidarity and belonging that contrasts the experiences of social exclusion that had existed among transnational migrants and South Africans. As Harris (2002:13) puts it, 'through xenophobia, foreigners feel foreign, which in turn, isolates and excludes foreigners further from South African society.' In Joe Slovo, South Africans and transnational migrants hang around in a tiny restaurant, with only a total of eight seats made available around the two dining tables, and one can either squeeze in to share a seat or keep standing for minutes and hours; the residents were not merely occupying space but what was interesting were their narratives about how the recurrent acts of welcoming them made them feel accepted, comfortable and free to interact.

During our informal conversation, Asumani from the Congo expressed his contentment when he used the following Kiswahili phrase: '*Tunakaribishwa*' to let me know what excites him about the local migrant restaurants. 'As opposed to other restaurants we know from South African shops, migrants shop owners know how to welcome us', he said. The first impression migrants and South Africans get is to be welcomed in an elated voice '*Karibu* – welcome' as the client approaches or knocks on the restaurant door, an act which Bauman calls 'verbal art of performance' (Bauman, 1975), along with other embodied gestures such as eye contact, smiling, and a handshake from the shop owner. Not knowing whether one was coming in to buy, or passing by, the shop owner welcomes everyone that enters the shop, and the ability to do so is what I consider performance of conviviality. Welcoming people represents hospitality, another form of conviviality and an enactment that translates into cosmopolitanism, a willing to engage with others (Hannerz, 1990:239), and living together with difference (Werbner, 2008:2). Consquently, residents feel welcome, accepted and free to express themselves and further interactions.

The importance and meaning that people attach to the acts of welcoming shape their feelings of differences and belonging. The Rwandans I know, like to use the word '*bansuzuguye* – they looked down upon me', when they feel like they were not sufficiently welcomed. I had been hearing a number of comments regarding the issue of 'welcoming and feeling

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welcomed' among migrants in Joe Slovo, following an event or special occasion, and or simply an ordinary visit. One Sunday afternoon, gathered at the restaurant veranda in Joe Slovo, two Rwandan men were reflecting on an event at which they both were present. The issue was about having been ignored upon arrival at the host's birthday party. One man was stressing the matter of having been taken for granted when he expected to be noticed as a visitor and directed to a seat, among other expectations. He said in his words '*Baransuzuguye mwa, ntibazongera kumbona iwabo* – They ignored me, and they will never see me at their place again'. During this talk, people expressed themselves differently but all had same view, emphasising on the importance of welcoming visitors or anyone who enters another person's space, how it opens up doors to acceptance, empathy, and a sense of belonging. In their talk, some kept on referring to their 'back home' nature of welcoming visitors, as an interlocutor stated it in the extract below:

> *Ubundi mu muco w'iwacu, guha umuntu ikaze ni ikintu gikomeye cyane…Itangwa muburyo bwinshi, ariko iyo umuntu akwishimiye urabibona, nawe ukumva ushimishijwe no kuba aho hantu* (Normally in our culture, welcoming a guest is a very crucial aspect…The ritual of welcoming people takes different forms, but importantly you can see that someone is happy to see you, which in turn makes you as a visitor more comfortable and happy to be at that particular place).

Entering other people's spaces can pose threats, particularly in South African townships where conflicts and crimes are evident every day. Given that, one may wonder how migrants and South Africans would feel about entering restaurants where they encounter different people, fellows, familiar and unfamiliar, to dine together from the same table. Unlike what happens elsewhere, for instance in a study done by the anthropologist Duranti (1992) on ceremonial greetings among the Samoan people, where Duranti uses the theme 'sighting' when referring to what people do when they enter other people's territories, residents in Joe Slovo and Phoenix's uncertainties are outweighed by the warm welcome they receive once they enter the shop.

While Duranti finds that before people enter into verbal and long conversations, there is much done with their bodies, looking around to decide where to seat and with whom. Clients in the restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are seated randomly because there were limited seats, and they feel comfortable in the space based on how they are treated by the shop owners. Such treatment results in regular spatial interaction, and it is this familiarity in the space and interactions therein that makes residents feel at home. Newcomers to the shop also receive a welcoming charming smile from others already in the restaurant, not necessarily

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only the shop owner, which also contributes to a sense of acceptance. Some men at times stood up to offer their seats to new arriving clients, as a way of welcoming them on behalf of the shop owner.

Based on these perceptions, coupled with other views from those who regularly visit the local migrants' restaurants, one cannot ignore the impact that the ritual of welcoming have on people and their interactions. For individuals or groups to engage in any nature of conversation, I argue that they should feel comfortable about it and with one another; they should sense the freedom of speech and tolerance from those perceived as different. This is true about social interactions among migrants from the Great Lakes Region for instance, who have suffered the tragedy of war and conflicts on the basis of mere differences and South Africans whose history of social exclusion has created a xenophobic attitude towards the African other.

The Rwandans I encountered during my fieldwork applied the Kinyarwanda popular phrases '*kwisanga no kwisanzura'*, mostly used when people are content with the hospitality they receive, and or when the host emphasises the act of welcoming a guest – *Murakaza neza murisanga* (Welcome and feel at home). The *kwisanga* concept phrase is therefore an expression of how this migrant among others feels 'at home' whenever they visit the local restaurants. The word '*kwisanga'* literally means 'meeting or encountering oneself'. The warm welcome made people feel comfortable to visit the shops daily. The migrant restaurants are therefore spaces through which migrants and South Africans have managed their differences through repeated everyday contact (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987; de Certeau, 1980). Residents who make use of these restaurants regularly mentioned that they have created a sort of relationship with each other, recognising each other even when they meet at spaces other than the restaurants.

Apart from a warm welcome and sense of acceptance that residents get from the migrants' restaurants, they appreciate other important practices of togetherness. The idea of assisted handwashing before and after clients consume their meals has been observed to play an important role in the lives of the people; some South Africans perceiving this ritual as an act beyond customer care, while for the Greal Lakes Region migrants it is an enactment that reminds them of their homestyle of serving food in popular restaurants. It is therefore interesting to see how people have taken time to analytically make sense of every practice and the resources used in the process of selling and buying food.

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2.3.4 Assisted handwashing

The process of serving clients in the restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix was fascinating and captivating especially when it involved customer care that was unique as compared with what people receive when they venture out to other restaurants in the city. Personally whenever I ordered food at any of these two local restaurants, I was offered warm water to wash my hands, and so it was done for every client. The water came in a plastic jug along with a small washbowl, liquid soap (dish soap), and a dishtowel to dry the hands afterwards. Whether other clients or I used forks or our hands to take the meals, we had our assisted-hand washing performed first.

It is an ordinary practice for the majority people from the Great Lakes Region in rural areas and middle class settings in everyday life in their households, where people interchangeably help each other to wash their hands using a water jug and washbowl. When I engaged in informal conversation wanting to know people's feeling about the act of having assisted handwashing in a public space, the interlocutor said:

> It is common back home you know, that people must wash their hands before they start and after having their meals. *Tunapenda kula na mikono, tukila ugali wetu (*we love eating our pap with our hands). *Hata rice si tutatumia mikono tu* (we do the same with rice too). *Kwa hiyo tukipata hii service, c'est comme si nous sommes toujours a la maison* (so if we get this kind of service, it is like we are still at home). Phoenix resident, from DRC.

For the migrants it was therefore an ordinary performance that reminded them of home, feeling cared about and important. It was a practice they expected from those serving in the restaurant. The idea of having hands washed before eating is common in Great Lakes Region because most of the people from this region enjoy using their hands when eating certain meals such as pap. The same notion is re-enacted and recreated in the migrants' everyday life, bringing about connection and acceptance between the shop owner, her workers, and clients through the process. On the other hand, some people specifically South Africans who are not used to this kind of service from restaurants, showed mixed facial expressions from excited, to wondering, to uncomfortable, and other sort of responses. To them, I was told, pre-meal hand washing is performed at home but they wash hands in running water from a tap and not necessarily in a bowl.

The assisted handwashing was therefore something new to the South Africans with whom I interacted, especially having it done by a so-called a stranger in this context, namely a shop. It was something new they learned and appreciated from their transnational migrant

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neighbours, and it makes them remember migrants as people who practice unusual hospitality regardless of where the client comes from. Here I reproduce Mngqibisa's statement, as we informally chatted, illustrating the memory he kept about Mama Abdul from the restaurant in Phoenix:

> I love the way they assist me to wash my hands with warm water; even my wife cannot do this to me, even at KFC nobody has given me water and helped me to wash my hands, but this lady whom I call '*Umama wethu* – Our mother' has provided such a service to me and to others.

Mngqibisa here shows his amusement, and at the same time appreciation of the cultural practices that Mama Abdul like any other transnational migrant presents in the community. Based on this ordinary process of serving food, South Africans have been able to engage and befriend transnational migrants in the same way that Mngqibisa engaged with me on the basis of appreciating what migrants confer - and he pays regular visit to that place which also shows the attachment he holds for the space (Lefebvre, 1991). It is through repeated visits and interactions (Butler, 1988) that this kind of conviviality is made possible. The notion of having South Africans like Mngqibisa and others regularly visiting the migrants' social spaces contrasts some of the root causes of xenophobic behaviours in South Africa, such as lack of contact between South Africans and transnational migrants in their shared spaces (Murara, 2011; Crush, 2008; Harris, 2002). Those who write on xenophobia in South Africa also mention other root causes such as lack of knowledge, that is, not knowing who these transnational migrants are and why they are in South Africa; and also blaming migrants for social ills such as poverty and unemployement (Harris, 2002). In contrast to these understandings that lead to conflicts, migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships have engaged in informal businesses, which create space for regular contact and interactions.

South Africans end up learning new ways of living, getting a better understanding of who the transnational migrants are and what they are able to deliver. Instead of blaming them for poverty and stealing jobs from natives, the narrative of Mngqibisa among others illustrate how South Africans appreciate the fact that migrants bring positive changes in their neighbourhood. Not only migrants from the Great Lakes Region (as opposed to other African migrants in South African townships and cities such as Zimbabweans[24]) embark on informal

[24] Zimbabwean migrants like to work in industries where South Africans wish to occupy the same job opportunities but since the Zimbabwean are believed to be more literate as compared to black South Africans,

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businesses that have little competition since no South Africana are willing to do them, but also South Africans appreciate the idea that a number of services have been brought closer to them and at an affordable prices, as in barbering (discussed in Chapter 3) and in restaurants where they get their assisted handwashing. Great Lakes Region migrants are not perceived as a threat, but fellow humans who bring about change in the community.

During my interaction with residents at the restaurant, they repeatedly mentioned that they felt at home and free when they encountered one another, feeling sense of belonging to a one community. They were familiar with each other, and expressed themselves whenever they wanted to. This was illustrated in the way people called each other by name, playing loud music from their smart phones, borrowing material objects from the shop owner, sharing food from the same plate, and chatting, among other performances of living together. As a result, the shop owners had established good relationships and trust with their clients, even selling food on credit.

2.3.5 *Nitalipa baadaye* (will pay later): Building trust, another form of conviviality

At the migrants' restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix regular clients had a choice when it came to paying for their meals. Most of the clients could come in and eat and ask to pay later.

One day I had a good chat with the restaurant owner regarding the act of selling on credit and below I present few extracts out of our conversation:

> **Odette**: I have not seen you writing down the names of the people you sell food to on credit, will you remember them?
>
> **Restaurant owner**: I cannot write their names down, because they are my regular customers, I know them and some of them I know their shops, they are just here on this line of shops.
>
> **Odette**: Oh ok, but what if they do not remember to pay, how would you go about it?
>
> **Restaurant Owner**: They know I am in business like some of them are, they know I use this money to order more food stuff, so most of the time they bring me the money on the same day before we close shops.

The clients and sellers, transnational migrants and South Africans in Phoenix and Joe Slovo neighbourhood knew each other, and showed mutual respect to one another. Here the

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the employers hire Zimbabwean rather than South Africans. Therefore one way to ease the interactions between South Africans and migrants from the Great Lakes Region is by appreciating what these migrants confer.

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conviviality is shown in the form of respect and trust that people have for each other in everyday interactions. They embraced the idea of being in different businesses as some clients to the restaurants run diverse informal businesses around, and kept in mind that they needed to support one another to keep going. Other clients in both restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, specifically South Africans, do not run informal business in the locality but still get food on credit and pay as promised. Therefore there is a cosmopolitanism practised from below in these South African townships, as residents accommodate each other in their everyday social and economic lives (Illich, 1979; Bauman, 2003), which contrasts the xenophobic behaviours that had dominated the living together between transnational migrants and South Africans more particularly in townships.

The fact that these clients whether locals or migrants are from different cultures from that of the restaurant owner has not set a limit on how they should relate to one another, but their everyday encounters, joy, and struggles, have created a bond, overlooking their ethnic, national, and cultural differences and tying themselves to what unites them, namely the services and the need to support each other and live together. This is what Gilroy (2004; 2006) and Nyamnjoh (2015) among other researchers call conviviality; people's ability to forge relations with their differences.

The above also translate into a form of cosmopolitanism, where migrants and locals practise openness to each other regardless of their differences, searching for contrasts rather than uniformity (Hannerz, 1990:239). Most of the clients in these restaurants run different businesses, for example as barbers or tailors in the neighbourhood while others, mostly South Africans, are residents but work in different parts of the city to earn a living. Their diversities are therefore embedded not only in their nationalities and ethnicities but also in what they do every day to socio-economically respond to their hardships as township dwellers. The restaurant owners therefore take into consideration that people are different, and so are their abilities to pay for meals here and now. Clients on the other hand keep in mind that they should not take for granted the fact that they are trusted and get food on credit, and choose to honour and respect that, paying on the same day before the restaurant closes.

Consequently, migrants and South Africans in the neighbourhood have come to rely on these ordinary customer care practices, which illustrate not only the ability to welcome but also respect. for others. Their sense of belonging had been transformed through the process of mingling with each other (Baban, 2006), and South Africans were able to practise

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cosmopolitanism by appreciating and respecting other Africans' cultures and values (Bhabha, 1996), as illustrated through regular visits to and interactions with the migrants.

2.4 Food performances and South Africans' response to diversity

Welcoming people who entered the restaurant, assisted handwashing, selling food at discounted and low prices, or on credit among other practices represent the ordinary cosmopolitanism and conviviality found in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships among and between migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans in a natural setting. Although one may say that these enactments might mean creating client profiles, attracting and maintaining clients, all with the aim of making a profit, I am more concerned with not only how these interactions take place, but importantly with the impact they have on people's social relations. At some point I witnessed scenarios where people continued to hang around the restaurants even with no intention of buying food. As such, most of the local presentations from these restaurants according to my observations focused more on building and maintaining social relations and relating well with others than making money.

Consequently, the migrant restaurant owners have gone over and beyond their primary business of preparing and selling food, to accommodate other needs and concerns of their clients and people around them. They have created mutual understanding and relations with individuals through diverse routines including keeping people's parcels. In as tiny as the restaurant shop in Joe Slovo is, for instance, I met people who came in to ask for a space to keep their parcels for later collection. The restaurant is on the road next to the bus terminus, and these were people who had gotten out of the bus had heavy commodities, and therefore asked for assistance for short safekeeping. Most of them in this case were not clients coming in to buy but passing by en route to other destinations.

The cosmopolitan shop-owner thus kept parcels for clients and passersby. When people came in to leave or collect parcels, they always took a few minutes to interact with the shop owner. They talked about ordinary things such as – 'How have you been, how is business, how are your kids doing (for those who knew each other)', and at some point they engaged in seeking social advice in one-way or another. For example, I overheard a woman interacting in Kirundi ask Bukuru who runs the restaurant in Joe Slovo, how she could access certain food products, and Bukuru explained and showed the raw food products she had acquired from Epping farmers' market, and also attended to other questions that followed. Bukuru, like Mama Abdul, is familiar with many people in the neighbourhood, not only because she

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serves food but also because they keep people's parcels. The migrants' shops therefore, and the restaurants in particular, serve other needs beyond food. These ongoing diverse practices in these restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix represent the role that a social space has on mediating differences and building relationships based on close and repeated interactions.

In the process of mediating differences and living together in harmony, both place and people impact on one another. As I showed in the opening vignette of this chapter, the South Africans admired and appreciated the migrants' cultural practices. Such practices have contributed to how people build relations with the migrant restaurant owners; as illustrated at a time through the names they called the shop owners. Not only have transnational migrants and South Africans been able to engage as they encounter one another in these restaurants, but South Africans also express their contentment through other means such as naming a migrant shop owner in their locality as 'Umama wethu – our mother', a 'living together' performance that contrasts the name-calling and labelling such as *makwerekwere*'[25] that has been used to stereotype African migrants in South Africa.

2.4.1 '*Umama Wethu* (Our Mother)': Appreciation, another form of cosmopolitanism and conviviality

The phrase 'our mother' as explained by Mngqibisa in our conversation, is meant to express appreciation for how the restaurant owner goes beyond serving food by ensuring that her clients are comfortably taken care of, as a mother does with her children. The use of names is a response to repeated practices and behaviours that transnational migrants presented in everyday life in the township neighbourhood, and that tells a different story from the '*makwerekwere*' label. Instead of treating migrants as *makwerekwere* who have come to steal jobs from locals, as portrayed in the media (Kersting, 2009; Peberdy, 2001), South African residents like Mngqibisa appreciate what transnational migrants confer in the neighbourhood and appreciate the diversities that allow them to enjoy as well as learning new ways of life. It is a naming which has a positive connotation to living together. This idea of embracing differences, as already mentioned, is what Gilroy calls 'conviviality', just living together with others (Gilroy, 2006), and also cosmopolitanism, the ability to learn others' culture including languages, food, music, and dress style (Hannerz, 1990, Appiah, 2006).

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[25] The stereotype of "makwerekwere" is frequently used by local South Africans, a derogatory term commonly used to refer to African immigrants in South Africa (Harris, 2002:7; Harris, 2001). The term also is said to indicate a stuttering use of language, or the inability to speak any indigenous South African languages. Although the term "makwerekwere" is even used in media to describe a foreigner or non-local, it has definite negative connotations (Danso & McDonald, 2001 and Nyamnjoh, 2006).

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Mr Mngqibisa became one of my regular interlocutors, and we not only met in the restaurants, but also at other shops and streets in the area. Although I had stayed in South Africa for several years by the time I conducted the fieldwork, I had not been able to learn more IsiXhosa vocabulary except for a few basic greeting words like *Molo / Molweni* (Hello); *Unjani*/ *Ndiphilile* (how are you/ I am fine). This may have been due to the fact that there is high level of social exclusion and lack of interaction between international and national students in the academic environment I occupied at the University of the Western Cape. Local students do not come into contact with international students who are perceived as 'different' and therefore isolate themselves (Lazaridis, 1999; Laher, 2008), which may also increase hostility towards them, hence making it difficult for African international students to learn local languages without intergroup contact (see Murara 2011).

It seemed that other African migrants from the Great Lakes Region who resided outside the university residences had a better chance to learn IsiXhosa particularly in residential compounds like Joe Slovo and Phoenix. I heard migrants conversing with their South African neighbours in IsiXhosa and sometimes mixing it with English during my fieldwork. There is a kind of cosmopolitanism of willingness in both locals and migrants; locals mix with migrants at social places and migrants try to communicate in IsiXhosa whether they speak it properly or not.

The migrant's ability to learn and speak South African languages also enhance the interactions among them and South Africans while strengthening their social relations, because if people are brought together under optimal conditions the result is a reduction in prejudice and improved intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). In other words, while it is said to be difficult for South Africans to come in contact with migrants who are perceived as different (Laher, 2008), it seems being able to speak and interact in their language outweighs the otherness to a certain extent, bringing about inclusion. The fact that South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix were open to others of different backgrounds such as Great Lakes Region transnational migrants, made it possible for the migrants to learn the local language in the same way I learned more Xhosa words, which I used to interact with others during my fieldwork. The Xhosa words I learned while in the field were daily words I applied when interacting with South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, thanks to Mr Mngqibisa who opened up lively conversations, and all this was possible based on the

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treatment he was provided from the restaurant, and the desire to share his excitements with me.

While some South Africans like Mngqibisa had been appreciating the way the food was performed in terms of customer care, other South Africans and migrants as I have shown in earlier sections, mentioned that the taste of meals from the migrants' shops was enough to attract their regular presence in those shops. Tasty food, lower prices, and other cosmopolitan practices therefore represent therefore how food plays a big role for the performance of sharing and conviviality in the multinational townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix. Both South Africans and migrants reported to feeling at home and a sense of belonging based on the procedures involved in the food performances. What is interesting therefore is not the mere gathering of people around the restaurants in general, but more significantly the talks, eating together, and the sharing that takes place as people eat. Given the importance of food in mediating differences, in the following section I examine the kind of social interactions that happen around the braai stands in the neighbourhood although this braai is only carried out on weekends.

2.5 Social life of a braai: The Xhosa women's braai stands in Joe Slovo

Weekend is a vibrant moment in South African townships like Joe Slovo. School children are off school, which means that their elders or guardians have someone to take care of the house so that they may also spend time on the main street hanging out with others. While the residents may mingle at different corners of the street (as I discuss in detail in Chapter 5), on a Saturday evening as the sun sets, they seem to gather closer to the braai stands around the street. The South African Xhosa women position their braai stands along the main street, and at around 16h00 the stands are ready filled with chunks of firewood under the grill, and the women dressed in casual dresses with aprons on, start sorting the beef, pork, sausages (commonly known as boerewors[26] in a South African community), and chicken pieces for barbeque. At around 18h00 the whole area along the street smells of roasted meat and chicken.

I had informally engaged with these Xhosa women and Sindiwe, a mother of two, in her late thirties told me the reason why they choose to position their braai stands on Saturday and not another day of the week: 'Saturday is a good day for us to sell. You know. Most people here

[26] An Afrikaans/Dutch word – boer (farmer) and wors (sausage). Therefore the word refers to the farmer's sausage, and is popular fresh sausage across Southern Africa.

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get paid every week on Friday. So we like doing business when people have money to pay us' (Sindiwe, Joe Slovo). Because the weekend is a vibrant stretch when many residents are walking around the streets, the braai is exposed to a variety of clients, and women involved in the braai business like Sindiwe target clients while they still have their pay in the pockets to spend. This also means that, unlike at the migrants' restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix where residents could get food on credit and pay later, the clients to the Xhosa women's braii had to pay upfront.

Figure 4: On the street braai in Joe Slovo township
Photo by Olivier, the Joe Slovo resident from the Great Lakes region

The photographs above show how a street braai is presented in the Township of Joe Slovo. As I observed, the most popular barbeques were sausages, pork chops, and chicken, which were cheaper than beef. Women made the meat ready and left it on the braai stand to keep it hot for the clients. This however depended on the time of the day. Saturday was a busy day in Joe Slovo streets with much more movement than on weekdays. There would also be people from neighbouring townships who had come to Joe Slovo to meet friends and eat meat together. This means a high demand for barbequed meal especially from 18h00 onwards. It also meant a kind of gathering around the braai stand as people queue to place orders; a

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process that involves the client's decision and choice about the type and size of the meat to be barbecued, and the Xhosa women take as many orders as possible at a same time, until the stand is full of meat. The price for each piece of meat depends on the type and size, and beef is most expensive while chicken and sausages are cheaper. Clients pay as soon as they placed their order.

I witnessed how the meat was barbequed, packaged as a take away, or consumed right there at the braai stand. In the process of braai making, no fancy spices are added except for salt and pepper - and bottled sauces are made available so that customers can add some according to taste. A few other utensils are made available for the performance of a braai on the street, including a basin, bottles of water to the calm open flame when braaiing, a tong used to turn the meat on the fire, a few plates used to dish out when the braai is ready, and bundles of newspapers used to package the barbequed meal whether the client is eating it at the braai or taking it away.

The clients liked consuming the meat hot, and so many ate around the stand while others ate as they walked, and some kept it wrapped in the newspaper to keep it warm until they get home. Interestingly, these residents also know each other from the neighbourhood and/or other neighbouring areas, and so two or three people might share the first order that is ready. Sausages and chicken seem to braai faster than beef. People share what is ready, with laughter, and talk as they wait for the beef and other orders to be ready. They later could continue to share ready orders. Most of the clients around the braai stands were native South Africans who ate while talking in their native language. Their encounter at the braai stand was for most of the time of what Laurier and Phelo (2006) call a chance encounter, insofar as they met at the stand along the street as ordinary residents and made a short talk over sharing the same space and/or waiting for same the braai. By chance, people engaged with one another, laughed together, let a passerby in to have a piece of meat, and seemed to sympathise with others from the neighbourhood through ordinary acquaintance.

The history of the South African braai

Although the braai enactment is presented in this chapter as a socio-economic practice through which Xhosa South Africans make money while creating space of encounter among residence, the 'braai' in South Africa has a history. The anthropologist Heike Becker conducted an interesting study among the residents of the Cape Flats, and auto-photography was engaged to investigate popular understandings of culture and the processes, discourses

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and practices of negotiating culture in contemporary South Africa (Becker, 2015). Becker notes that street barberqueing among other practices is visually imagined as South African culture; a representation of life in a post-apartheid township (Ibid). As such, these braai stands are not only present in Joe Slovo but in other townships of South Africa.

Figure 5: On the street braai in other South African townships
Source: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/gvkjew/can-cooking-meat-really-help-south-africa-reconcile-its-legacy-of-apartheid published online by VICE on October 01, 2016.

The above photographs were taken by a famous Cape Town-born activist photographer, Masixole Feni, who most of the time pictured life in South African townships, and through the images above he was interested in understanding whether cooking meat really helps South Africa to reconcile its legacy of apartheid. His quest relates to the emphasis put on the notion of braai in post-apartheid South Africa.

South Africans' social gatherings and interactions around the braai stand indicate the importance they attach to the performance of braai in their society. Braai in a South African culture and agenda means more than simply having fire-grilled meat. It is understood as an occasion of bringing people together, an attempt to celebrate a common approach to food (Nugent, 2010: 107). For instance, South Africans have a National Braai Day to represent Heritage Day, a public holiday that is observed countrywide on 24 September every year to express national unity. On Heritage Day braais are presented all over the place; in neighbourhoods, national parks, and other places of choice.

The concept of National Braai Day was initiated in 2005 by Jan Braai whose real name is Jan Scannell. Jan's intention was to create an annual day of celebration in South Africa where all citizens regardless of race and gender, would gather around braai fires with families and

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friends [27]. Later in 2007, the Nobel Peace Prize winner Desmond Tutu was appointed as patron of the National Braai Day initiative, advocating the braai as the one thing that all South Africans could identify with [28]. Consequently, cooking and grilling meat on fires is something that South Africans take pride in and enjoy.

While braai is an embodied performance of food, which involves public intergroup gathering and engaging it also, as Verwey and Quayle puts it, involves a private sphere in which a group of people share private talks. For instance in a study on the whiteness, racism, and Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa, Verwey and Quayle learned that matters of national identity that could not be publicly discussed, were often heard around the braai (barbecue) in white suburbia (Verwey and Quayle, 2012:552). With the above in mind therefore, the performance of braai, I suggest, illustrates a strong sense of belonging among those who do it together; particularly when performed on various occasions other than the initiated national day of 24 September, which is imposed in nature.

The fact that the braai is performed every weekend in Joe Slovo streets, means that there is regular contact among clients, which in turn reduces prejudice and discrimination among South Africans and transnational migrants. Through the performance of a braai, namely the making, ordering, and even eating, which sometimes takes place from the braai stand, clients become engaged. They talk as they wait for their orders. At a busy time when I joined a queue, I observed them sharing as orders became ready at varied intervals. They commented on the taste, suggesting to the braai women to add salt, and any other seasoning spices and sauces. Transnational migrants I knew also liked the braai meat from the township. On another day Pierre, a migrant resident of Joe Slovo, commented that the braai meat from local streets smells and tastes too good to miss it out. Pierre and other migrants in the area bought the braai meat and most of the time got it packed as take-away.

Whether migrants consumed meat from the braai stand or got it packaged as a take away, their readiness to purchase from South African sellers is significant in terms of their conviviality of living together (Gilroy, 2004). Residents in Joe Slovo tend to know each other's faces due to regular contact in social spaces in the neighbourhood, hence the sellers

[27] Braai National Day Initiative by Jan Braai. The mission is 'to unite around a fire'. Available online http://braai.com/national-braai-day-mission/.

[28] Our Patron, Desmond Tutu. Available online http://braai.com/our-patron-desmond-tutu/

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know the migrants as people who support South Africans' businesses in their locality too as well as opposed to the idea of regarding migrants as a threat to their wellbeing. In short, migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo and Phoenix relate well to South Africans not only when they meet in the migrants' restaurants, but also at these Xhosa mama's braai spaces. Nugent (2010:105) summarises this kind of interaction and relationship as a concept of ' unity in diversity' reflected in the bowl. I recall another day, a Sunday, when I was introduced by a migrant resident to the Xhosa woman who carried out the braai from her house in Joe Slovo, approximately two minutes' walk from the main street. While I ordered my own meal to eat from the same spot of braai, my companion made his order to take away because as he told me, he is a regular customer and always carries food away so as not to keep his shop closed for a long time. Although he did not eat from there, he waited for me as I ate, as we listened to two other South African clients who were commenting on the boys' games going on in the streets in front of us.

The social life of a braai stand lies in the ways residents gather, eat, share, and talk to each other in the process of acquiring the meat as it is prepared in their presence, as opposed to how food is made ready in restaurants. In a township like Joe Slovo, Xhosa women's stands therefore were another important aspect of South African township social life and interactions between different people. At moment of having a braai differences are negotiated through engagements with one another, and those who interacted as they ate, stood, or walked together from these spaces would easily recognise each other in future encounters. Hence, the food becomes a key mediator of people's differences and social relationships (Sutton, 2008).

Among other repeated acts of interaction through which differences are negotiated are everyday rituals of greeting. Whether people met at the restaurants, and/or at the braai spaces on the street, the first thing I noticed was a greeting gesture presented in various forms as a handshake, a hug, eye contact with a smile, or verbal greetings. The importance of such enactment is what I bring forward in the section below to interrogate more ways through which residents from the townships that have at some point experienced conflicting relations, have managed to live with their differences, forming and rebuilding strong relations in a natural setting.

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2.6 Rituals of greeting from food spaces: Recognition and sense of belonging

> "When we approach our fellows, we are entering their personal space, their 'territory' and one greets to show that one wishes to establish a relationship in a non-threatening atmosphere" (Rash, 2004:50).

Earlier in this chapter I discussed food performances and how they are rendered from the migrants' shops. We also need to understand how the restaurant as a space, and the people in it impact one another through what people do and say when they encounter one another in these restaurants. The way migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans present themselves in everyday life at these restaurants make us understand how they relate to one another; the presentation which is revealed through everyday practices of greeting each other, eating together, or talking in their social spaces (see Lefebvre, 1987; de Certeau, 1988). In his concept of 'presentation of the self in everyday life', Goffman (1956) states that through informal scenarios we can learn about performed everyday practices, which can be seen as a presentation of individual or collective self. While I look at the performance of bonding through eating together in the next section, in this section I focus on the ritual of greeting and the role it plays in mediating differences and encounters of diversity among people.

One of the first and important sources of interaction that most residents applied when they entered the restaurant and or approached the braai stands (sometimes) was greeting. As I presented earlier in reference to my experience on the first visit in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships in June 2013, people hugged, shook hands, and screamed in greeting particularly because they had seen my companion after a long time.

From the above, I reproduce the ritual of greeting, its forms and importance as they have been studied and defined by many other scholars. I agree with Firth (1972) who asserts that the performance of greeting is recognition of an encounter with another person as socially accepted. Since I was new in Joe Slovo, and my safety was in the hands of my companion who was familiar with the place, the way we were greeted assuaged my strangeness. I felt in the momenta sense of being welcomed, socially accepted, and the hope was expressed to engage even better might we stay longer in the space. The symbolic significance of greeting among individuals or groups of people at the restaurants therefore created an atmosphere where the interactants felt accepted and opened up to further conversations and networking. As Malinowski (1923) puts it: greetings are part of 'phatic communion' whereby people create ties of union. They are ways of managing continuity in social relationships (Goffman,

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1959). While greeting connotes recognition that one is entering another person's space, greeting also establishes a respect and relationship in a friendly manner (Rash, 2004). John, who had accompanied me to the field he once resided in, did not necessarily start the greeting as someone who entered another's personal space, but instead on seeing him and recognising him as he entered their space, they started to greet him, calling his name. In this way greetings are rituals through which people express their joy and excitement over a repeated encounter and a celebrating reunion.

Other than our experience of the first visit, where John was greeted in elevated voices and positive body language because they missed him for so many months, the everyday encounter at the restaurants followed the greeting protocol suggested by Rash (2004). The new arrival would first greet those already present. Most of the time they used common words: a Congolese would say '*Jambo* – Hi'; a Rwandan or Burundian would say ' *Mwiriwe* – How was your day', and South Africans would say '*Unjani* – How are you', or 'Hallo *ubhuti* – Hallo brother' when greeting others. Like mentioned above, migrants' initial greetings were accompanied by a handshake or hugs between the shop owner and clients, and among clients themselves. Those already present would stand up to shake hands or hug those who have just arrived (if they were familiar or friends), and the new arrival would join in the on-going conversation.

The regular contact and interactions that migrants had among themselves revealed not only the level of familiarity they held, but also determined how they addressed one another in greeting. While I was at the Phoenix restaurant, a number of migrant men who came in the restaurant including Congolese and Burundians, shook hands with Mama Abdul (the restaurant owner), while others half-bowed their heads in greeting her. These gestures meant to show how much respect people had for Mama Abdul on one hand, but they also had religious overtones. They knew Mama Abdul as a Muslim woman and fellow Muslim migrants greeted her in her standard Islamic salutation '*As Salaam-Alaikum*', an Arabic greeting meaning 'Peace be unto you', and she would respond '*Wa-Alaikum Salaam*' meaning 'And unto you peace'. These two components are important in the process of mediating differences and belonging. The restaurant in this case, offered space for recognition, space to learn about one another, and through the space and shared mode of greeting among Muslims, people practised sameness regardless of their national, ethnic, and even gender differences. There is convivial and mutual respect expressed by Mama Abdul

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and her diverse clients through which they mediate their otherness. Similarly, the importance of greeting was also observed by Olivier (2010) in his study on Rastafari groups in South Africa, suggesting that greeting rituals had also served as ways of managing their differences and shaped their sense of belonging.

Greeting therefore is part of recognising others, and can take different forms. Rash (2004) observes eye contact, a smile, or a handshake as nonverbal actions that accompany expressions of politeness. Human beings can only exist in peace together if certain basic conventions of politeness are observed (Ibid). The handshake is a common and yet an important form of greeting among migrants from the Great lakes Region, and as Dolcos *et al*. (2012) write, through repeated social interactions people become able to decode distinct emotions and behavioural intentions when they are touched by another person. In some cultures around the world, shaking of the hand is commonly perceived as reflecting gratitude (Hertenstein, Keltner, Bulleit, & Jaskolka, 2006).

The Rwandan and Burundian migrants I encountered at the restaurants shook hands with the people they met every day, and hugged the people they were familiar with but whom they had not met for some time. In some cultures, hugging becomes more of showing and expressing love and excitement than a simple greeting. For Rwandans for instance, hugging (*guhoberana)* is often practised depending on how one feels about the other. The Rwandans I knew during my fieldwork time, and outside my research life, hugged each Rwandan they met especially at a gathering of special events, even if it meant to have encountered one another on the previous day. Generally, migrants from Great Lakes Region enjoy shaking hands when they greet, and so do South Africans.

Congolese most of the time gave a silent handshake especially when they were not familiar with the other person. However that hand shake also meant to have identified each other as part of one entity. The formal handshake as part of the initial greeting in social interactions is known to increase perceptions of trust and feelings of security (Levav & Argo, 2010; Burgoon, 1991). It was evident that residents knew whom to expect in these tiny restaurants, more than they did in the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, and felt more open to shake hands. Apart xenophobic behaviours practised against transnational migrants, there are high levels of crime in South Africa, and any resident is a target regardless of nationality. As a result both transnational migrants and South Africans take more precautions when it comes to handshaking on the streets than they do in the restaurants. Whether people engaged in

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shaking hands, hugging, or other forms of greeting, such a greetings were remarkably always accompanied by interactive words such as '*Bite amakuru* (How are you, how have you been), *Bite bya famille* (How is the family)', and continued as they engaged in longer conversations.

Greeting performances among migrants of the Great Lakes Region also symbolise their receptivity to accommodate each other, including people they have not met before when they entered their territory. On my first day in Joe Slovo in 2013, when I was introduced by my companion to the restaurant owner and a few migrant clients who were present, I got another hand shake and hugs from those who had greeted me earlier. This repeated form of greeting placed emphasis on the act of welcoming me and making me comfortable and accepted in their territory. As we entered the restaurant people including the owner shook hands with me, and some hugged me as they did my companion whom they were familiar with. But what is more interesting is the act of re-welcoming me, showing empathy through the body language and gestures of greeting me again upon my introduction. The extent to which people greeted, their smiles and words of welcoming, were significant enough to signify how migrants appreciated each other at that moment of the restaurant gathering. People greeted, talked, and shared all they had with their acquaintances.

Relevant to encounters of diversity and how they are managed, the following section documents people's engagements with one another at these restaurant encounters. It is important to understand what happen after people have greeted each other and have been welcomed either as customers or simply residents walking about.

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2.7 Forming more bonds: performance of sharing and conviviality

> Residents who knew each other shared food on the same plate, and some of them did not have to pay for it. Another day, a migrant man passed by the migrant-owned restaurant in Joe Slovo and he found two clients taking their ordered meals, he greeted, was offered a seat and welcomed to join them for a meal. He was given a dish of water by the restaurant owner, washed his hands and started sharing the food with his friends, without paying for it. In a moment later, other clients who run businesses from the next-door barbershops, came in and asked for food but to be paying later on the day, after their shift. Despite the clients who entered the restaurant to eat or take away food, many others merely entered the shop as passing by to meet and or socialise with others (Field notes, Joe Slovo 2014).

Another role of food in negotiating differences in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships played out in the performance of sharing. Whether in the migrants' shops or at the Xhosa mamas braai stands, residents shared food and information through which they created networks and bonds which outweighed the idea of exclusion and prejudice. The concept of

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sharing is enacted in everyday life in any given society, though it differs to the extent at which it is performed. In the migrants' shops, particularly the restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, people negotiate their differences as they build social networks and bonds out of sharing practices. I observed, their acts of sharing taking several forms: sharing space by eating together from the same dining table within the restaurant or around the braai fire, sharing food from the same plate, and sharing information, contacts and other important resources that lead to stronger social networks and a sense of acceptance and belonging. Their vernacular cosmopolitanism is understood through their willingness to engage with each other (Hannerz, 1990:239).

2.7.1 Eating together among residents: Mediating differences through food sharing

The ordinary set-up of the tiny restaurants in the township allows for close contact among and between clients and shop owners. Inside the migrants' restaurants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, there are at least two big tables to be used by clients when taking their ordered meals. This setting is due to the fact that the restaurants have limited space to accommodate extra dining tables and chairs. Consequently clients, regardless of their differences, are seat together and when they sit around the table, they talk, join in conversations with one another, and these repeated acts of everyday life impact their living together in conviviality.

In comparison, in most restaurants around the city people hardly share tables unless they are in a group, and/or they know one another. This is perhaps because there are a number of tables available, but I may also assume that it is due to fear of muggers especially in South African communities where crime rates are high, and people may not feel safe when they venture out to other shops. In their own locality however, residents do not worry much about theft or any other criminal acts in spaces such as restaurants, but continue to build more bonds as they regularly interact and encounter one another.

In his study on 'Food sharing among pigmies of Central Africa', Bahuchet (1990) elaborates on the concept of sharing as a way of pooling risk, which satisfies two complementary functions, namely a supplying function (corresponding to food supply uncertainty) and a social function (corresponding to group cooperation and cohesion). The latter is what I speak to in making sense of how people at migrant restaurants build social relations through food sharing. Apart from eating together from the same table where people mix with strangers, some people who know each other from their locality or elsewhere and who now find themselves in the same restaurant, share food from the same plate. What motivates the person

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who paid for the food - to share his meal with the other person? Why is the other person accepting the offer of sharing meals if he / she has come in to buy his or her own meal? As far as the social function of sharing is concerned, township residents' understanding of living together with others is illustrated in what they say and do when they encounter one another. Opting to share what they have is a way of building cohesion and demonstrating their openness for mutual gain.

One day when I was at the Joe Slovo restaurant, I met a young man from Burundi named Joshua who does security work at one of the shops at Century City Mall. He had ordered his meal and a friend of his came in, greeted us, and with a big laugh shook hands with Joshua. Joshua called the restaurant owner to bring him water so the friend could clean his hands and eat with Joshua. As we continued talking, and Joshua with his friend were done with their meal, his friend started touching his pockets perhaps as a sign that he wanted to contribute to the bill. Joshua refused that and quickly paid the shop owner. Sharing food between Joshua and his friend did not mean Joshua's friend was unable to buy his own food, but rather illustrated the social bond and friendship they shared, and which they wanted to emphasise and reproduce through sharing from the restaurant.

In making sense of the importance of sharing to conviviality, I consider what Bahuchet (1990) notes when explaining the social factor, which applies among people in our societies. He writes:

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> Food sharing is a crucial step in providing members of a social group with their physiological means of subsistence. As obtaining food is the ultimate result of human efforts, food sharing is at the interface of a group's technical environment and their social organisation. However, it may come as a surprise to find that food has to be shared more in the rain forest that is usually considered to be a very rich environment, than on the dangerous ice packs of Eskimo or in the inhospitable desert of the Australian Aborigines.

The meaning that Bahuchet attaches to the concept of sharing in the above extract, speaks to the reason why residents in the township share food when they are in the restaurant; the same behaviour I observed at the braai stands in Joe Slovo. People did not share because the food was scarce, nor because they could not afford to buy their own food, rather they shared as a way of accommodating each other. They do it to show willingness to strengthen their brotherhood and their understanding of living together. These enactments of considering others represent cosmopolitanism from below among residents. Their willingness to engage with one another is however not limited to sharing food, but also extends to how residents

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continue to use the food places in the locality in the absence of food, using restaurants as convenient spaces to network and share important information.

2.7.2 Sharing information and networking: Migrants' restaurants as a point of contact

As people gathered around the same table eating or simply passing by to chat, they also engaged in longer conversations; talks through which they got an opportunity to share pertinent information. It is through this sharing that migrants have formed relations and networks that have brought change to their lives in one way or the other. Some migrants narrated how they got crucial information for jobs and permits through these close interactions. One day, Nduta from Burundi, and a resident of Joe Slovo shared his experience:

> My colleague, I call him a colleague because we now work together, had introduced me to the job I am doing today. I do security guard job. I used to see this colleague sometimes over the weekends, but I was not interested in knowing what he was doing for a living. By then I was doing car watch at one of the malls in Cape Town. I was lucky to meet him at this restaurant and we talked as we were eating, and we were only two of us on the table. We talked about jobs, what he does, and what I do. A week later, he passed by this same restaurant to leave a note for me, as we had not exchanged our contacts. The note was about his phone number that I must call him urgently, because there was a job vacancy at his work place. That is how I got connected, and today I am working with him as a security guard.

Many Joe Slovo and Phoenix migrants shared similar experiences to Nduta's. They got job related and other important information through their interactions with fellows they encountered at the restaurants in thri locality. The other point to understand is that Nduta's colleague made use of the migrant shop to communicate his message to Nduta. He regarded the restaurant as a space where information could be channelled through and trusted that the shop owner would transmit the message to the receiver. How he decided to leave the message at that specific shop, also helps us to estimate the kind of conversation they had, and gives us an idea of how often Nduta visits that restaurant. The colleague concluded that Nduta was someone who is known by the restaurant owner, another way of understanding how migrants among themselves build relationships out of interactions and how they quickly learn to familiarise themselves with one another.

Migrants from the Great Lakes Region also shared information on how to access migrant stores that sell scarce food products from their home regions, in the city of Cape Town,. One day at the restaurant, Mama Abdul was informing a few female friends where to get certain products. '*Parow hari abantu bene wacu bacuruza indagara, ifu y'imyumbati, amamesa,*

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isombe, ….ngiyi numero muzabafone mwumve ko byaje (In Parow there are sisters from our home who sell small dry fish, cassava flour, palm oil, cassava leaves,….here are their numbers, call them to hear if they have new stock)'.

The national and ethnic differences that could pose uncertainties for the migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town have been ordinarily managed through shared memory. There is shared memory when it comes to scarce food which they were all used to in their home region and which only comes to Cape Town in small quantities; they rely on sharing contacts and information about the few stores that carry the products (I elaborate this issue of connectivity with home in Chapter 6).

The same products that Mama Abdul mentioned above are popular and common among the migrants from Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC, and they unite people insofar as they learn to share information about how to access them, rebuilding bonds and relations over scarce products. The taste and smell of food products like small dry fish or palm oil are what most migrants consider unique and most preferred when it comes to bonding with each other, although the same food products are common among other African nationals like those from West Africa.

Being able to share information the same way Mama Abdul shared with her fellow migrant women shows us that those who make regular visits to migrants' restaurants engage in varied conversations because they have built certain relationships with one another. The migrant residents use the restaurant to learn or disseminate information, mostly about products from their home region. From engaging with Mama Abdul, they make new friendships by connecting with a number of migrant sellers in Parow, one of Cape Town's suburbs, as there is a possibility of keeping in touch with this seller whenever new stock arrives from home.

The other observed aspect of sharing was through borrowing material objects between the clients and the shop owner in Joe Slovo, which also allowed for regular contact and social bonding among residents regardless of their otherness.

2.7.3 Sharing as in 'borrowing', another way of forming relations

I mentioned earlier that when residents came to the restaurants, they did not come to only consume food but to also socialise, and by so doing extended their seats to outside the restaurants. One of the things they liked to do then was to borrow chair(s) from the restaurant to use on the veranda of the shop where they interacted with others. These were spare chairs

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around the restaurant but not the chairs designated for use around the tables. Whenever a passerby or a client after taking meals borrowed a chair, the restaurant owner understood and allowed the borrower to take it outside. Some people did not ask to borrow but just pulled a chair to outside, although they made sure they returned it after use. This specific act draws us back to the kind of freedom and acceptance of spirit that people felt when they gathered at the migrants' shops, as highlighted earlier in this chapter. It seemed nobody judged anybody about acts of freedom regarding the shop's property. Borrowing and returning was an every now and then an act that I found common between shops and among migrants. What did this then mean in the context of living in diversity?

Borrowing is significant in forming and maintaining relationships, but relationships to goods are significant in determining lending and borrowing practices (Jenkins et al, 2014). By borrowing items such as chairs, soft drink empty bottles, and other materials from the shops, both the borrower - client, and the lender - shop owner, expressed their willingness to engage and collaborate. From this we can understand migrants' and locals' social practices, relations and the meanings attached to them as constructed in and through the objects and the material characteristics of their surroundings (Dowling et al, 2017), in this case the restaurant shop. As Dowling *et al* (2017) put it, our social life is materially constituted (Ibid). Migrants created and built trust; the borrower trusted to be given the object he or she was borrowing, and the lender who was the shop owner trusted that the borrower would return the item after use.

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The Joe Slovo restaurant does not sell soft drinks; clients buy them from the nearby grocery store owned by a Somali migrant. In order to buy a drink however, the client is required to bring an empty bottle in exchange for the drink-filled bottle they are buying, or otherwise to leave a deposit of two Rands (R2) at the store to be collected when they return the empty bottle. This is observed several times in the restaurant; clients borrowing empty bottles from the shop owner in order to go and purchase drinks. They then hand over the empties to the shop owner before they leave the restaurant.

The shop owner understood the need of her clients and passersby, and was aware that they could be charged if they did not have an empty bottle to exchange. She understood and felt their limited capability of realising R2, or having it available in the first place. She knew that the only way to help them to get drinks with no trouble was to provide the empty bottle(s)

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she had. A bottle could also go through many hands before it is returned to the restaurant owner, as clients could continue exchanging the few bottles available till the last user.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter engaged with the discourse of embodied performance, as an act and a behaviour that is an anthropological approach to make sense of everyday interactions, in this case how migrants mediate everyday encounters of diversity through food performances. The chapter documented the everyday performances of living together among migrants and South Africans as performed in the transnational migrant-owned restaurants in their neighbourhood, as well as at the braai stands run by Xhosa women. Throughout the chapter I engaged in the discussion of the resources that are used by migrants and locals, clients and restaurant owners, and local practices through which they ordinarily negotiate their encounters of diversities.

Despite the familiar purpose of the restaurant, namely that of selling and serving food, it was cleared stated in this chapter that people in the neighbourhood visit these specific spaces based on a number of factors for and beyond the basic need for food. On one hand, they enjoy the sensual taste and smell associated with the process of performing the food, but most importantly the customer care that opens a window of freedom and a sense of feeling accepted, as well as fulfilling the social factor of the 'need to socialise'. What was interesting was also a discussion around the kind of practices that people engage in while at the restaurant. The ordinary performances of living together such as greeting in various forms, eating together, sharing information through talks, were observed as important enactments through which people create bonds, and build relationships in everyday life.

Joe Slovo and Phoenix residents when gathered at the restaurants in their neighbourhood seemed to know each other, which determined their level of interactions with one another. Other than the differences that exist among migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Rwanda, the DRC and Burundi, regardless of their ethnic identities, they have created their own spaces in mediating painful past and present experiences of diversities, and the restaurants are part of these spaces. When this group of migrants visit the local restaurants they express joy and excitements about being there since the space itself and the shop owner create an accommodative atmosphere for every individual who enters the territory.

South Africans who regularly made use of the migrants' restaurants, have engaged in

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interaction that contributes to the conviviality. They have learned few important things that they reported to have appreciated such as getting assisted to wash their hands, good taste food, among other practices, which in turn helps them to talk and interact with each other in appreciation to the migrants' enactments. This entirely contrasts the idea of social exclusion that scholars have mentioned to dominate the South African life between South Africans and transnational migrants. By learning about and appreciate what other people of different cultures confer, South Africans get a better understanding that migrants are not as a threat as the media portraits it but they are also able to create a conducive environment for all as they create informal businesses in their neighbourhood.

