Centre of Criminology
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Glancing the Third City:

A Story of Six Refugees in Cape Town

Adam Armstrong – ARMADA002

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Compulsory Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

SIGNATURE: _____ DATE: _____

Thank you to the men and women who invited me into your homes and your lives. I hope that this work may capture some of the welcome you gave me and the joy I felt sharing time with you. Without your warmth, interest and generosity this work would not have been possible.

> The study of landscape is much more than an academic exercise – it *is* about the complexity of people's lives, historical contingency, contestation, motion and change.
>
> Bender&Winer, 2001, pp.2

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Contents

Abstract

South African spaces are socially and politically important. Historically this is due to Apartheid'shistory of brutal exclusion.More recently, however, this can be attributed to the conscious building of the 'new South Africa' after 1994. Concurrent to this, many foreign Africans come into South African spaces, claiming them and creating lives with varying degrees of safety and success. This claiming and 'invading' of local spaces by foreigners leads to changes for both the foreign and local populations. A spatial lens is used to dissect the nuanced community and spatially mediated identities of refuges in Cape Town. Using space allows one to explain xenophobia more broadly.

This thesis draws on ethnographic data gathered over 18 months in Muizenberg and Retreat, to make numerous theoretical claims about the nature of personal identity, community, national identity and the making of social space. Space is taken as socially constructed and imbued with meaning.The research observed and explored the space-making processes engaged in by Congolese refugees in two suburbs in Cape Town. First, I use data to show that space is socially constructed and that personal identity and history greatly affect the kind of space one creates. Second, I argue that identity is a fluid, multi-faceted construct, and that national identity and social cohesion are temporary and never binding or absolute. Third, this thesis looks at social networks and offers a new term to describe the data that was observed: tactical networks. As a final point I return to xenophobia, offering what constitutes the start of a spatial analysis of xenophobia.

Introduction

The world is changing. People are able to travel further and further with increasing ease and decreasing expense. There is a growing international population of refugees. As people travel, they take with them different cultures and ways of being. As a result; ideologies and ways of being are coming into contact with identities that they were previously geographically limited from encountering. It is crucial that we engage with these processes and come to understand the daily power struggles that occur over limited social spaces when groups such as these come into contact.

Two related theoretical insights are offered in this document; one on the nature of refugee social networks and belonging, the other on xenophobia in South Africa. In order to offer these theoretical insights, arefugee community is explored using space, community and identity as the key analytical themes.

This thesis consistsofan ethnographic study using snowball sampling in two suburbs just outside of Cape Town: Muizenberg and Retreat. Muizenberg has a large (mainly Congolese) migrant population and is known as an area said to be rife with street crime and (mainly foreign African) drug dealers. Retreat, a suburb not too far away where a number of my subjects moved to during my fieldwork, is traditionally seen as a 'coloured' area, it is mainly working class and has high levels of street crime and interpersonal violence.

I spent two years in and around the migrant groups in these two areas. This analysis starts at the micro-level, based on individual peoples' experiences in a specific area over a specific time. I used a flexible, open-ended method and employed a grounded theory approach. I triangulated research methods; I used ethnography, semi-formal interviews andsome mapping exercises.

My work is underscored by an understanding and appreciation of the vulnerable positions these subjects find themselves in, but seeks to go further; I hope to link this to contemporary works on space, community and identity. I seek to examine how these migrants inhabit social spaces in South Africa on a daily basis, not simply using a human rights perspective (that serves to situate migrants as refugees or as victims of abuse and exploitation), but as a sociological function (in which migrants are seen to have varying levels ofagency and varying abilities to protect themselves). This draws on an understanding of power as diffuse, fluctuating and never absolute, taken from authors such as Michel Foucault (1982) and James C. Scott (1992). My work explores how these foreign African modes of being (dress,

language, comportment and space-making) are affecting and changing South African spaces.

This work explores a series of individuals' varying abilities to claim South African spaces and negotiate their personal safety in a highly xenophobic and violent social setting.Xenophobia is a key social issue, especially in South Africa after June of 2008, during which time a series of attacks spread across the country. During the initial phases of my research there was a series of brutal xenophobic attacks that spread across South Africa in a number of days. These attacks consisted of impromptu mob attacks targeting foreigners. (See Bekker 2008 for a full description of what occurred, and Steinberg 2008 for an analysis of the start and causes of these attacks). The xenophobic attacks happened in late May and early June. The spate of violent xenophobic attacks started in Johannesburg and quickly spread across the country. They resulted in 60 murders and hundreds of injuries across the country. In the Western Cape around twenty thousand people were displaced from their homes in informal settlements, to the relative safety of camps and temporary shelters.

Muizenberg, despite having a large migrant population and being infamous as a place to buy drugs from foreigners, was an area that did not have any xenophobic attacks. A few hundred migrants were housed in a temporary shelter at a church in the centre of Muizenberg, though these migrants were separate both socially and spatially from the migrants living in Muizenberg. Those seeking refuge in the church were a different group to those refugees and migrants living in Muizenberg. Refugees who chose to live in suburbs live very different lives to those who chose to live in townships. These different spaces offer different challenges and opportunities, the choice to live in one or the other is generally a personal one weighing up the relatively expensive suburbs that offer relative safety or the cheaper, much more dangerous, township housing. My research was based solely in suburban settings.

The xenophobic attacks of 2008 affected my research in numerous ways. Most notably; however, they did two things. First, they thrust a marginal issue about marginal people to the centre of South African society and consciousness. Physically, those being displaced generally were moved from the peripheral informal settlements to the central suburbs and shelters. Mentally, this became the humanrights crisis of the day, and the world was amazed at the level and proficiency of civilsociety's response. Secondly, these incidents highlighted the peculiarity of my subjects' lives while living in Muizenberg. For the majority of my subjects in Muizenberg, their lives continued relatively unaffected, and within a week or two all but a few had resumed normal life. This is unusual when one considers the life-altering

consequences these attacks had for other migrants, many returned home in the aftermath of the attacks, more than a year later there were still a few hundred Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) living in camps. This highlights the need for deep ethnographic research within communities of migrants such as those living in Muizenberg, both for their peculiarity and because of their stability as a community and ability to protect themselves and each other.

This work was conceived prior to those events. I see the attacks as significant because they are part of a larger trend, I do not see them as the event in itself. Many works focus too strongly on those attacks. I understand them as part of broader systems and social issues. The research for this paper was carried out in a suburb with a large migrant population, and for a number of reasons they were affected by the attacks of June 2008 much less than most other migrant populations in South Africa.

There is an impressive amount of credible, serious academic scholarship conducted in Africa and on Africa. It seemsthat the work focusing on refugees does not describe how they are living and managing in their new cities and new environments. There is a notable silence in the urban studies and development literature on how these refugees are affecting their host states. While in the refugee work, there is an almost exclusive focus on human rights and the vulnerability of these refugees. This is especially true for South African literature after the xenophobicattacks of June 2008. While those works are essential, and the continuing abuse and exploitation of refugees and migrants across Africa is appalling, there is a lack of work that discusses refugees and how they affect the cities in which they live, and how it is that they live in those cities.

Numerous political and social critics have argued that there are two nations in South Africa, two distinct ways of life that do not often intersect; that of the 'white' middle class and the 'black' working class (c.f. Robins, 2002 & Mbeki, 1998[1]). I argue that, in fact, there is a third unexplored city: that of the migrant, foreigner or refugee. These individuals constitute an ever-expanding proportion of our population, but are often overlooked in urban studies and developmental literature. There is a massive field of work that explores the lives of refugees as refugees, but never as people who live in South Africa. The work of this piece is to

[1] "We therefore make bold to say that South Africa is a country of two nations... One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure... The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled".

simultaneously add to the 'migrant studies literature' as well to explore the lives of these refugees as 'South Africans' (i.e. people who live in and contribute to South African society).

I attempt a more direct engagement with spatial theory. Drawing on academics such as Massey (2005), Soja (1996), and Stites (1999), I argue that criminology has much to learn from the spatial disciplines. As criminologists, or simply social theorists, we must become comfortable with space and making sense of the social world by grounding it within the 'spatial world'. As Soja's says, I will attempt to "rethink and re-theorise spatiality" (1996, p.14) in terms of belonging, personal safety, and nationhood and identity. Drawing on Robins, 2002, I will use the ideas of spatial governmentality, inserting the refugees onto the map as one node that governs space around itself.I will outline what a fractured and contradictory node it is, but one that must be taken seriously and explored thoroughly for us to make sense of contemporary urban south Africa.

Theoretical Framework: Review of the Literature on Xenophobia and Space

In this literature review I outline the theories and ideas relevant to my work from literature on social space, migration, refugees and xenophobia. The methodology literature is dealt with in the methodology section. I attempt only to include key readings and articles that are explicitly relevant to my writing. Though much more was read and considered it was excluded in an attempt to be succinct.

Through this literature review I will outline a view of space as dynamic, shifting and contested, and of refugees as a dynamic and heterogeneous group that is excluded and victimised by xenophobic action and sentiment in South Africa. Simultaneously, however, they are portrayed as possessing agency, having varied abilities to protect themselves and each other.

Xenophobia

The literature on migration and refugees provides a useful background to my work. From these works we gain a basic understanding of the 'field' and some level of familiarity with the concepts under discussion. Studying refugees and migration one must consider the ideas around xenophobia, identity and exclusion. This is especially true of South Africa following the xenophobic attacks that occurred across the country in June 2008.[2] These occurred during the preliminary phases of my research, and had serious implications for my work.

For the purposes of this work, all foreign Africans encountered are referred to as refugees or migrants. These terms are used interchangeably in this text. Legally there are distinct and important differences between these categories (c.f. Harris, 2001). The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is acknowledged by the South African Department of Home Affairs (DHA) as a refugee-producing country. As the majority of my subjects are from the DRC they have refugee status, or at least a temporary permit pending the Refugee Determination Process. My subjects used the term 'refugee' to refer to themselves, regardless of their legal status.

The use of the term 'xenophobia' is as widespread as it is vague. When using this term in South Africa, what is being spoken of is the deep dislike of foreign African migrants by, generally working class, Xhosa and Zulu South Africans (Steinberg, 2008). It is not new in

[2] For more information on these attacks please see: Bekker, 2008, Steinberg, 2008, Crush, 2008 & CORMSA, 2008.

South Africa, or globally. Great Britain, Australia, the United States, Germany, France are a few statesalso that have significant levels of xenophobia. For the purposes of this text 'xenophobia' signifies a deep dislike of foreign migrants. In South Africa it has been limited to a dislike of Black African migrants. South Africa's xenophobia is limited both to certain classes and races (Steinberg, 2008, Bekker, 2008).

The work detailing xenophobia in South Africa is extensive. Xenophobic abuses are committed by both state and private bodies. Harris (2001) describes the repatriation and policing of refugees by the South African police, highlighting the brutal actions and ideology of the highly xenophobic South African state. This stands in opposition to South Africa's progressive human rights-based constitution (Harris, 2001).

The concept of xenophobia derives from national identity and sovereignty (Hage, 1998).When creating a space, such as a nation state we create borders; deciding who 'belongs' and who does not (Hage, 1998). In discussing the treatment of foreign migrants in Australia, both by the Australian government and by its citizens, Hage (1998) argued that to be 'Australian' is to be white, English-speaking, culturally Euro-centric, and so forth. He also argued that because of this understanding of nationality, migrants in Australia are treated as objects to be moved around and controlled by legislation. They are viewed as passive recipients of whatever shifts in legislation the white Australian government decides upon.

The building of a state, such as South Africa, especially after 1994, was a conscious process. It was a process in which the 'New South Africa' was conceived, described and then 'implemented'. In defining the state, a line is drawn, both metaphorically and physically. This line indicates what South Africa is, who it belongs to and who is welcome within its borders. Just as Australia is a 'white nation' (Hage, 1998), so South Africa, it seems is not for foreign Africans (Solomon, 1996).

A similar work was written in 2002 by Peter Vale. Vale (2002) explores the discourse and ideologies around security, nationhood and xenophobia. As Vale explains, in traditional security debates, boundary-lines (state sovereignty) are always seen as the paramount social entity. In this way, refugees can never enter a state fully. They are always outside of the national space, even when they are physically situated 'inside' that state. Using a more critical lens, Vale (2002), sees a more complicated situation. Boundaries may be more permeable and less important (Fuchs, 2007). Or, as Vale explains, there is a "triangular relationship between citizen, border and migrant" (2002, p.8).

Using the concept of another, a refugee for example, to describe what South Africa is not, one is more able to discern what it is. In this way, migration is used to stabilise a national identity (Vale, 2002, Solomon, 1996). Nation states are fluid, unstable and perhaps more flexible than most would think.In building a nation, we are led to conceive an identity. This identity is often perceived as threatened by migration or a local refugee population (Hage, 1998). Refugees are cast as a security threat to the nation state, for a number of reasons (Solomon, 1996).

Migration across sub-Saharan Africa was constructed as a security threat to South Africa after 1994 in two ways (Vale, 2002). First, migration to South Africa was viewed as a threat to the success of the economy: migration adds pressure to an already overburdened government and job market, while reducing the resources available to South Africans. The second security-threat was the linking of the proliferation of social issues (drugs, HIV/AIDS) to population flows and migration trends by politicians and policy-makers. These wide-ranging endemic issues, from threats to security, economy and health become the fault of migrants and the labour pool that travels Southern Africa. In creating a new South Africa and celebrating ourselves as a nation state we created another; a new, foreign, underclass (Vale, 2002).

Landau & Haupt (2007) discuss the 'foreign African profile' and found that migrants 'appearing foreign' were detained and arrested far more frequently than local South Africans; this was particularly true of migrants from the DRC.

> West Africans, particularly Nigerians are the archetypal antagonist and 'other', but South Africans remain ecumenical about applying the label the derogatory labelled *amaKwerekwere*. AmaKwerekwere is a derogatory word derived from mocking the unusual sounds of the foreign African dialects. Almost all Africans from elsewhere on the continent are included in this category. Although attitudes vary, one can safely report a generalist discourse of nativist exclusion
>
> Landau & Haupt, 2007, p.6

Many of the Congolese subjects I spent time with were often referred to by local South Africans as 'amaKwerekwere', Nigerians, drug dealers or simply 'foreigner' Nigerian and drug dealer are both insults stemming from a lack of knowledge about the ethnicity of refugees, and the belief that all West Africans are Nigerians and they are here to deal drugs.

Xenophobia has been, and continues to be, a common sentiment within the South African black working class. “Non-nationals are accepted as a reified, sub-human other” (Landau & Haupt, 2007, p.9). The reasons for this dislike of foreigners traditionally revolve around access to jobs, to housing and to women. There is a belief that foreign African men come to South Africa and plunder South African resources. Further than this, however, it is also commonly believed that foreign Africans bring with them social ills, crime, HIV/AIDS, lawlessness and unemployment (Steinberg, 2005). Foreigners, politically, have been portrayed as undermining South Africa’s ability to deliver services to its people (Vale, 2002).

The most recent works indicate that xenophobia may not be the primary reason for the South African attacks in 2008. These attacks were service delivery protests masquerading as xenophobic attacks (Steinberg, 2008). The violence was spurred by a lack of resources and opportunities available to working class black South Africans and foreign Africans represented an easy target; a site to receive the blame for the failures of the South African government (Steinberg, 2008).Steinberg (2008) links the xenophobic attacks to a particular enactment of national identity and an incorrect understanding of the South Africa labour market and economy. The perpetrators of xenophobic violence often blame the foreign nationals for stealing their jobs. The country’s economy is understood as a finite entity that may only provide for a limited number of people. This is referred to as the ‘lump of labour fallacy’. The belief follows that if a country’s resources are limited and a group of foreigners is residing within that country and successfully accumulating resources, whatever resources these migrants are able to procure are to the detriment of the local inhabitants.

In this research, both the dramatic and sudden xenophobic attacks of 2008, seen as an acute and brutal outbreak, as well as the underlying xenophobia that permeates South Africa, viewed as a long-standing chronic social ill, are important to consider. Both of these social phenomena affected my subjects’ experiences and lives during the course of the research.

Space

In order to make sense of the security issues and, more simply, lifestyle issues and social environment, one needs to ground these events and explorations in a physical world of space and time. Just as the houses and roads in which these events occur are constructed out of bricks and cement, so too are they ‘constructed’ out of words, thoughts and meanings. Both the physical and imagined are equally important in the understandings and productions of meaning in the lives of my subjects (Soja, 1996).

The works on 'space' are complicated and numerous. In the research for this work I read authors such as Edward Soja (1996) and Henri Lefebvre (1991), as well as more modern works such as those by Paul Stoller (2001) and Elizabeth Salzbrunn(2004). I delved into the philosophical works of Massey (2005) and May & Thrift (2001), and the more concrete works of Bender & Winder (2001) and Anderson (1990). From these readings I conclude that landscape is:

> the way in which people – all people – understand and engage with the material world around them, and if we recognise that people's being-in-the-world is always historically and spatially contingent, it becomes clear that landscapes are always in process, potentially conflicted, untidy and uneasy
>
> Bender&Winer, 2001, p.3.

I draw upon the understanding of space as a set of interactions, of an in-process situation. I also employ the understanding of space, time and history employed by authors such as Howard and Shain. Their volume *The Spatial Factor in African History*(2005) helps to understand space as a crucial component that shapes and moulds the social world that exists within it. Their work also grounds current events in spatial uses in the past; and this understanding enables me to understand apartheid as a critical force that has made space the important and contested social issue that it currently is. The Introduction to *Contested Landscapes* states:

> It seemed important to grapple with the politics of landscape, to try to understand how people in a turbulent world create a sense of place and belonging, loss or negation. It seemed right to ask people to talk about contested landscapes, and about landscapes of movement, migration, exile and home-coming.
>
> Bender&Winer, 2001, pp.1

South Africa's urban landscape is in many ways unique, as it was deliberately controlled and shaped by Apartheid legislation. Apartheid was a government-implemented system of social control through the management of spaces. This put a premium on South African spaces. Because of the Pass Laws and forced removals, individuals were prohibited access to certain areas, based on their skin colour or race. Space became racialised and stratified; certain spaces were more desirable than other spaces and some spaces were 'white' while others were 'coloured' and still others were 'black'. In this way South Africa spaces were exclusionary and limiting.

The so-called Pass Laws were enforced brutally and the consequences for a person breaking a 'colour barrier' were severe.This understanding of space and this erection of invisible, yet tangibly enforced, barriers has led to a particular understanding and use of space (Stites, 1999). This system of spatial protection and brutal enforcement of social barriers has continued in South Africa in a number of ways; one being through the xenophobic attacks, another being the erection of gated communities and security complexes.

> Theories and tools of spatial analysis are invaluable for scholars confronting the explanatory, methodological and epistemological issues posed by recent developments in African historiography.
>
> Howard & Shain, 2005 p.4.

More recently we have seen a diversification of actants and agents operating on and in South African urban spaces. Although the Apartheid city is a 'unique urban form' (Parnell, 1997, p.891), in order for urban scholars to progress we must seek out and employ different, novel and more useful frameworks with which to explore South African cities (Ibid.).

It is the argument of my piece that foreign African migrants are a force worth considering and analysing. In order to understand this we must consider a number of factorssuch as the social, cultural and historical background that these migrants emanate from and the understandings of space that they bring with them. We must also understand the South African social landscape and spaces. Then we are able to look at how those two forces act upon each other and react to each other. When viewed spatially, Apartheid can be seen as a brutal set of actions and institutions to protect (one particular) understanding of the South African nation space and identity (Hoerder& Macklin, 2006).

The majority of works dealing with African history that employ space "have done so implicitly and without problematising their use of space" (Ibid.p.1). My text is one that must engage with a problematic, nuanced and informed use of space, perhaps one that I cannot fully put to rest or fully understand. "The spatial component is, like time, constantly changing" (Massey, 2005, pp.4).

Space is not linear, nor does it have a natural progression from one state to another. It is constantly in flux. The complicated essence of space has resulted in numerous attempts to tame space through time (Massey, 2005), for example by flattening space down to a map or to one single narrative that occurred at a particular place over a period time. These

narratives, while useful are limited and limiting. Historical narratives are usually told from one perspective using one voice and focussed on one space or one set of spaces.

Doreen Massey states that space is not a surface, as so often we assume it to be, but a set of inter-relations and interactions (Massey, 2005). Her work serves to challenge and reconceptualise how we perceive and work with (in) space (Anderson, 2005). She goes further, stating that the spatial and the political are tightly linked, often overlapping and affecting one another (Massey, 2005). Massey argues that space should be treated differently. In summarising her book, Anderson states:

- Space is a result of *interrelations*; it is "constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny" (Massey, 2005: 9).
- Space is the sphere of the possibility of the existence of *multiplicity*; that is space "as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting *heterogeneity"*(Massey, 2005: 9).
- Space is always *under construction*; "it is always in the process of being made. It is never finished; never closed" (Massey, 2005: 9).

Anderson, 2005 ,p.228.

The future must be considered as open, as unknown. Most narratives of past, present and future explain them in ways that make what has happened as inevitable and what will happen as known. In order to conduct social research or engage in meaningful political debate, one must forget this assumption and accept that the future, like space, is open and unknown (Massey, 2005).

Edward Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) is a complicated, though seminal piece. It is as much a tribute to Lefebvre as it is a brilliant argument in its own right. One of his main thrusts, which I employ throughout this text, both narrowly in a spatial sense as well as more broadly, as a thought exercise, is the idea of another, the other, the third option. In academic, Western thought there is a tendency to offer binaries: black or white, victim or offender, foreigner or local, legal or illegal. It is more useful to allow for a third option, to not simply break the world down into binaries. History and sociology do not explain everything. One needs to include space to explore things more completely. *'Ily'atoujoursl'auture'.* There is always another (Soja, 1996). I employ this logic throughout my work as it lends itself to a more thorough appraisal of what is observed (Soja, 1996). For example, refugees may be both exploited and empowered. I am wary of exclusive narratives or social positions that exclude the

possibility of difference or choice (MacDonald & Bernardo, 2006). The text, *Thirdspace* outlines a thought process whereby space is considered alongside social and historical explanations of the world. “Thirdspace is an interdisciplinary idea of space, history, and society that treats the micro-geographies of the everyday with as much seriousness as it treats the macro-geographies of larger historical trends” (Velaquez, no date). This employment of multiple geographies leads to a more detailed and nuanced reading of the social world (ibid.). Soja contends that what is needed is a reconceptualisation of space and its understanding. He calls for a trans-disciplinary approach.

Spaces are defined *in relation* to one another (Howard & Shain, 2005). To be Congolese in the Congo is a very different thing from being Congolese here in South Africa. In this piece I use the term ‘Congolese’ hundreds of times. This term only comes to mean something when described in relation to another thing, ‘South African’, ‘Rwandan’, ‘English’ and so forth. A Congolese man living in the Congo will presumably not experience his national identity on a continuous basis or regard it with the same level of importance he does when here in Cape Town. In the same way that the culture and identity of a South African living in South Africa goes unobserved and unchallenged so long as it does not come up against another competing construct. Until the foreign identity makes itself known, South Africans are surely identified using other markers: age, race, religion and so forth. It is only in contrast or opposition to another identity that these constructs come to have meaning, significance, or even make sense.

