Exploring the link between migrant's community organisations and the support structures of the host country: A case study of Somali and Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town

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Declaration

I declare that the Exploring the link between migrant's community organisations and the support structures of the host country: A case study of Somali and Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other University, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

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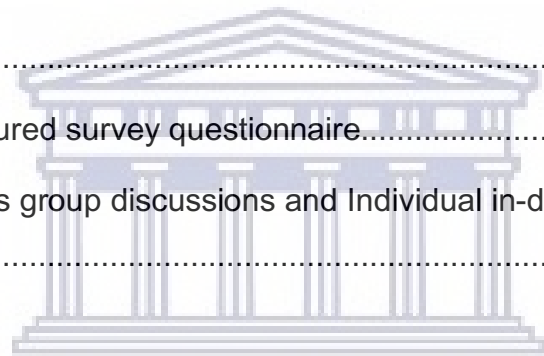
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBOs   Community based organisations

DHA   Department of Home Affairs

IOM   International organisation for Migration

NGOs   Non-Governmental organisations

NPO   Non-for-profit organisations

R&A   Refugees and Asylum seekers

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SAMP   Southern Africa Migration Project

SSA   Sub-Saharan Africa

SWOT   Strengths, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats

UN   United Nations

UNHCR   United Nations High Commission for Refugees

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ABSTRACT

South Africa is a regional hub for international immigration and the main destination for many African descent, a home of high number of refugees ad asylum seekers across African continent. The refugees and asylum seekers communities in South Africa are settled and melting into the city life with the host communities. The migrant communities as they adjust to their new lives in the metropolitan areas, they encounter myriad challenges in different ways in terms of health and social conditions, poor access to services, isolation, and language barriers in the host country.

The aim of this study is to explore the link between refugees and asylum seekers community-based organisations and the partners or service providers and host country institutions using the case study of Somalian and Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town, South Africa. At community level, this research has focused on the role, characteristics and functions played by the refugee community-based organisations among Ethiopian and Somali community in Cape Town at self-rooted level or locally led protection strategies. At community level, refugee-based organisations are membership-based association existing among members of the community, that bring together all or most people within community and promotes its development by direct self-help or lobbying for needed services. The refugees led structure among the Ethiopian and Somalian community in Cape Town play the leading part with the focus on microlevel, they provide emotional and psychological support and networks among community members, address the basic needs, to spread knowledge, assisting the refugees to protection and access to the service among migrant communities in order to improve their standards, adjust their new environment and encounter physical and emotional struggle.

A mixed method approach was implemented in gathering and analysing the data collected. This method was chosen to provide a better understanding of the research problem at hand. In-depth interviews were used to gain a better understanding of community leaders views on their representation of the community-based organisation, and questionnaires were distributed to the community members, also focus group discussions were conducted among the community members. Throughout of the study, the leaders and community members among Ethiopian and

Somalian migrant communities in Cape Town acknowledged that the initiations of their own community-based structure were successful at a grassroot level, helping the members of the community were considered as a norm among their homogeneous ethnic communities. However, therefore the need for cooperation with several refugee agencies and the key protection and assistance roles played by national authorities, legal authorities and national charities and partnership service providers is needed in order to capitalize resources and opportunities available outside the boundaries of the ethnic communities.

KEY TERMS: asylum seekers; community-based organisations (cbos); community; Ethiopian; host country; institutions; migrants; refugee; service providers; Somali.

CHAPTER ONE: THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

1.1   Introduction and Background

Since earliest times, large-scale mixed movements of migrants have been taking place all over the world (GCM, 2018; Majee, et al., 2019). In recent years, the globalisation process has transformed the world as the gradually integrated technologies and modern transportation has dramatically increased human mobility (Dinbabo, 2017, Dinbabo, et al. 2018). There are many reasons/motives behind these movements that include social, political, economic, cultural, demographic, and environmental factors. Furthermore, throughout world history, people have migrated from one place to another in search of basic needs and hospitable climate and weather conditions. In today's time, the people are still migrating across the continents for the same reasons, although factors are arising such as job relocation, overpopulation, and economic crises such as the global financial crisis in 2008. At the same time, others are leaving their country of origin due to a lack of sustainable livelihoods, poverty, inequality, and conflicts (Todaro & Smith, 2009).