While most Great Lakes Region migrants pass by the restaurants to simply socialise, there are South Africans who are regular customers, who come primarily to consume food. South Africans say that they are attracted to migrants' restaurants on the basis of the tasty food, beans for instance, and the way food is served. In each of these restaurants, there are only two tables with few chairs around the tables. So clients regardless of their nationalities, seat together due to a limited space, and also join conversations with one another, and are these repeated acts of everyday that impact their living together in conviviality. The same goes to the braai food corners, where migrants and South Africans alike have enjoyed the taste and smell of the braai meat. Both migrants and South Africans have built networks from these food corners, illustrated in the way they share, talk, greet, and name calling upon their encounter. Migrants' restaurants have also served as a point of contact from which residents met, and among Great Lakes Region migrants, they had been able to interact and inform each other on how to access the scarce commodities in Cape Town away from home. Both transnational and internal migrants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships felt sense of belonging and conviviality from food performances as these food corners opened up more opportunities to appreciate people's diversities while learning new ways of life.

The appreciation and sense of belonging were not only observed from the restaurants in the locality, but also at other social spaces particularly through popular culture. In the following chapter, I explore the experiences of living together with diversity, paying attention to people's interactions with the popular culture and their appropriation to hairstyles from the barbershops and salons owner and operated by migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo and Phoenix.

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CHAPTER THREE

The popular culture and social interaction in the migrants' barbershops and hair salons in Cape Town

3.1 Introduction

> The music was loud; the 'California' barbershop name was attractive, while the movement of people in and out was intense. It was after I got in that barber shop that I realised that people were not only responding to the music rhythms (nodding their heads, while others including the barbers themselves sang along), but two or more people were standing against the wall, taking a closer look at the haircut images, and others were seated around a wooden small table as they browsed through the 'beauty and fashion' magazines. It was a mixture of actions and reactions in that small shipping container-shop. It was a busy place and at the same time so accommodative in the sense that South Africans and transnational migrants alike, took turns in deciding which song to play on the CD radio that was positioned in the corner of the shop. In my observations, these were both migrant and South African youth who regularly spent their time at that barbershop. They seemed familiar with one another in their talks and deeds. (Field note, Joe Slovo, 2014)

In Joe Slovo Township, like in some other localities of Cape Town, migrants from the Great Lakes Region practise a comprehensive popular culture through rumba music entertainment and also socio-cultural presentations of naming, painting, and pictures on the walls around their barbershops and hair salons. Analytically these performances aim at attracting a wide range of clients while accommodating and embracing diversity around them, which for migrants connotes living together with others, therefore lending both financial (as they attract more clients) and social (as in relating well with others) stability to their local environment.

During my stay in the field, the naming of two migrant hairstyling shops based in Joe Slovo, namely the 'Mama Africa' hair salon and the 'California' barbershop fascinated me, and I got captivated by the visual and auditory representations of both shops. The names of the two shops were written in colourful big fonts along with paintings of haircuts for the barbershop, and an afro hairstyle for the hair salon, placed directly on the top corner of the shop entrance. Loud music issued interchangeably in a variety of languages from the barbershop. Since I was staying in the field, I visited these barbershops on a daily basis, and encountered a

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diverse mix of Joe Slovo and Phoenix residents, both South Africans and transnational migrants, men and women, youth and adults, and young boys and girls accompanied by their guardians or parents.

As people moved in and about these shops, they tended to interact with the space and everything embedded in it, from the people to material objects of all kinds. In this chapter I provide an ethnographic account of observed popular culture in the barbershops and hair salons owned and / or run by migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo Township, and I show how this culture impacts on people's social relations, producing ways to mediate their differences. Joe Slovo, as stated earlier, is a place where Great Lakes Region migrants live together with internal migrant South Africans and other African migrants as neighbours. In a sense, I explore the interaction of people with the space and among themselves, and three main questions guide this exploration. They are: How is the spatial interaction constructed and performed in these barbershops and salons in everyday life? What meanings do people attach to the naming, paintings, pictures on the walls, musical entertainment, as well as other expressive representations in these shops? How do these forms of popular culture and other performances impact the relations between migrants and locals, and how do they engage with one another?

In attempting to answer the above questions, I present the ways in which migrant barbers manage to accommodate and entertain clients who consist of both transnational migrants and South Africans. The chapter points out the extent to which the Joe Slovo and Phoenix residents, South Africans, and migrants move in these shops, how they make sense of and respond to the representations therein, and how they express their feelings to one another. Engaging with work done on popular culture in cities of the Democratic Republic of Congo, particularly in Kinshasa, (see Pype 2005 & 2015; Braun, 2010; De Boeck, 2005), and in South Africa by Becker (2012 &2015), I on one hand show how migrant barbers entertain people through selected music, print media such as magazines and newspapers, paintings and pictures on the walls, signage such as shop naming, among others all of which conveys a message to attract, and to build and maintain good relationship between the barbers and their clients; and how the interaction with this popular culture contributes to conviviality among South Africans and migrants on the other hand. As Becker (2012:30) asserts, to make sense of popular culture in anthropology, one has to consider one's audiences, and focus on how they make sense of the culture (the music they listen to, the movies they watch, the texts they

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read, the images they look at) and how those forms of popular culture fit into their interactions and influence conviviality.

Analytically, residents in Joe Slovo use the barbershops and salons not only to have their hair groomed but also when they want to meet their friends, and / or when they want to disseminate and share information with their friends. My argument in this chapter is that the migrants' barbershops and hair salons offer South Africans and transnational migrants more opportunities to actively engage with one another and forge relations through diverse popular cultural representations. Like the opening vignette to this chapter shows, residents make regular use of the barbershops and hair salons in the neighbourhood, and the repeated contact renders them more open with each other as they engage and interacted over hair styles, musical entertainment and other popular representations in the shops.

In this chapter I start with a background to the Great Lakes Region migrant barbershops and hair salons in Cape Town, which captures my personal experience as one of the migrants who sought to identify the migrant hair salons during my early days in Cape Town. The section that draws on the context of the salons and barbershops, and how people learn about and make use of them through networks and referrals.

3.2 Transnational migrants' barbershops and hair salons in Cape Town

In the suburbs and townships of Cape Town, African transnational migrants have established informal businesses, and barbershops and salons are some of the remarkable ones. Certain the areas around the city are well known to be predominantly operated by Great Lakes Region migrants barbers and hairdressers. I personally have come across a number of barbershops and hair salons run by Burundians and Congolese in Bellville[29], Parow[30],

[29] Bellville is a city in the greater Cape Town metropolitan area, a vibrant northern suburb of Cape Town, within the Cape Peninsula urban area. Historiacally, Bellville was established in 1861 and named after Charles D. Bell, surveyor general of the Cape. It became a town in 1940 and a city in 1979. Bellville suburb is located close to the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and serves as a residential area to many UWC students, their families, South Africans and African migrants in general. The Bellville, which had always been known as a White Afrikaans-dominated area, is currently called "Little Mogadishu" nicknamed for its large Somali population. The Bellville Central Business District (CBD) is dominated by Somali migrants who run a number of clothing shops and restaurants as well as engage in streets vending amongst a crowd of Somalis moving in every direction in the CBD streets, in their cultural dresses, talking in their native languages that render them remarkable among other streets users (Isilow, 2011 and 2015). Available at https://www.aa.com.tr/en/world/little-mogadishu-2nd-home-for-somalis-in-s-africa/72000. And https://africawitness.wordpress.com/2011/08/04/cape-town%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98%E2%80%98little-mogadishu%E2%80%99%E2%80%99/ Accessed on November 05, 2019.

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Mowbray[31], and Salt River[32] - all suburbs of Cape Town. A number of migrants from the Great Lakes Region and other African migrants live in these suburbs as residents, while others use the spaces for business activities and reside in other parts of the city including townships.

Following my experience as an international student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), originally from Rwanda, I visited and accompanied a number of colleagues to places like Mowbray, Parow, and Bellville to get our hair done. Mowbray is located far from UWC; approximately twenty-two (22) km in distance, and getting there by public transport either by bus or train, would take us from forty-five (45) minutes by bus to more than an hour by train, as we needed to connect from one train to another. Whether we used the train or bus to Mowbray, from the bus rank or train station it was only about a two-minute walk to the hair salon, which was operated by a Burundian barber and a Congolese hairdresser. We did not go

In his ethnophic study based in Bellville CDB, Alhourani (2017) also notes to have witnessed the diversity of and among Somali migrants who occupy the space through varied soci-economic activities.

[30] Parow lies in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, on the Southwest of Bellville. Like Bellville, Parow has easy access to Cape Town city's major shopping centres including Tyger Valley, the Waterfront, and Century City. Historically, Parow was a residential suburb established by Johann Heinrich Ferdinand Parow, a Prussian ship's captain who was shipwrecked at the Cape in 1865. He purchased the land in 1886, and the village was proclaimed in 1901. Source: Avaialable at https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/parow. Accessed on November 05, 2019.

[31] Historically, Mowbray was established in about 1853 on the farm Welgelegen, in an area more commonly known as Drie Koppen, a name of Dutch origin given to a road intersection where the heads of three slaves had been impaled following their execution for insurrection in 1724. The name of Mowbray first appeared in 1823, and was probably derived from the new English owners of the Welgelegen estate who originated from Melton Mowbray, in England. Mowbray is one of the southern suburbs of Cape Town, located close to the University of Cape Town (UCT) and as such the suburb is filled primarily with students enrolled at UCT, and people from all parts of the continent plying their trade or selling unique crafts at the Mowbray station. The suburb lies between the Cape Town CBD and Cavendish Square, one of Cape Town's major malls, granting great shopping access to residents and visitors. Transport-wise, Mowbray is served by a station on the Metrorail Southern Suburbs railway line; next to the station is a large Golden Arrow bus station with routes running out all over Cape Town and a minibus taxi rank. Mowbray is considered one of the alternative neighbourhoods with beautiful terraced homes. A mixture of African diaspora and refugee migrants has given Mowbray its reputation as a transitory neighbourhood.
Source: https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/mowbray

[32] Salt River suburb of Cape Town is located to the East of Cape Town's Central Business District (CBD). Like most Cape Town suburbs, Salt River is served by a Metrorail station, and a minibus terminal. The suburb is noted for its association with the clothing and textiles industry. Due to Salt River's proximity to central Cape Town and large manufacturing plants, the suburb became popular when Cape Malays and 'coloured' working class people moved there in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Available at (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salt_River,_Cape_Town)

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further to search for other salons, but simply got our hair done there and walked back to the bus station to catch our return transport to UWC.

It is of interest to share how I personally learned about the hair salon in Mowbray; a place that was far from the UWC campus where I resided. I identified this shop in 2009, in the first few months at UWC, when I took a (minibus) taxi to Mowbray where I was to get another taxi en route to visit a family friend in Wynberg, another southern suburb of Cape Town city. As the minibus[33] moved towards the main road, I saw on my left a sign in big font in two languages: English and French. The sign read 'Hair salon' on the left and '*Salon de coiffure'* in French on the right side of the shop, and I decided to stop by and see what they had to offer. I walked in with the intention of having a look at the hair products, and the well-groomed barber man standing in front of a big mirror looking at his client's haircut, welcomed me and asked if he could help. I told him that I was just passing by to check on their products. In about two minutes, the hairdresser who had a phone and an ordered meal in her hands arrived and greeted me. The barber said to her, 'Hey sister, you have a client, that is why I called you'. That day I did not buy anything from the shop, nor did I get my hair done, but gathered information from the hairdresser about their hairdressing costs and operating hours for a future visit.

A month later I visited that same salon to get my hair braided. I met two international students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) in the salon. We started chatting randomly in admiration of their beautifully weaved hair, and I learned about their nationalities as well. One was a Cameroonian and her friend was from Nigeria. On that day I got my hair braided in a style known as 'cornrows' – an African braiding hairstyle, which was my first hairstyle done in Cape Town since my arrival. While walking around the UWC campus, I was stopped by many international students who explicitly wanted to know who did my hair. This might have been due to the fact that, in South Africa most popular braiding hairstyles are done by African immigrants, and can rarely be done from South African hair salons unless there is an immigrant hairstylist in that shop. I told them that a Congolese hairdresser in Mowbray did it. A week later, I accompanied one of my friends there to get

[33] Minibuses are the commonly used mode of public transport in South Africa. A minibus is a passenger-carrying vehicle with a minimum of nine and a maximum of sixteen passenger seats, excluding a driver's seat. Passengers embark on these minibuses from designated minibus taxi ranks, and also from stop signs or corners, en route to their destinations. While with the Metrorail train as well as public buses like Golden Arrow, one has to join queues to purchase a ticket beforehand, on the minibuses passengers pay as they go. Moreover, the train and Golden Arrow public transport have fixed hours of departure, while minibuses are available to depart at any time.

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her hair done as well. As I stayed longer at the university, encountering migrant refugee and diaspora students, I came to realise that questions about hairstyles and wanting to know who did a specific hairstyle in the city were common among the Great Lakes Region migrants. In that sense, women from different African countries engage with one another and negotiate their differences and sameness based on hair and hairstyles.

3.3 Who did your hair? Social networks and identities among Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town

Hair braiding is the most popular hairstyle among Great Lakes Region migrants, and the most common question asked by Rwandan, Burundian, and Congolese migrant women when they encounter each other, is "Who plaited your hair"? Hairstyling, although associated with physical appearance and beauty among African women as Nyamnjoh & Fuh (2014) put it, is also used as a determination of individual and collective identity. In Cape Town therefore, women identify one another through judging hairstyles. Among Rwandans for instance, a specific hair braiding style on an African woman's head coupled with other signifiers[34] such as facial look, inform us who is a migrant from the Great Lakes Region, and Rwanda in particular, allowing us to stop one another to learn about hairstyles and hairdressers in the city. Social interactions are formed and performed over specific hairstyles, and women can direct each other to where they can get similar or preferred hairstyles.

As my stay continued and as I interacted with refugee and diaspora migrant students from Rwanda who by then had lived in Cape Town for a number of years, I was introduced to other hairdressers most of whom operate from home, and others who operate from established hair salons. Although I had identified a migrant-run hair salon in Mowbray, the distance from my university residence in Belhar forced me to inquire about other possible alternatives. I was therefore directed to a number of migrant hairdressers because I had shown interest not necessarily in having my hair done at nearby places, but more importantly having it done neatly in the same way it is done back home, in other words in a style which is popular even in Southern Africa and other parts of Africa, but neatly done in the Great Lakes Region-way. What I mean here is, hairdressers and barbers from the Great Lakes Region are known for their expertise in hair styling.

[34] Other African migrants too such as Congolese, Burundians, or Cameroonians do carry the same hairstyles.

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I then started contacting the Rwandan women hairdressers who plaited my hair from their homes, and sometimes arranged with them to do my hair at the university. In informal conversations with them, I would ask them how they came to be good hairstylists and hairdressers. In response to the questions that I posed cordially, two aspects unfolded: plaiting for fun, and plaiting as only alternative to making a living. The woman who was plaiting my hair from her house in Belhar[35], a walking distance from my residential place, had learned how to plait as a 'having fun' enactment at an early age. 'I used to plait my sisters' hair at home, then I could plait my friends' hair at any time whenever we got opportunity to do so, and I used to love it, doing it for fun by then', she narrated. While this woman did hair for fun, which in turn made her a good hairdresser who now does hair to earn money to cope with life in the expensive city of Cape Town, another Rwandan woman who plaited from home and later opened a salon in Delft[36] township, emphasised that she forced herself to learn how to plait hair while in Kenya as a refugee, as it was the only alternative to earn a living. She said, '*Ubuzima bwo muri Kenya ntibwari bworoshye, ubwo kugirango mbone uko mbaho, nize gusuka ndebeye kuko abandi basuka nkajya nsukira amafaranga* – Life in Kenya was tough, therefore in order to make a living, I learned how to braid by observing the experts in braiding and I did it to earn money'.

What is apparent in the above examples is that, despite what motivated these two refugee migrant women to learn how to braid hair; one for fun, the other from despair, the process of learning how to braid was the same as they both learned through in settings by observing others doing it, and practising on people around them. These repeated practices (Butler1988) of braiding had mostly taken place in social settings; braiding their relatives' or neighbours' hair on one hand, while others like that woman who operates from Delft township or Pascaline who we encounter later in this chapter, learnt through observing others. Consequently they never rushed but took their time as they styled the hair, with very neat results. since Hairbraiding among African women is associated with interactive encounters with others, at home, at school, or in other spaces of interaction.

[35] Belhar is a suburb of the Cape Town City, in the Cape Flats area, whose population racial makeup is predominantly coloureds, counting 90% of the entire population. It is located in approximately six and half kilometres from Bellville CBD.

[36] Situated next to Belhar, Delft is a township notorious for its high crime rate. It was established to be one of Cape Town's first mixed race Township including coloureds and black residents.

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Neither of the two women mentioned above did a training course in hair styling, but learned through interaction from and with others in their own localities. While in South Africa, the hair braiding is no longer done for fun, but both women carried out hair braiding to earn a living, either from home or from established barbershops and salons. Migrants identified each other based on specific popular hairstyles that were not common in a South African community, not until migrant-established salons grew in number in the townships and suburbs of Cape Town.

From my observations, South Africans men and women wore dreadlock twists, and weaves more often than they wore cornrows, as these were not common among South Africans until most South African salons started hiring migrant hairdressers such as the Cameroonian woman I encountered in one of the salons in Middestad Mall, a small mall located in Bellville CBD. Today however, with the presence of African migrant barbershops and salons around the city, braids styles are popular among South Africans. Black South Africans wear braids either from a South African-owned salon that hired a migrant hairstylist, or from migrant-established salons.

Unlike in developed countries like South Africa where one has to go to college to obtain a certificate on how to become a hairstylist, most other African nationals, as already mentioned, learn how to style hair at home. Hair braiding has therefore been perceived as a long-standing tradition among many Africans (Byrd & Tharps, 2001). In my informal conversation with Zintathu, a South African woman in her late twenties informed me that in South Africa, particularly in rural areas in the Eastern Cape province (this is a place where black South Africans in Cape Town migrated from), they also learn how to twist their hair at home. They can twist their own hair, but do not enter into the business of doing it as a profession unless they go to college to acquire a certificate. She emphasised that South Africans mostly opt to keep their hair natural than plaiting or relaxing it with chemicals: 'We South Africans like to carry our own natural hair, to keep our African look and pride.'

What is clear in Zintathu's narrative is that simple hair plaiting is common among African communities in general, but what differs is how people choose to identify themselves, because as Zintathu puts it, black South Africans like herself choose to keep their natural hair to maintain their natural African beauty. Besides identity however, there is a need to make a living. For South Africans, there is a choice of taking up hair plaiting as a profession

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therefore by going to school to earn a certificate, while migrants from the Great Lakes Region further their home-developed skills in hair making to make a living in a Cape Town where employment opportunities are limited to them.

There is also another understanding about transnational migrants and their reputation in hairstyling. In his study that aimed at examining the living conditions of the poor in Kinshasa, Guillaume Iyanda asserts that in most African societies, people who were not competent in the job market or fit for formal employment could engage in informal business activities including barbering and hair styling (Iyanda, 2005), and the situation is the same for refugees in a foreign land like South Africa whether they are educated or not. They can also become traders if skilled in their countries of origin or as a newly acquired skill. Iyanda (2005) in his study on livelihoods in Kinshasa, classified the Kinshasa's sellers into walking and fixed traders. The second category is applicable to the migrant barbers and hairdressers in Cape Town who they run their hairdressing businesses in fixed locations; either at home or in established business shops.

As I mentioned earlier, when I personally wanted to get my hair braided, I got it done by a Rwandan migrant woman from her home in the Belhar neighbourhood, near the UWC residence where I lived. At the time I also got my hair braided at my place at the residence, depending on our flexibility in terms of time and space. But when I wanted to get my hair straightened with a chemical relaxer, I went to a Congolese hairdresser in Bellville. This is a salon located near UWC, where it only took five (5) minutes by taxi to reach the salon, thanks to a referral by Rwandan students who by that time had visited the salon twice. They gave me the hairdresser's contact number to make sure I called before visiting his salon. The main reason why migrant women in Cape Town keep on searching for migrant hair stylists (hairdressers and barbers) is that they need to have the same hair styles, look, and hair textures they were used to back home.

Although I did not keep any photograph of my first cornrow hairstyles I got done in South Africa, I share few photographs of different styles, which I had, below, thanks to the Rwandan migrants in Cape Town who directed me to hairdressers in nearby neighbourhoods.

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Figure 6: Researcher's hairstyles done by the migrant hairdressers in Cape Town. Hairstyle done in 2010 by an Ugandan migrant woman who plaited me at the university residence (on the left); hair done in 2011 by a Rwandan refugee migrant from Parow (centre), and the hair style done in 2013 by a Rwandan refugee migrant in Belhar, nearby the university residence I lived in (on the right). Friends took these photos on different occasions at the university residence.

The hairstyles I sported when I lived in South Africa represent the styles that Great Lakes Region migrants can produce, and through such styles people engage to ask who the hairdresser is, how to access her/him, and so on. Women ask these questions based on how neat the style is, coupled with the uniqueness of the style. The styles are regarded unique in the sense that they are done with the kind of flair that most migrants long for as they are reminded of how diversely women's hair is twisted, weaved, or plaited back home. I also used to judge migrant women based on the neatness of their hairstyles, and I sometimes misjudged those with beautiful sophisticated hairstyles as new arrivals or people who might recently have visited their home countries in the Great Lakes Region. This was a misconception until I learned that most of the women I encountered were actually refugees who had not returned home for many years, but got their assorted styles from fellow migrants in the city. Migrant women from the Great Lakes Region are therefore able to identify each other based on popular hairstyles amongst them. By approaching another person to ask about their hairdresser, stopping for a while giving details and directions about the migrant salons in the city, and exchanging contacts, among other forms of interaction, migrant women in Cape Town form networks and convivial relationships.

In our conversations with colleagues, which took place during my Masters' degree programme, before I knew that I would later have hair salons and barbershops as my spaces of field work, I recall learning that fellow Great Lakes Region migrants, whether diaspora or refugee students, prefer to travel a distance to look for migrants' salons in order to keep a certain look, identity, and quality of hair texture.

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A friend from Rwanda explained one day:

> For me I like going to that salon because that Congolese man does my hair like the same way it is done back home. He sets my hair after wash, and he uses rollers which I consider as a natural way of giving my hair a better waved look as opposed to ironing it with these fashionable objects that we find in modern South African salons that cut and damage our hair.

African women, like the woman from Rwanda above, constructed their individual and collective identities, based on their hair texture. Her saying 'our hair' in the above extract represents a collective identity of black African women constructed from the type and texture of their hair. They thus prefer to go to the hairdressers who know how to treat their type of hair better. As a reminder, the racial makeup of the Cape Town population is predominantly coloureds counting 42.4 percent, blacks counting 38.6 percent, whites 15.7 percent, and Asians 1.4 percent (Goga, 2014: 6). Based on this data, the presentation of non-black African hair bearers is higher - if we group whites, Asians and coloureds in their own category - than blacks. Nyamnjoh and Fuh (2014) in their paper on 'Africans' consumption of hair' state that among African Americans there is a debate in the form of good hair versus bad hair, with bad hair meaning natural, short, nappy black hair, and good hair generally meaning long, relaxed and smooth like a white girl's or its closest substitutes in other races (2014:58). This in Cape Town meant that the number of hair salons that one could encounter in the suburbs, shopping malls, and business centres was established good, fancy, expensive salons, whose hair stylists hold certificates and use sophisticated products for treating good hair, the majority's type of hair. For blacks, the choice is to keep their hair natural, relax it with chemicals, or use synthetic hair products such as weaves, wigs, or dreadlocks.

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Consequently, like did African women from elsewhere, migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town search for hairdressers who suit their needs, and through recognising and admiring fellow Africans' hairstyles, through networks and referrals by migrant friends or existing clients, identify migrant hairdressers around the city. Some migrant women also say that since they started going to migrants' salons, they got their hair back; the hair they lost when they went to South Africans' salons.

> I was new here, I did not know the better salons, but at the same time I had heard about people complaining of having lost their hair texture due to the way it is done in South African salons. (Informal chat with a UWC student from Rwanda)

Despite the referral channel that is influenced by identifiable hairstyles among Great Lakes Region migrants around the city, migrants' salons and barbershops also attract a number of South Africans. In what ways do they get attracted to migrant hair salons or barbershops, and

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how are their relationships with these migrants formed and maintained? Before I discuss performances of diversity and conviviality found in the barbershops and hair salons in Joe Slovo Township, let me write about the encounters and relations between a Congolese hairdresser and South Africans in Bellville, a suburb of Cape Town.

3.4 "I have more South African clients than migrants": Experience of the Congolese hairdresser in Bellville

By the time I embarked on this study of social interactions among Great Lakes Region migrants and local South Africans in Cape Town, I found the conversations that I used to share with Jean Luc (pseudonym), a Congolese hairdresser in Bellville, crucial and applicable to my study. I had been Jean Luc's client since 2009 (before my fieldwork for this current study), throughout 2016, but at different intervals. I therefore write to note important information gathered from that hair salon. Unlike in Joe Slovo, as I will show later in this chapter, where hair dressers run salons in their residential neighbourhood, a walking distance to and from the salon shops, Jean Luc had to commute to reach his business place.

Jean Luc has done hairdressing for many years. He also told me that he lived in Rwanda and worked as a hairdresser in local salons in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. In South Africa, at his hair salon in Bellville, he encounters more South African than migrant clients, he said. And more than that, some do not even stay in Bellville but drive to the salon from their homes or their work places on the way home. They have known Jean Luc as a good and qualified hairdresser, referring families and friends, as Jean Luc narrated another day in an informal conversation while having my hair done:

> Once one comes to my salon, not only she comes back but also recommends a friend, she comes back with a friend. Sometimes, a woman comes with her two daughters and a friend with a daughter, so by the end I have five clients based on one of them who liked the way I made her hair.

Not only South African women like how Jean Luc does their hair, but some of them whom I met at his salon and interacted with, were also attracted to his cheap bargain prices, negotiable terms of payment, and his flexible availability beyond ordinary schedules.

> I do not have to worry about having cash in my hands in order to get my hair done. I simply walk in and talk to my hairdresser about when I can bring his money. This is the only place I can have my hair done on credit. I love this place and my special hairdresser. (Unathi, a South African client)

While migrants from the Great Lakes Region are used to this lifestyle of bargaining for price in their home countries (see de Boeck, 2015; Iyenda, 2005 who write on life poverty and life

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in Kinshasa), the same idea of bargaining prices and negotiating for terms of payment among other arrangements was introduced by Jean Luc to his South African clients, and South Africans seemed to appreciate it since it works in their favour even if not yet practiced in local South Africans' salons. Consequently, these cosmopolitan practices have attracted a number of South Africans to visit migrants' salons in large numbers and on a regular basis, as opposed to the social exclusion that has been used to portray relations between transnational migrants and South Africans. These aspects of establishing and maintaining good relationships among clients and hairdressers, are applied by all the Great Lakes Region barbers and hairdressers, especially with their regular clients, and or with familiar people whom they live with in the neighbourhood as I show in subsequent sections. These performances of conviviality illustrate the way in which migrants from the Great Lakes Region accommodate their South African clients (see Nyamnjoh, 2017), and how clients interact with migrants and the spaces they create around the city.

3.4.1 The hairdresser's flexibilities: Negotiable time and prices

An interesting point and yet a form of positive relations that Jean Luc mentioned was the sharing of his phone contact number with clients. "My clients by the end of the day do collect my contact number so that they may reach me for an appointment whenever necessary". This means that although in most hair salons run by migrants as in local hair salons in the city, people simply walk in without appointments, in his salon in Bellville, it is very busy because Jean Luc works on his own, and away from his residential area, so most clients have to book an appointment especially if they want to come at a particular time after work hours. Those who drive or commute from their work and other places to the salon, have to inform the hairdresser to wait for them.

Jean Luc created a kind of flexibility in time rather than sticking to his working hours whenever he got busy schedules especially over weekend, on Saturdays.

> At a time, since many of these clients are workers and mothers too, their time is too limited; and I work on Monday to Saturday from 9 to 18 hours. But sometimes these clients may call to ask for an earlier service, if they have an occasion; or a later service that is after my usual working hours, Jean Luc confirmed.

"Sometimes they can even call me to ask if I can make their hair early morning on Sunday before I go to church, and I do that at the same price, with no extra charges involved", he added.

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Jean Luc's statements above show cosmopolitanism from below where Jean Luc embarks on the ordinary practice of considering others, thereby strengthening his relationship with diverse clients. He makes arrangements for his South African clients; an act which is not practiced in established formal South African salons. It seems that South African shops in general follow operating hours, and consequently leave no room for after-hours arrangements to clients. The idea that Jean Luc shared his contacts with clients had two connotations, on one hand retaining his clients, while providing flexibility that fits his clients on the other. Their relationships were therefore forged and maintained through the hairdresser's flexibility and keeping records of their communication.

Like Unathi stated, when clients got their hair done on credit, there was a book in the salon in which Jean Luc wrote their names, contact number, service rendered, deposit paid (if any) and the money they owed, followed by the client's signature. All the above performances in conjunction with the hairdresser's ability to treat South African women's hair in a different way from what they are used to in formal South African salons, has resulted in the trust and confidence they have in Jean Luc and his salon.

3.4.2 'He is my hair doctor': The South African voice

South African women have expressed their perceptions and appreciation about what migrants contribute. As I discussed above, Great Lakes Region migrants have introduced barbershops and salons around the Cape Town suburbs and townships as informal businesses. This provides opportunities for transnational migrants and South Africans not only to have their hair done within their neighbourhood, at any time, and with varied styles, but also to have regular contact and the opportunity to interact with each other. I have also on several occasions witnessed Congolese women in the streets of the Bellville CBD, holding hair extensions in their hands and approaching particularly women in search of clients. These are Congolese migrants who approach you with 'Hello sister, can I do your hair?'

Like I mentioned earlier, migrants from the Great Lakes Region engage in informal businesses to make a living, some of them doing plaiting hair from an established business place, others on the street, or from home (Iyanda, 2005), while South Africans can only open salons as formal businesses, and only if they hold a certificate from a recognised learning institution. This makes South African salons more expensive since they involve a formal

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business structure, paying qualified hairdressers, a receptionist, an expensive shop, and other high quality amenities. Consequently, as black South African women told me in our informal discussions in the salons, most of them have opted to cut their hair instead of keeping and braiding it; although this has significantly changed as they gained access to cheaper migrant hairdressers in their neighbourhoods.

Most black South African women I had met in the streets and neighbourhoods of Cape Town like Bellville wore their hair short and a few others had their hair twisted in dreadlocks. In contrast women migrants from the Great Lakes Region like having their hair relaxed with relaxer-chemicals, and braided in different styles other than dreadlocks. Both hairstyles are accessible, but it is expensive for intra-migrant South Africans in Cape Town to make regular use of South African established hair salons, while most migrants can perform hair braiding or relaxing for cheaper and affordable prices in migrant salons in the city or sometimes for free to friends and relatives, doing it from home. Usually South Africans get their haircut, washed and blow-dried, relaxed, weaved, braided, or plaited into dreadlocks at migrant salons.

At Jean Luc' s salon, women get their hair relaxed, washed and blow-dried, or set with rollers. South African clients appreciate their new look resulting from hair well treated. One evening at Jean Luc's salon a South African woman shared her thought 'I like the way Jean Luc does my hair. Ever since I came to this salon, myself, my kids and my friends get our hair done from here'. This South African client went on to admire the good work of Jean Luc, 'The hairdresser is experienced and he knows how to treat our hair no matter what. For me I had no hair on my head, I was bald-headed, but ever since I started coming to this salon, I am not complaining of my hair anymore. It has grown beyond my expectations'. We can understand that this client was bothered by her hair, losing its expected texture, which affected how she identified herself until she found jean Luc, a good migrant hairdresser. This relates to what anthropologists Nyamnjoh and Fuh (2014) call consumption of hair among Black African women, emphasising that for African women, hair plays a symbolic role to perform different subjectivities and to position themselves.

Another factor is that Jean Luc, like any other migrant hairdresser I talked to in the city, understands different types and textures of hair, and treats people's hair based on his knowledge. Several times I heard him advising clients of what hair treatment and lotions they

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should consider using on their hair, and what to omit. This might be different to what a black woman could experience if she visited a formal South African salon, unless the salon also hired a migrant hairstylist. Whether one is Asian, white, or a black African, in those formal salons different hair textures are treated in the same way, with the same shampoo and ironing instruments. As a result black African hair that has been softened by a chemical relaxer, can break and become weak and damaged. This was my experience in 2014, when I visited one of the best hair salons in Tyger Valley, following the promotion they had advertised online, for a discounted and yet perfect blow-dry. It was in November and by January the following year I had lost almost half of my hair; due to the products they applied which were totally not meant for my black African hair texture.

The embodied performance of hair involves a number of considerations. South African clients for instance place much trust in Jean Luc because he shows them how well he cares about their type of hair. One day a client narrated,

> I do not think is about me, or about the chemical used, but it is about the hairdresser, the way he does our hair. From the way he mixes chemicals, the way he applies them to our hair and the way he treats it. He takes his time to listen to me whenever I complain about my hair damage, he gives advice and the advice works, he is my hair doctor.

Jean Luc was praised for giving a lot of attention to his clients' concerns, taking his time to learn about the client's type of hair, and advising accordingly; something that does not happen in most South African salons.

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In recognition of how Jean Luc treats his clients, South Africans have shown their appreciation in various ways. They have provided him with transport in the absence of public transportation from his workplace to his residence, another form of forging and maintaining relations. "I get a ride to my place", Jean Luc mentioned to me, emphasising that when a South African comes to his salon at an arranged time that extends beyond ordinary closing hours, the client normally offers to drive him home since it would be late to walk to the bus station or to find buses still on duty. Despite the provision of a ride to Jean Luc, South African clients have also come to the salon with gifts in appreciation of what he does for them and the social relations they share.

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3.4.3 Presentation of Gifts: Vernacular cosmopolitanism

Gifting was another enactment of appreciation observed in Jean Luc's hair salon in Bellville. I was getting my hair done and witnessed a scenario where Nokuthula, a South African woman, entered the salon. She passed by that day to just greet Jean Luc. Their conversation centered around politics and at the time, the elections were a hot topic. It was in April 2014, in the preparation of the National Assembly Elections in South Africa, and Nokuthula who seemed to support the Democratic Alliance (DA) opposition party, had come to the salon with four white T-shirts with a DA logo in front. She said to Jean Luc "I have four t-shirts here, one for you, another for your wife, and other two for '*tailleur*' (tailor) and his wife". She knew the tailor (who was always referred to by migrants as '*tailleur*') and his wife as friends of Jean Luc, and she had been chatting with them whenever they met at the salon, according to *tailleur*'s wife. *Tailleur* and wife operated from a separate room attached to the salon. They heard Nokuthula talking, and *tailleur*'s wife came out and shook hands with her. Immediately Jean Luc had already put on the DA t-shirt on top of his long-sleeved shirt. The conversation between Jean Luc, *tailleur*'s wife and Nokuthula continued for about 20 minutes and Nokuthula left.

Nokuthula' s presentation of gifts represents her willingness as a South African to engage and maintain a good relationship with her migrant friends beyond the existing relationship of hairdresser and client. Given the history of social exclusion that has always been present between South Africans and migrants where intergroup contact was absent, hair has played a role in how Jean Luc and Nokuthula had established a friendship and conviviality with one another, illustrating their sense of acceptance and belonging. Locals who offer lifts and gifts, among other performances of living together with diversity, appreciate what migrant can provide, allowing them to embrace the significance of having people of diverse knowledge around, rather than seeing them as a threat to their wellbeing. By revisiting the work done on African migrants in South Africa, the blame for social ills has resulted in hatred and prejudice towards migrants (Harris, 2002; Misago et al, 2009; Crush, 2000), contributing to isolations and poor interactions between both groups, while other studies show that intergroup contact can reduce issues of social exclusion and prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) among different peoples.

Further analysis is that, by gifting the migrants with t-shirts that bear a South African political party that these migrants might not even be able to support or vote for, meant more

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than simply gifting a t-shirt. Instead it meant showing the migrants that they are accepted as belonging, and that they can wear the same t-shirts that South Africans wear. It was a way of expressing her appreciation, when Nokuthula presented these gifts to the migrants, recognising how well they had treated and welcomed her in their space. It was a symbolic representation of the friendship she has built up with them. In our talk about the gifts that were presented to Jean Luc and friends, he confirmed that he had always related well to his clients, being the reason why he gets gifts and free rides, while others pass by to greet him on their way to other nearby destinations. This kind of social relation has been observed from Joe Slovo and Phoenix Townships as discussed below.

3.5 Spatial interaction from barbershops and hair salons in Joe Slovo and Phoenix

For the whole of 2014 during my fieldwork period in the Cape Town Townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, I hung out around the migrants' shops and barbershops on a daily basis. This was enabled by the fact that I was living on the site, which allowed me to venture into the salons and barbershops not only as a researcher, but also as a resident and a client at times. Through daily participant observations, I witnessed people's movements in and out the shops, engaged in informal conversations with the business owner, workers, clients, passers-by, and door-to-door vendors/ walking vendors. What was interesting was how people tended to befriend and or learn new ways of life through interactions with others in such a mix, and at a particular moment, with the popular cultural representations around the shops.

Apart from people who came in for the purpose of having a haircut at the barbershop, I met migrants who had come to check on who was around to network. I observed that different people used the space differently. For instance, although migrants and locals could engage with each other and respond to the musical entertainment and other forms of popular culture in the shop such as pictures on the wall, among locals much is done while waiting to have a haircut. As soon as they got their haircut done, they left the place, unlike migrants, who would stay behind to chat. Another observed movement at the shops was the presence of migrant women who entered the salons selling a variety of products. Unlike at other social spaces of interaction in the area such as the migrants' restaurants where people respected the fact that it was a clean place for food and should therefore not be mixed with other products, migrant women took the opportunity to move into the hair salons vending imported commodities mainly needed by women.

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In contrast to migrant barbers and hairdressers in the suburbs of Cape Town who commuted to their work place, those who run barbershops and hair salons in Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships lived in the neighbourhood. Most of them were from the DRC and Burundi, and their clients included African migrants and local South Africans. Contrary to what I observed in the salon in Bellville, where clients exchanged their contact numbers with their hairdresser for future consideration if they so wished to come again, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix township residents simply walked in. They did not book appointment beforehand since the hairdresser and barber stayed on the site, and so clients came in, waited on the provided seats in the shop, while others walked out and came in again later. Most of the migrants' shops in Joe Slovo have a closing time, but operate beyond those times, offering after hours services, and for the barbers whom I spoke to, the extension of working hours was unavoidable as people could keep on coming in the shop, and they (barbers) cannot turn them away.

In a Phoenix[37] hair salon, where I also spent some hours on weekdays, people entered the salon at least fifteen to thirty minutes before the shop closed. In that salon, Mr Mutombo the barber, occupied the far-right side of the shop, while Ms Jolie and her friend Neema, the hairdressers, occupied the far-left side of the shop. The shop was big; a built environment as opposed to the barbershops and salons on Joe Slovo side. Mutombo and Jolie shared the rental fee for the shop. Their operating hours were from 09:00 am to 6:00 pm, Monday to Saturday. However while it is women-dominated in terms of hair requirements, I also encountered many Congolese men passing by or seated there, interacting. The hairdresser himself is a *mubembe*, kinfolk from the DRC, and the male migrants who regularly gather there are of his tribe. Their conversations centre around politics most of the time as they comment on what is going on back home and even in Africa in general.

Despite the conversations people have around the news as learned from media, I later learned that Great Lakes Region migrants used these shops for meetings purposes. The *Babembe* Congolese I encountered at the Phoenix salon have founded a local association and interestingly Mr Mutombo, the barber, was head of the association. During the evening hours around 5.00 pm onwards, at least two or three *babembe* men enter the salon, greet and start a conversation with the hair dresser in their local language of '*Kibembe*'. During these hours,

[37] Phoenix is part of my research site, with built houses as opposed to its extended area namely Joe Slovo made of shacks. Phoenix and Joe Slovo are treated in this study as a single locality though with different demographics in terms of buildings. Apart from that, migrants and locals live together in Phoenix as they are in Joe Slovo, and they perform informal business on both sides of the neighbourhood.

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there would be only one or two clients at the salon, and the barber would talk to his fellows about the association while barbering. Interchangeably he talked to them in their mother tongue while talking to the client either in Kiswahili if a migrant client or English mixed with IsiXhosa to a South African client to follow up on how the client felt about the haircut.

The *Babembe* men's Association meeting could then proceed after the hair salon closed the doors, though their closing time could change depending on the people's mandate. I observed that the hair salon closes its doors at 6.00 pm or 7.00 pm and or in between these hours. After closing the doors, making sure that there would be no interruption from the clients, the *Babembe* men remain in the salon conducting their meeting, which could last for an hour or an hour and half, as the hairdresser and association founder asserted. Despite the idea that the salon is run by immigrants, it is open to everyone in the locality regardless of their different nationalities and ethnicities. This specific hair salon serves as both a space for social interaction for anyone during the day, and as a private space for private talks among people who belong to a sub-category of migrants from the DRC.

In their locality, residents seem to know each other. Among migrants, they know each other's names, and the locals either know the faces or some by their names. Their solidarity and everyday encounters in such a populated locality still allows them a time to get to know one another, and they can easily tell who are newcomers in the neighbourhood.

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Noticing a new image in the area

As mentioned above, in Phoenix and Joe Slovo residents seem to easily notice new people in their terrain. This I experienced on my first visit to the salon in Phoenix from the facial expressions and perceptions people had towards me. When I entered the salon there were men and women seated, others standing. They started looking at me, with questions on their faces, some with a smile, others were very amazed like, what kind of a person is this, where is this person coming from? Some of them were also aligning me, while others' faces were showing that they were looking very afraid.

The barber, my companion and I then started talking while the others were looking at me. I asked about the hairstyles and their prices, pointing to the pictures on the wall. One of the clients who is originally from the DRC then said to me following my introduction "Ahaaaa so you, are you a student!! Because you seem to have all this kind of expensive hair dressing, and your skin is very different from us, and even your lotion, the way you smell. Where do

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you stay? Are you a student? When did you come?" She and the hairdresser started posing all sorts of questions and I had to attend to them trying to break the fear through laughing and through sharing jokes in *Kiswahili*. I recall some clients were also joking, saying that they should have their hair done the same way as mine.

The next time I went to that salon, people had different feelings and perceptions towards me because they had been told about me, and we had engaged in talks and jokes. When I decided to change my hairstyle another time, I had to choose a particular kind of braid, and I was very aware of the fact that if I chose an expensive weave, people would perceive me as someone who is elitist, or a high-profile person. Because I wanted to be accepted by them, to be like them, I chose a very simple hair piece for R40 known as the Darling Expression rather than the one that was expensive such as a 100% human hair extension that cost R150, or a Brazilian weave that costs about R500 and above.

Further to choosing a relatively cheap hairstyle, people still had questions to pose. They started to say 'Ahhh, but how can you go for this cheap one?' I was then caught between wanting to balance what was expensive and what was not, trying to be like them, to fit into their social world. One client started to say 'Aah no, you can also do this style, you can buy this extension', trying to convince me that I deserved to go for a more expensive hairstyle. For them, physical appearance and being new in the area for a specified temporary stay was associated with keeping my hierarchy hence going in for expensive hairstyling. Another interpretation of their behaviour would perhaps be the fact that they wanted to promote the hairdresser, who not only braided but also sold the braiding hairpieces.

The above indicated the kind of relationship the women had with the hairdresser who was quietly plaiting in the corner while her clients did the advertising and marketing for her. Not only was the hairdresser going to make more money by selling an expensive braid, but the plaiting prices also change depending on the quality of the braid and style. It was also is an indication that when people are gathered at hair salons, the women talk of hairstyles; some of them are the hairdresser's friends because they meet every now and then, and they convince clients to choose expensive hair extensions as a way of helping the hairdresser to sell her products.

Notwithstanding my first day experience at the local salon, my relationship with the space, the shop owner and clients grew steadily, for they had been seeing me on the streets and

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around the shops on a regular basis. In the process of barbering and hair braiding, people were open to interact with me. I remember one day I was having my hair done and collected data, sharing jokes and talks with my hairdresser, and one of his friends asked me 'How is Kagame'? (Here he meant the Rwanda's President). He had asked where I come from. And he went on to say that he wants to go to Kigali (Rwanda's capital city) to meet Kagame. This reflected the kind of conversation people have and what they discuss. They also like talking in their local language *'Kibembe,'* mixing it with a few Kiswahili words.

The everyday interactions in the migrants' barbershops and salons therefore involved a number of aspects, from the shops themselves as spaces of interaction where residents of different backgrounds engage with each other, to the practices and entertainment presented for the clients, and the implication that these practices have for clients and passersby which in turn inform their behaviours and the ways through which they form relations and networks. Zhang & Lawson (2009) emphasise public spaces such as shops in the neighbourhood as important and relevant to people's interactions. Migrants' barbershops and salons as public spaces in the neighbourhood can be regarded as public open spaces such as public parks where people enter and exit at any time for easy interaction (Francis et all, 2012).

Local barbershops are important meeting and gathering places in the neighbourhood, providing opportunities for proximity to others, passive social contact, and casual interaction (Coley et al, 1997; Lund, 2003). People's social interactions with the migrants' barbershops as public spaces are therefore determined by the structures provided in the spaces. In the following sections, I document the meanings and interpretations attached to of the popular culture in the migrants' barbershops and salons including shop naming, images such as pictures on the wall or paintings, and entertainment such as media and music since migrants and locals alike play a variety of songs interchangeably which impacts on their relationships.

3.6 'California barbershop' of Joe Slovo: naming as performance of diversity and conviviality

One of the inclusive and fascinating popular practices among the Great Lakes Region migrants in their localities of Cape Town are the names with which they identify their shops.. They use carefully chosen signs to not only communicate their businesses but also more importantly to describe themselves. They use their personal names and places names, which connote symbolic representation of themselves, their thoughts, beliefs, and what clients can

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expect from them. The California barbershop pictured below is made of a shipping container, is located in Joe Slovo Township, and belongs to a barber who is originally from Burundi, but had lived in the DRC for many years before he left the Great Lakes Region.

Through the processes of naming, painting, displaying pictures on the walls of the barbershop, and playing music of all kinds, migrants and South Africans construct certain identities, important to how they make use of the space, and their interactions with the space and with one another. The representation and performance in these processes are what the anthropologist Johannes Fabian calls popular culture (Fabian, 1999).

Figure 7: The outside and entrance view of the California barbershop
Photographer: Odette Murara

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As mentioned earlier, after staying in the field for about a month, my interactions with residents and shop owners were becoming familiar and smooth. They saw me every day in the area and importantly, hanging around their shops, chatting with people in the shop and at a time being one of the clients. Besides participant observations I had engaged in in the 'California' barbershop, I also had a number of informal discussions with the barber Emmanuel, familiarly known and addressed as Emma by clients and friends. I had a great time therefore to learn about him as a refugee migrant barber, his motives, how he runs his barbershop, and everything in it.

3.6.1 Behind the name 'California': Emma's life story

Emma, who is originally from Burundi, grew up in the city of Uvira, in the South Kivu province of the DRC. He received his primary and secondary education in the DRCwhere he lived with his parents, and siblings.

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At the age of seventeen, while Emma was in high school, he learned barbering from his uncle. Since that age he became a barber working with his uncle in local salons in their neighbourhood till he fled the Congo to neighbouring Tanzania. In a refugee camp in Tanzania he could not continue with his business of barbering, as he had no means to access the tools that a barber must have. He then moved to the city from the camp, where he managed to connect with fellow migrants and introduced a barbershop.

Having had to survive on barbering profession for many years, Emma confirmed that he was able to make money to sustain himself while living outside the camp where he had to pay rent, and had food expenses as opposed to when he was staying in the camp. He managed to get himself a ticket to journey to South Africa, and entered South Africa in March 2007. He lived in Johannesburg for six months and proceeded to Cape Town. Why Cape Town? I asked Emma.

> Normally the time I was in Johannesburg, there is this guy I used to spend time with at his shop, he later moved to Cape Town, he is the one who called and said come to Cape Town, there is money; you know the refugees the way we act fast, and I then came. This guy was staying here in Joe Slovo and that is how I ended up here, he replied.

Emma has been in Joe Slovo since September 2007, and had a security guard job at the Century City Mall[38] at night, and did barbering during the day. In 2010 stopped the security guard job and bought his own container shop, namely the California barbershop which he operates today with the assistance of another migrant from Burundi. I interacted with both Emma and his assistant in Kirundi but mostly in KiSwahili, which was Emma's preference most of the time. He chose to name his shop with an international place name and told me the motivations behind this choice. One day in our conversation:

Odette: *Napenda jina la barbershop hii. Uliwazaje kuyipa jina hili*? I like the name of this shop, 'California'. How did you decide to call it this name?
Emma: *Sunajua Californie yaku Etas Unis*? *Ndiyo hiyo sasa, hiyi shop yangu ni international na inakalibisha kila mtu. Ukiingia hapa, unayingia Californie. Mahali ambapo ni pa bien sana, kuna entertainment ya ayina zote, yani na kila mtu atatamani kufika.* Don't you know the California in the United States? That is the one; this shop of mine is international and welcomes everyone. The moment you enter, you are entering the California, a very famous

[38] Century City Mall also known as Canal Walk shopping centre, is the most popular and the largest shopping centre in Cape Town.

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and beautiful place, with diverse kind of entertainment, a place that everyone would wish to be.

The meaning attached to the international naming of a local barbershop in a Cape Town township can be understood to be rooted in the feelings and perceptions Emma holds for the place that the name represents. In our discussions, he further disclosed to me that he had friends and relatives who left Africa, from the Tanzanian refugee camps where he lived before coming to South Africa, and who under the protection of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were resettled in the USA. California, the barber added, was one of the American states that his friends were taken to. He had been enjoying the photographs they had sent him from California, which featured the beauty of the city, and importantly their new look, changed milieu, and life. He then said that it is a place he considers to be interesting, and he himself longed to be there. What about other states in the USA? I asked laughingly, and mentioned Indiana or Ohio as examples, which to my knowledge also host many African migrants from the Great Lakes Region under UNHCR protection.

The answer I got in response to the above question proved that the barber did not necessarily rely on networks with fellow Burundian and Congolese immigrants in California and other states of the USA, but has done his own research to anticipate the beauty of the state. He answered ‘ *California inajulikana kuwa ya watu wengi wa kuachana, na wana entertain watu sana. Mi nahangaliaga ma movies, na film nyingi zinachezewa huko, maana yake entertainment iko strong ku Californie sana’* - California is a populous state, most diverse, and a centre of entertainment industry. I do watch movies, and most of the movies are filmed from there.