As global network capitalism expands its reach, so organisations and social networks are increasingly globalised (Fuchs, 2007). The flows of capital, information and people change as nodes are brought closer together and distances ‘between’ cities and states become smaller, long distance travel becomes easier and more affordable, and with this social spaces are interacting more and more. Fuchs critiques the use of the more common term ‘network society’, stating that it is “an ideological construct that obscures capitalist relations and structural inequalities that shape contemporary society” (2007, p.74). He chooses to employ the term ‘transnational network capitalism’. While the political and economic implications of this term fall beyond the scope of this work, it is useful to consider the ways in which flows of capital, ideas and people are being considered when this term is deployed. It focuses our attention on the ability of organisations and social spaces to transcend national borders and exist simultaneously in numerous spaces (Fuchs, 2007). Transnational network capitalism refers to a dynamic system in which nodes are continuously in a state of flux, growing, changing and extending social systems around the world. This is useful when

considering the high rates of change observed in migration patterns and people-flows across the globe. A dynamic, fluid understanding of such movements is more accurate than a rigid apolitical ideology (Fuchs, 2007).

The understanding behind the term *locale* is useful as it describes a space with a relatively fixed social meaning or that contains an agreed-upon set of social actions (Fuchs, 2007). My work observes the contest over locales and the ways in which these spaces are defined, understood, claimed and redefined. What we are observing is two (or more) competing understandings of what a particular space or locale means, what it should be used for and who it belongs to.

> Locales refer to the use of space to provide the settings of interaction, the settings of interaction in turn being essential to specifying its contextuality. . . locales provide for a good deal of the 'fixity' underlying institutions. . . . Locales may range from a room in the house, a street corner, towns, cities to the territorially demarcated areas occupied by nation-states.
>
> Giddens, 1984, p. 118

While I choose the term space over locale, because of its broader applicability, I employ the understanding expressed above. Spaces and locations are socially-mediated, or agreed upon. Contest and conflict result when different understandings and meaning are applied to the same physical space (Giddens, 1984).

On the relationship between Space and Identity

> In an ideal typical, Weberian nation-state, subjectively defined categories of membership map uniformly across a country's *national* territory while corresponding with formal definitions of citizenship. This regime creates a unified population (the citizenry/nation) enmeshed in a codified set of values, measures of appropriateness and logics of cause and administrative responsibility.
>
> Landau & Monson, 2008, p.323-324

This is not the case for the Congo, or for South Africa, neither country is homogenous or unified. Both have long histories of intra-state conflict, division and mistrust. There are competing ideologies at play in different parts of either country. There are significant social and cultural divisions between and within cities in both the Congo and South Africa. So while we hold in mind that national identity is a fluid concept that means different things in different

parts of either country, we should also consider that a national identity shifts back and forth in terms of importance in relation to other factors such as regional or local identity.

Stites' (1999) discussion of space and identity proves crucial to my fieldwork. She looks at the intersections between land, space and power. Similar to Soja's work, Stites highlights the importance of space in the social world. Her work has very serious consequences for my work with refugees. Stites explains the relevance and significance of 'land' in collective identity formation. I attempt to engage with the refugees' quality of life and their ability to live happily and safely.

> The parallel material and spiritual aspects of space must be considered together in order for land's power and importance to be fully understood. Such a conception allows us to use history and politics as useful tools to understand the significance of land from the perspective of those who inhabit it, belong to it, and locate their identity within it.
>
> Stites, 1999,p. 1.

Bearing in mind that 'land' forms such a key part of self-understanding and identity formation (Stites, 1999), this work becomes all the more important. Understanding refugees' access to 'space' and 'land' becomes central to understanding their sense of identity and security here in Cape Town. Her work explores instances in which families had been displaced from a piece of land that is traditionally considered to be theirs by heritage or ancestry, and who saw that their restitution to this land was far more important than the economic or logistic advantages. I take this consideration into the work I attempt to do with the landless, with those in journey: migrants who have no land and who feel they are in journey from the time they leave their home country until the time they return (Harris, 2001).

Identity is deeply linked to land, space and place (Bender & Winer, 2001). In this work I consider those who are in journey or those who don't have a land, space or place to call their own. It seems many of my subjects are constantly in journey and have not been 'at home' in many years, as their experience of being foreign started when they left the Congo (Steinberg, 2005).

In considering the links between identity and space one must consider display and visibility, and the process of claiming space through self-display (Salzbrunn, 2004, Stoller, 2001). Monika Salzbrunn's work is useful for a number of reasons. One is her use of the concept *translocal* social spaces. She employs this term over the term *transnational* social space, as an adaptation of this term. A translocal understanding emphasises the importance of the

local setting; employment status, lifestyle and living conditions in the host status as the more important way of self-identification for the migrant, over the home country and inherited national or ethnic identity that a transnational space would emphasise. Importantly, in both concepts both the home and host are acknowledged, though translocal emphasises the host nation and transnational emphasises the home nation.

> Social relations (forms and processes) shape and are simultaneously shaped by spatial relations (forms and processes) A social system is any set of continuously reproduced relations between human actors, no matter if they are physically co-present or not.
>
> Soja, 2001, p.6

Physical proximity or co-presence are not necessary for interactions to occur. Translocal spaces are only possible because co-presence is not necessary for interaction. While co-presence and proximity do change interactions and spaces, they are not necessary for interactions to take place within a space. “Space here is the result of the relative location of things; it is the relational structure between bodies that are in permanent movement. Hence space constitutes itself in time” (Fuchs, 2007, p.5).

Translocal spaces are social spaces that transcend the national boundaries and geographical space of either state. Translocal social spaces are inhabited by ‘transmigrants’. “Transmigrants interact in highly complex transnational networks that provide information about employment, facilitate the transfer of money to family in the home village, and offer a means of identification with the home country” (Salzbrunn, 2004, p.468). As argued by both Salzbrunn (2004) and Pries (2001), these new spaces are more than a simple combination of the two already existing systems of reference. The identities created in translocal states are more than a simple blend of the host and home nation spaces. They are thus ‘hybrid’ identities, and are new to the world. “These translocal spaces are leading to new sources of identification and action based on specific local and global reference systems” (Salzbrunn, 2004, p.469).

While migrants continue to live translocal and trans-cultural lives that are divided between two, sometimes radically different and distant places, “the compression of time and space associated with globalization enables migrants today to engage in on-going forms of participation at multiple sites with a level of frequency and intensity that was unimaginable a few decades ago” (Salzbrunn, 2004, p.803).

Spaces created by and around migrants in Cape Town are a result of interactions between the host nation's spaces and the home nation's spaces (Stoller, 2001). My work aimed to capture and observe the interacting of two previously geographically separated identities interacting and resulting in hybrid locations and identities. I watched French-African Congolese migrants becoming and being French-African South African Congolese migrants (Pries, 2001). Perhaps I also watched South African residents become mildly more Congolese as a result of their interactions with these foreign men. I was watching the formation of a previously unseen identity; Congolese men in the Congo are not influenced in the way that these men are here.

Thus far the discussions on creating space have been at the level of ideology, nationhood and discourse. Space is also made in very real, tangible ways. As stated so eloquently by Abdou Maliq Simone (2004), people are taken and treated as infrastructure, objects that shape and build the spaces that they interact with. Spaces are made through a number of processes: physical claim, legitimacy, force, language, dress, occupation, narrative, imagination. In my work I watched space being made and being claimed in any number of ways. There is always some degree of imagination or intangibility to a space, it is never just the external space that is being contested.

Stephen Jensen's (2008) book *Gangs Politics and Dignity in Cape Town* discusses the ethnographic work he conducted in the coloured township of Heideveld. In discussing his observations he explores the ways identities are inscribed into our dress and how we present ourselves. He goes on to explain that this may often be misread or read differently than we intended. In his work he found that men from Heideveld, an area typically regarded as having serious problems with gangsterism and violence, would overplay their religious beliefs or non-gang-membership in order to gain employment or avoid being labelled as gangsters. At the book launch held in Cape Town in 2008, in summarising his data, Jensen stated that "Unless a man is wearing a suit and carrying a bible, he is considered to be a gangster". Many of my subjects turned out to carry bibles and wear suits. Jensen spoke about the way some men would actively construct this identity so as to escape the threats of gangs, both of being forced into one or being labelled as belonging to one. I consider this active creation of one's presentation part of 'display'. I employ this understanding, alongside works' such as Anderson (1990) in making sense of the behaviour I observed in my subject group. This behaviour is relevant in constructing and claiming space.

In observing interactions on the street we must have an understanding of behaviour grounded in space. Different spaces will lead to different behaviours (Stoller, 2001).

Anderson's (1990) ethnographic piece in a suburb very similar to my research field proves very useful in understanding street behaviour and analysing the movements and interactions of people in the streets. He explores ways in which comportment and body language can serve as functions of security. His research was conducted in a small, mixed-race suburb undergoing gentrification; it contained young white couples moving closer to the city and a number of black families as well. This area was bordered by a very poor black suburb, a ghetto, on one side. Anderson (1990) explains how young black men walking in the gentrified suburb negotiate being interpreted as safe or unsafe by the people they encounter on the streets. In the village, the gentrified area, they had a desire to be read by their white neighbours as safe and non-threatening; however, when walking in the ghetto they often have to change body language and mannerism so as to avoid being targeted for street crime by the black men living in the ghetto. This work sensitised me to the ways in which my subjects can be read and choose to display themselves while walking on the streets, in both ways that they desire and ways that they attempt to counter.

Both Jensen (2008) and Anderson (1990) look at how young black / coloured men are 'read' in urban spaces. They both examine the ways in which display of masculinity is consciously altered according to the audience the reception these men desire. This work sensitises one to the ways in which identity is read from factors such as clothing and body language.

Similar texts have been written on South Africa's urban spaces. One such article is Hansen's 2006 piece on social velocity and kombi-taxis as a particular South African urban phenomenon. I draw on some of the insights from this text. I seek to insert the 'refugee' into urban South Africa. Many urban scholars overlook the growing urban population of refugees that are claiming South African spaces and re-creating them as hybrid translocal spaces. This thesis will serve to prioritize refugees, not simply as victims in relation to xenophobia, but as a group that must be considered in developmental and urban studies debates. They are a group with growing urban agency and presence. Some refugees work in town, guarding cars for loose change, while others have 'taken over' previously South African spaces and still others have created entirely new 'foreign spaces' in which they live. They are simultaneously consumers and protectors of certain spaces. These are spaces that contain South Africans and refugees.

National Borders and Spaces

The intersection between spatial literature and refugee studies occurs at the point at which identities, nationhood, belonging and ideas of 'home' start coming under scrutiny. Works on network and community also incorporate ideas both from the refugee and spatial arenas of thought.

As early as 2002 Peter Vale was using words such as *violence* and *socialexclusion*in his discussion of nation states, border and migrations. He explores how boundaries are formed and how those inside and outside are defined. He states that; "to follow this trajectory, however, requires an informed social-historical narrative that interrogates the continuing domination of neo-Realist theory in the affairs of the region" (Vale, 2002, pp.8). I would submit that we must also consider the spatial (Soja, 1996). We must explore the spatial dynamics of these security debates; how wide are the areas of safety, where are the zones of effective governance and areas of contested ownership. The spatial is lacking from his, otherwise brilliant, analysis. In keeping with his argument, I adopt a critical stance, using a triangular understanding of the relationship between border, citizen and migrant (Vale, 2002).

Discourse is one of the primary ways in which nations are shaped, employed and understood (Johnson, 2001). The way one's nation is spoken about and perceived changes the way that nation 'is'. I also acknowledge that while states exist as sovereign entities, they are also part of larger social and economic spaces and, as such, are drawn into interactions that may change the nation (Hoerder& Macklin, 2006).

As trans-national movement becomes more affordable, travel routes become more firmly established and more well-known. Borders are more easily traversed and are crossed more frequently. National spaces are now re-created, more and more, in foreign spaces, thus 'transporting' that nation space to a new country (Landau & Monson, 2008). This is done formally; in the form of embassies and consulates, and informally in the form of areas, such as Maputo and Harare, both informal settlements outside Cape Town, as well as temporarily in the form of Congolese wedding ceremonies and church services. The limited frame of orthodox Security Studies places too much emphasis on the border, the boundaries of national space (Vale, 2002).

Migrants are never fully able to enter South Africa because of their foreignness; they are always outside looking in (Vale, 2002). My view of borders and nations is one of socially constructed identities; I move beyond the simple, tangible, understanding of nations being constructed on maps and using fences. Migrants never fully enter South Africa, physically they cross the border quite easily, but very few make the transition to being residents and lose their primary identity as being 'foreign' or alien (Harris, 2001).

Challenging state-centred security approaches are the ideas expressed brilliantly by Garland (1996); many states are limited and involved in a bipolar process in which each state, first of all, concedes that it lacks the power to effectively control its own territory and that its sovereignty is a myth and then recoiling from this position, creating stricter and more punitive laws and demanding control over all security issues.

> Migration is ceaselessly used to stabilize national identity and settle contestations around state-security. This contrasts with mainstream international relations, which teaches that borders are fixed, durable and flexible – so, even the transnationalists were unable to transcend the disciplinary holding power of national boundaries.
>
> Vale, 2002, p. 9.

I adopt a very similar position, one that is wary of state claims to sovereignty or the ability to control its own borders and enforce its laws absolutely. I view states as constantly in negotiation and interaction with other states and other identities; borders are flexible, permeable and shifting.

Landau & Monson (2008) explore the ways in which state-sovereignty is challenged in inner-city spaces in Johannesburg by foreign migrants.

> Here, 'inactivity and docility are not options': to survive and thrive, refugees, migrants and long-term residents not only move through space ostensibly regulated by the state, but they also transform it through strategies of accumulation, coupled with tactics to elude danger and regulation. [Their work]...examines how such behaviours – manifested in the engagements of migrants, citizens and authorities – consistently fragment and destabilize localized systems of authority and power.
>
> Landau & Monson, 2008, p. 319.

This is the same process I am interested in exploring. I want to explore how foreign citizens contest and disrupt local South African spaces.The traditional works on refugee networks speak of these as strong, supportive structures (c.f Cranford, 2005, Harris, 2001). In this thesis I offer a more complicated version of social interaction. Atam (2004) found small, but organised and stable refugee networks that functioned as extended families or ethnic groups. These networks supported and provided for one another in tight, bonded, reciprocal networks. Steinberg (2005) observed 11 family structures based in Cape Town that were supporting their members from various parts of the DRC. Their organisations were stable, so much so that they charged membership fees. Initially they assist new arrivals to finding employment and accommodation; however, in the long term they also aimed to provide cultural guidance for Congolese children born in South Africa. Amisi (2006) explored a similar family network in Durban. He observed low levels of trust between community members, and saw this as having dire consequences for the members of that community. The networks I observed will be discussed in detail in the data and results section. I found the traditional literature insufficient to describe what was observed.

Tactical Cosmopolitanism, a term written about by Landau and Haupt (2007), is a very useful when considering translocal spaces and identities. In their text, they explain this form of identity construction, in which a migrant actively constructs himself or herself as external to both host and home nations. He or she is not committed to the host state as he or she is on a journey, in the case of Cape Town often men claim to be en route to Europe or North America. They view themselves as transient, and their lives here are therefore temporary and are generally seen as a stepping stone; saving up money here for their life back home or in Europe or elsewhere. This tactic of positioning oneself allows one “a kind of distance from the world that they physically inhabit” (Landau &Haupt, 2007, p. 3). The article outlines a rhetoric of self-exclusion, one in which commitment to South Africa is virtually nil, and the desire or effort to integrate oneself is equally low. Most migrants, they explain, do not plan on being in South Africa for long; it is a stepping stone to a third country or a place from which to extract resources. Most never journey onwards because of financial, legal or security concerns, and they remain marooned here in South Africa but planning to be elsewhere (Landau & Haupt, 2007). This, of course, is extremely important when one considers space-making and space-claiming. Migrants who are invested in a space will work harder to claim that space, and will deploy different behaviours to migrants who view themselves as simply passing through.

This thesis thus has two main aims: to theoretically explore these emerging translocal urban spaces and, using ethnography, map a section of it. A further aim of this work is to create a sound ethical ethnographic and methodological account of my research.

Methodology

This section is divided into two sections, first is a discussion of the theory of social research, of ethnography, its method and its implications. Second is a discussion of the research that was conducted for this thesis.

> ...ethnography... examines culture, knowledge and action. We describe, analyse and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centres and assumptions that inhibit, repress and constrain. Critical scholarship requires that common sense assumptions be questioned.
>
> Thomas, 1993, p.2 & 3.

Ethnography is defined as "the in depth study of a group or social setting engaged in by spending time within that setting informally, partaking in and observing the goings on of that setting... the researcher is simultaneously a member of the group she or he is studying and a researcher doing the study" (Babbie& Mouton, 2001, p. 293). The specific research method employed is typified by a situation in which "the researcher [engages] in prolonged immersion in the life of a group, community or organisation in order to learn about peoples' habits and thoughts" (Punch, 1986, p. 11).

Ethnography is a branch of social science research: it is a qualitative method that relies on interpretation of data through a broadly symbolic interactionist ideology (Thomas, 1993).The methodology of ethnography is often described as simply 'hanging out' or engaging in a 'long conversation' with one's subjects (Bloch, 1977). In this method one spends a prolonged period of time with the subjects so as to observe their everyday behaviours, thoughts, speech and actions. The intention with this is to create a nuanced, more honest picture of the subjects' daily lives. The method commonly involves either living within a community or visiting frequently and for extended periods of time (Anderson, 1990). Ideally, research notes are made after every field visit in which details of what was said and observed are recorded. The field notes serve a number of purposes, primarily to record as accurately as possible what was seen and what was heard, secondarily they provide a space in which the researcher can begin to reflect on the data and start processing what has been learnt (Babbie& Mouton, 2001). An ethnographic piece of research takes many hours and generates volumes of data, of which only a small percentage may be used in the final report. The field notes also provide space for reflection on the ethical uncertainties embedded in all research endeavours. The researcher, or field worker, is the primary instrument of research,

and his or her immersion in the field is the primary mode of investigation (Anderson, 1990, Vigouroux, 2007).

> Ethnography, in this usage, means a coherent narrative picture of social life.
>
> Katz, 2004, p.299.

There are both epistemic and ethical questions to be raised of ethnographic research (Comaroff, 2004). Ethnography is controversial because of its complete reliance on the subjective experience of the lone researcher. This research method has been "accused of ineluctable ethnocentrism, of fetishising difference, of celebrating imaginative idiosyncrasy, and of a cavalier disregard for replicability, refutability or reliable accountability" (Comaroff, 2004, p. 2).

While ethnography has many pitfalls and is problematic, it offers opinions, insights and observations that are otherwise impossible to access (Layder, 1998). As a method it accesses more information, and at a much deeper level, than a survey, questionnaire or formal interviews are able to. It allows one to hear competing, contradictory and shifting opinions over time; it also enables one to observe processes and interactions. What people say they do and what they actually do may differ substantially.

The concerns around ethnographic rigourare mitigated by various standards and measures of quality. These standards are quite different to traditional quantitative research. Max Gluckman held that the standard of methodological rigour was that a research piece:

> ...ought to present primary data of sufficient quantity and depth to allow them to be reinterpreted from a theoretical perspective different from the one that produced them. This was the tacit standard to which much of British anthropology, famously empiricist in its orientations, held its practitioners until very recently.
>
> Comaroff, 2004, p.2

As has been previously acknowledged, this work was grounded: guided by what was found during the research and 'created in process'; questions were created as answers were given (Layder, 1998). Ethnography informs and creates knowledge in ways that cannot be done using more conservative methodologies. Done successfully it can make real, and draw into the tangible world of everyday living, abstract and complicated theories. Ethnography allows us to measure theory against the wisdom of real-life, of peoples' human experience. There

can be no greater test for a theory than to be validated in the everyday experience of human interaction. This is work that is infused with complications, contradictions and unavoidable drawbacks. It is necessarily messy and continuously renegotiated. This work is a study of the everyday; I attempt to theorise using data gleaned from the everyday experiences that were observed.

Jack Katz (2004) outlines three broad genres of ethnographic research. The three he identifies are:

- **Worker ethnography;** the ethnographer spends much time in the field and details varied aspects and components of subjects lives, so as to create a nuanced, full picture of the subjects. Worker ethnographies are humble pieces in which the subject, not theory or author, are central.
- **Aristocratic ethnography;** this is a theory heavy and research light form of ethnography. The researcher spends little time in the field; the data is used as background for theory. A flat though sympathetic view of subjects is often presented, while data that does not match with theory is not reported or is viewed through lenses such as 'false consciousness'.
- **Bourgeois professional** ethnography involves creating 'cases' or sets of closely related data pertaining to similar events or social actions. The comparisons between these sets of data result in theory about social behaviours or social processes that shape local life.

These are illustrative and for discussion purpose, not extensive or thorough. In reading Katz's depictions it becomes clear my work falls into the category of worker ethnography. Katz discusses the ways in which various genres of ethnography claim political or policy significance. Worker ethnography develops its political relevance by offering juxtapositions or alternate positions to common stereotypes. "Policy relevance is built into the juxtaposition; what power misperceives, it is unlikely to govern well. Generalizability is essentially of the sampling not theoretical variety" (Katz, 2004, p.286).

More important than his categorisation of my ethnography is his critique. As is the case with my work, it was data-driven. I aimed to 'hang out' with my subjects and asked few questions until late in the research process. The intention was to conduct grounded theory (Layder, 1998). As a result, much my fieldwork was simple observation and interaction, being guided by what was 'given to me'. The problems with this approach are numerous, as Katz points out:

> Theoretical significance is often tacked on as protective bookends for the text, but the claim of significance for the study rests most firmly on the juxtaposition between the social realities documented by the ethnographer and those held to be true by people in power.
>
> Katz, 2004, p.287

It is the 'tacking on as protective bookends' of theory, that causes concern. Truly insightful theoretical work requires deep reading and a prolonged understanding of the theories under investigation. 'Worker ethnography' falls short of this, creating strong data and weak theoretical outputs, produced as an after-thought to the project. This current research project fell victim to that same tendency, months after the fieldwork had ended there was still no clear theoretical insight or line of thinking resulting from the impressive amount of fascinating and novel data that had been gathered. The research, data gathering phase, and the theoretical, data collating phase, were two distinct phases that took different skills and approaches to address. This notwithstanding, the more serious concerns with 'worker ethnography' are around its scale, its fixation with the local. As Katz explains:

> Commonly, no effort is made to document or to analyse existing data to see whether the phenomena studied took the same or different forms in different social conditions. While this has long worked well to sustain a Market for ethnographic research, there are dangers on this essentially theory-weak path to claiming significance.
>
> Katz, 2004, p.287

The downfall of (worker) ethnography is its localness, its inability to return to the macro-level or to consider examples from other areas. This leads to duplication of similar work in different settings as well as seemingly irreconcilable or un-generalisable differences between research settings.

This problem also manifests itself in other ways within the research. Historiographers speak about a 'presentist' bias; this is where one may be fixated with the local and the immediate (Katz, 2004). Ethnographic research is often bound to a particular place or a particular time, but its desire to be local, nuanced and specific means that it misses out key data. When studying those living in an area we often fail to consider those who do not live there. When studying people who move into an area we fail to study those have left. The present state of a particular place must be couched in the past of that place, and if possible, in a future as well. The present is appealing because it is immediate, dramatic and fascinating;

however,studying a location without considering its history is a limited practice, one that too often ethnographers engage in. The danger inherent in ethnographic work is to parochialise or to excoticize one'ssubjects and their social worlds (Comaroff, 2004). In some ways this work addressed these concerns; the history of the Congo was explored at great length so as to make sense of the present in Muizenberg, but the history of Muizenberg was woefully understudied in this thesis.

Field-Work Contradictions

Katz outlined concerns for inconsistencies between different research endeavours. Contradictory things can be said by the same person on different days, or in different moments, and both be sincerely meant. Examples of this are: "All Congolese are good,""You can't trust any of the Congolese,""They all love their country,""No-one cares". What difference do any of these opinions make, really? This is the great difficulty of ethnographic work - turning opinion into academia, linking observations in a smart and informative way to something theoretically valid and informative.

