

**CATERINA REINKER**



**“Life on Sauerkraut Hill”**

**Representation and Practices of Freedom and Constriction among  
German Immigrants in Cape Town, South Africa**

**KÖLNER ETHNOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE**

**Herausgegeben von Michael J. Casimir**

**Heft 49**

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## **Editor's Preface**

In social sciences, intercontinental migration is often seen as a phenomenon of South-North mobility or increasingly as a phenomenon of South-South mobility. In fact, the majority of intercontinental / interregional mobility is taking place between Africa and Asia, as well as between East and South Asia and the Middle East. The migration from the Global South to the North is roughly similar. Both migratory flows are also extensively examined by social anthropologists. Very rare subjects of anthropological research are migrations from the Global North to the Global South. While settlers emigrated from the urban centres and detached rural areas a hundred years ago as emigrants to the colonies of the empires, today it is often individualists who follow this path. It is this latter form of migration that Caterina Reinker dedicates her work to. Reinker examines perspectives and identities of German migrants in Cape Town. These are not migrants who leave their homes without means and / or without perspective. The work, which is based on several months of field work in Cape Town, and which was supervised by Prof. Dr. Michael Bollig, deals with people who emigrate to the South in the search for a fulfilled life (whatever that is to be understood). Some do this with temporary aspirations, some actually emigrate permanently and rule out a return to Germany. However, it seems more likely that options for a return to Germany are retained. None of Reinker's interviewees had given up their German passport, and for some, the mind game with a possible return is identity forming. Reinker focusses on the design of the vitality of German migrants in a Cape Town district, which is considered to be particularly German and therefore bears the name "Sauerkraut Hill" in the vernacular. Reinker's master thesis provides an important contribution to completing our understanding of global migration. In addition to the large, much-discussed and even more frequently problematized migratory flows, these quantitatively much smaller movements also link the network of global relations.

Michael J. Casimir



## Acknowledgements

“It's true if you believe it.  
The world is the world  
But it's all how you see it.  
One man's flash of lightning ripping through the air  
Is another's passing glare, hardly there.”  
*Kate Tempest*

The people I would like to thank most are those who participated in my fieldwork. I could not be more grateful for their time and the insight into their lives which they shared with me. Without these people, the next pages would be entirely blank. Special thanks go to the entire staff of the *Naumann Bookshop* and the *Evangelische Stadtmission Kapstadt*. They made things a lot easier for me during my first weeks in Cape Town and took good care of me.

I would like to thank the *Global South Studies Center Cologne (GSSC)* for the research scholarship that made the fieldwork possible in the first place. The scholarship opened up an opportunity for me to visit a part of the world I probably would not have visited otherwise. The personal and scientific acquaintances I made with the help of the *GSSC* are an enrichment I would not want to miss.

Among the many teachers at the *University of Cologne* and the *Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, two teachers influenced me during my master's programme in particular. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Michael Bollig, who was always encouraging during the past years and during the process of writing my thesis. Secondly, I would like to thank Assistant Prof. Dr. Michaela Pelican, who introduced me to so many inspiring scholars and who was a great inspiration herself.

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## Glossary

ANC – African National Congress

BEE – Black Economic Empowerment

DA – Democratic Alliance

DSK – Deutsche Internationale Schule Kapstadt (German International School Cape Town)

GO – German Original

StatsSA – Statistics South Africa

TBK – Tamboerskloof

TBK Watch – Tamboerskloof Neighbourhood Watch

# 1. Introduction

Between news of sinking rubber boats in the Mediterranean Sea leaving thousands of nameless corpses on the ocean bed and seemingly endless and pointless debates about how many refugees Germany can handle, my quest is to take a look at a very different aspect of migration. This thesis is not about migrants that have to flee from hardship, be it because of a war, financial constraints or sheer hopelessness. The protagonists of this work are in a far better position. They are mostly financially secured, employed and well educated – so called “lifestyle migrants”. This thesis looks at the lives of German immigrants in Cape Town, South Africa. Why did they migrate? Why did they choose Cape Town? What did they expect? And more crucially: Why do they stay?

Migration is an ever-current topic. Even though humans have been migrating since the beginning of time and goods travel without borders, the social acceptance of individuals migrating leads to political debates on a global level<sup>1</sup>. This thesis sheds light on the life stories of those who migrate; on their hopes and their dreams, in order to provide a broader view on migration.

Before I went to South Africa, two questions struck me: Why would one leave the socially secure and ‘*gemütlich*’ country of Germany for a place like South Africa with its high crime rates, economic instability and a dubious political leader? And why would one then decide to move to a neighbourhood which is renowned for its many German inhabitants? If the cause for your leaving is not poverty or war, is it the people and the societal system that you want to leave behind?

The fieldwork for this thesis was conducted in Cape Town and concentrated on a neighbourhood called Tamboerskloof in the so-called City Bowl. South Africa has a long history of German immigrants since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. How many Germans currently live in South Africa is not known. Estimations vary between 20,000 and 200,000 for Cape Town alone. The number for the whole of South Africa is estimated to be much higher. Tamboerskloof is renowned to have a striking number of German inhabitants, even though no official numbers are available. The nickname “Sauerkraut Hill”, referring to the many German inhabitants, is commonly used by the Germans living in the neighbourhood.

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance an article by the BBC about migration to the European Union. BBC. 04.03.2016. Migrant Crisis: Asylum seekers in EU ‘doubled in 2015’. Access date: 24.03.2016. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35723057>

The main question of this research concentrates on the social representation of freedom and constriction among German immigrants in Cape Town. The concept of social representations is used in the style of the social psychologist Serge Moscovici who coined the term in 1961. For Moscovici, social representations comprise a system of values, perceptions and practices (Moscovici 2000). The goal of constructing a social representation system is to maintain a social identity and location in the world with a sense of belonging.

This thesis perceives values as ideas and desires of what the world should be like. Ioannis Tsoukalas names this “ideal representation” (Tsoukalas 2006: 963). Perceptions comprise of feelings, concerns and experiences and are the direct emotional reaction of individuals to a phenomenon. Practices, eventually, describe the behaviour and communication of individuals.

This representational system is created by verbal and non-verbal group-interaction. In the objectification process these values, perceptions and practices construct a frame of reference in a certain social environment (Tsoukalas 2006: 973; Wagner et al. 1999: 97).

Migration is a popular research field in areas like anthropology, law and other social studies. But most often the view on migration is narrowed down to certain phenomena while the research body would need a broader view with multiple perspectives. In the field of anthropology, Glick-Schiller’s conceptual framework of “transnationalism” has shaped the discourse. She and her colleagues argue that the perspective on migration and mobility has to be expanded, with the focus not only on the sending and receiving countries but also on social, cultural, political and economic interconnections which are influenced by migration (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1995). The considerations of ‘global ethnoscares’ coined by Appadurai (1996) and the call by Marcus (1995) for a multi-sited ethnography follow a similar line. “We still lack a body of cumulative knowledge to explain why some people become mobile while most do not, and what this means for the societies concerned.” (Castles 2010: 1566) Castles argues that migration needs to be examined as a form of social transformation rather than as a problem.

Whereas the term ‘migration’ in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries implied “long-term movement from one nation-state to another” (Castles 2010: 1566), the situation nowadays is rather fluid and open-ended. The conditions under which people migrate differ and are not at all equal, as “the right to be mobile is more class-specific and selective than ever” (Castles 2010: 1567). The processuality of migration is also part of the recent discourse

within the field of “lifestyle migration”, which in earlier studies was sometimes called “noneconomic migration” (Hoey 2005: 591). This term, lifestyle migration, gained momentum with Michaela Benson and Karen O’Reilly’s anthology “Lifestyle Migration. Expectations, Aspirations and Experiences” (2009a). Although ‘expatriatism’ only refers to a corporate concept of international businesses sending staff abroad, it is a term that in earlier research is used as an overall term to describe the more affluent migrants (Benson and O’Reilly 2009b: 609; see e.g. Kupka and Cathro 2007; Nieberg 2013). Other concepts with whose help more affluent migrants have been researched are retirement migration, leisure migration, counter-urbanisation, second-home ownership and seasonal migration (O’Reilly and Benson 2009: 2). O’Reilly and Benson, however, are convinced that these “umbrella concepts” are not sufficient in “addressing its full complexity” (O’Reilly and Benson 2009: 2).

For lifestyle migrants, economic benefits are not central. It is rather the imagination of a better life with a continuous self-reflection (Benson and Osbalidston 2014: 18) and the making of a “potential self” (Hoey 2005: 593). Crucially, economic privilege is a precondition for the existence of lifestyle migration (Benson and Osbalidston 2014: 3), as is membership of certain nation-states that are internationally recognized as global powers. This feeds further into the “imbalances within the global power structures” (Benson and Osbalidston 2014: 13). The two main objectives of research on lifestyle migration are to look at the phenomenon as an open-ended process and as a social transformation process. “Lifestyle migration is thus a search, a project, rather than an act, and it encompasses diverse destinations, desires and dreams.” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009b: 610)

To understand lifestyle migration, tracing the circumstances of why people migrate is as important as the unravelling of life experiences at the destination (Benson and O’Reilly 2009b: 616).

Another issue with migration so far is that it is most often seen as a “*problem* that needs to be ‘fixed’” (Castles 2010: 1567, original emphasis) and as something negative. Opportunities and positive social transformation that emerge from migration are in the focus of research seldom. It appears that this is true for poverty or labour migration. Lifestyle migration, however, is looked at in a more positive manner with people “taking action” in “search for a better way of life” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009b).

Further shortcomings of migration as a research object are that migration studies often focus on the south-north-direction, microanalyses with a static sample of people who

migrated during a certain time in history to a certain location, with the researcher most often being part of the dominant group in the receiving country (Bönisch-Brednich 2005: 15).

A counter part of the thesis at hand is provided by Claudia Moravek's thesis about emigration motives of Germans (Moravek 2006). Moravek's thesis focused on the history of migration studies in the field of social anthropology, migration paradigms and the reasons for migration. One of her main findings was that data on migration motives are very scarce (Moravek 2006: 69); in fact, during the last ten years the existing data on migration motives does not appear to have increased. Official reports on migration to and from Germany focus much more on immigration than on emigration, and attempts at explanation still mainly focus on economic factors<sup>2</sup>.

Whereas Moravek focuses on Germans who plan to migrate, the focus of the thesis at hand is on Germans who already migrated, with foci on one special location. This thesis ties in directly where Moravek's work ends and where she sees need for additional studies focusing on the migration process in its entirety. The individual motives play a role in this thesis (see chapter 5.2), as do the actual living conditions.

The illustrated shortcomings of research on migration show that even though the field is often subject to anthropological research, several gaps need to be closed in order to understand migration in the bigger picture. This thesis provides another piece to the puzzle.

The following consists broadly of two parts. The first is concerned with anthropological questions in an urban field, following Benson and O'Reilly (2009b) to examine the life experiences of migrants who have arrived at their destined location. The interest of combining anthropological approaches and urban geography has been increasing since the 1970s, forming the field of urban anthropology (see Zenner and Gmelch 1978). Whereas urban geography mainly works with quantitative approaches, anthropology has a long tradition of developing qualitative forms of data collection and analysis. Even if methodological approaches like participant observation can be difficult to achieve in an urban environment, qualitative methods are highly acknowledged when studying urban areas (Zenner and Gmelch 1978: 214). Starting out with the journal "Urban Anthropology" which, in the 1980s was renamed to "Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development", it remains a research field of great interest in several journals.

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<sup>2</sup> Bundesministerium des Inneren. 2016. Migrationsbericht 2014. Access date: 15.02.2016.  
<http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Publikationen/Migrationsberichte/migrationsbericht-2014.html?nn=1663558>

The first part of the main section (chapter 4) provides a notion of what the factors of attraction and repel mean for the lives of German immigrants in practice, using the example of Tamboerskloof. This section analyses how informants perceive their neighbourhood (chapter 4.1) and what they expect from their living environment (chapter 4.2).

The second part of the main section (chapter 5) inserts the findings of concrete life experiences into a greater context with the help of the conceptual framework of “lifestyle migration” as described above. These chapters approach the question of how ‘freedom’ and ‘constriction’ become pivotal concepts among German immigrants in Cape Town (chapter 5.1), how the informants narrate their own migration stories (chapter 5.2) and how this merges into the perceived and practised forms of ‘freedom’ and ‘constriction’ in everyday life (chapter 5.3). Concluding, chapter 6 summarises the findings and sets an outlook for further research works in the field.

Before doing so, chapter 2 provides the necessary context of South Africa and German migration to South Africa. Afterwards, chapter 3 introduces the methodology, describing the data gathering and data evaluation.

## **2. South Africa in Context**

The historical, cultural and macro social context is essential in order to analyse social representations (Moscovici 2000). On this account, it is important to understand South Africa as a country and the history of German migration to South Africa. An overview of South African geography, the population, and the current political and economic debate, as well as a brief history of German migration is provided in the subsequent chapter.

As this is an anthropological work and I am not a trained historian, I am not in a position to lay out South African history and especially apartheid in all its complexities. I elaborate on the theme in a simplified manner as a working concept in order to put circumstances into context.

## 2.1.Regional Background Knowledge of South Africa

The Republic of South Africa is the southernmost country of the African continent. The three capitals are Pretoria (executive), Cape Town (legislative) and Bloemfontein (judicative). The current population numbers are 54,956,920 persons with a population density of 45 persons per km<sup>2</sup> according to the World Bank<sup>3</sup>. The population rate and the population density in South Africa are growing<sup>4</sup>.

South Africa has a diverse population with 80.5% black African, 8.8% coloured<sup>5</sup>, 8.3% white and 2.5% Indian or Asian<sup>6</sup> (see illustration 2) as well as 11 official languages. The four most frequently used home languages are isiZulu (22%), isiXhosa (16%), Afrikaans (13%) and English (9%)<sup>7</sup> (see illustration 4).



Illustration 1: Map of South Africa.

Source: Amada44, Wikimedia Commons. Access Date:08.03.2016:  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map\\_of\\_South\\_Africa.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_South_Africa.svg)

<sup>3</sup> World Bank. 2016. Population Density. Last access: 12.01.2016.  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.POP.DNST>

<sup>4</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015. South African Statistics 2015. Access date: 15.02.2016.  
<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/SAStatistics/SAStatistics2015.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> The term 'coloured' is an ethnic label used in South Africa. It refers to people of mixed ethnic origins and was utilized by apartheid politics.

<sup>6</sup> This data was surveyed by national census in 2011 according to the self-attribution of the respondents.

<sup>7</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015.



South Africa is the fifth and latest member of the BRICS<sup>8</sup> states. The most important economic sector is the mining of minerals like gold, diamonds and coal<sup>9</sup>.

On a historical and political level, social segregation plays a significant role. This ended in apartheid – the strictest form of social segregation and racism. Officially, apartheid ended in 1994 with the first free elections. South Africa became a democracy with its first democratically-elected president, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. Nevertheless, social inequalities still remain today. The post-apartheid era under the African National Congress (ANC) has been characterised by a political agenda of uplifting the black population with e.g. ‘affirmative action’ and ‘Black Economic Empowerment’ (BEE). The success of these programmes is controversial. Breytenbach (2010) describes the BEE as “in practice leading to corruption, favouritism, patronage, the looting of the state, with political obsequiousness trumping competence.” (Breytenbach 2010: 4)

Since the first democratic elections, the ANC has remained the leading political party in South Africa. Until now the party hasn’t faced serious competition by another South African party. This being said, Jacob Zuma, the current South African president, has however regularly come under heavy criticism for corruption and fraud (Dickow 2010: 27). A great percentage of the South African population remains loyal to the ANC, viewing the party as its emancipator. Furthermore, ethnic background influences voting behaviour in South Africa, traditionally with black people voting for the ANC and white people voting for other parties under white leadership like the DA (Democratic Alliance) (Dickow 2010: 27; 31). However, the 2016 communal elections showed that this is changing. Racial categories like ‘black’, ‘coloured’, Indian and ‘white’ were utilized by the apartheid regime, and still exist nowadays as seen in the census data and election behaviour. These categories are also used for granting economic and educational privileges.

South Africa is a country of migration – from neighbouring countries as well as from rural areas and the former homelands to the urban centres (Kersting 2010: 37). Nevertheless, the share of people wishing to prevent migration to South Africa increased from 20% in 1997 to 30% in 2006 and is significantly higher than in other African

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<sup>8</sup> The multinational investment-banking firm Goldman Sachs coined the concept BRIC in 2001 as an acronym for the emerging national economies of Brazil, Russia, India and China. South Africa was invited by the BRIC countries to join the group as only African country in 2010 and stands for the ‘S’ in BRICS. The originally economic concept of the BRICS states is controversially discussed and has political consequences like the annual summits of the member states.

<sup>9</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015.

countries (e.g. Zimbabwe: 9% in 2001) (Kersting 2010: 37). The image of a tolerant “Rainbow Nation” where everyone lives together peacefully cannot bear up against the deep-seated xenophobia especially against other Africans. This xenophobia has diffuse sources. Kersting reasons that ‘panafricanism’ is a concept for an African elite and middle class, but not for the poor in the townships (Kersting 2010: 39).

The data for immigration and emigration to and from South Africa are scarce, fragmentary and rely mainly on the self-declaration of the migrants. The latest numbers for immigration to South Africa is a total of 108,711 individuals in 2013<sup>10</sup>. The top region in this year for non-African immigration to South Africa is Asia, especially China and India, with a total of 28,828 Asian immigrants. Asia is followed by EU-countries, especially the UK and Germany, with a total of 14,128 EU-immigrants to South Africa in 2013. The largest amount (60,160 people) of immigrants to South Africa comes from other African countries, with one third coming from Zimbabwe<sup>11</sup>.

Visa regulations are intricate. South Africa offers visitor visas for up to 90 days, temporary residence visas and permanent residence visas. The grant of temporary or permanent residence is mainly linked to economic benefits for the Republic of South Africa<sup>12</sup> and the application process is time-consuming. “Hardly any other country is as much opposed to immigrants as is South Africa.”<sup>13</sup> (Runge 2015: 9, own translation)

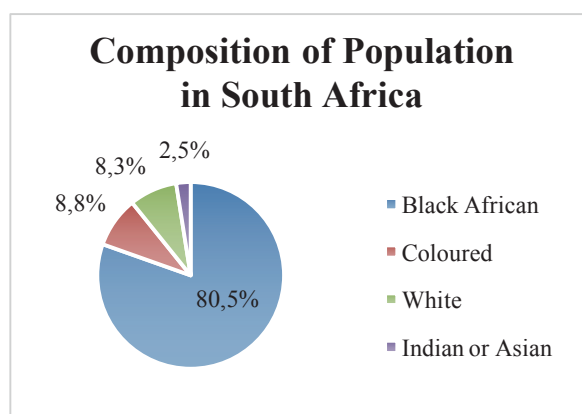


Illustration 2: Composition of Population in South Africa. Data Source: Statistics South Africa. 2015.

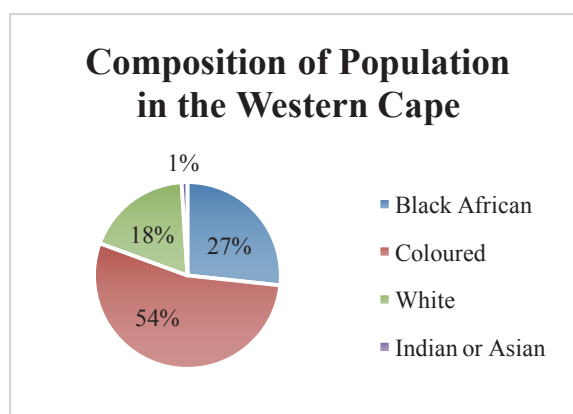


Illustration 3: Composition of Population in the Western Cape. Data Source: Statistics South Africa. 2015.

<sup>10</sup> The latest available number for emigration is a total of 16,165 emigrants in 2003 (Statistics South Africa. 2015). As this data is significantly older than the newest available data for immigration, those numbers cannot be compared.

<sup>11</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Department of Home Affairs, Republic of South Africa. Access date: 12.01.2016: <http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/immigration-services>

<sup>13</sup> “Kaum ein anderes Land ist so negativ gegenüber Einwanderern eingestellt wie Südafrika.” (Runge 2015: 9)

As the research for this thesis was conducted in Cape Town, the distinctive features of the Western Cape are shown separately. The province of the Western Cape with Cape Town as its provincial capital takes on a special role in South Africa. The composition of the population differs from the rest of South Africa, as does the political leadership. In the Western Cape only 26.7% of the population are black Africans, 53.9% are coloured, 18.4% are white and 1% are Indian or Asian<sup>14</sup> (see illustration 3). The main home languages are Afrikaans (49.7%), isiXhosa (24.7%) and English (20.2%)<sup>15</sup> (see illustration 4). Furthermore, the Western Cape is not governed by the dominant ANC but by the DA which won an absolute majority during the last elections in 2014 with 59%.