The barber‘s statements gives us an understanding of what it meant to him to live with others, giving his local shop an internationally famous name. He believed, and clearly identified with this famous state in the United States, that his shop was diverse, accommodative, and a source of entertainment in the area; a space that everyone would wish to enter. His motivation can also be understood as a way to show how welcoming and cosmopolitan his shop is. He chose not to confine his shop as a local entity, but to loudly speak to a wide range of clients. The importance and significance of naming and signage is thus relevant in this study to understand the resources that migrants use in living together

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with others. Heike Becker, a professor of anthropology and writer on media and popular culture in Southern Africa, provides a viewpoint from which we can understand the social life of a popular culture. In her study on Nigerian Video Films and their audiences in Cape Town and Windhoek, Becker (2013) asserts that audiences are able to relate some life facts with what they watch in cultural media representations such as Nigerian movies. For Fiske (2011) who has also written on popular culture, resources such as television, records, languages, and texts are resources out of which people can construct their own meanings of their social relations and identities, and that is what makes these resources popular. Their popularity therefore determines the extent to which ordinary citizens who are forced to migrate and settle in other countries, and South Africans, become open towards different cultures, and tolerant of diversity.

The popular word 'California' has significance for the residents who read it to identify the shop, and it also represents a sense of belonging and inclusion among the shop users. As a place name, it is a symbolic word that is read, interpreted, and acted upon socially by people (Duncan, 1990), mainly the residents of Joe Slovo and Phoenix who make a regular use of the barbershop. Place names evoke powerful images and connotations, contributing to the development of a sense of place (Alderman 2016: 196). Residents in Joe Slovo and Phoenix know the California barbershop therefore not only as a space where they can get their haircut, but also as a space for social networks as South Africans and migrants continue to mingle with each other at the shop and get attracted by other popular practices such as the entertainment provided in the shop. Analytically, the naming has been used as a means of drawing attention to the community with hope of attracting new clients for economic gain (Alderman, 2016), while maintaining good relations with existing clients, creating a sense of inclusiveness and collective identity in people.

This cosmopolitanism from below which embraces a willingness to engage with and to tolerate other people's differences (Hannerz, 1990; Webner, 2008; Appiah, 2006), is what produces a sense of acceptance and belonging among residents in their neighbourhood.

3.6.2 Collective identity and sense of belonging

The construction of collectiveness through naming, allows for a sense of recognition, and belonging. When the barber Emma chose the 'California' name for his shop as he explained earlier, it is clear that he had other people in mind as people who must 'feel' part of the shop,

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who must belong. He believes in entertaining people, and makes sure that his shop is regarded as a source of comfort to many others. Great Lakes Region migrants repeatedly use the name of the barbershops more than they mention the barber himself. I heard migrant men directing or informing their fellows over the phone ‘*Niko* Califonia (I am at Califonia)’, while others mentioned ‘*Naenda* California’ (I am going to California). The power and impact of such a place name is identified in the way they use it in their interactions.

Unlike migrants, the South Africans I spoke to had simply known the famously named shop, by the loud music they heard from it among other interactions and entertainment, as I will show in the next section. They also knew the shop as ‘Emma that guy who does best hair cuts’. To them California meant nothing special as an international name. To South Africans therefore, and in addition to musical entertainment, other forms of popular culture such as pictures on the barbershop wall speaks loudly about what they should expect from Emma’s barbershop, than what the shop name entails. As the famous anthropologist of popular culture Fabian states, “ Much of cultural knowledge is performative rather than informative” (Fabian, 1999: 171). Emma opted to not only show his openness to diversity through how he named his shop, but also the representation of pictures on the wall are significant to how people perceive him and his place. There was a presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) through those images and embodied repeated processes (Butler, 1988) involved in barbering.

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As Emma put it,

> With the South African clients, what they need is the facility, therefore we make sure we concentrate on what attract them most, and that is better service with good prices. Here we charge R20 for a haircut or R10 for cutting beard only, and our prices are far much cheaper as compared to what is charged outside Joe Slovo.

Since the prices are not listed anywhere in the barbershop, clients are told about the price by word of mouth, while regular clients like the South African and migrant clients I spoke to knew the price. In the section below, I discuss the meaning that both barber and clients attach to the haircut images on the wall, how some clients hope to carry same look as that presented on the pictures, while the barber and other clients believe that the barber can an even do better job than that represented on the wall.

3.7 People’s interactions with paintings and pictures on the wall from California barbershop

South Africans and transnational migrants have mediated their differences through haircut styles presented by these migrants. Popular culture is about processes through which

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individuals think, interpret and act (Fabian, 1999). As a result, "People make images and objects that other people want to look at, create meaning from, and come to value" (Freedman, 2003: xi). On the walls inside the California barbershop, there are many pictures and paintings of different styles of hair and beard cuts, known as styles from the Congo. Some people come in knowing what they want their hair cut to look like, but others especially youth, take a minute to look at the pictures on the wall to see what would suit them. Sometimes I heard the barber advising a client on the style that could fit well with his or her head.

Freedman in his book on visual culture examines social life and visual art, and asserts that visual culture mediates social relationships and interactions among makers and viewers and among viewers (Freedman, 2003:3). In this case, the images of the haircuts on the wall of the California barbershop mediate relationships between the barber who puts them up and clients who view them, as well as among the clients themselves. People interact with the images, pose questions among themselves based on the images, and interact with the barber based on the same images. They look at the images, they tell the barber which style they want, the barber suggests a similar or a different style, and the people in the barbershop comment on the styles. People sometimes say '*Ah umenyolewa kweri* – Ah you really have got a good hair cut'. Given such interactions, people attach varied meanings to the haircut images they see in the California barbershop.

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3.7.1 Appropriating Congolese hairstyles: People's hope to carry the same look as the picture on the wall

Figure 8: Barbering in progress: Emma (on the right) and his colleague on the left. Photo by Odette

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Remarkably, the California barbershop attracts more South African clients, which includes young men and women, and teenaged boys. There are more teenage boys over the weekend than in weekdays. Over a weekend I was able to randomly interact with a few boys and young men and women regarding their hairstyle choices and their interest in coming to that barbershop in general. Here is my conversation with Themba, a young South African about seventeen years old, whom I met at the barbershop:

Odette: Hello, how are you?

Client: I am fine

Odette: What is your name *bhuti*[39]? You have got a nice haircut.

Client: My name is Themba

Odette: How did you decide on this hairstyle?

Themba: I always get this style; I chose it from the images above.

Odette: Is there a reason why you would love carrying this same style everytime you come for a haircut?

Themba: I love my hairstyle since I visited this barbershop. I look good, even my friends in Cape Town, and those in Eastern Cape they always ask me where I get this style from. They see that it is nice and unique. So I love it, I will always keep it as my style.

Themba's story helps us to understand how South Africans make sense of popular culture - the pictured hairstyles- in migrants' barbershops, and how they visually imagine other people – in this case African migrants' culture (Becker, 2015). They admire the styles they see presented on the walls, and not only do the images attract them, but the fact that they get a haircut done exactly the same as shown on the picture is also of importance to them. South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, like maybe other in other parts of the city, have the same hairstyles/ cuts appropriated from the paintings in transnational migrant barbershop Popular culture in the transnational shop owners in Cape Town therefore represent what Becker calls ' the globalization and commodification of African art' (Becker 2015: 387) in the city.

Barbershops involve in a popular culture through which assimilations are enacted among groups of people. The fact that barbers from the Great Lakes Region offer good haircuts to their clients, and naming their shops the way they do (like California barbershop), are significant to how people feel about that shop. Weiss (2009) who explored the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion through the world of barbershops in Arusha, Tanzania, argues that

[39] An IsiXhosa word for 'brother'

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young barbers in Arusha create a sense of belonging through shared aspirations. They present a popular culture that appropriates images drawn from global circulations of hip-hop music, fashion, and celebrity. This popular culture is also apparent in the name of ‘California’, which as discussed earlier in the chapter, is appropriated on the basis of the city’s reputation of entertainment. On the entrance of the California barbershop, there is also an image of a ‘Congolese haircut style’ drawn to attract clients, and residents have use this and other images on the wall to decide what hairstyle to have.

Since visual culture has an important educational effect on identity, in terms of both art making and viewing (Freedman, 2003:2), South Africans who make use of migrant barbershops, feel more comfortable with their ability to choose from a variety of haircut styles. Through the process of viewing different styles represented on the wall, they form a certain identity because they change their subjective selves (Ibid), which transform the way of how they perceive migrants in their locality. As they appreciate what the migrants confer, they learn new ways of social life. Instead of perceiving migrants as a threat to South Africans’ wellbeing, they rather find the transnational migrants innovative and creative, creating space for interaction while providing cultural practices that differ significantly from what they are used to.

Through the symbolic representation both clients who view the images on the wall and the barber create subjective selves (Lacan, 1977), based on the content and context of the pictures (Banks & Zeitlyn, 2015). Migrants and South Africans during their spatial interactions, visualise, attach meaning to what they saw, and react. Contextually, their reactions mark the impact of popular culture on social relations as they shaped the residents’ perceptions towards one another. In her study on popular understandings of culture among the Cape Flats residents in Cape Town, Heike Becker notes that photographs represent among other things, African artwork and performances that illustrate African life (2015:386-387). Borrowing from her understanding of visual popular culture, there is a representation of self through the pictures on the barbershop wall, as South Africans take time to visualise them, admire and appropriate themselves with that migrants’ artwork and performances. It is also important to note that the popular pictures on the wall do not only represent the barber, but also his region as a transnational migrant and what he is able to offer in the township life of Joe Slovo.

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In the California barbershop, clients and non-clients enjoy looking at the pictures on the wall, whether they are there to have a haircut or not. I encountered many clients standing close to the wall as they scan through the images. Some get a haircut afterwards, while others take a moment to look at the images to merely entertain themselves, remain in the shop for conversations, and walk out with no intention getting a haircut. Emma always makes sure that he frequently changes the pictures on the wall. He also has makes magazines of haircuts styles available on the table in the waiting space.

Emma, like most of the Congolese and Burundian barbers in Cape Town, uses the images on the wall to remind the Great Lakes Region migrants of their back home hairstyles, while showing South Africans Great Lakes Region, particularly Congolese hairstyles. “Congo men are known to be the best stylish barbers in the Great Lakes Region”, most migrants have said during our informal conversations.

At the California barbershop of Joe Slovo, the images of haircuts represent not only what Emma the barber can do as an individual, but also the Great Lakes Region, the Congo and Congolese styles. It is a representation of the Great Lakes Region migrants’ society within the South African society. The migrant barber is known for his capability to create a different self for his clients to look exactly as the styles in the pictures, or even better. The barber’s description of self shifts from merely being ‘Emmanuel, that barber, from that shop….’ to ‘that stylist barber who makes special haircuts’. People around ascribe him based on the characteristics of the images in his shop, and what he can do in appropriation of those images. The barber also describes himself as a special barber “That’s me, that’s what I can do best” said Emma in our conversations.

In this sense, the self-presentation of the barber as one of the best barbers of the Great Lakes Region, has led to a construction of a collective identity in the sense that South Africans have adopted the hairstyles from the Great Lakes Region. If one looked at a migrant child by looking at his hair cut, then in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, it will be hard to distinguish between a local and a migrant child as they have the same haircuts from the California and other migrant barbershops in the neighbourhood. People always choose styles from those displayed on the wall, as well as those decided upon by the hairstylist who claims to know what style will suit the shape of one’s head. At the California barbershop, Emma and his clients prove that he can even do better styles than those on the wall.

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3.7.2 I can do that and even better: Authentication of being a better barber

Emma, who has been a barber since his teenage years, believes that he can do better cuts than what people see on display. Not only he confirmed this, but also his clients like *Bizimana,* a migrant from Rwanda, residing in Joe Slovo, who said "*Uyu mugabo arogosha bigatinda, ahubwo ubonako nibyo akora birengeje ariya mashusho tuba tubona (*This man is a qualified barber, you can even see that the haircuts he makes look far better than these images we see here). The images on the wall in this case are regarded as an idea of what one can have but also make clients perceive the barber as a comparably better barber. But why have the Congolese gained a reputation as better barbers?

Barbering had been one of Congolese's remarkable informal businesses that they did from the streets, street corners, and in shops. As the formal sector failed to provide formal employment to citizens, the Congolese had to find their own means of making a living (Iyanda, 2005:60). This motivation to create informal businesses is the same in the South African context, where African migrants including those from the Great Lakes Region find themselves in a community which does not provide job opportunities for them, either because of lack of legal papers, current education, and or other social factors. In this case, they learn new skills and embark on informal jobs, while others use existing skills to continue with their professions from back home.

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Most of the younger barbers (in their twenties) from the Great Lakes Region who have barbering businesses in Cape Town, have learned barbering from their friends in exile, while most in their late 30s, like Emma, have been in the barbering business for years since they left their home countries. Emma who was 36 years old by the time I collected data in 2014, believes that the paintings and other pictures on the walls of his shop speak for him, in terms of who he is, what he can do, and more: " I cannot display what I cannot do. I actually can do better than those images on the wall", said Emma one Sunday when I asked him if he was able to do all the styles that were painted and pictured on the wall.

Visual cultural images and objects are continuously seen and instantaneously interpreted, forming new knowledge and new images of identity and environment (Freedman, 2003:3). People's responses to the images vary as the images objectify meanings that are at once transitory and tightly bound to the object (Ibid: 4), and viewers interpret the relationship among the represented Congolese hairstyles, and the process through which they are

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represented. For Freedman, the way people interpret newly encountered images are based on meanings that have been defined through previous use of related signs (Ibid). Following Freedman therefore, local South Africans attach meaning to the images of haircut styles in migrants' shops, compared to the styles they know from local South African barbershops. Remarkably among the youth, most of them can get a simple and easy haircut that leaves the head bald compared to newly encountered styles from migrants barbers, which are more stylish, with a sharpened shape of hairstyle cut in different sizes to match a certain aesthetic look (see Figure 2 above). From the pictures displayed on the barbershop wall, clients can have a range of choices.

On an entertainment note, apart from the symbolic language communicated by the images on the wall, representing the DRC, migrant barbers in South Africa and their clients have another form of collective identity illustrated in the way migrants and locals performed each other's idea of different cultures through musical entertainment. On a daily basis, Emma plays a variety of African music by famous artists from South Africa, the Great Lakes Region, West African Nigeria, and more. Migrants have learned how to sing and dance to South African music, and they speak South African local languages through the lyrics. In the same way, local South Africans have responded to Congolese rhythms and beats in various ways, learning the meaning of a few Lingala words, as sung in Congolese music. All these resources of popular culture are present and practised by people unintentionally, in a natural setting.

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3.8 Mediating differences and belonging through media and music entertainment in the migrants' barbershops

The conviviality among the Joe Slovo and Phoenix diverse residents is illustrated in the way they interact with music and print media from the barbershops. In that way, South Africans have shown respect for other culture and values, which connotes their sense of cosmopolitanism (Werbner, 2008). The print media such as magazines and music are made available as a source of entertainment in the California barbershop. The magazines and newspapers are displayed on a small table surrounded with tiny chairs, which is a waiting area, and clients or their companions make use of them while they wait. Girls and women entertain themselves through making use of the print media, collecting dresses and hairstyle ideas from the magazines.. Most of the magazines are fashion as in clothing and make-up magazines, while others are about diverse hairstyles. Newspapers are also available on a

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daily basis, and residents like to read them and comment on what is pertinent to their struggles and excitements, and others benefit from the print media as they browse pages that contain information on jobs for job seekers for instance. This print media positively impact people' networks as they learn and share information about job opportunities, and open up other topics for discussion that would perhaps not be brought up if not encountered in the newspaper.

At around 2.00 pm when I entered the 'California' barbershop on one day, there were at least three clients, two South African (as I learned later) men seated on the provided seats inside the shop, reading the newspapers as they waited to be barbered, and a migrant boy of approximately 7 years old, being barbered. At the same time there were other two women, one of whom was the mother to the 7-year- old boy, seated around a small table with a few magazines and newspapers displayed for the clients and shop visitors. The two women had accompanied the boy to have a haircut, and while holding a magazine in their hands, commented on the photographs in the magazine. Whether residents had passed by or had come for a haircut, they interacted and engaged with one another based on what they read in the print media presented to them on that particular time at the barbershop. This regular engagement is in contrast with the idea that South Africans and African migrants, particularly in low-income neighbourhoods like Joe Slovo, do not mix or interact.

Another meaning attached to the role of popular culture in mediating otherness, can be understood as learned from people's reactions to music, how they responded to it and how they interacted with one another based on it. As I stated in the opening introduction to this chapter, on my first day on the fieldwork site, I could not escape the attractive musical sounds of the familiar songs that were playing from the California barbershop. Like any other container shops of Joe Slovo, the barbershop was close to other shops including the restaurant I was in, and so I could enjoy the music from the barbershop and ended up passing by. In her study on the relationship of anthropology with the study of popular culture in southern Africa, Becker (2012:30) finds that, 'for young, upwardly mobile people in Cape Town and Windhoek, the African movies they watched were important because they showed 'Africa' as a form of a different way of being in the world'. I, as a listener to the music from the shop, by joining the place where the music was coming from where I closely observed the ways in which music as a form of popular culture affects people's interactions and conviviality.

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At least two other men originally from the DRC entered the shop, and were singing along with the Congolese music that was playing from a silver CD radio in the right corner of the shop laid on a small wooden table with speakers and a collection of CDs next to it. The barber and clients played these CDs interchangeably, playing their songs of taste. I heard a mixture of songs including familiar Kinyarwanda music by Rwandan popular musicians such as 'Urban boys'- a Rwandan Rhythm & Blues (R&B) Afropop group, who perform songs in Kinyarwanda, KiSwahili and English; Dream boys; King James – a singer and performer of R&B and Afrobeat music; and Knowless – another Rwandan female singer, among others.

The intention behind the music was to keep the space alive and entertaining. Especially on weekends Emma plays songs that are popular including ones by the famous South African musician Mafikizolo, Rumba music by Congolese artists, and contemporary famous music from different African nations. Thus most of the songs are from a variety of African languages, some in Kiswahili by Tanzanian young musicians such as Diamond Platnumz whose songs are currently popular and popular among migrants. The music give a sense of belonging because it involved connection among migrants themselves, and with South Africans, and also connectivity with their home region- the Great Lakes Region - and South Africa. Migrants are able to cope with the uncertainties that come with their diversities and those of South Africans through music, while South Africans are also able to coexist in their community with newcomers and strangers. They are all able to mediate their strangeness through embracing diverse music.

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3.8.1 Dancing and singing along: the conviviality of music encounter

As I stated in the overall vignette of this thesis, the migrants' barbershops in Joe Slovo Township offer more music entertainment that allows diverse people to express themselves than do other places like restaurants and salons in the area. Consequently, South Africans and transnational migrants have managed to negotiate their otherness through music interactions. The music encounters at the migrant's barbershop are friendly and lively, with every person in a dancing or singing along mood, which makes the music entertainment in the Congolese barbershops significant in terms of how people remain connected with the space and each other. People make sense of the musical entertainment by reacting and responding to its beat, dancing and singing along. They seem to understand that the songs are being played for their sake, and they appreciate the atmosphere that the music brings to the space. Some listeners

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also seem to be attracted to the rhythm more than to the meanings and messages of the songs being played. To others the lyrics matter in terms of the languages they understand.

Nevertheless it is the popularity of the song that counts. Most of the Lingala[40] and Rumba Congolese music that is played for instance makes the majority of migrants from the Great Lakes Region nodding their heads and moving their bodies, while others sing along. Most Rwandans and Burundians I encountered at California responding to the lyrics of popular Rumba music (most of the time in Lingala) told me that they do not speak Lingala nor do they understand it. The Rwandans referred to most of the Congolese music as '*ndombolo*[41] music'.

In request for Congolese music, Patrick from Rwanda had asked Emma who also understands Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Kiswahili, Lingala and other languages: *"Dushyiriremo akaziki ka ndombolo sha (*Put the ndombolo music for us)". Patrick meant any Congolese rumba music. According to Bob White, Congolese Rumba music originates from Cuba, one of the Caribbean nations, and he terms it Afro-Cuban music. Rumba, the Congolese popular dance music is therefore considered Afro-Cuba music on the basis of the prominence of the guitar, and rhythm (White, 2002:665). Another Afro-Cuban music that is represented in Rumba music is the emergence of a two-part song structure, from a slow lyrical introduction to an improvised solo section. Other forms of popular music in Kinshasa (especially urban traditional music and contemporary Christian music) have developed under the influence of Congolese rumba and because of this they often have many of the same musical and structural characteristics (White, 2002:666). White (2002:663) argues that Afro-Cuban music became popular in the Congo not only because it retained formal elements of "traditional" African musical performance, but also because it stood for a form of urban cosmopolitanism that was more accessible and ultimately more pleasurable than various models of European cosmopolitanism, which circulated in the Belgian colonies in Africa.

For Rwandans any Lingala music is identified as ndombolo. Rwandans enjoy the rhythm according to them, these are the songs they have been listening to for many years from popular Congolese musicians such as Koffi Olomide, Awilo Longomba, and groups like Wenge Musica. However some Rwandans and Burundians like Ndayizigiye; a close friend of the barber told me that they understand and can speak only a few Lingala words, which they

[40] A lingua franca language spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo, mostly in the capital city - Kinshasa.
[41] Ndombolo is a Congolese music genre and dance style performed with guitars and drums.

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learned from interactions with the Congolese when they lived in DRC and Tanzania as refugees, and through listening to the popular Congolese music.

By listening to 'foreign' music on a daily basis, Burundians and Rwandans end up knowing the song, and engaging with it through singing along and or dancing. A similar experience was evident among South Africans at the California barbershop, who interchangeably suggested or played songs of choice on the CD player. They suggested a variety of songs, which included West African famous artists like 'P-Square', Davido, Flavour, and Daniel, whose songs are commonly played at parties due to their vibes. South Africans and migrants alike dance, and or sing along with the music regardless of the origins of whoever composed the song. At the barbershop, people also use their smart phones to suggest and play a song.

The following episode was a response to popular South African house music[42] by South Africans and migrants at the barbershop. I recall the vibe brought about by South African house music titled '*Khona*' (IsiZulu lyric meaning 'There') by Mafikizolo, which was newly released in 2013, but popularly played in 2014, the same year I did my fieldwork. This song was played repeatedly at the California barbershop, as clients seemed to have fallen in love with it. Other house music songs were played as well, and I noted a song with the lyrics '*Ufuna lo nalo'* ('You want this and that too'), and the barber did not necessarily understand the meaning, but as he told me he enjoyed the beat of the song and he loved the extent to which many South African clients responded to the beats. "It is a music of partying sis, we like house music, especially on Fridays, yeah that beat makes me feel it is a weekend" declared Xoliswa, a South African residing in Joe Slovo. Despite the engagement with music through embodied performances of singing along and dancing, people's relations were impacted by the music in terms of how they accessed it, shared, and commented on it, among themselves and with the barbers.

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[42] South African house music was derived from Kwaito - a music genre that emerged in Johannesburg, South Africa in the 199s, often contains catchy melodic and percussive loop samples, deep bass lines, and vocals. Despite its similarities to hip hop music, Kwaito has a distinctive manner in which the lyrics are sung, rapped and shouted. South African house music, which is also known as Afro house or dance music, became popular because of the African drumbeats.

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3.8.2 Music remediation and Sharing

Among the residents, though from diverse backgrounds, their conviviality and cosmopolitanism were observed through the practices remediating and sharing music. The barber provided the radio and CDs and clients as I mentioned, would also bring in their CDs to play, making sure that music was played continuously throughout the day. In our conversation, the barber told me how he accesses the music he plays all day, all week, and even months "I do buy a few original CDs but most of them are copies. I get them copied from friends, and studios sometimes". What about the ones you play on your phone? I asked. The barber then told me that he gets them from YouTube, but rarely plays music from his phone because downloading or playing them direct from Youtube takes a lot of data and airtime, as he does not have access to Wi-Fi. Nevertheless, it is clear from the statements above that Emma like most of the Congolese migrant barbers in the city, thinks music is an important component in engaging and relating well with others, and he goes the extra mile to make sure he has a big collection of songs of all kinds.

Thanks to the media technology, the barber has managed to store various music on a flash discs as he puts it. "*Ndafise abagenzi. Imiziki nyinshi ndayikura kubagenzi. Mba mfise aga flash disk kanje minsi yose, ndi kubagenzi nkumva akaririmbo keza, ndagafata* (I have friends. Most of the music I get it from friends. I walk with my flash disc, and if a friend plays a music that I like most I copy it to my flash.) He has also mentioned to have collected a number of the latest Kinyarwanda and Congolese music through social media other than Youtube, for example Facebook, downloading it and saving it on digital media. He also has collected songs from his friends via WhatsApp. Following Pype, the Congolese barbershops in Joe Slovo serve as social spaces in which remediating acts occur (Pype, 2015) and where music of all kinds is digitally exchanged and shared.

There is thus a socially constructed relationship that comes with music remediation through the process of copying or getting different songs from various sources, particularly friends, who include migrants and South Africans. There is a degree of acceptance and accommodating other people's cultures and tastes whenever Emma steps out to copy songs that are composed from diverse places and musicians. According to Gilroy (2006), where people live, being different is not a problem, but the problem is the denial that people are different. Similarly in Joe Slovo, both the people who visit the shop as well as the shop

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owner embrace the notion of being from different backgrounds by welcoming each and everyone's song suggestions.

Consequently, residents who visit the barbershop do not predominantly depend on Emma's music choices and collection. Some South African and migrant residents bring a CD along, and may leave it behind for some days. Everyone in the space is regarded as a friend and accepted regardless of the national, ethnic, gender, and other differences. The effect of this music entertainment on migrants and South Africans therefore is not different from what they construct out of interactions with other forms of popular culture. People feel valued and belonging to one family through the selection of representative music, and they responded unintentionally. This entertainment at the California barbershop was different from what entertained women at Mama Africa, since the latter does not offer music but women entertain themselves through long talks in the process of having their hair done.

3.9 Social interactions in 'Mama Africa' hair salon

The hair salon named 'Mama Africa' is another terrain that I engaged with to make sense of how migrants and South Africans have mediated their diversities in everyday life. Located in Joe Slovo, this hair salon faces the main street that traverses to the Phoenix side of the neighbourhood, and most people encountered therein are women and girls as opposed to wider gender representation in barbershops. To a lesser extent, male clients come in for dreadlocks twisting and or resetting. The salon, like most of migrants' barbershops and hair salons around Cape Town, such as the Congolese and Burundians' owned hair salons in Bellville or Mowbray suburbs[43], have flexible working hours.

Mama Africa is open from 08h00 to 19h00 Monday to Saturday and also opens on a Sunday but only at 13h00 because Pascaline, the hairdresser and owner of the salon, goes to church first. Pascaline and her sister's family in Cape Town go to one of the Pentecostal churches led by a Rwandan migrant pastor in Woodstock, while her work companion who is originally from Zimbabwe attends the ZAOGA (a Zimbabwean religious movement). All these church

[43] Bellville and Mowbray suburbs in Cape Town host a number of migrants from the Great Lakes Region among other African migrants, and I was able to visit most of their hair salons during my stay at UWC, as a client and at a time accompanying friends. This might have been based on the fact that the international students I knew, in particular Rwandan women, always searched and identified migrant-operated hair salons, and always informed one another, and so travelling to places like Mowbray was not a problem as long as they got what they were looking for. In Bellville, a Congolese male hairdresser became a hairdresser for us all, and the suburb is located near the university.

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services take place outside of the Joe Slovo and Phoenix neighbourhoods, allowing them to only open the salon late on Sundays.

Pascaline came to South Africa in 2005 from Burundi influenced by her siblings who lived in South Africa. She first stayed in Durban for few months and then came to Cape Town to join her sister with whom she stayed in Maitland before starting her own business in Joe Slovo. She started working as a hairdresser in Joe Slovo in 2011.

> When I met my sister, I then started doing the hairdressing from home on weekends, while doing the cleaning job from a certain elderly family, just 2 days a week. I work from Joe Slovo for three years now, but because of security reasons I stay in Phoenix, which I find more safer to stay, she said.

Pascaline like most of the migrants, finds staying in Phoenix safer compared to Joe Slovo. Phoenix comprises formal built houses, dominantly inhabited by South African coloureds who are known to be less hostile compared to black South Africans who dominantly inhabit the shacks of Joe Slovo.

As opposed to the other migrant salons in the Cape Town suburbs where hairdressers travel to and from their shops, Pascaline like other migrant business owners in Joe Slovo walks from her home to work. It is a short walking distance of approximately 10 minutes, she said. In her salon there is a demographic diversity in a sense that the owner of the shipping container shop is a man from the DRC, the hairdresser is from Burundi, her assistant is Zimbabwean, and her clients include South Africans, Burundians, Rwandans, Congolese, and Zimbabweans. “A Congolese migrant owns this container shop though I am the boss of my own, I just pay rent but work for myself”, said Pascaline during our informal talks in the salon.

Pascaline is an expert in hair braiding, which she learned from the age of fifteen from hairdressers in her neighbourhood in Burundi. She later learned how to apply hair-relaxing chemicals to women’s and girls’ hair. Before migrating to South Africa, she worked in one of the local salons in the shopping centre of their town. In Joe Slovo, she has attracted many clients although there are many hair salons in Joe Slovo and Phoenix. She told me,

> Everyone comes. You see this container; many people know about this container, they know ‘Mama Africa’ container and most of the people they come here to have their hair done because of our facilities. We do their hair well that is why they come. Even right now as you can see, we are busy and there are people waiting to be done, you see this one wants her hair plaited but she will wait until I finish plaiting this one. They wait because of our amenities, they are happy with what we have to offer.

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I have chosen to discuss the 'Mama Africa' salon's interactions separately from the 'California' barbershop, because this salon not only specialises in hair braiding, but the processes through which the hair is done involves interactions that differ significantly from those at the barbershop. In the hair salon, there is much going on including the selling of women's lotions and hair products by migrant women who assert that they get the products from the Great Lakes Region, and that they are of a better standard for women's skin and hair compared to what is available in shops around the city. Sellers target this hair salon because this is a space where hair weaving and braiding takes place, with more migrant and local female clients than are represented in the barbershop.

3.9.1 Playing with senses

On the door as one enters the 'Mama Africa' salon, one smells various hair cosmetics - a mixture of hair relaxer chemicals, shampoos, hair conditioner and hair lotions. The dominant smell depends on the brand of hair chemical being used, like one day I experienced a dominant smell of cocoa butter derived from the hair treatment oils that were being applied. The smells can therefore inform clients what is going on in the salon before entering. For instance, the smell during the 'dark & lovely' relaxer-mixing phase differed significantly from the smell during the shampooing or the hair-drying phase. The hair-drying phase produced a strong smell of hair conditioner, or hair lotions being applied. All of this contributes to the description of the space, and what they have to offer.

On the dressing mirror table, there were on the right side a few bottles of hair relaxer chemicals, shampoos, oil treatments, hair lotions or sprays, and hair conditioners. On the other side of the salon, there was a fixed and one portable hair dryer, colourful plastic hair rollers on a small tray, and a non-fixed head washing sink behind the waiting seats. Pascaline and her assistant's involvement in the process of doing hair therefore include mixing chemicals, preparing the client and applying the mixture to her hair, washing out the chemical with shampoo, treating the hair with oils, and drying it either with rollers and a dryer or simply with a blow-dryer.

The Great Lakes Region women I encountered in that salon always opted having their hair set with rollers after a wash, while South African women preferred a quick blow-dry. On another day in our informal chatting, a South African woman told us that she finds the roller setting time consuming, as she has to sit under the dryer for approximately 30 minutes. Other

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South Africans also felt that the roller takes too much time, while the simple drying process takes only 15 minutes. The younger women especially felt that having their hair blow-dried or ironed with other hairstyling instruments still leave their hair looking great and to their satisfaction. At ‘Mama Africa’ Pascaline offered hair-relaxing facilities like Jean Luc of Bellville and also did weaving (for adults), and braids for women, teenagers, and children.

As confined as the shop was, it was fully equipped with hairpiece accessories hanging on the wall but in small quantities, which Pascaline regards as samples. There were at least two individual packets of each type of braid, weaves, and wigs on the wall inside the shop. “I just put a few as a sample for people to see, and I have the stock in the boxes in the corner” said Pascaline pointing to two big boxes in the corner of the salon. There is no music entertainment in that salon, but some female clients engage in talk while others played with their mobile phones while waiting. Whether a client comes in only for a hair wash, hair relaxing, or braiding, there is always a smell of shampoo, oil treatment, or hair spray, as each process involves a wash with shampoo, and drying coupled with oils applied to the hair.

Earlier in this chapter I spoke about the Great Lakes Region migrants’ shops and how they select specific names for their businesses, which I argued indicates their willingness to attract people to keep their businesses going, but also to forge social relationships with others. However, in order to attract and maintain clients, clients themselves must feel welcome and belonging.

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3.9.2 Women in the art of identification

When residents enter the salon as clients or merely to seek information about hair products, Pascaline welcomes them by using the English word ‘Hello’, for South African clients and ‘*Karibu*’ for migrant clients. It was interesting to learn how the hairdressers and barbers in the neighbourhood identified who was a South African or migrant client.

Women in Joe Slovo, both clients and hairdressers mentioned various meanings that they attach to the salon named ‘Mama Africa’. On a Saturday at around 14:00, Pascaline was very busy with braiding. She found it overwhelming to attend to those who asked about braids and weave prices, about her availability to retouch someone’s hair, and other concerns from clients, since her assistant was out on other business. I personally wanted to get my hair washed and treated with oil. I joined others, took a seat on the available small chairs and

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waited for my turn. I took the opportunity to have a discussion with three women who were also waiting; one from the DRC and the two others South Africans. The points below summarise what I got as answers when I asked about what they thought 'Mama Africa' meant as a salon name.

A: Mama Africa is a strong woman, bearing so many children and caring for them all.

B: Mama Africa is always available for help and support.

C: Mama Africa is patient, and hardworking.

In addition to the interactive conversation I had with three clients in the salon on that busy Saturday, I also took the opportunity to learn from Pascaline as she styled my hair, it meant to her to name the salon 'Mama Africa'. Laughingly she said,

> My clients said it all. The name for this shop meant to welcome my clients, to let them know that as an African woman, I am here for all African women. I am ready to contribute to their African being not only in hairstyles, but also making sure that they get all the great support that an African mother provides.

For the hairdresser and her clients the name is associated with greatness, resilience, a source of happiness, support, patience, and hard work. The name Mama Africa symbolically represents the hairdresser on one hand, and the client on the other, specifically reflecting what Pascaline is able to offer, and what women should therefore expect from the salon. When the clients enter the salon, no matter how many there are, with diverse requests, the hairdresser will still attend to all of them, to their satisfaction. She was also known for her help and support as she paid attention to her clients' needs, serving some of them on credit.

The Africanised name of the salon implies the inclusion of all the African women irrespective of national, ethnic and racialised differences. In our one-on-one interview Pascaline provided insights on how she decided to name the salon (which I thought was named by the shop owner till Pascaline explained):

> **Odette:** *Ninde wise iyi saloon gutya?* Who named the salon with this name?
>
> **Pascaline**: *Iyo yari idea yanjye, numvaga nshaka ikintu cyiri unique, gitandukanye na kumwe abandi baha ama shops amazina yabo; kandi nashaka ikintu kigaragara ko buri mukobwa canke umudamu wese yisangamo.* That was my idea, I wanted something unique, in contrast to others who name shops based on their own names; and I wanted something that can make every girl or women feel welcome.
>
> **Odette:** *Hama uramutse uvuye ngaha, byagenda gute?* What happens to this signage if you chose to leave this place?

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Pascaline: *Iri ni izina ryanje, norijana aho noja hose, keretse ndamutse mpagaritse gukora aka kazi, ubwo narigurisha kubandi.* This is my business term/name, I can move with it whenever I can go, unless I choose to stop the hairdressing career, then I can sell it to someone else.

Pascaline's statements reveal her relationship with the naming of her business. She rents the shop but the name is hers. The ownership can only be sold if she decides to stop doing hairdressing. It is interesting to learn how motivations and intentions behind migrants' ways of naming their businesses rest on their understanding of people's differences and on finding ways to mediate them.

3.9.3 The women's looks from the Great Lakes Region migrants' salons

The name of a salon tells the client what to expect, and the look they might carry as they get out of the salon. The name 'Mama Africa' therefore also represents a female client who, by gaining access to the salon, would have a certain look that is unique for Africans regardless of their origin. Pascaline, like other hairdressers from Great Lakes Region in the city, offered a range of women's and girl's hairstyles known as African braiding styles including the popular cornrows in different sizes and shapes; cornrows for adults and kids, single long twist braids, bob box braids, and weaves.

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Figure 9: African women hairstyles - Cornrows braiding styles
Source: Photo pictured from the salon's wall by Odette

Bob box style

Long single twist braids

Cornrows style for kids (with beads)

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Pascaline does more braiding than weaving women's hair. Teenagers and young girls do not put on weaves but prefer cornrows and bob box styles. Apart from carrying a neat beautiful look, another observed expectation at the 'Mama Africa' salon is the cost of a hairdo that differs significantly from what the middle to high-class salons charge in Cape Town. Migrant hairdressers are considerate of the fact that most of the inhabitants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are of low to lower-middle income, and therefore offer them affordable prices.

Drawing on my experience, as a client in a salon in a township, and also in a middle to high class salon in Bellville and one in Tyger Valley, I can testify that migrants' prices in neighbourhoods other than townships are cheaper compared to the prices in South African hair and beauty salons, and yet higher than the prices charged in local salons in townships such as Joe Slovo. At the Mama Africa salon there was no written list of offers and prices, except for a few prices indicated on the displayed hairpieces, braids and weaves. The hairdresser like barbers in the area, communicated the costs to the clients by word of mouth. Clients ask about a hairstyle and the cost, especially new clients, which is also what I did. I needed to know how much they would charge for washing it, and how much they would charge me for setting it with rollers.

Whether a client wanted only a wash and go, or get her hair set with rollers, the price was the same, twenty rand (R20) inclusive. Relaxing hair (that most migrants refer to as retouching) is R50 with the hairdresser's kit or R25 (half price) if the client brought her own kit of hair relaxing chemical. Township residents, both migrants and South Africans, therefore not only save on trips to established hair salons in the city, but are also able to get the quality of the hairstyle they want at the lowest price. The conviviality between migrants and South Africans hence lies in their connection, regular contact, and shared hairstyles. Although they have national and ethnic differences, their hair-identity is significant to their feeling of belonging to the same community; hair has always been an important factor in defining identity (Brownmiller 1984; White 2005; Byrd and Tharps 2001; Patton 2006).

Most clients whom I encountered at this salon were familiar with the prices as they use the salon on a regular basis and the prices are constant, as Pascaline disclosed one day. The reason why some regular clients would still ask about weaving and braiding prices as some did, was because weaves and braids had specific prices depending on the type and length of the hair piece, which also determined the labour cost. The short weaves take less time to do,

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and they are the cheapest in the process of weaving and braiding, while the long single twist braids cost more as they take longer to braid. Time spent on one's head hence determines the monetary cost the client has to pay.

At the Mama Africa salon, Pascaline made sure that she had all the required hair products available to her clients. Most South African women, in contrast to migrant women, preferred braiding to getting their hair relaxed with chemicals, wanting their hair braided exactly as it appeared on the samples. South African women bought hair pieces from this salon and got braided at the same salon; unlike a few migrants I noticed who bought the hair pieces to get braided by friends from home, at perhaps a cheaper price or free of charge. As women or their accompanied daughters got braided, they engaged in long conversation that would not have been possible if the client was not going to sit in the salon for more than two hours.

3.10 On the process of braiding: Socialization from 'Mama Africa' hair salon

In the process of hair styling, braiding takes more time compared to process of hair relaxing with chemicals, which could take minutes less than an hour, and weaving which takes approximately an hour and two hours. In the lengthy process of braiding people entertained each other through talks. Transnational migrants and South African women engage in conversations as they get braided, either among themselves as clients and or with the hairdresser(s). They comment on each other's styles, hair products and prices, to mention a few topics. In this sense, hair braiding as a practice among African women is a social art. Nyamnjoh & Fuh (2014) talk about Africans consuming and consumed by hair, to refer to how black women become more preoccupied with hair than do men. Braiding black women's hair is a process that requires a lengthy time, offering women the opportunity to socialise. The time spent in braiding can be very longer depending on the type of braids, the style, and the client's age since it takes less time to braid a child's hair than an adult's.

Among the Great Lakes Region migrants, women have a chance in the process of braiding, to interact with one another, create networks, share contacts, and also learn about new opportunities as they shared their knowledge and information about imported food and other products that migrants need most. Some of the Great Lakes Region women come to the salon on their way home, with their parcels from the market. Those who came in with food products that are not found in South Africa, such as cassava roots, for instance tell others

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where and how they accessed them, thus giving directions on how to get such products as they were sourced from migrant shops in the city outside Joe Slovo and Phoenix.

Pascaline, who was busy braiding most of the time, did not talk much but also joined in on clients' conversations whenever necessary. According to her people's social relationships and interactions within such diversity should not be regarded as an easy exercise since people like to speak in their own languages amongst themselves, placing a barrier to interaction. She therefore made sure that when women come in, she treats them equally and nicely, and speaks to the clients in their preferred language. For the Kiswahili speaking clients, she uses KiSwahili, while interacting in Kirundi and English with those who wish to. "You know this salon thing, if you just do your job rightly and nicely, they will always come back and they don't even care of whom you are and where you come from", she said.

South African women admire the varied braiding styles that Great Lakes Region hairdresser are able to provide. The first time they found the 'Mama Africa' salon in their neighbourhood, they acknowledged that most of the styles were new to them, and so they learnt something new to add to their look and being. They also interact with the Great Lakes Region migrant women who often pass by 'Mama Africa' salon with a few items for sale. These vendors target the hair salons because they are certain to find more women in the salon than represented in the barbershops; most of the products they sold are for women. The products include women's cosmetics such as lotions, hair food and hairpiece that can be ordered, according to the vendors, from Tanzania or the DRC. Vendors also seem to be aware that the braiding process take more time than barbering and hair cutting, so there is a likelihood of meeting women in the process of waiting or braiding.

When the vendors enter the salon, they entered calling Pascaline in Kiswahili '*Dada* (sister)', and Pascaline would respond with a welcoming greeting '*Karibu* (welcome)'. Apparently these migrant vendors look different from ordinary walking or door-to-door vendors who as we may know carry items in their hands, publicising what they are selling. The migrant women in Joe Slovo came into the salon with their products in a big handbag on their arms or on the shoulder, not looking as if they are selling any items. They can however talk to Pascaline and to the clients removing their items one by one, and the clients can respond by asking about prices even when they have no interest in buying.

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The vendors I met at 'Mama Africa' one day, salon took their time to convince the women at the salon about the products they were selling, emphasising the quality, affordable prices, and other features that would make people willing to buy. Their discussion lasted some minutes, as the women clients went through the products with questions that they needed the vendors to answer. Some of the vendors supplied hair products to Pascaline, and in some circumstances left some items (different from what Pascaline sold such as body lotions and hair foods) so that Pascaline could position them in a visible space in the salon, to sell faster, as her salon receives people in and out on a daily basis. It is in the hair salon that people can easily exchange contact details to make sure that they keep in touch with the hairdresser when they want to be plaited, and also to be in touch with the vendors so that they could buy new products on a first-come-first-serve basis.

3.11 Conclusion

As might be true elsewhere migrant barbershops and hair salons in Cape Town not only serve as places to groom hair but also spaces from which migrants and South Africans mediate their differences and belonging, building networks out of interactions with popular culture representations. As a result migrants' shops, either as built environments or shipping containers such as those observed in Phoenix and Joe Slovo neighbourhood, become convenient spaces for people to mingle and socialise. By making use of the California barbershop, both transnational migrants and South Africans get a fashionable haircut, enjoy the vibe of music entertainment, and more importantly engage with one another, which mediates their encounters of difference.

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In this chapter, I discussed how migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South African men and women, boys and girls, encounter one another in the process of barbering and hair making. This makes mixing in this kind of space very demographically diverse as opposed to other spaces of interactions such as local restaurants discussed in the preceding chapter, where we only find adults and predominantly male clients. At any time, residents visit barbershops not necessarily to have hair done but also with the intention of meeting others to socialise. South Africans especially youth come in to check on their friends having their hair done, or merely to accompany a child for a hairstyle. Not all the people walk out after their haircut, but some remain behind talking, and socialising with the barber and or other clients.

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Migrants from the Great Lakes Region among themselves have created networks based on hairstyles, allowing them to exchange contacts for referrals to barbers or hairdressers in the city. Whether among migrants themselves or with South Africans, they have forged relations out of the conversations they engaged in in the process of braiding in migrants' salons in the neighbourhood. The locals admire the products that migrant women sell in the salons, giving them an opportunity to further their interactions, exchange contact details, comment on the products, and place orders or be informed about other orders available.

The central argument in this chapter is that in neighbourhoods where migrants and South Africans live together, spaces like barbershops and salons and the popular culture therein as signs or text, images, and music, facilitate the ways in which residents manage their differences in anticipation appropriating migrants' cultural representations such as hair styles. They also foster belonging as they accommodated one another through diverse types of African music. In the barbershops both migrants and local men and women participate in the popular music that is played interchangeably make suggestions about the songs to be played. People continue to make sense of the practices and representations performed in the barbershops as resources through which they create bonds and mediate their otherness.

Therefore the popular culture discussed in this chapter is the main resource that the Great Lakes Region barbers use to accommodate others and live with them in harmony. The names that they use to name their shops, the music and songs played based on clients' choices, the pictures on the wall which represented what clients could expect from the barbers, were discussed as significant in terms of how shop operators and their clients build relations with the space and among themselves. The idea of Africanising a salon as 'Mama Africa' implies many concepts of living with others such as patience, tolerance, support, welcoming, and more importantly a shared identity of being African. This was equally meaningful in the naming of a local barbershop with a famous international name 'California barbershop', through which we understand how migrants identify themselves in their locality every day, putting the notion of entertainment forward. Despite the tuned music from all over the world, though mainly from Africa, which captures less on the meaning of the songs as far as language is concerned, the beat is important. They play songs in Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili (famous Diamond), Lingala, IsiXhosa, and English.

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In the Mama Africa salon in Joe Slovo clients are only female except in situations when the hairdresser and barber operate under the same roof, like the salon on the Phoenix side of the neighbourhood. While in the barbershop migrants and locals pay much attention to the haircut images on the wall, to decide on what style to go with, women and girls in Mama Africa focus on the hanged packets of braids and weaves. These hairpieces have prices on them. Some look at these hair products and walk out, others look, buy, and walk out, while others buy and take a seat to get their hair done in the same salon.

In this chapter, the overall discussion was about popular culture as in signage and entertainment, as migrants have opted to not only make money but also to make people comfortable and make sure that they interacted with the space through both visual and audio performances. The impact of such spatial interactions on people's connectedness is positive in the sense that they create amities out of it. Besides being entertained and cared about, migrants and locals like the way they get their hair done. I discussed that it was not only about how original the hair is treated, but also the way in which the hairdressers and barbers treat their clients, with special warm welcome coupled with other considerations to satisfy, forge and maintain positive relationships with their clients, such as exchanging contacts, offering after hours services, and offering low or discounted prices and on-credit services.

Entertainment as a resource to people's interactions is therefore a key to how people negotiate their otherness. The considerations of inclusiveness through music, was also observed in other spaces that were led by Great Lakes Region migrants including the Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix led by a Congolese pastor. In the following chapter, I show how migrants and South Africans become involved in church activities such as the choir, and other practices that contribute to the extent to which they engage, interact with each other, and form bonds and relationships. Differences that exist among transnational migrants and South Africans are therefore outweighed through ordinary church practices; South Africans come into regular contact with, and gain more knowledge about migrants, appreciating their diversities rather than perceiving migrants as foreigners who do not belong.

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CHAPTER FOUR

The role of the church in mediating otherness: vernacular cosmopolitanism in the multinational Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix, Cape Town.

4.1 Introduction

One Sunday, during a church service at the multinational Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix, Cape Town, the entire congregation and senior pastor John Mulungu who is originally from the DRC, engaged in mass prayer. It was the prayer that follows a sermon and offertory session in the Sunday service. The prayer was thematically based on immigration status, which Pastor John addressed as 'papers'. He addressed the congregation saying, ''Do not allow someone to put a full stop to your life. I can see your papers you have been waiting for, coming; I can see the job you have applied for coming your way; I can see all your troubles swept away, you are free, you are safe, you are protected...' Immediately everyone in the church hall started shouting 'Amen', moving round and raising their voices as they prayed. The congregants and the pastor himself could all be heard in their own language(s) of choice, which were as diverse as they were; in the mixture I heard languages which were both familiar and unfamiliar to me. The entire congregation engaged into singing and dancing and moving round inside the church hall at the end of the prayer, while the multinational choir performed a thanksgiving song in *IsiXhosa*[44].

The Revival Pentecostal church (RPC) is a multinational church whose congregants include South Africans and migrants from different nations of Africa. The '*papers*' theme was so emphasised during the prayer session, and as I learned, this referred, for both migrants and South Africans, not to any ordinary sheet of paper but to 'legal immigration documents / permits' issued by the Department of Home Affairs of South Africa. In South Africa, these 'papers' are a major challenge in the life of immigrants in South Africa, the term 'illegal aliens' often comes up in discourse and is often an inciting factor in 'anti-foreigner' hostility. It is reported that African migrants, more specifically refugees, find it difficult to obtain asylum seeker permits or refugee status (Amisi, 2005; Amisi and Ballard, 2005; Steinberg, 2005). They experience a long wait without clear feedback , and are consequently unable to be part of the socio-economic market since they cannot study, work, or even open bank accounts due to lack of the required documents (Ibid).

[44] Personal notes on the rituals performed from the Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix, Cape Town, 2014.

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Migrant refugees from the Great Lakes Region are part of those who struggle due to inadequate responses to their immigration status applications from the respective South African agencies. Undocumented migrants and migrants without proper immigration documents are regarded as illegal migrants in the eyes of the South Africans, and the prejudice that accompanies this results in the possibility of social exclusion among other forms of xenophobic treatment. One wonders how engagements around papers, an issue that concerns migrants most, arrives in a discussion at church, a place where South Africans, who would have wished these migrants to be 'paperless' and be sent back to their home countries, are also gathered. This leads to the aim of this chapter, namely to examine the role of the church in mediating differences; the issue of 'papers' which one would have thought is as a concern for and of migrants only, was embraced as a problem shared by all the church members as expressed in their embodiments during prayer time.