In an ethnographic research piece, Hansen (2006) outlines two contesting views held by residents in the Indian township of Chatsworth, just outside Durban. Some residents feel they are entitled to exclusive access to their area: a proper and safe Indian space. This belief is said to be held by the older Indian residents, those who were the recipients of some benefits during Apartheid and who wish to retain their 'space' as Indian and privileged, relative to the Black townships around them. The other view, held by what he describes as left-leaning and well-educated Indians and the African National Congress (ANC) is that the older residents of the area should be prepared to share their resources and space with newer residents. The ANC has opened all the schools and the informal African settlements are slowly being rebuilt into brick houses, making these African residents permanent and legitimate residents within the previously Indian township.

The move by the ANC to open all the schools and incorporate the poorer black residents into the formal space of Chatsworth offers a direct challenge to the beliefs about what the space of Chatsworth means, who the space belongs to who should have access to it. Lacking from Hansen's work is a quantification or explanation of the prevalence of these varying opinions about Chatsworth. Commonly in my fieldwork I found contested and contradictory views existing simultaneously about and within the same place. It is often impossible to determine how widespread a view is or how much legitimacy one person's opinion has.

I contend that this work operates on at least two levels. On one level it engages directly with arguments about space, refugees and South Africa. Implicit in my method and research process are assertions and assumptions about what can be known and the nature of truth. This piece will attempt to be both pragmatically normative as well abstractly theoretical. To illustrate this point, I have taken up Soja's(1996) notion of an Otherness, a third alternative to all binaries that allows one to take up 'and/also' positions as opposed to 'either/or' positions. I started my ethnography with a socialexploration of the Congolese 'community' I encountered, and knew that I would have to contextualise this in a historical context. I attempted to understand the world using social and historical exploration. It seemed that these two concepts alone would be insufficient. So through inquiry and thought I was led to Soja and his idea of 'thirdspace'. His work challenges the 'either/or'tendencies of academics, and assists me in trying to add nuance and depth to the debates around refugees/migrants.

This allows me to respect and 'believe' divergent and contradictory stories and beliefs found between and within my subjects (MacDonald & Bernardo, 2006). It also forces me to engage with the idea that different truths may co-exist, and different contradictory theories may both correctly speak about the same idea. I do not wish to become lost in overly theoretical and abstract debates, as I risk undoing the power of ethnography; that it is firmly grounded in everyday pragmatism.

Most simply this 'other' would allow me a third choice. Traditionally, and very explicitly during the xenophobic attacks of 2008, migrants are cast either as victims of gross human rights violations or as offenders: drug dealers and fleeing war criminals. Both points have validity. Both points are horrifically inaccurate. Migrants are both and many other things, all at the same time.

"Occidentalism…denies the possibility of difference, or seeks to explain it away", furthermore it "presumes the 'sameness' of key cultural categories, practices and institutions" (Cain, 2000, p.1). In the context of my work I am dealing with 'refugees' or 'migrants' and the temptation was to assume that this was a homogenous group. I found it astonishing that even after completing an Honours thesis on a very similar topic and gaining substantial background knowledge on the subject I entered the field with assumptions and occidentalist attitudes that stood directly in the way of my learning. Much of my own personal journey involved unpacking and undoing my own assumptions. The people I worked with were, for the most part, Congolese, but their life stories are so divergent and varied that this label serves to signify nothing more than their national origin, and even that was sometimes

misleading. Despite my knowing and understanding this, throughout my work I had to consciously avoid (and deconstruct) my own assumptions about 'Congolese-ness'and 'Congolese people'.

Implicitly linked to the ideas around methodology and research are concerns about what can be learnt and how we can learn things. The nature of the world in which I learn is as important as what I am trying to learn. Linked to this are questions about 'truth'and the nature of people, and the importance of their stories, as well as the importance of ethnographic data, and its relevance as a scientific or academic endeavour. In his piece *Social Space and Symbolic Power,* Pierre Bourdieu positions himself as a constructivist. He states "there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), but also objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations" (1989, p. 1).I take a different approach, I take a post-structuralist stance. The social world is fully subjective. Any 'objectivity' observed in such a world would simply be the projection of one's own ideological assumptions that have, as yet, remained unquestioned or unchallenged.

Once the issues around contradictory data and concerns pertaining to the research process and method have been resolved, we must still explore issues around authorship, accountability and translation. Effective ethnography must consider the ways in which it gives voice to its subjects (Vigouroux, 2008). In translating their work from Hindi to English, Nagar et al. (2006) made this observation: "We fully recognized that no act of translation is without problems of voice, authority and representation and that no act of publication comes without risks and consequences"(Nagar et al., 2006, p.4). In translating work, one must consider power, access and control of authorship. Re-presenting the words of another, in a different language to their own is a problematic and fraught process. This problem of translation was a concern that presented itself in presenting my data.

Ethics

Thus far the concerns raised have been of an epistemic nature. Now I will turn my attention to the ethics and controversies inherent in trying to ethically conduct ethnographic research. Research 'in the field' is a fraught process, one of contradictions, failures, successes, loneliness, joy all the while dotted with morally ambiguous moments. I have drawn on 'basic' research texts that outline how research should be done and what ethnographic research is. I.e. Babbie& Mouton's *The Practice of Social Research*, however, the more useful

documents have been those such as *Ethnography at the Edge* (Ferrell & Hamm, 1998), *Gangs, Politics and Dignity* (Jensen, 2008), *Streetwise* (Anderson, 1990), and *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (Friedman, 1994).

In doing and writing about research in an ethical manner one must consider a number of things: The position of the researcher in the field, his or her authorship, the 'voice' of the subject and the way in which the subject is framed, what is *not* told versus what *is* told. An ethnographer may be ethical in his conduct, but the resulting document may be ethically questionable for a number of reasons, for example if it is incorrect or misleading (Madison, 2005). Another factor, which cannot be controlled, is that the context in which a document is read will greatly affect the meaning taken from it (Katz, 2004). In ethnography one is representing someone else's story, doing so places the researcher in a position of power (Nagar et al. 2006). In discussing the ethics of the research process it seems pragmatic to break the research down into its various phases and the ethical concerns inherent in each phase.

First there is planning, reading and theorising. This is the phase in which a paradigm and a research approach are chosen. If ethically informed texts are read in which the nuances and complications of power are discussed, there is a higher likelihood of producing an ethical piece of work. For this research work, works on methods and ethics were considered, as well as works on power and positionality (Scott, 1992). In planning, a method is chosen, for this work ethnographic work using grounded theory was chosen (Layder, 1998). So only a basic set of literatures were read before the research started. This work was mainly concerned with ideological and epistemological concerns. Works around space such as Massey (2005) and Soja (1996) were read so as to sensitize the researcher to how space can be used and engaged with in sociology. Texts around xenophobia and refugees were not read until after the fact, however, my honours paper was on a similar topic so much knowledge was carried through from that work. The intentionwas to enter the field without a hypothesis or clear idea as to what will be found. My work is 'disciplined by the data' that I am given (Katz, 2004, p.293). Instead of entering the field with theory and a clearly defined hypothesis, I started this work asking questions and observing. This allows for a more engaged process with the data, and with the research subjects, as well as a more thorough, humble, attempt to map the subjects as human beings; with contradictions and nuances. The data is seen as more important than theory; the data will lead to, or at least allude to, a theoretical insight (Katz, 2004, Layder, 1998).

Second, there is entry to the field. Entry into the field is a crucial stage; if this cannot be done successfully the research project will fall flat. In entering a research setting one must consider one's own positionality, resources and relations to the subjects, as well as how one gains access to the field and to the subjects. In my fieldwork I gained access to my subject group using snowball sampling, and by speaking French. My position (as a white South African male who spoke French) created enough interest for one man to invite me to his house. From there I met his flatmate who invited me to his church. I was introduced by friends to other friends; moving horizontally through the social groups. I was always quick to explain that I was a researcher studying the Congolese people in Muizenberg. I would explain what my research was about and would recite some data so as to show my subjects a basic familiarity with their lives and the hardships that they faced on a daily basis. This was to create some form of trust and situate me as on 'their side', a friend to the refugees. I attempted to make my entry unobtrusive and position myself as an equal, but my skin colour situates me as different (a white South African, with legal status in the country) while my car, employment and my clothes situate me as economically privileged. Studying at a university situates me intellectually and socially as a 'researcher': as someone with power and knowledge, despite my attempts to be humble and quiet and position my subjects (who over time came to be more like friends) as the people with knowledge.

After that comes on-going research. The practice of conducting ethical fieldwork has been theorised and discussed at length. The aims here are to be honest and respectful in interactions. I started this work hoping to tell the stories of refugees, to tell their stories and express their experiences. After some fieldwork, I seethat whilst I may approximate their stories I am always re-telling them and often confusing the story they told with my story of listening. I conflate my experience as researcher with their experience as the researched, because they occurred in the same space/time moment(c.f. Vigouroux,2007). I must be conscious or explicit about which story I am telling, and whose voice is doing the telling. I am talking about them and of them. I am trying to re-tell or to express what I was told. I am re-constituting, re-phrasing, remembering what they said to me. In an attempt to counter these power dynamics there is an increasing move to create research that is action oriented, interactive and collaborative (Iversen, 2009).

In traditional Western research models, the aim is to create replicable, scientific, reliable research methods. The idea behind this sort of method is to reduce flaws, irregularities and possible harm to subjects. The fear of doing research incorrectly or harming subjects is very real, and can be evidenced by the ethical review boards and processes that all research

involving human subjects is subjected to. These ideas of accountability and controlled research are not easily wrapped around the stubborn and fluid field of ethnographic work. Fieldwork is often haphazard and the researcher may not know what will happen until it is happening. The relationship between subject and researcher is problematic, as power and authorship are always retained by the author. No matter how hard he or she may try to include his or her subjects and to be reflexive and open to criticism, at the end of the day the research submits their paper in a world often far removed the subjects, in a form that may be completely inaccessible to the researched.

Anyone who has engaged in research such as this will know that the subjects have very little recourse in the case of exploitation. Often they will be unaware that they are being exploited or that the research being done is ethically dubious. In a special edition of the *American Annals of Social Science Research*, Bosk and De Vries discuss Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) and the attempts by universities in the US to create bureaucratic oversight for human research. They say this:

> The mere existence of one more document trying to get right the vexing question of how to assure the proper ethical conduct of qualitative researchers through organizational oversight is a symbol and symptom of a deep misunderstanding of the realities of ethnographic research and an even deeper misapprehension about how conduct is effectively regulated.
>
> 2004, p.251

The paper continues to discuss the problematic linkage between managerial, business or bureaucratic oversight systems and ethnographic or social science research. The conference discussed in the paper attempts to take lessons from research conducted in the biomedical field and the concepts of best practice and quality improvement, and use those to generate ethical guidelines for social science research.

To state that I am 'exploring' or 'observing' what is already in the field is misleading. That is my intention, and my aim. In entering the field I add to its construction, however briefly and momentarily. I assist in the constitution of any social spaces that I enter. My work is 'unethical' in the sense that the method is wild, loose and free-flowing. It is not structured and does not have neat parameters. The UCT Faculty of Law ethics committee would have, presumably, been loath to grant me ethical clearance because of their tight, traditional, rigid research ethic; they require informed written consent from all participants and a neat, structured, well laid-out research method with a logical, concise plan. My research, as will be

explained, was loose, messy and haphazard. The sampling was not random, nor was it planned. I fell short in many ways with my work.

My work is ethical; it is work that attempts to be accountable to myself, my subjects and my reader. Work that is structured and 'traditionally scientific' (to use a crass generalisation) may often be seen to hide its flaws. I believe reflexive work to be more ethically sound because it engages in 'confessions' and self-exposing dialogue (Ferrell& Hamm, 1998), a process not preferred by traditional researchers, nor conducive to their methods. Attempts to reach some sort of objectivity, perfect science and complete answers are not efforts made in this paper. This is a humble, though thorough, submission that attempts to be aware of its faults and admits to being 'in process'. These notions of incompleteness stem from an understanding of the world explored in works such as that by MacDonald and Bernardo (2006), in which mutually exclusive beliefs can coexist, and must coexist for progress to be made.

At the end of the fieldwork process comes the much under-studied departure from the field (Iverson, 2009). My fieldwork was adaptive and grounded, my method evolved to suit the research setting as it unfolded (Layder, 1998). Coming to the end of the research proved difficult. As Iversen (2009) discusses, perceptions of the roles that researcher and subject play are important, as are clearly defining the stages of the research for one's subjects. As my work was unplanned, there were few formal stages. I would alternate between reading and fieldwork, and spent three or four days a week in Muizenberg for roughly 18 months, with a few breaks for a week or so. When the fieldwork ended I was deeply involved in the community.

The mismatch between my saying that the research is over and my subjects continuing to contact me is as a result of the experience my subjects had of me(Iversen, 2009). They did not experience me as a researcher, but as a friend, as such it makes no sense that my contact should end because of a date the university has proscribed or because of a change in my job. The nature of my contact; 'hanging out' with subjects and spending time in their homes made this a confusing position for me to take with my subjects. I met their children and wives and often ate supper with their families. I became a welcome feature at social events, this did not end when my formal research process end, neither did the invitations and requests for help. Over a year after the research has ended I still receive occasional contact, a text message on Christmas and an invitation to a funeral were the most recent occurrences.

Finally, and equally challenging, is the writing up of the research that was observed. In writing up the research we are forced to deal with the inequalities of this process. We give voice to our subjects. It is our voice speaking on their behalf, which is inherently a problematic position for both researcher and researched.The researcher is always in a position of power and authorship over the subjects, but efforts should be made to increase the volume of the subjects' voices in the final text, and that researchers should make themselves as accountable as possible to their subjects. Nagar et al (2006) discuss the difficulties of framing a subject's words and his or her world; the task of framing a work like this…

> certainly comes with immense material and symbolic privileges. It also comes with huge responsibilities: First and foremost, the responsibility to remain accountable to my collaborators who have trusted me to narrate our journey for readers in worlds far removed from their own; and second, the responsibility to the readers who want to understand the processes, dilemmas and challenges associated with our collaboration.
>
> Nagar et al, 2006,p.5.

Ferrell and Hamm (1998) discuss the idea of 'confession'. They accept, like most pragmatic researchers alive to the reality of fieldwork, that perfect or harmless research is impossible. Instead of creating work that appears ethically unquestionable they suggest 'confessions', in which the uncomfortable truths of fieldwork are admitted. In this way the researcher is able to provide an honest account of what has transpired and in what ways their work has fallen short or resulted in controversial or harmful occurrences in the field.

This notion of incomplete and imperfect work underscores my attempts at research. I submit tentative ideas, not aiming for universal truth or complete answers, but humbly hope to add to the already nuanced and complicated layers of theory and data on refugees in urban settings.

Equally important to the writing of a research paper is the reading of that document (Katz, 2004). The context in which a document is read greatly affects the document. I am writing on refugees, shortly after a series of brutal xenophobic attacks. This work will perhaps receive more attention than it would have if these attacks had not occurred, as the attacks raised the social profile of refugees and xenophobia as a problem across South Africa. I am also writing about a group who are rumoured to sell drugs and commit crime throughout Muizenberg. For

these reasons my work must be sensitive and balanced in its portrayals of criminality and social deviance within the subject group in Muizenberg.

After having carefully considered these various ethical and epistemological concerns, and adjusted the research where necessary, I joinFerrell& Hamm (1998) in accepting the notion of imperfect and honest research as ethical and appropriate for fieldwork of this nature. This work is guided by a reflexive, ethical and moral commitment. It has a strong element of self-reflection and researcher analysis. I use reflexivity as a method to explore the research tool (myself) and the possible biases and gaps in my work. This reflexivity also leads to an improved research method, and a deepening commitment to sound ethical research as the work progresses.

Notwithstanding both the serious epistemic and ethical concerns, it seems that pragmatism must win out and the research should continue as best it can (Ferrell& Hamm, 1998). The danger of course is that our work becomes so deconstructed that it becomes impossible and the glaring ethical questions force the fieldworker back into the library, stopping or severely limiting research that may have yielded valuable data. Comaroff (2004) cautions strongly against an overly reflexive tone, saying that, as a discipline, ethnography has erred in this regard already, as he puts it:

> I do not have in mind the kind of reflexivity called for in the 1980s... for the most part, this call became a prescription for a great deal of numbingly boring, self-serving prose and amateur auto-biography; it is a chapter in the recent history of the discipline better left closed for now.
>
> Comaroff, 2004, p.4

In addressing the controversies of ethnographic methods, both epistemic and ethical, practical common sense wins out. Comaroff &Comaroff (2003) and Ferrell & Hamm (1998) see ethnography as a valuable tool, but like all tools, one that must be used correctly and with an awareness of its limits.

My Research

Ethnography, as a method, leads one to journey, both physically and emotionally. One encounters the home space, in this case the Congo, "... not as a neutral or even a given, but as a locale invested with meanings and implicated in the dynamics of ... migration and settlement" (Ryan, 2003, pp.3). Ethnography is a journey, both physical and mental; for me this journey was to Muizenberg and to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This research took place in a small suburb, Muizenberg, about 15 minutes away from Cape Town's CBD. Muizenberg is a famous beach in Cape Town; its surf spot, aptly named 'Surfer's Corner' attracts thousands of surfers every year, many of them foreign tourists, to the beach. Next to the beach are restaurants and cafes targeting surfers and people attracted to the beach. There are numerous developments, either recently built or renovated, immediately behind the beach front; blocks of luxury apartments. My experience of Muizenberg was not one of beaches, sun-tanning or surfing.

I spent time in 'the Village' an older part of Muizenberg set about 3 blocks away from the beach. The area that I spent time in is a residential area, made up of pretty semi-detached houses, and one and two storey houses. Some of these houses were in a terrible state of disrepair, others were beautifully maintained and lived in by upper-middle class, presumably educated, South Africans. The area varies according to which road you are on, and the perception and experience of safety can change dramatically across one or two roads. Church Street, for example, was infamous for its drug dealers, gangsters, recently released prisoners and street children who could be seen loitering at all times of day or night. Beach Road, one road away, is a safe and beautiful part of Muizenberg. On Beach Road is an old family estate, the old Rhodes residence and a Christian College. The distance between rich and poor in Muizenberg is often only a few feet, but the gap between them is much bigger.

Muizenberg is an interesting suburb; there are middle class South Africans of all races as well as a strong presence of refugees. Because of this I was often warned about the drug dealers and the criminals living in Muizenberg. 'The Village' was of particular interest to me because it, qualitatively, does not seem like a South African space. The smells are of Congolese food, the sounds are of French mixed with Linagala, Swahili and KiKongo. The men in the road are tall and dark, dressed in bright colours that are distinctly 'other' African.

This research is not representative of any coherent group, nor of any easily discernable geographical area. I attempted to limit my work strictly to those who live in Muizenberg. This wasundone by key subjects moving to different areas during research, and the fact that I interacted with subjects who were interesting and who informed my understanding of key social networks yet they did not live or work in Muizenberg. I attempted to explore the Congolese 'community' in Muizenberg and limit my research to that group of people. I found that this was not a concrete or viable boundary. Both the terms 'Congolese' and 'community' are contested, misleading and may be as fraught with difficulties as they are useful. My work explored some parts of the broader population of foreign immigrants (some of whom) live in or work in Muizenberg. This piece tends to focus on (predominantly) Congolese refugees

who (predominantly) live in Muizenberg. I started with one or two subjects I met on the street in Muizenberg and was led into overlapping, contested, shifting and ambiguous social networks.

Language use in the research

The demographic and linguistic composition of the field is very complex. All my subjects are polylingual, speaking at least two languages fluently and then a number of other languages to varying degrees. Code-switching is a common occurrence. Languages are chosen according to who is present, what dialects they speak and the formality of the occasion.

Social spaces are to a large part constituted through language and language choice. Language creates and demarcates space; this forms part of the process of spatial practice. The majority of the interactions I had with subjects were in French. The Francophone identity is not adopted wholesale by Francophone Africans (Vigouroux, 2008). Sometimes it was a conscious explicit choice, other times simply because they are not French, but Africans who speak French (self-identified Bantus), or, more commonly, they are Africans who speak French in an Anglophone country (when they are not speaking one of the other five National languages of the Congo, or one of the 500 dialects spoken within the Congo (Lekogo, 2006)).

The French spoken by my subjects varied greatly in terms of tone, style, accent and formality. Some spoke no French at all; though these subjects were generally from Northern Zambia and spoke very good English. Others spoke impeccable French with a beautiful Parisian accent. The majority spoke French with a mixture of either Swahili or Lingala. It was only in my presence that French would be spoken without an African language hybrid.

On occasion I would be asked if I was French. This would indicate to me that many of my subjects spoke less French than me. More oftenthe men I was talking to would adopt English with me, normally after they could hear that my French was not very good (and they judged that their English was better). Though, in at least one instance I think English was chosen by the subject so that he could practice his English. French could be read as a sign of education or urbanization. Certain interactions would be deliberately closed to me, and other deliberately opened, through language use. For example when women were sent by their husbands to buy a cool drink for me to share with their husbands, this would be spoken in Lingala, whilst the rest of the conversation was held (also deliberately) in French. This was done to invite me into the conversation, even when it was between two others in the room.

This was most apparent when children, who could not speak French, were addressed in French because I was present.

In discussing matters with my subjects there are instances in which I am constructing a French space where previously (or otherwise) that would have been a Lingala or Swahili space. In other instances that French space already existed, though it was almost always offered simultaneously in English, Swahili or Lingala.

What was interesting was that often I was 'offered' an English space, because of my skin colour (and their placing me as South African, presumably). I would always respond in French. Sometimes the response would be "pardon, what did you say?" At other times it would be a sheepish "I don't speak French", and sometimes it would simply be a"Ah, tuparles le francais?" I would always respond "Un peu", a little bit. Sometimes those around me, my friends, would say "Oui, biensur, ilparles le bienfrancais", meaning: "Of course. He speaks very good French". Towards the end of the research period I often found it more comfortable to speak in French as opposed to English, and would often switch to French with individuals who spoke very poor English or were more comfortable in French.

The 2008 xenophobic attacks and my research

For this work, security is taken both in the literal sense of physical safety, but also in the broader 'human security' sense (Zedner, 2009). Thus, access to food, jobs, schooling, enjoyment and happiness are all considered relevant to 'security'. Moreover, however, it seems that security is not a security issue. The policing of Muizenberg, and the management of security, in its broadest sense, does not involve blue uniforms, flashing lights, hand-cuffs and the use of coercive force. On a daily basis, it revolves around issues of lifestyle, where one walks, who one's friends are, what time the train to work is, and so forth. In engaging with these refugees' security, we did not discuss arrests, or fighting skills, or crowd control, but simply what time the sun rises and what train they catch to work, lifestyle questions, issues around ability to purchase food, clothing and find safe shelter. These are 'security issues', though the 'security providers' such as the police play no part in providing these commodities. Security is not a 'security thing', and in order to make sense of what security is, I have explored the everydayness of security management, the mundane activities that make up our day that increase/decrease our security throughout that day. In order to do this, I have grounded my ethnography in a spatial world. Perhaps, more accurately, I have acknowledged that my work occurred in a spatial world, one that is constituted both by real

things, bricks and mortar, and imagined things, the meaning and significance of those bricks and mortar.

There were also factors that affected it both internally and from the outside. Foremost in my mind were the xenophobic attacks that occurred around June of 2008. I must acknowledge that while these attacks did change the field considerably, the most noticeable changes were external to the field; in comparison to the rest of the city my field was relatively stable. The context around the field I was working in has changed far more than the field in which I was immersed. This is another reason that ethnography and detailed social research is needed in such communities. The experience of foreign migrants in South Africa in 2008 was vastly varied. Many experienced brutality, life-changing trauma and many lost everything they owned. The issue of migration and xenophobia was thrust into the centre of social consciousness and the centre of our most precious urban spaces. However, my subjects experienced very little of this. They felt discomfort and huge amounts of fear; some were also unable to work a few weeks. But generally, within a month their lives, had returned to normal and they were continuing with the difficult business of eking out a living in a brutal and hostile South Africa. They did not experience the massive changes within the suburb in the same way the context and city around them had changed.