Moreover, migration has become an increasingly pressing issue of the 21st century and reflective of the economic and social wellbeing of diverse regions in the world. Of the estimated 258 million international migrants in 2017, research conducted by the UNHCR revealed that 65.6 million fled their country of origin as a result of conflict and persecution in 2016 (UNHCR, 2017). Although migration patterns have significant benefits for migrants and their nations of origin, there are several potential costs on the other i.e. displacement of local workers and disruption of labour market institutions (Kok, 2006).

By looking at the Levels and trends of international migration; it has been highlighted by the number of international migrants continued to grow over the past seventeen years. According to the United Nations report, the number of international migrants has reached 258 million in 2017, up from 248 million in 2015, 220 million in 2010, 191 million in 2005 and 173 million in 2000. It has been estimated that the international migrant stock grew by an average of 2 per cent per year. In 2017, the countries of

origin with large migrant population were India (17 million), and Mexico (13 million), followed by Russian federation (11 million) and China (10 million). Predominantly higher-income countries such as the United States of America, Germany, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and the United Kingdom host two-thirds of all international migrants. The global level of forced displacement across international borders continues to rise. In 2016 the total number of refugee and asylum seekers in the world was estimated at 25.9 million. Most forced migrants (refugees and asylum seekers) are hosted by Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, and Pakistan (UN, 2017).

Over the past fifty years, international migration has become more diverse in terms of origins and destinations of migrants. It is commonly assumed that increases in the overall complexity of international migration in terms of volume, diversity and geographical scope are commonly linked to the globalisation process.

> *"Globalization can be defined as the widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life" (Held et al., 1992: 2).*

Technological revolutions have made travel more accessible and radically reduced the cost of air travel and communication over increasingly long distances (De Haas & Czaika, 2014).

At the global level, the United Nations General Assembly acknowledged that the large movements of migrants should be addressed through a comprehensive approach, namely with dignity and in a humane manner (with full protection and fundamental freedom of human rights), as a shared responsibility, and with a sensitive, compassionate and people-centred approach for both refugees and migrants (UN, 2016). The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Target 10.7), pledged that Governments need to

> *"facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies" (UN, 2016).*

The national and international migration level can be better understood by looking at the historical and political evolution of African societies as well as post-independence developments (Kok, 2006). In recent years, the economic and social crises that have affected many developing countries, in particular, Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) result in the number of migrants increasing rapidly. In the context of Africa, different levels of migration occur internationally, regionally, and locally as well as between rural and urban areas. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2010) report notes that Africa and the Middle East are the fastest-growing migrant regions in the world due to the advent and growing spread of globalisation. Numerous studies suggested that the process of migration is diverse and inevitable around the globe (SAMP, 2005). Many scholars highlighted that the reasons why many African people migrate are because of inefficient governance that exists on the continent and as a result and reaction to economic and political crises (Mbajiorgu & Mbajiorgu, 2015; Dinbabo, Belebema. & Mensah, 2017).

Kok, (2006) agrees that the persistent economic difficulties and disparities between poor and richer countries spur migration in Africa. Moreover, migration in Africa both nationally and internationally result from a complex form of social and economic factors, but the overriding drive is that of searching for greater economic well-being (Kok, 2006). It has been highlighted that sub-Saharan Africa has the highest South-South emigration in the world about 65% emigrants (Ratha, Mohapatra, Ôzden, Plaza, Shaw & Shimeless, 2011). In sub-Saharan Africa, Côte d'Ivoire (8%) and South Africa (6%) are the leading destination countries for African emigrants (Ratha et al., 2011). In South Africa, the national information system (NIIS) revealed that the registered number of refugee population (119,500), while the number of asylum seekers was (1,061,825). In 2015 the overall international migration stock in South Africa was estimated to be 5.6 per cent of the population (Carciotto & d'Orsi, 2017).

