Karachika !

Nigerian Movies and Nigerian Migrants in the "Glocal City". The Case of Lubumbashi

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By Prof. Germain Ngoie Tshibambe

Department of International Relations

Faculty of Social, Political and Administrative Science

University of Lubumbashi/Katanga

Democratic Republic of Congo

Introduction

Lubumbashi has a long tradition in being a cosmopolitan city. This tradition originates from the colonial era when the city was built up as there was the presence of numerous minerals that needed manpower in order to be exploited. At its inception, Lubumbashi was fed by migratory influxes. While speaking about the cosmopolitan city, it is worth recalling the deep meaning we attach to the adjective cosmopolitan. This term deriving from cosmopolitanism that is the Greek conjunction of 'world' (cosmos) and 'city' (polis) "is about reaching out across cultural differences through dialogue, aesthetic enjoyment, and respect; of living together with difference. It is also about the cosmopolitan right to abide any hospitality in strange lands and, alongside that, the urgent need to devise ways of living together in peace in the international community" (Werbner, 2008: 2).

With the same dynamics as an urban space, Lubumbashi becomes more and more a "glocal city". By this way, we want to account for the continuity Lubumbashi is displaying on the level of migration influxes and also its connectivity to the global economy. With the term 'glocal city', we want to introduce some insights so as to complete what Saskia Sassen attributes to the 'global city'. According to Sassen (2001: xviii-xxii), the 'global city' as a reality comes from the intricate forces of the economic globalization and the global control that produce a new urban spatiality "which pivots both on cross-border networks and on territorial locations with massive concentrations of resources." The complexity of an urban space that is a global city stems from economic practices induced by globalization. This is true, but it seems that Sassen's standpoint on the global city neglects to help grasping how in the periphery, spaces are linked to this global system and the ways these connected spaces are shaping surreptitiously and impacting their neighboring spaces which are close to them but also very far from the core of the global connectedness. The circulation of information and the effects of the global culture unfold their impact on these peripheral urban spaces. Therefore with the notion of the 'glocal city', we want to put emphasis on these postcolonial urban spaces featured by the rampant crisis within which life and all the contradictions of modernity are lived directly and indirectly in the context of hopes, dreams and grievances.

As a glocal city, Lubumbashi continues to attract peoples from everywhere. The demographic landscape of Lubumbashi is shaped by the mixing of nationals and of migrants as well. Among the new comer migrants, we can cite the case of Nigerians who become more and more visible. While their visibility is growing step by step, Nigerians' signature is already written in the representation of surrounding local communities thanks to ''Karachika'' series movies which are the offspring of Nollywood. Does Nollywood get an impact on the Congolese population living in Lubumbashi? Answering such a question will open up windows of understanding the new ways of grasping in the era of globalization the cultural influences shaping imaginaries of people and the emergence of imagined communities that are constitutive of the transnational frames. And according to our approach, "the transnational is not just about immigrants. It is the space increasingly inhabited by us all" (Brydon, 2004: 1). As such, viewing transnational implies going beyond the binary vision opposing "them" and "us"; instead we are to consider both "them" and "us" at the same time. Nigerian video movies become more and more constitutive parts of the imaginaries of Lubumbashi

population caught up by the postcolonial crisis. The convergence of the aesthetics of Nigerian movies and the hopes and frustrations of Lubumbashi inhabitants is part of the intricate process of creating a shared imagined community induced by "the minor transnational practice" (Adejunmobi, 2007). The popularity of Nigerian video films comes to create a new space competing with the current influence spread by the "cultural imperialism" (Shah and Tajima, 2008: 25) and on the local television screens the monopole era when Western and US movies were the sole sources of entertainment alone is over. Everyday popular culture in Lubumbashi is kept active by Nollywood more than by Hollywood.

This paper aims at investigating the impact of Nollywood movies on the dialogue between Lubumbashi people and Nigerian migrants insofar as these films become predominant as popular video films attracting and shaping the imaginaries of Lubumbashi population. By grasping this impact, we want to be led by the first hypothesis according to which we consider the influence and the popularity of the Nigerian movies as a strategic mode of interactions paving the way for an indirect dialogue between imagined Nigerians, concrete Nigerians and Lubumbashi population. Beyond this imagined dialogue, we will analyze Nigerian migrants' agency as they come to impose their visibility in this city. Nigerian migrants do not sell only Nollywood video films, they get specific economic niche which helps them to create homes and livelihoods within Lubumbashi. In considering their main economic activities, we will try to understand the resources they use in order to maintain their business in creating contacts here and there and last we will look at the core aspect of the strategy Nigerian migrants perform so as to realize their integration in Lubumbashi. The second hypothesis is that the predominance of the informal economic activities in Lubumbashi creates a specific context through which Nigerian business agency unfolds. The data for this paper have been collected during a three year research conducted in Lubumbashi (2008-2010). Live stories and interviews with Nigerian migrants and Congolese as well are the main methods used in gathering information on this research. Our approach is essentially qualitative even though we used a snow-ball sampling for gathering some data. In the first section, we will define some core concepts; in the second section, we will analyze the Nigerian migrants' profile, their agency and integration strategy; the third section presents a constructivist approach of understanding local perception of Nigerians as they are living here.