During and just after the xenophobic attacks, I completely surrendered my research topic and tried to involve myself in as much of the civil-society response as I could. I had no idea as to how this would play itself out or what would happen to my subjects or the other migrants in South Africa. I became involved for two reasons: one was that I needed to keep track of developments for my research. I knew it would be impossible to write anything on migrants in South Africa without engaging with these events. The second reason was that it was the right thing to do: I was a young man with free time, resources and access to migrant communities; it would be horrific of me not to help where I could. Linked to this was a third, less noble, reason: I would be able to learn a lot for my research while acting as a member of civil society.

I attended the formal UCT response meetings, became involved in UCT Law Faculty's response and (very peripherally) in the UCT Legal Clinic's response as well. I also helped out in a shelter in Muizenberg that was privately supported (as opposed to those funded by the government) in a Church. I observed as much as I could and attended as many meetings as possible as I could, while trying to keep track of the feeling and mood on the streets in Muizenberg. I quickly realised that there were two separate groups. The one group was

living in the shelter in Muizenberg. It comprised migrants from the Congo, Malawi and Zimbabwe. They were scared, cold, traumatised and starving. They had been displaced under threat of death from their homes and had fled with what little they could carry. Their lives had changed drastically in a day. Many left Cape Town, retreating back to the failing states of Central Africa. The other group was living in the houses of Muizenberg, mainly Congolese and a few Angolans. They were safe, fed, clothed and slept in their own beds (well, as 'own' as their beds could be while sharing a three-bedroom flat with sixother men) and they continued work soon after the attacks stopped. They had weddings as planned, went to church on Sundays and continued with their lives. There was some overlap, with friends in the shelter knowing some people in the area and vice-versa, but for the most part the shelter received no real support from the Congolese community within Muizenberg. The lives of migrants outside the shelter, living in the adjacent streets, continued unchanged while those within the shelters dealt with massive insecurity and uncertainty about their lives. These were two discrete groups of people. This was the start of my coming to grips with the lines and fissures within the 'community' that we imagine.

I used snowball sampling and was introduced to one or two people. However, I met most of my subjects simply by walking in the street and attempting to engage in conversations with people. I speak French, and this often proved enough to capture someone's interest and then gain access. My French was novel enough for people to invite me around or exchange numbers with me and say that they wanted to talk more. I always quickly explained that I was doing research, and most often this was met with approval and interest. From there on most often I would be invited to that person's house and then introduced to their friends and so on.

As noted, in some of my earliest field notes, while my subjects are 'experts' and their knowledge is irreplaceable, they are local experts; their knowledge is not generalisable, nor may it even apply to their neighbour or their family members. Essentially, they are a collection of local experts speaking their own truths. It proved challenging to find something to tie my work together in a succinct and useful way. It seemed apparent that spatial analysis was crucial to making sense of what was going on. However, I would also have to draw on social-networking theory, socio-linguistics, anthropology, and nodal-governance debates in criminology. This piece's strength is not that it strongly challenges any particular idea, but that it adds layers to the debate, in an informed, balanced and measured way, I intend to add layers and depth to the debates. This piece is challenging on many levels, primarily because it straddles so many different fields of study. It is hoped that it will highlight the

similarities within these fields and improve the interdisciplinary approach certain scholars advocate.

The research started when I walked up and introduced myself to two men walking in Muizenberg. I met Henry and Joseph walking away from the beach front to their house. They said they would be leaving the next day, or very soon. They didn't want to stay in South Africa because of the xenophobic attacks that were happening. Almost three years later, both men are still here. I visited them, and they introduced me to Lino, who took me to the Mount Sinai Church and involved me in the NGO *Solidarity International for the Refugees (SIR)*.

The interactions with my subjects were often guided by what they wanted or sought from the reaction. There seemed to be three or four major reasons the subjects had for choosing to pursue a relationship with me: 1) religious conversion (they wanted to convert me or draw me into Christianity) 2) exchange relationship (they saw that I had resources or possibly jobs for them, so would try to keep me around for those sorts of benefits. This was useful in that they would be open to my taking what I wanted from them- time and information) 3) friendship (some simply liked me and wanted me to hang out with them, sometimes the novelty of having a white, South African, speaking French was enough to create interest) 4) prestige (somewhere between novelty and exchange, there was this notion that they wanted me as a friend because I had a car and it was unusual for them to arrive with a white 'chauffeur', thus affording them some social status amongst their peers). Some of those I interviewed (such as the hairdresser or the pastor) remained acquaintances, people with whom I was friendly, but not really people I would consider friends or would have relied on for deeper data. Others became close friends and research subjects; they came to be important to me both for my research and as friends. It is not possible to map out every interaction and explain it qualitatively. There were between 30 and 40 people I would consider subjects, and maybe 100 or 200 who were in the periphery; people I saw at church, people walking in the street, they informed the 'background' or context, but I would not consider them even acquaintances.

While much of my time was spent observing and walking around and through Muizenberg, observing the street-level interactions between Congolese men themselves and also between Congolese and South Africans, as well as the variety of South African interactions I observed, a larger proportion of time was spent within the homes of various subjects. I was made very welcome in these spaces, and was always offered at least something to drink and most likely a cooked meal as well. I was able, and welcome, to arrive at any time of day or

night and visit for tea, food or a chat. I was often treated as a special guest, and sometimes the wives of the men I visited would be sent to the shops to buy a drink for us to have while we chatted, or they would sit quietly while we spoke, though this is as much a function of gendered spaces as it is a result of my presence. These informal visits made up the bulk of my research, though these were interspersed with meetings and interviews of varying levels of formality. The meetings were either church-related or NGO-related, and were arranged by my subjects, while the interviews were loosely structured and I arranged those.

These were clearly gendered spaces and gendered meetings. They were men's meeting and this was men's talk - about politics, life and business. These gendered, explicitly 'men's spaces', were present everywhere I went and underscored many of my interactions, actions and access. The Church, the Street, homes, meetings and interviews were all spaces explicitly for men. Of course, these are the 'official' and explicitly created spaces, the spaces given to and claimed by men and the leaders of houses. It would be interesting to look at the spaces made, claimed and given to women and children and how they create dignity and privacy within these already crowded and compressed spaces.

Often subjects' relations to one another were difficult to understand. There were instances where people were friendly while I did not think they knew each other. They were other instances in which people whose networks and associations were very close, though they never actually met one another.

It is interesting to note, however, that often refugees would have very different impressions of themselves from those held by the neighbouring community. For example, many migrants viewed themselves as people creating peace and security in Muizenberg. While the view from the rest of the residents of Muizenberg would be that they bring with them numerous risks and threats and create insecurity.

Both these views are held. Perhaps it becomes important when one view dictates or leads to large-scale social action. The opinions and views of the refugees have shifted over time. The xenophobic attacks last year may have accelerated or drastically altered this process. But it is safe to say that there are numerous, contradictory, often simultaneously held, impressions and views of refugee groups.

One of the methods I attempted to employ during my research was mapping, I printed out various maps and gave them to my subjects. The intention was to give each subject an Interview Pack consisting of one page with demographic information, one page with a map of Africa, one with a map of Muizenberg and one with a map of Retreat for those who live in

Retreat. I planned to have open-ended discussions using the maps to tell stories and talk about the spaces.

> Mapping is one of a number of ways in which the disruptiveness of space is tamed.
>
> Anderson, 2005 ,p.228.

What happened was fascinating. I only conducted one of these interviews properly, filling in all of the forms. I attempted four other interviews, but most of the time was spent trying to work out what the maps of the suburbs meant. The maps of the suburbs in which my subjects lived turned out to cause more confusion than they were worth. The interview was spent trying to relate the lived experience of being outside in the streets to the abstract and confusing lines on these pages. The maps of the suburbs produced very little useable data and were dropped from my methodology. The map of Africa, however, elicited accurate knowledge about routes to and from the Congo. In Congolese law it is illegal for Congolese citizens to claim refugee status in South Africa here, so when they return home they must take circuitous routes and enter using a 'laissez-passez' issued from a neighbouring country. One subject was able to outline the various routes one would take to get to or from the Congo depending on where one's destination. He was amazingly familiar with the routes, and though they are informal and involve several modes of transport, in the minds of my subjects these are established and well-known routes. In the same way I would explain to someone how to get to town using UCT's student shuttle service and then walking to the building they needed to get to, these men were able to explain how to get across the African sub-continent with almost no visas or documentation. Maps are not space, which is...

> Odd because maps have become central to how we think about and imagine space. Yet maps, perhaps those we are most familiar with, function by representing space as an ordered surface in relation to which the observer is positioned outside and above. Massey's point is a simple one that is now echoed in a critical literature on cartography – that hegemonic types of mapping represent space as a 'completed horizontality' – in which the dynamism of change is exorcised in favour of a totality of connections. Mapping is one of a number of ways in which the disruptiveness of space is tamed.
>
> Anderson, 2005, p.228.

The experience of Muizenberg or Retreat and the way in which those spaces are experienced, walked, mapped and negotiated is not similar to or represented in any way by

an aerial photograph of the area. The experience of Muizenberg is one in which the subject walks and drives through the streets. It is not a completed object, neatly captured on a page, but a continuous process of renegotiation: continually being written as it is being walked. Thus, the 'maps' that I offer are stories, narratives, brief moments in which I follow and experience my subjects' ideas of Muizenberg.

While I quickly dropped the idea of trying to map out my subjects' views of Muizenberg, observing their interacting and making sense of maps of Africa was far more useful than expected. One thing that cannot be underestimated is the importance of how *they* view the spaces they come from and the spaces they now inhabit. They were all very able to describe travel and trade routes with detailed information on how to come to Cape Town from the Congo, despite this sort of travel being illegal and expensive. This alludes to the way that they view Cape Town and travel across the sub-continent: accessible, simple, easy to understand, just a bus ride away, a part of the same Africa that they inhabit. Whether these perceptions are real or valid or continue to exist after they arrive in Cape Town is a separate debate.

Glancing the 3rd City: a story of six refugees in Cape Town

This data section will be explained using the stories of six men. These six men, while all loosely part of the 'Congolese' community, each capture a different experience and a different aspect of the community, highlighting the differences between the various groups and disrupting the xenophobic and normative assumptions about the sameness of all foreign African migrants in South Africa.

These six subjects all share similar profiles, and from the outside appear part of one Congolese community. This work serves to disrupt that narrative by analysing and explaining their various social positions. These narratives add nuance and depth to the otherwise flat and homogenous concept 'refugee' or Congolese migrant.

Constructing Space

This collection of stories, observations and interactions constitute space-making practices. I take the action of space-making as the point of departure for my work. Spaces are actively constituted in an interactive, social process. If, as argued by Massey (2005), space is a set of interactions, then in observing and mapping the interactions of my subjects I am observing and mapping their spaces and the making of those spaces.

Each man's story will be told with reference to three points: space, identity and community. These terms are employed generally, and may refer to different elements of each man's social life. For example, one man's discussion of space will pertain to his comportment in the street, whilst another's is a discussion of how he provided a space for his wife and child to live in. In each story I will reference space. This refers to how that man uses, creates or consumes spaces around him. Usually this will either refer to his domestic use, where he lives and who he lives with, or it will refer to the social and public spaces he uses: the church he attends, the corner he stands on, how he walks around in public, and so forth. When discussing his comportment or behaviour on the street, I may also refer to his attitude towards the crime in his suburb and how he deals with it, either discursively or through behaviour. As part of the exploration of these men's identities I sometimes discuss the 'kind' of masculinity they deployed, while running the risk of falling into a weak and crass dichotomy refer, in very general terms, these men perceive themselves and behave, either in terms of a conservative, 'religious' way of being, or a more westernised, consumer ideology. This offers insight into the kinds of spaces subjects created around themselves, and how these spaces relate to their personal identities.

I use these men's stories for two reasons. It is more interesting and hopefully more useful to relate my data in such a manner. These stories were chosen because they represent trends I observed in the data. Each man here stands in place of many men who share similar experiences. These stories are suggestive, tentatively offering a series of experiences that a number of men in the field seemed to share. These stories are used to generate new data and knowledge around space, community and identity. Within each narrative I focus on an aspect of identity, social cohesion or constructing social space. The six men are Henry, Papy, Lino, Kay, Patrick and Severen.[3]Henry and Papy were chosen because they are from Kinshasa (Kinoi) and their stories illustrate a number of themes that seemed common to the Kinoi experience. Lino and Kay were chosen because they represent the number of rural migrants from the East who did not fit into the dominant, Kinoi, atmosphere of Muizenberg. Patrick and Severen have their stories told because they offer different positions to either the Kinoi or those from the East.

Henry

Henry was the first subject I met. He is from Kinshasa and has a degree in Commercial Law from the University of Kinshasa. He works as a security guard, without a contract. Our interactions were always in French. He speaks Lingala, French and some English.

He was a qualified lawyer in the Congo. Here he works for sub-minimum wages as a security guard for various small companies. He sees himself as an academic, and often wanted to discuss my thesis or his work that he had done in the Congo. He saw us as equals - two men studying various disciplines.

He was happy to stay in Muizenberg because the dominant group in Muizenberg is Kinoi - from Kinshasa and speaking a mixture of French and Lingala. He was part of the dominant ethnic group that occupies Muizenberg.Henryspent R1200 per month renting one side of a double bed in this house in Muizenberg. He shared it with a man he did not like very much, but, as he explained he was much more certain of his security walking round Muizenberg and more certain his possessions would be safer while he was at work than would have been the case had he been living in a township. Henry could have spent only R200 or R300 a month renting a shack, but then he would have risked the criminal and xenophobic elements within the townships. Many foreign Africans do choose to live in the townships and during the xenophobic attacks in 2008 the vast majority were forced into the suburbs (Bekker, 2008, Steinberg, 2008).

[3] Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of all subjects involved.

Henry's story is a useful one through which to explain how houses are sublet by Congolese migrants and how they create smaller, safe, affordable spaces in the suburbs through a process of subletting, and the unofficial 'property market' this creates. All of the subjects I spent time with lived as subletters, renting a room within a house. These spaces are punctuated with fluidity and rapid movement of people from house to house. Some subjects moved three or four times in the space of a year, showing little or no commitment to the domestic space they inhabited.

Henry lived like many of my other subjects did, renting a room or a bed in a room. The two-bedroom house he stayed in housed eight people; four single men, two living in a bedroom, and two living in the entrance hall that had been separated from the lounge using a curtain, and in another bedroom off the lounge lived a man with his wife and two children. Most of the men I met worked minimum wage or sub-minimum wage jobs as unregistered security guards and many in the area were unemployed.

The inhabitants of Muizenberg have all made a choice, to spend a lot more living in the suburbs while enjoying a relatively high level of safety and security, rather than living in a township and saving money but having much less physical security. To live in the townships as a foreign African is to run the risk of daily attack, robbery or even murder. One may also come home and find one's shack has been stripped bare. The people living in Muizenberg have chosen to rent a small piece of space in a relatively safe suburb at a much higher financial cost.

One man would sign a lease on a house, and then would sublet every other room to someone else. Often the leaseholder would claim the central spaces such as the lounge and kitchen as well. Those who lived there would be allowed to use these spaces when needed, but would quickly retreat back to their bedrooms, which then serve as the family room as well. With these subletting arrangements, which were common throughout the migrant population that have chosen formal housing, come very clear and often explicit relations of power between tenants. In some cases, the owner of the property was leasing it out as a way to generate revenue. In these instances they would have the most power and often not live in the building. In these cases all tenants were equal and often not very familiar with one another, despite sharing very small and usually intimate spaces. In most cases, however, one man would sign the lease for the property and then sublet the other rooms to friends or acquaintances or someone's friend who needed a place to stay. Again, here, men would often share small and intimate spaces with people they hardly knew. The majority of my

subjects were single men between 20 and 35, so they did not feel the need to rent large or fancy homes and would share with other men in similar circumstances to their own.

Often when I was visiting subjects we would sit in the lounge and chat, during these times I noticed the large number of people coming and going, walking into different bedrooms and visiting different people. It was rare, however, for these people to greet me or interrupt the conversations we were having. It seems that numerous homes exist within houses. While these people were walking through the same physical space, socially it was an exclusive space; belonging to the man whom I was visiting. So within the physical space of one house, more than one home existed and in order to maintain some degree of privacy, these spaces were respected as such. Social spaces are smaller in these settings than I am accustomed to; they are read using a different scale. Bedrooms hold families. Houses act like apartment blocks. Roads act as suburbs. Suburbs serve as communities.

I would also visit men, who were not the leaseholders of a property, and we would talk in their bedrooms. Often to one side there was a couch or a 'lounge' area. Again here, their sovereignty within the home was maintained. However, these home spaces were compressed to fit within a bedroom or subsection of a house.

There was, however, a very clear and conscious understanding that once one of these men was married he would rent a room, or a house, for himself and his wife or new family. It was thus that often wives were seen more as a financial responsibility, similar to a bond or a car, than as a matter of the heart or of love and emotions. In these settings marriage takes on a very different social meaning and narrative to that of Hollywood movies or 'happily ever after'.

As mentioned before, Henry wanted to engage with me as a lawyer, as an academic. Because of this he would not acknowledge the criminal or gangster elements within the Muizenberg area. Whenever I asked him about the drug dealers in the area or the inhabitants of Don Pepe's[4], he would deny all knowledge of this. On one occasion he took me into Don Pepe's and introduced me to a friend of his, an Angolan man called Samuel. He was a family man living in a tiny room. He was well educated and was studying further. My visit interrupted his work. The building was inhabited by both South African and Congolese

[4] Don Pepe's is an old hotel in the centre of Muizenberg village. It is infamous for its housing of drug dealers and the associated crime that occurred in Church Street, the road it sits on. During my fieldwork it was deemed unfit for human habitation and after some negotiation the inhabitants, a combination of South Africans and (mainly Congolese) foreign nationals, were evicted.

men who were believed by the Mountain Men[5] to be drug dealers and criminals. He chose to introduce me to an honest, religious family man. This was the only man he introduced me to in Don Pepe's.

His sense of self, or perhaps the sense he attempted to give, was common within the migrant community, was one in which drugs, crime and gangsterism were completely unknown - as foreign to these men as they are to the streets. It was a common response within the community when I asked them about the gangsters or drug dealers in the area. For Henry, this serves two purposes: first (and this was common amongst migrants) it allowed him distance from whatever illegal activities were going on. Many of the migrants I spent time with were hard-working, honest, family men. They were in many ways the antithesis of the stereotype of French-African migrants -often assumed to be Nigerian, immoral, gangsters, drug dealers and thugs. The second purpose, related to the first, but more particular to Henry's own sense of self, is that in order to retain the academic, credible, honest impression he portrayed, he would be unable to acknowledge such behaviour within his community. This would be especially true of a man whose vocation was legal practice. His sense of masculinity was tied to the modern, to a desire to be an educated, professional and respected member of his community.

In this instance his understandings of criminality within the community and his own masculinity are deeply intertwined. The impression of criminality he was willing to share with me was severely blinkered, virtually non-existent, because of his desire to have himself and his community viewed in a particular light.

Papy

Papy is a stereotypical French African migrant. He is from Kinshasa and speaks Lingala and French. He is very muscular and confident. He has dark skin and attractive features. He has many years of experience training in martial arts in the Congo. This is fairly common within the subject group. He works here as a bouncer in a restaurant that becomes a club on busy nights in Kalk Bay. He dislikes his job; having to deal with drunken middle class youth and fights on a regular basis makes his work frustrating and tiring. I met him through Henry. He took up one of the places in Henry's house soon after Lino had moved out. Interestingly, even thoughPapy and Henry lived together I had separate relationships with either of them.

Papy was less scared to show me the criminal side within the community than Henry. Perhaps because of his own personal history as a bouncer here in Cape Town, he has

[5] The Mountain Men are a private security company that patrol Muizenberg on foot and on bicycle.

experienced and seen the same sorts of things over and over in various communities. Also, because he is a bouncer and not a lawyer, he risks much less personally in acknowledging these illicit facts to me. Henry felt the need to appear educated, honest and credible and as a lawyer he then had to create discursive and symbolic distance between himself and anything illegal that his countrymen may have been doing. Papy did not have such a burden. Perhaps he also knew that many of the youth engaged with these drug dealers would in fact be from the same areas and background as myself.

Papy, like many of the men living in the area, does not have a car, so he walks everywhere. Subletting is a practice engaged in by many foreign migrants so as to mitigate the higher cost of living in the suburbs. Because of it there are often eight or ten migrants living in one house. One unintended consequence of this subletting is that the suburb is very densely populated by foreign African migrants. This combined with various jobs they do, the shift work and the large group of unemployed or semi-employed men means that there are always men walking around, to the shops, to visit friends, to and from work. The Kinoi migrants dominate the suburb of Muizenberg through numbers and through sheer presence on the streets. Their numerical presence on the streets, combined with their attitude of group protection and mob justice, means that if anyone attacks or pesters a Congolese person, all other Congolese migrants in the road will rush to his or her aid. It seems this is one of the few times that the fractured and incomplete identity is overlooked. However, not all migrants in the area are guaranteed this protection. This is illustrated in detail in Severen's experience of walking through Muizenberg.

The threats to the Congolese in Muizenberg were always the street children and the 'strollers', the various homeless people and gangsters that walk through the area during the day. Comparatively, these are low-level risks when compared to the dangers being faced in townships and informal settlements by migrants. The police were relatively absent from the area, and only on one occasion was I stopped by private security; this is presumably because I'd been walking with Papy through a group of drug dealers. The assumption then is that I, as a white man, walking with Papy, as a Congolese man, am a threat because we will be exchanging drugs. Papy by himself is no threat, and neither am I; it was the combination that raised concern for the private security in that area.

I walked around Muizenberg a number of times with Papy - a very different experience from when I walked around with Severen, which I explain further on in this chapter. Papy was confident and charming, but beneath this was an assertive demeanour and a willingness to address a situation with force. Papy walked with a confidence about him, strolling slowly and

greeting people as we walked past. He seemed very comfortable in the street, and displayed no fear or anxiety about the various streetchildren and gangsters we encountered.

Papy was much more willing to discuss gangs, crime and the possibility of drug dealing within his community. He walked me around the area and introduced me to a man who was clearly a drug dealer.[6]We also walked into an abandoned building and between two men smoking marijuana. Papy was very comfortable on the streets, we walked through large groups of people, past street children and spent time hanging on the corner outside the barber shop. He and some of his (large) Kinoi friends displayed a comfort on the streets that was uncommon with the majority of my subjects. This was their space, everyone knew it. Even the unruly street children and the petty criminals adorned with prison tattoos that move in and out of the area were cautious of them.

The last point to discuss around Papy is that of his masculinity. He often dressed very well and took care of his presentation. He wore expensive labels and westernised clothing. Unlike a number of my subjects, Papy made very little mention of the church or religion. He seemed to be more interested in consumption than a religious identity or appearance. I noticed a number of the men from Kinshasa were similarly not religious. This way of being was often associated with drinking, chasing South African women and spending money on various luxuries.

In a discussion on the corner with Papy and some of his friends, I explained that the only people who I've seen have safety or security in the streets of Muizenberg were the Congolese. All other groups (whites, SAPS, private security, Coloureds), have problems with street-level crime in Muizenberg. Papy and the men standing with us laughed, knowing exactly what I was talking about. They explained that it was because the Congolese (in Muizenberg) live as a unit; they live together, in community and it is difficult for a Congolese man to walk past another Congolese man if he sees him in trouble or in need of help.