1.2   Problem Statement

For the last two decades, Southern Africa has been a region of the international labour migration due to the mining and agricultural industry (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015;

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Oucho, 2006; Sithole and Dinbabo, 2016). During the colonial era and the apartheid era, South Africa experienced the crisscrossing of both skilled and unskilled labour from outside the country and within the continent its borders. In 1980 the migration patterns in South Africa saw an increasing number of migrant workers from the Southern African region notably Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi in sectors such as mining and agriculture (Oucho, 2006). However, the migration patterns changed in 1990 compared to the historical patterns of mining and agricultural migration (Uwimpuhwe, 2015).

According to Amit and Kriger (2004), the democratisation transition of South Africa in 1994 transformed the country from a refugee-producing to the most attractive destinations for asylum seekers and refugees. The Refugees Act passed in 1998 confirmed the definition of a refugee spelt out in the UN conventions (Palmary, 2002). It obliges South Africa to protect any person who has fled another country because of 'well-founded fears of persecution due to race, ethnic origin, political and religious creed and membership of any particular social groups. It states that refugees are allowed to seek employment and to access education and health care facilities (Palmary, 2002).

Since the democratic transition of South Africa in 1994, the country has experienced an increase in the number of people seeking asylum within its borders particularly, migrants from African countries due to the political unrest, economic challenges, unemployment and for many people who perceive their lives to be threatened in their countries of origin (Landau 2004). It is been highlighted that forced migration has been considered as a major life-changing process with significant negative consequences to migrants (Danso, 2002).

People move from their country of origin under stressful circumstances and experience a range of barriers when attempting to integrate into new communities within their target country. The problems typically experienced by refugees and asylum seekers include social exclusion, xenophobic attacks, unemployment and overcrowding.

Furthermore, the refugees as they integrate into the host countries; they encounter racism, host language incompetence and recency of immigration as well as the systems of host institutions (Danso, 2002). Similarly, in South African context a study conducted by O'Brien and Reiss (2016), on refugee and asylum seekers in Cape Town Metropolitan area showed that the major challenges faced by refugees and asylum seekers include; lack of monitoring the implementation policies, difficulties in accessing documentation, housing constraints, employment and poor access to basic social services.

According to Dinbabo, Mensah and Belebema (2017); Ryan et, al. (2008); Wierzbicki, (2004) migration researchers often assumed that migrants arrive and simply slot into networks among their communities. Such networks would typically enable the migrants to access general resources and also provides required emotional support within their ethnic communities. However, migrants have different abilities to access existing social support and resources or establish new ties in the host society (Ryan et, al. (2008); Wierzbicki, (2004). On the other hand, in major cities including Cape Town, many NPOs were established to help urban migrant communities in accessing proper information and social service assistance through various programmes (Barbera & Ochse, 2009 cited in O' Brien and Reiss 2016).

In light of the above, this research focuses on the Ethiopian and Somali refugee self-help groups, community networks or community-based organisations in Cape Town, including their social networks and links to service providers, NPOs, and host institutions concerning the rights that refugees are entitled to. Both Ethiopian and Somali communities are refugee claimants in South Africa, and they are a large part of refugee and asylum seeker communities in South Africa.

1.3   Research Questions

- What are the roles, functions and type of services offered by the refugees and asylum seekers community-based organisation in Cape Town?
- What are the roles and scope of the service providers and stakeholders in protecting and assisting refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses; opportunities and threats (SWOT) analysis of the refugee and asylum seekers community-based organisations in Cape Town?

1.4   Objectives of the Study

The overall aim of this study is to explore the refugees and asylum seeker self-help community organisations and their networks to the stakeholders, partner organisations, and government institutions in terms of the support and assistance offered to the refugees and asylum seeker in the case study area of Cape Town metropolitan area.