1. Defining concepts: minor transnationalism and integration

The theoretical framework of this paper turns around two broad themes which get passionate controversies. The first theme refers to globalization and culture whereas the second theme relates to migration. Discussions on globalization and culture tend to focus on varying perspectives of understanding the cultural imperialism the central aspect of which is the "notion of a predominantly Western-dominated one-way flow of information" (Shah and Tajima, 2008: 23). Schiller (1976) described cultural imperialism as "the sum of the process by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system" (1976: 9). Schiller (1976: 21) goes on to assert that cultural institutions of the West, including the mass media, are part of a world capitalist system and serve as the "ideologically

supportive informational infrastructure of the modern world system's core – the multinational corporations." The intricate task of the cultural institutions is about to create and deliver consumers to the multinational corporations. It is worth recalling that the purpose of globally distributed cultural products from the West aims at "creating packaged audiences whose loyalties are tied to brand-named products and whose understanding of social reality is mediated through a sale of commodity satisfaction" (Schiller, 1976: 23). The relationship so described herein is an imperialistic one in so far as the powerful states impose their cultural power upon weaker states with little or no reciprocation.

Insofar as the circulation of information is concerned, cultural imperialism puts stress on the one-way flow of information circulation that lets flow the Western-dominated ways of thinking and viewing things. Debates aroused and conflicting perspectives came to emphasize a kind of binary articulation of the various forms of the 'global culture' within which it needs to speak about 'dominant culture' versus local 'resistance' (Larkin, 1997: 408). To summarize these debates, suffice to recall Frederic Jameson who distinguished what he called the more and the less optimistic interpretations of globalization offered by scholarly observers. "Some theorists celebrated a new eclecticism and 'hybridity' in cultural production around the world as different societies interacted with each other and borrowed from each other. Yet other theorists decried a growing standardization of cultural production as dominant centers flooded the world with their products and shut out less powerful voices" (Adejunmobi, 2007: 2). Anyway, the in-between standpoint came to acknowledge the tension between the ''utopic and dystopic'' evaluations of the impact of globalization on cultural production (Lionnet and Shih cited by Adejunmobi, 2007: 2). The term "minor transnationalism" as it is used tries to take into account the "awareness and recognition of the creative interventions that networks of minoritized cultures produce within and across national boundaries" (Lionnet and Shih, cited by Adejunmobi, 2007: 2) and accounts for transnational cultural practice stemming from populations currently marginalized in the global economy. This transnational cultural practice is a sum of autonomous voices from globally minoritized populations as they emerge on the new sphere called "the mediascapes" according to Appadurai's neologism (cited by Adejunmobi, 2007: 3).

The popularity of Nigerian video films in Lubumbashi highlights the circulation of media within and between non-Western countries, an aspect of transnational cultural flows that has been largely ignored in recent theories of globalization. "Karachika", a video film made in Nigeria, is so popular on the screen in Lubumbashi that many local channels of television such as *Mwangaza*, *Nyota*, *Wantashi*, *Radio & Télévision Groupe Avenir* (*RTG@)*, *Voix du Berger* (VBer) and RTLC have planned to diffuse them three times on average per week. Karachika series offer local inhabitants of Lubumbashi a way of imaginatively engaging with forms of thinking current life from the same religious background induced by discourse of the struggle against Satanic forces and the triumph of believing in God that is the main argument of the revival and Pentecostal churches as the strategic pathway for "a golden road to success" (Banégas and Warnier, 2001: 13; Tonda, 2000: 48-65; Marshall-Fratani, 2001: 24-44). The pertinence of their message creates such a convergence with the local imaginations constitutive of the "African modernity" (Tonda, 2000: 50) that Nigerian video

films vie currently with the US films like *Dallas*, *Chrono 24 hours* or *Falcon Crest* which were popular in the 1990s in Lubumbashi and, in the case of *Chrono 24 hours,* are still on screen.