This may be due to the fact that the pastor of the RPC who is originally from the DRC, and who had been in South Africa for 11 years by the time I embarked on my fieldwork, was aware from his personal experience and interaction with fellow migrants, that accessing proper immigration documents is an issue, hence bringing it up publicly for prayer. Unlike on the streets in the South African localities where tensions are formed and experienced, I suggest that one should understand the multinational RPC in Cape Town as a place where diverse nationalities come together and engage; a place where congregants experience a sense of hope, of belonging, and a promise that provides responses to their needs. Based on the kind of interactions and practices I observed in the RPC, I argue that the church is a space in which the congregation, both migrants from different countries and South Africans, are socially and mentally transformed; a space in which they are made to behave in a way which is quite different from how they initiate behaviours and beliefs amongst themselves at places of interaction other than the church. They are taught and made to believe that the enemy is the devil but not a fellow human being.

Pentecostal church members believe that every situation that causes unhappiness and struggle in everyday life, is not of God but has demonic power behind it (Meyer, 1998; Robbins, 2004; Tankink, 2007, Smilde, 1998). They therefore believe that not getting their papers on time or not getting the right papers in general is due to the devil not wanting them to get jobs and live a better life. In this case, not only will their jobs be affected, but also their health

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because without legal papers, a transnational migrant has no access to the health, financial, socio-economic, or educational services - and so the matter is brought before everyone in church, so that they can pray to God together, to detach the situation from the devil.

In this chapter I focus on the practices and culture of the RPC church, and the significance of the born-again Christian body and its effect on the people' s relationships, to make sense of how perturbing encounters of national, ethnic and cultural differences that exist among migrants and South Africans in everyday life, are mediated through involvement in activities instituted by the church. Fiske (1992: 690) talks of 'communal sharing' relationships that are based on the conception of a bounded group of people as equivalent and undifferentiated. It is a relationship where the group members treat each other the same, focusing on communalities rather than differences. What can perhaps be considered communal among transnational migrants and South Africans residing together in a township, are the socio-economic hardships they all face such as poverty and high rates of unemployment. While people can form relationships based on their ethnic and or national identities, Fiske (1992) adds that rituals of repetitive action such as religious worship constitute and sustain relationships of 'communal sharing'. Similarly, Tankink (2007: 216) points out that the Pentecostal church offers its members varied opportunities of coming together, giving the example of Bible study groups which I also found at the RPC, through which members end up feeling and acting as if they belong to one family.

The chapter therefore responds to the following questions: How did the Revival Pentecostal church come about? As a migrant-led church, how did South Africans come to know about this church, start attending, and get involved in the church activities? How does this intermingling and involvement in diverse church activities impact people's relationships among themselves and within their neighbourhoods? In the course of discussing the answers to these questions I analytically engage with studies done on religion in Kinshasa by the cultural anthropologist Katrien Pype, and in post-apartheid South African cities, particularly by the African Centre for Migration and Society based at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. These include studies done by Landau (2009 & 2014) and Solomon et al (2016) whose work focuses on religion and diversity in Johannesburg. I also consider work done by Hay (2016) on church and diversity in Cape Town.

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This chapter is mostly based on ethnographic evidence gathered at multinational RPC. It is an account of embodied, sensory ethnography that draws from 'on the ground' participant observations of rituals performed during church services, to interactions with church members as we participated together in various church programmes and activities. I observed the performances and engaged in informal discussions with a number of congregants who included ushers, choir members, ordinary congregants, women of the church and youth, at every opportunity I had to engage with them. The church members' narratives demonstrate how the congregants' involvement in the varied activities instituted by the church create ways in which differences are managed and mediated to bring about peace and conviviality in a township where conflicts are also possible.

In this chapter I present three episodes in which the church has created a space for interactions through which national, ethnic and cultural differences are negotiated. The first account concerns Sunday church services. I discuss the processes through which congregants who are diverse among themselves practise assimilations; in this case I focus on their participation throughout the service. Similar to the 'papers' prayer theme with which I opened this chapter, I will show how themes are selected during sermons in accordance with the scriptures but more importantly linked to social problems that most of the people face in their everyday lives. I then argue that sermons, praise and worship hymns, mass prayer, dancing and singing, and testimonies performed during Sunday church services play a big role in how people impact on one another, learn about and practise each other's cultures as illustrated in the songs that are sung, reshaping understanding and contributing to treating others as their own.

I then present the second section, which recounts, in addition to the church services that are held on Sundays, how the RPC and its members remain active and intermingle every day of the week from Monday to Saturday. On these days church members engage in choir practices, Bible study classes, attend 'home cells' (having gatherings and prayer meetings in households), 'charity projects', youth ministry, and women counselling forums. I will then discuss how during these regular programmes, members of the church and those who visit the church through outreach programmes experience mental and social transformation which in turn brings about cosmopolitan conviviality in their locality. I thereafter give an account of what happens during other church programmes that take place occasionally such as conferences hosted by and at the church, focusing on the Easter conference that I attended in

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March 2015. They are events at which preachers other than the church pastor are given the opportunity to share their life stories not as pastors but as ordinary church members, and at least one of the youth group members has to preach, focusing on a life-changing theme to help other youth to change their moral mind-sets and learn to live a tolerant, religious and prosperous life.

Throughout all the above occasions that bring the RPC congregants together, South Africans and diverse migrants meet, greet, sing and dance together, pray and talk with one another. They express their thoughts and talents, and create friendships and relationships through these gatherings. Whenever they gather, they first pray and the engage in other activities. Outside the church service during other encounters mentioned earlier, congregants talk and share ideas as I will show later, and when they talk the social exchanges are words of encouragement to each other, with reference to biblical verses.

This chapter starts with a review of born-again churches on a local and global level as background. Later I specifically look at RPC and its practices, and how these shape the notion of living together in diversity with conviviality.

4.2 Making sense of born-again churches: the background

The moment I approached the church hall the ushers dressed formally in uniform (black pants and pinkish shirts), both male and female standing by the door at the backside in the church hall, welcomed me like they did the other congregants. The RPC is multinational, and so are the ushers; from Zimbabwe, the DRC, South Africans, and Cameroonians. They welcome the entire congregation with warm hospitality and a smile on the face, and they greet with a handshake and saying, ‘Good morning my brother/sister, welcome to the house of the Lord’. They really welcome the congregants and give them their full attention. What I also noticed was how quickly they notice new faces to their church, as one of the ushers had to brief me on the seating arrangement saying that I should sit anywhere I find a free space in the provided spaces. People sit together without paying attention to who might be seating next to whom; another illustration of togetherness and conviviality. Except for the choir that occupied the seats near the altar, the congregation sat randomly on provided chairs across the church hall, while the pastor and his wife sat on high profile designated leather seats in the first row facing the altar, with a small red and black carpet under their feet.

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South Africans, Congolese, Cameroonians, Rwandans, and Burundians, had mixed seating arrangements. Those who managed to arrive early occupied the front seats as opposed to those who came in late. Not all the church members live near the church, and some have to commute or drive to come to church. As I learned from the RPC members' narratives, the church members come not only from the local Phoenix and Joe Slovo neighbourhoods, but also from the neighbouring Dunoon township, and other neighbourhoods and suburbs in Cape Town, including Parow, Maitland, Tableview, Parklands, and Brooklyn. The church offers transport to congregants who come from far, such as those residing in Parow and Maitland. The church hires a minibus, which transports them to and from the church.

It is noted that most Pentecostal churches around the world attract a number of people based on the nature of their worship and also promises of better life opportunities to church members (Smith, 2001). African migrants in South Africa, like in their home countries, have also established Pentecostal churches, which are known as born-again churches. The Pentecostal churches are therefore becoming popular not only at home but also in refugee or diaspora countries among Africans.

According to Hunt (2002), Pentecostalism is perceived by West African migrants in Britain as a vibrant form of Christianity, understood as a faith relevant to their needs and dealing with their troubles. The formation of Pentecostal churches is therefore significant to people's socio-economic well-being, as perhaps one way of fostering socialities among migrants themselves or with local nationals with whom they live in local communities. Madhavan & Landau (2011:480) suggest that in the absence of social associations that provide bridging and bonding opportunities, other bodies are necessary to foster community and negotiate patterns of inclusion and exclusion. Born-gain churches are one of the bodies through which members negotiate their differences and belonging, and practice the cosmopolitanism from below.

The importance of charismatic churches to people's relationships with each other has also been studied elsewhere in South Africa, and a close study is one by Hay in the Bay Community Church in Cape Town where local South Africans and African migrants worship together. Hay argues that the church makes migrants feel at home away from home, and presents itself to locals and migrants alike, as: 'a space in which it is possible to safely negotiate fears or misconceptions about the "other"' (Hay, 2014: 60-61). In other words, the church creates a space of safety, social acceptance, and a welcoming atmosphere particularly

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among African migrants who have to settle into a new environment, and South Africans who have to live with people from different cultures whom they do not know much about. This feeling of strangeness, otherness, and lack of knowledge, is what has been contributing to a culture of social exclusion and an unwelcoming attitude towards non-South Africans (Crush, 2008; Harris, 2002; Kersting, 2009). The Pentecostal churches in migrant communities in South Africa therefore bridge differences and encourages cosmopolitanism as people become open towards other cultures and tolerant of diversity (Hannerz, 1990; Appiah, 2006).

The RPC is not the only migrant-headed church in Cape Town; there are other Pentecostal churches founded and headed by migrants from the Great Lakes Region. They have introduced born-again churches, named them, and engaged in processes to attract congregants. These churches are however different from the multinational RPC, as they serve migrants only. The Rwandan pastor I know in Cape Town for instance has established a church located in the Woodstock suburb of Cape Town, and in his church we find only Rwandan congregants. I had visited the church three times; once before I started my fieldwork at the RPC and to attend the wedding of a Rwandan couple, and twice during and after my fieldwork. On both occasions Rwandan friends invited me for ordinary Sunday services. On the third time I visited that church however, I was told that a few Burundian migrants would join that church since they had left the one they were attending in Salt River, a suburb of the city.

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The born-again church of Salt River is led by a Burundian migrant and although I have not had a chance to visit the church, I was told that the congregants include a few Rwandans while the majority are Burundians. I would have loved to visit that church, but I had no one to go with. I also did not know the schedules for mass, since the church like most migrants, does not have an official website. In Cape Town there are also many Congolese migrants who have started churches and their services, I heard, are conducted in Lingala[45] since they serve only Congolese congregants. The RPC that operates in Joe Slovo/ Phoenix hence is thus unique in the sense that it serves migrants from different countries as well as South Africans. Another unique feature of the RPC, is that it has an official website so that anyone can look up their schedules and other important information. The structure of the RPC is also different from the other migrant churches I mentioned. Most of the migrant-led Pentecostal

[45] A Bantu language spoken throughout the Northwestern and a large part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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churches in Cape Town are narrowly focused on worship and community among specific national/ linguistic communities, for which they provide a sense of belonging and cohesion.

In his study on Congolese refugee-established churches in Johannesburg, Nzayabino (2010) states that language barriers hinder Congolese from integrating in local South African churches. Apart from the language barrier however, Nzayabino (2010:6) adds that migrants choose to attend migrant-established churches on the basis that the sermons preached in local South African churches do not meet the spiritual needs and expectations of the refugees. This, as mentioned earlier, reveals how Great Lakes Region migrants regard migrant-established churches, namely as a source of solutions to their problems, and they expect the church services to be conducted in the same way as they are used to in their home countries. In the townships of Phoenix and Joe Slovo therefore, where residents regardless of their nationality face socio-economic hardships, the transnational migrants' churches attract not only migrants but also South Africans in search for solutions to their problems since born-again churches emphasise prosperity.

Revisiting the work done on Pentecostalism in different parts of the world, and Africa in particular, Pentecostal churches all share a particular set of religious ideas and practices, such as baptism in the Holy Spirit, speaking in tongues (glossolalia), divine healing, and a strong emphasis on personal prayers and prophecies (Meyer, 1998:32; Hunt, 2002; Shoaps, 2008). They share an elaborate discourse on the devil and demons and offer rituals during which these powers of darkness manifest themselves (see Smilde, 1998; Robbins, 2004) and are exorcised - a practice called deliverance (Meyer, 1998: 321). This deliverance is conceptualised as a 'spiritual' fight between God and Satan which aims at a person's liberation from all forms of 'occultic' bondage (Ibid).

Pentecostal churches, as already mentioned, emphasise prosperity and lifting people out of disparate situations. People in the war-torn countries of the Great Lakes Region like Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC are no exception and have participated in the boom of Pentecostalism in recent years. In her study on religion and popular culture in post-genocide Rwanda for instance, Grant (2014) asserts born-again (*abarokore*) churches have offered Rwandans a new way to conceive of their past, present, and future. Grant adds that most Rwandans who converted to Pentecostal churches have had their hearts healed of their traumatic past, and are able to align their lives with a better future (ibid). From Grant's work, it is clear that being a Pentecostal church member in a place where a horrifying past and present both continue to

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haunt people, translates into feelings of belonging rather than exclusion. It seems that born-again Pentecostal churches have helped people to cope with the consequences of war and conflict. Grant (2014) notes that Rwandans who have joined Pentecostal churches in Rwanda, have a different view of what their socio-political problems (that led to genocide) were, and relate everything to a demonic source, worth praying together to overcome. She emphasises the importance of religion and a church as a space that promises prosperity, and serves as source of forgiveness, reconciliation and unity to those who attend, and whose worldview is changed after becoming *born-again*[46].

The concept of 'born-again' is complex. To become born again to some believers means not just being a member of a church but more importantly being given the attachment of brother and sister, through (re)baptism in a lot of water (Tankink, 2007:216). At the RPC this feeling of brotherhood was apparent in how people engaged with one another on a regular basis in various activities instituted by the church. I personally was not baptised in water, but for the whole 12 months in the field while I attended the RPC and its varied programmes, I witnessed and experienced a feeling of being a beloved sister to fellow congregants. I was not treated well on the basis of being born-again but because of the good interactions and relations I had with congregants and my regular presence at the church and other programmes. The more people meet at the church and other regular activities, the easier they recognise and become open to each other when they meet elsewhere outside the church. As I show in the sections that follow, I found during my engagement with the RPC that transnational migrants and South Africans supported each other, socially, financially and spiritually, adding to their sense of belonging and conviviality.

4.3 Social ties among the born-again believers

At the RPC, congregants and the pastors themselves participate in activities that allow close interaction, and in our conversation during various events we were always reminded to act together, worship and pray together, in order to shame the 'devil' and to live a happy life. Social ties and bonds are forged among those worshiping in the same Pentecostal churches regardless of their national, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. This reminds me of the common saying in Kinyarwanda among the born-again: they call each other '*mwene data'* – 'sibling',

[46] A terminology applied to refer to those (re)baptised members of Pentecostal churches, as most of them would have switched from other religious institutions such as the Catholic Church, Seventh Day Adventist church, Anglican Church, among others.

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literally meaning having the same father (God) in common. This is what Tankink (2007), in her paper on born-again churches in Uganda, refers to as 'brothers and sisters in the Lord'. Consequently, those who practice the '*mwene data'* in greeting or other forms of everyday interaction relate better to each other than to others with whom they do not share the same faith; the non- 'born-again'.

The concept of born-again in Pentecostal churches is more of an act than just being a member. I quote the words of the Leader and Minister of the Synagogue Church of all Nations (SCOAN) in Nigeria, Prophet T.B. Joshua[47]. He says,

> A Christian should not boast on his born-againism, especially when he/she has not been delivered'. To be born again is not to be mouthed but acted in total commitment to the approved way of Christ'. Becoming born again is a spirit of newness and radical transformation, and is derived from the experience of deliverance.

From the quote above, being born-again means having received deliverance. According to Prophet T.B Joshua, deliverance is a process of separation between light and darkness. It is a new experience, which comes when a man is separated from unholiness and impurities of life. In a programme on deliverance and healing on the Christian television network named 'Emanuel TV' of the SCOAN, deliverance is confessed by people after they have been prayed for, and after the evil spirit that have been tormenting them has been casted out[48]. Confession in public has also been observed among Congolese born-again believers in Kinshasa, as they narrated their life trajectories to born-againism (Pype, 2011: 280). This entails a changed better life than the one lived before being born-again.

Darkness is blamed to be responsible for all the troubles and hardships that Christians face, therefore everyone needs deliverance. Deliverance is regarded as a process of getting out the darkness (troubles and problems) into the light (Christ). Prophet TB Joshua encourages people who receive deliverance to make sure they keep their deliverance permanent, by maintaining it through the 'Word', prayer and acts of faith. For people to be born again they must receive the light and for the kingdom of the light to have impact on them, their spiritual

[47] Available online. http://www.maravipost.com/the-true-meaning-of-deliverance-tb-joshua/. Accessed May 2016

[48] The live clips of 'Mass prayer and Deliverance' by TB Joshua are accessed from his official channel 'Emmanuel.tv' and also on YouTube. The following link is available on YouTube illustrating the ritual of deliverance from the SCOAN. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rW_ffUWtIvQ

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life has to be operated on, to remove the impurities planted in them by Satan. This is the essence of deliverance (Prophet T.B Joshua)[49].

In her fieldwork in Ghana, Meyer (1998) talks of the 'making of a complete break with the past' among the members of some Pentecostal churches in the country. Following Meyer's ethnography, the notion of 'Make a complete break with the past' means a total conversion that leaves behind all past experiences as in what people valued and believed in in their social world, to new directions enforced in line with born-again beliefs and values. This is true in South African society, and the RPC in particular, where locals act beyond the idea of perceiving migrants as a threat, based on how they engage with one another at church and beyond. Born-again believers I know build social trust that goes beyond the issue of differences, conflicts, exclusion and hatred. They forge a belief of sameness and cohesion (Welch et al, 2004). Born-again churches therefore offer an opportunity to openness and belonging through performances held in the church. Pype (2006 & 2012) observes popular culture in churches in Kinshasa, the capital city of DRC, as having a dominating impact on the sense of belonging, and people use music and dance to negotiate their oneness.

In South Africa, the migrants' Pentecostal churches are on one hand a continuation of their back home establishments particularly among DRC migrants (Vigouroux, 2010), while on the other hand some migrants have opted to become pastors in the diaspora, dropping their careers they had at home. These migrant-established churches are perceived as a strategic means of integration into South African communities (see Nzayabino 2010) and or a survival strategy where relations are forged with matrons in the church (Owen, 2011). Regardless of the motivations behind the establishment of migrant churches in South African localities, I have stated earlier that people make use of the churches to negotiate troubles of all kinds, be they social, spiritual, economic, and or mental challenges. Although the establishment of as well as attendance to migrant churches in a foreign land may serve as a way of integration or survival, in Phoenix and neighbouring localities, the RPC church has established church-motivated programmes from which people learn, engage with, and support one another through ordinary interactions.

I further hold that those who encounter each other at church are likely to remember each

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[49] Various videos showing the rituals and speeches on 'Deliverance' during the mass prayer at SCOAN. Available in the gallery on the official television website. https://emmanuel.tv/media/videos#tab-2

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other when they meet on the streets, and or invite each other to personal events. A practical example is when I encountered a South African woman, one of the church members and youth ministry at RPC, at the mall outside the Joe Slovo/ Phoenix community (an issue I discuss in Chapter 6). She remembered me, greeted me and we had a bit of interaction on the go. In this sense, the church created a space at which both of us met, connected and re-connected even outside the church milieu. Our sociality and sense of belonging to the same believer's community impacted on everyday life not for economic gain, but for mutual recognition and accommodation regardless of our diversities.

Curious to know how the RBC started and how South Africans came to know about the migrant-headed church, I approached the congregants themselves and the pastor in a form of interview on one hand, and informal discussion on the other, particularly during the participatory activities I will discuss later. In the following section, I provide the life story from Pastor John, how he started the RPC, and all the efforts he made to ensure the inclusiveness of migrants and locals in the church, and the intermingling that became beneficial to the rest of Phoenix and beyond.

4.4 The naissance and culture of the Revival Pentecostal Church (RPC)

In order to make sense of the ways through which migrants and South Africans have lived together and managed their differences through performative adherence to religion, it is worth to first understand how the RPC church was started. John, the Congolese pastor and founder of the RPC told me the story behind RPC:

> Actually I was in Durban, and as I was in Durban, I went in deep prayer, and my mission was to preach the Gospel. Now when I arrived in Durban I felt like it was not a right place for me to be. Now I went in prayer, and when I was in prayer, my wife saw a vision, written Cape Town. Now when my wife saw that vision, then I packed my stuff left Durban and then I came here, in 2003. Now when I arrived in Cape Town in 2003, at a place where I was hosted, I started my own prayer in the room for one week, I was alone in the room, praying, fasting, praying, fasting, and suddenly there was a funeral somewhere, but I was already planning to start a church but I didn't know how, I didn't know where, so there was a funeral here in Phoenix, somebody passed away in Congo, and the son arranged a memorial service here as well. And many people came for the funeral, foreigners from other suburbs of Cape Town. Now as you may know in 2003 there were no churches. So foreigners invited me, to minister in that funeral. As I came out of one week fasting, really God moved, and the way God moved in that period, a lot of people gave their lives to Christ, immediately in the day of funeral. Now when they gave their life to Christ, they pushed me, they said 'where are we going now?' And by then me, my mission was to open a church, to start a church. And now when they pushed me saying, where are we going; are you going to leave us on the street? I said no, guys give me two days. Now suddenly I went and approached a Congolese couple who then allowed us to have a service in their house. Now we started a service in that couple's house, with those whom we were together in the funeral service. So after that, the place was too small in that house and they suggested so we must look for a better place. By

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> God's mercy we found a place, and when we found a place, we started a church, a ministry, the Revival Pentecostal Church. Now the moment we started the church, many people started to come.

The main interesting point of course is that the pastor had this vision when he was already a migrant in South Africa. He told me earlier that he came to South Africa in search of a better life, and he headed to Durban through the connection with his friend, a refugee migrant also from the DRC who was based in Durban. Two fascinating points emerged from the pastor's story on how he started the church. He mentioned that in 2003 there were no churches, to him, a church meant a Pentecostal church, a born-again church, whose church services and prayer rituals differ significantly from how they are presented in traditional churches such as Catholic, Anglican, or Methodist churches. In contrast to the church service performances from the latter churches, most of the Pentecostal church services are known to be flexible and informal (Cox, 1995). The Pentecostal churches hold beliefs and expectations of full participation in church services (Shoaps, 2008: 37), collective singing and dancing songs of praise and worship, all at once praying loudly and in tongues, and also giving testimonies of what had manifested in their lives upon healing and deliverance prayers. This is the nature of Pentecostal churches, known to be vibrant (Robbins, 2004), attracting many people around the world (Meyer, 2004), and according to Cox (1995: 14-15) Pentecostalism comprises the fastest growing Christian movement on earth.

Consequently, there are a number of reasons that contribute to the rapid growth of Pentecostalism, including the way of worshiping, which to many people impact on their ability to express their problems and prayer requests. Nellie from the DRC, a mother of two in her thirties, has been a member of the RPC since 2008, although she had converted from Catholicism, 3 years prior. I encountered Nellie in one of the RPC programmes that took place on Saturday, and we engaged in an open discussion as she wanted to know where I was from, and whether I was new in the area since she had only seen me at the church a few times. In our conversation, Nellie told me that she used to be Catholic, and later converted to Pentecostalism. Wanting to know why she converted, she told me that after her marriage, she experienced a few years of barrenness, and through the influence of her friends, she started visiting the Pentecostal church back home, till she converted. Nellie had her first child in 2007, five years after her marriage and 2 years after she converted. Although she got the child she was praying for, she narrates her persisting motives for attending the Pentecostal church:

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> When our pastor preaches, I also go through the Bible with him; when he prays, I also pray along with him, loudly and freely which takes my spirit in other world, the world of hope. When others are giving testimonies, my faith gets lifted up, and I get hope that I will also give a testimony in the near future. This happens in the Pentecostal living church like this one (Nellie, RPC church member from DRC.

For Nellie, the entire process of church service at the Revival Pentecostal Church, like her previous Pentecostal church back home, lifts up her faith, and brings more hope in life. It is also noteworthy that Nellie converted because of her health; the delay in bearing a child. She joined a Pentecostal church, which she calls a 'living church' that responds to her challenges. She converted out of desperation; following a church that specifically preached what she wanted to hear, and being comforted by other church members' testimonies. The nature of a Pentecostal church matters in terms of the rituals involved and how they are emphasised. But how does an individual own a church, in the way that the RPC was a migrant-owned church?

Personally as a Catholic who only started attending Pentecostal churches in the time of my fieldwork, my knowledge is that in Catholicism, no individual owns a church. In fact, Catholic priests who are regarded as pastors in non-Catholic churches, are sent to different places interchangeably to evangelise. But for Pentecostal churches, I have learned that an individual establishes a church, names it, owns it, and all the properties in it, though sourced from church members and donations, remain his. Van Wyk, in her study on prosperity and thew role of luck among ordinary believers of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) in South Africa, finds that Pentecostal churches in South Africa have become global enterprises with hundreds of local branches and millions of adherents (Van Wyk, 2015). Similarly, the RPC church I worked with, has expanded its doors to the other part of Africa with a branch located in Upington, South Africa, and two other branches in the Congo and Burundi. People are desperate and so they look for Pentecostal churches that promise better life opportunities and prosperity through acts of prayer and fasting, speaking in tongues, healing and deliverance, while publicly sharing life testimonies to boost each other's faith, and in return offering lump sums of money as tithes to the solely-owned church, as thanksgiving for what God does for them.

Another understanding from Pastor John's story is that the RPC started as a church for migrants, primarily those he met at the funeral, as he said. This meant preaching in migrants' preferred languages and conducting church services in the same way as they are conducted back home. The important factor for migrants is having a pastor of their own rather than

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attending South African established churches. Although I could then understand how migrants knew him from previous contact at the memorial service, where others also knew him, I was interested to know how he accessed South African congregants, and how they came to know about him and his church.

4.4.1 South Africans in the migrant-established Pentecostal Church

"Aahhhh, it is a nice question", said Pastor John when I asked him about the ways through which he managed to get local congregants to the then migrant-dominated church. As opposed to how it was in first days of the church being, John added, today in this church the local South Africans count more than 50% of the church congregation. According to him:

> My need to start a church was not only for foreigners; my aim even today was 80% to win citizens than foreigners. When we started a church with foreigners from Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda, that time I was preaching in French. I could not preach in English, as you know even now my English is not well. So, that time I preached in French and mixed with some Swahili, and later on someone was translating my sermon in English and when the power of God starts working {amazed}.... South Africans started to come. When South Africans came, and saw how God is delivering people, healing people, solving people's problems, encouraging people, and saving souls, they started to come to church. Now when the South Africans came in the church, I noticed they were 30% in the church and yet my vision is to win more South Africans than foreigners, I then changed everything. Why? As we are foreigners here in South Africa, I cannot conduct a church as if I am in Congo my country. I cannot do that, because for the church to grow, as a foreigner, I must make sure I adapt (to) all the system of South Africa in the church.

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In order to accommodate South Africans in the RPC church therefore, Pastor John mentioned to have adapted three main aspects in line with the church's aims and objectives. Firstly he removed French and other 'foreign' languages that only migrants were familiar with such as Kiswahili, Lingala, Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Kizambia, Shona of Zimbabwe; the languages that migrant congregants sing in, in order to accommodate South Africans. He secondly, following the adaptation to South African languages, encouraged most South Africans to join the choir.

> And the locals might feel free the moment they see us foreigners even singing in their language. The way they heard us singing in IsiXhosa, and IsiZulu, aah they were very interested to know aaah these people are singing in our language and it is not their language; so they joined us (In conversation with pastor John, Phoenix).

"I then did my best to put most of the South Africans in the choir, so that they could start to sing and teach us their songs" he added. The third aspect of inclusiveness that the pastor mentioned was restructuring the body of the church's administration. "Administration of the

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church is led by South Africans mixed with foreigners, but most of them are South Africans", he said.

From the above, we can see that cosmopolitan practices were put in place to ensure South Africans are welcomed and feel at home. Pastor John did not want locals and migrants to feel that the church was for 'foreigners' only, but ensured what Vertovec calls 'cosmopolitanism in practice' (Vertovec, 2009: 7). In his working paper, Steven Vertovec, the Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (MMG) notes,

> "While selectively sustaining or indeed enhancing their own particular cultural practices and institutions, people in diaspora also adopt and transform cultural phenomena drawn from others around them. Much of this arises through the simple strategy of 'When in Rome, do as the Romans do': eating like, dressing like, talking like and conforming to the behavioral norms of a 'host' society. The motivations for doing so might entail pleasure, ease of interaction, better understanding, social or economic advantage, social distinction or sheer survival (Vertovec, 2009: 7).

However there were according to the pastor, some issues associated with the new changes in the church. "It was not easy. Some of my nationality left me, why, because they thought I privileged South Africans", he said. But it was not privileging South Africans; we had to adapt the system. We must not be the ones to bring them what we want in their society, like they must learn Swahili, no, it is us who must learn their language, because we are in their country", Pastor John added. The migrant pastor found out that to bring about unity and to impact people's lives, South Africans had be considered first in the unity making process. In the process of building relations and conviviality with South Africans, transnational migrants at RPC had to go through what Martin Sökefeld (2004: 149) calls the 'diasporic duality of preservation and change.' Although the Great Lakes Region migrant members of the RPC I worked with, including the pastor, were refugee and not diasporic migrants, they still faced the task of balancing the continuity of their traditions and practices with adaptations to South African culture in terms of learning new hymns in South African languages. It was a mutual cosmopolitan change as far as worshipping and praise was concerned; I also witnessed South Africans practising and singing foreign language hymns even if they were few compared to the number of IsiXhosa and Zulu hymns that were sung. In this case conviviality and mediation of people's differences were achieved through the appropriation of music and at a time also clothing styles among choir members who were both transnational migrants and South Africans. They welcomed and embraced each other's different cultures.

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In our informal conversation with Sandile, the church secretary, which was followed by a formal interview a month later, I learned that South Africans also made their own efforts to find a born-again church around their area. Sandile is a South African Zulu man in his late twenties, and in our interview he shared how he joined the RPC in Phoenix:

> I used to stay in Johannesburg, I was at school. Then in 2011, I moved to Cape Town, where my sister stayed. She had a house here in Cape Town. I came and stayed here in Phoenix, and on a Sunday I visited this church, I wanted to worship. I had been a born again even the time I was still in Johannesburg. How I joined this church, I just came by myself, I may say, it is the spirit of the Lord. 'The Bible says the steps of a good man are ordered by God'. I was led by the spirit of the Lord. Whenever something has God in it, it will prosper.

Sandile emphasises his born-againness even before he came to Cape Town, and used a biblical verse to make me understand how he joined the RPC. It is apparent that Sandile did not pay attention to whether the church was a migrant-established or migrant-dominated; what motivated him was the idea of belonging to a born-again church. Like I argued earlier, this is the church where members are taught to believe in a certain way, and consequently members find it the best space for negotiating belonging and conviviality. In his study exploring forms of exclusion and solidarity in Johannesburg among new arrivals and long-term residents, Landau asserts that religion is one of the strategies for negotiating inclusion and belonging (2009:197), which was helpful for Sandile who was new in a city of Cape Town, and in Phoenix in particular.

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The RPC church offers various resources through which members and even visitors embrace the notion of belonging. The same way Solomon and his colleagues found that religion allows for a sense of belonging while capacitating movement, freedom, and aspiration in the city of Johannesburg (Solomon et al, 2016), the multinational church of Phoenix in Cape Town presents the notion of inclusion and belonging through varied mobilities. By mobility, Solomon at al (2016:3) referred not only to transnational and intra-national migration, but also movements of commodities, ideas and forms, the traffic of objects, and sounds and colours within the city - as they explored the ways in which religion and diverse forms of mobility have shaped post-apartheid Johannesburg. The authors add that through those mobilities, religion becomes complicit in establishing new forms of enclosure, moral order, and spatial control (Ibid). Based on this, the section below discusses some of the ideas presented in the RPC church to depict a sense of inclusiveness and belonging.

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4.4.2 The church set up

The Revival Pentecostal Church as a space for religious and social activities has varied rooms to accommodate both members and visitors to the church. On the ground floor there is an open space for congregation mass and prayer services. The church hall is remarkably decorated with flags of different African nations hanging on the wall. In front next to the altar there is a banner with a printed church vision statement, along with a photo of the church pastor and his wife (both from the Great Lakes Region). Analytically, all these representations aim at sending a message of belonging and inclusion to those who enter the church. Looking at the church vision statement as shown below, every listed point signals a call for participation in the journey of living together with others. The emphasis is on the collaboration to stand against any disturbing matters, be they social, economic, concerning health, or spiritual.

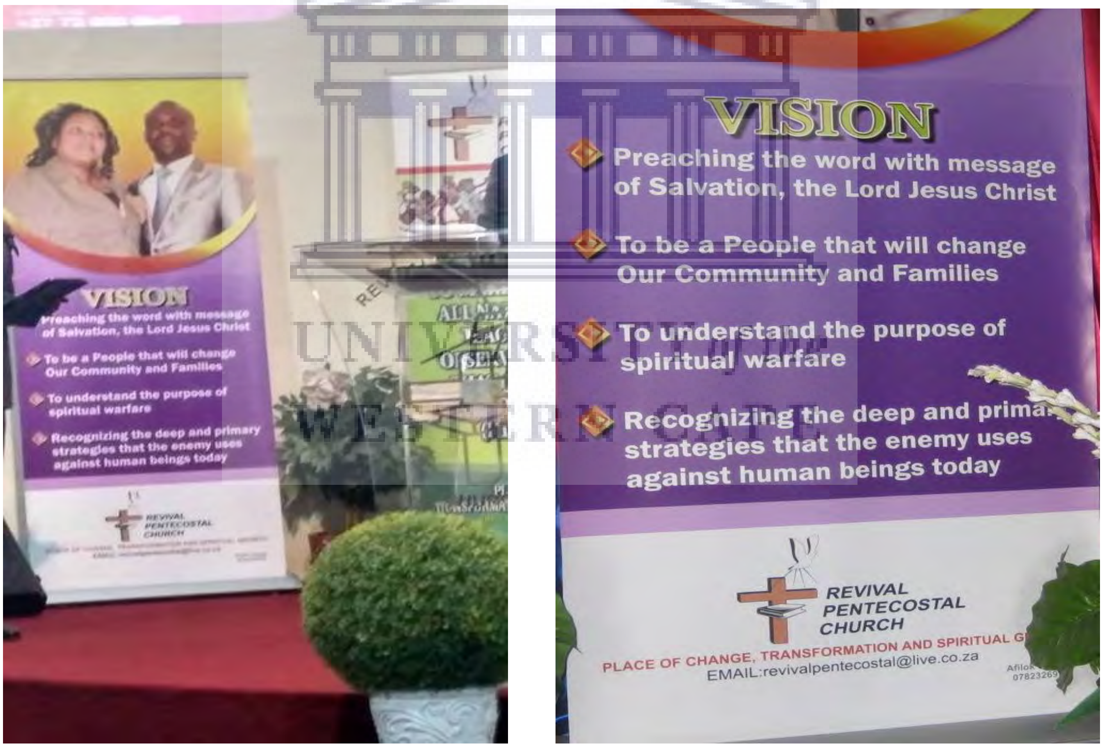

Figure 10: The banner of the church Vision statement with a photo of senior Pastor John and his wife
Photo taken by Odette.

The banner presented in the photo above is placed at the altar of the RPC church where every congregant sees and reads it. Summarising the four points that form the RPC vision statement, congregants are encouraged to be vigilant in knowing how to fight the enemy - in this case the devil - and to act tremendously hard to change lives in their communities and

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families. In South African neighbourhoods particularly in townships as we have seen earlier, African migrants experience xenophobic attitude including social exclusion and discrimination, therefore the vision statement of RPC in Phoenix is challenging that understanding and behaviours against other people of different origins. Apart from social exclusions against foreigners, there are also other social issues that face South Africans including drug abuse and crime among the South African youth; therefore their effort to change and build better communities is encouraged in the above vision statement.

In the same vein, I also consider the music instruments that are used in the church performances, especially on Sundays, and at other events instituted by the church as resources used to negotiate otherness and conviviality. Through well-tuned loud music South Africans and migrants engage with one another, responding to their encounters of diversity, in a process that allows everyone in the church to participate.

Figure 11: Revival Pentecostal Church choir (South Africans and transnational migrants) performing during a church service. Photo by Odette

The musical equipment includes a piano, traditional and electrical drums, guitars, and microphones, and each choir member has her own microphone. There is also a projector which projects each song so that every congregant can sing along with the choir members. All this equipment capacitates inclusion and belonging among the RPC congregants as they engage in singing and dancing practices together. For Landau, the religious practices of

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international migrants find ways to blend into a normative social order, to claim rights and to achieve transcience (Landau, 2014:301). Such social order is what allows for social interactions and conviviality at the RPC, given the church set-up and multiple spatial resources for regular contact.

There is at the back a smaller room next to the church storeroom, which serves as the church secretary's office, in which administrative work is performed, and every Sunday the church secretary welcomes visitors from that specific office. One floor up is where we find a big room, the pastor's office. In the church compound, there is enough space for parking; and a spare space used in the performance of accomplishing the church's project of feeding the homeless. I will elaborate on the latter in the following sections of the chapter. The building does not belong to RPC church, they rent it, but the congregants already make contributions every Sunday to have their own church building. Every Sunday there is a wooden box, next to the offertory basket, wherein congregants deposit their contributions for construction purposes. In February 2015, the church pastor announced that the church has made enough funds to pay for the church's own building for worship and church activities.

4.4.3 Going born-again for twelve months

This section draws on my personal experience in the RPC, which captures the process of how I was directed and welcomed to the church by its existing members. It is a description of how the church members at RPC welcome the congregants. I visited the local multinational church for the first time in June 2013 during my pilot study, and as I stayed in the field, I became a member for the entire year of 2014 during my fieldwork. On that first visit, I was not sure of the church service timetable, but simply showed up there as I intended to meet church members and learn about their schedules for future visits. So as I got there late, I remained outside in the church compound (I could not enter because the service was coming to an end).

I stood with some women congregants who had walked their children outside. I kept on watching over to the church entrance door, and ushers were staring at me at some point. They were perhaps uncertain why I was standing outside. Two men dressed in black pants and purplish shirts came walking towards me to welcome me, but since the service had ended, we started a conversation with some congregants and this consisted of simple words like ' Welcome', 'Praise the Lord', 'Nice meeting you', while others wanted long conversation

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including wanting to know where I was from. Interestingly in that multinational church people are so familiar with each other that they easily recognise new faces in the church. My insertion into the church services and programmes was obtained through attending the church on a regular basis as a Phoenix resident[50] and a researcher since early 2014.

I attended every event of the church, including weekday programmes such as choir practices, youth programmes, home cells held in congregants' households, the RPC projects that took place every Saturdays, Sunday church services, and occasional conferences held at church. In January 2014, I became a full-time church member, and I enjoyed attending the second church service from 10h30 to 13h00, which lasts for 2 hours 30 minutes. At that church they normally have three church services every Sunday; the first service from 8h30 to 10h00, the second from the 10h30 to 13h00, and last one from 18h 00 to 19h 30. All these were scheduled to include every member because some church members have work on Sundays on morning, afternoon or evening shifts.

On the day I went inside the church, and the ushers showed me where to sit, and at the end of the service the pastor took a microphone to make announcements, which included welcoming new visitors to the church. 'If we have visitors in our church, please stand up so that we can welcome you', said Pastor John. So I stood up and was welcomed together with a few other new congregants. Later at the conclusion of the service, all the visitors including myself were asked to proceed to one of the rooms prepared for welcoming new people at the church. Mr Sandile, the church secretary who is a Zulu[51] South African introduced himself to us, and was in charge of welcoming us with the help of two migrant women who served us with snacks and drinks, while Sandile issued us memberships forms (to be filled in by those who aspired to become church members), and gave a brief explanatory talk about the church, its services, and activities.

The procedures of welcoming new congregants coupled with introductory messages by the church secretary, were vital in making me feel at home. The fact that I had included my contact number on the membership form, meant I was included on the list of people who received text messages informing us of the weekly programmes and other events ahead of

[50] As mentioned area, in order to gain access and conduct my ethnography study successfully, I had to look for accommodation at the research site. I stayed in a single room in Phoenix (formal housing area), for the period of 12 months, though I could do fieldwork follow-ups for several more months while at the university residence.

[51] The South African largest ethnic group living mainly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.

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time. I then started receiving cell phone text messages from the church secretary informing me of the church events and activities on a weekly basis, every Friday afternoon. Being an active member, a participant and regular attendant to the church and its religious activities, strengthened my relations and trustworthiness for fieldwork.

At a later stage, I had formal interviews with the main pastor of the church, Pastor John who himself is a migrant from the Democratic Republic of Congo, and six more interlocutors from the church. Interacting with church members and leaders was easy; not only was I attending church programmes with them, but also able to speak languages that most of the interlocutors spoke such as KiSwahili[52], French, Kinyarwanda[53], and English, the common language. Others also showed excitement to speak about their life experiences and their changed lives since they joined the RPC community.

4.5 The born-again Christian body and affect: processes and practices of Sunday services at RPC

The RPC in Phoenix hosts three church services every Sunday, and I argue here, not only because of the limited space to accommodate a larger congregation, but also because the church strives to include everyone and considers those who might have other commitments such as work shifts on the day. As the pastor once put it in our interview, informal jobs have no holidays and have no Sundays. And according to my informal discussions with the congregants migrants or locals, the majority of them are in informal businesses and informal jobs, which demand Monday to Sunday attendance, unless one has a day(s) off. The flexibility in the church service times therefore suits them better.

As stated previously, the nature of the Pentecostal church services is flexible and informal, and very lively. Among the performances on a Sunday church service, are songs of worship and praise, followed by reading(s) from scripture, in preparation of the sermon, and thereafter the pastor and congregation engage in loud mass prayer(s) and testimonies, and end with announcements, and prayer requests. The Sunday service is conducted in English by John, the church's main pastor, dressed formally in a suit and tie; the dress code, which is also observed among other Pentecostal churches around the world (see Shoaps, 2008). At the

[52] Although the KiSwahili language is popularly spoken in East African community, mainly in Tanzania and Kenya, most of the Great Lakes Region specifically the migrants often use Kiswahili as they interact. It becomes kind of common language for Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians when they interact.

[53] The local language spoken in Rwanda, the only shared mother tongue by all Rwandans regardless of their ethnic group.

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time, the assistant pastor, originally from Zimbabwe, led the Sunday service p in the absence of Pastor John.

I mentioned earlier that Pastor John and his wife have seats in the front of the church, on reserved chairs. Before the service formally starts, the choir performs a number of worship and praise songs as a warm-up. As the service starts, the congregation stands, including the pastor and his wife, and the choir performs another song of worship and praise. There are vibrant movements among the congregation, the pastor and the choir, singing loudly and dancing, jumping and rotating inside the church. The hymns are projected on a big screen positioned in the top corner near the altar of the church, so everyone can read and sing along with the choir.

4.5.1 Embracing diversity among the multinational choir of RPC

Every service at the RPC church starts with the vibrant performance of a gospel song. The music includes guitars, piano and other musical instruments inside the church, leaving no free space on the floor as the congregants, the pastor, and choir members, rotate while dancing and chanting. Sandile, the church secretary uses his cell phone to take short videos of the dancing mood in the church. While some of these videos are for his personal records, he also shares some with the congregants via WhatsApp. Sandile could also share some of the Sunday services pictures and videos that take place on special occasions other than Sunday services, with the church administration. On special occasions such as workshops and conferences at the church, the sermons and prayer events are video recorded for future use in anticipation of further church achievements.

The vibrant singing and dancing in church is what Pype (2012), in her study on religion, media and gender in Kinshasa, DRC, refers to as a useful instrument in the evangelising mission of the Pentecostal churches. Pastor John encourages dancing for the Lord, making the service lively and inspiring. Like Pype observes in Kinshasa, religious leaders emphasise music and dance in the church not merely for the sake of body movements, but also as a way to define the congregation’s Christian or pagan identities (Pype, 2006). Drawing on this point of view, it might be the case that at the RPC the more one dances and sings, the more one is regarded as knowing and believing in serving God, the provider of peace, security, and all that a human being needs.

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The choir, a group of approximately fifteen men and women of different nationalities, dress in uniform and sometimes in their clothes of choice, and performs a variety of songs in diverse languages. Most of the songs sung are in IsiZulu and IsiXhosa, while to a lesser extent other hymns include English, Lingala, Kiswahili songs, and other African language gospel songs. Both locals and migrants play a role in learning new gospel songs in a 'foreign' language, which illustrates their willingness to embrace each other's cultures. The songs, as already mentioned, are projected on a screen near the altar where everyone is able to read it and sing along. Every congregant moves, clapping hands and singing loudly, while learning to dance the hymn in accordance to the culture it originates from. At the RPC congregants therefore perform their diversities through the songs they learn and sing in different languages from different nationalities.

The migrants find themselves singing and dancing to *isiZulu* songs, while South Africans do the same by practicing a few KiSwahili, or Lingala songs. The multiplicity in languages serve as assurance of accommodating everyone in the church. Differences that exist among people are embraced and regarded as an advantage to learn and appreciate other people's ways of life. Migrants and locals are thus cosmopolitan in the sense that they respect each norms and values, discover what they have in common as human beings, Africans, and people who have to work hard to live a better life. Through the practice of unfamiliar songs and learning new dance steps, each congregant regardless of nationality is engaged. In living together, such convivial culture and vernacular cosmopolitanism (see Werbner, 2008; Khan, 2008; Appiah, 2006; Gilroy, 2004), govern the everyday interactions between individuals and groups.

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The more people interact during and after the church service, the more they develop intimacy and affective closeness (Ellison and George, 1994). Hay observed a similar form of conviviality in the Bay church in Cape Town. Hay finds that 'conviviality at that church is facilitated by the spontaneous and expressive style of charismatic worship, which produces a sense of openness and intimacy' (Hay, 2014: 7), 'expressed in physical interactions and bodily practices' (Hay, 2014: 35), which 'encourages free movement, spontaneity and intimate physical interaction such as hugging' (Hay, 2014: 60). The church becomes a public space to celebrate diversity rather than regarding diversity as a problem. People end up appreciating the effort that their fellow humans make in practicing in a foreign language showing willingness to be the same, to be one. The use of one popular language (English)

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also becomes a symbol of unity and accommodative culture, as Pastor John has opted to conduct the entire church service in English.

Towards the end of the worship song(s), the pastor moves slowly up to the altar. He then starts the service with a short prayer, the congregation standing, eyes closed, heads bowled and arm(s) up. The pastor then asks the congregation to open their Bibles to the selected scriptures, and at the same time the scriptures and their references (author, chapter and verses) are projected so that everyone can read them. The congregation is asked to read together from the screen and loudly. In other words, the pastor does not read the scripture but gives the lead to the congregation.

4.5.2 The sermon and Sunday mass prayer

Pastor John's sermon is preached in accordance with the scriptures along the 'theme' of his choice for the day. His selects themes during the Sunday services or other events, addresses issues of poverty, unemployment, security, and drug abuse, among other social issues that affect local communities that the RPC serves, and South African society at large. These are also the most serious socio-economic challenges that affect people and their relations in South Africa especially in low-income neighbourhoods, where African immigrants have been blamed for 'stealing jobs' from locals (Harris, 2002); one of the triggers of xenophobia triggers. The pastor also knows that townships like Phoenix and Joe Slovo are prone to drug abuse due to poverty and unemployment. In his study on the drug trade and use in Cape Town for instance, Goga (2014) finds that the majority drug users are youth, 75% of whom have completed secondary schooling, 13% only have primary schooling and 9% have tertiary education. More than half of the drug users are unemployed. All the issues that affect residents' lives and relations are brought forward with a belief among South Africans and migrants that the solutions will be found through prayer. Robbins (2004) and Smith (2001) confirm that Pentecostal churches promise prosperities to their congregations; introducing prayer rituals that encourage them to make a complete break with their past (Meyer, 1998).

As the pastor preaches, some of the congregation depending on how much one is touched by the message, stand up to express his joy, and put tokens of appreciation (in monetary form) in the basket that is placed in front at the altar for offertory collection purposes. This means that the congregant is touched by not only the 'word' but by the approach in which the pastor is preaching and directing the congregation's needs and troubles in line with the

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‘Word’. Church members’ thinking at that particular moment is shifting and influenced by pastor’s way of preaching. Being in a Pentecostal church, people develop alternative ways of thinking, feeling and experiencing by linking everything to God (Tankink, 2007:212). As the sermon ends, the pastor asks the congregation to bring their offertory forward as he takes a seat. At this moment the choir sings a song or two and the congregation proceeds to the altar to give their offertories. By the end of the offertory, the pastor asks those with tithes to bring them to the front. They pass them into his hands then he prays, placing them in the basket. He then asks the entire congregation to stand, stretch their hands and pray for the offertory along with him. A longer mass prayer follows in which the pastor prays for break-throughs in the congregation.

The congregation rises and joins the pastor to pray and curse out the demons and evil spirits that torment their health, careers, businesses, finances, marriages, and other aspects of their lives. Although the entire sermon and worship hymns are practised in English, at this moment of mass prayer the congregation uses their language of choice; more specifically their mother tongues in which they can confess their situations more easily. This form of conviviality and cosmopolitanism is what other researchers such as Hay also found at the Bay Community Church in Cape Town, where South Africans and migrants worship together, negotiating their misconceptions about the other (Hay, 2014). At the RPC therefore, congregants become cosmopolitan, as cosmopolitanism emphasises empathy, tolerance and respect for other cultures and values where people continue to live together with differences (Werbner, 2008:2). Their conviviality is observed through their everyday abilities to accommodate each other, getting by and aspiring for a good life (Nyamnjoh, 2017:265), in a place where African migrants have been mistreated based on their nationality, ethnicity, and culture which differ from native South Africans.

During this prayer, the pastor may use a few words of Lingala or KiSwahili; and it is at this prayer moment that he starts speaking in tongues. To born-again and/or members of Pentecostal churches, speaking in tongues is associated with direct contact of the pastor with God; they believe their prayers are being answered at that moment, that miracles are taking place, and that the pastor is a powerful messenger of their prayer to the Lord; they believe the pastor is foreseeing things. Having a Congolese pastor preaching to South Africans is not something to worry about as migrants feel insecure whenever they encounter South Africans in townships let alone standing before them and addressing them. As such, the role of the

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church here is to provide room to respect others as humans, more importantly those who stand in a position to bring about a change in one's life, through prayer to God, the unseen. Instead of attacking migrants, South Africans' frustrations due to socio-economic hardships are directed to God, through prayer and gospel, particularly with the facilitation of a pastor who can speak in tongues. Congregants believe that speaking in tongues is an act of the anointed men of God such as pastors of the church, and not ordinary congregants, and that such rituals will quicken the solutions to their problems (Meyer, 1998).