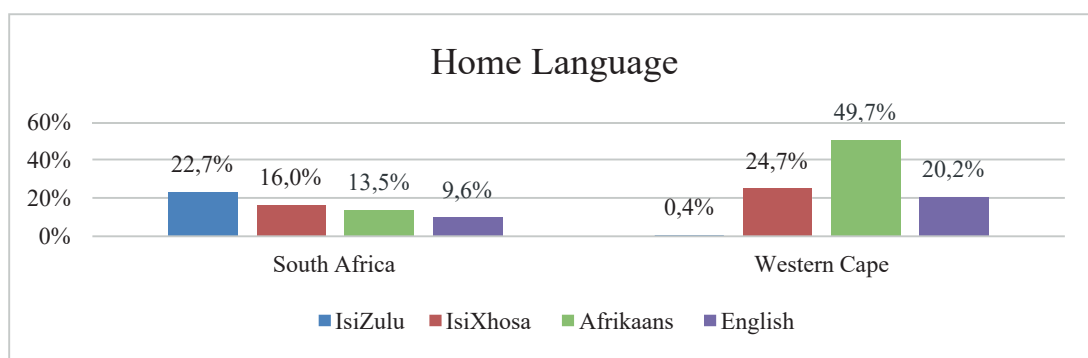


Illustration 4: Home Language.  
Data Source: Statistics South Africa. 2015.

## 2.2. The History of German Migration to South Africa from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century Until Present

In 1652, the United East Indian Company (Dutch: *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*; VOC) established a refreshment point at the Western Cape. It was halfway between Amsterdam and Indonesia and supported the merchant ships on their trip (Franke 2008: 56). The refreshment point later became the City of Cape Town. During that time not only Dutch people, but also Germans and French arrived at the Cape (Franke 2008: 57).

As a consequence of the Thirty Year War between 1618 and 1648, many Germans migrated to The Netherlands to escape devastation. From there, they began their journey to the Cape with the VOC (Franke 2008: 57). Grünewald vividly describes how the

<sup>14</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015.

<sup>15</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2012. 2011 Census in Brief. Access date: 15.02.2016.

[http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census\\_2011/census\\_products/Census\\_2011\\_Census\\_in\\_brief.pdf](http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2011/census_products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf)

yearning for foreign countries as well as the economic constraints and the population density in Germany after the Thirty Year War attracted many German men to the VOC (Grünwald 1998: 17). At first, the German population at the Cape assimilated and the male immigrants married Afrikaans-Dutch speakers (de Kadt 2002: 148; Grünwald 1998: 14). The Dutch at the Cape were dominant in language and religious matters, and other white settlers in South Africa had to obey their regulations (Grünwald 1998: 8). During this time the white population was very homogeneous (Grünwald 1998: 14).

“[I]t is estimated that at the end of the eighteenth century more than half of the white population of the Cape was of German descent.” (de Kadt 2002: 148) Until the decline of the VOC at the end of the eighteenth century approximately 15,000 Germans arrived at the Cape (Franke 2008: 57). German immigrants during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were driven by the Industrial Revolution, the opening up of new markets, as well as by the increasing population, hardships and famine in Germany (Grünwald 1998: 7). The will to assimilate to the Afrikaans-Dutch language and Calvinism as dominant religion decreased by the mid-nineteenth century. The Lutheran German settlers built small German-speaking communities with a church and affiliated school (de Kadt 2002: 148; Grünwald 1998: 7). Numerous Lutheran mission stations were established all over South Africa. The first mission was set up in the Cederberg region and was named Wupperthal by the Rhenish Mission Society in 1830 (Franke 2008: 59). Hence, language and cultural maintenance was closely connected to church and education (de Kadt 2002: 148; Grünwald 1998: 78).

While there is archival material about early German migration to South Africa between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries with information about migration causes and assimilation processes, the building of mission stations as well as cultural and language maintenance strategies, comparatively little is known about German migration to South Africa since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the two world wars (Franke 2008: 69).

As stated in chapter 2.1, official and reliable data on immigration to South Africa is scarce. There are only few statistics available through the national statistics service Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). Nevertheless, for orientation, the data on documented German immigrants since 1994, the end of apartheid, do show a general tendency. The diagram below (illustration 5) shows documented immigrants by country of previous permanent residence for the case of Germany<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2015.

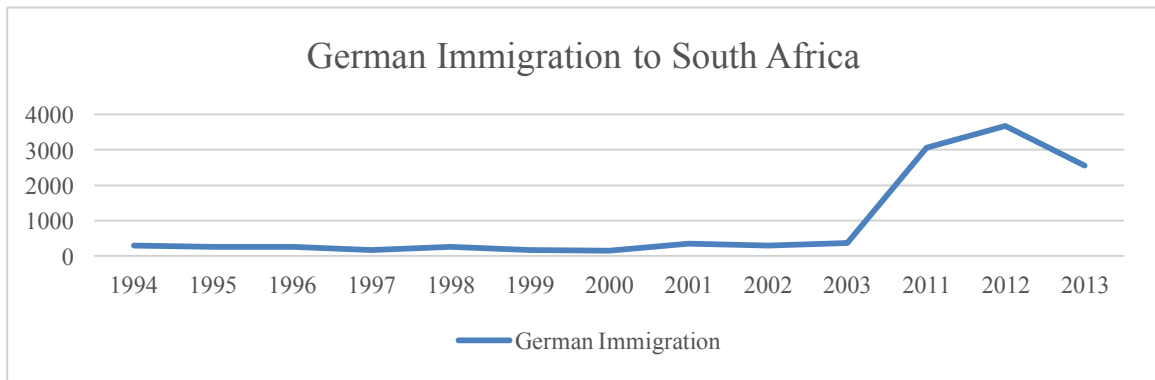


Illustration 5: German Immigration to South Africa.  
 Date Source: Statistics South Africa. 2015.

At some time between 2003 and 2011 the documented immigration of previously permanent residents of Germany increased tremendously. The data at hand cannot provide information as to whether this increase came suddenly or rather steadily during that period. It can only provide a rough impression of the current popularity of South Africa among German migrants. As the available data is scarce and incomplete, attention is rather turned to practices and established institutions of Germans in South Africa.

Since 2012, Germany has a slight tendency of an increasing number of emigrants who relocate their main place of residence to another country<sup>17,18</sup> (see illustration 6). The emigration peak since the German reunification was in 2008. Most of the emigration which takes place does so within the European Union. Africa has the lowest immigration rate from Germany with only 3% of all migrants in 2014<sup>19</sup>.



Illustration 6: Emigration of German Citizens.  
 Date Source: BAMF 2016.

<sup>17</sup> The data gives no information about the citizenship of the emigrants.

<sup>18</sup> Bundesministerium des Inneren. 2016. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 16.

In a linguistic study on German speakers in the KwaZulu-Natal province, de Kadt (2002) states that in rural areas social life is based on the German language, whereas in urban areas social life is more open to English and Afrikaans. Urban areas nevertheless offer to a greater extent the possibility to employ German in a professional capacity (de Kadt 2002: 150). In general, German as a language is restricted to certain domains like the family, church and school. The language use faces a decrease as the number of mixed marriages increases “which nowadays, as opposed to twenty years ago, tend to result in the children speaking English or Afrikaans as L1 [first language].” (de Kadt 2002: 150).

Before digging into the field data, it is important to understand how the data in this study was collected and analysed.

### **3. Climbing “Sauerkraut Hill”: The Methodology**

The fieldwork was conducted between August and October 2015 in Cape Town, South Africa. To fit the research to the available time-frame, the fieldwork was confined to one subset – a neighbourhood called Tamboerskloof. Tamboerskloof is situated in the city centre of Cape Town, the so-called City Bowl. Following ethnographic tradition, several qualitative methods were combined to complement each other (Flick 2011). Particularly with regard to the relatively short time-frame, the combination of several methods is advised (Knoblauch 2005; Pink and Morgan 2013). The used methods were qualitative and comprise participant observation including scheduled walks through the field; free listings, pile sorts and mental maps as cognitive methods; and qualitative interviews with a guideline. The following subchapters evolved on the forming of the sample as well as exemplifying the used methods, and why these methods were used. I furthermore reflect on my own position in the field and give insight to how the data was analysed.

#### **3.1. The Sample**

The sampling of the key informants was conducted via snowball method, random acquaintances and with the help of institutions with a German target group. As there is no official data available about how many Germans are living in South Africa, Cape Town or specifically in the neighbourhood Tamboerskloof, the sampling was not conducted as a representative one.

The sample consists of eight main informants. Seven of those eight informants were living in Tamboerskloof during the time of the interviews. One informant was living in the

adjacent and comparable neighbourhood Gardens. The key informants were all German<sup>20</sup> citizens and came to South Africa in their twenties, with the first informant coming in 1975 and the newest arriving in 2015. Half of the informants came during the apartheid regime; the other half came afterwards. The youngest informant was 25, the oldest 62. Six of the informants have a family with children; in four cases the children were still living in the family home (see appendix for brief vitas of the main informants).

In addition to the main informants, I spoke with four other Germans who gave me insight of their views of Germans living in Cape Town. Those four persons were not living in Tamboerskloof, but were involved with German clientele in the role of a pastor, journalist or of a service provider and are therefore interesting for another perspective on the topic.

The search for informants was the main reason for my discouragement during fieldwork. I had several promising contact points that didn't prove themselves as such. For instance, the local shopping centre, the *Garden Center*, is renowned as a popular meeting place for Germans living in the Cape Town City Bowl. Several people told me that on Saturdays Germans would crowd the shopping centre. I visited the shopping centre several times at different times during the week and on the weekends but not once could I feel a special 'German' crowdedness in the Centre. My assumption is that many of the Germans don't behave in any special or noticeable way as long as they are not speaking German. This explanation was also suggested by some of my informants (Markus<sup>21</sup> 20150925, Monika 150920, Joachim 150929). Language as the only attribute of detecting Germans in public turned out to be an insufficient indicator. Furthermore, it was difficult for me to spend an extensive time in the shopping centre as there was nothing much to do. I tried to just sit on a bench and observe, do some shopping myself or I wandered around the Centre with little success in regard to meeting potential informants.

The German café *Dinkel* and the German International School (DSK), both located in Tamboerskloof, brought me some insight. Unfortunately, the cooperation of the staff was limited. Especially cooperation with the DSK could have been a fruitful point of encounter with possible informants. The direct establishment of contacts with the families at the

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<sup>20</sup> Using citizenship as analytical unit is problematic as Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002) argue, and there is no such thing as "the Germans". Nevertheless, I found it an adequate unit in this specific case as beyond the set of problems, these migrants have a comparable social and cultural background with which they identify. The informants hold on to German as their domestic language, as they do to their German citizenship. Furthermore, as German passport holders they face similar conditions during their lives in South Africa regarding residential permits and the freedom to travel.

<sup>21</sup> The names of all informants have been changed throughout to provide anonymity.

school was not yet possible. A longer period in the field would have been helpful for establishing contact.

As it was neither easy nor straightforward to recruit informants, I had to make concessions in the sampling. Before starting the fieldwork, I had planned on focusing the sample on Germans who came to South Africa after the end of the apartheid regime, thus after 1994. I decided quite early on in the process that the point of immigration could not be considered as a criterion for exclusion. Otherwise I would have had major difficulties in finding suitable informants, taking into consideration the restricted time in the field. Another adjustment I made was restricting the possible place of residency during recruitment. At the beginning, I wanted to include Tamboerskloof and Gardens as possible neighbourhoods. I later decided to focus solely on Tamboerskloof, as the neighbourhood was smaller and easier to grasp than the rather sprawling Gardens area.

After the adjustments, I decided on the following criteria for the sampling: Persons qualified as informants if they were living in Tamboerskloof at the point in time of the conducted interviews. Furthermore, informants had to be born and raised in Germany. It was irrelevant for the recruitment how long the informants had been living in Cape Town already and if they were currently planning to return to Germany. The sample was conducted as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1977) with built-in contrasts. While looking for potential informants I tried to get a variety of ages, gender, social-economic situation and family status. The data was continuously analysed during fieldwork and the sampling went as intended.

### **3.2. Participant Observation**

Participant observation was the key method for entering the field in order to get a feeling of the neighbourhood and the living situation. Through this I wanted to approximate the idea of how it feels to live as a German in Cape Town. Participant observation was conducted during daily life and included regular walks through the neighbourhood, participation in community events like Sunday markets and church services, as well as informal colloquy with inhabitants and visitors of the neighbourhood. As it is considered best practice (Bernard 2006: 288), I kept a diary to collect my thoughts and observations in an informal way. I used a digital note-taking app as this allowed me to include photographs and maps.



For further insight into the perception of the neighbourhood environment, I conducted several walks in Tamboerskloof with attention to sensory experiences like sound, smell, vision and feel. Lee and Ingold (2006) argue that exploring a field by foot makes the environment gradually accessible. The slow pace gives enough time for the attention to details as well as a closer connectivity to the environment. For gaining insight into the perspectives of others and a thorough ethnography, walking together is part of the “attempt to live and move as others do.” (Lee and Ingold 2006: 68)

The walks took place with different variables such as daytime and weekday, and took about one to two hours. Usually I walked alone. Only once did an informant accompany me. I recorded the walks with a PCM recorder and the route via GPS. Further, I took field notes on the circumstances of the day and the observed incidents.

The main problems with this method were the unavailability of informants to share a walk with, and the systematic collection of the data. I planned to conduct several walks together with informants to gain insight into their views and experience of the neighbourhood. Only one shared walk took place in the end, as walking is not done regularly by the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof due to steep roads and the general practice to rather go by car than by foot among the middle-class. Furthermore, it was problematic to develop a systematic method of data collection so that walks could be compared in a standardized manner. Nevertheless, the walks were vital in gaining insight into how people move around the neighbourhood.

### **3.3. Free Listing and Pile Sorts**

To gain an emic view of the “cultural domain”, as De Munck (2009: 47) terms this, cognitive methods like free listing are helpful. Free listing is useful as the categories and items are not brought in by the researcher, but rather by the informants themselves. In a subsequent conversation informants are given the chance to comment on the items and to explain them. Free lists were conducted to the following two questions:

1. What do you associate with life in Germany?<sup>22,23</sup>
2. What do you associate with life in Cape Town?<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The conversation language between the researcher and the informants was usually German. The reader may find the translated statements in the running text for easier readability. The German original statements may be found in the footnotes.

<sup>23</sup> German original (GO): “Was verbindest du mit dem Leben in Deutschland?”

<sup>24</sup> GO: “Was verbindest du mit dem Leben in Kapstadt?”

The informants were asked to write down as many terms as they could think of on numbered index cards. With the help of different coloured pencils, the answers could be distinguished afterwards. Pile sorts followed the free listing. Informants were asked to sort the index cards in a way that felt logical or reasonable to them, as De Munck suggests (2009: 72). Piles could consist of terms belonging to both questions. After the pile sorting, I asked the informants if they could give each pile a headline. Afterwards, the free listings and pile sorts were used as a basis for interviews. I elaborate on this in chapter 3.5 about qualitative interviews.

The noted down terms ranged from 5 to 18 per question. The terms were sorted in three to five piles per informant. In total 16 categories were formed during the pile sorting and equally many terms were written down for both questions, in each case 57. Each respondent wrote down a relatively balanced number of terms for each question.

### **3.4. Mental Mapping**

As one part of the research question is about how people feel and move in their residential environment, I used mental mapping as another cognitive method. I expected that I would get hints about social networks and community behaviour in this way. Mental mapping is a creative method which can help informants to identify daily used reference points and to speak about these (Ziervogel 2011: 197). The method was developed by Lynch (1960) in order to capture the public image of several cities in the USA. The style of the map and the detail give information about the meaning of certain elements to the informant (Ziervogel 2011: 199).

I asked the informants to draw a map of their neighbourhood. They had a Din A3 white blank paper and different types and colours of pencils to do this. Drawing took them between two to 15 minutes, depending on how detailed the map was.

In sum, I collected four mental map drawings. Two of the maps are quite detailed; the other two are very rudimentary. The detailed maps show approximately the same area as well as the two rudimentary maps show the same street. A connection between the detail of the map and area cannot be made, as the number of maps is too small.

After the drawing process, I asked the informants to explicate their maps and the elements in it, as Lynch (1960) suggests. I asked specific questions about why they had chosen the sector, where they saw landmarks, especially beautiful spots or eyesores and what kind of landmarks they had, as well as to show me their mostly used routes in the neighbourhood.

Especially the latter question brought problems with it, as some of the informants said that they don't walk in their neighbourhood and therefore have no routes. In the sample at hand it seems like the maps were more detailed for the informants that actually walk in the quarter in contrast to the informants who only go by car. Some of the informants orient themselves very much by means of neighbours living in certain houses, while others use public spaces like cafés and restaurants or aesthetically remarkable landmarks like especially big plants and architecturally outstanding buildings.

The main finding of the data collected directly from the map was to find out how the informants move around their neighbourhood. The moving patterns differ a lot from informant to informant; hence it is not possible to make a general statement about the image of the neighbourhood via the mental map method.

The drawing and discussing of the map lead to further dialogue about the neighbourhood Tamboerskloof and the people living there. Even if the maps themselves cannot be systematically analysed for this research, it was an impulse for further dialogue and gave the informants the possibility to examine their neighbourhood in a lively manner (q.v. Ziervogel 2011: 197).

### **3.5. Qualitative Interviews**

During the fieldwork, I conducted a number of different types of colloquy. All types have a qualitative character with different modes of structure, length and recording. The qualitative interview is used to gain an inside view of the group of interest. It is helpful to investigate what a certain person thinks about regarding different issues and how persons see themselves located within a group or institution (Hopf 2003: 350).

The most informal type of colloquy is called 'chat' (n=7). These chats are informal and not target-orientated. The outcomes of those chats were more accidental than intended. One of these chats was audio-recorded, while all the other chats were recorded with notes from my memory in the field diary.

As 'conversations' (n=4), I filed more formal colloquy with certain conversational themes and interests. Those conversations were not audiorecorded but extensive notes were taken during the conversation. Following the conversation, I made extensive notes from my memory. This method was helpful in gaining more general information in a less work-intensive manner, as the field notes were written more quickly than transcribing an audio recording.

The most formal form of colloquy is called ‘interview’ (n=11). This was the most extensive method for data collection. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed afterwards. These interviews provide the basis of the argumentation. The interviews are based on different colloquy incentives. Initially, a field manual (see appendix) was developed, based on preliminary literature research. The field manual was adjusted during the fieldwork phase. Primarily, the interviews weren’t set out by me but by the informants themselves with the help of cognitive methods like free listings, pile sorts and mental mapping of the neighbourhood. The main task of my role as an interviewer was probing and asking further questions. At the end of the interview I made sure that the questions in the field manual were covered under the given circumstances.

All interviews were conducted in a pleasant atmosphere and the interviewees chose the location themselves (most often public spaces like restaurants and cafés). The pleasant and informal atmosphere was helpful in receiving honest answers. This impression was intensified by some of the informants checking whether sensitive information was handled anonymously. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours, with an average of about one hour. For the interviews I conducted, I took notes about the meta data. In this way, I could retrace what the interview situation was like and what kind of impressions I got from the informant as well as difficulties or deviances that occurred.

### **3.6. Becoming a German on “Sauerkraut Hill” Myself**

Living close by to the research area and being a German myself, I could easily put myself into the position of German immigrants living in Tamboerskloof. I spent much time in the research area, strolling around the area, visiting local cafés and shops. This made communication easier and potential informants were easily persuaded to participate in the research, as they understood helping me with my thesis as a ‘good cause’. Moreover, I was the same age during fieldwork as the participants when they arrived in South Africa. This brought a connection and sympathy of the participants toward myself. Acquaintances with other Germans in Cape Town were easy and the willingness to participate in the research was positive. The informants were all very interested in my doings and used the possibility several times to ask more questions about my fieldwork and my procedure. The contact with the informants was always friendly and it was easily possible to build up a pleasant atmosphere for conversation.

Furthermore, the categories ‘life in Germany’ and ‘life in Cape Town’ were two categories for which myself as well as the informants had perceptions that are based on real life experiences and not only on third-party narratives. Yet, this was a disadvantage, too, as the informants expected me to understand certain things just because I am German.

My experiences were similar to those Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich had while conducting her fieldwork in New Zealand (Bönisch-Brednich 2005). The experience of strangeness was not directed on the informants, as is the case for many anthropological studies. The experience of strangeness was directed at the life in South Africa and hence was similar to the experiences the informants had made themselves. For instance, like my informants, I had to deal with the sometimes agonisingly slow pace of queues at the bus ticket office.

### **3.7. Analysing the Data**

The analysis of the interview material was lengthy, as it had to be first transcribed and then dissected. Like the overall conception of the research, the evaluation of the transcriptions is oriented on grounded theory, as suggested by Glaser and Strauss (1977). The coding was conducted with in-vivo codes with a gradual increase of abstraction. The starting point for the coding was the free listing items and pile sorts in combination with theoretical considerations gained from the preliminary literature research. The in-vivo codes were carefully allocated to the forming categories. In a final step of coding, the categories were matched to the concept of social representation following Moscovici (2000), with differentiation between values, perceptions and practices.

The research started out with the focus on construction processes of cultural and national identity of German immigrants in South Africa. As identity construction is a complex field with no defined factors, the operationalization process is intricate. The period in the field was comparatively short and the networking on-site went well but slowly. This is why I had to admit that I couldn’t answer the initial research question within the planned fieldwork. Nevertheless, it was an adequate starting point, as the broad sampling requirements for the initial research question offered me entrance to the field. With the help of grounded theory, I could narrow down the research proposal.

The variety of used methods made it possible to gain broad insight into the perspective of German immigrants in Cape Town. Further aspects could be lightened up and crosschecked. This approach is called triangulation (Flick 2011). For instance, the

triangulation of a qualitative interview, mental mapping and participant observation helped me to check the reliability of my informants' statements. One informant told me in an interview that she doesn't drive in the neighbourhood, but rather walks. The rudimentary mental map she produced and the remarks she made in casual conversation showed that she only walks the 100-metre distance from her house to her work place.