I understood this, but then tried to juxtapose this story to that of the long and complicated story of fighting between the various ethnic groupings within the Congo. It was explained that this is left to individuals. I would presume then, that the unity spoken of in Muizenberg is an implied unity between the Kinoi and the Kasai, those of relatively similar backgrounds. Perhaps this goes to explain why those of Katanga and Kivu origins have moved out; they were held there by relatively tenuous ties. They have 'set up' in Retreat, amongst a refugee community that seems predominantly Kinoi, but is also more dispersed around the suburb.

[6] See Addendum A

Lino

I met Lino through Henry. He was his flatmate at the time. He is from the Goma, a town to the East of the Congo, an area that has been greatly affected by the on-going violence, political instability and civil war. Shortly after I met him he married a woman called Helen. Lino is a warm, friendly man, and the person I became closest to as the research progressed.

Lino, while Congolese, and like so many other migrants did not fit into the dominant group based in Muizenberg. He speaks excellent French, better than most people I met. His home language was Swahili, and thus he is linguistically 'othered' from the majority of those in Muizenberg, as Lingala (or a mix of Lingala and French) is the language of the dominant group, the Kinoi. He is also a lay minister in the Mount Sinai Church, and attends the service every week. He invited me to his wedding and then to numerous services at his church.

His understanding of masculinity was drawn almost directly from a conservative reading of the bible. Depending on one's interpretation, it is either a strongly sexist understanding of family life, or a biblical model of marriage. He sees himself as the provider for his family and places a great amount of pressure on himself to create a safe space for them to live in and to provide for them.

It is a common belief in the migrant community, especially amongst the strongly Christian men, that when one is married one must provide a comfortable space, a home, for one's wife. Marriage often then becomes viewed as a financial cost; many men said to me that they could not afford to marry. Love was not mentioned as a reason to marry; marriage was seen more often as a life-stage that one reaches when one is able to provide financially and rent a large enough space for a wife and child. Many men I met sublet bedrooms and shared them with other men. As mentioned, their domestic spatial needs were simply a bed on which to sleep and a safe place to keep their things while at work. However, as soon as they got married they would move into a larger space and then become the 'men' of that space. This was the case with Lino. When I first met him he shared a tiny bedroom with one other young man. After his marriage he moved himself and his wife into a larger room in another part of Muizenberg, soon after that he moved into a two-bedroom apartment in Retreat. He sublet the second room to another family, but because he signed the lease he was able to claim the lounge for his family as a social space. He explained to me that he moved because he needed a larger space for his wife and the child they had soon after the marriage. He also explained that he moved out of Muizenberg because the area was noisy

and the people were aggressive. He did not like the ambience in the area, the rugged urban nature of the suburb. He would often speak about his desire for calm and quiet. He was not part of the dominant linguistic or cultural group in Muizenberg and did not feel particularly comfortable in the area. His experience of the Congo would also have been very different, having grown up in the conflict-ridden East and not in the sprawling urbanity of Kinshasa to which men like Henry are accustomed.

I attended two different churches in my fieldwork. One was a Catholic church (with Patrick) and the other an Evangelical church entitled *Mount Sinai* (with Lino). *Mount Sinai* was the church out of which the NGO *Solidarity International for the Refugees* was formed[7]. It was the church that one group of my subjects attend regularly. Many of my subjects were either members of the band or were elders within the church. I attended their services four times, as well as two wedding celebrations. Each of these occasions was fairly similar. The sermon was given in two languages. Depending on who spoke, they would either speak in French or Swahili and then the translator would translate into English or French.

As an aside, it is important to remember that in almost all social settings, there are usually at least two languages operating. Often, however, two would be mixed. This is especially true of the Kinoi; those from the West of the Congo would speak a French - Lingala mix. It was only for my benefit that a 'pure French' would be spoken (in which time I would often realise they were often less proficient than I was at 'pure French').

During my first few trips to the church I was clearly a 'special guest'; someone needing special treatment because I was being hosted by the church elders and someone who was clearly foreign and new to this setting: situated by my skin colour and my quiet demeanour. However, I quickly adjusted to the space and would respond in French to anyone who spoke to me. Normally the response was surprise and interest at who I was and why I speak French. I was given a privileged seat in the front of the church, amongst the elders.

[7]Much of the data I have reported so far existed within informal spaces, and was observed haphazardly during day-to-day activities and is sometimes a summary or a compression of a number of observations put together. The comments about the churches and the NGO are a series of observations and lessons learned while participating in more formal social spaces. I was invited to a number of 'events' during my fieldwork: weddings, NGO meetings, church services and so forth. These are deliberately constructed social spaces and are consciously created. While these spaces are more constrained they may be more telling in that they are more controlled and often were deliberate attempts to recreate a 'Congolese experience' here in Cape Town; even though these recreations may have been gross summaries of cultural beliefs or they may have been particular to one ethnic group and were then generalised to all those present.

This space was fascinating. It was a rented space; it served primarily as a Karate Dojo during the week, and the Karate mats were used as kneelers during our service. It was also a very public space, on the top floor of a small shopping centre on Diep River Main Road. We were very visible to those in the area and very audible once the singing had started. Every Sunday from 12pm until around 3pm roughly 40 well-dressed foreign Africans speaking a mixture of languages would converge on this space and loudly, explicitly claim it for their own uses. These church services were often the only social activity these men and women would have for the week. A large number of the men worked for 12 hours a day five or six days a week, and then on the seventh day they would attend church. It served a number of functions, not only the obvious religious ones. It created a social network for friendship and support and sharing of resources.

These spaces were very hierarchical. As acknowledged earlier, I was situated high up in the hierarchy because of the people who had invited me to the church. Above me were the elders and the pastor. Below me were the rest of the congregation. These spaces, as all Congolese spaces are, were split according to gender as well. Women were not permitted to sit in the front row. Nor were any of the senior positions within the church held by women. It seems their only role within such a church was to be the wives or daughters of the men. This was confirmed by the discourse used in many of the sermons; especially those given during marriage services. Depending on one's perspective, it was either a biblical model of marriage or a kind of religious sexism in which women were expected to be submissive to their husbands and not permitted to question their judgment or decisions. In this model, the roles of men and women were clearly defined, to the point where the term "la domaine des homes" (men's business) was used to describe a series of concerns that are considered to be exclusively for the concern of men.

Lino's wife, Helen, represents a fascinating example of identity creation and understanding, one that is shared by many of my subjects and one that applies to a number of them. She was one of the few women I met during my fieldwork process. Helen identified herself as Congolese however she was born in Northern Zambia, just south of the Congolese border. She has never been to the Congo. She grew up in Zambia and moved to Cape Town a few years ago. She speaks English confidently and is westernised in ideology and education. From this, we can infer that to be Congolese is a cultural and historical identity more than it is a legal or nationally recognised identity. It is an identity that is enacted and recreated rather than one that one is either born into or not. This also applies to the children of my

subjects that are born here in South Africa but are still considered 'Congolese' by their parents, though not necessarily by themselves.

One of the most remarkable experiences I had while in Muizenberg was my attending a 'La Dote' ceremony. This is the ceremony in which the groom pays the bride's family to marry their daughter. 'La Dote' is the French term for dowry, the custom of the husband and his family providing compensation to the wife's family for him marrying her and taking her from the father's household to his own.

The ceremony is based very much on the meeting of two families and passing of the daughter, as a respected and valuable item, from one family to the next. This ritual, typically involving two very large families coming together, was re-enacted here in Cape Town using fractured social networks, partial families and surrogate parents. The bride's 'parents' at the ceremony were church elders and each item that would typically be given (salt, a goat, and so forth) were each paid for and named using separate amounts of money (i.e. R50 for salt, R250 for the goat) and then these amounts were totalled and converted to US Dollars, because they would be sent back to the bride's family in the Congo.

For this work I employ an understanding of identity as enacted. Identities are created through practice, language and culture. This understanding allows globalised, mobile, subjects living transitory lives to create an identity. This understanding allows me to make sense of why cultural and social activities from the Congo are recreated with such commitment. They help to recreate the Congo here in Cape Town, and in doing so these re-enactments create local identities, meaning and stability for the transnational Congolese refugees.

Kay

Kay is a short, slightly older man from the East of the Congo. He was different from the group both in the way he spoke French, with very different intonation and accents, and because he lived in Ottery without any other subjects living with or near him. He worked as a security guard, again working outside of his support network.

He is a pastor and so is always addressed as 'Pastor' or 'Pastor Kay' within the subject group. He is a Pastor is the Mount Sinai church, and this is his connection to the rest of the subjects. He felt a strong desire to support others; his masculinity is informed by his position within the church as a leader and provider. This led to his starting the NGO, Solidarity International for the Refugees (SIR) with the aim of helping newly arrived refugees. The

intention with SIR was to support anyone termed 'refugee'; Pastor Kay wanted to use the identity of foreign African. This NGO is not limited to any particular nationality or ethnic background. Interestingly he also saw the approval of the South African government of his NGO as crucial. His sense of security is derived from a state-centric understanding of governance and order.

In *Tactical Cosmopolitanism* the 'Awelah' group is discussed. Landau & Haupt (2007) explain the peculiarity of this organisation in that it was not limited to a national or ethnic group, it espoused a pan-African ideology, very similar to that of the SIR. The SIR was not exclusive to any specific nationality or ethnic group. It was founded on a belief that all refugees in Cape Town suffered the same problems, and a desire to help, regardless of ethnic background.

However, while the aim was to be multinational and inclusive, it fell very short of this goal. The group became almost dysfunctional when a Zimbabwean man was invited to join. He spoke no French or Swahili and so the meetings had to happen in English. I was also the only member who had a car. He lived in Mitchell's Plain, so for him to get back and forth from Mitchell's Plain to Retreat without my help for the meetings would have been near impossible. The intentions and actions of the poorest and most vulnerable are harshly limited by issues of transport, access and resources. The group was unable to function with the Zimbabwean man present.

This highlighted the fact that a multi-national or multi-ethnic NGO would be impossible. SIR is an NGO that intends to be inclusive and uses the term 'refugee' to define those whom it will offer assistance. It was unable to move beyond the small church community that it was based within, that was already exclusive to a particular ethnic background. This is a neat micro-example of why it is that the terms for identification within refugee communities have never been the term 'refugee' or the foreign experience. While that does create some similarity it is mitigated by a number of other, more significant, factors, such as background, ethnic group, language, and so forth. So whilst many would benefit from a larger, more inclusive NGO process, it seems limited by ideological, experiential and pragmatic concerns.

I am able to make sense of what I observed around NGO formation using Amisi& Ballard's (2006) text *In the Absence of Citizenship: Congolese refugee struggle and organisation in South Africa*. Amisi & Ballard also speak about strong family networks around Cape Town. These family networks did not feature in my fieldwork. They were never mentioned by any subject I chatted to, nor was I invited to any meetings. I asked about their existence and the

migrants I spoke to either did not understand what I was referring to, did not know or pretended not to know. It is possible that they chose to hide this from me, though I was in the field for almost two years and these familial structures have been discovered by researchers doing semi-structured interviews with unknown subjects (Amisi& Ballard, 2005). So it seems that these are not secret organisations. I am left to presume that the subjects I spoke to simply did not know about the existence of such groups. This means that in both the Kinoi/Bakongo groups in Muizenberg and the Goma/Kivu groups of Retreat, there are no active familial structures. Those from the Mount Sinai Church felt the need to start an NGO to represent their interests and protect fellow migrants. Unlike the NGO groups spoken about by in Amisi& Ballard's research piece, this NGO did attempt to use the label of 'refugee' as its defining political identity. However, for a number of reasons, mainly logistical issues, such as language barriers and difficulty in coordinating a venue and time that suited everyone, they were unable to successfully incorporate the Zimbabwean migrants they invited into the NGO. It seemed also that the migrants I spent time with did not have access to other organisations or knowledge of what else was going on in the field. They were completely unaware of groups doing similar work, either in the Congolese community or in the broader Cape Town setting. The connections they had to other refugee organisations or events were through me and my contacts from UCT. They continued in isolation, without effective contact beyond their church congregation.

They had very few resources or access to resources themselves to start or run or register the NGO and often asked me to involve myself as an active member while I tried to retain the position of research; making my position within the group difficult. I tried as best as I could to watch the SIR unfold, to observe who they called on, and who they knew that could help them in their cause. I vacillated from being deeply involved in discussions, and shaping the actions of the group, to simply observing and allowing the group to talk. On these days, where I chose silence, almost invariably my opinion would be actively sought, and I was forced to talk. Because of this being drawn in and forced to actively involve myself in the organisation, I was soon forced to surrender my strict 'researcher' identity and become an active member of the organisation. Initially, when the SIR wanted to vote for a president it was suggested that I take the position. I declined and Kay, a senior in the Church and a man much older than I, was voted to the position by the committee. He proved to be a man with vision and passion, committed to pushing the group to continue. Interestingly, the first thing the group did was, to seek legitimacy and acknowledgment from the government. They did this by creating a constitution and membership list, creating official posts and assigning roles and responsibilities. Then they quickly had this translated into English (at quite high

expense) and then sent this to Pretoria to register as an NGO. It is remarkable that this group of refugees, a group that the government has little interest in and would not view very positively, wanted legal status before they would do any real work. This took almost a year, and was still dragging on when I finished my fieldwork. I was forced to stop observing their networks and social resources when I was put in charge of researching which other NGOs were active in Cape Town and creating a list of those with which we could co-operate. I was told very directly that this is what I must do, as a paying member of the NGO. It became apparent as it did in my honours thesis (Armstrong, 2007) that a willingness to help and to assist others is often hampered by everyday responsibilities such as going to work, cooking food, having children and visiting friends or staring at the TV which was left on but muted during all our NGO meetings.

While these men wanted to do good things and serve the refugee community, they were limited by their demanding work schedules and limited expendable income. There are at least two paying members who I have never met, because they are unable to attend the Sunday meetings we had at a church pastor's house, because of work commitments or transport limitations. Simple things, like printing a form or submitting a form to an office in Cape Town, required phone calls to people who had the resources needed (printers, time off to take the trains to town, and so forth), and a large amount of planning. It was difficult for me to be a member of the group and actively hold back resources that I could easily give which would have made the groups' running much smoother.

I saw myself primarily as a researcher; I cannot tell how they viewed me. Also, simply because of time restrictions and so forth, I was not able to run the whole organization, nor would I be willing to do so if I could. So I attempted to play a passive role in the group, and tried as best I could to be a researcher and observer, avoiding the participant observation role because my involvement in the group would necessarily change the nature of its growth and its interaction with outside groups. I was wary of my effect on the group, because of my social position, as a South African, registered at a university, with the ability to quickly find NGOs and relevant organizations to help us. But I wanted to know, see and observe what resources this group could conjure up, what they could create within their own networks and friendship circles. What became quickly apparent was that I had the broadest view or outlook on Cape Town within the group. They were unable to 'see' beyond their immediate social connections; it was a blank nothing out there, we operated in isolation, spoke, thought and existed in isolation.

It struck me as sadly ironic that a group of people who come from a completely failed state, where they expect no support from government, was so desperate for government help here. It speaks volumes about the narratives that are clearly being spoken around Africa about South Africa. South Africans have acted in very xenophobic ways recently, and shown that they are unsupportive of foreigners, yet my subjects remain determined to receive government approval. Perhaps it is because the idea of a state that provides order and support is so appealing after coming from a country with an absent state.

Severen

I met Severen through a friend. He attended her going away party. He was a very friendly man, soft spoken and polite. He was a baker by trade. He had worked in an exclusive patisserie in Brazzaville and had baked exquisite cakes for elite of society while he was there. Here he worked at the 7-11 in a newly developed area walking distance from Muizenberg.

He was from Brazzaville[8], and did not fit into the community because of his appearance and comportment. He was also different because of the language he spoke, his ethnic history and his manner. While he may have not been supported or part of the community in the same way as Henry or Papy were, he had no choice but to stay because of finances and social isolation. He also did not have a family to provide space for. He has a lower motivation to move out, as his spatial needs were lower. Because he was not married, his motivation to move out of the community was not strong. Perhaps while he did not fit into the community or receive great support, he was able to get by because his needs were fairly basic.

I learnt a lot about social support by observing Severen. Like most of my other subjects, I asked him to take me on a 'guided tour' walking around Muizenberg. We walked and chatted in a relaxed manner, until we turned to walk up Church Street. He suggested we walk a different route, so that we didn't pass the top corner, which is always busied with a mixture of 'coloured' gangsters and Congolese men loitering or selling drugs (depending on who you ask). I insisted on continuing up Church Street, and after a bit of back and forth, Severen then said he was not willing to walk that way, and insisted on going home. I was then left to walk Church Street by myself. This was a complete contrast to the confidence of Papy, Henry and their flat mates, and the way they 'own' the street and stroll around calmly and in such a self-assured manner. On one occasion I was chatting to Papy's housemates, two

[8] Brazzaville is the capital of The Congo. The Congo, often simply referred to Brazzaville or Brazza, is a separate country from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Although its capital, Brazzaville, and Kinshasa are separated only by a river and in many ways they are one large city.

large Kinoi men called Joseph and Zabi. I was safe when I was standing close to them, as I walked away the street children swarmed around me. They offered me protection simply by standing near me. They knew it and the all those walking in the street knew it. Severen on the other hand was unable to do the same. He is physically small; whereas Joseph and Zabi are all imposing and confident. He is also socially isolated. So while Joseph and Zabi may not have been able to fight off the street children by themselves, they were also certain in the knowledge that all the Kinoi standing in the road, of which there are always at least two or three, would come to their aid to help them against the street children. Severen, because he is culturally 'other' was not guaranteed this same protection. He is very gentle and soft spoken, not an intimidating or aggressive man. He did not like fighting and seemed very conservative. He does not have the physical stature, personality and manner or the social support of the Kinoi men in the area who so confidently stroll around and 'own' the streets.

The space making that I observed is enacted by foreign Africans, however these spaces were not safe or accessible for all foreign Africans. Those spaces, while 'foreign' are still unequally accessed and negotiated by various foreigners using various techniques and tools. For example, Severen is unable to access or enjoy the social spaces created in Muizenberg. While many spaces in the area are 'foreign', he does not fit into them.

Tied into this, perhaps, is Severen's far stronger reading and living of his masculinity through biblical terms. While most, if not all, of my subjects claimed some level of Christian identity and belief, some exhibited a far stronger commitment to this way of life than others. Severen espoused a rhetoric that was both strongly Christian and politically conservative. These two both lend themselves to a way of being that is calm and reserved. This is strikingly different from the flamboyant and showy comportment and dress of other French-African migrants. Perhaps to explain Severen's quiet nature using religious or political explanation is incorrect, as there were many in the church who dressed loudly and prayed even more loudly. Severen is a quiet man, he does not fit into the loud boisterous manner of the Muizenberg street.

'Mohiebi' is a Lingala word, from the Congo-Basin region to the West of the Congo. It means 'thief'. I first heard this word used by Severen, a few months ago. He described what happens when a Congolese man, either Brazzaville or DRC, finds a South African stealing from them. Severen, explained to me that the Congolese have a strong culture of communityjustice, and that has been brought with them to Cape Town. If someone is caught stealing from a Congolese person they simply shout 'Mohiebi!', and quickly a crowd will gather, they phone the police and then beat the thief while they await the cops arrival. This

was expressed as a way that the Congolese make Muizenberg a safer area, by enacting swift communityjustice. It was bizarre that Severen told me this story, as from what I could see, he was not guaranteed the group protection that he was speaking about.

However, in his self-identity he moved away from the political history of either Congo, and thus distanced himself from the ethnicity that makes him different and other from the rest of those living in Muizenberg. In discussing the complicated history of both Brazzaville and the DRC, Severen explained to me that he saw it as more important to help one another here and to live here as migrants than to focus on the ethnic struggles originating in the Congo. He saw the political and historical conflicts of the central African region as a divisive and counterproductive. In a different stance to those migrants of the DRC, whose identity is firmly rooted in their ethnic heritage (Tchiluba, Swahili, KiKongo, etc.), Severen identified using religious, national and political demographics. His ethnic heritage is different from those of the area, so his downplaying of his ethnic identity is the downplaying of his difference from the rest of the migrants in the area. In focussing on religion and South African politics, and a discourse of democracy, Severen is able to flatten out the differences between himself and the other migrants in the area.

Patrick

Patrick occupies an interesting social position because he lives outside of Muizenberg but comes in everyday for work. He is able to enter and leave this social space because he works there but lives elsewhere.

One could argue that he actually prevents crime in Muizenberg. He works as a car guard in the 'nice' part of Muizenberg. He has a relatively stable, lucrative job, guarding cars in the parking lot of 'Surfer's Corner', a very popular surf spot on the Muizenberg beach front. He is loosely employed by the surf shop on the corner, and is known by many of the surfers in the area; they leave their car keys with him while they are in the water. He receives a great deal of trust from his clients, and is often rewarded with relatively generous compensation. He would boast to me about both the trust he received and the amount was able to earn in a busy summer month. Patrick came from a wealthy family and had worked for a large international NGO in the DRC before he came to Cape Town. He explained that he had been paid in US Dollars and his family owned cars.

I spent a lot of time standing with Patrick while he was at work. He would often talk to me about his beliefs, sharing his ideas freely and expressing his opinion on the DRC, South Africa, politics and the treatment of foreign Africans here in Cape Town. Many of the ideas

he expressed are narratives that are shared by most, if not all, of the subjects with whom I interacted. Many have different slants to these ideas, but they are common beliefs held within the Congolese community about South Africans.

Patrick spoke very disparagingly of the local South Africans, and explained that they could not manage their money or stick to a budget. He saw this as a result of their poor education. He also explained that because he was well educated he was able to plan ahead and budget properly, which he saw as the reason he was able to wear nice clothes and live a more stable lifestyle.

Many of my subjects expressed their distrust and strong dislike of local South Africans, saying many are lazy and dishonest. Patrick, like many others, explained that they have South African ID numbers, making it easier for them to apply for jobs than it is for the migrants with their Refugee ID Numbers, or those who have no documentation at all. Alongside this my subjects said many locals were very lazy and dishonesty, and that they lacked education. The Congolese men who had chosen to live in the suburbs spoke very harshly of the township lifestyle, saying that the Xhosa people live like animals, and they lack common decency. Sometimes this harsh critique was grounded historically; explaining it as a result of the Apartheid state. Other times it was not.

When questioned about Muizenberg and why there was no xenophobic violence in the area during 2008, all of my subjects said that it was because there were no Xhosa people in the area. The second reason they cited, often relating it to the first, is that Muizenberg was 'integrated'. They would explain that white, coloured and black South Africans and the foreign Africans all live in the area in a relatively peaceful manner.

The subject group was almost completely male. Often the topic of women and daring would come up. Some men, who tended to be from the East, were more conservative, and spoke of marriage and long term commitments, while others, generally those from Kinshasa, were more interested in dating or short term commitments and one-night stands. Many of the Kinoi had local South African girlfriends. Virtually all the men had a racialised hierarchy of preference in terms of South African women. Some subjects would only sleep with South African women and look to Congolese women for relationships. All my subjects explained that, of South Africa women, they would prefer a white woman, then a coloured or an Indian, and lastly they would least prefer a Xhosa or Zulu woman. Again, strong words were used to describe the local South Africans; calling them lazy and selfish and saying that they were

only interested in money and would continuously ask for airtime or clothes. This narrative seemed universal among the subjects who dated South African women.