The concept integration is also central to this paper. With regard to migration, integration becomes an issue having political and economic dimensions. While leaving his/her home country, a migrant experiences many migratory spaces and alongside his/her trajectory, in case s/he is in 'final' destination country, s/he should perform agency so as to create a new home, abroad. Creating a new home abroad depends on the juridical framework but also on his/her agency as it concerns his/her capacity to imagine activities to perform. Before going ahead, let us say that in referring to Michel Foucault's language play, integration is a "word" and also a "thing". As a word, integration has numerous meanings depending on the domains. As a thing, integration is understood either as a process or as an outcome. As used in migration issues, integration is the process of inclusion of immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society. In Lockwood's terms (1964), there is a binary distinction between "system integration" and "social integration". System integration is the result of anonymous functioning of institutions, organizations and mechanisms –the state, the legal system, markets, corporate actors or finance –as they tend to regulate interactions within a society. Social integration refers to the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes towards the society. It is the result stemming from the conscious and motivated interactions and co-operation of individuals and groups.

According to western formalism, the integration of migrants is based on the legal aspects. There is a set of rules and devices as they are designed by the state aiming at foreseeing the progressive insertion of the migrant. Bosswick and Heckmann (2006: 1)put it clearly: "The question of integrating immigrants into a country is framed primarily at the level of the nation state. Such an approach makes sense in terms of formulating policies, creating legal and administrative frameworks and for collecting and disseminating statistical data. » These rules that are a kind of barriers consist of measures able to frame the access to the labor market and the citizenship, the latter being a door opening up to political participation of the citizen. In the context of industrialized countries immigrants live on the intricate process of exclusion/integration framed by discriminatory measures that are not only racial, but also legal and social leading to a complex continuum alongside which the legal advantages are set off by sociological constraints of exclusion. "Unequal employment opportunities in spite of equal level of training and skills" (Tiberj, 2009: p.219) is the terse reality described for explaining the process of integration of immigrants in France.

In summary, the "integration of immigrants into a host society should be understood as a special case of social integration, to which the concepts of placement, acculturation, interaction and identification can be applied. Other literature has suggested that these be conceptualized as structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration and identification integration" (Bosswick and Heckmann, 2006: 3). Anyway, integration applied to migration is very complex. According to Tiberj (2009), integration is defined differently according to economists, sociologists or Law experts. In considering the "French model of

integration", Tiberj (2009: 216-222) distinguishes between two dimensions of integration; the first and classical dimension concerns the social insertion and economic participation while the second dimension considered new relates to normative integration. In the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), suffice to notice the lack of migration law. In this "paperless state" (Obotela, 2002), the gap in urban governance and the inexistence of the pro-active policy of "bio-politics" (Foucault, 2001) induce a particular context where it is uneasy to decipher manifestation of integration from the bottom up. The Congolese state does not have an effective policy for managing migration. Therefore immigrant integration is undertaken on the ground at the bottom; this ground can be the street. As we put it, "the problematic of immigrant integration in DRC can be understood according to certain tracks such as social mixing, i.e. this way of living which leads immigrants to be in touch for continuous interactions with the host society inhabitants. The social mixing can be analyzed at the level of housing space occupation. Other tracks are for instance matrimonial exchanges and the knowledge of local languages" (Ngoie and al., 2010: 71)

2. Nigerian migrants in Lubumbashi

It is important to notice that the presence of Nigerian migrants in the human landscape of Lubumbashi is of recent date. In the DRC, by the 1990s they become predominant as they occupy economic niches as selling video film CD-Roms and vehicles spares. For instance in Kinshasa a commercial compound has but Nigerian shops and ware-stores for selling vehicles spares. This commercial area is called "Nigerian quarter". In Lubumbashi, Nigerian migrants came to be visible in the early 2000s. According to Mr. A, 45 year old, a Nigerian migrant who is here since 2000,

> "It is interesting to recognize that the first wave of Nigerians came to Lubumbashi after 2000. They came from Kinshasa. They were interested in exploring the business opportunities in the province of Katanga after having done business in Kinshasa the capital. As was the case in Kinshasa, the business niche for Nigerians was the selling of video films CD-Roms and the spares." (material recorded in Lubumbashi, June 2009)

The growing numeric importance of Nigerians does not only appear by the physical presence of the human subjects referring to as Nigerians, but also it is manifest thanks to the influence of what we call "Karachika" referring to Nigerian video films the aesthetic content of which is part of the imaginaries of the Lubumbashi inhabitants. In using the binary feature of the immaterial presence and the physical presence of Nigerian subjects, we want to grasp the two dimensions of migration as it concerns Nigerians.