In more specific terms, the study intends to achieve the following objectives:

- To identify community-based organisations roles and functions within the case study area.
- To determine the role and scope of service providers and stakeholders in protecting and assisting refugees and asylum seekers.
- To analyse the strengths and weaknesses; opportunities and threats (SWOT) of the refugee and asylum seekers community-based organisations.
- To provide summary findings and recommendations to refugee-led structures, service providers and stakeholders of the host country.

1.5   Significance of the Study

International migration is a phenomenon that has moved to the top of the global governance agenda (Crush, 2013) due to the increased volume, diversity, and overall complexity of international migration as a result of globalisation processes (Czaika &

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Haas, 2014). In the context of South Africa, the influx of migrants has continued to surge over the years (Ntshimbi & Moyo, 2018). Despite the numerous benefits of migration, it is well known that the conditions faced by refugees and asylum seekers are in the majority of cases inhumane with poor support and apathy by government structures with regards to the access of services such as health care facilities, housing, access to information and employment.

In South Africa, many studies have been conducted and an ever-expanding body of literature exists about the situation of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. (Uwimpuhwe, 2015,: Pendleton, et al. 2006; Makina, 2007; Kerzner, 2009; Tavera & Chikanda, 2009; Truen & Chisadza, 2012; Von Burgsdroff, 2010; Makina & Masenge. 2015; Chisasa, 2014). Much of the literature focuses was on economic migrants, informal business, remittances, xenophobia, and integration of migrants within local communities. Using the case study of migrants particularly Somalis and Ethiopians residing in Cape Town, this study sets out to explore the refugee community-based organisations and their link with stakeholders and host country institutions in South Africa. This research will shed light on the extent of the problems faced by refugees and asylum seekers at the micro-level.

The overall aim was to obtain basic information about protection services that are available to the refugee and asylum seekers community-based organisations, gain insight to how they network and communicate with the stakeholders and NGOs service providers, and to identify their strengths and weaknesses; opportunities and threats

1.6   Organisation Of Thesis

This research structured in six chapters as described below:

The first chapter introduces the research topic and provides a broad background to
the research on migration at global, regional, and local levels. It provides a brief
overview of the case study area and the significance of research of this nature.
Thereafter, it articulates the research problem, the research questions, the

research objectives, and the significance of the study. The introductory chapter concludes with a description of the content of the remaining chapters in the thesis.

The second chapter: presents reviews of the literature on migration globally and in South Africa, in particular. it also provides an overview of the case study area as well as the patterns of Ethiopian and Somalian migrant communities in South Africa. It reads up on the urban community refugees, camp-based refugees, the settlement patterns among migrant communities, as well as representative community-based approach protection. The related literature on the access to social services for the refugees and asylum seekers communities in South Africa and service providers in Cape town are presented in this chapter.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework embedded in this research study. The chapter starts with an explanation of related concepts of migration. The chapter gives an extensive definition of social capital theory. The chapter further looks at the dimensions and significance of social networks, trust, norms, and associations to the groups as well as to migrant communities and their access to social capital networks. Thereafter elaborates on the level and types of social capital networks within and beyond the community.

The fourth chapter provides discussion about the research design and methodology which the researcher has used to achieve the aim and objectives of the study. It describes the sampling method and how the sample was selected. It also discusses how the questionnaires were administered, how the interviews, focus group discussions, as well as the observations, were conducted. The chapter presents the limitations of the study and also sheds light on the issue of ethical considerations

The fifth chapter presents the findings and evidence and other major themes emerging from the study. The chapter looks at the research results in greater details through both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the research results gathered from the interviews, focus group discussions and survey. In general, this chapter interprets the finding analysis and presents as a theme.

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Chapter six summarises the work presented in the previous chapters and after that presents a conclusion founded on both the empirical literature and data analyses presented in the previous chapters as well as recommendations and further research area.