When Pastor John starts speaking in tongues, the congregation believes that their prayer are being effective and more meaningful. Noluthando, a South African and member of the RPC emphasised the latter, in our conversation at the end of Sunday service.

> I cannot speak in tongues, because it takes a man or woman full of Holy Spirit. It is not everyone who can speak in tongues, but our Pastor does. His speaking in tongues invites Holy Spirit to fill in all of us; angels come down with a response to our prayers. I do feel it myself.... I mean, when the Pastor is praying in tongues (Noluthando, a South African church member)

Many of the church members I spoke too, like Noluthando above, had changed minds, beliefs, and behaviours thanks to the Pentecostal church. South African members of the RPC no longer perceive African migrants as a threat, instead, among them there was a messenger born to change people's lives, namely Pastor John. His prayer of speaking in tongues is noticed by many, and South Africans who are regular members of the RPC have learned how to live with others, in harmony, in their neighbourhood and even beyond since church members come from different neighbourhoods other than Joe Slovo and Phoenix. After the prayer, the choir sings a thanks-giving song with a dance and everyone is moves at this time of the service. Congregants use their smart phones to take short videos, as choir members leave their designated space to rotate around the church hallway together with the rest of the congregation. As people conclude the dance, they clap hands and hug one another, expressing the joy that flows from collective singing and dancing.

As he concludes the Sunday prayer, congregants are reminded to submit their prayer requests. The congregants and the pastor himself told me that these prayer requests form part of healing and deliverance. The pastor chooses a day on which he prays for all the prayer requests. This specific prayer time is a period that he uses most to mention and pray for the issues that people mostly face in a South African society. Most of the prayer focus at the RPC stretches from migrants' legal permits, to job opportunities, to security matters;

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however on this particular Sunday service which I mention in the opening vignette of this chapter, his prayer time focused on legal immigration permits which he referred to as 'papers' - and encouraged all the congregants to pray with and for each other.

Differences among and between migrants and South Africans have therefore been negotiated though prayer; people pray with and for each other regardless of their otherness. Pastor John of the RPC has had the experience of 'not having accurate immigration papers' in the past, and is aware of how it affects the socio-economic lives of fellow migrants in general on one hand, and their relations with South Africans on the other. He thus brought it up so that everyone could pray for resolution. He had shared his experience:

> I have been in South Africa for long by now, I have worked as a cleaner in a certain shop here in Phoenix, just at Gardens here, and by that time my work was affected every now and then due to lack of papers. I had no papers. (Pastor John).

The pastor knows how not having papers cannot only result in being illegal but also starving, because lack of proper documents affected his work. Employers need to see one's proper documentation in order to be granted a job. According to the immigration laws in South Africa, a refugee is allowed to work or study only with a valid asylum seeker permit or refugee status (see the South African Home Affairs website – www.dha.gov.za). Other refugee migrants had also shared their similar experiences saying 'One has to report to home affairs every now and then, to check on the progress of the application, and the awaiting time that one gets is too long, being asked to go and come back the other day. Even when you get the 'paper', it has to be renewed every three months, before they take a decision of giving you or rejecting you a refugee status' says a migrant church member.

In short, the pastor is very much aware of how much the absence of '*papers'* affects the livelihood of migrants and refugees, hence making '*papers'* a theme for prayer during the church service. As he prays, he encourages the congregation to pray along and he mostly focus on 'papers, job opportunities and everyday social security'. His approach in praying makes the congregation believe that positive changes in their awaited papers or jobs are taking place. They are made to believe that the struggle for getting their legal documents and accessing jobs has just come to an end. In his prayer, I noted the Pastor's words of encouragement to the congregation.

During that process of prayer, some congregants fall on the ground, and the ushers take them to the front where they lie on the floor while the prayer continues. Whether a congregant

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has fallen down or not, during this prayer, some believe to receive a kind of deliverance and healing from their spiritual problems and attacks, which they testify to in the subsequent Sunday services. When a person prayed for and his/her situation to change, the pastor gives a testimony in the Sunday service where he calls upon the relevant person to stand with him in front of the congregation, and the pastor tells the whole story on the congregant's behalf.

4.5.3 Testimonies: Publicised privacies

At the RPC, similar to most Pentecostal churches, the church members believe in sharing the goodness of God by bringing their private lives to the public, through testimonies. The born-again is taught to open up to his fellows when it comes to telling what God has done in his or her life. A testimony is a symbol to show that everything will go right as long as one obeys God (Tankink, 2007:213). Through testimonies, the church becomes a public space (Ibid) where people's personal problems and successes are shared, encouraging the rest of the church to follow the same routine of prayer.

Most of the problems shared in the testimonies are not unique but shared experiences by the majority in the church. Therefore the congregants feel connected; one family that should be finding solutions together from the Lord. The success that one mentions in a testimony becomes a powerful source of encouragement to the rest that their problems will also be solved through 'prayer'. For instance, at the RPC, when the pastor called upon a congregant (a South African) to share his testimony of how he secured a job, the congregation was very excited and appreciated the morale that derived from the success of their fellow. The same expression was true, when the migrant gave his testimony of what God has done form him, as he secured his immigration permit after a long period of waiting.

All these testimonial messages raise faith of and give hope to the rest of the congregation. The testimonies also lift up the faith and trust that the congregation has in their fellow congregants in general and the church pastor in particular. They believe that with faith, when they approach the pastor with a prayer request, and as they fast for their personal prayers, all in the name of Jesus Christ, they will receive. Thus testimonial sharing is another resource that both migrants and South Africans make use of to mediate their differences. It is a process that impacts those who witness it. Through testimonies, church members focus on what they all need to accomplish as humans, and African residents, rather than focusing their minds on xenophobic attitudes and discrimination.

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4.5.4 Welcoming Visitors: In the process of belonging to RPC

Before he welcomes the visitors, Pastor John makes announcements to the whole congregation. At the end of the church service, he gives few announcements to the congregation. This is the time he announces the programme of the week ahead especially reminding the congregants about schedules for fasting prayers, as they change over time. Fasting prayers are held at specific periods of the year, and during that period, are held at church on daily basis for a period of forty (40) days. The pastor encourages church members, more specifically workers, to make an effort to come for fasting prayers. ‘Our time for fasting prayers has arrived. Please come and pray with others. For those of you who go to work, join the early Morning Prayer group of 05h30 to 06h30, and others can join either during the day group or the evening group’ Pastor John announced at the end of the Sunday church service.

Pastor John himself is a good example to the congregation; that of sharing, supporting each other, forming good relations with one another. In one of his announcements at the end of the Sunday service, he emphasised how he would provide transport for church members who would like to join the fasting prayers at church, and may be facing transport challenges. I recall his announcement,

> If you want to come to the early morning fasting prayer and you have no transport, just stand by the main road (naming it), and I will pick you from there and come to church together (Announced Pastor John during church announcements).

In this announcement he indicated no difference between migrants and nationals. He considers a pick-up area that is convenient for everyone who needs to be picked up. This cosmopolitan act also shows the trust that the pastor has in his church members; because he is familiar with them and as church members sees them as brothers and sisters, not harmful to his security. Due to such a trust, he offers a lift, while one can conclude that normally due to high crime rate in South Africa, even if one is a pastor, people do not offer lifts to strangers. A fellow church member is thus perceived not as a stranger, but a member of family - the RPC family. As earlier researches show, by collectively participating in church activities and services, individuals build interpersonal trust and may at the end enhance their social relationship (Ellison and George, 1994; Welch et al, 2004).

After such announcements regarding the church schedules the pastor, as already mentioned, request visitors (if any) to stand so that the congregation may welcome them. The visitors if

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any, stand and the congregation clap hands as a sign of welcoming them, and the Pastor ask the visitor to stand at the back after the service so that someone could notice them and take them for further visitor reception. The pastor also asks if there is anyone with a new born baby on such a Sunday, so that he or she can come forward with the baby for a blessing. After that, the pastor then blesses the church and that is the end of the Sunday service.

Figure 12: I, waiting in the room designated for the process of welcoming of visitors after the Sunday church service. Photo taken by Sandile, the Church Secretary.

When I got that photo taken, I was one of the first-time visitors at RPC. I was being officially welcomed to the church by the church secretary with the help of two women, who served me with while the secretary briefed me about RPC and her programs. As I mentioned earlier, the process of becoming a full member of RPC is optional but to those interested, it involves filling in the membership forms. I filled in the forms with my personal inclormation, including my names, address, and contact details. As Sandile explained to me, the contact details are collected to ensure the regular correspondences with church members, where he sends messages to members informing or reminding them of the forthcoming events and programs. As he indicated, I later started getting phone messages every Friday, notifying me of the whole following week's programs at church. The implication with all this process is that I became not only a church member but also an active member, like were most of the

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congregants. I was able to participate in a number of programs, shaping better my sense of belonging to the RPC community and to South African community at large as most of the programs involved interacting more with South Africans than migrants.

By staying behind to fill in membership forms, I also got an opportuinity to engage with other observations behind the church Sunday service. I would say, my sense of belonging to the church and entire community started to unfold. As I walked out of the visitor reception room, in about 30 minutes after the church service ended, I encountered church members still in the church and on the church compound interacting; and others waved at me as I walked towards my car in the parking lot. I learned that at the end of the service, the congregants still want to speak with each other and with the pastor one by one. They make a kind of a short queue to mention their personal matters to the pastor, and they seek a blessing. There is direct contact between the congregant and the pastor on Sundays, while for any other need they meet the pastor on weekdays, and one has to make an appointment via the church secretary, which I did when I wanted to book an interview with the pastor. When the congregants vacate the church hall at the end of church service, they also spend some time in the parking slots on the church premises, chatting with one another. Congolese women also share what they have put aside for their friends.

On a particular Sunday after church service, a Congolese woman received cassava leaves[54] (a well-known and most liked vegetable among Congolese, Rwandans, and Burundians) from her friend. While many other church members were busy socialising she and her two daughters started sorting out the leaves from their small branches, packaging them in the plastic bags. There was a convivial attachment in the way the two then shared the cassava leaves, not only as Congolese but also as RPC members. On that day they used the church encounters as an opportunity to mingle, interact, and share a homestyle popular meal. Among the RPC members, South Africans and migrants, there is much social interaction after Sunday service, and the congregants spend more than thirty minutes on the premises greeting each other, chatting with one another, and going back and forth talking to all scattered around.

[54] Cassava tree is a plant that is not found in Southern African countries, but from my knowledge, it is grown from tropical countries, in Africa, in the central East and western parts of the continent. As such, the Cassava leaf is a well-known and liked vegetable by many people from the Great Lakes region, and yet a very scarce product among the migrants who live in South Africa. Most of them access it from traders who get it from the DRC, or neighboring Zambia as I was told, where most Congolese migrants manage to plant the cassava.

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Unlike those Rwandan, Burundian, and Congolese established churches around Cape Town that serve people of their own national identities, the Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix started as a migrant-dominated church which embraces diversity. The church has more South African congregants than migrants, which is apparent not only during the church services but also in the programmes instituted by the church, including the Youth Ministry. Below I present fieldwork evidence from youth gatherings at the RPC, and how their participation has brought about change in their knowledge and behaviour towards the world around them.

4.6 From drug abusers to Bible users: changed behaviours through youth programmes at the RPC

The RPC has in place a youth programme known as a youth ministry, aimed at empowering young people, both migrants and South Africans in the church and community at large. Facilitated by Frank, a migrant from Rwanda who grew up in Uganda, and Nomntu from South Africa, a youth meeting is held at church every Saturday from 12:00 to 14:00. I attended these meetings several times, and witnessed that the programme always starts with a prayer led by any of the meeting attendees. There is no schedule about who should pray on which date of the meeting; rather the chair would call upon one of the youth ministry members present to pray for the programme. Frank who chairs the youth meetings does not do much other than facilitate the agenda of the day; everyone is actively engaged in suggestions, activities, and interactions.

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Figure 13: The youth at their church meeting at the Revival Pentecostal Church, Phoenix, Cape Town
Photo by Odette Murara

Ranging between the ages of 17 and 30, the youth meeting at the RPC meet in numbers of at least 20 attendees, and sometimes a larger number. At every meeting they arrive as clean and smartly dressed as they would for a church service. The ministry has greatly impacted the livelihoods of the youth in Phoenix and other neighbourhoods through regular meetings and participation in different roles at church events. According to most of the youth I spoke to from the church many of the younger generation have changed from drug abusers to Bible users. This was also emphasised by the church pastor in our interview: ‘Through our church, we have stopped drugs in the area. Some of the drug abusers gave their life to Christ through this church, and some of them are even working here in the church.’

Their programme starts with a prayer, and then follows the agenda of the day. The focus is mostly on career guidance, as most of the youth have little or no education needed to enter the workforce. They are taught how to make good decisions for their career path. As young, energetic, and changed people, most of whom participate in various church programmes, the choir, and Bible study, they are groomed to be leaders and teachers in the church events. I show later in this chapter how one of the youth led an Easter event sharing his life experience to encourage his fellow youth. In this sense, the RPC church is not simply a place of worship, but also a ‘site of transnational and local networks which migrants draw on for social and spiritual capital, emphasizing a shared Christian identity and habitus’ (Hay, 2014: 61). Such flexibility beyond mere tolerance makes it possible for migrants not only ‘to find belonging at the church’ (Hay, 2014: 63), but also ‘to forge relationships that allow them to belong in many places at once’ (Hay, 2014: 63).

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Besides the formal agenda that covers mostly routine teachings, there are also fun activities through which youth have a chance to learn and relate with each other. The ‘break the ice’ time involves games dancing through which different backgrounds are presented in song and dance. There is also time for group challenges in which youth form groups and pose questions to each other, and everyone in the group must find answers to the questions. Another interesting social engagement is when school-going youth present a sort of short drama intended to show the importance of education, and that every youth should be open to change and to learn from their peers.

Although drama is meant to be initiated by boys and girls who are at school, any youth can be randomly selected to play a role in the drama. In the RPC, and Phoenix and Joe Slovo townships in particular, religion has provided a space for interactive inclusion through participating to various church activities. This is contrary to the ‘travelling religion’ that Landau mentions, for example in the city of Johannesburg religion provides a mechanism that allows people to be in a place, but not of it, to be neither host nor guest (Landau, 2014:301); what Landau and Freemantle (2010) call ‘tactical cosmopolitanism’. For migrants and South African members of the RPC, nothing is tactical; there is a vernacular cosmopolitanism formed out of ordinary embodied performances and interactions.

Given the significance of the church to people’s relationships, the RPC youth programme has promoted social change among youth, and changed their mind-sets as jobless, valueless, helpless criminals to feelings of belonging to the community that cares about them. Such an attitudinal change makes youth welcome rather than fear the future (Calian, 1998). Engaging with youth who had previously or were still engaged in drug abuse demands more of what Calian calls congregational vitality, which occurs when a church truly becomes a welcoming community to strangers and casual acquaintances (Calian, 1998). It is through the intergroup contact with other youth that the drug abusers change, since the notion of intergroup contact emphasises change in behaviour as a result of active involvement in common goal-oriented tasks (Pettigrew, 1980).

Migrants and South Africans have also managed their differences and conviviality through gathering in the households, in smaller groups as part of the larger community of the church.

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4.7 Knowing one another better: The 'home cells' in households

In my first few visits to the RPC, the church secretary informed me of the home cell groups amongst members of the RPC. The home cells are aimed at impacting people's relations and creating stronger bonds and friendships amongst members with the emphasis on getting to know and assisting one each other better in the localities rather than only depending on encounters at church. According to Young (2004: 65), cell groups are important because non-Christians can be brought into the life of the church through non-threatening settings in homes.

Members of the church therefore form home cell groups based on their areas of residence, and agree upon a day and time to meet. People can come alone or invite a friend. The different cell groups meet at different venues from Monday to Thursday and always in the evening hours from 18h30 for one to one and half hours. To ensure inclusiveness home cells meet in rotating cycles in members' households on a weekly basis.

There are six home cell groups attached to the RPC. The Phoenix and Joe Slovo home cell groups are led by a South African man brother Sphamandla Mzizi, and they gather on Mondays at the church hall. This is the only group that has a fixed venue for its meetings while the other five groups meet at different venues in the neighbourhoods. Parklands Home cell group is led by Martin Muwamba from the DRC, and meets every Tuesday, and the Parow Home cell is led by Francis Missimbu from the DRC, also meet on a Tuesday. The Table view home cell group led by Christian Majaliwa from the DRC meet on Wednesdays. Another group led by Rose meet in Goodwood also on Wednesdays, while the Sea Point and Green Point Home groups led by a couple from the DRC, Mr and Mrs Gift Matabishi, meet every Thursday. In each locality, the group is responsible for attending to issues, or events that may arise in their locality. 'Whenever there is a social event or a funeral in a respective locality, the members of that home cell group visits and participate in that event. It is their responsibility', said the church secretary.

I attended home cell meetings at different venues, and their meeting rituals are all the same. They first socialise as if they are having an ordinary social gathering at home. They talk a bit and tell jokes while they are waiting for everyone to be present. Once more than a half of the members are present, the group leader nominates a member to sing a warm-up song of worship. One of the members, not necessarily the leader, will then lead the programme. S/he

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reads from the scriptures and interprets the reading. Others give their own understanding of what was read. After that they sing, and pray. After the short prayer, they ask those with special requests to mention them so that they may be prayed for. Although people have personal issues and desires, in the home cell gatherings, those issues are presented to everyone. They regard ever person's problem as a shared problem, finding solutions together. In this sense the bond that individuals build up through these church-related gatherings outweighs the idea of national, ethnic and other differences.

On the agenda of the home cell meeting, much time is allocated to prayer; to pray according to the members' requests. After that, they ask if anyone has a testimony or a message to share. After sharing the testimony, they make announcements. The announcements vary from religious to social and economic considerations. They mention the names of those who have sent in apologies for not attending the meeting, they talk about church events they need to participate in, and they talk about members who are facing challenges so that they may visit and offer assistance. They announce anything they may have seen or heard outside their religious life but which can help their fellow members.

For instance, in one of the home cell meetings in Parow, the leader announced an available room for rent which he had heard about from a workmate, the week after another member put forward a prayer request for a room to rent. Unnecessary. Here conviviality is understood as being considerate, accommodative, and taking on other person's concerns collectively. During home cell meetings, members also contribute funds to assist in births, deaths, or any other event regardless of nationality. During the announcement time they will then announce the amount of money they have received in the contribution case, and mention the names of those who have already made their monthly contributions.

The group leader concludes by announcing the venue (the home address) for the next week meeting. At the time of the announcements the host with help one or two of the women in the group to serve snacks prepared for the meeting. It is a culture for the home cell group members that every time they meet, the host offers refreshments so that they may all eat and drink together to conclude the meeting; another form of vernacular cosmopolitanism.

Another form of social engagement is the RPC's outreach programme that through the church members' involvement have impacted many individuals around Phoenix, Joe Slovo, and other neighbouring communities. Using resources from the church and its members, the

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RPC feeds the homeless and provides clothing for the needy. As I elaborate below, not only are people in need fed and clothed but most of them, adults and youth, have confirmed total changes in their lives as a result of being introduced to other church ministries and becoming active members.

4.8 Impacting local communities: The RPC 'Feeding the homeless' charity project

The Revival Pentecostal church reaches out to surrounding communities through its outreach programmes. Each Saturday of the week, I joined other church members at the RPC in Phoenix and participated in the performance of charity work - a 'Feeding the Homeless' project. The process involved bringing in raw food-stuffs regardless of quantity since the church would have made some food available from the church's budget, and cooking and serving the food to the gathered homeless men, women, and children from Phoenix, Joe Slovo, and surrounding townships such as Du Noon, which consist of mainly previously disadvantaged and vulnerable people. In the cooking process, everyone is a volunteer. It is a collective performance by the church members of the RPC. The cooking starts at around 12h00 noon, and the feeding process takes place between 14h00 and 15h00.

Figure 14: People waiting for food and donations (left) and a few church members posing with the people in need (right) at the Revival Pentecostal Church compound, on a Saturday afternoon.
Photo by Sindiwe, the RPC church member

I learned more about this church charity project as I participated and interacted with the church members during the project. Apart from provision of food, the church also distributes clothes and blankets to homeless people from funds and donations raised by the members of the church. Each activity and every programme at the church starts with prayer. Before the food is dished up, one of the church members says a short prayer. As I learned from my conversations with church members during the 'Feeding the homeless' project meeting, most

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of the needy who the church has served for some time have been saved as in religious / spiritual terms, and their life circumstances have changed positively. According to Amanda, a church member and participant in the project for some years, the church makes an effort to engage with the needy they serve and encourages them to participate in church activities, more importantly attending prayer and fasting sessions.

The youth is also encouraged to attend the youth ministry, as I mentioned earlier, and women were encouraged to participate in the women forums that take place from the church. Amanda added that the lives of those who managed to participate in the church programmes have not been the same, and they have spread the good news to their families and friends who now also are part of the outreach programmes of the church. Most of the youth, girls and boys are taught how to live their ambitions and dreams, focusing on education rather than investing in crime and drug abuse. The RPC mission therefore extends from daily and routine activities of prayer and fasting, to the provision of social security among its members and the surrounding neighbourhoods at large. Some of the beneficiaries from the charity work become members of the church and are delivered from their evil acts such as committing crime and drug abuse to mention a few.

Because they feel welcome, belonging, and have a sense of inclusion, the youth take up many responsibilities in the church programmes either in administrative or leadership positions and coordinate many other activities including Bible study. The youth members of the RPC also take responsibility for cleaning and arranging the church hall, among other duties. The youth are also empowered through preaching on days other than Sundays. I remember a youth called Frank, a programme leader who led a sermon at the Easter conference I attended in March 2015.

4.9 On mediating differences: ‘You are a blessing’, theme for 2015 Easter Conference

Apart from the Sunday service rituals and daily practices and activities of the church through which congregants come together and engage, the RPC also holds occasional gatherings to celebrate sameness and negotiate differences. One of these events was the Easter Conference that I attended at the church in Phoenix on a Monday - March 30, 2015. The conference ran for 7 days during the entire Easter week; the week that Christians call ‘Holy Week’. The event that was scheduled for 18h30 to 20h30, started at 18h00 with a prayer that lasted for thirty minutes. Since members of the church and the visitors were very excited about the

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worship, praise and entire event in general, the first day of the conference ended at 21h15min - 45 minutes after the initial scheduled end time.

A video camera was set up to record the entire event, and there was a professional cameraman who took photographs at the church entrance as congregants entered. The venue which is used every Sunday for Sunday services had extra decorations on the front chairs, in the roof, and there was a piece of a red carpet on the floor passage. The choir was in uniform not ordinary dress code; they (men in the choir) wore suits and ties, which differed significantly from how they dress on Sundays. The day really looked like a special day. Apart from the main pastor of the church who preaches every Sunday, there were other two visiting pastors; one a South African and another one from Zimbabwe. The church secretary is also a South African, and Mr. Frank a church member who migrated from Uganda and leads the youth ministry) was also there; these four and the pastor were seated on the front executive chairs facing the altar. The rest of the congregation were seated randomly in the ordinary seating arrangements of every Sunday. There were as many congregants that day as there were on the second day of the 'Holy week'. Everyone was in a celebration mood, moving round in the church, dancing and singing loudly together with the church choir.

The programme started with introduction of the five men who led the entire conference. They were two South Africans, a Zimbabwean, a Ugandan, and a Congolese. The introduction was followed by prayer and an offertory, and thereafter by a praise and worship hymn, an IsiZulu song, projected on the screen in front of the congregation. The mood was vibrant and everyone in the church was singing and dancing. After the dancing, jumping and moving about and around the church hall, the pastor introduced the speaker of day one of the conference, Mr Frank.

Mr Frank took the lead at the altar holding his bible. He raised his hand and greeted everyone in the church ' Praise the Lord' he said, and the congregation shouted 'Amen'. He then added, today it is a special day, and the theme of the conference is 'You are a blessing'. Before he started to preach Mr Frank, a man in his late 20s, started with a short story of his life upon arrival at Cape Town, Phoenix. He said:

> I thank Papa and Mama, for they have been not only my spiritual mentors but also parents, who provided me the moral and physical support. My life has not been easy upon my arrival to Cape Town, and I thank God that I am now here standing before you, leading you through this wonderful event….Amen. When I arrived here from Johannesburg, I had no brother, no

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> sister nor a friend here, and I knew nobody around. I slept two days on the street without eating or drinking, and I decided to come to church and walked here at the RPC. I was welcomed and taken up to our papa's office, and Papa came in, and before we even talked, the first thing papa realized was that, not only this gentleman might be in need of something else but he first needs something to eat and drink. That time I was really hungry and tired looking, holding my small bag of clothes in my hands. They brought me fish and chips and I ate, and I came back to the norm. Then I started my conversation with Papa, I told him about myself, and Papa laid hands on me and we prayed. They gave me a space to stay here at the church, and allowing me to sleep in the church was really an amazing act. Then one time I came to Papa and said, Papa, I pray if it may be possible that the church can gather the money for my transport then I can go back to Uganda. But my Papa said to me, you are not going anywhere, in this land you will prosper; in this Cape Town you will stay, and you will find a job. We always prayed and fasted, pray and fast, and later I got a job, and here I am now, not hopeless anymore but blessed.

Frank used the words 'Papa and Mama' to refer to the RPC pastor John and his wife. All the church members refer to them as 'Papa and Mama'. Normally among the Congolese the word 'Papa' or 'Mama', specifically does not refer to one's biological parents, but rather symbolises the respect paid to every married man or woman. In this context however, the RPC members refer to pastor John and his wife as Papa and Mama because of the support they offer to church members and the fact that they are regarded as parents to everyone in the church. Pastor John, through diverse programmes he initiated in the church, give people physical, moral, social, financial, and spiritual support which they regard as the acts of a parent, of someone who cares and treats people equally regardless of their differences, as his or her own children. The members of the church see themselves as one family under the guidance of Papa and Mama – the pastor and his wife.

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The above excerpt also makes us appreciate the social life among Pentecostal church members; the church as community and a religious organisations open to help the needy at any time. Frank who knew nobody in Phoenix, searched for the church because he knew once he found the church his problems would be solved. He thought if he could find a fellow-Christian, as we learn from popular proverb that 'A problem shared, is a problem halved.'

As he concluded his testimony, Frank preached for approximately one and half hours using metaphors such as ladder to show the congregation how the blessing will take them step by step in their lives till they are on the upper rung, looking down on what they used to look up to. His sermon was so touching, people praised, cried out of joy, placed their appreciations in the basket (the basket that is put on the altar for the congregation for offertory and any other thanksgiving in monetary form). Below I quote some of the statements he made during his

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sermon, in his emphasis to the congregation that a blessing always comes before we receive the physical things that we base on to say we are blessed.

> A blessing is not physical but spiritual. It is invisible and not visible, no one can touch it. What we can see or touch physically, are the fruits of the 'blessing'. (Frank, RPC Easter conference)

The preacher made the congregation feel blessed already; they jumped up one by one and started, singing because they believed the seed of 'blessing' was sown in them already, and that the fruits of such blessings would appear as results at any time. Frank went on to elaborate, 'These fruits of the blessing include having a car, a house, promotion at work, a good wife or husband, land, legal documents, and other necessities that are wished for by human beings'. To that he added, 'God is about to turn your great mess into greatness'. And the congregation clapped loudly. His statements were full of promises of prosperity to the congregation while nevertheless reminding them to also bless others in their lives. He said to the congregation 'You are not blessed enough until you become a blessing'.

With that statement, he read a scripture from Genesis 28, which reveals how Jacob was not only blessed but how he also became a blessing to his own children. The congregation was encouraged to become a blessing to others; their children, their neighbours, their workmates, their fellow congregants, and their relatives, among others. Using various scriptures to reinforce the theme of the Easter conference, he gave varied examples and statements to call the congregation into putting effort into becoming a 'blessing', in order to be fully blessed. They were the RPC is the church through which they were blessed and not to forget the genesis of their blessings once their situations have changed for the better.

Rationally, the word neighbour is complex. A neighbour might be the person you sing next to in the choir, your workmate, or the person next door in your residential area. As such a neighbour might be the person with whom you do not share the same nationality, belief, culture, or faith, but the people of the RPC in Phoenix are encouraged to look beyond such diversities and differences if they really mean to be fully blessed and prosperous.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter covered various aspects and started by examining the meanings attached to Pentecostal churches in places other than Cape Town. The focus of the chapter was to learn how the church as a space impacts people's living together in the everyday. The chapter provided an exploration of three occurrences through which the RPC in a Cape Town

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informal settlement of Phoenix has mediated people's otherness. We learned in this chapter that not only do members of the RPC mix during Sunday services, but also interact better as they engage in other performances that take place away from the church and in households during weekdays. These activities together with amenities available from the church are discussed as resources that both migrants and locals employ as they naturally perform their journey of living together in diversity.

As argued in the chapter, the Pentecostal church in this case becomes a public space where performances of diversity are alive through singing and dancing, working together in varied activities of the church, visiting one another and preparing special events together, and enabling interaction where people accommodate each other as the same. People's hope for safe, secure and better lives is assured through practices of worshiping and socially mixing with others in the different church programmes which extend to the rest of the neighbouring communities, as some of the congregants live in other suburbs and townships of Cape Town.

The pastor in his sermons calls on the congregation, to rise up and together pray calling out any demonic powers that might be tormenting them. Other areas of focus in the prayer are finances, careers, and health. Congregants together with the pastor raise their voices to curse out the demons, and at this stage of the worship ritual the church members fight together as people who suffer from the same enemy, the devil, and who seek the same remedies for a happy and prosperous life. The RPC, like most of the Pentecostal churches, as this chapter shows, plays a crucial role in mediating differences and diversities of people in the everyday, through spiritual and social gatherings that offer opportunities to practically support each other.

Like the restaurants and barbershops, the multinational Pentecostal church brings people together through various activities, making it clear that performances of diversity cannot be understood without considering the spaces in which these interactions take place. Apart from meeting in built-up spaces, other open spaces like streets in the neighbourhood are significant to understanding how residents in their locality have managed to live together with their differences. In Chapter 5, I focus on the ethnographies of the local streets in the informal settlement of Joe Slovo and Phoenix.

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CHAPTER FIVE

'On the street' presentations of diversity and interaction in a South African township

5.1 Introduction

On the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships there is a kind of ambiance, a vivid diversity encounter, particularly on weekends. It is never quiet especially in summer time as the sun sets late. There is an intense movement of young and adult residents, moving up and down the streets, school children playing in the streets (after school, on weekends, or on holidays), minibuses hooting in search of passengers and much more on a daily basis. Most heard along the streets are the sounds of walkers talking loudly, calling each other's names, whistling to attract attention of those in distance, at times singing and playing music from their smart phones. In such a mix, people wave at each other, stop to shake hands or hug each other, walk or stand together, engage in talk, occupy a space to watch or listen to others in the streets, among other interactive embodied performances of living together in diversity (Field notes, Joe Slovo, Cape Town 2014).

In the previous chapters I talked about residents' interactions in built social and public spaces and how they forge relations and create friendships out of such encounters. In the neighbourhood, whether people meet at the restaurants, hair salons, barbershops, or church, I found and argue that their expressions and modes of interaction differ significantly from how they are presented and enacted upon in the streets. For South African residents as I discuss later in this chapter, the neighbourhood streets offer more space and opportunities to express joy, anger, and interactions with others, than they do for transnational migrants. To South Africans, street encounters seem to mean an opportunity for social intermingling, while for others like the transnational migrants the street simply means a way to pass along to other destinations. It seemed that in the shops and the church in the neighbourhood, the migrant residents were familiar with whom they encountered, while on the street they feared aggressors, and were more cautious about when, how and with whom they engaged.

In this chapter, I examine the 'on the street' interactions as residents make daily use of the streets in the multicultural South African townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix. I give an account of people's ordinary presentations as they encounter others in the streets, such as greeting, talking or playing together, to understand the meanings that residents attach to the process of living together with others in a diversified neighbourhood, especially when they make use of a public shared space. In order to provide a proper account of people's street-

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based behaviours and the actions through which they negotiate their differences and belonging, I first look at their representations around the streets in the sequence of time, age, gender, and physical appearance as a background to their relations with the streets as a space, and with fellow street users. As I attempt to understand people's behaviours and the practices that govern their relations and intentions to build networks with each other, I note cultural signifiers as important sources of how people identify one another on the streets. The extent of their movements and embodiments, the sounds and languages, dress code, and other appearances are pointed out in this chapter as factors, which people, including the researcher herself, learn about when they encounter others on the street. People identify each other based on sociocultural visible and sensory signifiers and use these symbols to practise their willingness and mode of interacting on the street.

As learned from this ethnographic work done on the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, I show in this chapter how residents move about the neighbourhood streets as an open public space not only for travel purposes, but also for (escape and) relaxation particularly among South Africans and a few migrants. South African townships as lower income social places have been researched and found unsafe; and the streets are considered the most dangerous spaces where encounters of diversity are experienced in the form of, muggings, exclusion, and criminal acts. Kynoch (2003) in his study among residents of Soweto Township in Johannesburg finds that the townships of apartheid era were much safer than they are in post-apartheid outh Africa.

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By engaging in diverse activities, what Simone (2004) calls 'people as infrastructure', residents have been able to live together in cosmopolitan conviviality despite the danger of crime and other insecurities. However, for Simone, in a study conducted in inner city of Johannesburg residents from different backgrounds have been able to intersect through engagement in complex combinations of objects, spaces, persons, and practices (Simone, 2004:407). It is in the same spirit that I explore the ways in which streets users in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships interact, and mediate their differences and conviviality in a space where they are exposed to any form of violence at any time.

Starting from preliminary observations and informal conversations with migrants and South Africans, I argue in this chapter that despite the idea that streets are open spaces where people can encounter criminal acts such as mugging taking place regardless of one's nationality, South African residents used the neighbourhood streets as places to unwind, relax

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and feel good through meeting, engaging with, or observing others; through this they intermingle with transnational migrants in interactions that contrast xenophobic attitudes and behaviours. It is on the streets that most informal businesses are positioned, and so are the residents'diversities. They engage in informal practices of greeting, chatting, and playing together, among other forms of embodied performances, through which they manage their differences and belonging.. The street encounter within Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships poses more security concerns for transnational migrants the same way it does for South Africans, fearing muggers particularly when walking around the streets at certain hours of the day, than they fear for xenophobic behaviours.

Besides the insecurities that lend residents' cautious feelings about street interactions, they manage to live with diversity in their locality and in everyday life. I therefore attempt to answer a few questions in this chapter: How do migrant and South African residents interact with the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix? This question covers the ethnography around people's movements on the streets, gender and age demographics, sounds and languages, and time of the day at which diversity is experienced along the streets. Moving around the street means encountering or meeting others and engaging with them in one way or the other. In what ways does the street as an open public space offer opportunities to form or disconnect from existing relations among diverse residents? How are people's differences mediated through street encounters in everyday life? The discussion of possible answers to these questions starts with an ethnographic detailed account on how people make use of these spaces, and the kind of practices through which they mediate their differences.

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5.2 Streets as public open spaces of encounter

A number of scholars have examined public open spaces, as well as their role and importance to users' wellbeing and social relations. The anthropologist De Boeck for instance has done extended work on urban spaces in Kinshasa, DRC, and how these spaces shape the concept of living together among inhabitants. In their current book, De Boeck and the visual artist Baloji find that urban sites in Kinshasa emerge as a suturing point in which the possibilities of collective action and dreams of a shared future continue to be explored (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016). These urban sites can therefore mean open spaces from which conviviality and cosmopolitanism from below are observed among the inhabitants of Kinshasa. Despite unpleasant past experiences of hardship among Kinois (inhabitants of Kinshasa), they still find ways to make the city liveable for everyone. They use urban spaces to present and

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engage in different activities, and these spaces are integral to how they negotiate their losses and gains for collective mutual benefit. Their study provides relevant insight into this chapter since streets are part of the urban spaces they explored. While the urban spaces of Kinshasa were explored to analyse how people stitch together their losses and suture the folds and holes in the city (De Boeck & Simone, 2015:87), that is the ways in which inhabitants negotiate their past and new alternatives of living together, in the South African context same sites like streets are explored to learn about how transnational migrants and South Africans manage to mediate their encounters of diversity.

Streets, like parks or shops, are considered to be public open spaces in which people encounter each other, engage in informal activities, and forge relations through interaction. Streets are public spaces where more regular encounters occur (Wessendorf, 2011). They are open places that are accessible to everybody and where difference is encountered and negotiated (Young, 2011). Kazmierczak (2012) for instance examines the contribution of local parks to neighbourhood social ties and notes that public spaces in a neighbourhood offer opportunities for people to share space with others in a natural way. Although the township landscape may be different, and we find no parks in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, it is still in the same spirit that streets provide opportunities for people to mingle ordinarily as they walk, meet with, and talk to others in shared public spaces.

I also discussed shops in previous chapters as public spaces of interaction. The streets as opposed to shops however, are every day places in the sense that a resident may opt not to enter a shop in the neighbourhood, but still uses the street to access other destinations of choice. This therefore implies that a street in a neighbourhood is a more commonly used space by the majority compared to shops. A street is a centre of mobility from one space to another. The other understanding about a street is its ability to bring many people together who encounter more people be they friends or strangers; more than one could encounter in a local small shipping container shop in Joe Slovo. As I show later in the discussion, such opportunities to mingle with or observe many others along the street, help street users to refresh, learn new ways of life, and relate better to others.

In their study about everyday public spaces and their implications for wellbeing and social relations, Cattell *et al.* (2007) also regard parks and streets as everyday places to participate in informal leisure activities, observe others, seek solitude, or simply walk through (Ibid: 550). For Gehl (1987), people may forge sustained contacts from simply seeing and hearing

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others. The question addressed in this chapter is whether a street encounter in a South African township helps both migrant and locals residents to negotiate their differences whether they participate in the same activities and / or learn new ways of life from observing or mingling with their fellow neighbours.

Public open spaces are also important insofar as they provide a sense of community (Francis *et al*. 2012). The authors find that public spaces play a role in making neighbours feel a sense of belonging; a feeling that they matter to one another and that their needs will be met through the commitment to be together. This sense of community, particularly in South African communities I argue, is observed in everyday life when people engage with each other on the streets in the hope to strengthen solidarity and a sense of unity. I for instance watched South Africans several times in the streets of Cape Town where people engaged in marching while chanting, a good example of South Africans' sense of community on the street. Streets are visible and popular spaces to engage in an action that will be observed or witnessed by many, and so were the marches.

In his study in the inner City of Johannesburg, the urbanist AbdouMalia Simone (2004) applies the notion of 'people as infrastructure' to refer to how residents (immigrants and locals) form relations through various activities in the city. He examines the influx of people from the inner city places of encounter which no doubt include streets on which migrants and locals engage in different activities including informal businesses. As such he argues that 'no matter how Nigerians and South Africans express their mutual hatred, that does not stop them from doing business with each other, sharing residences, or engaging in other interpersonal relations' (Simone, 2004: 419). From Simone's point of view, regardless of their differences, residents in the inner city are able to live together and interact through shared spaces. Similarly Francis and his colleagues note that shared spaces like streets, facilitate encounters between neighbours (Francis et al., 2012).

The conclusive understanding of a public open space like a street therefore, is that it is a place of social interaction for it brings people together; a place where friendships and support networks are made and maintained - which is a key to a general sense of cosmopolitanism and conviviality. What we get from Simone's argument above for instance is that in spaces where different groups of people or individuals encounter one another, there is likely a conflicting engagement and yet it is through such mingling that they ordinarily engage in interactions that help to shape and mediate their conflicting otherness.

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On one hand, despite the idea that public spaces are perceived to positively impact the wellbeing of people (Cathell *et al*. 2007) and their sense of community (Francis *et al*. 2012), the experience of public places is not always positive on the other hand. For instance in South Africa, as Coplan (2009: 72) asserts, one can easily be socially excluded whenever the opportunity to do so arises. Consequently, in most South African neighbourhoods and townships, not every public space user is content or able to form social ties by mingling in the space, as we read in this chapter. I rather suggest another understanding, that in South Africa forms of identity, otherness and conviviality are an issue associated with neighbourhood spaces that people create, such as informal businesses in Joe Slovo townships, which allow regular contact, while socio-economically benefiting the low-income residents.

With reference to streets as public open spaces in people's neighbourhoods, and posing the question about how residents in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships negotiate their differences in this mix, I provide an ethnographic account below of how residents move around and make use of the streets in everyday life.

5.3 Diversity representations in the neighbourhood streets

The physical settings of Joe Slovo and Phoenix were discussed in the introductory chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, as far as social open spaces are concerned, let me give a short description of the streets and corner streets in the neighbourhood. There is one main street that traverses from Joe Slovo to Phoenix, and shorter streets, roads, and walkways in between the houses, shacks, and business areas. Unlike the big streets in the urban suburbs of the city, the roads and streets in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships are small.

As a researcher, living in the field with migrants and locals, I had the chance to appreciate people's physical appearances, hear sounds, observe comportment, and to learn about the identities of migrant and South African street users. I also learned that as people who live together in a small locality, Joe Slovo residents tend to know their neighbours' faces. This all means that whenever they meet on street corners, they can easily identify each other. African migrants in South Africa therefore are identified as 'other' or different based on physical biological factors and cultural differences (Harris, 2002: 5). These factors include the inability or accent involved in speaking the native languages of the country, as well as hairstyles, clothing, and physical appearance, which mark them as 'different' (Ibid), and lend them visibility on the streets.

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There is an issue associated with phenotypes: South Africans may be socially exclusive based on identifying the other according to skin complexion by assuming that those with darker skins are from the rest of Africa and not from South Africa (Coplan, 2009:72). Drawing on my personal experience; I was once walking in Wynberg (one of the suburbs of Cape Town) with a female friend from Burundi who happens to be dark in complexion. As we were walking, an old white South African woman approached us and asked us of where we come from. 'South Africa', we responded. She did not believe that and immediately told my friend that she was too dark to be a South African. So this alone informs one of how many South Africans irrespective of their own past and present categorisations, exclude others on the basis of phenotypical appearance, no matter what the situation is. This I suggest can be regarded as a form of racism, another trigger for xenophobic attitudes.

Other than skin colour, the body structure was another form of physical appearance that people relied on in our locality, to tell who is from where. People in the city told me on several occasions, be it on the train, at the bus terminals, in salons, and at any other corners where I encountered migrants from the Great Lakes Region that I might be from Rwanda. Some who did not necessarily ask attempted to greet me in Kinyarwanda to show that they guessed my origins. In Joe Slovo, when I was introduced to some migrant residents in a restaurant, one of them said, 'I have already seen that she is from our home'. On another day, when we met again on the streets I asked him why he thought I was from Rwanda, and he said, '*Uko ugaragara, isura yawe* (Your physical appearance, your facial look). My body was assessed to tell that I was from Rwanda, perhaps my height, and long nose (like many other migrants such as Congolese used to tell me, most Rwandans they knew in the city were tall with long noses), among other features.

While a South African would tell that I am a migrant based on the distinct skin colour and accent, among migrants I was identified Rwandan based on facial and body structure. Transnational migrants also rely on body structure to identify South Africans on the streets. Most migrants said: 'Black South African women have got a certain figure (with curved hips as some would whisper), most of them are shorter but with big bodies'. Migrant residents also mentioned other representations from which they could identify South Africans on the streets such as speaking loudly either over the phone or with fellows they meet on the streets.

The dress style was another visible identity signifier among those walking, standing, talking, or sitting around the streets. The hottest weather in December and January for instance,

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offered an opportunity to a number of South African women and girls to dress in mini-shorts, and mini-skirts; what most migrants from the Great Lakes Region such as Rwandans regard as '*kwambara ubusa*' – naked or unclothed. Notwithstanding, Great Lakes Region migrant women and girls also wear casual dresses and pants but what differs in this context is the length of such a dress. Most migrant women and girls would wear below the knee to ankle-long dresses, skirts, or shorts. Thus among residents, in addition to some familiarity with one another, South Africans and migrants including myself, identify each other on the street based on dress code representations, which inform how they approached each other and are able to open up and interact. For instance, for migrant women from Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC, the *kitenge*[55] wrap-over is their common dress especially when around the house performing house duties, and/or walking around the neighbourhood in the streets.

Although I don't intend to elaborate on dress code in this chapter, it is interesting to learn that it is through these specific codes that migrant and South African residents can easily identify each other in public spaces such as streets and further their interactions based on this. In most open public spaces in the locality for example, I realised that migrant women who were dressed in a *kitenge* multicolour African print were easily recognised from a distance, and in a closer encounters were subsequently greeted in *Kiswahili* by fellow migrants, while those dressed differently were addressed in *IsiXhosa* or English. However and as I mentioned earlier, migrants could be identified and recognized even if they were dressed in other forms of clothes other than *kitenge,* based on looks and other physical features.

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While it was easy for me to identify migrant or South African women and girls in the streets based on their dress style, clothing especially for men was not enough of a factor to tell who was a South African or migrant man. Men or boys, migrants or locals, dress in ordinary pants and shirts in relative sizes considered acceptable among migrants and South Africans. South African and migrant men therefore look mostly the same as far as drew is concerned, and I had to pay attention to other embodiments including how both men and women walk about the space, how fast or relaxed their walking is, and how women carry things around themselves including their babies and parcels (women from the Great Lakes Region like to carry heavy loads on their heads and babies on their back).

[55] The *kitenge* is a wrap over (mostly of African print/fabric), an everyday dress of a woman from Congo, Rwanda or Burundi more specifically at home or in the neighbourhood, indicating a kind of respect by being fully dressed. The *kitenge* is also worn on other occasions in full smart attire.

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Residents' relations with the streets are therefore illustrated through the ways in which they make use these streets. I refer here not only to how repeatedly they are in these spaces but also how they interact with the spaces and the people in them.

5.4 Which code of the street? Responses to street diversity among resident walkers

It was interesting to witness, during my stay in the field, how residents move around the local streets, and the positions they took which revealed the meanings they attached to the streets as public open spaces. In my observations from the neighbourhood streets, South African residents walk slowly, in a relaxed mode, chatting with their friends across the road, and chatting over the phones, which shows how comfortable and belonging they feel, unlike migrant residents who walk fast in the streets as mere spaces to pass through.

Migrant women in the streets of Joe Slovo for instance walked faster, avoided stopping on the streets to chat, and where two or more met or walked together, they lowered their voices when talking. They were afraid of muggers, and also afraid that their accents may be heard on the streets. This was the case particularly on weekdays when movements of people in the streets are minimal as opposed to weekends. Over weekends the streets are busy, and as I mention in the opening vignette, with intense movement in all directions; migrant walkers feel more secure than when there are only a few others moving on the streets. As Agnes, a Phoenix resident from Burundi put it,

> I do not like moving around when there are a few people in the streets. The weekends here are better because we have so many people walking around, nobody cares about you, you know, people are all busy in their businesses. But on quiet days, it is dangerous because even thieves like timing people when they know there are no many people watching them, and they know especially for us women, we cannot run that fast so they will steal everything from us.

Although streets are open places accessible to everybody, where difference is encountered and negotiated (Young, 2011), and are spaces that can shape the concept of living together among inhabitants (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016), migrants in South Africa are aware of the fact that one can easily be socially excluded when the opportunity to do so arises (Coplan, 2009: 72). Migrants are therefore uncertain about their accents, fearing to disclose their otherness in public along the streets, as they are aware that the streets are public spaces where more regular encounters occur (Wessendorf, 2011). Migrants from the Great Lakes Region whom I interacted with realise that a street, particularly in a township, is a space where one can experience an attitude. Marie Rose from the DRC said one day in our conversation '*Sibyiza*

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kwirara ngo wumve ko wakwigenza uko ushaka kuko mu muhanda nahandi hantu wahurira nibibazo kuko ntawagusanga iwawe ngo akwiyenzeho (It is not good to take a street for granted as the street is not a safe place which you can simply walk in relaxed; it is a different space where you can encounter problems which you may not face if you are just by your house).

Whereas migrants walk fast whenever they move in the streets, South Africans move at a slower pace, in what I regard as relaxed walking, taking time to stop and chat with their fellows encountered along the streets. They take a minute to stop and browse songs on their smart phones, stand to receive or make calls, raise their voices to call their friends in the distance, and chat with friends on the street, while others sit at street corners to watch those walking by or playing street games. There is a kind of walking to refresh for South African walkers, which was not observed in migrant walkers as they do not stand on the streets to socialise unless there is a special need to do so. My analysis of the residents' walking comportment is that South African residents feel more securely belonging to their community while migrants demonstrate a sense of insecurity and precarity, adopting a certain street code as a way of responding to and managing diversity encounters.

Generally, walking in South African township streets is perceived as unsafe among migrants, fearing victimisation. This is because, as I discussed in the conceptualisation of the street in a previous section of this chapter, the street is an open space in which differences are apparent and visible. The literature on xenophobia in South Africa also suggests that wherever people are perceived as 'different', xenophobia expressed in various forms such as discrimination, assaults, attitude and verbal abuse (Harris, 2002; Coplan, 2009). Migrants can experience any of these forms of xenophobia while on the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix.

This feeling of fearing victimisation is what Ross and Jang (2000) call neighbourhood disorder, where crime, vandalism, noise, and drugs are common. Even though Ross and Jang's conclusive remarks were applied to an American context among Illinois residents, in exploring informal social ties among neighbours, their concept of neighbourhood disorder is applicable to South African townships where criminal gangs are encountered on a regular basis (Kynoch, 2003) perhaps due to high unemployment among those inhabiting the townships and informal settlements. Consequently, in Joe Slovo Township, migrants view locals on the streets with suspicion, and this fear is based on ongoing stories of crimes in South African townships on one hand, and a state of hatred and social exclusion (See Harris,

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2202; Coplan, 2009; Misago et al., 2009) on the other hand, particularly towards African migrants. For Ross and Jang (2000) people who live in neighbourhoods where they see a lot of disorder, have significantly higher levels of fear and mistrust than those who live in neighbourhoods characterised by social control and order.

The diversity encounters force people to present themselves in certain ways while walking around the streets. Anderson (1999) talks about street culture that has evolved into what may be called the code of the street, which amounts to a set of informal rules governing interpersonal public behavior, including violence. Although the concept ‘code of the street’ was applied in an American context, in South Africa where the crime is also high, particularly in townships and lower middle-income neighbourhoods, residents have developed codes to cope with street encounters. Unlike Anderson’s ‘code of the street’ which emphasises that one must maintain respect from others through a violent and tough identity on the street so that others do not chump on him (1999:73), migrants in Joe Slovo and Phoenix streets opt to keep calm and muted to maintain respect and avoid victimisation. For instance across physical distances terrain when residents notice and recognize each other, South Africans loudly call and communicate in a raised voice, but migrants only wave at each other.