The more data I collected, the more obvious became the two main themes that were brought up over and over again by the informants: freedom and constriction. In starting out with a broad research question I could keep an open mind for upcoming themes and concentrate the data collection during the fieldwork more and more on these themes. The discussion of the representation of freedom and constriction among German immigrants takes place in chapter 5.

#### **4. The Life in South Africa: The Creation of Ideal Living Conditions in the Neighbourhood Tamboerskloof**

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“If you didn't encounter a black person every now and then, you wouldn't know that you are in Africa.”<sup>25</sup> (Joachim, 150918)

\*

Tamboerskloof was actually the starting point of the fieldwork. Even though German immigrants live in many different places throughout South Africa and in many different neighbourhoods, some regions are more popular than others among German immigrants. Nowadays, many German organisations, institutions and service providers are found in the Cape region. One especially popular neighbourhood among German immigrants is Tamboerskloof, also colloquially called “Sauerkraut Hill”. The opening question for the research was why so many Germans decide to live in this particular neighbourhood in the City of Cape Town. While looking for the answer to that question, I noticed that it could only be answered if one has the entire context of the life of German immigrants in Cape Town. In the following chapters this context is provided.

When asked to describe their neighbourhood, the informants emphasize the rural character of Tamboerskloof. They describe it as ‘charming’, ‘village-like’, ‘quiet’, ‘idyllic’, ‘not hectic’, ‘peaceful’, ‘safe’ and ‘good for family life’. All descriptions are consistently positive (see chapter 4.1). Overall, the informants named the following reasons why they

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<sup>25</sup> GO: “Also wenn man hier nicht ab und zu mal einem Schwarzen begegnen würde, dann wüsste man nicht, dass man in Afrika ist.” (Joachim, 150918)

wouldn't want to live in other parts of Cape Town: 'too far away from the city centre', 'anonymity', 'artificial', 'standardized buildings' and 'gatedness'.

Tamboerskloof lies in the so-called City Bowl of Cape Town and is encircled by the neighbourhoods Gardens and Schotschekloof as well as Table Mountain Nature Reserve with Signal Hill and Lion's Head (see illustration 7). As the neighbourhood lies at the foot of Signal Hill, the streets and property lots are mostly very steep. Many houses are only accessible via steps.

A total of 2,984 people were living in Tamboerskloof during the Census 2011<sup>26</sup>. The population is predominantly white (73%), well-educated with a very low unemployment rate (3%) and with a high income<sup>27</sup>. The major part of the population is in the working group aged between 25 and 64<sup>28</sup>.

Tamboerskloof is mainly a residential area with only few commercial and communal activities. The neighbourhood has two German churches (one Catholic and one Protestant), two cafés in Tamboerskloof itself and several gastronomic offerings including a German bakery on Kloof Nek Road, the border between the neighbourhoods Tamboerskloof and Gardens. The landmark for which Tamboerskloof is mostly known by non-residents is the German School – Deutsche Internationale Schule Kapstadt (DSK) – which was founded in 1875 and which moved to Tamboerskloof in 1961. The Tamboerskloof Neighbourhood Watch (TBK Watch) was formed in 2005 and provides security monitoring on a volunteer basis. The TBK Watch is an organisation worth writing a single thesis about. Several residential areas have their own neighbourhood watches in Cape Town including a webpage<sup>29</sup> where incidents can be reported and tracked. In the neighbourhood of Tamboerskloof they enjoy a good reputation. The City of Cape Town supports the establishment of new neighbourhood watches with a designated programme.

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<sup>26</sup> Statistics South Africa, Strategic Development Informantation & GIS Department. 2013. 2011 Census Suburb Tamboerskloof. Cape Town. Access date: 15.02.2016.  
[https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011\\_Census\\_CT\\_Suburb\\_Tamboerskloof\\_Profile.pdf](https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Tamboerskloof_Profile.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> For instance, see the webpage of the TBK Watch. Access date: 07.03.2016. <http://www.tbkwatch.com>

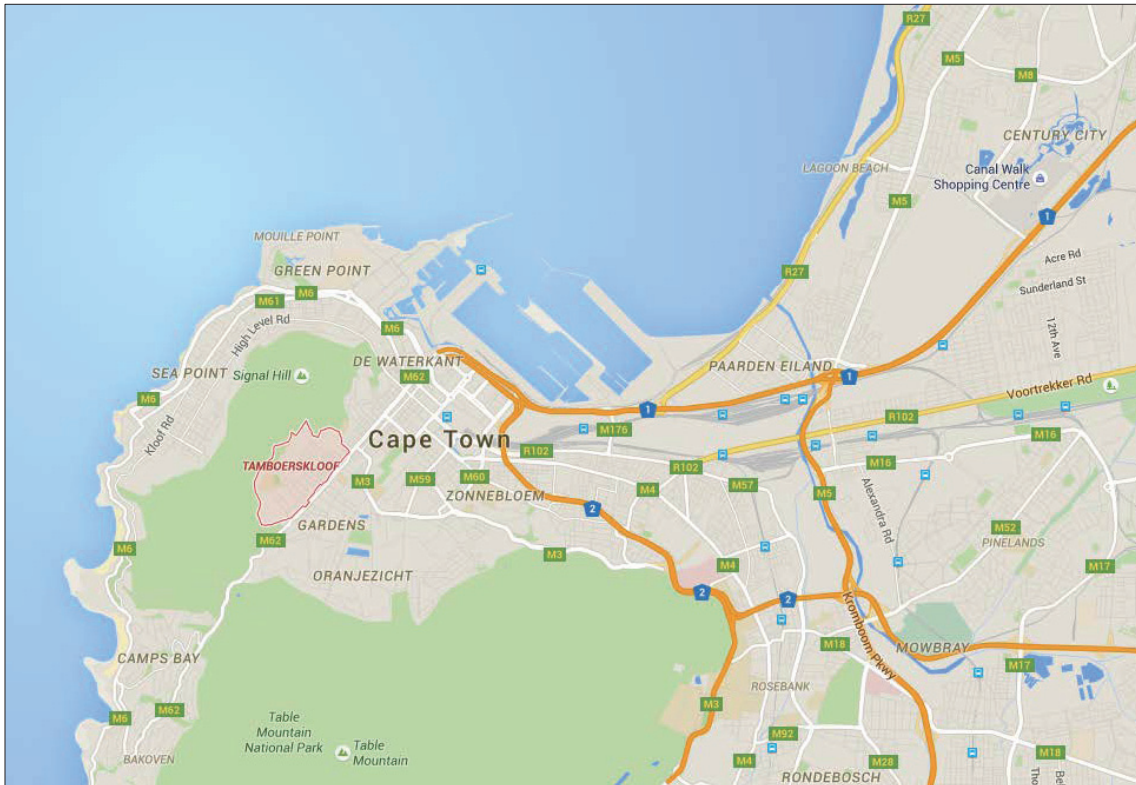


Illustration 7: Map of Cape Town City Bowl.  
Source: ©Google Maps, AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd. 2016.



Photograph 1: Typical house fronts in Tamboerskloof, 2015.





*Photograph 2: 'Laugengebäck' in the German Bakery 'Dinkel' on Kloof Nek Rd, 2015.*



*Photograph 3: Blue Café with Table Mountain View, 2015.*

The information collected by the informants suggests that many of the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof are not South African citizens. Official data is not available on this. Sven (151026) says: “There are many Germans here. Some people also call it ‘Sauerkraut Hill’. Sure, there are a lot of Germans here. But there are also other nationalities here.”<sup>30</sup> The data collected during the walks suggest that most of the inhabitants have domestic staff and are seldom at home themselves. On weekdays, the neighbourhood was deserted and quiet with the exception of domestic helpers, nannies and construction workers. These were also the dominant sounds that could be heard during the walks: watering of the garden plants, vacuum cleaning, lawn mowing and rebuilding of houses. The inhabitants themselves were rarely seen during weekdays and if so, most likely in their cars. On weekends the situation was slightly different. The neighbourhood was still very quiet but the number of domestic helpers, nannies and construction workers were fewer. More pedestrians off to recreational activities like surfing or hanging out at a café or restaurant could be observed too.

Interestingly, the informants did not speak about their staff directly, but rather generally for instance as being ‘affordable’ and ‘helpful’. The domestic staff and the construction workers observed during the walks were black and staff transportation to Tamboerskloof in the morning and from Tamboerskloof in the afternoon/evening was organised in groups. Re-building of houses when a new tenant or owner moves in is a daily occurrence. “And everyone who buys something rebuilds. And they are always busy.”<sup>31</sup>, describes Monika (150920). Without having access to any reliable data on this, the high number of building activities suggests that there is a high in- and outflow of inhabitants.

In mixed partnerships, so-called *Mischehen*, the combination of European and black African partners seems to be quite seldom. More common is the mix between different Europeans, or European/Asian or European/white South African. The informants often mentioned the European influence in Tamboerskloof. When asking what ‘European’ means, they answered ‘not black’. Julia (150930) says: “That’s why I say European. This is not Africa. This is not an African suburb.”<sup>32</sup> One reason for Tamboerskloof being such a ‘white’ area is the segregation policy during apartheid (see

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<sup>30</sup>GO: “Es gibt viele Deutsche hier. Manche Leute nennen das auch Sauerkraut Hill. Es gibt sicherlich sehr viele Deutsche hier. Aber es gibt auch viele andere Nationen hier.” (Sven, 151026)

<sup>31</sup> GO: “Und jeder, wo irgendwo was kauft, der baut um. Und macht und tut.” (Monika, 150920)

<sup>32</sup> GO: “Deswegen sag ich europäisch. Das ist nicht Afrika. Das ist kein afrikanischer Vorort.” (Julia, 150930)

chapter 2.1). ‘White’ central city areas are a very common phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa as Landman (2006) states. Even if there is no longer any law prohibiting the free choice of housing and free neighbourhood choice, the suburbs in the Cape Town city bowl are not only unaffordable for most but also traditionally have good infrastructure and are inhabited by ‘whites’ in contrast to the peripheral suburbs like Khayelitsha which are predominately ‘black’ or ‘coloured’ and have only rudimentary infrastructure, for instance in terms of electrical power and water supply.



*Photograph 4: Modern architecture on Leeukloof Drive, 2015.*

Another visually distinguishable aspect of Tamboerskloof is the architecture and the layout. The houses in Tamboerskloof are partly listed as historic buildings because of their Victorian façade. Other houses are very modern and stylish with a Bauhaus-like look (see photograph 4). Avenues with old trees add to the special features of Tamboerskloof.

Half of the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof are tenants, while the other half own their houses<sup>33</sup> (see illustration 8). Single houses and apartment blocks are both common in Tamboerskloof.

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<sup>33</sup> Statistics South Africa, Strategic Development Informantation & GIS Department. 2013.

Tamboerskloof Tenure Status	Total households
Owned and fully paid off	402 (26,7%)
Owned but not yet paid off	291 (19,3%)
Rented	771 (51,2%)
Occupied rent-free	24 (1,6%)
Other	18 (1,2%)

*Illustration 8: Housing Status*

Data Source: Statistics South Africa, Strategic Development Information & GIS Department. 2013

The 2011 census does not register any informal settlements in this area<sup>34</sup>. In comparison, the total share of informal dwellings in the City of Cape Town is about 1/5 of all households<sup>35</sup>. During the fieldwork, I detected an informal settlement in an unused military area called ‘Erf81’ in Tamboerskloof. Erf81 is host to a small farm as well as an NGO which upkeeps a vegetable garden and organises a weekly Sunday farmers’ market. Furthermore, the rough terrain of Erf81 attracts squatters who ensconce themselves in the area of Erf81 and on the verge of Signal Hill.



*Photograph 2: Shanties on the entrance to the farm on Erf81, 2015.*

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2012. Census 2011 Municipal Report Western Cape. Pretoria. Access date: 15.02.2016. [http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census\\_2011/census\\_products/WC\\_Municipal\\_Report.pdf](http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2011/census_products/WC_Municipal_Report.pdf)

The first time I visited Erf81 was together with Julia, one of my main informants. We were strolling through Tamboerskloof while she showed me her favourite spots. I was astonished at how suddenly the environment and the atmosphere of Tamboerskloof changed. At a moment's notice, we left the clean and sleek residential area and arrived at a farmstead with a small ramshackle pet zoo and a pot full of lilies to take away for a donation. The empty streets of Tamboerskloof transformed in a bustling space full of playing children and lumber. The military grounds of Erf81 do not have paved streets and the area appears pieced together with small shacks and vegetable patches here and there. After spending some time with Julia's daughter at the small pet zoo, we ended our walk at the Sunday market where we had some homemade lemonade. Being the owner of a shop which serves German clientele, we ran into several of Julia's acquaintances. Julia is a very open-hearted person who sacrificed a lot of her free time to participate in this research and helped me out wherever possible for her.

Julia came to Cape Town in 2008 and has had several ups and downs since that time. She left her German home town after the end of a long relationship and then got the opportunity to work in a guest house in the tourist area of Camps Bay. Julia is not a globetrotter type and lived only in one German city before her emigration. After having left Germany, she has lived in Cape Town ever since. Shortly before she wanted to leave Cape Town for good, she had the opportunity to work during the Football World Championship in 2010. During that time, she also got to know her spouse and further postponed her plans to leave. Leaving is no longer a real option to Julia. She is now a 35-year-old mother of two small children and cohabits with the father of the children in a house in Tamboerskloof. Julia could imagine to go back to Germany for some time in order that her children can develop a closer relationship to their grandparents. But other than that, she sees the centre of her life in Cape Town.

Julia and her spouse belong to the 51% of households in Tamboerskloof that are tenants in their home. They were looking in different parts of Cape Town. But as Julia's spouse had been living in Tamboerskloof before, she was familiar to the area. When talking about the house-hunting phase she told me that she knew the house before they moved in there.

“Then I was saying: There, I want to live eventually. From the outside, it looks like a Swedish Pippi Longstocking house. A timber house with a beautiful patio ... with a really amazing tree that grows over it like a weeping willow.”<sup>36</sup> (Julia, 150912)

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<sup>36</sup> GO: “Da sagte ich: Da will ich mal wohnen. Das sieht von außen aus wie so ein schwedisches Pippi-Langstrumpf-Haus. So ein Holzhaus mit 'ner schönen Terrasse ... Mit so einem ganz tollen Baum, der ist wie so eine Trauerweide, die so drüber wächst.” (Julia, 150912)

Compared to other houses in Tamboerskloof this one is a modest house. Like the majority of houses in Tamboerskloof, the house has a pool as well. But it is situated quite far down on Signal Hill so that the view of the city is not as remarkable as from other parts of the neighbourhood. The furnishings are modern and I would describe it as a mix of minimalistic and rustic with a spacious kitchen, dining and living area. As I visited them in winter time the garden was in hibernation but I can imagine that the family uses it a lot.

#### **4.1. Neighbourhood Satisfaction**

Following Benson and Osbalidston (2014), lifestyle migrants search for a better way of life. For them the destination becomes a key role. In reflecting on one's life, the destinations "become repositories for culturally framed imaginings of a better way of life, their characteristics symbolic of these." (Benson and Osbalidston 2014: 9) Lifestyle migrants put a lot of meaning into the destination as its link to 'the good life'. The most direct contact to the destination is the residential area the lifestyle migrants choose to live in. The following chapter therefore examines neighbourhood satisfaction and the segregation processes of the informants.

To gain insight into neighbourhood satisfaction and urban segregation, approaches from the field of urban geography and urban sociology are consulted. In the tradition of these disciplines, spatial segregation and the concentration of ethnic groups are a main research interest. In this respect, the focus is on negative outcomes resulting from the "spatial concentration of particular population groups" and therefore case studies are mainly located in deprived areas (Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006: 3). Often, research is conducted with the aim to act as guidance for policy makers in order to improve living conditions and revitalise deprived neighbourhoods (see Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006; Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011). The main approaches for explaining urban segregation are spatial assimilation, cultural preference theory, ethnic stratification and segregation by social status (see Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006; Skifter Andersen 2007).

The spatial assimilation approach assumes that the "segregation of ethnic groups declines as their length of residence increases" (Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006: 5) as a result of acculturation and socioeconomic mobility. The cultural preference approach assumes that when arriving in a new country, people prefer moving to areas with others from their home country. This brings amenities like special shops and advantages in social

networking with it (Skifter Andersen 2007: 3). A more negative interpretation of the cultural preference approach is called ethnic stratification. This approach argues that discrimination because of ethnic belonging leads to an unequal entry in and few choices on the housing market (Skifter Andersen 2007: 2). The latter two approaches ignore the influence of socioeconomic differences on housing choices (Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006: 6) and the use of the terms “cultural” and “ethnic” is blurred. Segregation by social status means that people prefer to live in socially and economically homogenous areas detached from any cultural background. Ethnic stratification, cultural stratification and social stratification are induced by the same mechanism: a heterogeneous neighbourhood in terms of social status and ethnic origin has a higher probability for conflicts and is therefore perceived as less safe and satisfying (Skifter Andersen 2008: 83). “[P]eople want to live together with someone who have [sic!] a similar social status and cultural background.” (Skifter Andersen 2007: 2). A homogenous neighbourhood is preferred; the qualities of the homogenous character may however vary. In Skifter Andersen’s case study on housing choices in so-called ethnic enclaves, the evidence supported much more the spatial assimilation theory than the cultural preference theory. Only less integrated immigrants wanted to stay in the ethnic enclave neighbourhood (Skifter Andersen 2007: 10). A closely-knit social network proved an important factor in choosing the area where to live (Skifter Andersen 2007: 5). Skifter Andersen (2008) focused on subjective evaluations and reputation with the help of statistical analysis when investigating the reasons why residents leave deprived neighbourhoods. As Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham (2011: 978) state subjective evaluation of the neighbourhood is more important than personal characteristics of residents or objective attributes. Use of data collected in qualitative interviews is therefore suitable. The case of Tamboerskloof can be evaluated with the help of a similar approach and can complement Skifter Andersen’s findings with a qualitative methodology, even though the impact is looked at from a different angle, as the relevant investigational group has a high income and high neighbourhood satisfaction can be expected. Skifter Andersen (2008) sums up the characteristics of neighbourhood satisfaction generated in the respective literature. He forms the following five categories: “reputation/status”, “physical environment”, “location and services”, “social environment” and “housing” (Skifter Andersen 2008: 82). The following chapter analyses these characteristics for the case of the German immigrants living in Tamboerskloof. “[R]elocation behaviour” (Bolt, van Ham, and van Kempen 2006)

complements the category “location and services”. Bolt et al. suggest this aspect in order to gain information about segregation patterns. As the classification is only a model, the transitions between categories are smooth.

#### **4.1.1. Reputation and Status**

Before discussing reputation and status it is important to define what these two terms mean. Skifter Andersen (2008: 85) suggests that status refers to an individual level, whereas reputation works on an area level. Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt (2007: 201) see reputation as a labelling process that contains certain beliefs and opinions about something or somewhat. The reputation of a residential area can have impact on individual status as a connection between address and social status can be made by an outsider (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2007: 202). Reputation is mostly influenced by objective neighbourhood attributes like ethnic composition and average income as well as the presence of children (Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011: 993).

Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham (2011) suggest that neighbourhood satisfaction is also contingent on how residents think others view their neighbourhood, in other words the neighbourhood’s reputation. Permentier et al. call this the “perceived reputation” (Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011: 978). However, they cannot find a correlation between neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation (Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011: 981). The socioeconomic background influences the attached value of a good reputation when choosing a neighbourhood. Well-educated people with a high income pay more attention to reputation because their housing choice is less restricted by lack of resources than low-income earners (Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011: 982).

The data on ‘reputation’ is limited to internal and self-reflecting views of the reputation of Tamboerskloof. Information of an outsider perspective is scarce and could be focused on in further investigations. However, it suggests the confirmation of the assumption that “residents tend to rate their neighbourhood higher than non-residents.” (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2007: 203) In informal conversation with non-residents of Tamboerskloof, the neighbourhood was labelled as posh and therefore as not representative for Germans living in Cape Town. The residents of Tamboerskloof themselves never made a remark like that and never questioned the concentration of the research on their neighbourhood.



There is no evidence that living in Tamboerskloof is some kind of status symbol, as the mansions, beaches and wealthy areas are somewhere else, as Monika (150920) states: “Bishops Court is very expensive. The rich and the famous live there.”<sup>37</sup>

#### 4.1.2. Physical Environment

Speaking about the houses, how they were renovated and how high the costs were are popular conversation topics for my informants. The informants regularly describe houses and special features like streets or plants as ‘pretty’ (*‘schön’*). The position of one’s house is important to them. Features like ‘view’, ‘wind-protected’, a ‘combination of sun and shadow’ and ‘within walking distance of the city centre’ are popular. The fact that people seldom actually walk to the city centre doesn’t play a role. The combination of a quiet residential area and the location close to the city centre is especially cherished: “It is centrally located, but nevertheless remote.”<sup>38</sup> (Patrick, 150922)

According to Benson and Osbalidston (2014: 9), the amenities of the place like the weather and the physical environment play a significant role when explaining lifestyle migration. The superficialities of the place are used as a vehicle to construct an idealisation of the place within “the quest for a better way of life.” (Benson and Osbalidston 2014: 9)

Patrick’s map (illustration 9) shows that the ‘view’ is a main attribute he gives to his neighbourhood. He used not only a horizontal perspective but also a vertical view to emphasise this aspect. While drawing the map, he told me that every morning before going to work, he smokes a cigarette on the sidewalk and just enjoys the city sight and the calmness of the city (see photograph 6).