The immaterial presence

The Nigerian video film is so common to Lubumbashi people that it is not easy to find out when it becomes part of local mediascape. If Nigerian migrants are told to have been in Lubumbashi in the 2000s, Nigerian video film has been imported and used as an entertainment on the local television programmes in the 1990s. The 1990s refers to the years of the chaotic tentative of democratization when President Mobutu was ruling over Congo. The term chaotic tentative of democratization is used so as to put stress on the political

impasses faced by the country and that have had social and economic consequences on the country. These consequences led to an unending and rampant crisis. In this context, religious imagination became so predominant among the population in order to face the crisis. Religious imagination accounted for the proliferation of Pentecostal churches. The proliferation of Pentecostal churches and the commitment of local population to such churches are part of the popular strategy aiming at facing the crisis challenge. The social configuration of these practices is constitutive of what Mbembe calls the "state of religion" in Africa (Mbembe, 2000: 16-17). The discursive statements heard from theses churches try to explain "the times of sorrow" in putting stress on the negative influence of Satan and the "world of darkness". Birgit Meyer (Meyer, 1995: 237) is right while speaking about "a popular Christian culture" on which she says: "One of its most striking features is the image of the Devil and the imagination of evil, in which witchcraft, money and family problems are recurrent features." These discursive statements are a constitutive part of the African way of understanding modernity; they are part of "the fields within which people produce meanings enabling them to analyze critically and thereby shape their life conditions" (Meyer, 1995: 237).

It is at this level of common and popular imaginaries in Lubumbashi that there exists a convergence that helps the Nigerian video films to be so popular here as elsewhere in Africa. The popularity of these films is so popular that they are used as they are with the English language. Translation in local languages is done with broad comments as the film proceeds in the original language, i.e. English. The Nigerian video films display a social role of keeping alive all the complex sets of imaginaries. Charles Taylor (cited by Brydon, 2004: 3) suggests that "the social imaginary is not a set of ideas; rather it is what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society." An imaginary is a meaning-making process through which ordinary people understand their social surroundings. It may be carried in images, stories, and legends and will usually be shared by large groups of people. Video films are one among other tools for conveying such imaginaries. And the fact that television is so broadly used in many families in the city accounts for the evidence according to which it becomes the medium through which video films as images feed social imaginaries so shared by Lubumbashi inhabitants.

Several local channels of television have programmes through which Nigerian video films are shown. In a week, more than three times there are programmes displaying these video films. The most popular local televisions are as many as is the case of *Mwangaza*, *Nyota*, *Wantashi*, *Radio & Télévision Groupe Avenir* (*RTG@)*, *Voix du Berger* (VBer). The audience for such video films are as various as "young or middle-aged women and young men", those categories considered by Birgit Meyer (1995: 237) as very committed like "members of Pentecostal prayer groups and churches." According to an informant, Mrs. Betty (30 years old),

> "In our family, we are very fond of "karachika" series movies. We are nine in our family. Except my father, the persons who are interested in viewing such films are my mother, my four sisters, my two young brothers and I. We know the television

> channels and different programmes as they are planned on each channel. We do not want to miss any session of the video film."

It is not worth recalling all the Nigerian films shown in Lubumbashi. What is important to notice is the fact that by the term "karachika", we understand all Nigerian movies. But this general term is misleading because there is a change in the aesthetical content of these movies. While analyzing Nigerian movies, there are two types of drama which tend to distinguish them. The first type of movies is a thriller: it is full of violence scenes that lead to horror and reference to powers of darkness. The second type of drama is soft as it does not get extreme violence plot. It deals with issues of marriage, love and business within which the struggle between the strength of God word and the attraction of Satan and the devils world unfolds the final victory of God. As an informant tells us,

> "According to me, it is useful to consider "karachika" as representing the thriller plot drama as shown in the Nigerian films. For instance, do you know that in our city, a prostitute woman who uses magic potion for her job is called "karachika"? This kind of films becomes more and more rare nowadays. People do not like them anymore. The second type of Nigerian films consists of drama having plots whose rationale is the struggle between the Christian faith and devil and darkness worlds. It is the second film that is popular nowadays." (M. Bobo, 47 years old, interview in Lubumbashi, January 2010).