‘An important part of the code of the street is not to allow others chump you, but to let them know that you are about serious business and not to be trifled with’ suggests Anderson (1999:130). Toughness and aggressiveness, as prescribed by the street culture, should communicate to others that one is dangerous and best left alone (Stewart *et al*, 2006: 429). This street code is however challenged by the migrants’ code of cosmopolitanism and their willingness to engage with the other in a calm, silent, non-aggressive manner. If they were to adopt the code of the street described by Anderson, they would not dress in their *kitenge,* a dress code that reveals their otherness; rather they would wear camouflage in one way or the other.

Not only do migrants’ dress codes reveal their identity, but the women, carry babies on their back in a piece of *kitenge,* and carry heavy loads on their heads which is not observed among locals. Migrants therefore opt for a vernacular code so that they may be regarded as ordinary residents walking about their shared public spaces. For Stewart *et al* (2006) the code of the street that Anderson describes rather increases the risk of victimisation than reduces it, especially in marginalised and violent neighbourhoods.

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5.5 Streets as spaces of escape and relaxation among South Africans

Although people had been encountering one another in the local common spaces of interactions such as shops and the church, the street experience has a different significance. Residents not only use the street as a walking space en route to and from other destinations of choice, they move around the streets as a mere fact of walking to refresh. This was evident in the way South Africans walked in a slow relaxed motion, stopping to greet and or chat, or even occupied a street corner to listen to or watch others. Some people would enjoy occupying a street corner to smoke, and I could see two men sharing one cigarette, or lighting each other's cigarettes. Their feeling of relaxation and acceptance was illustrated in the way they seat and smoke together; therefore sharing the smoke was another form of a convivial living together. Sharing is one of the practices of togetherness among residents in the neighbourhood streets.

In my observations, the South Africans in the neighbourhood walked the streets more than the migrants. This might be due to the fact that South Africans are the majority in the township or, like Moudon *et al* (2006) state that people who know their neighbourhood walk more, South Africam residents in a South African township know their locality better, knwing better when and how to escape from muggers and walk more freely than migrants. They walk and stop because they were not necessarily heading to any destination but just enjoying moving around, meeting and engaging with others. I agree with Moudon and his colleagues that the ability to walk in a neighbourhood indicated more than simply mobility and a means of travel, insofar that it also allows a kind of sociability between neighbours, which together likely affected their wellbeing and belonging to the community (Moudon et al, 2006). Nevertheless, the freedom to walk freely around Joe Slovo and Phoenix streets goes against the established literature about lives in South African township streets where victimisation is experienced by any street user regardless of nationality.

So locals in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, perhaps like in most South African townships, often walk in the neighbourhood streets with no destination in mind but simply with the intention and hope of meeting and interacting with others. The understanding that a street serves as a space of escape and relaxation has two important components: meeting and engaging with others. Through the process of meeting others, walkers engage by greeting, walking or standing together, talking, laughing,, watching or hearing others, among other performances.

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This is what makes streets such important common spaces; enabling people to meet and engage in informal practices with one another - social interaction (Sugiyama et al, 2008).

5.5.1 Sounds and languages along the neighbourhood streets: Expressions of belonging

We can also make sense of the significance of street spaces to living together in diversity as it enables us to read people's unspoken sense of belonging through the ways in which they express themselves along and in the streets. Among South Africans, chats, voices, music from smart phones, whistling and calling names were common along Joe Slovo and Phoenix streets. Walkers raised their voices as they chatted and at times called their friends in the distance by name in a raised tone. These practices shaped and confirmed the kind of acceptance and belonging that locals feel as they walk about their neighbourhood. It was an indication that they know each other, of how they relate to each other, and how confident they are with the rest of the community around them.

Among men whistling was also often heard in the streets of Joe Slovo. This was perhaps the only way to attract the attention of others in the distance. According to Babalwa, a South African resident of Joe Slovo, whistling on the street is practised to communicate something. 'At a time, I can do it when I see someone I know and want to talk to him but he is in distance. Hence by whistling, that person could look back to me and realize me, and walk back to meet me'. Whistling also means alerting others that there is danger that needed immediate intervention. For instance one day when two men were arguing, pulling one another by their shirts, and close to physical assault, another resident across the Joe Slovo street started whistling repeatedly to let others around know that there was a fight going on, so that they could either come and watch or help. Residents also whistle as a way to stop a taxi. As the minibuses hoot in search of passengers in the streets, passengers also sound out loud when they miss the taxi (minibus) and want to arouse people closer to the minibus to wave, shout, or whistle to the driver so that he can stop. Phrases like '*Nceda umise iteksi* (Please stop the taxi)', *Misa iteksi* (Stop the taxi), *Uncedo* (Help)' is heard several times in the streets from the passengers.

There was a sense of togetherness in the streets. People acted on behalf of each other; migrants would signal a taxi to stop for a local passenger and vice versa. If a streetwalker whistle or waves to the driver it is an indication that there is a passenger who needs a ride, and the driver will reverse the car. Not the driver, the streetwalker, or the passenger is concerned about who is a migrant or local amongst the three. What is important at that

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moment is to reach a common goal, namely of stopping the taxi and getting the passenger on board. In everyday street encounters migrants and locals therefore construct practices through which they mediate their differences, while demonstrating their sense of belonging to the same community. They help each other when needed.

South Africans along the street also entertain themselves as they walked around. They, especially the youth, play music on their smart phones, and while some use earphones to play the music to themselves, the majority leave it open for the rest on the street users to hear, on high volume. At times they sing along and dance on the streets. For local South Africans the street is not only an open space to walk through to other spaces, but also a space for reflection and relaxation and for meeting and observing others. A number of South Africans on the streets would respond to the music and dance along to the tune. People smile based on what they see or hear others on the street doing or saying.

During school holidays for instance, when it seems that a number of boys and girls spend more of their time on the streets playing, one can hear a lot of noise coming from youth chanting in support of those winning the game. In some instances observers are also offered an opportunity to be part of the game depending on the type of game. Not only boys and girls play, sing, or - clap for winners, but it is also an opportunity for them to mix with their fellows in a more free relaxed way than they can when they are at school. On the streets people escape loneliness through encountering others, and most importantly they have a chance to learn about one another's way of life through diverse informal practices.

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5.6 Greeting rituals in the streets

When residents walk around the streets in the neighbourhood and encounter others and people they know, the first performance is a greeting. The greeting rituals take various forms along the street. People perform a handshake, hug, or kiss each on the cheeks, and make eye contact, while others wave at each other. The extent and form of the greeting depends on gender, distance, and how well people know each other. Among South African men a handshake with eye contact is a common greeting. They also perform a traditional greeting that is a slight variation on the formal handshake. Men may also gently nudge one of their shoulders against the other's as they shake hands. Amongst South African women who knew each other well hugs are commonly exchanged in greeting rather than shaking hands.

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In a distance encounter, migrant residents would greet by waving, but South Africans particularly girls and women were very loud when they greeted someone they knewfrom a distance calling out each other's names loudly. . Phrases like '*Molo'* (Hello), '*Unjani'* (How are you), *Ndiphilile, Wena unjani* (I am fine, and you how are you), *Uyaphi* (Where are you going), *Sizobonana msinya* (See you soon), *hamba kakuhle* (Go well/ safe travels) are often used in greeting interactions on the street. South African walkers then further the conversation for several minutes with gestures across the streets. For some it is worth walking towards each other to meet and hug rather than simply waving.

Whether done from a distance or in a close encounter, greeting is an important act of recognition among residents, both South Africans and transnational migrants. Unless meeting at a specific point where they can stop and stretch out a hand to greet, a street greeting between a migrant and a South African takes place in words, and the migrant would make sure to greet the local in IsiXhosa.simple greeting '*Molo*' (Hello to one person), avoiding longer statements or conversations. Among migrants themselves, men and women perform a handshake but hug those they are familiar with and have not seen for a while. Rwandans normally like to hug and give a handshake thereafter. Congolese and Burundians mostly shake hands.

In general street encounters among residents are beneficial to their wellbeing and mediation of differences as it implies repeated social interactions and networking. The ethnography of greeting behaviour among South Africans, similar to among migrants from the Great Lakes Region is crucial in order to understand the experiences of living together with diversity in a Cape Town township. There are two general meanings attached to greeting among neighbours in a street encounter. First, it is a means of recognition among those who encounter each other. Such recognition on one hand means acknowledging the neighbourhood street as a shared public space and therefore worth valuing and respecting anyone encountered in it

On the other hand, recognition implies encountering people with whom one is familiar, or friends. With regards to the latter, a verbal greeting such as 'Hi or Hello' is often accompanied by physical actions such as a handshake, a hug, and kissing on the cheek which impacts on how people further their interactions. As a presentation of self in everyday life, the ritual of greeting is significant to people's relations; through this performance social categories are enacted (Goffman, 1956). For instance, Olivier (2010) observes how greeting

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rituals among Rastafari groups in South Africa have served as ways of managing their differences and have shaped their sense of belonging.

Secondly greeting rituals open a sequence of communicative interactions between people. Unfamiliar people can be greeted in words in passing simply because people have bumped into each other in a shared street, and those familiar to each other hug or shake hands and have a good conversation. Meaningful phrases help people to learn about each other's health, and, 'How are you doing, How have you been, How is home', opens up important issues concerning people's social, economic, and spiritual lives in general; they exchange contacts and plan home visits among other social networking practices. The nature of the relationships that people have are therefore illustrated through the way they greet each other and the communicative interactions that accompany the greeting act.

Migrant women shake hands gently and stop for few seconds to ask about each other's health. When Burundian and Rwandan migrants meet they greet each other in Kinyarwanda/ Kirundi. But when they encounter a Congolese they use KiSwahili. Following a hug or a handshake, below are common phrases that formed street encounter greetings among migrants who know each other very well - in *Kinyarwanda* or *KiSwahili*:

Muraho neza/ Bite/ Amakuru? *Habari?*	How are you doing?
Amakuru y'iminsi? *Habari za siku?*	How have you been?
Murugo baraho? *Nyumbani hawajambo*?	How is everyone at home doing?

Even though migrants do not spend long periods chatting on the streets, those who know each other well engage in prolonged forms of greeting, wanting to know about each other's health, especially when they ask each other the above questions. These questions express the feelings that people hold by meeting each other. Depending on the responses to the above questions, people engage in further interactions and networks, including planning visits at home, and or calling each other later to continue their conversations and plans. By furthering the interactions over the street greeting, people are therefore able to (re)build regular and stronger relationships. Neighbours in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships seem to know the faces they often encounter in the neighbourhood. Repeated visual contacts, short-duration outdoor conversations and greetings allowed their relationships to grow (Kuo et al. 1998).

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While migrants might plan to call or meet each other later in their household for further interaction, when South Africans greet on the street they engage in longer conversation, jokes, and laughter in the moment. Even though I was a resident (for fieldwork purposes) I could not draw close enough to hear the words applied by Xhosa men and women when they greeted, but predominantly relied on their embodiments. Men and women alike seemed to share a lot of jokes after greeting their friends on the street, which was illustrated by the way they laughed and other body expressions that accompanied the laugh, including loud volume.

Apart from walking and talking with each other, social interactions also are visible in street games; between those who participate in the games and also those who watch and support through shouting and hand clapping. This engagement with others as participants or observers illustrates the conviviality and cosmopolitanism that people embrace irrespective of national, ethnic, and other differences. Through traditional games residents build networks and connections, and those who interact during those games remember and greet each other whenever they meet again on the streets in the absence of games. Being part of the game shows how much South Africans and migrants can accommodate each other when there are mutual goals to achieve.

5.7 Street corner games and social interaction: Mediating differences through games

Informal games are one of the popular activities that take place on the street corners of Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships. South African men, boys and girls play diverse local games on the street. Men play different street games including a board game known as *igisoro* in Kinyarwanda, cards known as *amakarita* in Kinyarwanda or *amakarata* in Kirundi or *kadi* in Kiswahili; and boys or girls play soccer and South African traditional games for girls known in IsiXhosa as *Ugqaphu* and *upuca.* In any of the games above there are spectators. People stand by to witness, assist, or simply observe the game and the players. In the process of watching others playing, people argue, comment, support, and at a later stage may join in the game, taking turns.

These practices means that in the midst of living together in diverse multicultural townships of South Africa, residents ordinarily negotiate their differences through means of street corner games. Both the players and those watching the game ordinarily engage in a kind of social interaction; what most Rwandans and Burundians call '*ubusabane*' – solidarity or engaging and interacting with one another. Residents, regardless of their nationalities, gender, and age, construct communality (Francis et al., 2012) through which they celebrate

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and mediate their otherness. They enact and re-enact informal activities and games within their capacity to live together.

5.7.1 *Amakarita* and *Igisoro* games among residents

Amakarita (playing cards) and *Igisoro* (awele or board game) are the most common games among men from the Great Lakes Region, including Rwandans, Burundians, and some citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Amakarita* in Kinyarwanda, *amakarata* in Kirundi, *kadi* in KiSwahili, and *amakhasi* in Xhosa are commonly played on the streets by men and also in the households by both men and women. These are the games, to my knowledge, that this group of migrants had learned to play in their countries of origin, while others continue to learn the game away from home when the opportunity presents itself. The games are also common among South Africans although they may take different forms, particularly in the way they play cards. This means that in order to play together, both migrants and South Africans have to engage, to learn new ways of playing cards from each other. Engaging with each other's ways of doing things, is what Werbner (2008:2) calls cosmopolitanism ' emphasising empathy and respect for other people's cultures and values'.

Playing cards game

Figure 15: Pack of *amakarita* (playing cards). Photo by Odette

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One Sunday afternoon, I was heading to the restaurant in Joe Slovo, and as I arrived at the corner of the Burundian tailor's container shop, the shop preceding the restaurant, I met two men busy playing cards. They were both migrants, chatting in Kirundi. As I greeted them I proceeded to the restaurant where I sat for about an hour talking with the restaurant owner and clients. By the time I exited the restaurant, the card game was no longer taking place

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between two individuals, but at least four men were playing and three other men were standing by watching the game and commenting. People were actively playing and talking, and among the watchers were two South African men who commented in Xhosa. Later one of the South African men took a seat to play, replacing a migrant man who stood to join another conversation going on between the tailor and other migrants. I kept watching the game too as I basked in the sunshine with others outside the restaurant. Apart from that day, I have observed people playing this game on various occasions, and at different gatherings, and I was told that both South Africans and migrants learn from watching others, in case they have to learn a new way of playing cards.

In the process of the game for instance, Rwandans and Burundians referred to what is known as *amaturufu* and *ibigarasha*. *Amaturufu* refers to the 36 cards that are allowed to be played, while the *ibigarasha* are regarded as useless in the game therefore not counted among the cards that must be played. The game is played in teams of two, three, four, or six, respectively. I observed that the teams sat in such positions that each player sat between two opponents. The more people joined the game, the shorter period the game lasted. In a game of six for instance, each player received six playing cards at the beginning of the game. In a game of two, the players did what Rwandans call *kuroba* (literally '*kuroba*' means 'fishing'), whereby two players receive three or four cards in each hand, and they put the rest on the surface facing down so that they can 'fish' a card each time they play until all the cards are played.

Not all 36 cards being played have numerical value. Cards with a letter symbol have a numerical value in the game, while cards with a numeral have no numerical value except for the cards with the numeral 7. While a symbol A on the card has a value of 11, and the numeral 7 has a value of 10, K -4, J -3, and Q -2 respectively, the cards with numerals of 6, 5, 4, and 3 are also played but have zero (0) values. The total value of the played cards is 120. To win a game the team or individual, depending on the number of players, must have collected cards whose total value is greater than 60 (the average). Depending on the nature of the game therefore, in the process of playing the players interact engage in talks among themselves and also with those around them who are watching or supporting. At times some of the players would ask the spectators if they are also interested in playing, and so people are open to taking turns to play since to the number of people who can play at any time, is limited. This ability to assemble, play, watch, support, and take turns in playing is what I call

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conviviality from the streets; a place that is usually regarded as unsafe in South African terrains, more especially in townships.

Igisoro is another interesting game that men play on the street while socialising amicably. It is a trickier game than *amakarita* and takes longer to be completed since it requires more thinking than playing cards.

The board game

Figure 16: On the play of *Igisoro*/ Awele (board game). Photo by Odette

This board game is also a traditional game in most parts of Africa including the Great Lakes Region of Africa, and is known as *igisoro* or *ikibuguzo* among Rwandans, *kibugubugu* among Burundians, and *mancala* in the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is a game played by two people. The *Igisoro* consists of a rectangular wooden board / plate, hollowed out in four rows of eight cavities, and is played in many parts of Africa. Men take turns in playing it regardless of their nationalities. Sixty-four (64) pawns are used to play and each player receives 32 pieces at the beginning of the game. The goal of the game, as I was told, is to take all of the opponent's pawns to prevent replay. It is a challenging game, involving a good mastery of mental arithmetic and excellent anticipation to predict and calculate several moves in advance. The game can last for minutes, sometimes hours.

What is most interesting in both the card and board games is how migrants who are not homogenous but diverse among themselves together with South Africans have constructed a common ground through which they mingle, mix, interact, and befriend each other. Not every transnational migrant knew how to play *igisoro*, nor did every South African know how to play it. Nevertheless, through living together and gathering in the evenings and over weekends on the street corners of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, particularly outside the migrants'

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shops[56] , they have learnt through observing and engaging with each other. In this vein, open sspaces have allowed resident to present and engage in their different activities (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016) including traditional games. Not only have people learnt to play the games, they have also socialised, befriended each other, and created more networks through playing together.

After the game, Kabano from Rwanda said to me, '*Kwicara duhugiye kukibuguzo bidufasha gusabana no kuruhuka iyo tuganira tunareba uko abantu bakina, kandi bikanadufasha kumenyana* – Sitting together in this game becomes a great opportunity for us to socialise, know one another, and I feel so mentally relaxed as I talk with and or watch others playing'. The street games have a strong affect to the residents' relations in their neighbourhood as they enable them to engage in a natural setting. Playing together in the open becomes an opportunity for everyone to join in by playing or supporting. They make a lot of comments, judgments, laugh, and make a noise when one (team) wins or loses the game, but in an amicable way. South Africans are among the observers during these indigenous street games, and regard this game as similar to chess that they are familiar with. The feeling of oneness through games is experienced not only among adults, but young boys and girls in the area have also formed relations and friendships based on street games encounters.

5.7. 2 Street soccer among boys

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Figure 17: Street soccer game in a South African township. Photo by Odette

[56] As a reminder, migrants' shops in Joe Slovo are made in shipping containers and are placed on the streets in such a way that whoever is standing the outside the shop is considered to be simply on the street, and anyone can join in the conversation or games at any time. There are no built balconies.

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Street soccer is one of the most watched games on the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix. Boys informally play the game out of wanting to meet others, to have fun, and to actively engage in interaction. Boys gather in small numbers to enjoy soccer and soon the number would double or triple. I witnessed how the boys coordinated each other to meet on the street and play. They knocked at a neighbour's house to call a fellow to come and play. One boy from the migrant family I knew as neighbours in Phoenix, who was approximately 7 years old then, could always be called by name by his friends after school hours or over the weekend, to come and play. Boys are on the street playing soccer with friends most of the time, and adult street users stop by and watch the informal game.

Like with the *amakarita* and *igisoro* games, soccer on the street keep both the players and observers busy. The spectators sometimes jump as if they are part of the game. They also like to instruct the players, Although I could not understand much Xhosa it was evident when I was watching, from their body movements and gestures, that they were giving the players orders or instructions. . Among the players were two migrant boys I knew from my Phoenix neighbours, and the rest were South Africans. The soccer game brought about conviviality in a place where conflict is possible; it brought the kids into contact to interact. Having a migrant kid playing with a South African kid also impacts on how the future South African community will understand or make sense of living with others. By playing together, not only do they end up knowing each other, calling each other by name like did the boy I mentioned above, but the process of playing that involved having a ball at hand from whoever owned it, forming groups to play, and greeting or saying a bye to each other, played a role in how their differences are mediated through an ordinary game on the street.

Drawing on the above, local streets in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are therefore spaces where encounters of differences are negotiated in a natural setting through ordinary games. The importance of open spaces, which streets are part of, was observed elsewhere in South Africa. For instance, Simone in Inner City, Johannesburg, finds that 'no matter how Nigerians and South Africans express their mutual hatred, that does not stop them from doing business with each other, sharing residences, or engaging in other interpersonal relations' (Simone, 2004: 419). What we get from Simone's argument is that in spaces where different groups of people or individuals encounter one another, there is likely a conflicting engagement and yet it is through such mingling that they ordinarily engage in interactions that help to shape and mediate their conflicting otherness.

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The diea that spaces like streets facilitate encounters between neighbours (Francis et al., 2012) continued to emerge through street games. As I passed through streets in the neighbourhood, I realised that a street is more than simply a street in a South African township; it is a space of fun that enables a sense of belonging to a community. Some girls could also play soccer, but otherwise engaged in specific girls' games such as rope skipping (*ugqaphu*) and *Upuca*.

5.7.3 Girls games from the street: *Ugqaphu* and *Upuca*

As I interacted with boys and girls on the streets, I learned a few traditional games in their mother language - IsiXhosa. I was told that one of the games was *ugqaphu* (skipping or jumping the rope) and another *upuca*, which was a popular informal game performed among girls in the streets between their households.

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Figure 18*: Ugqaphu* game

Ugqaphu can be played by more than two people. Two players hold the skipping or jumping rope on each end, and a third player skips or jumps in a variety of ways while chanting and singing. Girls also befriend each other through this game. They form groups and decide times to meet to perform the game. They become familiar and friends with one another as neighbours from diverse families and diverse nationality who play together in their neighbourhood. *Ugqaphu,* is known as '*gusimba umugozi'* among Rwandans.

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Nyamnjoh argues that some spaces influence the emergence of conviviality more than others (Nyamnjoh, 2017). The streets in the case of townships like Joe Slovo and Phoenix, influence more connections and interactions among boys and girls than other spaces because they engage in games, spending time talking to each other as they take turns in the traditional games. One person can play the *ugqaphu* game by herself, but kids in the township told me that it is more fun played by many players and in turns. Kids therefore look for their neighbours to come and join them. The street as a space thus does not only offer an opportunity to mingle, but the kids involved take time to look for one another, which is another example of cosmopolitanism from below; considering each other for mutual gain. Mixing with others from different backgrounds not only affects current relations, but also builds future networks. Through the street spaces, people engage in games that help them to accommodate one another, mediating their otherness.

Upuca game

Another interesting game is called *upuca*, a coordination game played mostly by young girls of between approximately 7 and 14 years of age.

Figure 19: Kids in a South African township performing an indigenous game known as *upucha* in IsiXhosa.

Ten stones are placed in a circle or a square, and players of the game take turns. A player must have one bigger stone in her hand. She throws it in the air and at the same time pulls out the stones from the circle. Then she throws the bigger stone in the air again and pushes the stones back in the circle but leaves one stone outside the circle. The aim is not to drop the

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bigger stone and to leave a stone behind each time she plays till all the stones are collected from the circle. Once the player misses catching the bigger stone, the turn goes to the next player. The winner is the one who collects all the stones from the circle.

This same game is popular among migrant girls too, like the skipping game, and we call it *ikibuguzo* in Kinyarwanda. *Upuca* according to the explanation I got from a Xhosa in Joe Slovo resident literally means ‘ you are up’. What is common in this game like with other traditional games performed on the neighbourhood streets is that residents have a chance to mingle and get to know each other better. Migrants and locals mix to play and / or support those playing; mostly neighbours whom they see or hear from everyday. Public spaces which streets are part of are therefore are important spaces where people from different backgrounds can participate in the same activities, observe each other, and learn about different ways of life (Cattell et al. 2007). More importantly among the adults, those who meet and play together on the street corners greet each other when they meet again in the future, while for the kids games bring about regular interaction every day after school and every day during holidays. In short, local games on the local streets are important in bridging differences and bringing about harmony and convivial living together among migrants and South Africans in a place where conflicts are also possible. People befriend each other through networking in street games.

5.8. Conclusion

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In this chapter I examined social interactions on the streets as public open spaces in the townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix where transnational migrants and South Africans live together and make use of the spaces on a daily basis. I showed in this chapter that Joe Slovo and Phoenix streets are accessed by all residents, not only as spaces to pass through to other destinations, but also with intention to meet other, mingle and interact. I found that among other practices, greeting rituals, and street corner games are effective in impacting people’s relations since those who great each other or play together are able to interact, form relationships, and interact in the future whenever they meet elsewhere or along the streets even in the absence of games. The streets offer good opportunities as open spaces to mingle and learn from each other while taking part in games or watching others play. In a sense, streets facilitate encounters between neighbours (Francis *et al*. 2012), and are spaces in which people are relieved from their stresses by observing others, participating in informal leisure activities, and making themselves feel good (Cattell *et al*. 2007).

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The ethnographic accounts presented in this chapter ranged from the extent to which residents make use of the local streets in their neighbourhood, which determines the nature of their encounters, to their willingness to interact with each other, to the presentations through which differences are mediated. I showed in this chapter that people walk the streets most of the time with no destination in mind but with the intention to meet and interact with others. Remarkably, South Africans walk around the streets more than migrants; perhaps because there are more locals than migrants in the area, but locals also know their neighbourhood better, and consequently walked around more freely (Moudon et al, 2006).

There is a feeling of belonging among South African street users illustrated in the way they walk, chat, raise voices, and interact with others on the streets. While most South Africans therefore seem to enjoy the walk, talk, laughter, eating, and other opportunities in the streets for their own sake, migrant residents particularly adults regard the local streets as important space only to pass through to their destinations. They do not walk around the township streets for leisure, conversation, or other forms of relaxation and networking, and if it happens it is by chance. I therefore argued in the chapter that a street provides opportunities to meet, and interact with others for a sense of community and belonging, regardless of fearing muggers (which also South Africans feared depending on the walk time as late walks were regarded most dangerous) and xenophobic attitude. Other than being cautious in the streets while others spoke loudly and freely in those streets, both migrants and South Africans engaged ordinarily in the process of playing or watching street games togethers.

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In this chapter regarding the ethnography of social interactions in diversity, I pointed out that people on the streets including myself as a fieldworker relied predominantly on physiologies such as facial look, the way people walked (faster or in a relaxed mode), dress code (sometimes), and how they carried thins with them, to distinguish between migrants and South Africans. While in other parts of the city one can tell who migrant are by simply relying on hair styles for instance, as I mentioned in chapter three, in the Joe Slovo and Phoenix neighbourhoods, it is different since South Africans have the same hair styles as migrants because they go to the migrant-established salons and barbershops in the locality. Joe Slovo and Phoenix neighbourhood is therefore different because of its visible multiplicity where internal and transnational migrants mix on a daily basis.

We learned in this chapter that the time of the day, day of the week, weather, age, and gender determine the diversity of the street encounter and performances that go with them. There are

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more people around the street in evenings than during the day, and many more activities take place around the streets over weekends than on weekdays - such Xhosa women performing braais on the Joe Slovo streets on Saturdays, boys and girls performing street games on weekends, and people generally moving around and interacting with others on different corners of the streets.

Like discussed in previous chapters, streets as public open spaces provide a positive impact on people’s experiences of living together where their diversities are mediated through engaging in informal performances. This is practised in every encounter on the street, from greeting, chatting, walking or standing together, to playing or watching others play. People manage to forge relations, learn new ways of life, and construct common grounds within their diversities as they naturally perform these activities. Among migrants for instance, though *igisoro* is a popular traditional and street game among people in Great Lakes Region, not everyone knew how to play it, and learning how to play it, or finding locals observing and supporting players along the street meant a kind of cosmopolitanism from below, where the learner or observer would admire and feel the importance of practising the other person’ s cultural game. They have other differences but manage to live with them, creating other common grounds for them all.

In the following chapter, I look at how migrants from the Great Lakes Region keep connected with their home countries, and how this connectivity with home becomes a social and economic resource through which they rebuild or disconnect from existing social relations among themselves while in Cape Town. Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese network over products they can access while in Cape Town through keeping connected with home, as these things can be brought all the way from the Great Lakes Region to Cape Town.

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CHAPTER SIX

Connectivity with home, sense of belonging, and relations among Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town

6.1 Introduction

In March 2014 I attended a wedding, which was the fourth wedding I had attended since my arrival in Cape Town. I had, in January 2014, received a formal invitation to this wedding of a Rwandan couple living in Cape Town. The groom was a long-established refugee migrant from Rwanda, while the bride had only been in the city for a few months before the wedding, from Rwanda. The message on the invitation card was in two languages, Kinyarwanda and English, capturing pertinent information like the couple and their parents' names, the wedding date, venue, time, and contact details. The contact phone numbers of the groom and the bride's brother formed part of the message on the card, and it seemed they had opted to not include the bride's contact details (like it is done in most cases) because she had only been in the city a few months, all the way from Rwanda, and only a few invitees would know her. The purpose for the contact details might differ, but it gave clarity about who would manage the (monetary) contribution to the wedding preparations, as it read on the invitation in Kinyarwanda '*Inkunga yanyu izadushimisha* (Your contribution will be appreciated)'.

On the wedding day, a number of nationalities and cultures were represented, with Rwandans, Burundians, and a few South Africans present. Before the gathering at the church reception hall, the couple, families, guests, relatives and friends headed to Arderne Gardens[57] in Claremont for photos as was indicated on the invitations. The couple's relatives and selected friends, those who live in Cape Town, and those who attended from Rwanda were dressed in *umushanana* (Rwandan women's traditional wear for special occasions) in accordance to the theme colour. There were ten women dressed in two different but closely similar colour *umushanana*, five of whom represented the groom's family, and the other five representing the bride's family. There were also a representative groom and bridal team dressed in black suits with white shirts and blue ties and long blue dresses respectively. The rest of the people were dressed in outfits of choice, including African print *kitenge*-made dresses in diverse designs as semi-formal or evening dresses.

[57] The Arderne gardens is a park situated on the main road in Claremont, a southern suburb of Cape Town, about twenty minutes drive from the city centre. The four and half hectare garden contains one of the richest collections of exotic trees and shrubs in South Africa, and is open to visitors throughout the day. It is a cherished venue for wedding photographs.

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Fellow invitees and I commented on the types of *umushanana* the women were wearing, and I was told that family members who attended the wedding brought the clothes all the way from home Rwanda. There were also other traditional items such as *ibiseke* (woven baskets) that women used to perform a Kinyarwanda traditional dance in the reception hall. These, I was told, were also brought by the bride's family from Rwanda although a few were borrowed from migrants in Cape Town who also accessed them through connections with people from back home. Migrants' connectivity with home while away from home therefore manifested through the dresses and decorative objects, which in turn represented their belonging and relations while in Cape Town, as people borrowed and lend these items to each other. Rwandan culture was present in Cape Town in the absence of the physical state. Among Rwandans, being able to access cultural objects that are used in weddings back home, did not only mean presenting their cultural attachments, but also provided opportunities to interact over these resources through exchanging them from one family to another during special events like weddings.

In the reception hall everything was decorated in a blue and white colour theme, and we randomly took our seats. After all the guests were seated, the bridal team and the groom and his bride entered the reception dancing to the party song by a famous Nigerian musician Davido. The guests stood up and gave applause to the couple and their dancing team. The ceremony proceeded; the Kinyarwanda wedding songs as well as other party songs in Kiswahili and English were tuned. We were also entertained by a Rwandan traditional dance group based in Cape Town who performed a number of Kinyarwanda wedding songs in between the ceremony processes. Later the crowd of guests stood to dance along with the wedded couple, and when the Rwandan popular wedding songs (*imbyino nyarwanda*) were played, South African women amazingly joined the Rwandans and Burundians on the stage, imitating their way of dance (*umudiho nyawanda*). The body movements especially the stretching of hands and rhythm of the footstep, was significant in revealing the multinationality of the people engaged.

The variety of food was presented and served, and included products that I later learned were bought from migrant stores in Cape Town, but originally accessed from outside South Africa, such as *isombe* (cassava leaves) cooked with *amamesa* (palm oil). Later there was a moment for presenting gifts to the couple. Family members and guests presented wrapped gifts or

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enveloped gifts, and others simply hugged the couple and pickedup a microphone to passon a message on to the couple. Some of the South Africans that attended the wedding, I was told, were workmates of the groom and / or the bridal family based in Cape Town. As was commonly observed in the Rwandan weddings I had attended before then, the colourful, neatly crafted baskets (*ibiseke*) were also used in the performance of the traditional dance, and same baskets were later used to perform what Rwandans call *gutwikurura* (uncovering), as a concluding ritual of the wedding ceremony, whereby the family members from the bridal side present gifts to the couple.

That wedding event to me seemed to be a great setting where different connections with home among the migrants were revealed. Apart from the presence of wedding attendees from Rwanda, the dress code, and presentation of decorative crafted baskets, other material connectivity with home countries was illustrated in the music they played, and the dishes they made. The variety of food was presented and served, and included products that I later learned were bought from migrant stores in Cape Town, but originally accessed from outside South Africa, such as *isombe* (cassava leaves) cooked with *amamesa* (palm oil). What is interesting in this chapter is how migrants search, access, and share scarce materials from home, and how such connectivity becomes a point of contact and shapes a sense of belonging, enabling them to live together in harmony despite national and ethnic differences that may continue to haunt them away from home.

In this chapter therefore, I explore the ways in which migrants from the Great Lakes Region of Africa connect with their home countries, and how such connectivity impacts their interactions and relations among themselves and South Africans in Cape Town. It is a connectivity through which migrants find ways to access and maintain their home-produced products, particularly those that are not produced in South Africa, and individuals in Cape Town have formed networks based on that. Through this connectivity therefore migrants have managed to introduce home-based products to Cape Town, and as I will show in chapter 7, South Africans have been able to learn from migrants' cultural forms, engaging with the materiality of the migrants' homestyles. Having lived in Cape Town since 2009, I have been able to connect with migrants from the Great Lakes Region the majority of which are refugees. As I mentioned in the opening vignette, I attended migrant wedding ceremonies in the city, accompanied friends and colleagues to various social spaces and events, and lived in their community specifically for the purpose of collecting this data on their experiences of

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living together in diversity in a rather unwelcoming South African society. Being from Rwanda, I also shared common histories of war and conflicts with friends, colleagues and interlocutors from Rwanda, Burundi, and Congo, consequently being able to fit in their social world in Cape Town.

While it is important to understand how Burundian, Rwandan, and Congolese migrants from the Great Lakes Region mediate their differences in Cape Town through shared resources from their home region, it is worth asking in what ways the connectivity with home is performed while in South Africa? How do migrants in Cape Town access goods, products, and services from home as most of them have been refugees for years and have not returned home? How do Great Lakes Region migrants who are diverse among themselves interact over scarce commodities from home? What is their understanding of sharing these products, and or connecting with the region whose history of war and conflict continue to haunt them in exile, particularly among for instance refugee migrants from Rwanda? What impact does the connectivity with home have on these migrants' relations in exile, given their history and the continuity of political unrest in the region?

Discussions around these questions help to understand new approaches to and forms of interactions and conviviality among Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town, and how these perhaps help in creating a convivial community in their South African society. The answers to the questions above also help us to make sense of people's relations and how they are maintained which might be contrary to the over-cited arguments that in South Africa, locals and migrants do not mix, do not interact. We learn about how these items of materiality contribute to a sense of belonging in the diaspora and refugee community, and how they outweigh people's differences and strengthen connections while in Cape Town. Despite the socio-political shared histories of war and conflicts that were discussed in Chapter 1, in this chapter I look at the socially constructed forms of belonging (to the same region), sameness through food, music, and dress style, and how these homestyles provide grounds for social networks. I argue in this chapter that the everyday social interactions and relations among Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town and with South Africans are socially influenced by their (in)ability to source, access, and network over scarce commodities from home into the South African community; and how South Africans appropriate the migrants' homestyles as they live together (the issue I discuss in Chapter 7).

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To open up the discussion on the questions above, I start with a discussion on how Great Lakes Region migrants, especially refugees who are not in a position to visit or return home at any time of choice, rely on the media to access information, news, and music from home. I later show how the connectivity with home countries becomes central to their negotiation of differences that exists among this group of migrants, while at the same time particularly among Rwandan refugees, the same connectivity with home pose a kind of uncertainty between Rwandans who have been in exile for many years, and those who can visit Rwanda, get visitors from Rwanda, and/or connect with Rwandan authorities in South Africa such as diaspora group.

Since this group of migrants have lived together back home and in exile, they understand each other's language, share music from home for their daily entertainment and rely on news and publications about the Great Lakes Region to make sense of the happenings, development, and concerns in their homeland. As I show in the section below, media is one of the tools through which the migrants in Cape Town like elsewhere in migrant communities, make use of to stay informed about current affairs back home, and famous radios like British Broadcasting (BBC) has attracted many migrants listeners for it has a specific African GLR news programme in Kinyarwanda or Kirundi, the languages which some Congolese understand today, thanks to having been living together for years.

6.2 Media and connectivity with the Great Lakes Region

Today, with advanced technology and communication, migrants easily connect and keep in touch with their families, friends, and relatives back home. Through social media they also access news, information, and products from as far as the Great Lakes Region in the centre of Africa, to Cape Town in the southern part of the continent. They connect and follow social, economic, and political matters taking place in their home countries. Their popular media include broadcasting channels, newspapers, magazines, the Internet, and/or sharing audios and videos through WhatsApp, and Facebook, among others. They follow the most popular international media that broadcasts news of and about the Great Lakes Region (*akarere k'ibiyaga bigari*), a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) that operates from London, and has a news programme (online newspaper and radio) featured in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, known as BBC *Gahuzamiryango* (see https://www.bbc.com/gahuza/amakuru), literally BBC for family reunion.

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The BBC *gahuzamiryango* is the most common news channel among migrants from Rwanda and Burundi. Apart from the connections they share through news, they also share music from the region, which they disseminate among themselves through similar channels, namely the Internet, smart phones, flash discs, and recorded CDs. The media therefore helps to entertain migrants with music and news about their home region.

Each and every day, using smart mobile phones and Internet, migrants access news and networks and share information via texts, calls, and/or word of mouth. One day in a conversation with Jean from Rwanda, I was told the following: '*Turi hanze y'igihugu ariko amakuru mashya yibiba byabereye iwacu tuyamenya nabari mu gihugu batarayamenya. Hari nabatayamenya completement kuko hari radio zimwe babujijwe kandi batinya kumva, cyane cyane ko izo baba bumvise zitababwiza ukuri* - We are in exile but we get to know the top news of what is happening in our home country before even those living in the country know the news. Some of them even end up not knowing what is going on around them because they have been banned from listening to certain radios (opposition radios) that would tell them the truth, relying only on other sources that do not tell them the truth'.

It was interesting to learn that Jean, a fellow Rwandan migrant who had been a refugee for 20 years by the time we conversed, believed that those outside their country had more freedom to listen to certain news media than those in the country. Rwandan migrants listen to a number of radio stations that operate in exile including Radio *itahuka* (literally going back or returning home), Radio *ubumwe* (Unity), Radio *inyenyeri* (Star), and the opposition newspapers (*ibinyamakuru bitavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi)* such as *Umunyarwanda* (The Rwandan) , *Izuba rirashe* (The sunrise), *Umuseke* (Early morning), and *Rugali* (literally meaning 'wide' but in the same sense referring to the Rwanda perceived as a country big enough to accommodate every Rwandan). These opposition newspapers operate online, and migrants can easily access them on the internet to read or listen to news about their home countries, and *akarere k'ibiyaga bigari* (the Great Lakes Region) in general.

Despite the idea that Rwandans in the country are banned from listening to government opposition media, they can also not freely talk about the hardships that are faced in the country with a relative or a friend in exile. I learned this from different Rwandans who said, "*Sinshobora kwandika icyaricyo cyose nandikira umuvandimwe cyangwa inshuti mu Rwanda, kuko nziko iyo message yamukoraho. Niyo tuvuganye, duca amarenga. Nk'urugero, nshaka kumenya uko ubukungu mu muryango bwifashe, mbaza niba ….cyangwa ukumva uwo*

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turi kuvugana arambwiye ngo yewe Vuguziga araho ngo mutahe - I can not simply text anything to a relative or a friend in Rwanda, because I know I may end up putting them in danger. Even when we talk over the phone, we use gestures, pretending other meanings. For instance, I may be chatting with someone in Rwanda and you hear him or her saying '*Vuguziga* – Talkless or Knowyourwords' is greeting you".

The above episode of communication among Rwandans is common; those in conversation would opt to use names and conceal words to avoid being heard and judged, and to avoid the consequences thereafter. In Kinyarwanda, *Vuguziga* is a female surname. It literally means 'Talk less or shorten your words, or Talk with caution'. Pretending that Vuguziga was greeting the caller, meant to warn the caller to avoid using sensitive words. I was later curious to know whether Congolese and Burundians had similar complications when it came to connecting with relatives and/or media from back home. Their story is different.

It is common among Congolese and Burundians when they call their relatives back home that they discuss recent developments, social, political, or economic achievements and or concerns. They share what they know on the ground, at home and in exile. Mvugira from Burundi has no limititations on what he can talk about to his family in Burundi. He says "*Jewe ndafona muhira chaque semaine, nkavugana na mama, na papa, n'abavukanyi, mbere n'inshuti zo kugatumba turavugana, bakampa amakuru yose nkeneye, naje nkababaza nkurikije ibyo numvise kuri BBC, tukayaga* – I call home every week, I speak to my mom, my dad, siblings, and even friends from my village. I ask them anything about home, they freely tell me all that I need to know, and I do ask them according to what I would have heard from BBC, and so we can chat about it".

Like Mvugira from Burundi, Congolese in Cape Town asserted to also have no concerns when it comes to communicating with their friends and relatives in the Congo. I note below what resulted from my interactions with Jean Luc in his hair salon in Bellville.

Hairdresser: *Dada* (sister), you should get the hairfood called 'Morgan' is very good and I was using it when I worked in salon in Kigali (the capital city of Rwanda).

Odette (a client by that time): Uhhhhh…I am not planning to go to Rwanda any soon, but I can ask my friends to bring it for me when they come back from holidays.

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Third person (a Congolese passerby): *Eeee dada, wewe ni mtoto wa Kagame* (Eeeee sister, are you the child of Kagame – meaning are you a Rwandan)? *Nasikiya Rwanda inakuwa na développement ya grave* (I hear, Rwanda has highly developed).

Hairdresser: *Iyo niya mu barabara tu* (That is only in the streets). *Rafiki zangu bako Rwanda bananiambia eti watu wako kimya, hawaongeyi, siyo kama kwetu tunaongeaka chenye tunataka* (My friends who live in Rwanda tell me that people don't talk in the streets, it is not like us in Congo where people have freedom of speech).

Odette: *Sijarudi Rwanda kwa siku nyingi kwa hiyo sina habari. Kwahiyo Congo munaongea chochote munataka? What about nyinyi mukiwa hapa, je mutampigia simu hama muandike message yenye munataka mukiandikia mtu wa ku Congo?* (I have not gone to Rwanda for a bit while, so I have no idea. Do you mean in Congo you can converse about anything you like at any time? What about you living here, do you call or send any messages of choice to your people in Congo?

Random responders: *Aaaah, kwetu? Hata saa hii nipige simu usikiye? Tunaongea kila kitu, tunaongea kuhusu ma elections, ma vita, ma shamba, kila kitu* (Aaaaa in our country? Even now I can call so you can hear how we talk. We discuss everything, we talk about elections, the conflicts, the farms, and I mean everything).

In our conversation we debated about how migrants, mostly refugees in Cape Town, keep in touch with their home countries. Congolese and Burundian refugees in Cape Town as opposed to Rwandan refugees, talk and comment on the politics of their countries. The people at home can receive any kind of message from exile and respond accordingly. But Rwandans fear putting their relatives in danger for political reasons. Although I do not intend to discuss the political dilemma of the Great Lakes Region today, I agree that we cannot separate its effect on the social wellbeing of the people concerned, whether in the region or in exile as refugees.

In addition to the connectivity with the region via media, migrants also continue to follow and access the home country through connections with their relatives and friends, who sometimes visit South Africa and/or other countries outside the region. Keeping in touch with

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their relatives, friends, and/or neighbours who remained in the home country, is key to maintaining their connectivity with home. Through this connection migrants not only get access to information and products, but they are also able to send money to their relatives, inviting them to South Africa for a visit or to live, and getting connections to future wives. This connectivity with home also ensures access to homestyle and cultural objects in the city of Cape Town, which South Africans appropriate in return.

6.3 Arranged visits, brides, and materials from home to Cape Town

Another channel through which migrants connect with the region is through arranged visits and marrying brides from home. As migrants continue to be in touch with relatives, friends, or neighbours back home, they plan together on possibilities of coming over for a visit, and also get connected to women to whom they could propose to. I have learned from the interlocutors that proposing to a woman from Rwanda, the DRC, or Burundi while in Cape Town, is considered as good fortune among the women who perceive South Africa as one of the best places to live in in Africa. The migrant young men and women I spoke to said they knew life would be better in South Africa based on the experiences of their friends or relatives who had better living conditions after migrating to South Africa. 'My friends sent photos home, they looked no thin any more, they looked clean and rich, and they would send money to their relatives so often' said a migrant from Burundi. The fact that the migrants men in Cape Town work hard to sustain themselves means that they are also in the positions to send money home, make arrangements for their relatives to visit, and pay dowries and other costs attached to getting a bride from home.

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Migrants also connect with the Great Lakes Region through things that the visitors bring with them or take home as gifts. Migrants send money, clothing, smart phones, and any other presents to their relatives. I also learned that whenever visitors or a bride-to-be come to Cape Town, they do not come empty-handed. Because they are in touch with local migrants before coming to South Africa they are aware of what is available and/or scarce in South African communities and needed by migrants. They thus bring scarce commodities as gifts, for personal use, or for sale.

I recall a friend of mine in Cape Town who received a visit from her elder sister from Rwanda. The sister brought *ibiseke* – plural of *agaseke* (woven colourful baskets) as gifts, and many others for sale. She already knew, as informed by her sister in Cape Town that *ibiseke* could be desired by many, particularly among Rwandans and Burundians, as they are

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used in special events such as weddings, cultural dances, festivals, and daily decoration in the house. Similarly, I heard at the wedding in 2014, that while some of the *ibiseke* used in the process were brought by the family members who attended the wedding from Rwanda, others were accessed from fellow Rwandans and Burundians who live in Cape Town. These everyday practices of borrowing and lending scarce materials from home are repeated acts (Butler, 1988) through which Great Lakes Region migrants from Rwanda and Burundi mediate their ethnic and national otherness.

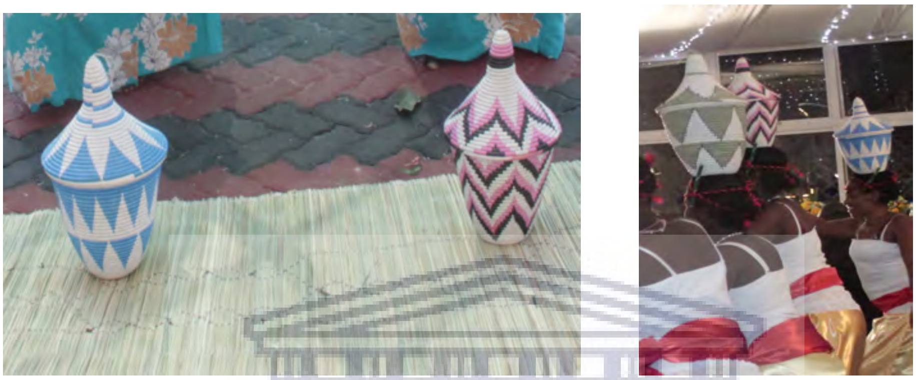

Figure 20: Migrants' cultural representations away from home: *Ibiseke* (woven baskets) from Rwanda on the left, and Rwandan migrant women performing at a wedding with the *ibiseke* on their heads (on the right). Photo by Odette

Like I mentioned earlier, *Ibiseke* among Rwandans and Burundians serve many purposes; for example as cultural representation during dance performances as shown on the figure above. They come in many sizes and colours, and migrants are proud of having them while they are away from home. Having *igiseke* (singular of *ibiseke*) in their houses or community means having connection with home (Rwanda or Burundi) on one hand, and honouring one's own culture on the other hand. The possession of *igiseke* in the house also delivers a message to the rest of the migrant community that the owner has recently been to, or had a visitor from the home country. *Ibiseke* are therefore one of the representations and symbolic connectivity with home.

When relatives come to attend a wedding, as already mentioned, they bring with them things to sell including *imishanana* and *ibitenge*, among other scarce commodities. Once the visitor arrives, the host's neighbour would be informed and would come over to meet the visitor. In the same way migrants are able to send gifts home through their own visitors or a friend or neighbour's visitors. These informal arrangements of receiving and sending gifts home have resulted in a kind of solidarity (*imibanire myiza*) among the migrant neighbours since,

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according to some interlocutors, the visitor too is sometimes also gifted, even if the person is visiting someone else. Below I present a scenario that took place in Cape Town between Rose and her friend Pascaline, as well as Cecile, who are all migrants from the Great Lakes Region.

6.4 Migrants' conviviality: Stories of gifting and sharing

Rose, a mother of three left her home country Burundi in 2000. She has not seen any of her relatives since then, including her mother who managed to visit her fifteen years after she left. Rose's mother brought with her some dried fish (*indagara*), a product that is not produced in Cape Town, since she was sure that her daughter would be excited to receive it. Once Rose received the scarce *indagara*, she did not want to enjoy it alone but shared it with her neighbour Pascaline. During my field work I met Pascaline in the local salon and on the streets in the neighbourhood of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, and our discussions always took place around whether I was enjoying my stay in Cape Town in general, when next I would visit Rwanda, and how she wished she could go back home to meet her relatives.

Pascaline runs an informal business as a hairdresser and I sometimes visited her business place to interact with her and her clients. One Sunday evening I met her on the Phoenix street with a small bag in her hands and we stopped, greeted, and had a short chat. I asked about where she was heading, and she told me that she was returning the container she received from her neighbour Rose who gave her some dry fish brought all the way from Burundi. She said,

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> 'I knew my friend had a visitor from home for the past four days, and I had not yet gone to see her due to personal appointments, but yesterday I made up time to go and see her and her mother. It was a pleasure to talk to the visitor, learning few avenues of what is happening back home. When I was about to leave, my friend Rose brought me dry fish in this container, saying that her mother brought them from home.'