Julia included optical appraisals in her map (see illustration 10) too. She drew in one house to which she refers to as “the pretty house” (*“das schöne Haus”*), marked an avenue-like road with trees which she referred to as “the pretty street” (*“die schöne Straße”*) (see photograph 7) and drew in the ‘yoga studio’ which has an impressive and very distinctive plant in the front garden. She also showed me the plant when we were walking through Tamboerskloof.

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<sup>37</sup> GO: “Bishops Court ist ganz was teurer. Da wohnen *the rich and the famous*.” (Monika, 150920)

<sup>38</sup> GO: “Es ist zwar zentrumsnah, aber dennoch abgeschieden.” (Patrick, 150922)

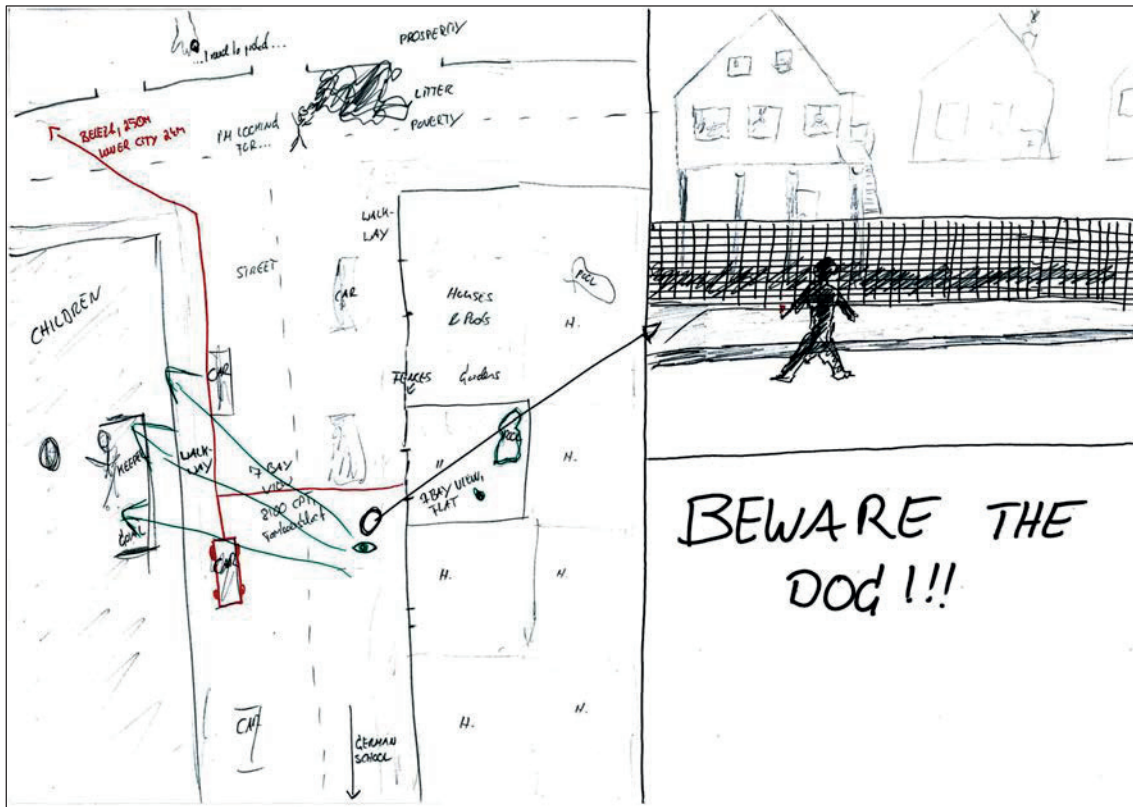


Illustration 9: Mental Map by Patrick.



Photograph 6: The view Patrick is describing while drawing the mental map, 2015.

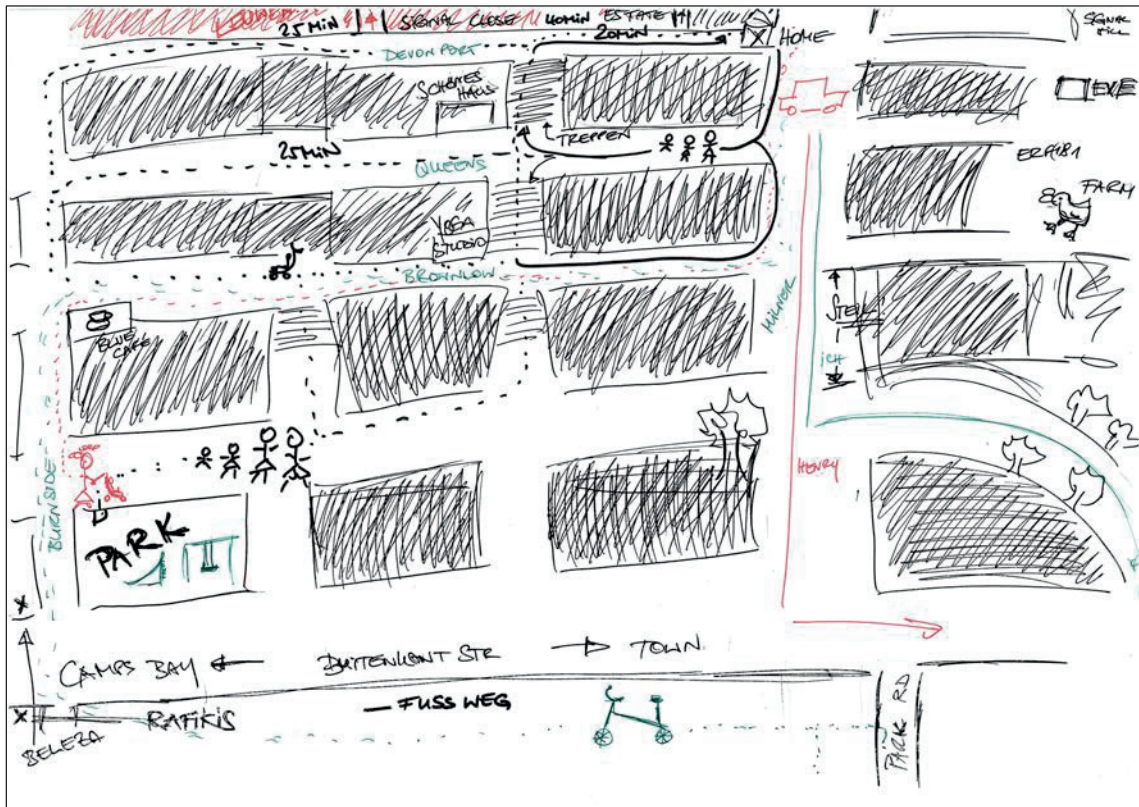


Illustration 10: Mental Map by Julia.



Photograph 7: The pretty street Julia is describing while drawing the mental map, 2015.

### 4.1.3. Relocation, Location and Services

All of the informants lived in other parts of South Africa or in other neighbourhoods of Cape Town before moving to Tamboerskloof. The decision to move there was an informed one, as they wanted to benefit from living in this area. For them the area is ‘convenient’ with the German school close by and Kloof Street with many cafés, restaurants and bars (Andreas, 150930; Monika, 150920; Joachim, 150929). Markus (150924) describes the house-hunting process:

“Before, we lived on the other side of the road that goes up [to Table Mountain]. That was also very nice. Then we were looking. We were searching for a long time, two years. And we found something nice. [...] I mean, here is a German school; the German kindergarten is not far away. It all plays on the small scale. You get to know a lot of people here too.”<sup>39</sup> (Markus, 150924)

The infrastructure in Tamboerskloof in general is very good for German clientele (see illustration 11). They can skip a long journey every morning when taking their children to school. Within a few minutes, recreational activities of any kind can be reached. In addition, three German churches, two German bakeries and several German grocery stores are nearby to increase their comfort. “What’s more, in the Gardens Center you can find the German place of pilgrimage – with how many? Four or five letters – Raith.”<sup>40</sup> (Joachim, 150929) The place of pilgrimage Joachim refers to is the German butchery, widely known in Cape Town even by non-Germans. The delicatessen offers much more than just meat. Besides cold cuts, *Raith* offers staple goods like *Goldsaft* treacle and canned *Sauerkraut*.

A special ‘German’ influence in Tamboerskloof cannot be detected. Even though the area offers a German-influenced infrastructure, from my own observations Tamboerskloof is not necessarily comparable to areas like Chinatown in the Westminster district of London or just even Keupstraße in Cologne where mainly Chinese respectively Turkish shops and restaurants can be made out. The presence of German inhabitants is more subliminally tangible. Markus says: “Of course there is a German influence too.”<sup>41</sup> (Markus, 150924). But after this remark, he only explains that the Germans are not really

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<sup>39</sup> GO: “Wir haben vorher auf der anderen Seite gewohnt in der Straße, die hier hoch [zum Tafelberg] führt. Das war auch sehr schön. Dann haben wir geguckt. Da haben wir lange geguckt, zwei Jahre lang. Und haben was Schönes gefunden. [...] Ich mein, es ist hier ne Deutsche Schule. Deutscher Kindergarten ist nicht so weit weg. Das spielt halt alles so im Kleinen. Hier lernt man auch viele Leute kennen.” (Markus, 150924)

<sup>40</sup> GO: “Im Garden Center ist dann noch der deutsche, der deutsche Wallfahrtsort - mit wie viel? vier oder fünf Buchstaben - Raith.” (Joachim, 150929)

<sup>41</sup> GO: “Natürlich gibt es dann auch den deutschen Einfluss.” (Markus, 150924)

detectable in the public and very “discreet” (“*diskret*”). The only marker with which one can detect someone being German is their language.

“I noticed that the Germans – I haven’t had that much contact to Germans yet – they live quite covertly. You notice, of course, when they open their mouth and speak, then you notice that they are German. But they adapt themselves quite well. They integrate quite well. Everyone has a job, everyone does his or her own thing.”<sup>42</sup> (Markus, 150924).

The downside of Tamboerskloof is the high property costs. But this is no reason for the informants to move to another part of the city themselves as long as they can afford it somehow. Prices are even less a reason for moving out of Tamboerskloof for those who already own their property.

“Ok, it was always a bit more expensive here. But by now it is that expensive, that you almost ... I don’t know ... You always wonder, how people can afford it. It is almost prohibitive for average earners. [...] That’s why many people move out of the city, because they can’t afford it anymore.”<sup>43</sup> (Monika, 150920)

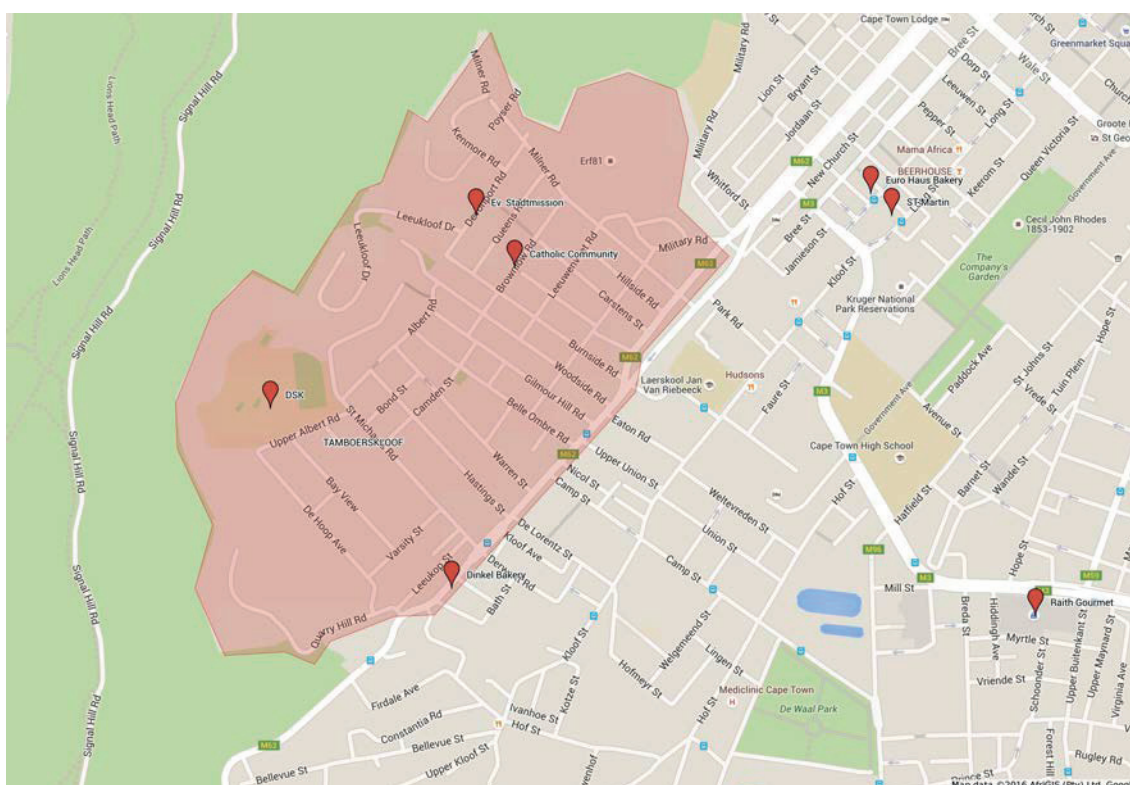


Illustration 11: Map of German Institutions and Shops in and around TBK.  
Map Material Source: ©Google Maps, AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> GO: “Die Deutschen, hab ich gemerkt – ich hab noch nicht so viel Kontakt mit Deutschen – die Leben sehr versteckt. Man merkt, klar, wenn sie den Mund aufmachen und sprechen, dann merkt man schon, dass sie Deutsche sind. Aber die passen sich ganz gut an. Die gliedern sich ganz gut ein. Jeder hat ne Arbeit, jeder macht sein Ding.” (Markus, 150924)

<sup>43</sup> GO: “Ok, das war immer ein bisschen teurer hier. Aber es ist mittlerweile so teuer geworden, das es fast ... Ich weiß nicht ... Man fragt sich oft, wie die Leute das leisten können. Das ist unerschwinglich fast für Normalverdienende. [...] Deswegen gehen dann halt viele Leute aus der Stadt raus, weil die sich das nicht leisten können.” (Monika, 150920)

#### 4.1.4. Social Environment

Neighbourhoods are central areas “where ‘community’ is formed” (Beauregard 1990: 856). Following Beauregard’s argumentation, the more home-owners live in a neighbourhood and a strong community feeling developed, the less prone an area is for rapid change. Therefore, neighbourhood satisfaction increases. A good community life could then be a threat to a stable neighbourhood as soon as the image of a neighbourhood becomes so appealing that others want to move there (Beauregard 1990: 856). This is the case in Tamboerskloof, as living there has become so attractive that many people want to move there and real estate prices have climbed during the last 20 years. The 46% of house-owners still provide relative stability in terms of residential in- and outflow.

Nonetheless, the conversations with the two informants who have been living in Tamboerskloof for more than a decade indicate that the residents in Tamboerskloof always have been very homogenous and well-off. The “turn-of-the-century facades” (Hart 2011: 86), cast-iron gates and decoration elements in mint condition and costly building lots in the hillsides of Lion’s Head and Signal Hill suggest that the residents of Tamboerskloof always belonged to the more affluent people. No evidence can be found for a gentrification process in Tamboerskloof that has been initiated in the past few years, if the original definition of gentrification is to be used. Ruth Glass (1964) coined the term ‘gentrification’. In her reading, it refers to social transformation within cities and describes the process of an in-flow of affluent families and thereby an outflow of the working class (Garside 1993: 30). The obverse effect, the outflow of the affluent and in-flow of low-income people, or the gradual adaptation of several urban areas is not such a hot topic in current academic debates.

Beside homogenous residents and high home ownership, the presence of children has a positive effect on neighbourhood satisfaction. This is the case as living in a safe and spacious neighbourhood is important to families. Others wish to profit from this as well. The fact that families move more seldom increases neighbourhood stability further. In addition, children have a positive impact on social interaction with neighbours (Permentier, Bolt, and van Ham 2011: 980). In Tamboerskloof, the 2011 census counted 9,6% children at the age of 14 and younger<sup>44</sup>. The presence of children has been remarked on by the informants, who themselves have children.

“And this is very much family-oriented. Out of every house come children. Children are everywhere. You don’t see them in the streets; you don’t have them in the streets

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<sup>44</sup> Statistics South Africa, Strategic Development Informantation & GIS Department. 2013.

conventionally because of the safety aspect, that the little monkeys are running around wildly. [...] But when I look around me, all people with children children children.”<sup>45</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

The amount of neighbourly feelings and community making seems very attractive to most of the residents. Self-organised neighbourhood parties and friendly affiliation with neighbours are common, but at the same time you cannot detect a close-knitted community. For the residents, it seems like it has a comfortable balance between ‘knowing each other’ and still keeping one’s privacy.

“There [in a German village] everyone knows everyone. This and that person ... There is a lot of chitchat among themselves. Nothing stays secret. Whereas here you have this village-like character, but here there is not that much chitchat. But still you are seen and recognized.”<sup>46</sup> (Julia, 150908)

The perception of the farm and the informal settlements is mixed. Some see it as an urban enrichment, others see more the threat of criminality emanating from the informal settlements. The rough terrain at Erf81 is home to squatters about whom is not much known. These squatters are seen with distrust by the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof. As the terrain is so impassable, it is easy to hide in it and it therefore provides a good escape plan after burglaries.

“Well, in the neighbourhood itself, actually only the farm is such a ... the pros and the cons. I am a city child and I just don’t know how it looks on a farm. And that not everything is put in order and is structured. Chickens running around [...] and the hay is not in bales but higgledy-piggledy. For me it is a bit grubby. But I think that is just the character of a farm like that. And the children love it. What I found a bit problematic is, how I said, it is military ground, and at the back end of the farm some squatters settled. These are people who built mini houses out of corrugated iron and cardboard. And now they are there. And because it is military ground, the city can’t throw them out.”<sup>47</sup> (Julia, 150912)

From all informants, Julia knows most about the farm and is interested in the occurrences there. Julia describes the situation as a paradox which fascinates her. On the

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<sup>45</sup> GO: “Und das ist eben ganz stark Familienbezogen. Hier kommen aus jedem Haus irgendwie Kinder raus. Überall sind Kinder. Du siehst sie nicht auf der Straße. Das hast du hier klassisch nicht auf der Straße, wegen dem Sicherheitsgedanken, dass die Racker hier alle wild rumrennen. [...] Aber, wenn ich eben so um mich guck, alles Leute mit Kinder Kinder Kinder.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>46</sup> GO: “Da [im Dorf in Deutschland] kennt jeder jeden. Das ist der mit dem und der mit dem ... Da wird halt auch geschnattert, untereinander. Da bleibt halt nichts verborgen. Wohingegen hier du diesen dörflichen Charakter hast. Da wird nicht so viel, hab ich zumindest das Gefühl, da wird nicht so viel geredet. Und du wirst trotzdem gesehen und erkannt.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>47</sup> GO: “Also in dem Viertel selber eigentlich nur ist die Farm halt so ein ... ein für und wider. Ich bin halt ein absolutes Stadtkind und ich weiß eben nicht: wie sieht so eine Farm aus? Und dass es auf einer Farm nicht geordnet und strukturiert ist. Und das da Hühner rumlaufen [...] und dass da das Stroh nicht in Ballen liegt, sondern Kreuz und Quer. Für mich ist das so ein bisschen schmutzig. Aber ich glaube, das ist so der Farmcharakter, den die Kinder ganz toll finden. Was so ein bisschen problematisch ist an dem Farmbereich, dass das eben wie gesagt Militärgelände ist. Am Ende der Farm haben sich sogenannte Squatter niedergelassen. Das sind so Leute, die sich ein Minihäuschen aus Wellblech und Pappe gebaut haben und die da jetzt sind. Und weil das Militärgelände ist, kann die Stadt die nicht runterschmeißen.” (Julia, 150912)

one hand, you see the expensive mansions with its urban residents, and on the other hand shanties. You simply don't expect this when walking through Tamboerskloof.

“I mean, this is in the middle of this rich neighbourhood. And people live here [at the farm] and they are happy. They look clean. They are ... and this is the paradox about which you are thinking a lot. There are houses. There are people who just live a bit different than you are used to. But these are no criminals, no baddies, and they don't want anything evil. They just live there. They sell some stuff and make a living with it.”<sup>48</sup> (Julia, 150927)

The activities on the farm and the weekly Sunday market are not well known by the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof. For instance, the market is not as popular as comparable events in other parts of Cape Town regarding the visitor numbers. It is mostly locals who go to the market for a Sunday coffee, lemonade or to buy some produce.