CHAPTER TWO: OVERVIEW

2.1 Literature Review

This chapter discusses extensively the relevant literature that is related to the study. The literature review section provides a review of key concepts and terms used in the study to clarify and enable a common understanding, as well as evidence-based knowledge about the topic under study. The first section describes the migration patterns in South Africa, an overview of the case Cape Town study area, and the migration patterns of Ethiopians and Somalis. The second section describes the community-based approach, protection, and persons of concern. The third section deals with urban refugees, camp-based refugees, and their settlement patterns. The final section is about the service provider organisations and their initiatives for refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town, access to services for migrant communities in South Africa, and the networks and partnerships among migrant communities and host societies.

2.2 Migration in South Africa

South Africa has in many ways of historic human mobility due to the rich diversity, Language, culture, and religion (SIHMA, 2014). The advent of democracy in South Africa has been seen as the liberation of the oppressed South African society, as well as a safe place for displaced people of the world to seek refuge and asylum status. In 1994, the government of South Africa adopted a clear legislation policy for refugees and asylum seekers. Since then South Africa has experienced an increase in the number of people seeking asylum within its borders, particularly migrants from African countries due to the political unrest, economic challenges, unemployment and for many people who perceive their lives to be threatened in their countries of origin (Dinbabo, et.al. 2018; Landau 2004).

The Republic of South Africa is a regional hub and one of the most developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa is considered a country of hope and high expectations and is a major pole of attraction for migrants of all categories from the

African continent and beyond (Adepoju, 2003). South Africa attracts various migrants from within Africa and elsewhere, including those who are skilled, unskilled, legal and illegal, as well as refugees and asylum seekers. The socio-economic crisis and natural disaster as along with political unrest in many African countries led to the high intensity of immigrants seeking refuge and political asylum in South Africa.

According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA, 2016), the number of international migrants living in South Africa in 2015 surpassed 3.14 million and the number continues to grow. An estimated two million-plus are working (Statistics South Africa, 2014), a third of them from the African continent, earning more than R10 billion each year, and more than half of this amount is sent to their country of origin by using the remittance system (Fact Sheet, 2014:2).

Although reliable figures are difficult to find, an estimated 2.7 million to 3.1 million foreign-born people are living in South Africa (UNHCR, 2017). According to the Statistics South Africa report published in 2015, there were over 65,000 refugees and 230,000 asylum seekers in South Africa in 2014. These migrants were from Somalia, Angola, Ethiopia, and the DRC. A report published by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (2017) indicates that South Africa hosts one million asylum-seekers with pending cases and 120,000 recognised refugees. In terms of the documentation, South Africa received 35 377 individual claims in 2016, the majority of which were male (63%). The top five sending countries were Ethiopia (4 754), Somalia (1 643), Congo (5 293), Bangladesh (2 834), and Nigeria (3 276) (DHA, 2017).

2.3   Overview of the case study area - Cape Town

Cape Town is the capital of the Western Cape Province, where the houses of parliament are located. The city hosts many immigrants from other parts of the world and migrants from African countries, particularly immigrants from the neighbouring member states of SADC region (Uwimpuhwe, 2015). Bellville currently lies within the metropolitan boundaries of the city of Cape Town, approximately twenty-five

kilometres north of its city centre (Hassan, 2019). In particular, Bellville is a space of intense temporality and mobility with a constant flow of locals and immigrants that brings about hybrid cultural complexity (Hannerz 1992). Currently, the people who are settled in Bellville are mainly Somalian and Ethiopian refugee populations as well as other African migrants (Hassan, 2019). The immigrants in Bellville share cultural diversity with regards to food, music, and languages, including English, Afrikaans, Swahili, Somali, Amharic, and many West African languages (Hassan, 2019). The African migrants in Bellville run various business including lodges, restaurants, malls, and coffee shops. The suburb has educational community facilities such as primary schools, Islamic studies schools, and colleges that offer short courses. There are also other training centres for immigrant community organisations (Hassan, 2019).