Since I had become familiar with Pascaline, I asked her jokingly, 'So are you returning them, why is the bag looking heavy?' and she answered that she could not return it empty according to her understanding, so she had put few foodstuffs in return.

Pascaline's story was not unique; I had heard other similar scenarios where sharing products from home was common among the migrants in Cape Town. It is an act through which they reinforce their sense of belonging with one another through sharing the little they get. They are united by what they all miss as their beloved dish, as a result of being away from home.

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They connect through the nostalgia of home meals, and the absence or scarcity of it in the host community (Powles, 2002) This sharing of the dry fish reminds me of a scenario I witnessed at the Revival Pentecostal Church in Phoenix on one of the Sundays after church service. The service had been concluded and congregants were walking out of the church hall, talking to each other, hugging, and so on. Upon my exit I encountered two women whom I later knew as Congolese, talking. In a few minutes, one of the two rushed to her car in the parking slot within the church compound and grabbed a black bag which was full of fresh cassava leaves (*isombe*). They were talking in Kiswahili and she asked her fellow Congolese to find an empty plastic bag so that she could share the cassava leaves with her. They started detaching the cassava leaves from their small branches, and their conversation continued as they shared the leaves.

The two situations above represent the kind of life that Great Lakes Region migrants share while in the diaspora and exile as they build and maintain relations through considering each other when it comes to scarce commodities from home. If the two women at church did not share the cassava leaves at that particular moment their conversation would perhaps had been shorter. We can also imagine the kind of conversation that accompanied the act of sharing, which might have included a discussion around 'Who brought the leaves, how, and when?' Similarly, Pascaline who received the dry fish from Burundi, had to adhere to the custom that she could not return the small container empty. She had to put something back in it, even if it was not a scarce but a South African product.

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In such performances of sharing scarce and local commodities, migrants cultivate friendships. They know among themselves that once they receive something from home, they should share it or share information on how to access it in a foreign land. Another important aspect that shapes migrants' conviviality of living together is how they prepare symbolic gift(s) for fellow migrants' guests who are returning home. Cecile from Rwanda confirmed this one day when I encountered her in Century City shopping mall, the nearest mall from the research site. Cecile knew me from Phoenix where she had met me on the streets and at the Pentecostal church. She asked me what I was up to and after telling her that I was shopping she said, 'My friend's mother is going back home tomorrow and I am up and down trying to find her a gift.' Cecile had a shopping bag in her hand, which already seemed heavy, with other purchases. She went on to explain that she had already found a few gifts she wanted to send to her relatives in Rwanda.

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Although Cecile moved around to buy gifts to send to her family in Rwanda, she decided to gift her friend's mother too. Her friend resides in Maitland suburb, though she attends church service in Phoenix, and her mother had visited from Rwanda. This also means that Cecile was informed when her friend's mother arrived. That symbol of friendship and solidarity was maintained through sharing of information, and Cecile took that opportunity to send gifts back home, and also gift someone else's visitor. Migrants always inform each other whenever they knew any one coming to or from Cape Town so that they may render each other a service such as sending or receiving gift from home. Despite ethnic, national, and other differences that exist among migrants, conviviality is made possible by the ordinary performances mentioned above.

Migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town thus connect with their home countries through networking and sharing information about scarce products, or sharing the products they receive. This does not only symbolise the scarcity of the product, but it shows us the meaning that migrants attach to the cosmopolitanism of belonging to the same homeland, and unity away from home. They share it no matter how little it is. These connections extend to migrant established traders in the city.

There are a few informal traders in the city suburbs and townships who import products that are commonly needed by migrants to satisfy their socio-cultural needs. This process helps them to keep connected, share what they have cultivated in exile, and inform their fellow migrants about where to access scarce home products.

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6.5 Networking over scarce commodities from home: Food as a point of contact among migrants in Cape Town

I earlier questioned how migrants the majority of whom are refugees get access to food products from their home countries and yet have not returned home nor do their countries share a border with South Africa. Unlike items like *ibiseke* that are brought by visitors as gifts, together with little food products such as dry fish (*indagara*), other food products from the region are brought on a regular basis to migrants communities in Cape Town to meet their everyday needs.

Migrants interact among themselves, share information, and exchange contacts over these products from home, which furthers accessibility to the products and maintains relations amongst themselves. Such performances of cosmopolitanism are essential to the theorising and understanding of how people live together with differences in everyday life. For migrants

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from the Great Lakes Region shared food, and other cultural materialities from their home region help them to form networks and associations (Fardon, 2008), and these socialities reinforce strong ties with their home countries. In short, the performance of popular food from the Great Lakes Region has become a point of contact among these migrants. When I discussed the migrants' established restaurants (Chapter 2), I mentioned that in the restaurants of Joe Slovo and Phoenix, no meal is prepared or served without beans on the side. Back home, in Rwanda, Burundi and the DRC, beans are one of the crops that every citizen grows. It is a staple food for Burundians and Rwandans and in some parts of the DRC.

In South Africa migrants can find raw beans from a number of South African supermarkets and stores found in the city, such as Pick 'n Pay, Shoprite, and Checkers, to mention a few. Nevertheless, other staple food products enjoyed by Great Lakes Region migrants such as cassava root (*imyumbati*), *isombe* (cassava leaves), *ifu y'imyumbati* (cassava flour), *amamesa (*palm oil), *intoryi* (small round eggplants), and *indagara (*small dried fish) are not grown or sold in South African markets, resulting in the need to access them from migrant established stores in the city. Mostly such home products come in small quantities due to the distance and means of transport. As scarce imported products they are sold in small quantities and their scarcity continues since they are not available on a daily basis like other products found in South African markets and stores. Apart from the migrants' convenient stores in parts of the city, some migrants sell the products from their households.

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Migrants amongst themselves make the effort to search and share information about these stores around the city. They share information through word of mouth, either in person, phone calls and messages, or let their friends know where to access their beloved foodstuffs. In Cape Town, store that sell migrants' foodstuff are found in Parow, Bellville, and Salt River suburbs in the city, and are mostly run by Congolese. Migrants visit these shops on regular basis, and have befriended the shops owners and have exchanged phone numbers so that they can contact each other to find out whether the products are in stock or not. Most of the products, according to the migrant sellers, are ordered all the way from the DRC to Johannesburg, and the sellers in Cape Town receive their orders from Johannesburg. Consequently the food products are costly, but migrants still find them worth buying, as they are products they value so much, as their homestyle meal. Let us consider below, a statement from one of the migrant interlocutors in Phoenix:

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Uko byaba bigura kose nabigura. Kera twakubitiraga abana kurya ibijumba, ngo agaceri nakabashyitsi, cyangwa umwana muto, ariko ubu iyo naguze iki kijumba cyangwa umwumbati, abana mbakubitira kurya umuceri ngo iki kijumba mbe arijye ukirya (No matter how expensive they may be, I must buy. I remember in our country, we used to beat our kids forcing them to eat sweet potatoes, emphasising that the rice was for the visitors or the youngest kid of them all. But now when I buy this potato or yam, I force kids to eat the rice, so that I can eat this popular scarce product from home).

Being able to import products that migrants need most is valuable in the eyes of the migrant consumers. The sweet potatoes that the interlocutor referred to differ totally from sweet potatoes found in South African stores in terms of taste, and the migrants' memories attached to food are important. Food-centred nostalgia is recurring in diasporic and expatriate communities (Holtzman, 2006) and by accessing the food from home countries; migrants get the smells and tastes of a lost homeland (Sutton, 2001). Taste and smell of food make people reflect their 'good old days', what Sutton calls sensory memory (Sutton, 2008). When these sweet potatoes from other parts of Africa become available in the city, migrants inform each other and exchange the seller's contact details, which continues to strengthen connection between migrants as consumers clients and / or sellers.

I remember visiting friends in 2015 the Belhar neighbourhood, and I was served with sweet potatoes that tasted better taste than the ones we know from local supermarkets. As I was wondering about the taste, I was informed that they were bought from a migrant who sold them from her residential place in Delft township, a nearby location about four and half kilometres from my University residence. I was given the telephone number and address, and after being in touch and buying the potatoes twice, I also informed other migrants whom I knew. Interestingly the sweet potatoes sold in Delft come from Zimbabwe, according to the seller.

The Great Lakes Region migrants thus keep references to their home whenever they get the opportunity to do so. Their networks with home, and in exile with fellow migrants impacts on their social wellbeing insofar as they become friends through the process of accessing products from home. They exchange contacts and communicate with each other; a pertinent performance for both migrant seller and consumer which and enhances interactions between them.

In Cape Town, not only migrants inform each other about the places that sell raw-food products, but they also visit other spaces operated by migrants in the city through which connectivity with home is maintained.

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6.6 'Imagining' home: the *brochette* among Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1999) writes on the convergence of food and the concept of performance in terms of how food is made, served, and sensed; health and sanitation around the food place, as well as entertainment at the presentation of the food made.

In Maitland, a Cape Town suburb, migrants gather every weekend to enjoy the brochette (barbecued meat) as it is known and referred to in Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC. Small chunks of meat, mostly beef are placed on small metal sticks together with onion pieces, spiced and placed on a fire, and migrants like this style of barbecuing that reminds them of their home-style of barbequing. I was told that South Africans also use a skewered form of barbecued meat, known as 'sosatie', although what is popular in the township is the ordinary braai where a piece of meat is placed on fire and cut only when is ready to be eaten. For this group of migrants, the brochette is a respected meal for special occasions, accompanied by grilled or roasted French potatoes or green bananas. Most of the Rwandans in Cape Town prepare a *brochette* when they receive visitors especially in summer.

A *brochette* can also be done at home, but occasionally men go and eat it from the barbecue man in Maitland suburb. Maitland suburb is situated along a number of important transport networks connecting the Cape Town city bowl to the rest of the city. The most important is the railway line that runs through the middle of the suburb and the N1 that is situated on its northern boundary. The 2011 census recorded the population of Maitland as consisting of 9,782 people majority of whom were 'coloured', followed by 'Black African' populations[58]. The barbecue man in Maitland is himself from Rwanda, and the beer halls around which he performs his braai is owned by a Burundian woman married to a Tanzanian. As a dominantly migrant-owned space of business, most clients are also migrants from different parts of Africa, and the Great Lakes Region in particular, who gather especially on Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays. The barbecue man, dressed in a knee-length apron welcomes every client that comes in, in either Kinyarwanda or Kiswahili languages, as most of his clients are Rwandans, Burundians, and Tanzanians.

Due to the overflow of clients during weekends and public holidays, the barbecue man who is by himself most of the time, has a strategy for keeping his customers served with a minimum of waiting time. He makes sure the meat is already prepared and put on the sticks,

[58] Accessed online: en.m.wikipedia.org

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and makes sure that some of the meat is made ready put aside before his clients arrive. Once they arrive, he simply warms the meat on the braai stand and serves it. The braai place in Maitland is known for its ability to attract many migrants on a regular basis who have learned about the place through sharing information with each other about the cherished missed dish from home, made the way they are used to it. It is a place where migrants meet, interact, exchange contacts, watch games, and form friendships over a *brochette*. As Holtzman puts it, there are embodied memories constructed through food (Holtzman, 2006). The brochette taste, smell, and how people gather around consuming it, make migrants connect with their home countries by remembering and but also by accessing the same meals they once had in the past.

The brochette as food is also significant to people's sense of belonging, not only through the taste and smell that reminds them of a similar meal they previously had, but also through the lifestyle it signifies (Lind & Barham, 2004). Among migrants from the Great Lakes Region, particularly men, it is a lifestyle to gather at a brochette place, eat, socialise and network. Migrants in Cape Town also present their sociality and solidarity through the process of inviting each other to special events.

6.7 *Gutumirana no gutwererana* (inviting and supporting one another): Weddings and funerals in Cape Town

Migrants come together in good and bad times, in gain and loss. In both circumstances they also demonstrate their conviviality of living together through supporting each other (*gutwererana inkunga*) in different ways. However, the ritual of *gutwerera* follows a procedure whereby the invited guest receives a formal invitation from the host. This happened to me for all the weddings and funerals I attended in Cape Town, whereby I either received an invitation in a form of a text message, and / or a picture invitation card. In my observations people donate money and / or gifts depending on the type of gathering. For a baby shower for instance, women gather gifts that include baby garments and personal care items. People also present material gifts at the wedding, but that would be in conjunction with monetary donations as per invitation. At memorial events like a funeral people only donate money.

The contribution *(intwererano*) is an important proceeding among people within the Great Lakes Region, which I would argue serves not only as support towards the expenses of the event, but broadly as an act of recognition and acknowledgement of humanhood. The

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solidarity is more important than the act itself. The performance of *gutwerera* can take place at many other functions and events, including during the sad moments of funeral arrangements. It is common that if a close family member of a migrant passes away in Cape Town or in a home country, the member in Cape Town informs the rest of the migrant community of the loss. What the migrants' community then does, they according to their capability, is to support the fellow migrant through regular visits, bringing in groceries, and or donating some money.

Depending on the arrangements being made in the home country, the deceased family member in Cape Town would arrange a '*gukura ikiriyo* - memorial' day. In Cape Town, if one is not familiar with Rwandan or Burundian culture, it would be hard to distinguish between a funeral (mourning) day or a wedding. This is because as I observed at both the wedding and memorial events I attended, guests dressed in respectful traditional wear; men in suits, and women in *imishanana*. Depending on the family's financial abilities, the men would also be dressed in similar suits and selected women in similar mishanana, hired or baught by the event host - the same way it would be done at weddings. Other invited guests can dress in their assorted, different *imishanana*.

Figure 21: Rwandan women in *imishanana* during a wedding celebration (*imvutano* in Kirundi)

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Figure 22: Odette in a Rwandan traditional wear *(umushanana)* at a wedding of a friend in Cape Town, in 2012. Photo taken by a wedding attendee.

Although I elaborate the notion of dress, identity and belonging in chapter 7, it was apparent that the traditional dress among the attendees implied a certain identity, that of belonging to an African culture in this case Rwandan and Burundian culture on one hand; and on the otherhand it implied the kind of relationships people shared. We could tell the relatives and or close friends based on the dress, act of wearing similar colour and same material clothes. While most of *imishanana* dresses were acquired from back home, some materials were also bought from Indian shops around the city of Cape Town. Whether sourced from home or within the migrant community, the idea of considering who would dress in a same colour traditional wear denotes the meaning people attached to their relations with chosen wearers, while shaping a sense of belonging among the wearers. By the time I wore the dress above for instance, I was in the same colour and material of dress with other five women, and we traditionally represented the groom as his sisters. This was not indicated in the formal wedding invitation I received, but was communicated to me via a phone call, to get my consent that I have been selected among those who will traditionally dress to represent the groom's sisters. Biologically, I am not his sister, not even related, but we are close friends. In that wedding we represented the groom's sisters not simply because he only had one male relative around, but also because in a Rwandan culture, the groom's and bride's sisters are selected from best friends even if the couple had many biological sisters present.

In the event of funerals, migrant women from Rwanda and Burundi in South Africa also dress in the *umushanana* traditional wear, and close friends and relatives to the deceased or deceased's family member will dress in similar attire.

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Figure23: Odette with other Rwandan women dressed in *umushanana* at a funeral in Cape Town, in 2014. Photo by an event photographer.

In the photograph above, the woman in the middle had lost her husband, and we dressed in that attire on his burial day. The three women on her right are her relatives, while the other three on her left were her close friends. The dress code represented our Rwandan culture at a place where people from different nationalities were gathered; while the black and ash colour choice also depicted the mourning period we were in, as opposed to bright colours people mostly wore at special events other than funerals.

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Apart from confusing the wedding and the memorial events based on the dress code of the day, another similar representation in both events is the use of reception halls, the only difference being the absence of music at a memorial event. In both events, the community or church hall is hired, decorated, and food and drinks served by chosen migrant men and women. As is done with the weddings, memorial services are also communicated through invitations messaged on phones. The guests therefore donate in advance, and or support the family by donating on the Memorial Day. The solidarity among the Great Lakes Region migrants in Cape Town, is therefore observed in all good and bad situations, and through connecting with their home countries, they practice willingness to sustain each other away from home.

Nevertheless, although migrants in Cape Town come together in different social, and interactive events, among Rwandans, they continue to live in insecurity and uncertainties,

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where by Rwandan refugees who have gone via other countries before coming to South Africa continue to live in fear of the fellow Rwandans especially those who come directly from Rwanda, as well as those on visas, which impact their social relationships. For Rwandans for instance, eating and drinking at the social events engages more protocols and carefulness by the individual selves due to the fear that they can be harmed. How they eat or drink depends on the place where the ceremony is taking place, and also the way the food is served, whether it is self-service or there are other people involved in serving it, and how familiar they are to them. The section below responds to the sub question of how the connectivity with home impact relations among sub-groups of migrants, particularly Rwandans.

6.8 'Regarded as a spy': Relations and uncertainties among Rwandan migrants

My experience on the first visit in the field of Joe Slovo Township in 2013 was significant to my understanding of how Rwandans in Cape Town live together among themselves. On that first day, as an unfamiliar face in the area, although dressed as simple as anyone walking around the shops, I was perceived as a spy by one of Rwandan migrants residing in Joe Slovo. Upon arrival in the shop, and after greeting those whom we found in shop, I was introduced by my companion: "*Uyu ni mwene wacu, yiga kuri UWC, akaba yaje hano gukora ubushakashatsi* (This is our sister, she studies at UWC, and she is here for academic research purposes)", and the response from Olivier, a migrant from Rwanda was " *Oh Ese, nari nagizengo uri umwe muri ba batasi bava mu Rwanda, boherezwa n'u Rwanda kudutata* (Oh, is it? I thought you were one of those spies sent by the Rwandan government to spy us)".

My fellow Rwandan perceived me as a spy, an indication of how Rwandans who have lived or gone via other countries for a longer period, whether refugees who have not returned to Rwanda since 1994, or people who returned and fled again, continue to live in fear of the new comers who come directly from Rwanda to South Africa. The fact that Olivier saw me that same day as a new comer in their terrain, means he concluded I was not only new in Joe Slovo, but also new in Cape Town. Other probabilities were around my facial (physical) look that most people judge as a Tutsi look – slim long cheeks and nose as a Tutsi look, and from what we know, the legacy of ethnic conflicts that Rwandans have faced since 1959 and that repeated themselves in 1990s, continue to haunt them whenever they encounter one another.

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These refugees and migrants continue to believe that they can be harmed or killed in one-way or another (by being shot, kidnapped, or poisoned), by those whom they perceive as spies.

While these ethnic issues continue to haunt Rwandans in exile, one could ask the same question as Mamdani (2001); who is a Hutu and Tutsi? According to Mamdani (2001) genocide should be understood not only as a legacy of colonialism, but most importantly as a ‘metaphor’ for post-colonial Africa, in which the target of violence has shifted from the colonizer and the colonized to that of a post-colonial state and its state subject. However, I seek to extend this understanding of post-colonial violence, which to me seems to have shifted to a 'localised' ferocity, that is, a kind of insecurity that continues in the absence of the state; to how strategic performativity continue to take place among Rwandans in exile.

The question around Rwandan identities has been explained elsewhere as a kind of a classified identity (Lemarchand, 1995 &1996; Kagabo, 1995; Chalk & Kurt, 1990, Chretien, 1978; 1985 & 1995), whereby having a clear distinction of who is a Hutu or Tutsi for instance (see Malkki, 1995) is complex, but worth exploring to understand the ways in which Hutu and Tutsi identify themselves in specific context away from home. What is interesting is how the context of perfomativity in the everyday in exile can shape and re-shape their identities, like the way they invite and marry women from Rwanda, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Soon after the genocide, Hutu refugees thought a spy could be a Tutsi hunting them. Most significant, is how the idea of being a Tutsi or a Hutu does not matter much in migrants’ community today, since Rwandans themselves believe (as per our discussions) that a spy can be of any ethnic identity.

As such, ethnic identity can be understood as a 'metaphor' and a 'signifier' of performing/participating in the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)[59] mission of spying, either as a Hutu or a Tutsi. Cape Town like anywhere else where Rwandan migrants live, is a space in which we find both Hutus and Tutsis mixing, intermarrying, and socially interacting i.e. there is no single definition of who may be a spy and who may not, depending on the interests they aim to serve. Today we also find Hutus and Tutsis serving in the RPF governance, and they or ordinary Hutu and Tutsi civilians can visit South Africa and other parts of Africa that host refugees. Consequently, the Rwandan refugees who have gone via many countries before coming to South Africa, are uncertain of whoever is on a visa, or a new arrival directly from Rwanda to South Africa.

[59] Rwandan Patriotic Front is the ruling party in Rwanda.

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People's shared history is one factor that stimulates the connection among people. Looking at the Rwandan migrants, shared histories help them to form networks and associations (Fardon, 2008). Furthermore, such socialities keep strong ties with their home country. However their presentation of the self depends on the actor and the audience in the interactions process as Rwandans distinguish themselves on the basis of status in South Africa. Claude from Rwanda, gives insight into the differences of living together among other Rwandans in Cape Town:

> 'For instance, one Rwandan can say, I live here in South Africa on passport; I go to the embassy to tell them my problems; while the other Rwandan says my embassy is the South African- refugee home affairs. And such a person does not even want to hear anything about the embassy. There are people who really flee the country who have certain problems that are known as political issues, and they are those who flee because of economic crisis, who come here for greener pastures (search of better life). Hence the one who comes here for search of better life (*amahaho*), when he finds that better life he then goes back to his country. This includes those who come here for the purpose of studying, when they complete their studies they go back home. But for those who come because of political insecurity, those who run away from prosecution, no matter what they can face here in exile, they will still do not wish to go back to their country as long as what led them to free is still there.

What is fascinating in the above excerpt is how Rwandans distinguish themselves distinguish from one another based on the socio-political ability to associate with the Rwandan authorities in exile, namely the embassy. The Rwandans on work/business or study permits are able to access their identity documents via their representative embassy, while those with asylum seeker permits and or refugee status in South Africa, do not even dream of stepping into the embassy; except in a situation when they need to return home, and will have to surrender South African refugee permits to the embassy of Rwanda. In such instance, they can get a free pass allowing them to get home.

My relationship with them therefore was founded on the basis of having lived in South Africa for almost 5 years by the time I conducted the fieldwork (or by the time I first met them), and as we continued chatting many questions revealed their feelings of uncertainty. They asked, '*Oh none se waje uva mu Rwanda*? (Oh so did you come directly from Rwanda?)' and I answered 'No, *naje nturuka Zimbabwe niho nabaye ninaho famille yanjye iba' (*No, I came to South Africa from Zimbabwe, where I stayed with my family). Their questions indicated that my having been in South Africa for some years (and of course being on a study visa), was not enough to build trust and be regarded as an ordinary Rwandan rather than a spy. Their fear and uncertainties were subsequently assuaged by my personal

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introduction as someone who has lived elsewhere in exile before coming to South Africa. It was also interesting to note how familiar GLR migrants in Joe Slovo are with one another, being able to easily identify a new faces in their territory.

From an informal discussion, which I had with fellow Rwandans in South Africa, I also learned that there are Rwandans on refugee status who still visit the embassy for personal business. In addition I came to learn that interactions between two Rwandans could result in strong relationships or tension merely depending on why and how they find themselves in South Africa, as well as failure to observe conversational limits. Politics should not be discussed and debated in public before one is sure about one's audience.

6.8.1 Lack of trust: Rwandans at public events and gatherings

I understood the uncertainties among Rwandans as I participated in their public events and gatherings. Consider for instance a scenario that took place in a wedding, I attended in 2015.

> On March 08, 2015 I attended another wedding of a Rwandan couple in the city. Comfortably seated and watching all the protocols taking place that day, I paid attention to what people said or did, like any other guest. A few moments after the bridal team served pieces of cake to the guests, I heard a guest who was seated at the next round table of six guests in the wedding reception hall say, What is this on the floor? She had stepped on a piece of cake that was squashed by one of the guests at the same table. (Field notes from the wedding, Cape Town, March 08, 2015).

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The above experience happened during the celebrations of a wedding I attended in Cape Town early 2015. As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town invite one another to various events, and the wedding on that day had more than 150 guests consisting of mostly Rwandans and a few other nationalities including South Africans. The home styles were re-enacted as women were dressed in their traditional wear and the men dressed in varied suits while Kinyarwanda wedding songs as well as party songs by famous West African musicians were playing. Although the guests were called upon to serve themselves once the dishes were ready, the bridal team moved around to serve the cake pieces cut by the bride and groom. Not every guest however, particularly not the Rwandan guests, ate the piece of cake that was served to them.

A related scenario took place at the *brochette* place in Maitland, which I discussed earlier in the chapter. Migrant behaviours and performances at these spaces determined the level at which they felt a sense of belonging to the practice of barbequing itself, and to the community as a whole. A Rwandan family friend in Cape Town had taken my brother and

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me to have a *brochette* from the Maitland barbeque man from Rwanda. It was my third time of eating at that place. We took our seats, ordered our drinks, and then waited to place our braai orders. Our friend took a step towards the braai man, and placed the orders. The braai man, we could hear from a few metres away, offered to give us the meat, which was ready and only needed to be warmed on the charcoal fire. Our friend however did not accept the offer and asked for fresh meat to be barbequed. He then came back to the table to grab his drink and went to stand next to the braai stand until the meat was done and brought the *brochettes* to us himself.

Our friend explained that he wanted to follow the entire process of how the order was placed and performed till the end. He did not want to learn how to barbecue, but he was being protective of his and our safety and security; like most Rwandans when encountering the unknown, he believed that poison could be administered through the process of barbequing. After we had eaten, he whispered to us, 'The spies of Rwanda may use this barbecue man to poison people since they know that most Rwandans come here for *brochette*'. Our friend not only distrusted the fellow Rwandans who might have been there, but also the barbeque man.

Self-exclusion at performances of eating and drinking during gatherings in public spaces like reception halls was therefore observed among Rwandans except when the meals and drinks were made ready for self-serving. Even in the situation where the food was self-served, guests take care of their meals and drinks to ensure they do not fall in the wrong hands. This was also observed at the local Rwandan braai place although the Rwandans manage to conceal their mistrust. To ensure convivial living and maintaining ordinary relations with fellows, those who opted not to eat nor drink from a place where everyone believed that partying was about eating and drinking together, we heard phrases like '*Buretse ndaba mfata*' (Wait a bit - will eat later), *Ntabwo meze neza*' (I am not feeling well), '*Ndi mugifungo*' (I am fasting), '*Banza uhe abandi*' (serve others first), among other forms of unrevealing self-protection.

Performances of diversity and, processes of social interaction among Rwandans in Cape Town are therefore influenced by the trustworthiness of those who define themselves as long-established migrants who perceive the rest of the migrants, specifically the new ones, as spies who might be working for and serving the political interests of the ruling RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front). Rwandans in Cape Town often live in fear of one another, and from the informal conversations I had with a number of Rwandans I learnt that they suspect

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the circulation of poisonous products in migrant communities, aimed at harming those who are against the ruling party and the government of Rwanda as a whole. Rwandan refugees believe that while they may not be forced to return home, spies can perform rituals, which can harm them and lead to unexpected deaths - and note that such rituals can be performed while eating and drinking together. Such social and political insecurities place Rwandan migrants in a dire dilemma when it comes to interacting over food.

6.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the experiences of the Great Lakes Region migrants namely Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese in Cape Town. I argued that the national, ethnic, and other differences that exist among this group are mediated through performances of connectivity with their home countries. The food, music, and clothing they share from the region remain central to their belonging, informs the way in which they relate to each other while away from home and also shows how, by introducing such home styles as I show in the next chapter, migrants connect with South Africans who admire these material products. Their networks with their countries of origin maintain connectivity with one another regardless of differences they may bear. In exile, this group of migrants perform sameness, invite each other to social events, and at these events they wisely select music with a party beat from the DRC, Rwanda, or Burundi - as long as the music is of good quality.

I illustrated in this chapter how this group of migrants who had lived together in other parts of Africa before coming to Cape Town, had acquired each other's languages including Kiswahili, which serves as a medium of communication between them. This allows them to keep their sameness as people who belong to the same region, while the language has been used to conceal specific identities. We learned in this chapter that migrants remain connected with their home countries through media and through arranged visits. Through these visits, they gain access to scarce products that they cannot get in Cape Town, while on the other hand being able to also send home gifts. In the process of getting a relative to Cape Town, there are money transactions involved, including informing friends about who is coming and when he or she will be returning home so that they can prepare to send gifts back home with the visitor. This is helpful since monetary gifts via moneygram and other agencies involve added charges and require legal documents.

Following the political unrests in the region more specifically in the DRC, one would not expect the Congolese and Rwandans for instance, to mix with or befriend each other. The

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same would apply, following the genocide that took place in Rwanda with regard to Hutus and a Tutsis. However, in this chapter I showed that intermarriages are currently taking place in Cape Town like anywhere else, and Rwandans marry women from home with little or no attention paid to ethnic differences. Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese come together, eat together, and share information and scarce products, maintaining their ties of belonging rather than focusing on the socio-political differences.

The socialities of sharing information and products from home, inviting fellow migrants to weddings, and other social events, are evidence of another sort of cosmopolitanism amongst migrants. The little gifts they receive from home are shared amongst friends in consideration of the need to connect with their back home lifestyles. I also made it clear in this chapter that this group of migrants share the same need to access scarce products and services from the migrant-established markets in Cape Town.

While migrants forge good networks and relations in exile, for Rwandans remaining connected to Rwanda can also pose threats. Although in previous chapters I documented the forms of interactions and diverse practices through which migrants perform cosmopolitanism and belonging, in this chapter I argued that when gathered in public events and spaces, Rwandan social relations are often politically motivated which affects their interactions. Unlike at the local restaurants from Joe Slovo and Phoenix where residents tend to know and trust the restaurant owners who serve food, outside their neighbourhood Rwandans tend to be uncertain about their welfare when mingling with their counterparts and tend to withdraw from eating and drinking when food and beverages are served by others who are unknown them. The central analytical argument is that accommodating one another among Rwandans in exile is a very complex process particularly in an environment, which is marred with social and political contestation.

While this chapter focused on social relations among migrants from the Great Lakes Region through connectivity with their home countries, in the following chapter I show how some of the home styles of these transnational migrants have been appropriated by South Africans, thereby enabling interaction and accommodating one another over material objects like *kitenge* dresses. We learn in the following chapter that through cultural representation of dress and dressmaking, South Africans and migrants in their township neighbourhoods engage with one another, negotiate their otherness and sameness, and admire their diversities.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Cosmopolitanism from below: South Africans' appropriation to migrants' cultural practices

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the connectivity between migrants and their home countries in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Their connectivity with home allows them to introduce new materials, specifically '*kitenge*' fabrics, in Cape Town. In this chapter I reproduce the vignette that I opened chapter one with, to show South Africans' engagement with the materiality of the Great Lakes Region migrants' home style. This appropriation of migrants' cultural practices is another form of cosmopolitanism from below through which differences are mediated. I mentioned in the vignette of Chapter 1 how upon my second visit to the tiny barbershop in Joe Slovo, I encountered a South African woman who admired my African attire dress, and said to me: ' I love your dress, is beautiful. Where did you get your dress from?' Upon my reply, she added, 'We have a tailor who can make you more similar dresses'. She then directed me to Mr Abdul, the famous migrant tailor from the Great Lakes Region who is well known in Joe Slovo and Phoenix.

Having been in the neighbourhood once before that second visit, I was introduced to the migrant tailor by a South African woman, in a discussion that was based on the dress I wore made out of the *kitenge* African print fabric. It was interesting to see how South Africans admired these kitenge dresses, and how they came to know a good tailor from the Great Lakes Region. By living together with people from elsewhere, South Africans had been able to identify new dress styles and also stylists around their neighbourhoods. South Africans started to build networks in the process of appreciating and appropriating the cultural practices that African migrants present; in this case the dresses. The way I was directed by a South African woman to a migrant tailor in Phoenix for example, after she admired the African print dress I had on, shows how the dress became a point of contact between me and the South African resident for us to interact. The way she directed me also meant that other residents probably knew about the tailor. African attires had become a symbol of unity between migrants and South Africans.

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In this chapter I discuss the *kitenge* home style of and among Great Lakes Region migrants, and how it is accessed in their migrant community in Cape Town away from home, and I later talk of how South Africans have appropriated the materiality of this home style. Appropriation as a concept is significant to how South Africans connect wit, while making use of migrants' spaces and cultural representations. The word appropriation is derived from the Latin verb meaning 'to make one's own' or ' to take to oneself'. The concept in the context of my study is better understood as a cultural appropriation since it involves a shift that occurs between transnational migrants and South Africans (Bauernschmidt & Huck, 2012).

The concept of appropriation is also applied by Johnson (2003), in an American context where he looks at the racial performance and politics of authenticity among black and white Americans. For Johnson, appropriation among Americans refers to a mutual construct or deconstruct dynamic that occurs in the production of blackness identities, which is the very thing that constitutes 'black' culture. Appropriation is about citing, concealing, limiting, expanding, and giving power to the signifier identity (Ibid). In the same vein, in this chapter I seek to document the ways in which South Africans cite and expand the notion of African print dress, the home style of the Great Lakes Region migrants who live in a South African township, and the impact of this appropriation on people's relations and conviviality.

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In addition to the appropriation of dress materials, I look at other practices from which we make sense of how South Africans have developed changed behaviours and attitudes towards African migrants on the basis of what these migrants contribute in their localities. This leads to the last section of the chapter where I look at the relations between South African landlords and their migrant tenants, soon after the 2008 xenophobic attacks; an account which adds to our understanding of South Africans' appreciation to diversity. The questions that I put forward in this chapter are: How is the *kitenge* made available in Cape Town, in an environment where such fabrics are not accessible by simply walking into any fabric store like in migrant home countries? How do people, both migrants and South Africans, engage with the materiality of *kitenge*? What does it mean for South African women to dress in this home style of transnational migrants? What other forms of cosmopolitanism, are practiced in line of what migrants do in a South African dominated neighbourhood? To start with, let me consider what a *kitenge* means to migrants; to understand how its importance contributes to how it is imported by migrant communities away from home.

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7.2 Keeping the fashion: The 'must have' *kitenge* fabrics in Cape Town

The *kitenge* textile *(*mostly used as a multi-colour wrap) is the African print fabric, mentioned earlier in Chapter 5, which is one of the signifiers that people rely on to identify transnational migrants on the streets of Cape Town. Among Rwandans, Burundians, and Congolese, it is an everyday wear wrapped over the hips by women and teenage girls during their everyday house duties of cooking and cleaning; worn on the streets and in gardens, and also in a stylised form for special occasions and gatherings such as church services, weddings, and parties. It is a 'must have' item of respectful clothing for a woman in the Great Lakes Region as in other parts of the continent particularly West Africa; every woman or girl is encourage to have at least one or two cloth of *kitenge* fabric. This 'must have' notion attached to *kitenge* makes it an important dress material, and there are few shops around the city that sell clothes made from these fabrics. Migrants from the Great Lakes Region whom I worked with mentioned that there was no variety compared to how assorted and easily accessible they are in their home countries. It is a multipurpose textile, worn not only as a wrap over, but also as gowns, shirts, shorts and pants.

Since it is a most desired textile, needed by both migrant men and women from the Great Lakes Region, migrant dealers have realised that they need to enrich their informal *kitenge* enterprises. In Cape Town, there are thus many kitenge retail shops run by migrants from different African countries, and a number of tailors who design various fashions as requested by clients. There is at least one African fabric store and a tailor in each suburb, particularly those that host migrants.

Apart from the recognised migrant shops that sell the fabrics, most Congolese men and women engage in informal trading of *kitenge* textiles on a low scale. Their networks extend as they move with the textiles around shops and within the neighbourhood, at parties, or open spaces in the migrant communities. Like MacGaffey and Remy put it, the Congolese migrants are involved in trading even beyond African borders to keep their *sape* spirit as well as to make a living (MacGaffey and Remy, 2000). As migrants invite each other to special events like weddings, Congolese men and women come dressed in varied, and the latest sophisticated designs made from 'African print' materials, and other migrants and even

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locals tend to learn these new dress styles plus information about the tailors in the city from the *sapeurs Congolai*s.

Figure 24: The assorted popular *Kitenge* textile known as African prints. Photo taken by Odette from Abdul's store in Phoenix, Cape Town.

Women from the Great Lakes Region dress in one piece of *kitenge* when performing ordinary everyday duties, and/or gardening.

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Figure 25: Rural Rwandan women in *kitenge*, during the 'Umuganda'- 'community work' in Rwanda. Photo by Fred Obera. Accessed at https://thisisafrica.me/rwanda-umuganda-traditional-cultural-initiative-transforming-rwanda/ on December 2018.

In the photograph above, women in Rwanda wear *kitenge* during a performance of *umuganda*, as they would while preforming other everyday duties in their communities and households. It is also a dress of honour and worn at great events including going to church, visiting people, and attending special occasions, when women wear it in two pieces wrapped over the hips, with a fashionable top made from the same material.

Figure 26: Men in *kitenge* shirts on the left, and woman in *kitenge* full wear for a special occasion on the right.

The figures above demonstrate the use of the popular *kitenge* in the Great Lakes Region, as everyday and occasional wear for both women and men. In the region, teenage girls and women, mostly younger women, dress in what is popularly known as 'African attire', where the same fabric is fashionably made as a dress, a skirt with top, or pants with jackets. As the younger ones are very happy to go along with the fashion, it seems that tailors have made sure that they make these African print dresses in a fashionable way which compares well with other fashion dresses from boutique shops. Fashion changes with time and as Simmel (1957) states in his theory of fashion change, it is an imitation process that changes quickly with increase in wealth.

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Figure 27: Images found on the walls of the tailor's shop located in Parow, Cape Town. Photo by Odette

Before and during my fieldwork, I visited tailors' shops in Cape Town. I knew tailors from other parts of Africa such as Cameroonian tailors, but my tailor was from the DRC. I knew her through connection with other migrant women in the city. My tailor not only made me new dresses, but she also altered those old dresses when I wanted them expanded. In her shop she has pictures on the wall, which openly inform people of what she is able to make out of the *kitenge* fabric. She also makes a number of magazines available with images of different styles from which clients can decide on a dress style of choice. There is interaction over the *kitenge* and fashions from the Great Lakes Region among migrants and South African clients.

Migrants like myself visited this place located in Parow, a suburb of Cape Town, and what was fascinating was the time clients took to chat with each other, and with the tailor herself. The procedure of getting a *kitenge* dress made involved a period of long-waiting from the selection of the fabric type or colour from the wall where they were hanging, to deciding on a style either by looking at those available in the magazines or at already made dresses hanging

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in the store awaiting collection, to other protocols that go hand-in-hand with the making of the dress, such as getting measurements taken, and discussing the design and price as well as the collection date. I was actually wondering what the long waiting would feel like if people were not chatting and laughing, among other embodied performances. Through these processes of accessing and owning a tailored dress, people interact and form networks through fashion and clothing.

The process of appropriating a tailored dress is therefore long as it involves not only buying the material, selecting a style, and getting the dress-making started, but clients also pay several visits to the tailor's shop to check up on the progress, to make amendments, and at some point to learn about new material arrivals. All these enactments result in regular contacts, networks, and social relations among and between clients and tailors, migrants and South Africans. Whenever I met the regular clients to this shop, it was not that easy to tell who was a client, based on the sociability they all shared. on one occasion, I thought some were relatives, and/or the tailor's new assistants. Based on some of the longer relationship the tailor had with her clients, they would exchange gifts and invitations, while others like myself could receive a call from the tailor informing us of new *kitenge* imports that had arrived. Apart from being a designer my tailor, and other migrant tailors in the city, make sure that they also sell African print fabrics to generate more income, which in turn involves increased inflow of buyers.

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The emergence of 'African print' fabrics in the migrant community in Cape Town also help us to understand how South Africans had appropriated these materials, identifying the migrant tailors, and putting on *kitenge* dresses which are associated with the dress of men and women from outside South Africa such as the Great Lakes Region. South Africans thus acknowledge and appreciate human diversity, an-other definition of cosmopolitanism (Hannerz, 2004) – illustrated by dressing in *kitenge* attires, made from materials sourced from the DRC and elsewhere outside South Africa, and made by a migrant refugee in Cape Town. South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix are cosmopolitan in the sense that they have been open to others, appropriating their cultural practices. For Appiah (2006), a cosmopolitan person respects other people's memories, traditions and qualities; and s(he) is open to change, and to 'contamination'.

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7.3 *Les sapeurs Congolais (*The stylish Congolese): Identity and networking over an 'African print' dress

Although the migrants from the Great Lakes region had maintained their cultural aspect of dressing in *kitenge* beyond borders, based on my participant observations, I have concluded that Congolese make use of *kitenge* more than Rwandans and Burundians. In their special event gatherings, where this group of migrants have invited one another, Congolese men and women would remarkably be dressed in highly fashioned dresses and jackets made out of *kitenge,* while Rwandan or Burundian men for instance would be dressed in non-*kitenge* costumes. I heard on several occasions, people saying ' Oh yes he is from Congo, can't you see the dressing style'. He would either be in a colourful suit, or a *kitenge* coat.

The *sapeurs*[60] (stylish in the clothing sense -) of the DRC are known by their colourful dress code. Most of their clothing is not from *magasin* (fashion or boutique shops), but bought as raw fabric and then taken to a local tailor for the design of one's choice. Like Davis (1992) puts it, fashion in clothing is a visual language; people communicate things about themselves through clothing. While clothing is a form of social construction of identity, fashion expresses this, redefining social identities by continually giving new meanings to artefacts (Crane, 2000).

Fashion speaks an unspoken language, symbolically uniting and differentiating social classes of people. It involves similarity and uniformity, while it also serves an aesthetic and appearance function. For Woodward, our lived experience with clothes, how we feel about them, hinges on how others evaluate our crafted appearances (Woodward, 2005). Congolese are known in their world of *sapeurs* in Africa and beyond, in their dress and dressmaking. This is illustrated in their dress code, not only while in Africa but also when they immigrate abroad. Let us consider a photo taken when a Congolese community of former international students from the Africa University in Zimbabwe, residing in the USA, gathered with their families in November 2019 for a 'Thanksgiving' celebration, to which they invited every former Africa university student residing in North America to attend. My husband attended the event.

[60] The term has varied meanings depending on the context. In the context of clothing in the Democratic Republic of Congo, *sapeurs* are stylish people also known to be ambience lovers. In other words, in the DRC, members of the society group of ambience lovers and stylish people are commonly called *sapeurs*. *La sape* is a French slang for elegant and fashionable clothing.

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Figure 28: Congolese in their assorted African attire dress on special occasion. Photo by Gerald, the participant.

In this photo, every Congolese attendee dressed in African print attire, either as full and or African attire with adopted-fashion cloth from the West. Their assorted designs, colours, and styles, all encompass the notion of difference as in appearance but also collective identity as a diaspora who belong to Africa and the Congo in particular, representing their culture and belongingness. Their visible, colourful fashion and styles are therefore not limited to their geographical boundaries, but it is through clothing that Congolese identify themselves wherever they are, including those living in Cape Town, South Africa. Leeb-du Toit in her study on dress and identity among South African women, notes that dress defines cultural differences among the wearers; black South Africans do not only wear adopted fashions from the colonisers, but also focus on their own traditional dress to maintain their identity that differentiates them from other ethnicities (Leeb-du Toit, 2012:25). Similarly migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town have kept their *kitenge* dress to maintain their identity. For Leeb-du Tot therefore, dress denotes difference, as people rely on type of dress to identify those who belong and those who do not belong.

In this specific study however, the *kitenge* dress has played a role in how South Africans and transnational migrants have managed to negotiate their differences and belonging. For Hansen (2004:373), the dressed body enables individual and collective identity - where clothing, body, and performance come together as embodied practice. Allman (2004) in his edited book on fashioning Africa, notes the power of dress as a material that is capable of unifying, differentiating, challenging, and dominating. His good example is that of Somali women based in the USA, who choose to wear their traditional dress to forge national unity in their diasporic community. There is a sense of unity, belonging and sameness, among those wearing the same dress. In a South African context, the *kitenge* cloth in the South African refugee and diasporic community has been used not only to tell who the non-South

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Africans are, but as a way of collective identity as Africans. The cosmopolitan adoption of migrants' home styles of dress is crucial to how differences have been managed among and between diverse populations in South African cities and townships.

South Africans, particularly women, have shown interest in 'African fashion' as they interact with transnational migrants every day. The look of these patterned clothes attract South Africans who find it important to belong to the *sape* while maintaining Africanness. Anthropologists in studies on clothing and fashion have documented the origins of the *sape* among Congolese, who have been influenced by their colonisers, the French (see Mabanckou, 1998; Thomas, 2003). Designers equip themselves with the latest fashion designs from the media and/ or from superior designers. Some tailors in Cape Town. for instance, always get new designs from magazines and from Congolese TV channels on fashion.

Others like my tailor also receive images of made dresses from the Congo via social media: WhatsApp. The common desire to keep up with the latest fashionable designs as performed in the Congo, is to give their clients the new look from popular designs, and attracting more clients as well, she said. According to Simmel (1957), fashion changes, especially when a dressmaker realises that the imitation rate is growing. Following imitation, they decide to change to new designs and styles. Among migrants from the Great Lakes Region, the latest fashion in *kitenge* dressmaking is always learned from the DRC. And since fashion changes over time migrants in the South African community keep updated by staying connected to their home countries, home tailors, relatives, and friends. As discussed earlier, clients go to the tailor with a style in mind, and most migrants take images with them copied from media sources such as Facebook, and/or sent by friends and relatives back home via WhatsApp, while South Africans learn about certain styles from migrant neighbours, from the migrant tailor himself, or from taking a closer look at the displayed styles in the shop.

In the townships of Phoenix and Joe Slovo, South Africans admire having a tailor in their neighbourhood who can make good fashionable African dresses. According to the tailor, he has more South African clients than migrants. In the following section, I share a story from an informal conversation and interview I had with *fundi* (the Kiswahili word for craftsman) Abdul in Phoenix, regarding his business and clients.

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7.4 Interaction with *Fundi* (Tailor) Abdul

In order to understand the idea of fashion, its importation to Cape Town, and dress- making for and among migrants and South Africans, I consider a discussion I had with Abdul, one of the migrant tailors in Cape Town, based in Phoenix. Abdul's parents are originally from the DRC, but he was born and raised in Burundi, and due to the conflicts and wars he then left Burundi to Rwanda, where he met his beloved wife to whom according to Abdul he had been married for 25 years by the time we chatted in 2015. He started tailoring in Rwanda, later in Tanzania as a refugee, and in South Africa today.

In my conversation with *fundi* Abdul, he was very proud of telling me that his wife is from Rwanda. He already knew that I was also from Rwanda as per our previous informal conversations. He started his story by embracing his diversity – Congolese, born in Burundi, married to a Rwandan woman. About how he keeps his clients in Cape Town, he said "I started working from the Joe Slovo side, so the clients knew me from there and when I shifted to Phoenix side, they still found me here. Some had my contacts, my contact number; others would come and ask those whom they met there, and got directed to my new address".

As a reminder, the Joe Slovo side of the township is a business space for migrants running restaurants, barbershops, and salons. Clients, who visited Abdul's shop in Joe Slovo had therefore encountered other migrant business owners who directed them to Abdul's new place of business. As I was told, Abdul did not leave any sign to direct existing clients that he had moved since his shipping container shop was sold to another migrant, and so in order to locate his new shop people relied on word of mouth from fellow migrants and locals. Abdul and his clients may also have been able to connect again because as he told me, he had shared his contact number with clients particularly those who live in other townships and suburbs in the city. On another day in Abdul's shop, I heard him talking to a South African client over the phone; a woman who after a few minutes entered the shop to collect the *kitenge* dresses that Abdul had made. This confirmed for me that Abdul keeps contact with his clients, allowing regular communication and interactions over his materials.

Abdul sells *kitenge* fabrics and uses them to make different models of dresses and shirts. As we chatted further, he told me that he gets *kitenge* fabrics from the DRC, and he explained that he had someone who brings them all the way from the DRC based on Abdul's order, and then pays him. The price of dressmaking depends on the style, but an ordinary price is four hundred South African rand (R400) per dress, which does not include the price of the raw

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fabric. In our interview Abdul also told me that he received diverse clients and respects their choices when it comes to buying and selling.

> When South Africans want these African print materials from our home, it is OK with me; and when they want me to make dresses from the local materials from here, still fine, I make them all.

Abdul, like other tailors in the city, gives his clients choices when it comes to having an African attire dress. They can choose a fabric out of the diverse options available in the shop, and are also free to bring in own material without necessarily buying it from him. According to Abdul, it what matters most is that his clients are happy to have someone in their locality who can make them attires of their choice from varied fabrics, which will be unique in their designs. Zanele, a woman in her late thirties, a South African resident of Joe Slovo and a regular client of Abdul's, narrated one day, 'I just like the *kitenge* dresses, I find them unique in their design. I have known Abdul for more than three years now and I have a number of dresses that he made for me'.

Zanele, like other South Africans including the young woman we encountered in the opening vignette of this chapter who admired my dress from the barbershop, finds tailored dresses unique looking compared to dresses from fashion clothing outlets. This affirms *fundi* Abdul's comment that people,, particularly South Africans, are attracted by the variety of styles he can make to look stunningly different even if the material used is the same. Not only is the African print material of *kitenge* unique and colourful in design, but the designs of the dresses are also perceived as unique. The client makes a choice of design. Other South Africans whom I interacted with randomly perceive migrants from the Great Lakes Region as original in dressmaking and creative in African attire making. In the following section, I give an account of what it means for South African women to dress in the home styles of transnational migrants.

7.5 South Africans' engagement with the materiality of migrants' homestyle

South Africans in Joe Slovo and Phoenix have performed their sense of belonging through appropriation of 'African' cultural practices, wearing *kitenge* dresses. Here I apply the concept of performance in the same sense that Bauman and Butler use it, whereby to perform denotes to show (Bauman, 1975; Butler, 1988). South Africans therefore show their willingness to engage with others by appropriating their cultures, which I regard as a response to what migrants present to them in everyday life.

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Unlike migrant women who most of the time wear *kitenge* dresses as wrap- overs while executing everyday duties, South Africans want to be in an African print dress of fashionable style without necessarily deviating from their usual mode of dressing. Their African attire dresses are apparent on special occasions such as weddings and also in churches. At the multinational Revival Pentecostal Church of Phoenix I discussed in Chapter 4 for instance, I encountered a number of South African congregants wearing dresses, jackets, or tops made of this material. I also found this dressing style among the choir members the majority of whom are South Africans and who mostly dress in uniform, but this time around they dressed in *kitenge* attire; women in long skirts and matching long-sleeved tops and the men in long-sleeved shirts of the same material, colour, and ribbons. From my observation, all the Congolese, Rwandan, and Burundian women who attended the RPC church were dressed in varieties of African print materials with varied designs every Sunday. The pastor's wife is one of the role models who wears tailored long *kitenge* dresses of fancy designs all the time.