Crime is not only a topic when talking about the farm. The inhabitants of Tamboerskloof talk a lot about criminal activities and how they can make their homes safer. Statistics on the perception and experience of crime found that two thirds of the households in the Western Cape protect their homes with physical measures<sup>49</sup>. 18.2% of the households in the Western Cape hired private security<sup>50</sup>. In this study, 51.7% of the population of the Western Cape thought that crime had increased in the period between 2010 and 2013. This is the highest rate in South Africa<sup>51</sup>. The most feared crimes in the statistics were housebreaking/burglary (59.7%) and home robbery (50.2%). This is congruent to the experiences the informants of the study at hand made. Even though crime is an issue in Tamboerskloof people talk about, the records of the TBK Watch register burglaries every day and alarm systems of any kind are present, the informants feel safe in their environment. According to Price (1972) the “stereotyped reputation” (Price 1972: 15) of a city influences people's attitudes and behaviour. If someone perceives a certain area as safe or dangerous, this is connected to the context of an area in a larger unit (Price 1972). As the crime statistics of Cape Town show<sup>52</sup>, the number of criminal incidents is connected to a certain area rather than the City of Cape Town as a whole. When the informants compare their own proneness to becoming a crime victim, they perceive this as rather unlikely in comparison to other parts of the city. Their feeling of safety can then

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<sup>48</sup> GO: “Ich mein, dass ist mitten in diesem reichen Viertel. Hier [auf der Farm] wohnen Leute, und die sind total *happy*. Und die sehen sauber aus. Und sind ... Das ist halt das Paradoxe, wo du so ganz oft drüber nachdenkst. Hier hast du Häuser drauf. Hier hast du Leute, die leben einfach anders als man das gewohnt ist. Und das sind keine Kriminellen. Das sind keine Bösen. Die wollen auch niemandem was Böses. Die wohnen halt einfach da ... Die verkaufen halt so Sachen und machen damit ihr Geld.” (Julia, 150927)

<sup>49</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2012. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 5.

<sup>52</sup> South African Police Service. 2015. Crime Statistic of Republic of South Africa. Access date: 15.02.2016. [http://www.saps.gov.za/resource\\_centre/publications/statistics/crimestats/2015/crime\\_stats.php](http://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/statistics/crimestats/2015/crime_stats.php)



be judged as rather relative in the context of Cape Town and South Africa and not in comparison to life in Germany or safety at a global dimension.

When speaking to Monika who has been living in Tamboerskloof for some 25 years, she states that the home robberies have increased during the last years and that security prevention has increased likewise. One tactic of encountering the crime problem is demarcation, as Patrick (150908) states: “And apparently, you are at a point where you have to segregate in order to protect yourself from poorer people. And this segregation also fuels resentments.”<sup>53</sup>



Photograph 8: Collection of security badges on house fronts in TBK, 2015.

#### 4.1.5. Housing

Skifter Andersen states that “good contacts to persons and institutions are decisive for access to dwellings.” (Skifter Andersen 2007: 2) This seems to also be the case for the German inhabitants, as some of them had access to their dwelling via personal contact

<sup>53</sup> GO: “Und offenbar ist man dann an einem Punkt, wo man sich selbst abgrenzen muss, um sich vor ärmeren Menschen zu schützen. Und diese Abgrenzung hier ja auch dazu führt, dass Ressentiments geschürt werden.” (Patrick, 150908)

within the German-speaking community, or because of a certain ‘good reputation’ of German people.

“I haven’t made the experience that it is easier or harder. [...] I think that we partially profited from the good reputation of the Germans. It is a bit like that, that they are always on time and careful and structured and clean etc.”<sup>54</sup> (Julia, 150912)

Julia’s statement shows that the fact of being German alone does not help, but that the positive reputation of German people and the actual action taken can indeed help with finding a house. Others expressed that they were looking for a longer period of time for a property in the area, but in the end found something suitable.

In Skifter Andersen’s study, the ethnic minorities he researched had the obverse situation: they were disadvantaged on the housing market because of a lack of language skills, deficient knowledge about the local housing market and prejudice from the house owners (Skifter Andersen 2007: 2). This is one reason for the building up of ethnic enclaves. The German immigrants in Cape Town have a very different situation to this. Instead of being segregated because of external factors like poor access to the housing market, job market and financial means, they profit very much from their position within the country’s society and from them being German in terms of choosing where to live.

Younger immigrants who do not work in classically well-paid sectors do not move to Tamboerskloof that often these days, because their financial situation does not allow for it. At least, this is the explanation by Monika and Julia. Housing prices in Tamboerskloof are rising at such a rate that many who would like to live there cannot afford it anymore and have to move to other neighbourhoods. The housing prices keep people at the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy from moving to Tamboerskloof.

Compared to other suburbs of Cape Town, Tamboerskloof housing lots are quite small and offer limited space for luxury. However, a pool is part of nearly every house. From the street level, it appears to be an open neighbourhood. The houses are seldom cut off and front yards and entrance doors can be seen. Only few houses have walls around the property – most people go with see-through iron gates or hedges. The cars are parked on the street if the house does not have a garage.

Overall, the social environment in Tamboerskloof is very homogenous. It is homogenous in terms of housing styles, but also regarding the social environment. The inhabitants all have a relatively high income and a similar cultural background with many

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<sup>54</sup> GO: “Ich hab nicht die Erfahrung gemacht, dass das schwieriger oder einfacher ist. [...] Ich glaube, dass wir teilweise auch von dem guten Ruf der Deutschen profitiert haben. Es ist ja schon so, dass die immer pünktlich und sorgfältig und strukturiert und sauber usw.” (Julia, 150912)

Germans/Europeans living in this area. Furthermore, the expectations of a good neighbourhood also seem alike among residents. What this means in detail is discussed in the following chapter.

## **4.2. Being a German on Sauerkraut Hill**

In the previous chapter, neighbourhood satisfaction of the residents in Tamboerskloof was discussed. Overall a high neighbourhood satisfaction can be detected. Especially the community and safety aspects seem to be the most important ones for the informants. This is why this chapter takes a closer look at these two aspects. When speaking to the informants, I had the impression that Tamboerskloof with its ‘village-like’ character, relatively homogenous residents and architecture is liked by the residents because it provides a space in which they can play an active role in shaping the neighbourhood.

### **4.2.1. Community Making and Segregation**

Tamboerskloof is not a gated community but nevertheless bears resemblance to fenced-off spaces. As stated by Vesselinov (2008), urban segregation and gating have similar mechanisms and causes. To obtain a state of gatedness, a community does not necessarily need gates made of wire and concrete. Gated communities are turning more and more into a symbolic phenomenon to keep out the “unwanted” (Atkinson and Blandy 2006: viii). On the one hand, inhabitants want to exclude themselves from other residents on the outside. On the other hand, they want to exclude others from living in the community and prevent them from coming to the inside. Brunn (2006) argues that it is not only about living in gated communities, but that he detects several kinds of gatedness like “gated lives” or “gated minds” with either an inclusive and an exclusive approach. Maintaining “‘social and spatial’ distance” is one principal element of living a gated life in a “world of exclusion” (Brunn 2006: 7) where people with deviant preferences from the mainstream society are not accepted. Gated minds refer to the construction of stereotypes and prejudices (Brunn 2006: 9). One option of detecting the gatedness of minds and lives is to observe personal interaction. “Are they only with ‘like-minded’ people or do they exhibit genuine diversity?” (Brunn 2006: 10).

With regard to Tamboerskloof the informants exhibit one attribute of leading a gated life beside living in a ‘white’ area that is rather significant: when some of the informants speak about black or poor people, they talk about them as the ‘minority’,

whereas they see themselves as part of the majority of the population. Sooner or later they detect the discrepancy to the facts that in South Africa only 8.3% (see chapter 2.1) are white and ¼ of the labour force is unemployed<sup>55</sup>.

Positive effects of gated communities can be local communities and lower crime rates in the gated area. Negative effects can be a growing spatial fragmentation and social exclusion (Landman 2004: 153). These effects can also be transferred to the case of Tamboerskloof. Non-transferable are effects like the loss of a public realm. In the case of Tamboerskloof this has rather an obverse effect as the Blue Café attracts also non-residents to this mainly residential area who then profit from the safe and peaceful environment with its physical amenities. However, one has to admit that these non-residents are mostly white as well and that the only black people one usually sees e.g. in the Blue Café are the waiters and kitchen staff. The possibility “to observe an accepted code of tolerance for difference and eccentricity” (Low 2004: 64) is not given as the people in Tamboerskloof, be it residents or non-residents, are relatively homogenous in income and cultural background. Another negative aspect of social segregation is the decreasing empathy with people from other social backgrounds and with other experiences (Atkinson and Blandy 2006: ix). “[What] all the residents [of gated communities] want is to be left alone, to mind their own business and to create their own perfect little world or utopia inside the walls.” (Landman 2004: 162; annotation by the author) In the case of Tamboerskloof this can be detected only in a very limited manner. In general, the empathy with less privileged people seems very high amongst German immigrants and an awareness of the high level of inequality is given (Patrick, 150908; Sven, 151026).

Even though Tamboerskloof is not a gated community with a designated fence and security guarding the entrance, it has the quality of a gated area. Tamboerskloof has a high entrance fee, as the housing is highly priced. This is one reason that leads to its homogenous residents.

“You just live in a small golden cage. You try to make it nicer. And you have gated communities and things like that. But in the end, as you see, the area is full of fences and high walls.”<sup>56</sup> (Markus, 150924)

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<sup>55</sup> World Bank (2016): Unemployment, total (% of total labour force). Access date: 12.02.2016: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.ZS>.

<sup>56</sup> GO: “Man lebt halt in so einem kleinen goldenen Käfig. Man versucht es sich schon, es sich schöner zu machen. Es gibt dann so Gated Communities und solche Sachen. Aber im Endeffekt siehste ja, hier ist alles voller Zäune, hochgezogene Mauern.” (Markus, 150924)

The Germans I spoke to think there is a special ‘German community’ with a strong solidarity. When using Skifter Andersens classification scheme in chapter 4.1, the community aspect was also the most important for the informants. Interestingly enough, none of the informants explicate this kind of German solidarity any further.

The most obvious concept is that of the ‘diaspora’ and questions about displacement and “constructing homes away from home” (Clifford 1994: 302). The concept of the diaspora has many readings and academic writing has exhausted this topic. In the broadest sense it is about the ‘mobility’ and ‘flexibility’ to live in a globalized world (Moosmüller 2002: 12). But in order to be able to confine the concept of ‘diaspora’ to other concepts like ‘transnationalism’ or simply ‘migration’, the network character of diasporas defined by Clifford (1994) is crucial. A diaspora distinguishes itself from other forms of mobility and community-making in the conceptualisation of the global networking of several groups with the same (imagined) origin. When starting this research, I thought that community-making and keeping up some kind of ‘German identity’ would be crucial to the Germans I encountered in South Africa. During conversations, I found that this is actually not the case. Neither did the persons I interviewed distance themselves from being German or doing things in a German way, nor could I detect efforts of maintaining cultural idiosyncrasies in a demonstrative manner. Andreas spoke about “*Ankerpunkte*”, some kind of fixtures to the life one had in Germany. Daily goods mainly provide these. Regular availability of the German daily newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, German TV stations via *Deukom* satellite service, the special German pastry *Laugenbrötchen* or German sweets like *Haribo* offer this fixture. As all these goods are easily available at German bakeries, bookshops, import/export groceries and butcheries, the feeling of strangeness can be handled easily. The acceptance in South Africa seems not to be an issue for the informants even if Markus (150924) says: “You cannot integrate here. Because of your skin colour. It is just like that. Even if you are South African, with your skin colour, you cannot integrate so well.”<sup>57</sup> For Markus integration is not about citizenship, but about race. In everyday life, it is conspicuous how race divided life in Cape Town functions: be it residential areas, universities, jobs or public spaces. Where one lives, works and recreates depends oftentimes on one’s skin-colour.

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<sup>57</sup> GO: “Hier kann man sich nicht integrieren. Wegen deiner Hautfarbe. Das ist einfach so. Selbst wenn du Südafrikaner wärst, in deiner Hautfarbe kannst du dich nicht so gut integrieren.” (Markus, 150924)

When asking the informants if they could recommend someone to me for doing another interview, they struggled in doing so. This does not hint at a closely-knit German community. Even key informants with a large social network couldn't provide a variety of possible informants but rather a scant recommendation of further conversation partners. Remarkably, when speaking about their neighbourhood, about half of the informants knew their neighbours by name, origin and occupation – also naming other Germans in the street. Nevertheless, they thought that these people would not fit for my purposes.

The ambivalence to want to be integrated into the host society and simultaneously participate in community life mainly formed by other incomers is a frequent issue for lifestyle migrants. The perceived 'local' is actually as non-local as himself or herself (O'Reilly and Benson 2009: 9). In the case of Cape Town this mechanism is idealised in a perceived 'multiculturalism'. Close-knit ties to the local population can hardly be established even if individuals try to do so. 'Real' integration and the feeling of really belonging to South Africa seem not possible.

“That I as a foreigner pick out all the other foreigners is of course connected to the fact that they [the foreigners] are not inside the community here like a South African would be, who works here, who goes home to his or her family.”<sup>58</sup> (Julia, 150908)

The informants describe how most of them try to blend in the wider society and do not stick to special 'German' habits, but still are in a special situation.

“Like I said, it took around 4 to 5 years. Now it became accustomed after twenty years, probably you will never become a part of this ... if you aren't born here. [...] I think you always stay a bit exotic here, if you lived the biggest part of your life somewhere else. And this influences you enormously.”<sup>59</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

The wish for segregation among the German immigrants has different characteristics. As stated above, a strong wish to live only amongst other Germans is not given. The segregation can be more seen between 'European/white' lifestyle and 'South African/black' lifestyle. Integration with the South African community seems not possible for the informants and so they stick with what they know and like: a strong community feeling, good infrastructure and a seemingly peaceful environment. One possible way of explanation follows Skifter Andersen's finding:

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<sup>58</sup> GO: “Dass ich jetzt hier als Ausländer die ganzen anderen Ausländer rauspicke, hat natürlich auch damit zu tun, dass die hier nicht in der Gemeinschaft drin sind, wie jetzt so ein Südafrikaner, der hier arbeitet, der nach Hause geht, der zu seiner Familie geht.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>59</sup> GO: “Aber wie gesagt: das hat bestimmt 4, 5 Jahre gedauert. So ein klein bisschen eingemodelt jetzt nach 20 Jahren, wahrscheinlich. Du wirst ja nie, du wirst ja nie Teil dessen hier ... wenn du hier nicht geboren bist. [...] Ich glaube, du bleibst immer noch so ein bisschen Exot, wenn du den größten Teil deines Lebens wo anders gelebt hat. Das prägt dich doch ganz immens.” (Andreas, 150930)

“The analyses pointed to that the most important factor is if there are a certain number of countrymen in the neighbourhood to create a viable ethnic society. The total number of countrymen in the neighbourhood – or the share of residents – is not so important.” (Skifter Andersen 2007: 9)

Though Skifter Andersen’s findings are somewhat conflicting, as on the one hand he argues that the presence of fellow countrywomen and men has an effect on housing/neighbourhood choice. On the other hand, the data shows that the cultural preference theory does not prove right. It is unclear what to make of this and hints at the complexity of the topic. The most congruent argument seems to be that housing choices are mainly drawn by income and closeness to family and friends. The social status of a certain neighbourhood seems to not play a role in Skifter Andersen’s case. The conflicting results of Skifter Andersen’s findings show that a complex question on housing preference and the forming of so-called ethnic enclaves cannot be answered with statistical data alone.

Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt (2007) suggest that with low neighbourhood satisfaction and low neighbourhood reputation it is more likely that community members take action by “either exiting or voicing their concerns” (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2007: 206). Even though neighbourhood satisfaction is high amongst the inhabitants of Tamboerskloof, the wish to engage in the neighbourhood is also high. Some of the informants organize neighbourhood get-togethers in order that the neighbours can get to know each other a bit more (Joachim, 150929). When engaging in the neighbourhood, personal characteristics like age, income, family and the housing situation are relevant as older people, families with children, home-owners and households with lower incomes are less mobile and therefore less likely to be able to ‘exit’ the situation and move to another neighbourhood (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2007: 206). The personal characteristics of less mobile residents apply to the residents of Tamboerskloof and even more to the informants of this study. Even the aspect of low income is relatively true, as some of the informants have lived in their house for a long time, moving there when housing prices were lower and other informants were in a better financial situation earlier than they are now. Nevertheless, compared to the national average, the informants have a high income. Andreas describes the financial situation of the residents in Tamboerskloof like this:

“The suburb is actually dominated by ... it is a middle-class suburb. If you see it in the big picture of South Africa, it is always upper class. We are always part of the upper 5% of the population. But in this area, in the 5% it is middle class.”<sup>60</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

An influence of a negative reputation of the neighbourhood and therefore proactivity, like Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt (2007: 208) found, cannot be detected. And as the residents of Tamboerskloof are relatively settled, the exit strategy is not likely for them. Rather they voice their concerns and take action as in forming a neighbourhood watch (TBK Watch) to counter crime. Patrolling the streets hereby follows the assumption that the more people are in the street, the less space there is for criminal assaults. During my walks, it became quite obvious that ‘walking’ is an ideal in Tamboerskloof; not only for crime prevention, but also for community making. But the position of Tamboerskloof with its very steep streets and stairs is one reason why people don’t walk, even though they would like to.

“We say hello, we talk to each other a few words. Of course, life here is fast moving and hectic too, like everywhere else. But one tries to do it, when some people walk around. You don’t have that in other suburbs, you don’t see that. They get in their car and drive away. Here you walk.”<sup>61</sup> (Sven, 151026)

It may be that people walk slightly more here than in other parts of the city and that it is not that unusual to go to a café or to restaurants by foot, but still it is not normal to walk everywhere. People try to be more in the streets and not to go everywhere by car in order to follow their ideal, but compared to city life in Germany the pavements are empty of people.

The wish of the informants to seize opportunities in shaping their lives and their environment is further elaborated on in chapter 5.3. Tamboerskloof offers a possibility to do this in order to fulfil the dream of “being free” and not being “extrinsically controlled”.

#### **4.2.2. Perceptions of Safety and Actions Taken**

Safety is always a conversation topic and crime is a direct threat to the feeling of freedom. The TBK Watch is one way of facing crime. Other possibilities are more on an individual level, like installing alarms and electric fences. Nevertheless, for most informants it is important to not seal oneself off entirely. “I like this ... of course you

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<sup>60</sup> GO: “Das ... der Vorort hier wird eigentlich dominiert eigentlich von, es ist ein Mittelklassevorort. Eigentlich, wenn du es über ganz Südafrika siehst, ist es natürlich, ist es immer obere Klasse. Wir sind immer in den oberen 5% der Bevölkerung. Aber in diesem Bereich, in den 5% ist das Mittelklasse hier.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>61</sup> GO: “Wir grüßen einander, wir sprechen miteinander drei, vier Worte. Das Leben ist hier natürlich auch schnelllebig und hektisch, wie woanders halt auch. Aber man versucht es halt ein bisschen zu machen, wenn ein paar Leute über die Straßen laufen. Das siehst du in anderen Vororten, das siehst du nicht, die steigen ins Auto und fahren weg. Hier läuft man.” (Sven, 151026)



have a dog, your safety system, your [security] beams in the garden. But you don't have one of these blatant, dire electric fences.”<sup>62</sup> (Julia, 150927).

The necessity of fencing and alarms is controversial. Some say it is necessary for protecting oneself from burglary, others are not so sure about it. Monika tells me that the protection measurements have increased during the last 20 years. Joachim sees himself pressured by his neighbours. For himself, gating his house off the streets is not an attractive option and he doesn't see it as necessity for himself. But his neighbours see his open property lot as a security danger for themselves.

“There were enough efforts by the neighbours on both sides. They think that we are a security risk to them because we [the property lot] are open. This means across our lot people can come in and go there [to the neighbours]. And they would have collected money to electrify our fence in front and a camera and this and that. But we don't want that, we don't need a barbed wire fence.”<sup>63</sup> (Joachim, 150929).

Joachim thinks that it is safer not to seal oneself off entirely but to rather leave the lot more open. In the interviews, it became clear that even though people use electric fencing, alarms etc. these are used more moderately than in other parts of Cape Town.

“You have it all open here. That is a good lifestyle. In other suburbs, if you go out, e.g. Constantia or Bishops Court, it is a totally different lifestyle. Totally different people who live there. You have gigantic property lots, 400,000 square meters, 800,000 square meters. All high fences. All high ... The people are to themselves. There is not much cooperation and so on. It is: my home is my castle.”<sup>64</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

Patrick describes the fencing off in a drastic way and feels disturbed by it. He sees it also as cause for racial resentments.

“And in front of my room I had an electric wire with a bright yellow sign saying that it is a high voltage current and every contact with it can be deadly. And this was the point where I didn't know if the others are locked out or if I am locked in. And the question is what is freedom, when I have to look myself in somehow for my own freedom? Am I still free then? And I would say: no. [...] It is an attempt to keep away the hardship from the city. And wherever it touches your own life, you rather built another higher fence, another camera, or your own security service.”<sup>65</sup> (Patrick, 150908)

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<sup>62</sup> GO: “Was ich halt gut finde, ist dass, du hast halt hier dann sicher ... du hast nen Hund, du hast dein Sicherheitssystem, du hast deine [Sicherheits-] Beams im Garten. Aber du hast hier jetzt nicht so nen krassen, schlimmen Elektrozaun.” (Julia, 150927)

<sup>63</sup> GO: “Es gab schon genug Bemühungen, dass die Nachbarn, sowohl hier als auch da, die finden, wir sind ein Sicherheitsrisiko für die, weil wir [das Grundstück] hier offen sind. Das heißt, über unser Grundstück können die Leute auch hier reinkommen oder dahingehen [zu den Nachbarn]. Und die hätten Geld zusammengelegt, um unseren Zaun vorne da zu elektrofizieren und Kamera hin und dies und das. Wir wollen das nicht, wir brauchen kein Stacheldrahtzaun.” (Joachim, 150929)

<sup>64</sup> GO: “Du hast das hier alles offen. Das ist ein tolles Lebensgefühl. In anderen Vororten, wenn du raus gehst, zum Beispiel Constantia oder Bishops Court, ist ein völlig anderes Lebensgefühl. Ganz andere Leute, ganz andere Menschen, die da wohnen. Da hast du riesige Grundstücke, 400.000 Quadratmeter, 800.000 Quadratmeter. Alles hohe Zäune. Alles hohe ... Die Leute sind da für sich. Da ist kein großes Miteinander usw. Das ist, my *home* ist mein *castle*.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>65</sup> GO: “Und vor meinem Zimmer hatte ich dann einen Stromdraht, der mit nem gelb leuchtenden Schild versehen war, dass dieser Draht unter Strom oder Starkstrom steht und dass jeder Kontakt tödlich enden kann. Und an der Stelle wusste ich eigentlich nicht, ob die anderen ausgesperrt oder ich eingesperrt bin. Und die Frage ist, was ist denn eigentlich Freiheit, wenn ich mich in meiner Freiheit nur noch irgendwie einsperren kann? Bin ich dann noch frei?”