The growing importance of Nigerian films in Lubumbashi creates a context within which they constitute the materialization of a kind of cultural migration, preceding the arrival of Nigerian migrants as human subjects. The growing importance of these films led to pave the way to the constitution of a common imagined community. In the era of globalization and as in relation to the deep structure of representing the sorrows that are daily over-present, Lubumbashi inhabitants realize through these films that here as there people have the same view of representing the "African modernity". Here represents Lubumbashi whereas there is constituted of people like the Nigerian actors who perform plots sharing the same complex set of the "popular Christian culture" (Meyer, 1995: 237) and another way of reading the modernity from Nigeria's setting (McCall, 2002). Nigerian video film is in Lubumbashi like the flag and its signature wrote down the way announcing the "invasion" of Nigerian migrants and Nigerian ways of doing businesses.

Nigerians' material presence in Lubumbashi and the shaping of the city

Statistical data on the exact count of Nigerian migrants living in Lubumbashi are not available. This difficulty notwithstanding, the empirical observation in some commercial areas of Lubumbashi gives the measure of the presence of Nigerian migrants. Stores belonging to Nigerians flourish. Therefore we want to present the profile of Nigerian migrants living in Lubumbashi as we can draw it from our survey. The Nigerian diaspora has more men than women. In our sample, Nigerian migrants who are married with their spouses in Lubumbashi represent 54,6%; bachelors represent 45,4%. The configuration of the married couples is complex for there are Nigerians who get their spouses coming from homeland but there are also Nigerians married to Congolese women. Indeed, this category has a feeble ratio

in the sample interviewed. With regard to their religious identity, Nigerians living in Lubumbashi are Muslims (53%) whereas the remaining percentage is shared between Pentecostals (30 %), Catholics (10 %) and without faith (7%). There are no Nigerian children; therefore the average age varies between 30 and 58. The school background unravels that more than 50% of Nigerian migrants do not state their level of school completion; those who have completed university are very few (2%); many of them have completed secondary school (47%). The school background helps understand the driving force behind the decision to migrate for these migrants that has generally been overwhelmingly economic, not political. Such a standpoint has been raised by Dirk Kohnert (2010: 17) while analyzing motivations of Chinese migrants' decision to migrate to West Africa.

The ethnic origin of the Nigerian migrants in the city of Lubumbashi has the predominance of Yoruba even though Igbo and Haoussa are also there. While speaking about the ethnic group origin, Nigerian migrants were very cautious not willing to explore this issue. An informant gave us this narrative:

> "I am an Igbo. I was doing business in Lagos in importing goods from Benin. It was very difficult to face the crisis there in my country. My friend told me there was opportunity of doing business in Congo-Kinshasa. I let you know this friend is a Yoruba. As I know by experience, a country being in the post-conflict period has several opportunities for business. I agreed with my friend for coming here in Congo. First of all, I was in Kinshasa before reaching Lubumbashi. Here we are all and all Nigerians."(John, 45 years old, interview in Lubumbashi, June 2009).

It is worth noting that Nigerian migrants living in Lubumbashi come from urban milieus in Nigeria. Many cite Lagos where they come from and they belong to the lower middle class. They got a migration experience while being in their country where they migrated internally from one town to another in doing business for survival. And migration in D.R. Congo is their first international migration experience. Nevertheless as they are here, they are used to travelling to the countryside for business reasons. From Lubumbashi, they go to Kasumbalesa, Likasi, Fungurume and Kolwezi. Lubumbashi is the administrative capital of the mining province of Katanga. The four cities are as important as is Lubumbashi and many activities linked to the mining sector boom attract people there. The duration of stay among Nigerian migrants varies between one day and ten years. According to a Nigerian informant, the first wave of Nigerian migrants came to Lubumbashi in early 2000s. After having done business in this milieu they realize the benefit of "having one foot on the ground" and in discovering the richness for business opportunities, the success story of one leads to calling another one. The dynamics of migration among Nigerians stems from the success story of the first comers. Therefore the cycle of migration wave is still at the beginning but its dynamics is going on. After exploring and "conquering" Kinshasa, Nigerian migrants have come to be present in Lubumbashi.

It is important to note that, insofar as African migration to Lubumbashi is concerned, this town is undertaking a transition period through which while the migrants from the West Africa are predominant, it is worth recalling the two trends that shape this migration dynamics. The first trend gave predominance to Malians and Senegalese in the migration to

Lubumbashi as was the case in Congo in general. In the 1970s, "*Muhusa*", "*Ndingari*" and "*Westaf*" are local denominations for identifying all the migrants of African origin, mainly from West Africa who were coming to Congo. There were Guineans, Malians, Senegalese and Ghanaians (Biaya, 1998: 342). The migration trajectory of this first trend of West African migrants in Congo marked by the flow and the flow-back is explained by Biaya (1998: 342) as follows:

> "The word (Ndingari) is used to designate West Africans that came to Zaire (DRCongo) around the end of the nineteenth century. They were called coastmen by the colonials and participated in the building of the Belgian colony in many respects, either as troops, postmen and couriers, or as independent traders. They eventually made Zaire their second home as they had lived there in solace for over eighty years. As propagators of Islam and Maraboutism, they succeeded in entrenching Mamy Wata which is a fine example of inter-cultural complementarity. However unfortunately in 1964, Tshombe, then Prime Minister, was imprisoned in Cairo by Nasser for the murder of Lumumba. Released several hours later, he returned home to expel Guineans, Malians and Ghanaians. From that time on, the practice changed into a diplomatic weapon. In 1967 and 1971, Mobutu, his family and the ruling class used it to create a clientelism in the illicit traffic in diamonds and works of art by removing West Africans from the mining towns to other towns."

From the 1980s onward, West African migrants out-migrated from Congo. It is why the arrival of Nigerians in the 1990s in Kinshasa and in the 2000s in Lubumbashi is considered the feature of the second trend of migration from West Africa. Whereas the first West African migrants did business in diamonds and gold and the maraboutism – Sylvie Bredeloup used the term "diamond-migration" [1] to account for the rationale of the migration of Senegalese and Malians to Central Africa– the current trend of migration dominated by Nigerians gave them the visibility in specific economic niches we will speak about later.

During our research, a question was asked to some Nigerians in order to explore their prospect for the future. More than 80% of the respondents said they are undergoing an interesting experience here in Congo and that they do not plan to leave Lubumbashi for another place. Obika, a Nigerian migrant, 48 years old, who has been in Lubumbashi since 2005, puts it clearly:

> "This is my second country of migration. After I left Nigeria, I went to Liberia to do business. The situation was not so interesting. Do you know that I went to Liberia on my own initiative? It was very hard for me. I came here thanks to a kinsman. In the beginning, I had to adapt to the new environment. The language issue was the first challenge. I try to speak Swahili. It is not hot as is the case in Lagos, which is also an aspect I like to be here. I know some remote areas in the Katanga province. What I do now helps me to earn enough to live on. I am already married to a Congolese woman. I plan to let my younger brother come

[1] This term was used during discussions at the workshop organized 16-19th November 2010 in Dakar by the International Migration Institute in partnership with the University Cheik Anta Diop II. The theme of the workshop was "the African Contribution to Migration theory". See www.imi.qeh.ox.ac

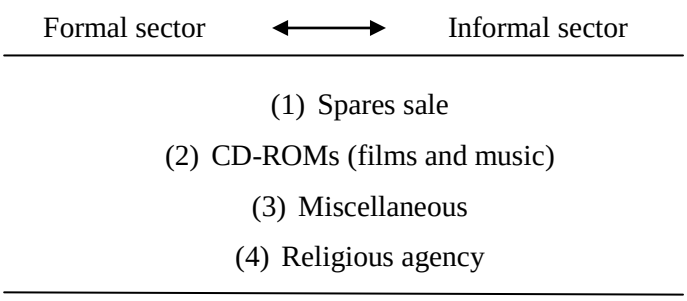
> here for business as I do. As it is still interesting to do business here, I do not foresee any move to another place outside Congo." (Interview in Lubumbashi, November 2010).

The last, but not least feature we want to draw on the profile of Nigerian migrants concerns their business activities. At this level, the first typology leads us to forge a twofold kind of activities. The first category includes economic activities; the second category concerns religious activities. Due to the context of Lubumbashi where informal activities are predominant, economic activities consist of visible and invisible business. The criterion for understanding such a distinction relates to the kind of business the migrant subject is doing. If a Nigerian migrant gets a store/shop –small or medium- or a very small corner where he sells goods, we are likely to speak about a visible economic activity. According to information obtained from the economic business public services at the municipality office, shops and stores belonging to Nigerians are growing in number in Lubumbashi. More than twenty stores were registered as owned by Nigerian migrants in 2010. The invisible business consists of activities that are difficult to trace back. For instance, when a subject is doing business as a broker in buying and selling minerals such as gold or diamonds and this activity leads him to move constantly from one town to another, such an activity is categorized as an invisible business. While considering the economic activities Nigerian migrants are doing, as diverse and several as they are, we can cite selling of spares, business in informatics and internet access to the public, the selling of Nigerian video films and music and retail trade of used shoes and dresses. The invisible activity is linked to the trafficking of mineral resources and other natural resources in the DRC. In our research, we got in touch with a Nigerian migrant who is in Lubumbashi for a long time and whose activity consists of seeking for some rare stones, for instance the "tiger-eye" stone. He wanders all the remote areas and the countryside in search of such a stone.