▪ ......*Patterns of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa*

Ethiopian migrants are challenged by diverse forms and dynamics of migration. The movement of Ethiopian civilians became substantially greater in the late 1960s and 1970s. During the imperial period, elites migrated abroad for professional purposes and to study. Few Ethiopians migrated to attend higher education in western countries such as USA and UK. These groups were sponsored by the government of Ethiopia expecting them to return to their home country to develop the administration and modernise the country (Getachew et al., 1991 cited in Degelo, 2015:17).

Migrants from Ethiopia to South Africa were mostly driven by economic reasons, overpopulation, drought, and political turmoil. They were largely young, economically active adults. They had various motives for migration by both formal and informal means to the Republic of South Africa searching for better livelihoods, and pursuing their dreams and career opportunities (Yimer, 2012). Ethiopian migrants in South Africa are responsible for a significant portion of the informal business sector. These businesses tend to be small scale sellers of general items. Ethiopian business owners also import goods from China and redistribute in bulk to other Ethiopian vendors.

In terms of legal documentation, current Ethiopian sentiments about their status in South Africa involve two main themes: being a foreigner and being a business owner. The study conducted among Ethiopian migrant entrepreneurs in nine provinces of South Africa shows that Ethiopians have diverse documentation, from well documented formal businesspeople, asylum seekers, and recognized refugees to the undocumented (Worku, 2018).

- ...... *Patterns of Somalian migrants in South Africa*

Somalis are the largest number of populations forced migrants in the world due to the civil war and political unrest in the country for more than 30 years. Since 1991 the country has no functioning government, a collapsed of the economy and no effective social services such as health care facilities and social welfare (Sorbye, 2009). The Somali civil war that began in the late 1980s and continuous today has forced more than one million Somalis and their descendants to seek refuge outside Somalia, concentrated in three main areas: The Horn of Africa and Republic of South Africa; the Gulf States; Europe and North America (Sorbye, 2009).

According to Jinnah (2016), Somalis are the largest and most rapidly growing migrants in South Africa, and they constitute almost a quarter of all forced migrants in South Africa. According to Statistics South Africa (2012), the official figure shows between 24,000 and 27,000 Somalis in the country, of which 18,000 arrived in the country between 2005 and 2011. Another study has shown that the Republic of South Africa houses about 50,000 Somalian migrants, most of them resident in urban cities (Jinnah, 2010). Landau and Segatti (2009) pointed out that Somalian migrants can be found in the cities of South Africa and the townships as well. In South Africa, Somalian migrants organise themselves and institute community linkages that are based on trust. They establish social connections and social trust, which in turn improved their entrepreneurial opportunities and becoming self-sustaining. Concerning documentation, most Somalis are refugees, and an estimated 8% hold South African citizenship through naturalisation (Jinnah, 2016). Although they are legalised as

refugees, they face marginalisation in terms of employment, accessing services, health, and their efforts to settle in the country.

2.4   Community

The term community can be described as a group of people that recognises itself or is recognised by outsiders in terms of sharing common culture, religion, background, interests, and characteristics. These social features form a collective identity with shared goals (UNHCR, 2008). According to Gilchrist (2019:5), communities can be seen as *"any collectivity of individuals, groups, subgroups and /or institutions or their representations which share time, space and resources for mutual concern".* What a group stands for depends on the definition of community. It may be defined in terms of territory, for example, a British community or an Australian community. It may be a community of interest, such as the Black community, the Asian Community, or the White community (Isidiho & Sabran, 2016). Communities are perceived as complex social environments characterised by interpersonal connections and relationships. They comprise fluid networks, small-scale, voluntary organisations and self-help groups (Gilchrist, 2019).

▪ ......*Community Development*

Community development is commonly viewed as an activity for the benefits of a particular social group. An example of such activities in community development includes providing elderly care, empowerment, better schools, mobilising for minority or gender rights, cultural rights, and environmental protection (Bhattacharyya, 1995).