In the end, these security measures and ways of demarcation do not prevent crime in a reliable manner. Even in designated gated communities “perceived safety and actual crime rates have been found to be no different between gated communities and similar [...] neighbourhoods.” (Atkinson and Blandy 2006: xi).

### **4.3.Preliminary Conclusion**

The previous chapter analysed how the people interviewed create ideal living conditions and how Tamboerskloof provides a suitable space for this enterprise. Living in an open space and feeling one’s freedom is an ideal for the informants. This can be detected by not sealing oneself off entirely with gates and fences, as well as the affinity to ‘nice’ things like attractive houses and a good view. Possible constrictions like crime are faced with neighbourhood actions and the keeping up of being part of the Tamboerskloof community, a somewhat exclusive club. To do so, informants clearly benefit from their own status as being relatively affluent foreigners who have different opportunities than do locals. As acculturation and integration into the South African community is not seen as something possible, living amongst other European immigrants is the corollary. The amenities that it brings with it are willingly taken. This leads to a homogenous neighbourhood with high levels of satisfaction and security as well as further demarcation from ‘real’ locals. Even though inhabitants identify issues in South Africa and want to take action, more often they approach it with an ‘it is just the way it is’-attitude. Nevertheless, informants develop different coping strategies which are analysed in the subsequent chapter.

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Und da würde ich sagen: nein. [...] Der Versuch ist das Elend aus der Stadt wegzuhalten. Und da wo es einen selbst berühren könnte, baut man lieber noch einen höheren Zaun, noch eine Kamera mehr, oder hat einen eigenen Wachdienst.” (Patrick, 150908)

## 5. Attract and Repel: Migration Biographies Between Germany and South Africa

Central themes within the lifestyle migration discourse are “the re-negotiation of the work-life balance, quality of life, and freedom from prior constraints.” (Benson and O'Reilly 2009b: 609). These themes also occurred in the data collection phase guided by the field manual and by the informants themselves. It is striking how clearly these themes occurred and how well the concept of lifestyle migration can be applied to the case study at hand. The following chapter takes a closer look at how freedom and constriction became reoccurring themes in the field, how informants tell their story of migration, as well as how freedom is lived out and constrictions are coped with.

### 5.1. Freedom and Constriction as Reoccurring Themes

Two themes reoccurred in such a central and repeated manner that I decided to use them as pivotal themes in this thesis: freedom and constriction. The two terms were used particularly in connection with migration reasons. In the following chapter, the occurrence and the use of these themes is discussed. The free listing first brought the themes of freedom and constriction.

In association with Germany, informants named, among others, the following items during free listing:

- “A little bit cramped in some respects”, “cramped”, “constriction”<sup>66</sup>
- “Structure”, “organised”, “intentions”, “work”<sup>67</sup>
- “Safety”, “safe”<sup>68</sup>
- “Wealth”, “middle class”, “low priced”, “frugal”<sup>69</sup>
- “Provision”, “old-age pension”, “social”<sup>70</sup>
- “Complaining on a high level”, “listlessness”, “disenchantment with politics”<sup>71</sup>

In the accompanying interviews these items were depicted as negative and as not wanted. Julia grouped these items in a pile she called “stagnancy”<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> GO: “etwas eng in mancher Beziehung”, “eng”, “Enge”

<sup>67</sup> GO: “Struktur”, “organisiert”, “Ziele”, “Arbeit”

<sup>68</sup> GO: “Sicherheit”, “sicher”

<sup>69</sup> GO: “Wohlstand”, “Bürgertum”, “günstig”, “sparsam”

<sup>70</sup> GO: “Vorsorge”, “Rente”, “sozial”

<sup>71</sup> GO: “Jammern auf hohem Niveau”, “Antriebslosigkeit”, “Politikverdrossenheit”

<sup>72</sup> GO: “Stillstand”

“The reason for that being present and being stagnant is the question what you want from life. For me it [the life in Germany] was always too cramped. This kind of security, this kind of structure. This: you have to do it this way. This straightforwardness, it was too cramped for me. And this kind of feeling, I don’t have it here. I don’t have to be straightforward, I can do it oddly.”<sup>73</sup> (Julia, 150908)

The informants were distancing themselves from concepts like provision, insurances and social security executed by the state.

“I am not interested in that. I don’t have a pension scheme. I am not interested in that. I see it like: I am working until the day I stop and have built something up until then, I can live of later. This whole insurance concept, that’s not really my thing. It pretends a false feeling of security.”<sup>74</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

When asked if they were not scared of not having social security, they answered that they were not.

“I can understand if people are scared. But I am not scared. I have the impression that I can control it here myself. [...] Funnily enough, I have never thought about whether I am scared by this [the absence of social security] or not. I just found it always very exhausting because I couldn’t play a big enough part in my own life. My life was somehow, it felt determined by others.”<sup>75</sup> (Julia, 150908)

Another form of argument is using antonyms. To be heteronomous in Germany is opposed to being in control of one’s life in South Africa. The perceived disadvantages of a life in Germany are used as a vehicle for pointing out the advantages of life in Cape Town.

“ - Sven: In Germany, it was somehow cramped.

- CR: What does ‘cramped’ mean?

- Sven: The vastness you have here, is not given there. If I drive around, an hour, 45 minutes out of Cape Town, I can see to the horizon and there is nothing. Just nothing. In Germany on the contrary, you’ll see a village somewhere in the next valley.”<sup>76</sup> (Sven, 151026)

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<sup>73</sup> GO: “Der Grund warum das halt alles oben ist und Stillstand ist, ist die Frage, was willst du im Leben. Mir war das [Leben in Deutschland] immer zu eng. Diese Sicherheit, diese Struktur. Dieses: du musst das so und so machen. Diese Geradlinigkeit, das war mir zu eng. Das Gefühl hab ich hier eben nicht. Ich muss nicht gradlinig sein, sondern ich kann das auch quer machen.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>74</sup> GO: “Das interessiert mich nicht. Ich hab auch keine Rentenversicherung. Das interessiert mich auch nicht. Das seh’ ich so, dass ich bis zu dem Tag, wo ich dann sage, ich hör auf zu arbeiten, dass ich irgendwas geschaffen habe, wovon ich leben kann. Dieses ganze Versicherungskonzept ist meins nicht. Es spielt dir ‘ne falsche Sicherheit vor.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>75</sup> GO: “Ich kann verstehen, dass das Leuten Angst macht. Aber mir macht das keine Angst. Ich hab das Gefühl, ich hab das hier selber in der Hand und kann das steuern. [...] Witzigerweise, ich hab da nie drüber nachgedacht, ob mir das Angst macht oder nicht [der Mangel an sozialer Absicherung]. Ich fand es halt anstrengend, weil ich mich selber nicht doll genug einbringen konnte in mein Leben. Mein Leben war irgendwie, fühlte sich fremdbestimmt an.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>76</sup> GO: “ - Sven: Denn in Deutschland war etwas eng in manchen Beziehungen.

- CR: Was heißt ‘eng’?

- Sven: Die Weite, die man hier hat, ist nicht so gegeben. Ich sag mal, wenn ich hier durch die Gegend fahr, da kann ich ja, ne Stunde aus Kapstadt raus, dreiviertel Stunde aus Kapstadt raus, da kann ich gucken bis zum Horizont und da ist nichts. Gar nichts. Wobei in Deutschland im nächsten Tal schon wieder irgendwo ein Dorf liegt.” (Sven, 151026)

Sven goes on in his answer with his spacious and affordable house in Cape Town and the fact that he thinks he could not afford a house like that in Germany. He projects the “cramped” feeling on people as well. He feels that people in Germany are more tight-lipped and don’t smile as often as people do in Cape Town. The dimensions of his “cramped” feeling are about nature, population density and the people’s attitude towards life. These lines of argument can also be traced in conversation with the other informants.

Several informants mention the argument of a high population density in Germany and with that an associated cramped feeling, unfriendliness, anonymity among people and not enough “room for oneself” (“*Freiraum*”).

“You know how it is: if you put too many rats in a cage, at some point they start to bite each other to death until the number is reduced again to having enough room for the individual. I think that that is the case in Germany, the room for oneself is too small.”<sup>77</sup>  
(Andreas, 150930)

But what some of the informants perceive as constriction, other informants missed. Patrick and Nadine are the two youngest informants who have recently arrived in Cape Town. For them, aspects of safety in terms of family support, professional certainty and basic social services seem important. Both are unsure if they want to stay in South Africa for a longer period. Both are very much connected to family and friends in Germany and see their future with these people in Germany. For them, the advantages of a highly-structured and organised social welfare executed by the state is much more present than for the informants who have been in South Africa for several years or decades. It could be argued that those who have been in South Africa for a longer period already have realized that social security executed by the State is not a preferable condition for leading the life they desire.

In association with life in Cape Town, the informants built up some counterparts to the constrictions they feel in association with life in Germany. The following terms were used when asked to name associations with life in Cape Town:

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<sup>77</sup> GO: “Du weißt ja wie das ist: wenn du zu viele Ratten in einen Käfig tust, fangen sie an sich gegenseitig tot zu beißen bis die Zahl wieder reduziert ist auf irgendetwas, wo ein gewisser Freiraum für den Einzelnen geschaffen wird. Ich finde, das ist eben in Deutschland, dieser Freiraum ist zu klein.” (Andreas, 150930)

- “Nature”, “beauty (nature)”, “diverse”, “ocean”, “animals/wilderness”, “original”, “whales”, “stunning colours”, “light”, “sun”, “weather”, “good weather”<sup>78</sup>
- “Air to breath”, “space”<sup>79</sup>
- “Openness”, “possibilities”, “entrepreneurial freedom”<sup>80</sup>
- “Community”, “hospitable people”, “friendly people”<sup>81</sup>
- “Freedom and imprisonment”<sup>82</sup>

The most obvious counterpart is built up around the item “nature”. The number of items connected to “nature” is striking and they have a romanticized touch. Informants pose these items in direct opposition to constrictions they feel they have in Germany. Here, informants employ a construction of a nature/culture dichotomy, consciously or unconsciously. Another line of argumentation circles around the field of economic and professional opportunities and self-realisation.

The informants build up an idealised picture of life in Cape Town. Contradictions to the dichotomy “constriction in Germany” and “freedom in Cape Town” were seldom faced and generally played down. When the informants speak about constriction of freedom, this is mainly connected to racism, crime and security concerns. Even though the informants saw a wide range of issues that life in Cape Town brings with it, they do not connect these problems directly to their lives.

Only Patrick and Markus speak openly about their mixed feelings about life in Cape Town. Both are linked to the issues of security, crime and racism.. Markus is conflicted in his statements about the job situation in Cape Town. He speaks about how hard it is to find an adequate job as a German in Cape Town but he also emphasizes that the job situation for him and his wife is favourable in Cape Town compared to Germany (Markus, 150924). He tends to say that some aspects are positive in Cape Town and then starts to complain about the life circumstances he faces there. He uses many positive phrases like “nice” (“*schön*”) and “absolutely great” (“*total super*”) without describing further what that means. A similar tendency can also be found in the free listing items.

Life in Cape Town is romanticised and often compared to ‘being on holiday’. Work doesn’t play such a central role and it is more about having a good life. Further

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<sup>78</sup> GO: “Natur”, “Schönheit (Natur)”, “divers”, “Meer”, “Wale”, “Tiere/Wildness” [sic!], “ursprünglich”, “tolle Farben”, “Licht”, “Sonne”, “Wetter”, “Gutes Wetter”

<sup>79</sup> GO: “Luft zum Atmen”, “Space”

<sup>80</sup> GO: “Offenheit”, “Möglichkeiten”, “Unternehmerische Freiheit”

<sup>81</sup> GO: “Gemeinschaft”, “gastfreundliche Menschen”, “freundliche Menschen”

<sup>82</sup> GO: “Freiheit und Gefangensein”

demonstration of this argumentative line can be found in chapter 5.3.4. Benson and O'Reilly (2009b: 10) suggest this too. When remembering their migration story, the story told may vary from the actual facts. The narration about life at the destination is often romanticised, while life in the home society is often portrayed more negatively. The kind of stylistic devices my informants narrated their migration history with is analysed in the following chapter.

## **5.2. Leaving Home and Maintaining Ties – Narratives of Migration**

Where the statistics provide data on how many people leave Germany (see chapter 2.2), anthropological studies provide data on the reasons for migration behind the sheer numbers. This chapter takes a closer look at how the story of migration is told from an emic perspective, in order to understand the constructions of freedom and constriction as antonyms in connection to life in Germany versus life in Cape Town.

### **5.2.1. Ready-made Narrative**

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“And I came to Cape Town, uh, I don't want to say it sort of just fell into my lap, but I hadn't planned at all to go to Cape Town and least of all to stay. I was just in the right place at the right time.”<sup>83</sup> (Julia, 150908)

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It is conspicuous that most of the informants have a pre-built migration narrative when asked about it. In intercommunication with other immigrants, friends, family and locals they have probably spoken about their migration reasons several times. The reasons for why they left Germany and why this was an inevitable and good decision are clearly framed by the informants. The answers came quickly and straightforwardly, without much hesitation in the interview. This is a phenomenon not unique to the study at hand. Korpela (2014: 30) detected a “constant self-reflection” and awareness of self-presentation of the informants as well.

The decision to emigrate is often depicted as something ‘spontaneous’ and ‘easy’ with ‘no responsibilities’ left behind.

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<sup>83</sup> GO: “Und bin nach Kapstadt gekommen, ähm, ich will nicht sagen wie die Jungfrau zum Kinde, aber ich hatte das überhaupt nicht geplant nach Kapstadt zu gehen und dann schon gar nicht zu bleiben. Ich war zur richtigen Zeit am richtigen Ort.” (Julia, 150908)

“When I decided: ok, I’ll stay for longer. Because, like I said, nothing to come back to, no flat to clear et cetera. It was just so easy. And it was the first time I was just drifting, how one says. And of course, this works really well in this city.”<sup>84</sup> (Julia, 150908)

“It was like, that I said: I leave [a German city] and to South Africa. I was just fed up with life in Germany. [...] I just said, I pack up my things and travel around the world for a few years. [...] I sold everything I had. The whole caboodle. Wham and off with the caboodle.”<sup>85</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

The narrative of ‘making a fresh start’ or ‘a new beginnings’, as suggested by O’Reilly and Benson (2009: 3) are not directly used by my informants. The decision for Cape Town is narrated as something ‘random’, ‘by accident’ and ‘getting caught up’. Furthermore, Cape Town is for most informants exchangeable and not glorified as a dream destination. The attraction of Cape Town seems marginal when talking about the migration process itself. Only when talking about why they stayed in Cape Town, are aspects like nature and a better work-life balance named.

### 5.2.2. Self-definition

Only one of the informants named himself “immigrant” without being asked for some kind of self-definition. None of the others mentioned a conceptualisation of their journey at all and struggled with terms when asked. “What do you actually mean by ‘immigrating’? Some are here for generations, others only for two, three years.” (notes from memory, field diary) The notion “immigrant” seemed to have too much of a generalizing sound to it. The act of migration was rather played down and not built up as a life-deciding moment. “No. I just moved. This time not 10, 100 or 1000 km within Germany, but outside of Germany. And one continent further. But I would always say that I ‘moved’.”<sup>86</sup> (Patrick, 150908)

This conforms with the experiences Finkelstein (2005) had when speaking to German migrants in several different countries. Migration is no longer seen as an irrevocable act and migrants rather speak about ‘moving’ than about ‘migration’

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<sup>84</sup> GO: “Wo ich entschieden habe: ok, ich bleib halt länger. Weil wie gesagt, nichts zum Zurückkehren, musste keine Wohnung ausräumen usw. Das war halt echt ganz einfach. Und hab mich zum ersten Mal so treiben lassen, wie man das so sagt, und was natürlich hier super funktioniert in der Stadt.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>85</sup> GO: “Es war nicht so, dass ich gesagt hab, ich geh aus [einer deutschen Stadt] weg und nach Südafrika. Ich hab nur seinerseits vom Leben in Deutschland die Nase voll gehabt. [...] Da hab ich gesagt, ich pack jetzt meine Sachen und reis jetzt für ein paar Jahre um die Welt. [...] Ich hab alles veräußert, alles verkauft was ich hatte. Meinen ganzen Kram. Zack und weg mit dem ganzen Driele.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>86</sup> GO: “Nein. Ich bin umgezogen. Diesmal halt nicht 10, 100 oder 1000 km weit weg in Deutschland. Sondern außerhalb von Deutschland. Und halt einen Kontinent weiter. Aber ich würde immer sagen ich bin ‘umgezogen’.” (Patrick, 150908)



(Finkelstein 2005: 14). Notions like ‘expat’ or ‘diaspora’ did not play a role for the German immigrants I spoke with.

Also the fact of ‘being German’, the feeling of being closely connected to German values or holidays was not an obvious conversation topic. Moosmüller (2002) states that the typical member of an ‘expat community’ doesn’t look for a recollection of a “collective identity“ and “specific cultural characteristics” (Moosmüller 2002: 26). When studying up<sup>87</sup> the orientation of the informants to one’s specific culture is more latent and unintended. The concept of ‘expatriatism’ is closely connected to lifestyle migration, as the individuals who migrate are in a relatively privileged position. Studies about expatriatism can therefore be transferred to the situation of the German immigrants in Tamboerskloof even though this group of German immigrants cannot be described as an ‘expat community’. Beyond ‘being German’ as acted out in a latent and unintended fashion, one can also argue in the following way: as living conditions in Tamboerskloof are in many ways similar to living in Europe, feelings of alienation or social exclusion are limited. As there is no obvious ‘other’ in the direct neighbourhood, one does not have to demarcate oneself. ‘Being German’ essentially plays a major role in a more practical context, namely within the narrative of ‘migration without obligation’.

### **5.2.3. Migration Without Obligation**

The narrative of ‘migration without obligation’ can be detected particularly while talking about the permanency of living in Cape Town. The permanency of being in Cape Town was debateable for all informants. All of them kept their German passports with no intention to get a South African passport. The right to travel freely that comes with a German passport is especially attractive. South African passport holders need visas more often for travelling. The recent Visa Restriction Index by Henley & Partners<sup>88</sup> found that the German passport offers visa-free access to 177 countries and territories and thereby ranks first in international comparison. The South African passport is only on rank 54. The keeping of strong ties to Germany is in total contrast to Korpela’s (2014: 31) study of Western lifestyle migrants in the city of Varanasi, India. She found that some of her informants even adopted an Indian first name in order to act out the narrative of ‘a new beginning’.

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<sup>87</sup> The conceptual framework of “studying up” was coined by Nader (1972).

<sup>88</sup> Henley & Partners. 2016. Visa Restriction Index. Access date: 24.03.2016. <http://www.visaindex.com/#>

Most of the informants' children are born in South Africa. They therefore have both the German and the South African citizenship. They are preferably educated at the DSK where they can achieve a double graduation with the South African matric and the German *Abitur*. All of these children are fluent in German. The proximity to the DSK is one of the main reasons mentioned by the informants as to why they moved to Tamboerskloof (see chapter 4.1.3). Their parents want their children to later have the option to study in Germany in order to have broader possibilities and future prospects. Keeping up fluency in German is an important vehicle for this. These children have never lived in Germany but the possibility to return to the 'left home country' is to be upheld. This option is not only a vague possibility but is also used. Several of the informants' children were currently residing in Germany for either work or studies. Some for only a short period, while others have their permanent residence including a family in Germany by now. Still others actively informed themselves about the German university system. Migration is not an enclosed action but one of many aspects of shaping one's life (Benson and O'Reilly 2009a: 11). "I want to arrange it in such a way that they feel at home wherever. On the bottom line: that they can study in Germany if they want, that they can do it at any rate."<sup>89</sup> (Markus, 150924)

A pastor of one of the German religious communities said that he appraises the situation of most of the Germans living in Cape Town as not very rooted in South Africa and that families with children always orient themselves towards Germany. He sees it in the high fluctuation of church members. He thinks it is the uncertainty of the country which leads people to maintain close ties to their home country. This matches the informants' statements about possible return reasons (see chapter 5.2.4).

Even if constraints in the home society are supposedly left behind with the act of migration, privileges that result from one's origin like easy travelling with a German passport and access to an educational system with a good international reputation are willingly maintained. This proceeding can be observed in several studies on lifestyle migrants (O'Reilly and Benson 2009: 10).