The religious site is occupied as well by Nigerian migrants. We find Pentecostal churches whose founders are Nigerians. The Model Prayer assembly, for instance, is the denomination of a church belonging to a "globalized" Nigerian pastor. The liturgical service in this church even when the head pastor is absent is held in English. According to narratives of his fellows,

> "Our pastor lives here for a short time. Normally, when he is here, it is for no more than two weeks. He has two churches, one in Nigeria and another in Namibia. His family is in Namibia. It is in the latter country that he spends much of his time. There are deputy pastors who manage the church administration in his absence. About the fellows or the members of this church, we find Nigerians and Congolese." (Interview with Job, 30 years old, a Congolese member of the church, November 2010 in Lubumbashi).

Figure 1: Types of business



3. The Nigerian migrants' integration strategy

We should start this entry by recalling that the integration of migrants in the DRC is to be understood in the specific context of this country within which the main feature is the predominance of the informal sector over the formal one. Such an economic structure has an impact on the behavior of migrants insofar as integration is concerned. As the labor market is almost inexistent and is not attractive, migrants do not come here in order to look for jobs opportunities. They come to the DRC to do business on their own, using the resources of the formal sector and the informal sector. Figure 1 helps understand the overlapping nature of businesses as they are done by Nigerian migrants. Indeed many Nigerians interviewed seem to have several activities among which we find the official/visible and unofficial/invisible activities. Moreover, Nigerian migrants coming here do it as an individual initiative thanks to their social networks that provide them with information. Mr. Okushi, a Nigerian migrant of 40 years old who has been in Lubumbashi since 2006 said:

> "When I left Lagos to come here, I knew that Congo was a country of several business opportunities. I came here to do business and make money. I did not come here to seek for a job and work for another person. While on my way to Lubumbashi, my dream was to find quickly opportunities and very interesting opportunities of business. That was my dream. I am still keeping this dream while being here. Therefore, speaking of the professional integration of migrants in this city is unrealistic."

Nigerian migrants in Lubumbashi are usually in groups and they often meet. While working in a cybercafé belonging to a Nigerian, I observe that some of the customers coming to the place were Nigerians. This kind of behavior is observed among other migrants living in the city. For instance, in the area where there are Malians and Senegalese, shops and places belonging to Malians become a site for visits and meetings among these people. They try to create a homeland atmosphere in being together at some time of the day: generally it is after the working hours that they meet sharing beer and discussing issues of their home country. In order to facilitate their integration, Nigerians use some ways of "doing things". The first way consists of getting Congolese "gatekeepers". It is important to note that the category of local "gatekeepers" is a complex notion referring to intricate networks through which we find a variety of social relations from simple persons who are likely to do any kind of jobs at the service of the Nigerian migrants to "big men", be they political, military or administrative officials. The latter kind of top officials is called the "umbrella". The advantage of getting a

"top umbrella" is to use it in case of necessity for overcoming any kind of trouble the migrant faces in daily life. If the migrant is a businessman, s/he should have social relations with top officials who can intervene to resolve a problem his migrant "customer" has at any public service. This kind of intervention consists of helping the migrant not be "troubled" or controlled by the public services.

The second way is about the matrimonial strategy. This strategy consists of Nigerian migrant marrying a Congolese woman so as to get a foot on the local soil. In our sample, marriage between Nigerians and Congolese women has a feeble percentage (15%). Here is the statement given by a Nigerian migrant about the marriage strategy:

> "You ask a question on my marriage with a Congolese woman. This question is difficult to account for. I go married because I love my wife. But it is important to recall that marrying a Congolese woman is a kind of contract I enter into with this country in which I want to reside for a long time. Do you know the Latin byword according to which "where I am well, there is my homeland country." I am a businessman. I am used to travelling to remote areas of Katanga to sell and buy goods. My wife helps me and as I speak Swahili, my contacts are facilitated."

But the general trend is that many bachelors after a while are likely to look for Congolese mattresses. Of course, this is not a strategy of integration as it unravels psychological aspects of life of human beings.