7.5.1 "I feel more African woman": Dress, identity and belonging

South Africans give varied explanations about how and why they engage with the *kitenge* styles that have been introduced in South Africa by migrants as their home styles.

Figure 29: Fundiswa, a South African young woman in an African print *kitenge*, a skirt-like wrap over and head-cover.

'When I dress in my African attire dress, I feel so comfortable and more African woman than when I wear the fashion dress from shops. I love colourful stuff and the African print materials are always colourful. When you get a good tailor, you will look unique', said

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Fundiswa from the RPC church. Fundiswa's statement shares the perception of uniqueness that many women have mentioned regarding African print dress - and all it takes is a good tailor like Abdul or others in the city. Drawing on Fundiswa' s feeling and experience, we understand that there is a sense of feeling good based on good appearance that comes with the African dress of the colourful *kitenge*. By looking unique, the wearer engages with her individual self which differentiates her from others on one hand, while on the other hand she to a large extent embraces the collective identity of the dress that makes her feel her Africanness. The dress therefore does two things for Fundiswa: it distinguishes her from her fellow South African as she appears unique and different at a particular point in time, while also belonging to a group of those who dress in *kitenge* as a home style.

The *kitenge* dress is also used for socio-political agendas; Fundiswa posted her photo on her WhatsApp on Monday, May 25th in her colourful *kitenge* attire wishing everyone a 'Happy Africa Day'. In this case the dress denoted unity and belonging to Africa, and Africanness here is emphasised by the clothing, body, and performance (Hansen, 2004). While Fundiswa's attraction to the migrants' *kitenge* dresses lies on their uniqueness, colourfulness and African feeling, other South Africans have added that these African print attires are priced well compared to other multicolour dresses they find in the shop. 'We get the dresses made and we pay slowly by slowly as we get the money. That can never happen in the shop. In the shop you have to pay upfront, very expensive, and not even same unique material', said a South African resident in Joe Slovo. South Africans, particularly married women, have their own colourful African prints from which they have dresses and head-scarves made, but those I spoke to still find the African *kitenge* textile nicer, and popular among South African women since they feel unique in it.

Another South African woman who walked in with her Congolese boyfriend provided another meaning to why she dresses in the home style of her boyfriend. They had met me at Abdul's store conversing with other clients, and as she was getting measurements taken for her new *kitenge* dress, I jokingly said to her that the boyfriend should pay for two other dresses that were aligned on hangers as well for they were nicely made and patterned. She responded that she had enough decent dresses of the same material, and that what she then needed was a new dress she planned to wear to the wedding of her boyfriend's sister. For this client, an African print dress is a decent dress, a dress to wear to an occasion that she values. I can also say that since she has a boyfriend from the DRC, she would have encountered a

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number of Congolese women wearing *kitenge* dresses to weddings and other gatherings. On that day her boyfriend was also in *kitenge*-made pants and shirt.

Every time I visited Abdul's shop in Phoenix at least two out of three clients were South Africans. This means that the fabric is not only imported to satisfy migrants but also South Africans who have shown interest in the styles. Abdul confirmed to me that in Phoenix he has as many South African clients as migrants, although he openly admitted that he does not make many of the migrants' clothes. He added that the migrants demand a lot of work and want to be discounted, which becomes time consuming and problematic for him. He therefore prefers making clothes for locals, as according to him, South Africans require less work.

One can consider two things from the above narratives – price and tailoring as factors. Migrants have worn African print-made dresses for so long, it is part of their cultural dress and as such they know many designs. They want the latest designs, which are time-consuming to make, require added ribbons, cost more, and yet they wish to pay less at discounted rates. This spirit makes the tailor prefer South Africans who still enjoy dressing in African attire even when made in its simplest way, less stylishly, and who pay the fixed amount of the cost and do not bargain, said *fundi* Abdul. He finds it less hectic to deal with those who easily pay for the service provided with no arguments. When locals want their African attires to be very fashionable with special styles, they know that the cost of making such a dress will be higher, and they pay without compromise, he added.

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The above is based on the lifestyle in migrants' countries of origin, which differ from that of South Africa. In the DRC, Burundi, and Rwanda, women have more African attires of *kitenge* in their wardrobes than western originated clothes. Tailoring in these three countries is actually a cheaper way of dressing compared to buying dresses from a shop. It is also worth knowing that although African prints become costly in Cape Town due to the added transport costs and accessibility, back in the countries of origin *kitenge* fabric is cheap ranging in francs from the equivalent of R70 (the simplest material), to R150, R200 (veritable wax) and above. As a result, migrants still have a mind-set that perceives a tailor as someone who should discount and charges less; having a tailored dress should be cheaper than getting one from a shop.

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In conclusion, tailors from the Great Lakes Region are known as good stylists when it comes to dress-, shirt-, and suitmaking. - Congolese tailors are known to be fashionable and original makers of clothes for both men and women. In a migrant community, running a *kitenge* shop is not only a moneymaking concern, but also importantly another way of building friendships and networks with fellow migrants and South Africans who interact with each other on a regular basis, in admiration of these stylish outfits.

The way I was directed to Mr. Abdul's shop by a South African woman, illustrates how South Africans have learned new dress fashions from migrant shops and direct each other to how and where they can get their own fashioned dresses. South African women find tailors like Abdul very convenient to have in their locality, accessing beautifully designed dresses at affordable prices. The willingness to appropriate this migrant home style, the ability to establish good relations with migrant tailors, and openness to refer other people to that tailor, all encompasses cosmopolitanism from below (Khan, 2008), which governs their practices as localised individuals, making their everyday interactions possible.

Apart from admiring and appropriating migrant home styles that are presented in their neighbourhood, South Africans have also managed to live in conviviality along with migrants based on their ability to appreciate migrants as good tenants. I discuss this in the subsequent section, to show that South Africans' understand how to make sense of living together with others; a situation that has made conviviality possible in a township where there were conflicts during, prior, and after the 2008 xenophobic attacks, like at present in other townships. I learned that another behaviour change that makes Joe Slovo or Phoenix a convivial place as opposed to a place of conflict is South Africans' ability to appreciate migrants as good tenants. The presence of migrants' presence in the South African township is therefore embraced and appreciated.

7.6 Transnational migrant tenants and their South African landlords: Contesting to protect migrants

'We all might be aware of the xenophobic outbreaks that took place in South Africa against African migrants', said Olivier, a Rwandan refugee migrant, when we were walking around the shacks and streets of Joe Slovo, randomly talking about security in the neighbourhood. Olivier was referring to the xenophobic attacks that took place in 2008 on a larger scale, and over different intervals. In 2008 for instance, xenophobic incidents by local residents and leaders in townships and informal settlements took a particularly violent form; approximately

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62 people (most of them African migrants) lost their lives, thousands of others were displaced, properties were looted, and women were raped (Misago et al 2009:2). Despite these attacks, we also learn of everyday forms of xenophobic attitudes practised towards African migrants through verbal abuse, exclusion, and in other ways (see Murara -published thesis, 2012).

Although Olivier did not know any African migrant who got injured during the xenophobic attacks, nor did any resident tell me of any, Joe Slovo and Phoenix as townships of Cape Town were not exceptions to the looting, burning of tyres and chanting in the streets, according to my interlocutors. In Joe Slovo Township, like in other townships around the city, migrants had to run away to find shelter elsewhere even if it meant paying more money renting in suburbs. Most of the migrant residents I chatted with including Olivier and John who accompanied me to the site on my first visits, left Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships to relocate to safer places in the suburbs while a few remained in the neighbourhood. It was during the same period that South African landlords experienced a financial crisis because most of their reliable tenants left the area.

On another day in Joe Slovo, I was briefed about the situation and relations between a local and a migrant since the xenophobic attack of 2008. Below I reproduce the narration from interlocutors:

> Here things have changed. The xenophobic attitude towards us is not as high as it was before. When xenophobia took place, many foreigners ran away and relocated to other places of Cape Town. Now we, foreigners, pay better money and in a timely manner as compared to how local tenants behave. Now, a landlord who was having a foreign tenant started complaining of hunger, and financial crisis, as they were no longer receiving their rental fee paid in regularly; and where paid, it could be in short amount. Like a landlord who had his 5 rooms to rent to foreigners, getting around R3000, ended up gaining no cent by end of the month. They then realised what caused such a crisis. As such they started fighting those who are causing foreigners to leave; because they realized that with not foreigner tenants, no life.
>
> Due to such crisis they faced, they started begging foreigners to come back to lodge their rooms and houses. They had to promise protection and peace in their area; because they did not wish to lose these foreigners again. The individual south African landlords in Phoenix-Joe Slovo, I was told, reached out to the community leaders to approach the citizens in teaching them who the foreigner is and how they must treat them, and also had urged the local residents that no foreigner should be attacked again in any form. That is how we got kind of stable stay. Narrated from a number of migrants, Joe Slovo 2014.

In the introduction chapter to this thesis I question the situation that makes Joe Slovo township different from other townships; migrants left during the xenophobic attacks but came back to stay and carry on their informal activities. In the previous chapters I have

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shown how the space played a role in bringing people together and how they have managed to live together in conviviality. Nevertheless, the narratives above from my interlocutors show that there was a total changed mindset among South Africans towards African migrants in the Joe Slovo Township that makes it convivial compared to other townships. The decisions that South African citizens took represent a kind of cosmopolitanism from below; the landlords took the initiative to actively warn fellow South Africans to treat migrants as humans, as fellow residents, and as brothers, if you will.

As migrants kept contact with a few who remained in the neighbourhood, they learned that South Africans had held a meeting to discourage xenophobic behaviours towards migrants. According to Olivier, this was his assurance to come back and stay in Joe Slovo, and also because the place was more affordable and closer to his workplace at Century City mall. , Some of those who relocated, like Olivier, came back to stay in Joe Slovo and Phoenix after the xenophobic attacks. One might also assume that the situation reflected a lull in the outbursts of violence, but based on migrant residents' stories, Joe Slovo had become safer in general since the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Olivier says the following regarding safety:

> In Joe Slovo neighbourhood there is a committee made of 14 South Africans, 7 women and 7 men, who are elected as grassroot-level leaders responsible for the security and small matters of residents. Long ago, whenever xenophobia outbreak started, those community leaders would motivate people especially youth to go and loot and steal from foreigners. But today, the situation is no longer the same, as those leaders actually warned youth about security that migrants need in their locality. Today if a Xhosa person sees a fellow South African trying to harm a foreigner, you will hear that Xhosa person saying 'hayibho[61]…. what are u doing'… and they try to stop him. But before, instead of saving you, whenever they could see one trying to attack you, they could join him in a big number. (Olivier, Joe Slovo migrant resident)

Olivier's chat above emphasises the ways in which Joe Slovo had become safer than it used to be during and before 2008. The same leaders who supported the xenophobic ideas are the ones who took the lead to stop xenophobic attitudes and actions. It is safer today because as the extract above shows, South African residents obeyed and adhered to what their leaders expected from them.

Although South Africans did this to protect their sources of income, migrants cherish this spirit of considering them as humans worth protecting and deserving of happy living. In wanting to know more about their safety, I approached Sindiwe, a member of the RPC whom I knew from church and church programmes, to ask if she knew any of the community

[61] South African slang indicating disbelief, moral disgust, surprise; as in 'I do not believe what I am seeing'.

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leaders in Joe Slovo she could introduce me to. She did and introduced me to Mr Mpho, one of the leaders. My conversation with Mpho was informal and I wanted to hear what he had to say about migrants in general. 'We have so many Africans from other countries here, they are from DRC. I know them because I see them around so often, and you see all those shops here in Joe Slovo, we issue them a space where they put their shop', said Mr Mpho. Mr Mpho had been in community leadership for three years by then and to prove to me that he was in contact with migrants, he went on to say that his committee issues spaces to migrants. Allocating space where Great Lakes Region migrants can position their shops is a true story as Pierre, a Burundian who owns two shops in Joe Slovo, confirmed on another day during our interview '*Kusema nipate nafasi ya kuweka contineri yangu, ni razima nimuone mmoja wa viongozi ili anipe ruhusa. Lakini hatuendaki mikono wazi, ni razima kumupa hera furani* (To get a stand for my shop, one must see any of the leaders to get a permission to occupy a certain space. But we do not go empty-handed, we have to bribe with little money).

While Crush (2008) in his study among South Africans found that some of them hate foreign nationals even though they had not known any in their locality. I In Joe Slovo Township, South Africans know and have regular contact with transnational migrants. As Mr Mpho, the South African, and Pierre, the migrant asserted at different intervals, it is apparent that Joe Slovo residents do not only intermingle in their social spaces, they also find ways of living together amicably in everything they do. Local leaders are aware of the presence of African migrants in their neighbourhood and of their informal activities. Migrants therefore feel a sense of security and acceptance as opposed to previous experiences of living in the township.

South Africans found ways to contest and protect these migrants who were good tenants and a source of income. As I discussed in Chapter 1, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, South Africans who apply and get approved are allocated RDP houses. Although the houses are mostly, based on those I entered, small in size with two small bedrooms and one small living room with kitchen section attached to it, the backyards were big plots that people had used to build shacks for renting purposes. I found in Joe Slovo that most houses have at least two shacks in the yard, and most of the tenants are single adults and a few young couples. By renting out those shacks therefore, South Africans make money to sustain themselves. I once talked to Mr and Mrs Themba, in their early forties, parents to two boys and one girl. They had been living in Joe Slovo since 1998 when they were a young couple. Mr and Mrs Themba were

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approved for RDP housing in 2006, and had two shacks in their backyard rented out to two single men; one from Burundi and the other from Zimbabwe. I wondered why this couple did not have a South African tenant. While they confirmed that before the migrant tenants they had Xhosa South African tenants, we kept chatting and our conversation went on as follows:

> **Odette**: What are the requirements to rent out your place?
>
> **Themba(s)**: There are no other requirements, as long as you are a good person.
>
> **Odette**: What do you mean by being a good person?
>
> **Themba(s):** Our brothers do not pay us, we have to fight to get paid because they bring too many excuses and they end up skipping many months without paying rent. This means, it is not good to rent your house to our fellow South Africans.
>
> **Odette**: Hmmmm, so how do you get migrant tenants and how good are they?
>
> **Themba(**s): We heard from our neighbours that they have good tenants who are not South Africans. We told our neighbours that we also want good tenants and they should tell them that we also have a place to rent out. The next few weeks we got our first tenant, and another month we got the other. They are very good; they pay us without even reminding them to.
>
> **Odette**: How do you see your life as different from your previous tenants (South Africans) and current ones (transnational migrants)?
>
> **Themba(s):** There is much difference. I am nolonger worried about food, because I get my money every month. My wife is also able to run a little business from that money we get from our tenants.

From above conversations with Mr and Mrs Themba, it is clear that migrant tenants are regarded as good persons. This also means that South Africans' relations with migrants are based more on what they benefit from them. They appreciate that migrants from countries other than South Africa are good neighbours who contribute to the wellbeing of locals. Mr Themba and his wife also talk about how they financially sustain themselves out of the money paid by good migrant tenants, and how they got them through neighbours. This also means that in the entire neighbourhood, migrants are well known as good people to live with. There is also an understanding that referrals through word of mouth are common in Joe Slovo, which also makes it possible to manage differences and accommodate migrants. Instead of perceiving migrants as foreigners who steal jobs, who take opportunities from locals as much of the literature on xenophobia suggests, in Joe Slovo South Africans regard migrants as an important source of income and contributors to their wellbeing.

Olivier, on another day as we conversed, shared a similar insight regarding his experience after he returned to Joe Slovo in 2008, following the xenophobic incidents.

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> Normally South Africans do not like immigrants. But they want us so that we can rent their houses. Every South African wants a migrant tenant, because migrants pay easily. So they do not want us to be harmed otherwise we will run away again. For me to return to this area, it is because I heard my friends saying that South Africans have held a meeting to protect migrants. My friends have also returned back to their places in Joe Slovo and had been advised by other residents to call all of us who left to come back, that we will be safe, they will protect us. I then decided to come back and rented out a different shack but in the same area. My landlord talked to me that same night, and said that I should inform him if anyone abuses or harasses me in the streets.

The above scenario of Olivier's interaction with fellow migrants and his South African landlord, illustrates two meanings attached to living with diversity in township spaces. On the one hand, Olivier and his fellow migrants kept informing themselves about what would happen to them in case they continued to live in the township, to the extent that they ended up knowing about the community meeting that took place in Joe Slovo regarding migrants' stay. This shows the connection and attachment they had with the place; most of them disclosed that they chose to stay in Joe Slovo because it is close to their work places and also affordable compared to renting rooms in the suburbs. On the other hand, South Africans wanted migrants back, to earn a living. The fact that Olivier was advised by his South African landlord to report any harassment or xenophobic attitude towards him, means that there was a kind of solution and measures that were taken by all South Africans at the meeting. It is a regular meeting according to my interlocutors, that brings together South Africans to discuss pressing issues in the community, and it seems that migrants were added to the agenda - another form of cosmopolitanism of living with others.

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7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed an issue of how locals appropriate migrants' home styles in dress and dressmaking. Indeed the ability of locals to learn and acquire the home styles of migrants is evident not only in dress styles, but also in other performances that migrants confer to their neighbourhood such as the hairstyles I discussed in Chapter 2. What however made this chapter different is that the *kitenge* material is imported from other parts of Africa. Its scarcity is what I emphasised and how such a home style became adopted in a Cape Town community.

Migrants' connectivity with their home countries was again discussed in this chapter to set the background for how materials other than food and music, discussed in Chapter 6, have allowed other encounters of diversity which are mediated between migrants and locals. I

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showed in this chapter that migrant tailors though engage in dressmaking to primarily make money, but that the processes in which such dressmaking is done signify conviviality and cosmopolitanism embrace by people in everyday life. Keeping in touch with clients by sharing contact numbers and calling or texting following orders or the availability of new materials, clients direct one another to a good tailor. The idea of identification where people might encounter one another wearing dresses from the same tailor contradicts the idea that locals and migrants in a South African community cannot mix.

While xenophobia in South Africa resides in what locals say or do, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, locals have taken a step ahead to mediate their differences. I showed in this chapter that after the xenophobic attacks of 2008, locals realised the importance of having migrant tenants in the area as a source of reliable income. This also contrasts the xenophobic belief that many South Africans hold towards African migrants, namely that they are in the country to steal jobs and other opportunities. Instead, locals in Joe Slovo through regular interaction have learnt that migrants are as humans as locals, and more importantly pay their rent on time as opposed to local tenants. It is in this spirit that I discussed the issue of landlord-tenant relations, more significantly to shed light on other forms of cosmopolitanism through which transnational migrants and South Africans have managed to live together in conviviality in a place where conflict is also possible.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION: Negotiating differences and belonging in a South African township

This dissertation set out to examine the overemphasis on conflict and (xenophobic) violence, which covers real everyday interactions in South Africa. I explored the day-to-day interactions between migrants from the Great Lakes Region of Africa and South Africans (and secondarily among migrants themselves), and explored the conceptual innovation of embodied performance, conviviality, and vernacular cosmopolitanism in a South African township context. Following this, I focused on everyday practices from central social spaces within the neighbourhood – the restaurants, hair salons/barbershops, the tailor shop, the multinational Pentecostalist church and the streets, and how South Africans respond to diversity and the presence of transnational migrants in their neighbourhood through appropriation of migrants' cultural practices.

The dominant discourse on migration in South Africa is that African migrants experience xenophobic attitudes, discrimination, exclusion, and hatred in the eyes of South Africans particularly black South Africans (Coplan, 2009; Misago et al, 2009; Harris, 2002). In South African townships, African migrants have also experienced xenophobic attacks. African migrants from the Great Lakes Region in South Africa the majority of whom are refugees, have no alternatives except residing in the neighbourhoods with South Africans, since in South Africa there are no refugee camps compared to other Southern African countries like Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe that host migrants from war-torn countries. Given these circumstances, this thesis addressed a number of questions: How do transnational migrants manage to live in neighbourhoods with internal migrant South Africans whose history of social exclusion (Coplan, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Posel, 1987) has resulted in the negative attitudes towards 'other', the African migrants? Given the persisting xenophobia in South African cities and townships, are social relations between South Africans and transnational migrants something (un) attainable? Are there situations that can promote conviviality, and people being able to live together given their differences, within South African communities that had been marked as dangerous and unwelcoming?

The ethnographic accounts presented in this dissertation show that given the increased level of contact between South Africans and transnational migrants in their neighbourhood, their relations are far better contrary to the xenophobic encounters. I have generally argued in this

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thesis that what makes the conviviality possible in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, like it may be elsewhere in the city or country, is the repeated contact that intra-migrants who are black South Africans have with transnational migrants in their neighbourhood; contact through which they have managed to learn about, appreciate, and appropriate the cultural practices that these non-South Africans confer. Their differences are negotiated through ordinary practices in the everyday; a process similar to what Sichone (2008) has termed xenophilia in his study conducted in Cape Town. Sichone notes the shift from xenophobic treatment towards non-nationals to love of foreigners by some South African women whom he referred to as ‘Xhosa Mamas’. For him, the Xhosa Mamas practiced their cosmopolitanism by welcoming and hosting strangers, offering them food, providing new arrivals with accommodation, and engaging with foreigners as their fellows.

My findings from Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, in line with Sichone’s findings, are in deep contrast to xenophobic encounters. The regular contact with people from elsewhere outside South Africa, help intra-migrant South Africans to learn about others, engage with them and appreciate their diversities. This contests and outweighs some xenophobic triggers, including lack of knowledge about migrants from elsewhere in Africa (Misago, 2009), and lack of contact (Crush, 2008) among other factors. Through regular social interactions with migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, South Africans changed their minds. They learnt that African migrants are not there to steal jobs[62], but are innovative and self-reliant individuals who run informal businesses to make a living, which also benefits South Africans who no longer have to commute to get a haircut but benefit from getting services rendered in their neighbourhood[63] and at discounted, cheaper rates.

There were evident practices of assimilation and appropriation as residents embraced the idea of cosmopolitanism, which emphasises that nothing is innate in cultural belonging; rather one’s sense of culture and belonging can be transformed in the process of meeting with others (Baban, 2006). The ethnographic work presented in this thesis was discussed in relation

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[62] Townships are places inhabited by low-income residents with high rate of unemployment, and poverty. Consequently and as scholars have noted about the root causes of xenophobia, African migrants are stereotyped to contribute to their poverty, blaming them of stealing jobs and other opportunities by local nationals (Sichone, 2008; Harris, 2002 & 2008; Misago et al. 2008; Nyamnjoh, 2008).

[63] I also learned from my interlocutors that black South Africans in their township neighbourhood do not run businesses except for a few women whom I encountered in Joe Slovo who do braai stands on the streets. These everyday informal businesses benefit both migrants and South Africans in the neighbourhood and were run by African migrants from the Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda, including one popular informal grocery shop in Joe Slovo, run by a Somali man.

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to the key concepts and theoretical argumentation, and as the nature of this study asserts, I methodologically engaged sensory ethnography.

8.1. Sensory ethnography of diversity and conviviality

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation I engaged the sensory ethnography of social interactions to reveal the role of food for the performance of sharing and conviviality, while the same method of fieldwork allowed for participant observation, listening and visualising what people said and did. In order to understand how transnational and internal migrants mediate their differences and belonging as they live together, the restaurants as well as the braai stands in the neighbourhood were considered as spaces from which ordinary embodied performances were acted and re-enacted in everyday life. The sensory ethnography of food performances revealed that food smell and taste coupled with rituals involved in serving and consuming the food, play a meaningful role in how people visited the migrant restaurants and engage with one another. Unlike the idea of social exclusion that has characterised the social relations between South Africans and African migrants, residents are able to socially interact over the repeated processes of preparing, serving and consuming food (Butler, 1988), building relations while managing living together regardless of their otherness. They ordinarily and repeatedly act (Ibid, 1988) in response to the smell, taste, and general presentation of food from these social spaces.

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Another practice through which people negotiate their differences is through sharing. People share food either from same plate or same table, share talks and ideas as they eat, and share information as they comment on the food taste wanting to know, particularly among migrants from the Great Lakes Region, where to access the same food products in the city, specifically the food products that are not produced in South Africa but sourced from their home countries to Cape Town. Migrants from the Great Lakes Region among themselves have formed relations out of these repeated acts of sharing information and networking. While the food presented in these township restaurants brings back the memories among the transnational migrant consumers who recall their back home meals, for South Africans, it is a terrain of learning new realities. I showed in this chapter how South Africans like Mngqibisa aligned with migrants, appreciating how their food make them feel good through the taste and also the way they get treated in the restaurant. Like did other South Africans who regularly visited the transnational migrants' restaurants, Mngqibisa is a cosmopolitan who has shown respect to other people's memories, traditions and qualities. Similarly as the

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concept of cosmopolitanism suggests, his regular contact with transnational migrant's restaurant shows his openness to change, and to 'contamination' (Appiah, 2006).

Whether people meet at the braai stands or the restaurants, the shared space allow them to form a collective identity, welcoming one another, talking and networking, forming relations with the space and with people in it even in the absence of food. I stated in this chapter that some residents come to the restaurants not necessarily to buy food but to check on who is around to interact, which is another good sign of conviviality among residents. In Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships, social spaces of interaction bring residents into contact with each other, determining their relationship to the spaces, and also guaranteeing specific levels of performance (Lefebvre, 1991).

Other spaces of interaction were important in studying the ways through which people's diversities are mediated in everyday life. The popular cultural practices presented in Chapter 3 were observed in the barbershops and hair salons in Joe Slovo, and revealed important aspects through which conviviality has been achieved at a place where conflict is also possible. I engaged with the anthropological work done on popular culture in cities of the Democratic Republic of Congo particularly in Kinshasa by Pype (2005 & 2015), Braun, (2010), and De Boeck (2005), and in South Africa by Becker (2012 &2015) to respond to a set of questions: How is the spatial interaction constructed and performed in these barbershops and salons in everyday life? What meaning do people attach to the naming, paintings, pictures on the walls, musical entertainment, as well as other expressive representations in these shops? How do these forms of popular culture and other performances impact the relations among diverse residents, and how do they engage with one another?

In these barbershops and hair salons owned and run by migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo, diverse musical entertainment and good unique haircuts (as clients spelled) have attracted residents to not only visit the barbershops but also to participate and engage with the entertainment therein, suggesting and playing songs, dancing or singing along, commenting on the haircuts, and reading through the hair magazines on the barbershop wall from which South Africans appropriated hair styles. By responding to and engaging with the popular cultural presentations in the migrants' barbershops therefore, residents have managed to interact with one another, managing their differences and forming

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relations and sense of belonging in a natural setting. Both transnational migrants and South Africans chose to be what Nyamnjoh calls frontier Africans; beings who are flexible in mobility, identity, citizenship, and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 259), who should reach out, encounter, and explore ways of complementing themselves with encounters born out of incompleteness with others, not with the intention of becoming complete, but to bridge differences and to simply relate; what he calls conviviality.

Social interactions in the barbershops are influenced by the popular cultural representations through which clients and visitors construct a collective as opposed to individual identity. I said in this chapter that even in the absence of a haircut, music alone motivate encounters, where those in the barbershop dance or sing along the music tuned from the CD radio in the barbershop corner. The arguments and suggestions in the choices of songs to play were fascinating to observe; songs were played from different sources with different meanings, and what mattered to people were the lyrics. Unlike the idea that in South African communities, South Africans and African migrants do not mix and do not interact, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, such barriers are convivially managed through networks and interactions with diverse music sourced from various African artists. Through music, there was regular contact among South Africans and transnational migrants, accommodating one another regardless of their differences.

With reference to the above therefore, the situation that make conviviality possible in a place where conflicts are also possible lie in the neighbours' abilities to engage with each other; migrant barbers considering playing Xhosa music, South Africans considering playing other African music, and also being able to appropriate each other's ways of life such as in hairstyles. We found in Chapter 3 that the haircuts, which Emma introduced in Joe Slovo, served as ways through which residents assimilate appearances, instead of feeling different. They have assimilated the images on the wall and more importantly the styles from outside South Africa. By doing so, they practice cosmopolitanism; welcoming and engaging with another nationality's culture.

The notion of appropriation of migrants' styles was also discussed in Chapter 7, where I showed how South African women admire and consider the *kitenge* dress as one of their clothing styles. They practice cosmopolitanism by appropriating African migrants' popular culture and materiality that has led to a sense of collective and belonging identity, in contrast

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to the idea that migrants and South Africans do not engage.

People's engagement and interactions were further explored in Chapter 4, where I looked at the role of churches in mediating differences. The Revival Pentecostal Church based in Phoenix Township was founded and is still headed by a refugee migrant from the DRC, and presents a high diversity of congregants from various nationalities and ethnicities. What is interesting in the argument made in this chapter is how people' s interactions at church differed significantly from on the street and/or in shops' interactions. Cosmopolitanism from below was examined through congregants' interactions during church services, but more importantly during their involvement in other church-instituted programmes including home cells, youth groups, and charity programmes. This meant that apart from mixing in the streets and shops as neighbours who live in the same area and who are familiar with one another, the church interactions go beyond the familiar to strangers, opening doors to people from other neighbouring communities since most of the congregants are not necessarily Joe Slovo/Phoenix residents but commute to attend church services in Phoenix.

What I found different in that church compared to other Great Lakes Region migrants' churches in the city, is the ability to conduct services, programmes, and hymns in English, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu South African official languages. This process encourages inclusion as opposed to other migrant churches that conduct services only in their mother languages such as Lingala among Congolese-led churches, or Kinyarwanda among Rwandans-led churches because they serve only people from the same nationality. That inclusiveness, and consideration of others provide sense of belonging, acceptance and tolerance of other cultures, especially when songs in different languages are presented and practiced by all church members regardless of their differed origins. Another important feature of cosmopolitanism and conviviality is the mixing of South Africans and migrants in the church's administration, which again entails sense of acceptance, inclusiveness, and belonging among the church members irrespective of their diversities.

In Chapter 5, the focus was on how differences might have been mediated on the streets. I was interested in how residents' everyday performances, thus practices of everyday life (De Certeau, 1984) were incorporated in the space. Everyday here implies repetitive gestures of work (Lefebvre & Levich, 1987) as social products of social spaces (Lefebvre, 1974; 1984). I addressed among other questions: How do migrants and South African residents interact with

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the streets of Joe Slovo and Phoenix? In what ways does the street as an open public space offer opportunities to form or disconnect from existing relations among diverse residents? The discussion of possible answers to these questions started with an ethnographic detailed account of how people make use of such spaces, given their otherness. The concept of conviviality is concerned with managing differences; just 'living together' despite national, ethnic, and racial differences (Gilroy, 2004). Following this, conviviality was achieved through performative enactments including street games and greeting rituals between transnational migrants and South Africans.

The conviviality of the street that I found in these townships can be better understood in terms of what the urbanist AbdouMalia Simone (2004) in his study, Inner City of Johannesburg, calls 'people as infrastructure' to mean how residents (immigrants and South Africans) form relations through various activities in the city. He notes that the influx of people from inner city places of encounter including streets, and their engagement in different activities including informal businesses, facilitate their interactions and shape their ways to live in harmony with their differences. Simone adds for instance that, 'No matter how Nigerians and South Africans express their mutual hatred, that does not stop them from doing business with each other, sharing residences, or engaging in other interpersonal relations' (Simone, 2004: 419).

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Similar to the above, and as it may be the case in most South African townships; the streets of Joe Slovo are busy spaces that residents use on a regular basis. In these spaces, what forges people's relations include the sociality of greeting on one hand, and engaging in street game on the other. Those who stand and greet each other, have a chance to form longer interactions, and are able to notice and recognise each other the next time they meet elsewhere. The streets are also important spaces from which differences are mediated through indigenous games among men, and boys and girls in the neighbourhood. The games do not only bring together players, but also those who stand by to watch, get a sense of relaxation, and interact as they support the players. Through games, South Africans and migrants therefore engage in regular and long-lasting relationship as they form teams (among soccer players) and/or perform regular checks on each other in the process of organising a game. By engaging in diverse activities, what Simone (2004) calls 'people as infrastructure'; residents have been able to live together in cosmopolitan conviviality despite the danger of crime and other insecurities. De Boeck and the visual artist Baloji find that urban sites in

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Kinshasa emerge as a suturing point in which the possibilities of collective action and dreams of a shared future continue to be explored (De Boeck & Baloji, 2016). This is applicable in South Africa, especially in townships where, as Forrest and Kearns (2001) put it, residents of such poor neighbourhoods spend more time in their local areas than do residents of wealthier neighbourhoods. As such the township streets were discussed as important spaces from which everyday embodied performances were analysed to make sense of people's social relations. Through these streets as open spaces, cultural identities such as hair and dress styles, languages and accidents, and walking styles were illustrated, visualised and interacted upon, allowing higher chances of learning about and appropriating other cultures.

It would not be adequate to discuss the ways in which South Africans have appropriated the home styles of migrants in Cape Town without elaborating on the migrants' connection with their home countries from where they source materials and other non-South African products. Through connectivity with home countries, migrants revisit and maintain their ordinary ways of life, being able to import and access imported products from home while in Cape Town. Through the process of reconstructing their identities, they have formed networks with sellers, buyers, fellow migrants and South Africans in general, informing each other about where to get food stuffs from back home, the dress (*kitenge*) from home, and also music from home in the city of Cape Town.

The focus of Chapter 6 was therefore to examine conviviality among migrants from the Great Lakes Region through their connections with home. In the introduction chapter I stated that this group of migrants is not homogenous but hold some shared histories and indeed differences in ethnicities and countries of origin. As such, the chapter focused on the situations that make this group of migrants look beyond their differences and live together in harmony through interactions over home-sourced products. Except for Rwandans who leave the country with a destination in mind, some taking direct flights from Kigali to South Africa, others have embarked on long distance road trips from eastern to southern Africa, and Rwandan refugees who had lived in exile since 1994, travelled via many countries before coming to South Africa, as did migrants from the DRC and Burundi (See Vigouroux, 2008). This trans-national journey means a lot among Rwandans. Their fear and judgment of uncertainty labels such as 'being a spy', 'being *inkotanyi*[64]' are worsened or outweighed by

[64] The term used by and referring to the RPF soldiers since the start of the war in Rwanda in 1990 from Uganda. Literally the term 'i*nkotanyi*' means 'warrior', and was named after the militia serving under the King Rwabugiri who was famous for his military conquests, especially in the north of Rwanda.

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learning that a fellow migrant arrived directly from home or had gone via other countries as a refugee, before coming to South Africa. Although the term was initially used to name the RPF soldiers, it is also used to label individuals who associate or support the views of the current Rwandan government, in or outside the country.

Chapter 6 also answered the questions one would be curious about such as: What happens among migrants when they visit one another? What happens when they invite one another to small parties such as a daughter or son's birthday party, or a welcome party at home? Unlike big events like weddings or funerals that bring many invitees together, small parties, home visits, and other informal gatherings involve no informal invitations, but bring together those who are already close friends. These are generally migrants who go to the same church, are co-workers, neighbours, or relatives, or simply know each other from back home or other countries they passed through before coming to South Africa.

As far as living together with differences is concerned, I showed in chapter 7 that South Africans have appropriated the migrants' dress code of *kitenge*, and tailors like Abdul in Phoenix revealed to me that the majority of his clients are South African women for whom he tailors different dress styles out of *kitenge* fabric. By engaging with the materiality of dress introduced by migrants in a South African community, South African women have raised the notion of Africanness, which illustrates their sense of collective identity, belonging, and cosmopolitanism (citizens of the world).

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8.2 On negotiating otherness in everyday life: Practices of sameness

This dissertation has focused on social interactions among migrants from the Great Lakes Region who are diverse among themselves, and South Africans who live together as neighbours in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships. The central argument that was brought up in this dissertation was that although African migrants in South Africa have experienced discrimination, social exclusion, assaults, and other forms of xenophobia from black south Africans, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships where they both live together as neighbours, they have mediated their differences through everyday interactions and practices from local spaces created by both South Africans and transnational migrants, and as South Africans appreciate what transnational migrants confer to their locality.

Spaces created by migrants from the Great Lakes Region and South Africans in their neighbourhoods as well as the practices therein were analysed in this thesis to make sense of

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how encounters of diversity are mediated in everyday life. In other words, we learned in this thesis, about situations and resources that people use to forge relations in the everyday in an environment where conflicts are also possible. Performances of diversity are thus intertwined in the space itself, its make-up and the practices therein as ordinarily lived and performed. The interactions and performances of living together were observed in restaurants, barbershops and hair salons, the tailor shop, the multinational Pentecostal church, and on the street within the Joe Slovo/ Phoenix neighbourhoods. In order to make sense of how people's relations were formed and maintained, I considered other places outside this neighbourhood especially where residents get together at events beyond their locality.

While there are local practices, social and economic resources that permit interactions to take place among transnational migrants and with South Africans, these experiences differed significantly. On the streets for instance, when one is just walking, people do not always greet each other; it is very difficult especially in a South African township like Joe Slovo where street users fear of muggers and thieves, which is unlike how they engage with each other when it comes to spaces like the migrants' shops and the local multinational church. They know whom they will meet; they know whom to talk to. This means that even though living with diversity creates tensions and conflicts between the actors, and as much as crime is present every day in most South African informal settlements and townships, the transnational migrants know what can be done and what cannot be done, when and how, interestingly becoming connected to particular spaces.

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Great Lakes Region migrants are also not homogeneous but a group that holds national, ethnic, and other differences. I therefore conclusively note that among other resources that migrants have used to relate with each other, the daily use of communal Kiswahili is important in the migrant community, as well as networking over materials sourced from back home to the Cape Town community.

Kiswahili is also used as a language of camouflage or concealment of one's self among the Great Lakes Region migrants. As such, speaking Kiswahili turns Rwandan and Congolese identities invisible to one another. There are tensions among Rwandans and Congolese based on the unrests of continued war and conflicts in the region, particularly between Rwanda and the DRC since 1996 (see Berwouts, 2017), the aftermath of which continues to haunt refugees in exile. There is thus an issue of mistrust, which causes Congolese no to trust Rwandans, and Rwandans among themselves do not trust each other. This has been observed

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elsewhere in migrants' community in South Africa, where researchers assert that in many instances, even people from the same country carefully avoid close association with other 'exiles' or cling to multiple points of loyalty that allow them to shift within multiple networks (Landau & Freemantle, 2010).

In the process of living together in refugee camps, not only have Rwandans and Burundians learned KiSwahili, but some Congolese can also speak or understand Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. To some Rwandan individuals however, in order to maintain good relations with their Congolese neighbours, they use Kiswahili language as a medium of communication concealing their Rwandanness. One of my interlocutors told me one day in Joe Slovo: "There is no way a Congolese will befriend you after knowing that you are a Rwandan. More specifically if you meet a Congolese from Lubumbashi for instance, if he can get a way to kill you he can actually kill you. Because, this is an area where the RPF *inkotanyi* has always attacked, and killed so many people there; that is why when you tell them that you are from Rwanda, you are an enemy; they don't know how to distinguish between the Hutu (the hunted by RPF) and Tutsi (actually supported by the RPF). They assume every Rwandan is a killer. That is why even when we meet in beer halls, we don't disclose that we are Rwandans. For me, many Congolese here know me as a Tanzanian, because I am able to speak the proper Kiswahili from Tanzania".

From what he narrates above, this Rwandan refugee knew that if he communicated in Kinyarwanda, Congolese migrants would still understand him yet he opted to use KiSwahili throughout the conversation with them, to carry a Tanzanian identity, in concealment of his Rwandanness. He was open to change and adaptability to achieve a harmonious living along with his hellow residents.

The use of language does shift however, when migrants encounter a South African. When migrants are seated with South Africans around the table, they talk in English and some long-established migrants use *isiXhosa* words, although a South African woman whom I met and who has a boyfriend from the Congo, enjoyed talking in *KiSwahili,* calling the male migrants *shemeji*. This shows how much local South Africans have gone out of their way to learn foreign languages from their migrant neighbours.

When migrants talk they talk about social matters such as the issue of permits (valid legal immigration documents), their everyday struggles and joys, and about what happens in their

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home countries provided they do not dig deep into political issues to avoid unpleasant situations. It was interesting to learn how these migrants spoke with caution where necessary, considering who the audience was, and deciding what to say and not to say, what to do or not to do.

Apart from being able to engage in talks, games, and other forms of interactions, migrants in the South African community are known to be good tenants to South African landlords. It was based on this fact South Africans landlords acted to protect migrants. I covered in this thesis various activities and performances that people engage in and through which they mediate their otherness. At both migrants' shops, the cosmopolitan shop owners create atmospheres in which the comers feel a sense of belonging and valued as part of the community. At these shops they meet and greet, talk, and exchange contacts, while the shop owners offer spaces, entertainment, discounted prices and credit. Places like streets offer more opportunities to unwind and refresh, particularly among South Africans. Although the transnational migrant residents also use the local streets, their engagements in the streets are fewer compared to how freely South Africans walk slowly, stop each other, talk, laugh, and make a noise in the streets.

Another important space that was discussed in this thesis was the church. The multinational church in Phoenix, though founded and headed by a migrant from the DRC, practices inclusivity regardless of nationality, ethnic group, or gender. Through this 'inclusive' born-again church, township residents in the city of Cape Town have managed to cultivate love, tolerance, and respect for one another among the migrants themselves, and with South Africans. It is unfortunate that most other migrant churches I know in the city are sole-nationally operated. We find born-again churches in Cape Town for only Rwandans, or Rwandans and Burundians, and others only for Congolese. This is because each of these churches conducts the activities of the church in the mother tongue, which means the Rwandan church is run in Kinyarwanda, and the Congolese church in Lingala.

Apart from interactions that take place in migrants' shops, streets, and at the local multinational church, migrants and locals in exile also invite one another to marked events such as weddings where they perform their connectivity with home. It is in these events that the performance of food, music, and dress code play a significant role in bridging differences among migrants and locals who in one way or another appropriate migrant culture as

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illustrated in the *kitenge* dresses they wear. That act of inviting one another to such events shows the kind of the relationships they share, and want to maintain.

Marked events among migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Cape Town are therefore important spaces from which we understand performances of diversity. Migrants though diverse among themselves invite each other and also South Africans to celebrate or mourn together. In such events, experiences of differences and belonging are negotiated through the music played, the food served, and the dress code where South Africans would also appear dressed in the African attire (*kitenge* dresses) commonly worn by women from the Great Lakes Region; purposely worn perhaps because the South Africans love to show that they acknowledged looking the same way as migrant women in particular events hosted by migrants. South Africans also wear *kitenge* dresses as uniform among the choir members, while other South African congregants dress in *kitenge* dresses or tops simply to identify with their fellow migrant believers. Others within the neighbourhood dress in *kitenge* to look good in their colourful unique attires, and also to identify with an Africanness feeling that comes with the *kitenge* and other African print dresses. Finding sameness out of differences determines the level of cosmopolitanism and conviviality that diversity entails in Joe Slovo and Phoenix townships.

Migrants from the Great Lakes Region among themselves and with South Africans have hence mediated their diversities not only through language(s), and the fact that they are good tenants, but also through other performances. The popular music played in the barbershops allow residents particularly those who make regular use of the shops, to engage with the music as in embodied performances of dance and singing along, and more significantly making everyone feel that they belong and are accepted, as the music collectively represents many nations, cultures, and languages. Similarly, at events where migrants and locals gather, they perform a mixture of songs to allow every guest to approach the dance floor; this was also observed at the multinational born-again church in Phoenix.

Notwithstanding, and like Gilroy (2004) asserts with reference to his concept of conviviality, being different is not regarded as a problem in Joe Slovo and Phoenix Township, rather South Africans have appreciated the diverse socio-economic opportunities that African migrants have presented in the neighbourhood, which shaped the way they engage and relate with them. This cosmopolitan thinking is what enables people to live in harmony, and again as Baban (2006) writes, cosmopolitanism emphasises that nothing is innate in cultural

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belonging; one’s sense of culture and belonging can be transformed in the process of meeting others.

8.3 Conceptual Summary

Cosmopolitanism, conviviality and performance are the key concepts that have guided the analysis of this ethnographic study. I agree with Nyamnjoh (2017), and Gilroy (2004; 2006) who assert that conviviality is not absence of differences, but ability to manage and just live together with those differences. Although this conviviality concept was propounded and applied by Gilroy in Britain, African anthropologist Francis Nyamnjoh analysed the same concept in the African context as a currency for frontier Africans (Nyamnjoh, 2017). Nyamnjoh finds that frontier Africans are people who are flexible in mobility, identity, citizenship, and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 259), who reach out, encounter, and explore ways of complementing themselves with encounters born out of incompleteness, - not with intention of becoming complete but to bridge differences and to simply relate. My findings show that migrants from the Great Lakes Region in Joe Slovo and Phoenix Townships are frontier Africans. They have created spaces in a South African township with intention to make a living, and such spaces have ordinarily become terrain from which encounters of differences are mediated in everyday.

Nyamnjoh defines conviviality as recognition for our being incomplete, and also the ability to be open-minded in our articulations of identities, being and belonging (Nyamnjoh, 2017: 262). The idea of incompleteness is also apparent in the everyday of residents in Joe Slovo and Phoenix as one way of understanding their ability to mediate differences. My ethnographic findings show that rather than perceiving African migrants as opportunists who steal jobs or women - as one of the xenophobia triggers (Harris, 2002; Sichone, 2008), black South Africans have experienced a change of mindset, perceiving African migrants as innovative hard workers who create their own jobs instead of taking or filling in the gaps for the jobs South Africans are able to do. Instead of seeing diversity as a problem within their socio-economically struggling community, they have realised the importance of being different as they learn and benefit from social opportunities that non-South Africans present in their neighbourhoods.

In addition to finding conviviality as recognition of being incomplete, I argue that in a South African context, conviviality entails exposure to diversity, which enables residents to admire

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and learn from the uniqueness that comes with it. In Joe Slovo and Phoenix alike, Great Lakes Region migrants whose majority of them are refugees run barbershops, hair salons, restaurants, tailor shops, and churches, in the same complex where South Africans run informal businesses including a driving school run by a coloured South African in Joe Slovo, and street braais by black South African women. In the midst of carrying out these informal businesses, residents support each other as sellers and buyers alike. Transnational migrants and South Africans engage, support one another, admire and appreciate what each of them contributes instead of focusing on the national, ethnic, and other differences. Their feeling of incomplete and need for each other is realised through exposure to diversity, and is what promote their convivial living together.

In Joe Slovo and Phoneix, close exposure to diversity has therefore played a role in how residents mediate their otherness. Great Lakes Region migrants, and who had survived on informal businesses back home, have introduced same informal businesses in their migrant neighbourhood, and to South Africans these were new ways of life, through which they learned, admired, and appropriated with. African migrants in Joe Slovo practiced cosmopolitanism by welcoming South African clients in their shops, offering them discounted or credited services in restaurants and barbershops, involving South Africans into church programs, and adapting to South African hymns and music in a transnational migrant -dominated church. These spaces and practices of welcoming others resulted in a regular contact through which residents learned about each other. Consequently, South Africans practiced cosmopolitanism by admiring, appreciating, engaging, and appropriating the popular cultures of migrants from the Great Lakes Region. South African landlords have also admired and formed good relations with Great Lakes Region migrants as good tenants, and have shown their cosmopolitanism by contesting to protect these migrants in their neighbourhood. In their Township neighbourhood, residents perform their diversities in ways that foster inclusiveness and belonging rather than expressing xenophobic behaviours, by adopting acceptance and tolerance of other people's ways of life - encapsulated by the concept of cosmopolitanism.

The cosmopolitanism among residents of Joe Slovo and Phoenix was determined by the ordinary practices that ranged from greeting, welcoming each other, interacting, gifting, sharing, engaging, and acts of appropriation. According to Werbner (2008:2), cosmopolitanism emphasises empathy, tolerance and respect for other cultures and values,

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both of which can be realized through “living together with difference”. Residents have tolerated each other’s differences, and South Africans have shown their respects to the transnational migrants’ memories, traditions and qualities. What I found more interesting is the notion of appropriation, not only South Africans have obeserved and quietly be content with cultural representations of migrants from the Great Lakes Region, but rather have admired, and appropriated same cultures as in hairstyles and clothing styles. They have shown their openness to change, and to ‘contamination’ of cultural aspects that transnational migrants have conferred in the neighbourhood.

Another analysis is inline with what Sichone (2008) notes as the shift of xenophobic treatment towards non-nationals to the love for the foreigner by some South African women in Cape Town. These South African women practiced their cosmopolitanism by welcoming and hosting strangers, offering them food, providing new arrivals with accommodation, and engaging with foreigners as their fellows. While his findings and mine assimilate on the ideas that are in deep contrast to xenophobic encounters, in Joe Slovo and Phoenix, cosmopolitanism is observed through daily social interactions as ordinarily lived and performed. South African residents of the neighbourhood that is economically struggling have not offered food, or accommodation to African migrants neigbours, but through everyday interactions they have welcomed, tolerated, and engaged with others, the transnational migrants.

The migrants’ shops such as restaurants, barbershops, and salons, and the multinational Revival Pentecostal Church have produced spaces where performative repeated acts (Butler, 1988) are ordinarily lived and performed. Through these spaces and opportunities designed to make a living, nothing is done in isolation; migrants and South Africans encounter and engage with one another on a daily basis, and those involved in such regular contact are more open to other cultures and less hostile. Through their African artwork as in dressmaking, barbering, and hairdressing, among other forms of popular culture (Becker, 2015:386-387), shops of migrants from the Great Lakes Region attract people and create spaces for appropriation and assimilation as opposed to notion of exclusion and otherness. Like I argued earlier, their vernacular cosmopolitanism and conviviality are based on regular contact that residents ordinarily engage with, and the more contact, the more South Africans gain knowledge about the non-South African residents, and the less hostile they become.

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To conclude, scholarship on the migration in South Africa states that relations between intra-migrant South Africans and African transnational migrants are determined by conflicts, and this dominant narrative needs to be modified. This current ethnographic study shows that in South African townships of Joe Slovo and Phoenix in Cape Town, transnational and intra-national migrants have mediated their differences through regular contact and ordinary interactions from their social spaces within their neighbourhood. South Africans have seen that African migrants are people who do not steal job or job opportunities from them, but are self-reliant, creating jobs for themselves, and engaging in practices that socio-economically benefit both transnational migrants and intra-migrant South Africans. The more contact people have with each other, the more knowledge about and willingness to engage with other people' s cultures, the process through which they ordinarily mediate their differences in a natural setting.

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