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<sup>89</sup> GO: "Ich will auf jeden Fall es so einrichten, dass sie sich überall zu Hause fühlen. Dass sie im Endeffekt, wenn die mal in Deutschland studieren wollen, dass sie das auf jeden Fall machen." (Markus, 150924)

#### 5.2.4. Possible Return Reasons

Several of the informants said that they would leave South Africa in case the political situation dramatically changed. The BEE programme is one such political decision by which some of the German immigrants feel themselves constrained in their economic opportunities. The BEE programme came up often during conversations when talking about job opportunities in South Africa. Nevertheless, when asked if a political change to the negative is an immanent risk, the persons interviewed answered in the negative. Even without it being an immanent risk, it seems to be something in people's minds (Monika, 150920).

Therefore, Glick-Schiller's concept of transnationalism fits to the German immigrants' conceptualisation of their migration. The migration process is not one-dimensional and remigration even in parts is a potential part of the future (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992).

In a counselling report by the Raphaelswerk, a Christian institution that gives people advice on migration matters, found that some 46% of German emigrants consider returning to Germany, while 36% consider this only after ten or more years<sup>90</sup>.

In some cases, returning to Germany is the only option, as South Africa does not offer a social security system for the immigrants, and pensions are sometimes not high enough for a life in Cape Town after retirement. Health insurance is another issue for elderly people. But the informants cope with this undiscerning. Even if some of the informants had doubts at one point, profound backlashes during their lives in Cape Town were not reported.

"I just don't go to the doctor's. If I die, I just die."<sup>91</sup> (Notes from memory, field diary)

<sup>92</sup> (Joachim, 150929) "My pension is too small to live here. [...] When I retire, I can't live here anymore."

The observations in my study are congruent with what Finkelstein (2005) describes. Even though the publication is journalistic and has a popular perspective, Finkelstein conducted many interviews with all sorts of people during her worldwide research about contemporary German migration. What she described in the section about Germans in South Africa matched my own experiences. Martin Böll, the founder of the

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<sup>90</sup> Raphaelswerk e.V. 2014. Aufgaben und Herausforderungen. Tätigkeitsbericht 2014. Hamburg. Access date: 15.02.2016. [http://www.raphaelswerk.de/cms/contents/raphaels-werk.de/medien/dokumente/taetigkeitsbericht-2/jahresbericht\\_2014\\_digitale\\_fassung.pdf?d=a&f=pdf](http://www.raphaelswerk.de/cms/contents/raphaels-werk.de/medien/dokumente/taetigkeitsbericht-2/jahresbericht_2014_digitale_fassung.pdf?d=a&f=pdf)

<sup>91</sup> GO: "Ich geh einfach nicht zum Arzt. Wenn ich sterbe, dann sterbe ich halt." (Gedächtnisprotokoll, Feldtagebuch)

<sup>92</sup> GO: "Meine Rente ist zu klein, um hier zu leben. [...] Wenn ich im Ruhestand bin, kann ich hier nicht mehr wohnen." (Joachim, 150929)

local association of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany), said in an interview with Finkelstein:

“They [the Germans in South Africa] don’t want to become South Africans, don’t identify themselves with the politics in the host country and probably will leave the country quickly in case the political situation gets worse.” (Böll cited after Finkelstein 2005: 183)<sup>93</sup>

It is astonishing how the answers of German immigrants in South Africa seem to resonate with one another. Especially when one considers that the existence of a closely-knit German community is denied and no evidence for its existence can be detected (see chapter 4.2.2). Furthermore, concepts like ‘diaspora’ or ‘expat community’ do not fit the German immigrants I encountered in Cape Town. The narrative is further encountered in different weblogs and online magazines that specialize in German immigrants in Cape Town or Cape Town ‘fans’ in Germany like *kapstadtmagazin.de* and *kapstadt-entdecken.de*.

### **5.3. Aspiration to Freedom: Self-Realisation, the Good Life and Entrepreneurship**

Chapter 5.2 discussed how German immigrants narrate their story of migration with a focus on why they left their home country and in which cases a return would be possible. This chapter discusses what the informants find in life in South Africa. In the anthology about lifestyle migration by Benson and O’Reilly (2009a: 4), migration incentives were about escaping from monotony and routine as well as from individualism, materialism and consumerism of contemporary lifestyle. The main themes I found during the study were the desire of self-realisation, leading a ‘good life’ and being able to work as an entrepreneur and making an impact. These themes are all an integral part of the more abstract concept of longing for freedom. These themes can also be summarized within the term ‘values’.

Benson and O’Reilly (2009a: 6) characterize migration as aspirational. When contrasting life before and after migration, the life after migration is often depicted with an emphasis on the potential gained for one’s life (Hoey 2005: 593). Korpela (2014) refers to the conceptualisation of individualised current societies to Anthony Giddens, Zygmunt Bauman, Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim. She sees lifestyle migration as a manifestation of individualism. Even if individuals perceive themselves as breaking out

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93 GO: “Sie [die Deutschen in Südafrika] wollen keine Südafrikaner werden, identifizieren sich auch nicht mit der Politik ihres Gastlandes und werden wohl im Falle einer sich verschlechternden politischen Lage schnell wieder das Land verlassen.” (Böll cited after Finkelstein 2005, 183)

of the 'system', Korpela argues that they rather have internalised that the self is responsible for defining oneself and keep the 'system' alive.

“Lifestyle migration can be seen as a ‘natural’ consequence of these developments: it combines the individualised search for the self with economic rationalism (when moving to cheaper countries) and, at the same time, serves the interests of the prevalent order. Instead of making demands on their native societies, they take action by moving abroad.” (Korpela 2014: 38)

### 5.3.1. Conceptualisation of Freedom

“[H]ere you can do whatever you want”<sup>94</sup> (Andreas, 150930) applies to recreational activities, entrepreneurship and personal development. Even though the study of John Price (1972) “The City as a Unit of Study” is over 40 years old by now and located in the USA, he detected a concept of freedom which is similar to that of the German immigrants in Tamboerskloof.. “The philosophy of personal freedom is in fact limited, traditional, and conservative. When people feel that ‘I made mine, now you make yours,’ they depress the development of welfare services, racial integration, public education, and so on. The private sector is advanced at the expense of the public sector.” (Price 1972: 25) The ideal of leading an individual free life at one’s own terms weighs more than living in an equal society with the goal of reducing racial and financial segregation with a welfare system that helps all the people. Individuals assess migration as means of personal agency.

To flee from the constraints of “contemporary life” as Benson and O’Reilly (2009a) describe it works only superficially. Korpela (2014) detected that lifestyle migrants who want to escape contemporary life and consumerism act according to the mechanisms capitalism has generated. According to her, the ethos of being responsible for one’s own life and happiness is carried out to extremes by lifestyle migrants. If they can’t find fulfilment in their lives in the location of their origin, they leave and look for it elsewhere.

“Lifestyle migrants may celebrate the ethos of an escape to extreme freedom but they actually reproduce the prevalent order by acting as the current ethos and the political and economic systems demand. In other words, they have internalised the ethos of individual responsibility and freedom in the Foucauldian sense.” (Korpela 2014: 38)

As described in the previous chapters, constraints and possible backlashes are often downplayed and none of the persons interviewed had experienced a severe catastrophe during his or her life in South Africa. Thus, they never had to rely on the

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<sup>94</sup> GO: “[H]ier kannst du machen was du willst” (Andreas, 150930)

system as could be possible with a severe disease and the accompanying high costs in case the health insurance is not sufficient. “In other words, although lifestyle migrants emphasise their individual agency, their actions are greatly influenced by external factors and structural conditions.” (Korpela 2014: 42).

Another aspect in which lifestyle migrants have to obey the system of global politics and capitalism is that they can only become lifestyle migrants because they are from certain parts of the world. Lifestyle migrants can only be from globally influencing countries as only the precondition of a certain passport and a minimal amount of financial liquidity allows them to migrate as lifestyle migrants (Korpela 2014: 43). Instead of fleeing the system, lifestyle migrants reinforce the rules of contemporary life and manifest inequalities interrelated with their citizenship. Even though some of the informants reflect on their relatively privileged position as Germans in South Africa, the narrative of ‘autonomous control over one’s own life’ prevails, as previously described in chapter 5.2.

### 5.3.2. Entrepreneurship

For most entrepreneurs, it is attractive when they can work in an environment with few regulations, as they can follow their idea without many bureaucratic constrictions. At least half of the informants are active as entrepreneurs with their own business idea or are actively thinking about starting their own business. ‘No permissions’, ‘few regulations’ and a feeling like the ‘Wild Wild West’ are favourable in comparison to entrepreneurship in Germany where many start-up ideas are flat lined by bureaucracy. The entrepreneurial aspirations are not specific for the individuals interviewed in Cape Town but are a line of action typical for lifestyle migrants in order to establish “‘their’ dream businesses or demonstrating their flexibility within the labour market.” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009a: 5). Being an entrepreneur gives the individuals the possibility to exhibit taking the reins of their lives. Whereas the narrative of ‘a new beginning’ is not pivotal for the migration decision, it plays a role with regard to entrepreneurship.

“When I have a look at my vita, I would never have done in Germany what I am doing here now. [...] That I am, as a total career changer, in a line of business I actually don’t know anything about, that simply wouldn’t have been possible.”<sup>95</sup> (Julia, 150908)

The fact that Julia is not as clueless about the trade as she says she is, is again downplayed and the entrepreneurial situation in South Africa enhanced. Julia uses the

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<sup>95</sup> GO: “Wenn ich auf meine Vita gucke. Ich hätte niemals in Deutschland das machen können was ich jetzt hier mache. [...] Dass ich jetzt totaler Quereinsteiger bin in einer Branche von der ich eigentlich überhaupt keine Ahnung habe, das wäre nicht möglich gewesen.” (Julia, 150908)

narrative of the ‘invention of a new self’ (Korpela 2014: 40). Korpela (2014) found this narrative could be outlived particularly in entrepreneurial activities that can be followed in the new destination because of fewer regulations than in the location of origin.

The main argument here is that: “Success is dependent on what I make of the situation.”<sup>96</sup> (Andreas, 150930) Again, the argument makes use of the ethos of the individual being responsible for themselves and being able to make an impact. Andreas has realized this construction in an extensive manner with a whole slew of entrepreneurial undertakings. The other informants act on this construction as well but don’t speak it out as clearly. The individual is not guided by a system but works on their own responsibility. Hence, a source of annoyance is the BEE programme which makes entrepreneurial activity harder for Germans, obliging them to hire a certain quota of black employees. The broad entrepreneurial possibilities are the informants’ fundamental idea of being ‘free’. Entrepreneurship is one aspect for self-realization in close connection to work-life-balance which is called ‘good life’ by the informants.

### **5.3.3. Making an Impact**

The idea of ‘making an impact’ is very rough and uncertain but is nevertheless a popular conversation topic. For instance, Julia speaks a lot about the idea and that she likes it but seldom goes into it deeply. Sven combines the entrepreneurial energy and the impact making. He says: “You can make a difference here. You can move something. On a small scale but also on a bigger one.”<sup>97</sup> (Sven, 151026). For Sven, this goes as far as thinking about getting the South African citizenship as he could only then be politically active in South Africa. He is the only one of my informants who ever speaks of that possibility. Nevertheless, for Sven the down parts of doing so predominate. Still, he sees himself in the position of being responsible in informing other people about politics: “I think of what we have to do, and I try to do so always on a small scale, is to inform others a bit more.”<sup>98</sup> (Sven, 151026)

This kind of responsibility and proactivity can also be detected with Julia, who sees herself as some kind of ‘Robin Hood’, redistributing goods according to the principle: that if the government doesn’t help these people, I do. In Germany Julia sees

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<sup>96</sup> GO: “Und der Erfolg ist abhängig davon wie gut ich das mache.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>97</sup> GO: “Man kann einen Unterschied machen hier. Man kann was bewegen. Im kleineren, aber auch im größeren.” (Sven, 151026)

<sup>98</sup> GO: “Ich glaube, was wir machen müssen, und das versuch ich immer im kleinen Kreise, ein bisschen mehr zu informieren.” (Sven, 151026)

exactly the opposite, something which she calls “stagnancy” (see chapter 5.1.). These are the two positions she takes:

“Especially poverty among the elderly. [...] This is something that strikes me, where I try with my few possibilities, to do something. To make it a bit better. [...] I am a bit of a Robin Hood and redistribute. [...] This is something I would say that strikes me and where I try to reshuffle.”<sup>99</sup> (Julia, 150908)

“This is complaining to high heaven. Everything blusters that it is too much and the taxes are rising and the politics and everything is stupid. But that someone goes out on the street and protests and says: ‘I don’t want it like that, I want it somehow different.’ That doesn’t happen because everyone has such a nice and comfortable cushion, where you of course don’t want to get away from.”<sup>100</sup> (Julia, 150908)

The ‘system’ is the centre of positioning oneself. “[L]ifestyle migrants often present themselves as active agents who have improved their lives by way of their own unmediated choice; they have taken their lives into their own hands by escaping unsatisfactory circumstances and do not expect others (or societies) to act on their behalf.” (Korpela 2014: 27). The pioneering spirit is part of this and is also referred to by the informants (Joachim, 150918; Andreas, 150930).

This kind of personal development and proactivity is fundamental for the idea of leading a free life for the persons interviewed. The German immigrants don’t see their freedom in being socially safe and embedded in a democratic system with free votes but more in being able to decide how they want to lead their lives.

The argument is a lot about being able to do something and not being held back from some kind of system – be it about educational aspects or making experiences yourself.

A reason for being open and full of possibilities lies in the on-going upheaval in South Africa.

“It is still, because of all the things I just talked about, a country in transition. Nothing is settled there, a lot of things will happen, hopefully in a positive way. Creating possibilities with that – for a lot of people, hopefully for me too.”<sup>101</sup> (Sven, 151026)

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<sup>99</sup> GO: “Gerade diese Altersarmut. [...] Das ist was, was mich berührt, wo ich versuchen kann, mit meinen kleinen Möglichkeiten einen Teil davon zu machen. Das ein bisschen besser machen. [...] Ich bin da so ein bisschen der Robin Hood und verteil das so um. [...] Das ist so das, wo ich sag, das berührt mich und ich versuche das so ein bisschen umzustrukturieren.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>100</sup> GO: “Das ist halt genau dieses Jammern auf hohem Niveau. Jeder schimpft, dass ist zu viel und die Steuern gehen hoch und die Politik ist alles doof. Aber das mal wieder jemand auf die Straße geht und protestiert und sagt: ich will das aber nicht, ich will das irgendwie anders. Das passiert nicht, weil jeder so ein schönes komfortables Polster hat, wo man natürlich nicht so richtig weg will.” (Julia, 150908)

<sup>101</sup> GO: “Es ist immer noch, auf Grund all der Sachen, die ich grade gesagt habe, ein Land, dass immer noch am Aufbruch ist. Da ist noch nichts gesettelt, da wird noch viel passieren, hoffentlich positiv. Möglichkeiten dadurch, die sich dadurch eröffnen. Für viele Menschen, für mich hoffentlich auch.” (Sven, 151026)



The question that lies at hand is where the incentive for ‘making an impact’ comes from. Is it about helping South African society to improve, or is it an end in itself to meet one’s requirements for a ‘good life’?

#### 5.3.4. The Good Life

Leading a ‘good life’ is another component of personal development and feeling free. The ‘good’ stands here for meaning making, fulfilment and self-respect (Hoey 2005: 592). The ‘good life’ describes the search for meaning, authenticity and self-fulfilment which encompasses the escape from “the shallowness, individualism, risk and insecurity of contemporary (Western) lifestyle” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009a: 3). Key for that is also a better work-life balance from which they themselves and their families profit (Benson and O’Reilly 2009a: 5; Hoey 2005).

The informants sometimes compare life in Cape Town to being on a constant holiday with some working periods in between. The negative aspects of tourism or the behaviour of tourists is not broached as an issue in conversation, unlike Benson and O’Reilly (2009b: 614) describe.

“This is balm for the soul.”<sup>102</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

“Because I think a lot less about the things that I do, what I don’t do, as I did in Germany. This means it is a bit like a holiday.”<sup>103</sup> (Patrick, 150908)

“There are so many possibilities to go somewhere nice within one or two hours if you want to. The distance to work is short and very nice. Not much stress. After work you can relax again quickly.”<sup>104</sup> (Markus, 150924)

The recreational factor is also in combination with things like having domestic helpers which is much more common and affordable in South Africa than it is in Germany. “You can concentrate more on things. That means we can do things that are actually fun to us.”<sup>105</sup> (Markus, 150924).

Another aspect of the ‘good life’ is being close to nature. When talking about ‘beauty’ the informants talk often about nature. “You can see to the horizon, the road goes

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<sup>102</sup> GO: “Das ist auch ganz super für die Seele.” (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>103</sup> GO: “Weil ich viel weniger über die Dinge nachdenke, was ich tue, was ich nicht tue, als ich es in Deutschland gemacht habe. Das heißt, ein bisschen wie im Urlaub.” (Patrick, 150908)

<sup>104</sup> GO: “Es gibt viele Möglichkeiten innerhalb von ein, zwei Stunden irgendwo schön hinzufahren, wenn man will. Der Weg zur Arbeit ist sehr kurz und sehr schön. Wenig Stress. Nach der Arbeit ist man schnell wieder, kann man schnell wieder abschalten.” (Markus, 150924)

<sup>105</sup> GO: “Du kannst dich halt mehr auf Sachen konzentrieren. [...] Das heißt, dass wir Sachen machen, die uns auch Spaß machen.” (Markus, 150924)

to the horizon, there is just nothing. No big trees, only a few bushes. It is a real meditation to drive down the road.”<sup>106</sup> (Andreas, 150930).

The friendliness of the people is also often mentioned when the informants talk about what they appreciate about life in Cape Town. But further in the conversation it is seldom faced as a topic and if so, only superficially.

Benson and Osbalidston (2014) argue that class structures and practices are kept up after migration. Migration can also lead to social rise, as this case study and that of Korpela (2014) show. After migration, individuals formerly belonging to a middle class rise up and form some kind of elite in their new destination. They can afford bigger houses in better neighbourhoods and have access to recreational activities that are more expensive and harder to reach in Germany. The act of migration transcribes in this case privileges formerly owned by a local elite to a foreign middle class (Korpela 2014: 43). The individuals of the study at hand benefit from unequal structures in South Africa and the access to European money.

#### **5.4. Dealing with Constrictions in South Africa**

As laid down in chapter 5.1, Germany is remembered as a constrictive place, whereas Cape Town fulfils the aspiration to freedom. The perfect image of Cape Town as a place of freedom and living a ‘good life’ is however constricted in many ways itself. The following chapter analyses this contradiction. In the interviews, several topics arose which constricted the informants in their lives in South Africa or which the informants perceived as massive problems in South Africa. These topics are about belonging, discontent with the government’s action, racism between the black and white parts of society, financial concerns and prosperity, the job situation, dealing with the ‘South African mentality’ and security issues. The topics of belonging, financial concerns and security issues are discussed in greater detail as these concern the German immigrants in a very direct manner. It is striking how constraints in South Africa are not depicted as something entirely negative but more as challenging and empowering. “Overcoming the obstacles in their way, their difficulties at adapting to life in the destination are presented positively.” (Benson and O’Reilly 2009a: 12).

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<sup>106</sup> GO: “Du kannst bis zum Horizont sehen, bis zum Horizont die Straße, da ist nichts. Keine hohen Bäume, so ein bisschen Büsche. Das ist ne richtige Meditation, die Straße zu fahren.” (Andreas, 150930)

#### **5.4.1. Belonging**

One issue that arose when speaking about their lives in South Africa was the theme of ‘belonging’. For Julia, having a family and children has been a reason for considering a return to Germany.

“This was the first time the thing: do you want that? Or rather: what do you want in life? I knew always that I want to have a family and have children. This is important to me. And I had the impression I couldn’t have that here in Cape Town.”<sup>107</sup> (Julia, 150908)

Furthermore, friendships that developed in South Africa seem to have less importance than friendships back home. The informants still have close German friends even after decades in South Africa. Friendships in Cape Town focus more on the people they meet via their children and people are more concerned with their own families.

The aspect of family and friends is closely connected to a feeling of ‘belonging’. A strategy to overcome the feeling of ‘not belonging’ is starting a family. The importance of an own family seems to grow for the immigrants.

To get to know more about the social networks of the German immigrants, how they consider their friends in South Africa and how they consider their friends in Germany, what kind of connection they have to these friends and if these friends also have a German background, would be interesting to find out. The answers the informants gave in interviews were not very satisfying, and I had the impression that the statements were not very reliable. Informants said they also have other friends than only German friends but as stated above, most of them are concentrated within their family. Only one of the informants had a South African spouse.

O’Reilly has similar observations. She describes how many immigrants suffer from the loss of home and family when they are abroad, leading to loneliness even under the pleasant circumstances of warm weather, a feeling of freedom and relaxation (O’Reilly 2014: 2).

#### **5.4.2. Visa Regulations and the Financial Situation**

Visa regulations are another topic with which my informants had to struggle in various ways. Even though the legal situation of getting a permanent residence is a real struggle for many German immigrants, leading to some of them not having been to Germany in years, it is not that much picked out as a central theme. When asking about

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<sup>107</sup> GO: “Das war zum ersten Mal der Punkt: willst du das? Bzw. was möchtest du im Leben? Ich wusste immer, ich will Familie und ich will Kinder. Und das ist mir wichtig. Und ich hatte das Gefühl, dass ich das hier in Kapstadt nicht kann.” (Julia, 150908)

it, informants told me long stories about their quarrelling with officials and the high financial costs involved.