The third way of assessing the path for integration relates to the social mixing through which Nigerian migrants live by renting houses so close to Congolese's houses. There is no social barrier between Nigerian migrants and Congolese people. The "contact zones" (Yeoh and Willis, 2005) are so many that Nigerian migrants share some common aspects with local populations. It is why Nigerian migrants live so close to local populations in terms of housing location choices. Many Nigerian migrants are still living in the rented houses (more than 80 % of Nigerian migrants interviewed) whereas Nigerian migrants who have success in business have big houses they purchased themselves (3%). Compared to Malians and Senegalese who thanks to the long stay going back to the 1960s have occupied some areas for housing, in Lubumbashi Nigerian migrants do not yet have their own and specific areas where they reside. In contrast to Chinese migrants who have come late in the same span of time, Nigerians work lonely without being surrounded by brothers of the homeland country. The "ethnic business" is still more prevalent among Chinese migrants than among Nigerian migrants. Individualism is prevalent among Nigerian migrants in terms of business activities whereas solidarity feelings are strong among Chinese.

Without exaggerating it is worth recalling the fact that Nigerians in business seem to have less trust in one another. Swindle and breach of trust are common aspects of behavior among Nigerian in Lubumbashi. Black sheet in business is counted among the Nigerian migrants themselves. John is a Nigerian migrant of 40 years old. He has been in Lubumbashi since 1997. Nowadays he is facing a bankruptcy in business. Here is his story:

> "I got in touch with a compatriot who is residing in South Africa. He told me he came to Lubumbashi to sell goods he imported from South Africa. He was in need

> of about US $ 2,000 to pay customs charges. I lent him US $1,000 I had borrowed from my relatives. This compatriot took back his goods from the customs services and up to now, he disappeared. As the business is not going well for me that is a catastrophe."

Nigerian migrants seem to have the same kind of ingeniosity in business as Chinese for they come to have monopole in some economic niches as the sale of vehicle spares and video films. Slowly, they try to invade the commercial centre of Lubumbashi.

We want to explore the local population perception of Nigerian migrants. The dialogue between local population and Nigerian migrants is both the one of the shared and imagined community and the intricate feeling of "usness" versus "otherness". The shared and imagined community stems from the effects spread by the "cultural migration" induced from Nollywood films. The popularity of Nigerian films is so that Nigeria is viewed as a big nation having a big creativity. The impression of Nigeria as a big nation is given through the setting of dramas: the material environment of the plot takes place in the very nice buildings and houses with attractive vehicles showing the richness of the country. As an African country, Nigeria as it is filmed unfolds the imagination of the possible positive progress all the African people expect to reach. This image has a psychological force of expressing the dreamt aspiration of people struck by the daily crisis. An informant tells us such a view while saying:

> "I am a 2nd year at the university. For my leisure I am a fan of Nigerian films. The setting of some films discloses the greatness of Nigeria. There are many beautiful houses; actors use new and attractive cars. In my mind I think Nigeria is on the way of being an emergent nation." (Nola, 22 years old, interview in Lubumbashi, March 2011).

But beyond this impressive image, Congolese people have another perception of the Nigerian migrant. This perception relates to business Nigerians are doing in the DRC. Nigerians are perceived as doing business in selling fake goods in the domain of spares. This perception seems to be generally used for characterizing many migrant diasporas doing business in Lubumbashi. The term "Guangzhou product" becomes a common term used to describe pejoratively the goods/merchandises sold by Chinese. Goods (spares for vehicles) sold by Nigerians in Lubumbashi are viewed as of the second category and are termed also by the China reference. "They come here in order to look for money. Their spares goods are of bad quality. They are like other migrants who invade our city", such is the statement expressing attitude towards Nigerians.

4. Conclusion

Lubumbashi as a mining and business city continues to attract peoples from everywhere. The demographic landscape discloses a dynamic shift of people. The arrival of Nigerians in Lubumbashi is close to the influence of the Nigerian video films among the local population. The influence of these films is evident as it infuses the imaginaries of the struggle against Satan and evil forces that are perceived as the root causes of the sorrows striking individuals and the society as well. The convergence of the aesthetics of the Nigerian movies and the hopes and frustrations of Lubumbashi inhabitants is part of the intricate process of

creating a shared imagined community induced by “the minor transnational practice” (Adejunmobi, 2007).

Two observations are worth citing. First, the influence and the popularity of Nigerian movies are a strategic tool of interactions having paved the way for an indirect dialogue between imagined Nigerians, concrete Nigerians and Lubumbashi population. While living in Lubumbashi, Nigerian migrants do not sell only Nollywood video films, they get a specific economic niche which helps them to create homes and livelihoods within Lubumbashi. Networks are functioning among Nigerians so as to let the circulation of information help each one. Second, the predominance of the informal economic activities in Lubumbashi creates a specific context through which Nigerian business agency unfolds. As such, Nigerians have activities that are both formal and informal. The capacity of bargaining things at the threshold of the formal and the informal is the creative tool used by Nigerian migrants to achieve success while living in Lubumbashi.

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