I spent a fair bit of time walking around Muizenberg, observing street interactions and involving myself 'on the street'. On the corner of Atlantic and Beach roads is a Hair Salon that caters to the male foreign African men in the area. The hair salon was a space filled with various men, socialising and having their hair cut. It is more a site of socialisation than it is a hair salon. There were a number of men here at all times. Two men worked as barbers, they worked late and often chatted with clients and had friends visit. There were men walking to or from the shops who would stop in, greet whoever was there, catch up on each other's lives and then carry on walking. On a few occasions Papy and I would go and see who was hanging out there and then walk home after we had exhausted the conversation on the corner. Then there were other men who 'hung out' there whenever the shop was open, their presence was different from those passing through on social visits and at first seemed to be there to ensure order within the Salon. However, the rumours I heard were that these men were dealing drugs from the hair salon.[9]

On the far side of the same block, set about 20 meters back from the road is a second corner, an intersection between Atlantic roads and the infamous Church Street. On this corner is often an assortment of foreign African men, local street children and gangsters. It is a dangerous part of Muizenberg to walk through. Often I felt very unsafe walking here, as did Severen who refused to walk through this part of Muizenberg at all.

Outside Don Pepe's and on the corner outside the hair salon I often witnessed very active, violent and open confrontations around who was allowed in and through this space, and who was safe here. The power for the vast majority of the time, was held in a brutal, but fragile manner, by the large numbers of foreign Africans walking in and around Muizenberg.

One afternoon Patrick and I walked from Surfer's Corner, the idyllic surf spot on Muizenberg beach front, to the hair salon. A short two minute walk from surfers and tourists and the experience is completely different. I was dressed in a blue golf shirt and beige shorts, carrying a bag over my shoulder, talking to Patrick in French. As we neared the corner a small assortment of street children circled around us and asked me for loose change or a

[9]What is worth noting is that notions of criminality were never admitted by anyone within the Congolese community. The rumours I had heard of drug dealing came from the White South African middle sector, never from the Congolese subjects who shared this space. They all claimed ignorance. They would say that "I don't know about those sorts of things"; explaining that they don't know what is going on, and that it is not their business.

cigarette. As we were about to step into the door of the hair salon, one of them then grabbed the sunglasses off my head. I responded by switching into Gaam Afrikaans and pointing my finger aggressively at this child. I learned after the fact that this boy was called Jerome, he was about thirteen or fourteen years old.

The tone changed very quickly from them laughing and trying to get something from me to a very aggressive challenge in Afrikaans. The small circle around us stepped back, surprised by my response, then one stepped forward shouting “Wag, jy, wag” (wait, you, wait). He then drew a pocket knife and pressed it to my eyebrow. Before the situation escalated any further, as it suddenly seemed things were not looking good for me, the children scattered and Patrick and I were hurried inside by a tall Congolese man who was shouting that I was with him, though I had never met him before. He had a barber’s apron and was half way through having his beard cut. It was a bizarre scene, this tall skinny man in shorts and sandals with the barber’s apron on shouting at these children and pointing his finger at them like a gun and their fleeing his threats. After we went inside Patrick explained that I was with him, so it turned out that this man had helped me simply because I was being attacked, not because he knew Patrick and wanted to protect a friend of Patrick’s.

The implication in all of this is that the Congolese men assumed I would be unable to protect myself and also, more importantly, that they were able to control the situation and stop the child’s impending knife attack. This man then sat down to continue with his shave. He introduced himself as John and sat calmly talking with the barber. After about ten or fifteen minutes John saw the child who had drawn the knife standing on the corner again, without even getting up from the barber’s chair he summoned the child into the shop, he reluctantly listened. He then berated the child and ordered him to apologise to me, the child reluctantly walked over and issued an apology. This was done not out of respect for me, but out of fear of John and respect for him.

The gangsters and street children are known for mugging people and causing a disturbance on this corner, the police and civil society often struggle to manage them. However, I watched as a Congolese man exerted very direct power over a street child, and made him apologise to me for threatening me with a knife. There was obviously a lot happening within that interaction, and many would believe that the child was carrying or selling drugs for this man. I, however, am unable to know for sure. It is also not entirely important for my work to know these sorts of details. What is important however, is a detailed understanding of that interaction which took place; in which a Congolese man asserted power over a traditionally ungovernable person (a street child) in a traditionally ungoverned space (that corner).

Though, to say that space is ungoverned would be foolish. That space is very governed, simply not by the police or the middle class.

It was suggested to me that John was dealing drugs in the area and using the street children as runners, so they stood to benefit financially from obeying him, and were in effect his employees. It could also be that John was known as a tough man who should be listened to. Whatever the reason behind John's ability, this instance illustrates very eloquently the power wielded by some of the foreign African men in Muizenberg. This power is only held by certain foreign Africans and only within certain circumstances, but on this occasion it shaped the course of events in a direct and tangible way.

Most often the contests over space are most subtle and less vicious than this. On another occasion, I was standing in Church Street, also surrounded by street children, some with familiar faces, including Jerome. As mentioned above, when talking to Joseph and Zabi, Papy's housemates, they were able to 'manage' the street with their presence. While no actual conflict occurred there was a continual testing of the control these two held over the space by the street children walking around us trying to get loose change or cigarettes from me. This contest was on similar terms to that between Jerome and John, but it was less direct; though the results were no less significant to my own personal safety and to the future trajectories of Joseph and Zabi's time in Muizenberg.

Making Fragile Spaces: Discussion of Fieldwork

The previous chapter has outlined, using six men's stories, the differences within what appears to be a community. This work has explored the differences between these six men's lives using space-making, community and identity as analytical themes. My work tells the stories of six men, and how their personal social histories affect their use of space and their trajectories here in Cape Town. As is often the case with ethnography, what was observed was simultaneously obvious and profound. What was observed was not the xenophobia reported so widely in the newspapers of 2008. It was a more subtle, universal experience of discrimination, competition and contest.

This chapter's structure approximately mirrors that of the theoretical framework. First I will discuss xenophobia, then space and following that a series of observations on the linkages between space, identity, community and belonging.

In this chapter I will outline the theoretical observations and contributions of this work, however tentative they may be. This thesis makes numerous observations and points. First, I explore space-making and what my data reveals about the construction of space. Second I look at the complex relationship between personal identity, national identities and social cohesion. Drawing on this I offer a brief comment on hybridity. Third, we turn to social networks; looking at unity and community. I conclude this section by offering a new concept for explaining what was observed: tactical networks. As a final point I return to xenophobia, offering what constitutes the start of a spatial analysis of xenophobia.

Muizenberg is a small space in which diverse people are thrust together in a dynamic and ill-defined blob. Muizenberg functions as a micro-example of many things, and as such provides an opportunity for broader theoretical insight. I am interested in how a narrow space, such as Muizenberg is affected by the broader spaces around it. As Howard & Shain put it, "We look at places where things happen that are influenced by the broader space around and, in turn, help to shape that space" (2005, p.6). The approach used in this work to understand space is that of Doreen Massey (2005), one in which space is seen as dynamic and interactive. The definition of space I deployed is fluid and somewhat contested, but it allows for an in-depth, accurate working process and a nuanced, subtle examination of the social worlds I interacted with during my fieldwork.

Topographical maps flatten space; they present it as static and complete (Massey, 2005). I found maps to be ineffective for exploring and explaining my subjects' views of Muizenberg and Retreat. My subjects were not familiar with this view of the area, and were not able to

relate their lived experience of the area to the map. Maps of Africa, in contrast were fascinating. The familiarity these men had with travel across the continent was striking, as is the pan-African identity they so often evoked. Perhaps though it is unsurprising that, for a group that is so mobile, they would become familiar with the images of that space within which they move.

In this thesis I have offered 'maps' using narrative, journeys and experiences. Space, I have argued, is continually being redefined; it is continually making itself. There are numerous imaginings about what 'Muizenberg' and 'South Africa' are. My work mapped new conceptions of these places; it explored dynamic understandings and uses of Muizenberg and Retreat. I attempted to tease out and make explicit the implicit meanings created by Congolese men living in these two parts of Cape Town. The understandings that these foreign men have, of what Muizenberg is and what South Africa is, are considered unwelcome and illegitimate by many. However, the numbers of foreigners here in South Africa serve to legitimise those understandings, however fragile and contested they may be. As the numbers of foreigners increase and as they come from increasingly diverse and distant locations, so they proportionately change the spaces they travel through and reside within. They bring with them spaces from the country they come from and they bring with them their families and their connections to that home.

Response from local space users: Xenophobia

Many of my subjects come up against exclusionary practices and xenophobic boundaries within South African cities, suburbs, streets, homes and places of work. This work has explored the discourse and practice deployed to exclude foreigners from within cities, in between the local spaces that surround their homes. It is interesting to consider the social borders and mental fences that are erected and re-erected constantly in townships, suburbs and offices. How do highly xenophobic South Africans create an outside to the person standing next to them? The refugees, the amaKwerekwere, have crossed the physical borders and are now living in our cities where they are perceived to be crossing social and economic borders. This is often done through a simple occupation of spaces. The crux of this piece is the exploration of daily contestations that are observed:

1) On the street corner between foreigner and local
2) In domestic spaces between foreigners
3) In public spaces that have been claimed by foreigners (i.e. churches, suburbs, etc.)

Hage's book *White Nation* (1998) discusses how the foreign nationals in Australia are treated as 'cardboard cut outs', not as real people, but as chips for the government and those in power to move around (via legislation and immigration control) as they wish. I would contend that while this may be true on the macro-level, when considering immigration legislation and government actions or in relation to refugees in South Africa. However, when one considers the everyday activities that refugees and government officials engage in one finds a more complicated, contested situation (Landau & Haupt, 2007). Both government and migrants would act in ways that indicate refugees are active in the shifting and constituting of their identities and the places they occupy in South African society. Power is never absolute (Scott, 1992). Both the Australian and South African governments write and enforce legislation to control migrants' positions both socially and legally. There will always be small instances of battle and contest for power around the implementation of that legislation (Scott, 1992). The strength of my work is to ground these arguments using a nuanced, ethnographic understanding within a spatial world. Thus broadening the methodologies used to demonstrate a simple structure/agency dichotomy is insufficient to understand these power relations. There are many other authors who argue similarly, linking the fervent nationalism of the mid-1990's in South Africa to the high rates of xenophobia experienced since then (Handmaker & Parsley, 2002, Harris, 2001, Maharaj, 2004).

Steinberg believes that the xenophobic violence in South Africa is a result of these beliefs about the South African economy. My work incorporates this understanding, but sees it as limited because it, like other traditional explanations of xenophobia, focuses on one resource; jobs, women, housing, etc., and in different settings those resources are distributed differently. These explanations are useful but are limited to specific instances and local circumstances. The spatial angle offers another insight that most other theories or ideologies do not. My argument, using space, is broader and more inclusive. It is not limited to a specific setting or narrow socio-economic conditions, and explains xenophobia as the result of a broader contest for power, agency and identity.

South Africa, especially after 1994, is a deliberately constructed and consciously created space. It is the 'new South Africa', a rainbow nation. But like all nations, when we draw a line to show those that are included, we exclude others. As Hage (1998) convincingly shows, xenophobia is one of the downsides of nationalism. As has been argued in this paper, what we are seeing is the contestation over South African spaces and the ability and the right to author those spaces. When understood using this spatial lens, the xenophobia seen in South Africa becomes unsurprising and easily understood. It becomes clear as to why the

attacks of 2008 and the sporadic xenophobia in South Africa have been so brutal and dehumanising.

In discussing the context of my research, and the xenophobic attacks that occurred across South Africa in June of 2008, I am struck by the way in which my thesis moved from a peripheral social issue to a central issue, and back again. Before the attacks, foreign migrants in South Africa were the victims of xenophobia, government abuse and neglect, though they were not hugely important politically or socially. During the attacks and for the first few months afterwards they were the central social issue in South Africa; they were prioritised and were the recipients of various resources channelled through large response efforts. A year later, however, those still living in the migrant camps were viewed as a nuisance who were trying to exploit the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and take from the situation all that they could. Borrowing a phrase to describe how the context changed; the issue migrated from periphery to centre to security threat (Vale, 2002). Those displaced migrated from township to suburb to camp, while their social perception went from invisible-foreigner to visible-victim to invisible-nuisance. Vale states that migration moved from "local issue, to international item and, then, to security threat" (2002, pp.4).

The linking of space and xenophobia is not entirely new, but the application is novel here and the context to which it is being applied has not been viewed as such previously. As mentioned, Hage (1998) uses a spatial argument (though not in those words) to explain Australian immigration policy and treatment of foreign nationals. Australia is perceived as a white, English-speaking nation (i.e. space), to be Australian means one must be certain things (to 'belong' in these spaces one must be certain things). Hage looks at the discourse shaping Australian spaces, though he does not use the same reference terms of space or space-making. What I have observed is the contest over who gets to be 'South African'. As acknowledged previously, many foreigners do not want to become South African citizens for any patriotic or nationalist reasons, but because it is seen as an avenue to a safer and more stable life, it is highly desirable. In this work I employ the concept 'South African' loosely, to mean anyone who lives in or contributes to South African spaces using their presence or identity.

Two (or more) communities may inhabit the same topographical space, and within that space they have their own landscape or social space (Bender & Winer, 2001). A landscape is made by a culture or ideology acting upon or within a space. Conflicts over inhabiting

space are not simply about inhabiting space but about meaning, legitimacy, agency and access.

Landau & Monson (2008) characterise what is typically called xenophobic violence (i.e. the attacks in Zandspruit, Choba and Motherwell, in which foreign Africans were attacked by mobs of South Africans after shebeen-brawls had led to the death of South Africans, as "extra-legal territorial control" (Landau & Monson, 2008, p.321). In this simple, but significant statement, it is implied that xenophobia is not about the unacceptable nature of foreign Africans; they are not hated because of their own identities, but they are 'hated' when they attempt to change the locales in which they live or move. What has traditionally been called xenophobia is in fact a process of asserting control over a piece of space.

Space offers a new way of constituting and understanding the world, a new way of viewing the fractured and disparate understandings that have previously been offered to explain xenophobia. Understanding spaces as contested landscapes allows us to incorporate, and rework, previous explanations of xenophobia and, through this, perhaps understand the situation in South Africa more clearly.

For this work xenophobia is seen as endemic social problem, not as a series of brutal attacks that occurred in 2008. Those attacks are seen as part of a greater social whole. Traditionally theorists attempting to explain xenophobia have focussed on national sovereignty and rhetoric (Hage, 1998, Vale, 2002), access to resources and the economy (Steinberg, 2008, Cranford, 2005), legislative function (Harris, 2001, Maharaj, 2004) or a history of discrimination and exclusion (Handmaker & Parsley, 2002), or a combination of these factors. This research framed these concerns more broadly around issues of space and the creation of social spaces. The daily contests over space in the street are not simply contests for the street corner, but contests over whose South Africa this is and who has legitimacy to be in and to create those spaces. When this contest is viewed historically, in the context of post-Apartheid South African spaces that were consciously and actively constructed and proclaimed to offer certain things (houses, jobs, wealth) to all, and then failed to deliver that, it becomes unsurprising that xenophobic violence is the response we have seen in South Africa. South Africans were promised many things after 1994, and delivery of most of those has seen to have failed, so for foreign Africans to come into South Africa and take these things, re-write many South African spaces, and live moderately successfully will not be received well at all. Spacialising the debate around xenophobia allows us to frame the entire conversation neatly under a spatial understanding that is more useful and more inclusive than resource-based explanations. A spatial theory is able to

incorporate all of these narrower explanations and offer a broader framework through which to look at xenophobic violence.

On the theory of space-making: lessons from the spatial constructions of Congolese men in Cape Town

The term 'locale' is useful; it represents a space that has a socially agreed or shared meaning (Giddens, 1984). This allows for order and a common use of certain spaces. Contest arises when spaces are understood in different ways by common users, when the meaning of a certain 'locale' is not agreed upon. For example, those who define South Africa as a country only for South Africans may find it offensive when foreign Africans speak other languages within this country; as a South African space is not 'for' that. The intended use of the space 'South Africa' is being challenged by alternate uses. In considering the contests for local spaces I must first understand the Congolese spaces and how those are carried with refugees into South Africa. It is also important to consider the networks claiming these spaces, the agency of individuals claiming these spaces and the resulting responses from the local community.

My interest in the field was sparked by the contradictorily bold and flamboyant, while also shy and fearful, displays of Congolese identity I saw in Cape Town all around myself. It is important to describe what I see as the movement of space and what I defined as spatial importation and spatial contest. As migration to South Africa increases, so the visibility of migrants within the country increases. It is significant that during a time of severe xenophobia, to the level of national public violence, we were still seeing bold and confident displays of Congoleseness all over the city. In certain suburbs it seemed that the Congolese are the dominant social group.

I view space as a set of inter-relations (Massey, 2005), as a fluid concept constructed in the moment by the various identities and processes. Space was employed in this thesis for a number of reasons - to diversify the methodologies used, triangulate data and enrich my fieldwork. Space both constructs identities and is constructed by identities. This work, primarily, explores the intersections between space, identity, belonging and how these affect one's ability to create or have safety.Her definition of space as a set of interactions and not as a surface upon which we interact changes the way my data was observed and interrogated.

I have explored the intersection between space, performance and identity, and term the resulting process of constructing or making space. In considering how one constructs space,

I took into account my subjects' agency and their ability to assert themselves over a space using any number of means. Space, like energy, cannot be made or unmade, it can however be changed and reconstituted (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2006). I am interested in the practices through which foreign Africans shape local spaces in ways that make them feel more comfortable and ways that assert claim over these spaces, and what this means for the other users of those areas.

'Display' is the term I use to describe the process of being seen in a space; of changing that space by one's presence. The idea of display, though useful, may border on Occidentalismat some point (Said, 1978). The assumption that simply because one displays a difference one is able to claim space through this difference is no doubt problematic, and somewhat rough. I do concede that it is in its first formulation and probably needs revision; however, it is based on a year of field work and what I have observed in Muizenberg and Retreat occurring on the street corner over and over again.

It is useful to make explicit the distinction between people who move through spaces, avoiding it and for the most part 'skating over' that space and those who move through spaces, claiming them, changing them or acting upon that space (Bender & Winer, 2001). In some instances it seems that these big men from the Congo act on South African spaces, in other instances they obliterate them and create Congolese spaces, in other instances they simply move through South African spaces, attempting to minimise their effect on that space. Of course, the permanence of that change is relevant.

Garfinkel states that "Members' accounts are reflexively and essentially tied for their rational features to the socially organised occasions of their use for they are *features* of the socially organised occasions of their use" (1972, pp.4). In his view, conversations and stories that exist in a particular space are particular to that space and both constitute it and are constituted by it. I employed this idea in my research for this piece. The conversations that take place in a place create that space while that space has created them.

In discussing the claiming of space, we have considered physical presence and the effect this has on spaces. There are other ways in which one's presence can be asserted over a space. Another way in which spaces can be 'claimed' is through music. Hansen speaks about the power of music and the "intimate nexus between music, ethnicity and race" (2006, p.200). Music has a strong ability to assist in remembrance and the invocation of previous locations (Hansen, 2006). One must then not discount the power of hearing Congolese

music being played loudly through an area. As noted by Paul Gilroy, the Congo is an important site of cultural production, through music and film for 'black identity' (Gilroy, 1995).

Hansen's work is a useful point from which to explore what I observed around identity and negotiation, watching refugees deal with a particularly urban experience of South Africa, and these contradictory, conflicting roles coming into play during the frequent street-level skirmishes I watched and engaged in myself. There is the perception that refugees are violent gangsters and drug dealers, and this assists them in claiming space from those around them. However, different groups of foreigners have varying abilities to handle this tough interpersonal tension and street-skirmishing, as are different individuals. To almost all local South Africans, the Congolese appear united, claiming the street and protecting one another. My work however shows this is not the case, within the refugee 'community', groups are found to be divided, mistrusting, conflicting and antagonistic.

Different modes of being are performed in difference spaces, and thus different spaces are claimed in different ways. The men claiming space in Muizenberg on the street corner were often not the same people whose home spaces or church spaces I observed. The Church and home spaces I observed were created by a group of men that chose not to occupy street spaces; they avoided spaces of contest and avoided spaces in which violence or disagreement seemed likely. And those that occupied street spaces, it seems, were less interested in creating home spaces or safe spaces. They were less church going, a smaller proportion were married or employed, and they seemed less actively involved in community projects or social improvement work. The spaces observed in this piece were limited to certain time-space instances (May & Thrift, 2001). These time-space intersections are both external and internal to these instances: the time in these men's lives (i.e. their age, the life-stage they are in) as well as the time of day, time of year and time since important events all played into creating what was seen and was co-constructed by the researcher.

These men's spatial needs are linked to their life stage, their marital and family status, employment and social life. Generally speaking it seemed that space in the street was desired by single, unemployed men, and 'home space' was valuable to married, family men. In the street this power is to create safety and claim a space. In the home this is to assert oneself as the leader of the house and owner of space, as a 'man'. We must remember, however, that these home and street spaces are related to one another. These are the streets that surround the homes, and many of the men claiming streets then come and rent rooms in these rooms. They also may one day claim and make home space, but because of their current family set up they have no need for domestic space.

Salzbrunn (2004) describes spaces where a foreign identity is brought into a local space as translocal spaces. She also states that as migration from rural to urban areas increases across national borders, as with the migration observed in South Africa, these spaces are reinforced and recreated in more and more locations. In my work I observed numerous examples of this, most revealing were those instances in which I observed rural French-Africans from Central Africa dealing with social settings and problems particular to urban South Africa. This was especially obvious in Retreat, watching these rural African men interacting with and negotiating the rough urban 'Cape coloured' way of life. Qualitatively, there are certain aspects of areas such as Retreat that exist only in 'coloured' areas of Cape Town. Watching how these Congolese men move through and interact with these kinds of spaces revealed a great deal about the messy processes of creating translocal spaces (Salzbrunn, 2004).

Jensen's (2008) work explores the intersection between space, identity and practice. He explains there are three ways that masculinity in Heideveld is created - through identity as a gangster, through religion, or as a member of community protection group. All three of these methods contain within them difference and variation. Not all 'men' will create themselves the same, even though they may all choose the same route to becoming 'men'. These identities are fluid and allow for difference within them, but do delineate some practices, dress codes and attitudes. They are also sought collectively and individually. Often my subjects would, whether specifically or generally, explain the ways in which they made sense of their own masculinities; either as gangster, church-goer, family-man, academic or migrant. However, there is often a mismatch between what they feel they are doing within the community (bringing safety) and what the community may feel or believe they are doing (selling drugs). Whether the former or latter is true, or that they are both true simultaneously, is less important, I believe, than the perception and the actions around that perception. What was interesting was watching the creation of an NGO within the refugee community and how that would have offered a new way of being - as a protector of community members and a support for other migrants who were struggling. As explained by Jensen (2008), the key factor about these various identities is the options they offer in terms of narratives and identities, and the ways in which migrants adopt, accept or deny the various identities available to them.

Another importantconsideration that pertains to modern urban spaces is the permeability of that area. People are constantly moving into and out of the space, both locally from one to another, to visit friends and family, and also across the subcontinent; moving from rural

Congo to urban Cape Town or from one Congolese community in Kinshasa to another in Muizenberg. Any observations made about communities in urban spaces must be couched in an understanding of contemporary urban spaces and contemporary flows of people. Movement is happening on a much larger scale than it has ever been witnessed before, and because of this spaces are being joined and changed, the communities existing within spaces are also being joined and changed, brought into relationships with other spaces that were previously remote and removed.

Because of urban spaces' particularities it is not possible to lay claim to a space in the same way it can be done in other areas. Thus any claims laid to these spaces are transitory and temporary, always contested. The observed interactions were often on the fringes of legality, or engaged in by people not always considered citizens, not always guaranteed state protection or care. So they were unable to call on external legitimisers usually used, such as the police, and were forced to rely on sheer numbers and the threat of force.