The way in which the informants think about their financial situation is also very remarkable. On the one hand, they live in a very prosperous neighbourhood, and on the other hand they all have the feeling of financial constraints. Their lives in relative luxury with spacious, modern houses in affluent neighbourhoods can only be afforded because of the lower living expenses and real estate prices (Benson and O'Reilly 2009b: 619). This relative affluence doesn't mislead the informants over the uncertainty that life in South Africa brings with it. One explanation is the lack of social security in South Africa. "If I am moaning here and say: everything is really bad, then it is really bad. Then it really hurts."<sup>108</sup> (Julia, 150908)

Others rate their advantageous financial situation with having 'money from abroad' and therefore are able to afford more than people who work locally. This also fits to the feeling of being on holiday. Holiday often has the same feel to it: being able to afford more at the holiday-site than at home. Simply being a foreigner from a wealthy country puts people in an advantageous position.

#### **5.4.3. The South African 'Mentality' and Government**

Dealing with some kind of perceived South African 'mentality' is another issue German immigrants face, especially during the beginning phase of their lives in Cape Town. "What you really have to adjust to, is that life proceeds to a different pace here. You simply don't have the same reliability."<sup>109</sup> (Andreas, 150930). But even with 'annoying' aspects, the German immigrants find a positive coping strategy. Some see it as a challenge for becoming more patient. "It was a real learning curve for me [sic!]."<sup>110</sup> (Andreas, 150930)

Other aspects of the mentality are perceived as an enrichment, like the 'friendliness' of people and being 'not fake'. "The openness of people, I think that people here are simply more open, friendlier. They smile, say hello. They are somehow there, very present."<sup>111</sup> (Julia, 150908)

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<sup>108</sup> GO: "Und ich jammer hier eben, wenn ich jammer und sage: das ist alles scheiße, dann ist es wirklich auch scheiße. Dann tut das richtig weh." (Julia, 150908)

<sup>109</sup> GO: "Was man, woran man sich sehr gewöhnen muss, ist dass Uhren anders ticken hier als bei uns daheim. Dass man einfach nicht die selbe Zuverlässigkeit hat." (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>110</sup> GO: "Das war also für mich ne echte, da war, das war ne Lernkurve." (Andreas, 150930)

<sup>111</sup> GO: "Dann die Offenheit, ich finde die Leute hier sind einfach offener, freundlicher, die lächeln, die sagen hallo. Die sind irgendwie da, die sind präsent." (Julia, 150908)

It is striking how informants evaluate the role of the government in South Africa. They claim for themselves to have their lives in their own hands and as proactive, as well as stating that interference in Germany was always too much for them. When talking about the current political situation and issues of racism, inequality and crime, however, they blame the South African government for not interfering enough.

“But I also find it incredible that the government doesn’t do anything about it [the poverty]. I mean, they want to have tourists here, but they just don’t do anything for their own people. I can’t really believe it.”<sup>112</sup> (Nadine, 150917)

This shows a struggle the informants have while living in Cape Town. A strategy of coping with this conflicting situation does not yet seem to have been found.

#### **5.4.4. Safety**

The most important and present point of constriction is the safety measures that most people in South Africa use. The perception of being at risk of becoming a crime victim and the actual crime statistics do differ. Crime statistics suggest that becoming a victim of violent crime or murder is more probably when in a poor neighbourhood. Middle-class neighbourhoods are more prone to robberies, car-jacking and theft of private property<sup>113</sup>. These numbers have increased, with an average of 53 households being robbed each day in 2013/2014<sup>114</sup>. In South Africa, Cape Town has the highest recorded rate of murders and it is twice as likely to become a victim in Cape Town than in Johannesburg or Pretoria<sup>115</sup>. The important aspect here is that the murders only take place in certain areas. It is disproportionately unlikely to become a murder victim in other areas. Low-income areas are most affected by violent crime<sup>116</sup>.

But as good as statistics may be, the actual feeling of ‘being safe’ cannot be switched on or off by statistics. The fear of becoming a crime victim is more important to the satisfaction with one’s living environment than the actual crime rates (Skifter Andersen 2008: 83). I had a haunting feeling during my fieldwork, even though I knew it was unlikely to get robbed or to become a victim of burglary when keeping some safety measures. Reasons for this for me personally were ‘horror stories’ told by acquaintances, the number of safety precautions recommended and visible burglar resistance strategies

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<sup>112</sup> GO: “Aber ich find das auch krass, dass die Regierung da auch nichts macht [gegen die Armut]. Ich mein, die wollen die Touristen haben, aber tun halt nichts für ihr Volk so. Das find ich auch ein bisschen hart.” (Nadine, 150917)

<sup>113</sup> South African Police Service. 2015.

<sup>114</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2012.

<sup>115</sup> South African Police Service. 2015.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

in the streets, as well as the lack of people in the streets. This feeling kept me from leisure activities and also restricted me while conducting my fieldwork, especially the walks through the neighbourhood. The perception of feeling safe has an impact on how to move around town. I increasingly felt more insecure the more people asked me in the streets whether I was alright, just because I was walking. Sometimes I was even prevented from walking a certain route because they felt it was “unsafe”.

The Northern and the Western Cape had the highest rates of people being prevented from walking to work or to town due to an unsafe feeling<sup>117</sup>. This aspect is important, as a certain level of wealth is required for having a choice between walking, public or private transportation to work and for installing security measures. For instance, in the Western Cape the percentage of people who do not use public transportation due to fear is the highest in South Africa (24,2%)<sup>118</sup>.

One option of perceiving the crime in Cape Town is seeing it as something in the manner of: “That is just how it is.” The informants speak about “habitualised crime” (“*habitualisiertes Verbrechen*”), “criminalised society” (“*kriminallisierte Gesellschaft*”) and “organised crime” (“*organisiertes Verbrechen*”).

“This is really not nice. And then you don’t feel safe anymore in your own house. And you ask yourself: what is this? Why? And it has wider repercussions. When one person starts talking: ‘Yes, they broke into our house and this and that.’ Then you perk up your ears and then you hear it from a lot of people.”<sup>119</sup> (Joachim, 150929)

In connection with crime, some of the informants also tend to romanticise the situation in Germany:

“It is different than at home [in Germany]. At home the car is in front of the door with the keys inside. And our front door is always open. This is at home in Germany. Here it is different. Here you always have to check everything.”<sup>120</sup> (Markus, 150924)

Others, especially those who have been in South Africa for a long time, think that crime in Germany has also increased and is not a genuine problem of life in South Africa but an increasing issue everywhere.

The informants have two main attempts to explain the high crime rates which are closely connected but still differ in their argumentative string. One is about poverty and the ongoing racism in the country, while the other one is about inequality and the feelings

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<sup>117</sup> Statistics South Africa. 2012. 12.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid. 13.

<sup>119</sup> GO: “Das ist dann nicht schön. Dann fühlst du dich nicht mehr sehr sicher in deinem Haus. Und fragst, was ist das? Warum? Das zieht dann ja weitere Kreise. Wenn einer anfängt zu erzählen, ja bei uns haben sie eingebrochen oder das und das gemacht. Du spitzt die Ohren, dann hörst du von vielen.” (Joachim, 150929)

<sup>120</sup> GO: “Das ist anders als bei uns daheim [in Deutschland]. Zuhause steht das Auto vor der Tür mit dem Schlüssel im Wagen. Und unsre Haustür ist immer offen. Das ist jetzt bei uns zu Hause in Deutschland. Hier ist [es] anders. Hier musst du halt immer alles abchecken.” (Markus, 150924)

of unjust treatment by official institutions. Poverty and racism are the two main approaches for explaining crime. In several informal conversations people told me that they see a connection between ‘having construction workers in the neighbourhood’ and ‘home robberies’. The argument that construction workers spy on the houses and the valuables as well as the safety measurements around the house, is often brought forward as an argument. And then it is either the construction workers themselves who do the robbery or they get some extra money by giving gangs a clue as to where to rob a house. Reasons for this can be low payments in the main job, or others think it is greed especially nurtured by the high inequality of living standards in South Africa.

“There is a lot of construction and renovation going on in the area. Then people think: ‘Yes, it’s the workers, they do it.’ And I think: ‘No, the workers certainly don’t. Because the worker has a job and an income. And therefore, a livelihood. This kind of crime is not done by people with a regular employment. These are different guys. Either it is really organized, then they belong to a gang.”<sup>121</sup> (Joachim, 150929)

Julia’s statement depicts how the perception of being involved in a crime interacts with the action taken:

“Probably because it hasn’t concerned me like that privately. You must not forget that you just walk very seldom around because you have public transportation, I go home by bus [from work] and then I walk. But the rest you just go by car. And like that we don’t notice it that much. And yes, our house was broken into and things were gone. But I was never threatened myself.”<sup>122</sup> (Julia, 150908)

Even though her house was robbed while she was at home, she says, she has never been threatened herself. She perceives the robbery according to the principle: ‘What the eye doesn’t see, the heart doesn’t grieve over.’ And a practice of maintaining this situation is the way she moves around. She walks to work regularly when it is daytime (the distance is quite short), but for all other routes she prefers using the car and hence being further away from the possibility of becoming a victim of crime.

Nearly all of the informants broach the issue of crime but push away the connection of crime from themselves. They actively distance it from themselves and dismiss the reality of crime they perceived personally, as long as it is only damage of property and no real threat in terms of being threatened with a gun or knife. Korpela

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<sup>121</sup> GO: “Es ist ziemlich viel Bau- und Renovationsarbeit in der Umgebung. Dann denken Leute ja, dann sind die Arbeiter, und die machen das. Und ich denke: Nein, die Arbeiter bestimmt nicht. Weil der Arbeiter, der hat Arbeit, der hat Einkommen. Und damit auch ein Auskommen. Diese Art Kriminalität wird nicht von Leuten verübt, die eine feste Anstellung haben. Das sind andere Typen. Entweder es ist wirklich organisiert, dann gehören sie zu einer Gang.” (Joachim, 150929)

<sup>122</sup> GO: “Aber wahrscheinlich, weil mir das privat noch nicht so nah gekommen ist wie da. Also du darfst halt auch nicht vergessen, hier läufst du eben selten draußen rum, weil es die öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel gibt es zwar, aber, ich fahr halt mit dem Bus nach Hause [von der Arbeit] und dann lauf nach Hause und gut ist. Den Rest macht man irgendwie, oder machen wir viel mit dem Auto. Damit kriegen wir das nicht so mit. Und ja, bei uns ist auch eingebrochen worden zu Hause und auch Sachen weg. Aber ich bin eben noch nie selber bedroht worden.” (Julia, 150908)

(2014: 32) describes the handling of security issues in her own case study as follows: “They obviously know it can be dangerous but being concerned about safety does not fit with the discourse of freedom.”

## 6. Summary and Outlook

In the end, the initial question is answered: How *do* German immigrants represent and practice their notion of freedom and constriction? The previous chapters have shown that the differentiation between the aspiration for freedom and feelings of constriction often go hand in hand, as the migration narratives are very complex. Informants are in a constant struggle of how to cope with inconsistencies in their own narratives. This shows that they are very self-aware of their situation but that they are still working on how to cope with the contradictions in their lives. Both life in Germany and life in Cape Town provide aspects of freedom and constriction at the same time. A tendency to value life in Germany as more negative and life in Cape Town as positive can however be detected. Life in Cape Town is a vehicle to concentrate on the more positive, hence ‘free’ aspects of life. Constrictions are experienced and talked about but most often on a more general level. Personal stories focus much more on the positive aspects of life the informants experience since they are living in South Africa. Stories about failing or real backlashes during life in South Africa are not mentioned? The option of returning to Germany or of leaving South Africa for another destination are nevertheless always kept in mind.

I see a constant point of tension in the expectations the informants have towards the German and South African State. On the one hand, they argue that Germany was too “cramped” for them with not enough room, mainly because of the strong interference by the State. On the other hand, informants criticize the situation in South Africa as the fault of the government that doesn’t interfere and regulate enough to improve the living conditions for the majority of people living in South Africa. Since they benefit from being part of the German system, they do not want to cut the cord. The historical background of South Africa does not play a role for the informants. The pursuit for making the best of one’s own life is clearly in the foreground with only a loose connection to South Africa or Cape Town as a destination.

This study has shown how the German immigrants use their chosen residential area to realize their ideals and values about life, especially with regard to what they evaluate as ‘free’. The geographical location promotes ideas of a life close to nature and



at the same time provides all amenities for making a good living, hence, what is often referred to as a good work-life balance. Neighbourhood satisfaction and satisfaction with one's life are thereby in close connection. Tamboerskloof as a neighbourhood provides enough space for realizing this.

In answering the research question, the concept of lifestyle migration proved as very helpful. It is a very open concept, leaving enough room for the different situations people who decide to migrate deal with. The concept comprises the idea of migration as an ongoing and not completed process, as well as non-economic and non-hazardous reasons for migration. I see it as a bit problematic that 'lifestyle' has a slightly hedonistic touch, as I wouldn't assess the migration decision of my informants as purely hedonistic. In fact, they are seizing their chances and using the opportunities they have in the best way they can. With this limitation, I value the concept of lifestyle migration as an important research field in which to analyse migration patterns.

The research at hand has offered another perspective on migration and issues that migrants are concerned with. It is a first impression on contemporary lifestyle migration of Germans in South Africa. Moreover, it has opened up a row of further research aspects. As Tamboerskloof seems to have a high level of community actions like the Sunday market at Erf81 and the TBK Watch, it would be interesting to investigate further on why people take the initiative, which aspects are convenient for taking action and what this does for the internal and external reputation of the neighbourhood. This aspect is especially interesting as urban geography research so far has concentrated more on deprived neighbourhoods and neighbourhood organisation is more likely to be found in neighbourhoods with a negative reputation (Permentier, van Ham, and Bolt 2007).

Furthermore, it would be interesting to focus on Neighbourhood Watches in order to get an idea of how safe people feel and in which way they organise to increase their feelings of safety. In this connection, it would also be interesting to see whether people do feel safer with more police/security patrolling the streets, or whether this increases one's fear as one starts to think about being unsafe in the first place.

Another point of further investigation could be the neighbourhood reputation of certain neighbourhoods like Tamboerskloof with a high number of German residents following the Skifter Andersen (2008) theory of image and reputation. Through informal colloquy with Germans living in other parts of Cape Town, it became clear that the inside and outside views of Tamboerskloof's reputation are not necessarily congruent.

In conclusion, this research has offered a view on migration that not only problematizes migration but which also opens up positive developments for individuals when migrating. The research has shown that migration is not the pivotal element of the immigrants' personality but only one aspect of many that influences their lives. This is not only true for the more privileged migration groups as in this study but also for other groups of migrants. This awareness should be transferred to the recent debate in the European Union of how to deal with refugees and how asylum laws should be enacted. The perception of people who have sought refuge at some point in their lives should protrude this single aspect. Future research could focus more on the transformational aspects of migration for individuals and for the societies from which they come.

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### **Personally Conducted Interviews**

Andreas (20151030), Cape Town, September 30, 2015.

Joachim (20150918), Cape Town, September 18, 2015.

Joachim (20150929), Cape Town, September 29, 2015.

Julia (20150908), Cape Town, September 08, 2015.

Julia (20150912), Cape Town, September 12, 2015.

Julia (20150927), Cape Town, September 27, 2015.

Markus (20150924), Cape Town, September 24, 2015.

Monika (20150920), Cape Town, September 20, 2015.

Nadine (20150917), Cape Town, September 17, 2015.

Nils (20151026), Cape Town, October 26, 2015.

Patrick (20150908), Cape Town, September 08, 2015.

Patrick (20150922), Cape Town, September 22, 2015.

## 8. Appendix

### 8.1. Field Manual (German)

Statistische Informationen:

1. Name?
2. Alter?
3. Wie lange wohnst du bereits in Kapstadt?
4. Seit wann wohnst du nicht mehr in Deutschland?
5. Wie kam es zum Umzug nach Kapstadt? (Veränderungen in Job, Familie etc.)
6. Was ist dein Beruf in Kapstadt/Was war dein Beruf in Deutschland?
7. Ausbildung?
8. Familienstand?

Fragen zur Nachbarschaft:

1. Wie kommt es, dass du in Garden/TBK wohnst?
2. Wie gefällt es dir?
3. Wie wohnst du hier?
4. Hast du vorher schon viel über das Viertel gewusst? Was?
5. Welches Image haben die Viertel in Kapstadt? Speziell TBK?
6. Hast du viel Kontakt zu anderen Deutschen?
7. Willst du zurück nach Deutschland?
8. Was gefällt dir an Kapstadt?
9. Wo siehst du Probleme in Kapstadt?
10. Was vermisst du an Deutschland?
11. Was würdest du an Kapstadt vermissen?

Leben in Deutschland:

1. Denke an dein Leben in Deutschland zurück. Bist du oft umgezogen?
2. Wie hast du gewohnt?
3. Eigenes Haus oder Mietwohnung?

Leben als Auswanderer:

1. Wie würdest du deinen eigenen Status in Südafrika bezeichnen? (Bspw. Auswanderer, Expat, Deutscher in Kapstadt etc.)
2. Mit welchen "deutschen" Eigenschaften hattest du schon Probleme hier in Kapstadt?
3. *Alternativ*: Wie ist es hier in Kapstadt zu arbeiten? Wie kommst du mit den Kollegen zurecht?
4. Bist du in Vereinen engagiert? Was sind dort für Leute?
5. Was für ein Gefühl hast du: Wie reagieren die Menschen im Ausland auf Deutsche?
6. Erfährst du eine besondere Wertschätzung oder Ressentiments, weil du Deutscher bist?



## **8.2. Vitas of the Main Informants**

### **Joachim**

Joachim came to South Africa in 1972 and worked as engineer in Johannesburg for a German company. He returned to Europe in order to work and study in Switzerland. In 1980, he moved back to South Africa together with his wife to work as a pastor in Johannesburg and Durban and has been located in Cape Town since 2006. Together with his wife he has four adult children. Some of them are living in South Africa, some in Europe.

### **Monika**

Monika followed her husband to Cape Town in 1978. Her husband came as an entrepreneur to Cape Town and is still self-employed. They moved to Tamboerskloof over twenty years ago and own the house they are living in. They have two adult children, a son and a daughter. The daughter still lives in Cape Town. Their son moved to Germany.

### **Sven**

Sven came to Johannesburg in 1987. Before that, he worked and lived in England and France. After a short stop back in Germany, he moved to Cape Town where he met his German wife. They have two children who still live at home. Sven is an entrepreneur.

### **Andreas**

Andreas was a successful businessman in Germany before he decided to sell all of his belongings and travel the world. He travelled for some years and lived in different parts of the world. After a short stopover back in Germany, he moved to Cape Town in 1991. Today he is a family man with different entrepreneurial activities on the side.

### **Markus**

During an internship in Cape Town, Markus got to know his present wife. Markus is the only one of the informants who is married to a South African. He is the father of a small boy. Before moving to South Africa, Markus lived in other parts of the world. In comparison, Cape Town is not his dream destination but for now he considers Cape Town as the best place for him and his family.

### **Julia**

The first time Julia left her home city she moved not within Germany but from a big German city to Cape Town. She never anticipated staying but is now a shop owner with German clientele and is mother of two children. She came to Cape Town in 2008.

### **Patrick**

Patrick came to Cape Town as an intern in July 2015. After three months, he had to return to Germany as his tourist visa would not allow him to stay any longer. As soon as possible he returned to Cape Town and is currently still living there. His future plans for staying in Cape Town or moving back to Germany are unsure.

### **Nadine**

Nadine came to Cape Town as an intern in August 2015 to work for a German customer service. She wants to go back to Germany in a few months but has no concrete date of returning. Nadine travels a lot and enjoys visiting different parts of the world.



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**Eine südwest-chinesische Wirtschaftsweise im Wandel**
- HEFT 2**            **ANNIKA WIEKHORST 2002**  
**Die Verwendung von Pflanzen in der traditionellen Medizin bei drei Baka**  
**Gruppen in Südost Kamerun**
- HEFT 3**            **IRENE HILGERS 2002**  
**Transformationsprozeß im Norden Kirgistans**  
**Sozio-ökonomischer Wandel am Beispiel eines Dorfes**
- HEFT 4**            **BRITTA FUCHS 2002**  
**Wenn der Muezzin rufen will**  
**Diskurse über ein Moscheebauprojekt im Kölner Stadtteil Chorweiler**
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**Auswirkungen der Sans Papiers-Problematik auf den Alltag**  
**afrikanischer Migranten in Pariser Wohnheimen (Foyers)**
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**Das Beispiel der rentierzüchtenden Chanty und Nentsy in**  
**Nordwestsibirien**
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**Die Wasserwirtschaft im südmarokkanischen Dratal im Spannungsfeld**  
**von lokaler und staatlicher Ressourcenkontrolle**
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**Genese und Wandel von Festbräuchen und Ritualen**  
**in Deutschland von 1933 bis 1945**
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**Gartenbau der Himba**  
**Ackerbauliche Bodennutzung einer pastoralnomadischen Gruppe im**  
**Nordwesten Namibias und Wandel von Festbräuchen und Ritualen**
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**Ressourcenmanagement und kollektives Handeln**  
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**Der Alcalde Auxiliar als lokale Autorität in einer indigenen Gemeinde**  
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**Der Yaqona-Markt in Fidschi**  
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**"Community Participation" and "Peer Education"**  
**A critique of key-concepts in HIV/AIDS prevention in Swaziland**

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**Weide, Wasser, Wild.**  
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