Control over any space is fragile and transitory. Most often, the most obvious 'space-claiming' processes were through physical presence and asserting one's body within that space. Choices around language, dress, comportment, tone and personality are all relevant to how one claims or constructs a particular space. For example, the languages spoken and the ways in which they are spoken will change a space greatly. These factors structure spaces and also invite or exclude others from that space.

As "regions [a]re formed through connections among people and imagination" (Howard &Shain, 2005, p.12), then what we are seeing in Cape Town is the forming of a new region, or new regions. Some spaces or regions are imagined and enacted as violent and exclusive, while others are imagined (and performed) as open, inclusive and ripe with opportunity. As new regions are formed we are reminded that these new spaces are "always provisional, accommodation and negotiation always continuing, contestation always present" (Howard &Shain, 2005, p.13). The areas I explored from a small part of the growing and evolving Diaspora of African migrants moving throughout the world. This is part of the global trend of journey, and with journey come new interactions between different people and different ways of configuring space (Friedman, 1995). This is especially true of migrants and refugees, peoples whose identity is premised in dislocation and foreignness (Howard and Shain, 2005). Those in Cape Town carry with them pieces of Congolese space (Friedman, 1994). They arrive with different ways of practising space; they bring new sets of interactions with them. They bring Retreat and Muizenberg into interactions with Kinshasa, Goma,

Lubumbashi, the far away world of French Africa and its history of endemic conflict is drawn into the heart of Capetonian life.

Identity: National Identity and Social Cohesion

As has been outlined by this work 'the Congolese' are not a homogenous group. The identity is fraught with difficulties and controversies. As outlined by Amisi& Ballard (2005), and confirmed by my observational data, the national identity 'Congolese', is less important than the various ethnic identities that I encountered. I have explored some of the nodes of the Muizenberg and Retreat refugee communities. I found the groups to be contradictory. They were simultaneously welcoming and evasive, cohesive and fractured, stable and fluid, homogenous and diverse. The Congolese are a diverse, poorly organized group (I use the word 'group' in its loosest possible sense) that will change with time. However, they have access to spaces (both jobs and housing) not traditionally accessed by black South Africans. There is also mixed social mobility within the group.

To people outside the community perhaps the only thing that matters is that they are foreign: Congolese, or Nigerian, or Makwerekwere, depending on one's knowledge and sentiment around foreigners. However, for most Congolese people what is most important to themselves and each other is the village or area they come 'from'. Gugler's definition of "home is where a returnee will be welcomed by family or kin, not necessarily where he or she may be from" (2002, p.24). Also, many men identify as being Kasai, a group from the area called Kasai, their home is the Kasai province, however they may have been born and grown up in Kinshasa.

So far I have identified my subjects as (mostly) Congolese. This is true, but misleading for a number of reasons. Take, for instance Lino's wife, Helen; while she considers herself Congolese (and is considered by her friends to be Congolese), she has never been to the Congo. She was born and raised in Zambia. She speaks Lingala and English. Others, for example a man called Danny, considers himself Tchiluba (an ethnic group from the centre of the country), while he himself was born and raised in Kinshasa, an area dominated by a different ethnic group. From this it can be inferred that identity is a performance and a choice, not necessarily a birth right. To be Congolese one must perform that, one does not need to be born in the Congo.

What was apparent in the fieldwork was the effort put into being Congolese. Men and women did things to make themselves Congolese. To 'be Congolese' is an action. Very specific actions were carried out to be Congolese but also to bring the Congo here to Cape

Town. Great effort was made to recreate family and traditional ceremonies here in Cape Town. Interestingly, however, these ceremonies may exist across most ethnic groups within the Congo, but each group may enact a ceremony quite differently. Here in Cape Town these subtle differences were overlooked, with the focus being on a temporary unification under a 'Congolese' identity. Tchiluba men could be seen partaking in 'la dote'(dowry) in a way more typical of the Bakongo. In the Congo this most certainly would not be the case, as ethnic division are strongly felt and noticed.

In order to make sense of what I saw in Cape Town, I had to understand the space from which my subjects had come, and the space they carried with them to Cape Town. The Congo has a long and tumultuous history of conflict, wealth and exploitation. The Congo is a complicated and fascinating place, and in moving here to Cape Town, these Congolese migrants import that history with them. All of the cultural history and the spatial understandings of the Congo arrive here in Cape Town. This is perhaps part of the reason for conflict with the locals, over different ways of understanding and using space. As suggested by Steinberg (2008) in his piece *South Africa's Xenophobic Eruption*, South Africa's economy, and thus its nation-space are understood as finite, limited objects that are only available to a limited number of people. Therefore, when foreign nationals are claiming local spaces, contest over this space is inevitable, as it is seen as a limited resource. These battles were fought overtly in the townships in June of 2008 for a few weeks. More frequently, and perhaps consistently, there are mini-battles, scuffles and minor contests across the country and the city as various men and women jostle for control over and access to local spaces.

One of the underlying assumptions of this work is that space is socially created and identity is socially mediated. It is assumed that there are layers of meaning to be explored and understood (Anderson, 1990). Space is individually created and experienced. It is also created as a series of interrelations, a set of interactions that are experienced differently by all those involved. What I term 'space' is created by the interaction between story, history, time, language, identity, narrative and perception (May & Thrift, 2001). Thus the Congolese spaces that are represented and recreated here in Cape Town are fragile, temporary things. When the Congo is re-created in Cape Town it is through an intersection of, deliberate and accidental, creations engaged in by my subjects. These re-creations vary according to personal history, identity, language, levels of security and how all these factors interact within the local context.

Power is differentially held and asserted (Scott, 1992). There are many that are disempowered, and have been unable to assert themselves either on the street or domestically, represented for example in the story of Severen. There are also those who found they wanted no part in a particular set of spaces and moved elsewhere, to create different interactions and different spaces, such as Lino and Henry. There are others, such as Patrick, who by luck, skill, personality or opportunity are able to assert themselves more than most, and claim larger spaces or draw on external legitimising factors to claim their space. In creating space one must consider an actor's agency, his power to shape the spaces around him.

This work has engaged with the moving of various African spaces, practices and identities into Cape Town. I can discuss the perceived movement of Congolese Africa into Cape Town, and by extension I am able to observe how spaces are governed, created, contested and negotiated.

It may be important to consider the cultural productions of the Congo, and the importation of those commodities into South Africa. They serve to create a 'Congo' in the Cape, but also to fracture, or highlight the existing fractures, within Congolese identity. The vast majority of cultural produce from the Congo is culturally 'Kinoi' (from Kinshasa), it is in Lingala and based in an urban history, whilst many of my subjects are from the rural areas in the East, and thus speak Swahili and do not identify with the Kinoi identity or way of life. However, the majority of South Africans do not know about these divisions, nor do they see or perceive the fractures within the Congolese identity. To most South Africans, the refugees they see are a unified, homogenous blob of unwelcome black African-ness. So while these cultural products, when expressed in open urban spaces, may serve to claim that space from the South Africans, they may not necessarily claim them for all refugees, or even all Congolese. This depends on how the Congolese read those signs, view themselves and view the product in question. I have heard multiple conflicting stories about 'Congolese' identity and culture. There are also other identities that may over-ride, undermine, contradict or compliment the national or ethnic identity in question. So the appearance of a 'Congolese' space may be read differently by 'the Congolese' presumed to be claiming and entering that space. I have, through my ethnography, become aware of some of the nuances and contradictions of space-seizing that I have observed, partaken in and obstructed to some or other degree.

In this sense, this thesis is also an exploration of what it takes to create a group or collective identity. As shown by Landau &Monson (2008), no refugees have successfully mobilised

around this term. For it is too broad and abstract, and within that identity there are too many conflicting interests.

In summing up this brief exploration of national identity, the term ‘Congolese’ is too big a group to create any real identity. Instead what we find are smaller, fragmented and temporary groups. National identities become more strongly defined when in a foreign setting or when they come up against another identity. To be ‘Congolese’ here is a very different thing to being ‘Congolese’ in the Congo. To be Congolese or Kasai or Kinoi demarcates a number of things; it brings with it (however accurately or inaccurately) a set of connotations, implications and ideas. This paper has explored the usefulness (or lack thereof) of those terms and their (in)validity for any real descriptive purposes. To be South African or Capetonian or Xhosa delineates a number of things and implies numerous linguistic, socio-historical and cultural differences. This work has explored some of the processes, contradictions, conflicts, harmonies and interactions that occur when (at least) two spatially bound identities are bought into a shared space.

In order to make sense of my observations I created two descriptive groups. I observed that one group remained in Muizenberg throughout my research, while the other group slowly moved to Retreat. One group, whose stories are represented by Henry and Papy, live in Muizenberg speaks Lingala and French, while the other group, represented by Lino and Kay, live in Retreat and speak Swahili and English. Separate from these two groups were the ‘others’. Two examples of these were Patrick and Severen, men who for various reasons were not part of either group.

The one group, whose members were ’Kinoi’, from Kinshasa, stayed in Muizenberg and shared flats with one another. They tended to be unemployed, temporarily employed or employed as security guards. They had a history of urban struggle, and generally spoke French and had some tertiary education. They speak Lingala and often had ties to Northern Angola. The other group was from the areas around Goma, the Eastern part of the country. These individuals spoke less French, were less educated and spoke more English. They also spoke Swahili instead of Lingala. They had ties to Zambia or Rwanda. Both groups were mobile and had histories of journey or travel. However, those from the East had extensive histories involving travel in and around Southern or Central Africa. This history of travel is displacement as a result of the war in that part of the country. Rwanda, Zambia, Uganda, Namibia, Botswana. All of these were countries that were often spoken about as having been visited regularly or without major difficulty. Often those from Kinshasa were

previously internally displaced from rural areas, or their families had journeyed to the city when they were young.

These two groups handled the spaces they came into in very different ways and one of the strongest reasons I can see is their previous experiences of space, power, safety and movement. Our histories affect our current behaviours; what we have learnt in the past plays out in the present. The 'lessons' one learns in the Congo about how to practice space or handle conflict affect how one does those things here in Cape Town. So those migrants from the East, who have spent their lives moving will continue to move while those from Kinshasa, who are more urbanised and less accustomed to moving would be far less willing to move, and far more able to claim space in an aggressive urban manner, as necessitated by an area such as Muizenberg.

These groups had fairly negative opinions of one another. It is noteworthy that while the connotations were different, the meanings and opinions were the same. While, these opinions were framed around terms with differing terms and connotations, they carried the same or similar meanings. For example, the men from Kinshasa described themselves as direct and to the point, while those from Goma said that they were arrogant and rude; lacking in social graces.

In order to see and then compare these two groups, I needed a level of familiarity with all subjects involved. Within a group of people conceived of as homogenous and stable, I found sub-divisions and groups within what was perceived to be a group. Within these two groups I observed varying degrees of stability and in-group trust, as well as fluid membership and a lack of formal status or leadership within either group. One group formalised itself around a response to the xenophobic crisis by creating an NGO, the other group seemed to stabilise itself but create no real formal structure. The two groups were aligned originally around a geographical and ethnic 'home', based on shared ethnicity, language, tribe, personal history, familial ties and religion.

On unity and community

Regional, local and ethnic identities were marked in my fieldwork by languages spoken, demeanour, dress and appearance. When discussing the formation of nation states and national identities over time, Hoerder & Macklin state that, traditionally, "belonging was local and regional rather than national or state-wide" (2006, p.795). Hoerder & Macklin setup a dichotomy between political theory (the belief in the holding power of a national boundary both physically and in terms of identity) and everyday practice (that boundaries are

permeable and national identities often do not ‘exist’, in everyday practice regional and local identities are more meaningful). This dichotomy is useful in that it creates two distinct ideas; poles for comparison. However, using Soja’s (1996) ideas contained in Thirdspace I argue that it is incomplete and that a dichotomy is a limiting belief system. There are many more options available to both nation states and everyday citizens in their experience of identity and national borders. In my work I observed certain instances in which national boundaries became paramount and seem completely impermeable. At other times the nationality of an individual is completely unimportant as ethnic group, dialect or family history take primacy. What is useful is the consideration that political theory’s reading of national boundaries is incomplete, shallow and does not capture the everyday experience of being ’South African‘ or being ’Congolese‘ (Vale, 2002). I follow Hoerder & Macklin by adopting their method; using a “peoples’ perspective to explore nationhood, permeability and state-based identities” (2006, p.795). Hoerder & Macklin argue that neither the host nor the home states, in their entireties, are significant to migrants. What is more important is the quality of life they lead on a day-to-day basis. Whether a migrant is in the Congo or South Africa is far less important than whether he has access to jobs, safety and relative wellbeing. This logic shrinks the spaces of investigation from nations to cities to suburbs. As a man may find Durban an unacceptable place to live, and then move to Cape Town, and find that certain suburbs in Cape Town are unacceptable, but eventually settle in Muizenberg. When a person has a positive or negative experience it is not of the country as a whole, but of that particular region, city or street in which he or she lives (Hoerder & Macklin, 2006).This being the case, a deep ethnographic method is useful as it uncovers the experiences an individual has had of a particular, house, street or suburbs.

Congolese refugees and migrants, for the most part, are excluded from South African society. However, just as their national identity is insufficient to create unity, so too their exclusion as non-nationals has proven insufficiently powerful to create binding cohesion or community (Landau & Haupt, 2007).In a similar way that black South Africans were excluded from cities and other important spaces in South Africa before 1994, so too foreign migrants and refugees are excluded today. It would be an oversimplification to assume that all South Africans before 1994 were united in their exclusion from South African society. Some joined the ANC, some the PAC, some joined the secret police, while others did nothing. So it is with the foreign migrants in South Africa. They are excluded from South Africa, and they are divided amongst themselves for a number of reasons: language, ethnicity, age, history, political beliefs, religion and so forth.

My work has explored the intersections between various identities and the moments in which a particular identity may become relevant. I am interested in the nuances and differences that separate the Congolese community into various subgroups. In this text I make an argument for multiple, fluid identities. We have numerous, conflicting, identities available to us at all times. Depending on the circumstance and external situation so an identity will be called forward (Althusser, 1971). Identities are in a relationship with the spaces around them; they become active or relevant in certain circumstances and fade away in others. The spaces around us 'hail out' various identities, depending on what is happening and what is relevant at different times (Althusser, 1971).

The refugees I encountered share certain experiences, that of exclusion and that of struggling to get by. There are particular moments when these are shared needs, interests or experiences may create a momentary unity. This was the case during 2008 after the country-wide xenophobic attacks. However, the day-to-day interactions of Congolese refugees are governed by a complex set of historical and ethnic narratives, as well as linguistic and social barriers, hat create disunity and distrust between the various ethnic groups here in Cape Town. What I found is that refugees, in many ways, do not have access to any of the various communities that make up what is called 'South Africa', but this is insufficient to unite them in any meaningful way (Landau & Haupt, 2007).

Hybridity, My Bru

I have been exploring the development and creation of hybrid identities and social spaces. Hybridity occurs when "cultures incorporate elements from geographically distinct and politically unequal areas" (Howard &Shain, 2005, p.3). I have been continuously aware of the French-African men dealing with and negotiating South African and particularly Capetonian urban experiences. I have also been keenly aware that this has led to a French-African South African identity, people who say things like "Je ne l'aime pas, my bru" (I don't like it, my bru). This mixing of cultures has led to the creation of new identities and new ways of being (Pries, 2001, Landau & Monson, 2008). African men, who previously would not have experienced Cape Town or any of the South Africa we've observed together, have moved to Cape Town and been thrust into a confusing, brutal and fascinating social climate. The result has been mixed identities, feelings and ways of being. My work assumes that identity is both within and without, that it resides within a person but is created in response or in interaction with the external, so those Congolese here in Cape Town will have different identities to their family back home or those in other parts of the world.

A number of my subjects spoke English with an Afrikaans accent and used many South African vernacular phrases and sayings, such as ‘my bru’ and ‘kak’. Often it was clear that they had learnt (or adapted) their English here in South Africa. This vernacular English situated them within the Cape Coloured working class of Cape Town. However, none of them was a working class Cape Coloured. One of the most interesting, and important, observations I made during this research was the creation of new identities and new ways of being because of the movement of one spatially-located identity into another space.

A useful way to make sense of this interaction, between two sets of identities is to link space, identity, culture and language (Bender & Winer, 2001). Within a space, culture and language interact to form an identity (Howard & Shain, 2005). This then ascribes an identity to that space, momentarily. This work has explored the interactions that occur between two spaces and sets of identities that were previously geographically separated. These two spaces have come into contact through migration and journey, creating translocal spaces (Salzbrunn, 2004). With those migrations and journeys come stories, life histories, previous experiences and ways of being, and they are met with social reactions, moods and levels of hostility or acceptance. In South Africa they have been received predominantly in exploitative or xenophobic ways.

Tactical Networks

The social networks I observed were often networks of reciprocal trade and assistance. Jobs, houses, money and support were passed or traded through and within various familial and social networks. While these networks are limited and fractured by issues like language and ethnic history, many subjects took great care to help those that they viewed as the same as themselves. Many men often care for and provide resources to each other using an informal trade system. This offers them some support and protection which is sorely needed, especially in the first few months after arriving here in Cape Town. However, the downside of this support network is that migrants are often excluded from opportunities beyond their networks in South African society, because they live separately and are then not offered opportunities or jobs outside of the community. Thus getting work in the formal sector is seen as a significant, and very difficult, step to take into this economy.

This work has created useful data and observations that contributes to the literature on network theory (Fuchs, 2007, Giddens, 1984, Landau & Haupt, 2007). My subjects maintain reciprocal networks for access to jobs, housing and similar resources. However, the use of the term ‘network’ should be tentative, as these networks are limited in scope and openness.

Drawing on the work of Landau & Haupt I offer a new term for this process: *tactical networks*. I draw on the use of the word 'tactical' from Landau & Haupt's (2007) piece on 'tactical cosmopolitanism'. Tactical cosmopolitanism, they define as:

> A mish-mash of rhetoric and organisational strategies [used to] ... negotiate partial inclusion in South Africa's transforming society without becoming bounded by it.
>
> Landau &Haupt, 2007, p.4.

While the networks observed protect their members, they also serve to exclude or perpetuate the exclusion and segregation of foreign African migrants from South African society. It is difficult to tell whether the social exclusive network would exist if South Africa were not so xenophobic, or if the xenophobic climate of this country has caused this exclusive and excluded social space. It is clear, however, that the xenophobia which actively excludes and pushes out, and the social cohesion, which serves to draw in and away from South Africa society, are interrelated and complementary social actants that leave foreign migrants very separate from South African society.

As found with other works with migrant and refugee communities, social networks and the access provided by them are invaluable to refugees. Members often come to Cape Town because friends or relatives, with varying degrees of intimacy, have invited them or would provide them with a place to stay immediately after their arrival. Subjects often spoke of how important the person who received them was, or how they had come to Cape Town because a friend could help them get work or give them a place to stay. For many of my subjects the need or desire to journey preceded the destination, which was chosen after the fact. The destination was often chosen because of ease of access. However, sometimes members also spoke of how, after many years of journeying, they arrived in Cape Town. It is thus useful to consider Cape Town as part of a greater process of journeying, than to be a final or fixed destination. It is not the end, an arrival, but part of the longer process of journey and sub-continental (or global) movement.

When this work started, it seemed that my subjects were all involved in close knit and tight social networks. As time progressed, however, I learned that these were fractured and 'shallow' networks, based on superficial and often quite tenuous relationships. The literature, with works such as Amisi (2006) and Atam (2004) spoke of family networks and reciprocal support organisations. These authors found supportive and cohesive family networks. The networks observed supported and provided for one another in tight, bonded, reciprocal

networks. Amisi & Ballard (2006) as well as Steinberg (2005) spoke of similar family networks. What I found was rather different to these works, I found no such family structures or formalised support systems.

On one particular day, I was sitting in the window of a coffee shop and making field notes about what had been happening. From my seat I could see the corner opposite the hair salon; I could see a number of regular faces sitting on the wall across the road from the hair salon. From where I sat it looked like a cohesive group of Congolese men and women, talking, laughing and interacting. I then compared what I was 'seeing' to the way things had felt when I explored those groups. From across the road I saw a group of 'friends', a group from a foreign land who all appeared the same, and united in that difference from 'us' South Africans. However, when I spent time on that corner, or anywhere within the 'community', I was keenly aware of how fractured, diverse, splintered and heterogeneous my subjects group was.

To an outsider with little knowledge but contemporary stereotypes, a group of Congolese men standing on the corner is a fearsome thing. They are loud, shouting, moving around animatedly, they are clearly marked as foreign, as different, and appear very united. But once standing amongst that 'group', I see that it is a number of smaller groups coming up against one another; partly because they share very small social spaces and thus are forced into proximity with one another, and partly because we as locals have thrust them mentally and spatially into one box with a homogenous (albeit useless) set of labels: Congolese, foreign, drug dealer, refugee, and so forth. Many of these men do not know each other. Others have ethnic or personal histories leading to mistrust and animosity and others move into and out of the community so quickly that they cannot establish any meaningful connections.

The concept of a *tactical network* allows us to makes sense of the divergent findings of various researchers in South Africa. They explain why certain researchers found supportive and organised family systems while I found no such structure. What these varying results show is perhaps less indicative of the networks involved and more indicative of the questions being asked and the different identities being made relevant through different research processes.

Tactical networking is very similar to the fourth mode of tactical cosmopolitanism, discussed by Landau & Haupt (2007) in that it is

> ...not an alternative way of belonging, but a use of ... rhetoric and organisational forms to live outside of belonging while claiming the benefits of it.
>
> p.10

I argue for the use of 'tactical', borrowed from Landau & Haupt (2007), applying it to describe the networks I observed. In the workings of the SIR, we saw that the transcending of a national boundary was impossible. We saw through the two groups observed that national identities have very little holding power, and that refugees align themselves around ethnic or linguistic groupings. However, after employing detailed analysis it is was observed that even those groupings were transitory and tactically employed. It was also observed that the smaller groups contained factions, mistrust and disagreement. This allows the members of the 'community' to make selective use of social protection, resource sharing and a common identity, while evading localised social and political obligations (Landau & Haupt, 2007). These networks enable refugees to select when to engage with these obligations and responsibilities, and when to employ a self-focussed rhetoric of non-involvement or difference. The unit of protection has been reduced right down to person, perhaps to his family, but no bigger. "We see a tactical use of the language of concern" (Landau & Haupt, 2007, p. 9) refugees claim a universal, pan-African ideology in support of all refugees, and then enact a far narrowed and more self-benefitting version of this idea.

Conclusion

This thesis draws together in a novel way ideas around space-making, community and identity. To conclude I will tie together the various ideas and concepts discussed thus far in this thesis. This will be removed from the rhythms and cycles of Muizenberg. The hope is that this will be generally applicable, or at least be comparable to works in other parts of the world. What follows is a series of statements that are made by drawing from the research data and what has been learnt in the course of this work. If anything, it seems that this work may represent an antagonistic push away from the comfortable either/or dualities, and a demanding shift to a nuanced, more open understanding of the world. This work's main epistemological purpose is to force us to accept the uncomfortable, to sit in the grey, and to learn to 'read' the middle-ground (Soja, 1996).

Space-making

Space is understood as a set of interactions. These relationships weave together to create a space (Massey, 2005). Space is a shared understanding of an area, a 'locale' (Giddens, 1984). On a larger scale, Muizenberg may be seen as a primarily South African space by some, while the Congolese migrants I spent time with may view this area as their home. Contest arises when a space is understood differently by two users. My work has been a series of observations around what Muizenberg, or Cape Town, or South Africa is meant 'for': who can assert ownership over this space and who can write or change this space.

Understanding a space as a set of interactions, and observing the new set of interactions that foreign Africans bring with them, I was led to observe 'translocal spaces'. Where Cape Town interacts with Kinshasa in a very direct and immediate way. Translocal spaces are created by migrants whose lives continue in two places simultaneously, while living in Cape Town many of my subjects maintained strong relationships with numerous actors back home in the Congo. Or as Howard & Shain (2005) describe it, I have observed the formation of a new region. Or, as Giddens (1984) describes, I have observed the different use of certain locales. The nuances and subtleties of these terms may vary, but they all serve to highlight two key things: space is constructed through social interaction, and further, new spaces are created when they are brought into interaction with other spaces.

Spaces are always fluid, contested and temporary. The spaces I observed were continuously made and re-made, daily contests for Muizenberg were observed. This is especially true of urban spaces, they are much harder to claim than rural spaces as peoples' 'markers' are more easily moved, erased or forgotten.

Identity

In my work I came across many instances of contradiction. The seemingly mutually-exclusive often co-exist. This was most noticeable in the observations made around identity and identity formation. The identity 'Congolese' was found to be useful in a few limited circumstances. A number of points became increasingly clear about identities:

Identities are not given; they are created through display and performance. Identities can be acknowledged or denied, depending on the circumstances surrounding an individual. Identities are a mixture of what an individual creates or portrays and what the people around him/her read or perceive and attribute to him/her. Individuals can do a lot to change the way they are perceived, but there are always limits to this. For example, a black man cannot (under normal circumstances) change the fact that he will be perceived as black or as male, but he can negotiate what *kind* of black man he is read as being. He could be seen as Xhosa, Congolese, well-educated or misinformed, criminal, honest, hard-working or any number of other things, but most probably he is a mixture of a number of these factors, in terms of the way in which he dresses, speaks and carries himself.

This turning on or off identities is relevant to communities and why it is that Congolese are not always united as one, but rather unite under smaller identities for temporary periods when they are specific things.

From the observations around community, Identity is seen as choice, as constructed, it can be turned on or off. Identities are seen as performance and choice, not a birth right. Identities co-exist. Contrary to our assumptions and general treatment of minority groups, they can hold more than one identity simultaneously. Identities are made through a series of processes, displays and choices- like women who were born in Zambia but consider themselves Congolese, identity is a performance, an action. Identities are fluid, changing according to what is occurring inside and outside of the individual. An individual has numerous identities simultaneously.

Translocal spaces lead to hybridity, where foreign Africans pick up English with a South African accent. Hybridity is where identities are 'mixed' where one identity becomes fused with another because of a shared spatial setting.

These observations around identity hold important lessons for community and community-belonging. What I have found is that identities change, since they are based in a large part on what is occurring outside of an individual. Identity is an active construction based on a

process of display. These identities are displayed when they are space appropriate; they serve also to claim spaces and to create spaces. The communities observed, that form around these spaces and identities, are dynamic, permeable, and imagined.

A national identity is meaningful when it is called upon. It is this process of calling upon that is fascinating. In this work I tried to explain the contradictory usefulness of the national and regional identities I saw at work. What I am led to conclude is that identities are constructs that can be ignored, implemented, utilised, created, manipulated, interpreted, misinterpreted and implied. Furthermore, after having observed numerous paradoxes and contradictions around identities and their relevance to space, any aspect of an individual's identity becomes relevant only when 'called upon' by an external circumstance or occurrence. One can have numerous identities, contradictory and mutually exclusive identities, but only when one is called into being that it becomes relevant. Until that point an identity is simply theoretical or possible.

Networks and Community

'Community' is a highly contested term, and like most terms it is often as difficult as it is useful. For the purposes of this work it is understood as a set of shared interests or a common goal.

The assumption is that because refugees are excluded from South African society they will be united in that exclusion. There is often a highly xenophobic assumption that because foreign Africans are excluded from South African society, they will be a united group - the 'Congolese' in Muizenberg, the 'Zimbabweans' here, and the 'Tanzanians' there. These terms often serve to hide more than they show. They imply a unity where I found none.

My finding is that they are not united. I found that these national labels, while factually correct, held very little relevance for those being labelled. More often than not they obscured very real differences and overlooked factors that cause great disharmony between those being 'grouped' together.

This disunity is for a number of reasons. One of them is that their exclusion is not universally experienced or understood. No national group of migrants have successfully mobilised around the term 'refugee' in this country (Amisi & Ballard, 2006, Landau & Haupt, 2007). There are too many competing interests, historical conflicts and ethnic mistrust for a national identity to be meaningful within any national 'group'.

Instead what is found is a number of smaller groups and communities that are framed around ethnicity, language, life-stage similarities, jobs, shared housing and so forth. These groups co-exist; one may be a member of numerous communities, and depending on what is occurring around and within the individual, a specific identity will come to the fore.

Some of these communities are fairly fixed and static. Most are dynamic, constantly changing and many of these communities are permeable, due to the nature of identity.

In contributing to the debates on community I offer the term 'tactical network' to describe the use of networks by my subjects. Extending from Landau &Haupt's (2007) tactical cosmopolitanism, in which a refugee's personal identity is conditionally framed to extract certain benefits from residing within South Africa, without having to commit or invest deeply themselves in that space. I observe that the use of networks was also 'tactical' in that networks were used strategically; to gain mutual benefit for all members without requiring extensive personal investment. There was a partial commitment to social networks, however, members' identities and practices were, for the most part, not bound by their social networks.

The strength of this work is to explore those interrelationships and how these concepts co-construct one another. Communities, identities and spaces are inter-related. Spaces are made up by inter-relations. Communities are made up of individuals with shared interests and needs. Identities are made in the moment. All three concepts are constructed in the moment, through a series of negotiations and decisions, one's identity, community and space are made up as one acts, moves, thinks and talks. This understanding has insightful and important implications for how we deal with and conceive of modern urban spaces and modern urban migrants.

This dynamic understanding of community, space and identity forces us to reconsider the changing and fragmented nature of people and their commitment to anything beyond themselves. Often it is assumed that groups and 'communities' can be dealt with as a whole, that they share a common purpose and a common bond that allows them all to be treated as one homogenous group. We have seen this often in South Africa, both from the state in its migration policy (Harris, 2001) and from the populace in their xenophobic action and sentiment (Bekker, 2008, Steinberg, 2008). As I have shown, there is very little to bond or hold together groups of refugees. This is a symptom of the changing nature of modern societies and communities, systems that are defined by flux and rapid rates of change (Fuchs, 2007). People are moving further and more frequently than ever before. With this

comes a shift in the attachment one has to spaces and communities and the formation of collective identities (Landau &Haupt, 2007). Theories, methodologies and approaches need to adapt and evolve to match this world, one of rapid change and limited commitment to communities or identities. The limited commitment is a function of change, and a result of the need to adapt and to manage one's spaces, identity and access (Landau &Haupt, 2007).

In this work, an identity is viewed as a fluid, as a choice. Much like the 'tactical cosmopolitans' that Landau &Haupt (2007) discuss, these are modern identities, with ideological and physical reasons for dislocation and a lack of commitment to both host and home spaces. Allegiances become reduced to the 'self' or the 'family', however these are perceived and enacted.

From this fluid, adaptive understanding of identity, one in which community-allegiance is moment-dependant and irregular, community and space must both be reconsidered. Communities are no longer viable 'holding entities', national identities are not as useful or binding as previously considered.

This insight changes the way communities are viewed and treated. We are forced to reconsider the firmness imagined in a community identity and the dependency we have had on such concepts when engaging in work with refugees or migrants. This realisation necessitates a shift to qualitative, nuanced and time-consuming research processes; one in which members and non-members of various communities are considered and treated in innovative and adaptive ways.

Spaces are made up through the actions, languages and processes shown in that space, spaces also relate to other spaces around it, as do the identities in that space. Spacesbecome more fluid and less predictable. From this fluid, adaptive understanding of identity, one in which community-allegiance is moment-dependant and irregular, community and space must both be reconsidered. Communities are no longer viable 'holding entities', national identities are not as useful or binding as previously considered.

This understanding explains the seemingly contradictory spaces where exclusion of foreign Africans took place; when I expected there to be unity and protection of all involved. We are forced to explore and understand spaces. They cannot simply be understood from the outside using observation.

This realisation also holds insight for our understanding of nationhood and national identities in general. It perhaps offers a pre-emptive view of what will happen in non-migrant

communities and to identity and belonging in other communities in the future. As rates of movement increase and national borders become more permeable so communities and community identities become less relevant and less binding on those that belong to them. What has been observed is the fluidity and inter-relatedness of space, community and identity, and what has been offered is an understanding of the relevance of these concepts to one-another; they are constantly interacting and negotiating with each other. What has been observed is a community with low in-group commitment and high rate of transience and permeability. This is offered as a pre-emptive understanding of what will happen in non-migrant communities as mobility and interaction increases over time.

In concluding, this thesis has explored the nuances and complexities of socially and spatially mediated identities and belonging. Drawing on the work of Landau & Haupt (2007), this work tentatively suggests that the social networks observed should be described as 'tactical', employed at moments when they are needed and set aside at other times. This highlights the dynamic nature of identity, and the choice involved in evoking or employing a particular identity at a particular time. The ideas drawn from human geography, on the links between space and identity, while not novel sociological ideas, certainly do highlights criminology's need for interdisciplinary learning and understanding. The 'patchwork' nature of this work, while complex and incomplete, offers a fuller and more nuanced picture of the social world and lived experiences.

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Addendum A

Field notes Wednesday 20th May 2009

Today I went to see Kay. I arrived somewhat late; I was meant to be there at 2 and arrived just before 3. He wasn't too stressed about it. I had a long day in the field. I arrived at 3pm, was with Kay until 6.60 and then went to Abraham's house until 7.45.

As I arrived Lino was just walking out, he was surprised to see me, he was walking his new girlfriend to the shops to buy oranges, she was dressed in a black lace top and jeans, looking very provocative, a coloured woman, not the same girlfriend I'd me the last time I visited him. She was holding a juicer still in its box, presumably the reason for the oranges, so off they went.

Kay and myself left at the same time, we were walking to the Melting Pot; when I arrived I'd asked about the music I'd heard at the end of the road. There is a little building on Church Street entitled the *The Melting Pot*, and I'd heard Congolese Music being played loudly inside. We walked up to check it out. There was a Congolese music group rehearsing for their gig their later that night, some people were sitting in the back having a meeting, I presumed they were the owners as they were South African. We sat for 5 minutes and then I suggested we leave, we walked up the road and turned into a side road, outside Don Pepe's.

The road was full of people, mainly Congolese men, dressed in casual clothes, milling about. Some were chatting, some were leaning against the wall. It was an intimidating scene to walk into. On the right hand side were 3 Mountain Men, a private security firm tasked with patrolling Muizenberg. I was aware they were thoroughly checking me out. It's not an unusual site, to see white men walking through that part of Muizenberg, but they are apparently almost always there to buy drugs. It's unusual to see young white South Africans socially interacting with migrants such as these, especially on 'their' turf, walking in and around Church Street, an area famed for its drug dealers and rampant street level crime.

So anyways, there I am, mingling amongst the refugees. There are some children and a few women, one in a striking bright yellow linen full outfit, in and amongst all this. We walk to the left and I am introduced to a short man in a vest with, his eyes are glazed over, he's wearing a large semi-precious stone around his neck and has a large smile, at least twice explains that he is the head of the music group we've just listened to. I ask where he lives and he says he lives in Don Pepe's. He offers to take me to listen to them; I misunderstand him and

think he's offering to show me Don Pepe's. I agree and we end up back in restaurant listening to their music again. I sit for as long as is polite and then suggest we leave. On the walk back to the Melting Pot I see the same woman in her bright Yellow outfit, somehow here she looks more innocent, more feminine and less like the hoochy of a drug dealer. We get back to the corner outside Don Pepe's. Again under the glare of the Mountain Men, simply referred to as *Les Montagnes* by my Congolese friends. We start greeting people. I am introduced to a number of men, the man who I met originally (he asked what I wanted to buy, I explained that I was doing research and I didn't want to buy anything, then I asked what he was selling and he sheepishly said Alcohol) on the corner winks at me surreptitiously. I've greeted him in passing a number of times, but never chatted to him again.

We walked around, I met *Dudu*, a man dressed like a caricature, almost clownish in his appearance. He had big black draw-string pants. They are adorned 3 zips on the back and 1 on the front running from the hem to knee-height. He was also wearing on a tight-fitting white denim jacket and huge 1970's sunglasses with yellow translucent lenses. He was wearing a large silver chain round his neck and had a shiny 'bling' ring on his left middle finger. Crazy looking dude if I ever saw one. Had an outrageous smile and seemed confident in his ability to charm us all.

We then went into Don Pepe's, walked between two people in conversation, and through the strong smell of Marijuana smoke. We walked across the courtyard, under the numerous clothes lines and over the various puddles on the floor. The courtyard is bare concrete and all around it are the doors into various rooms. Each room serves as a house for a family and there are 28 rooms in the building. I'd guess there are roughly 80 people living in that small block. It's an extremely crowded building. That has been deemed unsafe for human habitation, there is an eviction notice for the building, that under legal protection has given the people living there 6 months to move out. I've gathered that most of the refugees in Muizenberg live there. I've also gathered that a large proportion of them are unemployed, though I was there during the day, which means most of the people there would either be shift workers or unemployed.

We went across the courtyard to room 28 (if memory serves) to greet a friend of a Kay's. There was a coloured women and a Congolese man in that room. She looked at me distrustingly and Kay say a few things to his friend, I did not understand (it was either Lingala or Tchiluba), then we left, I did enter the room, nor was I introduced or welcomed in. We

walked back outside and chatted to one or two more people. We stayed in the road for a few minutes, Dudu left, walked up the road towards Atlantic Road.

I noticed a Mountain Man walk behind us, and further up the road, all the while I'd been aware of him observing myself and Kay. He stopped at the end of that road, when we got there he asked if he could speak to us. I said "yeah sure" trying my best to sound friendly, confident and drug-free, though maybe I just came across as smug. I knew what this conversation would be about. He asked what we were doing, and asked where we lived, he asked how long we'd known each other. Kay started talking in his broken English, which I hadn't heard much of before that moment, and I offered, in French, "puis-je explique?" (must I explain?), he said yes. So I explained that Kay lived in Killarney Road and that he was walking around with me to show me the area for my sociology project (I identify my work as sociology to avoid any xenophobic stereotypes often invoked by describing my research as criminology).

I offered to bring a business card later to give Lawrence one, to prove my legitimacy, I was told to do so. The Mountain Man, Lawrence, who couldn't quite get Kay, and kept calling him Kyle, paid most of his attention to Kay, explaining that you cannot walk through Church Street or to Don Pepe's and not know that there are bad things going on. He also said that he'd seen us talking to someone whom he knew would have drugs on him if they searched him. He ignored me almost entirely and spoke to Kay, who at this point crossed his arms across his body. Lino caught up to us as we were having this talk and asked what was going on, I explained and he relaxed quickly. By now the other Mountain Men were standing behind Kay, and we'd all exchanged names. Weirdly, though, 2 of them looked Zimbabwean and I couldn't quite be sure about Lawrence's nationality either.

It seems odd, some refugees policing others in such an aggressive and overtly xenophobic way. He started talking about the right to force a search on someone walking in a public space. Strangely he started talking about legalities and saying that he knows how to testify in court and that he does get arrests. He also said sometimes he stretches or works on the edge of the law, but he knows enough to get arrests. I asked Lawrence if I could come and interview him sometime, partly because I wanted to, and partly just to disarm him and get him to leave us alone. We then thanked him and walked off. I found it quite amusing, but could not quite gauge Kay's reaction. I apologized and he said it wasn't my fault.

We then walked up into Cromer road and through an open gate, round the back into the kitchen, also unlocked. We walked upstairs through a deserted, filthy, kitchen. Kay and Lino

explained that the house was no longer legally occupied, so there was no electricity in the house. There was no evidence of habitation whatsoever downstairs. It was obviously once a lovely home, with 'hippy' stone work outside, an elaborate wrought iron gate at the front door and an open, airy, wooden-finished kitchen with old, quaint counters. But today it was dirty, unkempt, with weird newspapers stuck onto the one wall, perhaps for decorations, perhaps to hide something on the wall. We went upstairs and knocked on two locked doors, there was no answer so Kay went to the bathroom and we left. I was unsure if the house had been condemned or simply abandoned by the previous owners for whatever reason, but now there were refugees making good on the free floor space upstairs in the meanwhile. For how long or how comfortably they were living were both questionable. As we were walking up towards the hair salon I asked Kay if he was scared of *Les Montanges* and he said no, why should he be, they are simply private security guards.

We walked until we arrived outside the Hair Salon, a place I had been to numerous times. Dudu was there, we stood outside and chatted, there was a group of us. Dudu, Lino, Kay, Myself, Souvereign (his nickname) and another Papy, as well as a young man whose name I forget. We stood outside chatting for a while, Kay was very quiet. I spoke to Souvereign first, who had remembered me from the time I was doing volunteer stuff in the Church in Muizenberg, I couldn't tell if he had lived there or just visited- I wasn't sure how he knew I'd been there. It came up because I was explaining to him the work I was doing in Muizenberg with the refugees. He was very impressed, and mentioned that he knew I'd started a year ago and so my work must be very thorough. I was surprised that he recognized me. we then chatted, I later gave my card to Papy to give to him, because he left and I thought he'd be a useful contact. Papy explained to me that he was unemployed, someone joked saying that he was retired. He also said that Kay was unemployed, which I didn't know, but explained that Kay only worked a few nights a week. Papy lives in Don Pepe's, as did the majority of Congolese refugees we'd met that did, and like a large proportion of them, he was currently unemployed and being supported by his friends.

By this time Lino had caught up to us. From here we went back to his house. Lino and Danny both went to work.

Myself and Kay had a long discussion around social networks and the importation of Congolese social history into Cape Town. This centered, mainly, around his describing the differences between Congolese people from Katanga and from Kinshasa. A lot of the discussion was a self-definition of the 'Kinoi'. Kay explained that he is Tchiluba, as are most of his housemates, and explained that his family comes from Kasai-Occidental, but he was

born and grew up in Kinshasa. He identifies strongly with the region of his tribal origins, but has never lived there. He explained the 3 layers of identity: family, clan and tribe. The night before (Tuesday the 19th) Kay had explained in great detail the language groups. There are four main languages in the Congo, five including French. Swahili, to the East.Lingala, to the West.Tchiluba, to the South and Centre.KiKongo, to the North West. Swahili is the most spoken language in the Congo. But the Kinoi, those from Kinshasa, are the most common migrants here in Cape Town, so they speak Lingala. Or like Danny and Kay, Lingala and Tchiluba. Kay says the next most common group are those from Katanga, the second most powerful province in the Congo. There is a power struggle between Bandundu on one hand, whose capital is Kinshasa and Katanga on the other hand, whose capital is Lubumbashi. Lubumbashi is a Swahili city while Kinshasa is Lingala. Most of the music and cultural products come from Kinshasa, so they are all in Lingala. Kay explained that those from Katanga are 'village people'.

He used the words 'claire' and 'naïve' to compare those from Kinshasa and those from Kivu. He said the Kinoi would never tolerate what has been going on in Kivu (an invasion by the Rwandans) and that it is because they are 'naïve'[10]. While those from Kinoi are 'claire'[11].

He spoke of claire in comparison to the Katanga people, who he said are village people. His body language suggested that the Katanga people were timid, shy and afraid, while comparing himself and the Kinoi who were bold, assertive and knew what they want. These were two separate ideas/conversations: 1) around the Kivu people being naïve and tolerating violence while the Kinoi would not. 2) the Katanga people being quiet and simple and the Kinoi being Claire. Kay spoke too of 'les Brazzavillois', people from Brazzaville, as I asked him about the man who lives in the same road as him, whom he did not know, but he does the Kinoi tailor who lives in the same house (Riva keeps a low profile it seems, confirmed by the fact that Riva does not like to walk in the streets and feels unsafe). He said that if he were to live with a man from Brazza he'd have to hold back somewhat, he could never be himself or express himself fully. He used similar terms to explain the Brazzavillois, or to explain the Kinoi relation to this group, that they were the stronger, more assertive group that has to hold back in order not to upset the others. He could never be fully himself or be relaxed because the Kinoi are more assertive and Claire than the Katanga people.

[10] Translation from http://translation.babylon.com/French#reslt :adjective:innocent, ingenuous, naive; simple, artless; simple minded, unsophisticated; unworldly.
[11] Translation from http://translation.babylon.com/French#reslt: adjective:bright, light, clear; lucid, plain; fair, manifest, noticeable; unclouded, specific.

Interestingly I've heard similar things, phrased differently, from Amos, a well-spoken man from Goma. He explained how he found Kinoi rude, abrupt, violent, and impolite. He does not like Kinoi as they are only after money and cannot be trusted, while he says those from 'les provinces' (rural areas) are better mannered and more approachable, as well as trustworthy and perhaps calmer in their manner, less disruptive or noisy. He said living with Kinoi was stressful as they are loud.

Addendum B

Field notes from Friday 15th 2009

Today I went to go and hand out fliers in Muizenberg, for the SJC's vigil on Thursday next week. I went to the hair salon and visited Papy, I agreed to visit him yesterday, on Monday afternoon (and completely forgot who the Papy marked in my phone was), so I didn't go. Will visit him tomorrow. Anyways, popped in very quickly, gave him fliers and left. Then went to Lino's house. Danny was out, but Lino was there, as were Kay, Charlie and a new guy, whose name I forget. In my time there I also saw that Danny has a new roommate- it was originally Abraham and is now someone I've never met. I hung out with them for a while. They drank beers; Kay was the most interested in talking to me. Lino and the others walked in and out, they seemed busy with other stuff. The TV was on, a DVD playing interviews of a Congolese musician played on in the background. I spoke a lot with Kay, we spoke politics and nationality. The conversation drifted nicely into a discussion around the four main language groups in the Congo. He explained also the levels of social ordering. First there is the family, then the clan, then the tribe. These are all important demographic factors to Congolese migrants; they play out here in Cape Town. I have come to see that there are two distinct groups in my fieldwork. Lino's group and Abraham's group.Lino's group is urbanised, from Kinshasa, dark skinned, fluent in French and better educated. Their main language is Lingala, because they are from the West, but the group present today spoke Tchiluba- they are all from the central region and so they share a clan/tribal language as well as a regional language. They live in Muizenberg and seem more at ease with street-level violence and urban South Africa. Abraham's group on the other hand is brown-skinned; speak Swahili and English, only some speak French. Many did not grow up in the Congo; a lot grew up in Zambia and spent time in countries to the East.

Kay said he was very willing to teach me about the Congo, and explain the various language groups that exist there; as I said it was complicated/difficult for me to understand. We started chatting about that, and while that was happening I thought I'd show him my maps and ask

for his help with that. Just as I was taking them out two other guys walked in. They took the maps and showed great interest in them, chatting about them and poring over them. Then Papy arrived and took it upon himself to explain the Muizenberg area to myself. It was interesting listening to the guys trying to explain what I had just said to them to each other. I then decided to give Lino and Kay both a 'pack' and asked them to complete them. I really wanted to chat more with Kay, what happened was that Lino sat next to me and spoke a lot. I spent a lot of time waiting for him to finish talking or for gaps so that I could ask questions to them both or open the conversation again. (Lino did the same thing the following visit I had with Kay, on the 20th, when walking around Muizenberg). What was interesting was that Kay often spoke of Apartheid and how things are worse now than they were back then. And that while South Africa suffered under Apartheid, everyone still had food and safety. This is a rhetoric he deploys frequently. Another interesting point is that the map of Africa is an easily recognisable image to all of them, they all show deep familiarity with the image and what it connotes. Papy, amazingly, was able to show routes that are commonly used by Congolese migrants to get to South Africa. He named towns on two routes that a traveller would pass through, as though they were known and established routes.