There is no explicit definition of community developments in the refugee context. Researchers on community development with refugees often provide basic descriptions about programs designed to help communities meet their own needs. An editorial article about community development with refugees titled "Towards a Framework for Action" (Craig & Lovel, 2005: 132) presents a seven-point breakdown

but does not give an exact definition. The seven steps include participation by refugees in

> *"…identification of needs, mobilisation of resources, identification of intervention options, decision-making on choice of intervention, delivery of the action/intervention, developing skills and identifying and measuring process and end-point outcomes" (Craig & Lovel, 2005: 132).*

These steps present a process-oriented view of community development. According to Mensink et al., (2016) a "minimal definition" of community development is *"…local activities to establish and strengthen durable relations between refugees and members of the host society, allowing for processes of shared decision-making."* For instance, the Somalian and Afghan refugee communities in North Delhi have established a refugee community development project. The project is managed and administrated in partnership with the University of New South Wales, UNHCR, and a local NGO as an implementing partner. The project developed comprehensive programmes including livelihood activities, female social support groups, income-generating activities, education classes, and employment opportunities for refugees as community workers.

▪ ...... *Representative Community based Approach*

In recent years, there has been growing evidence of the impact of locally-led protection strategies and actions as well as their potential and limitations. According to UNHCR (2013), a community-based approach refers to the communities' engagement in all aspects of the programmes that affect them. The approach emphasises the right to participate in making decisions that affect their lives and strengthening the community's leading role as a driving force for change. The community-based approach can help communities directly to deal with their social problems instead of having external actors to assume these responsibilities. The approach aims to support persons of concern in re-establishing familiar cultural patterns and support structures. Moreover, the main goal of the community-based approach is to empower all actors and members of the community to exercise and enjoy their human rights and achieve sustainable long-term improvements (UNHCR, 2008). The community-based

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protection strategies may be crucial for survival, but they do not provide the degree of protection and security that people are entitled to (Nils Carstensen, 2016).

- ...... *Bottom-up versus top-down Approach*

According to Taylor (2000), community-led initiatives are bottom-up approaches which seek to develop community-owned strategies and services. It usually tends to be found in small homogeneous groups (Dinbabo, 2014; Geddes, 1998). The bottom-top approach involves the communities at various levels of the development programme by encouraging local communities, representative organisations, women's' groups, and cultural associations to express their views in defining the development course for their area in line with their views, expectations, plans, and their sociocultural lifestyle (Isidiho & Sabran, 2016). Unlike the top-bottom approach, which involves government, donor agencies, and service development organisations, and looks at community developmental strategies from the top to forecast what the communities would be like when such programmes are implemented (Isidiho & Sabran, 2016).

- ......*Protection*

The term protection as defined and agreed by UN agencies refers to protecting a person of concern from persistent internal or external threats of violence and its effects, and from coercion and systematic deprivation of basic rights (Berry & Reddy, 2010). Protection requires full and equal respect for the rights of all individuals and responsibility of the relevant bodies of law namely human rights law, international humanitarian law and refugee law (Dinbabo, 2018; UNHCR, 2013). The protection services may be required in several contexts. It is necessary to provide services that are urgently needed to address immediate effects; thus, the communities need to be involved in identifying and designing responses to the threats they face (Berry & Reddy, 2010). Humanitarian programmes and development increasingly emphasise community participation (UNHCR, 2013). The community-based protection approach puts the capacities, right, agency and dignity of persons of concern at the centre of programming through consultation and strengthening local resources.

Engaging communities in self-protection generates more effective and sustainable protection outcomes and also prepares them for other durable solutions. Protection services are required by stateless persons as well as those in a migratory process, and their host societies. Human beings naturally form communities when they are uprooted, living in host communities, camps, or on the margins of society. The interplay between communities and protection is mutually reinforcing thus working through community mechanisms enhances protection, and enhanced protection strengthens communities (UNHCR, 2013).

▪ ......*Persons of concern*

The UN refugee agency considers any person who is a refugee, an internally displaced person (IDP), an asylum seeker, or a stateless person, a person of concern. As of 2015, there were 76.5 million persons of concern globally. The two biggest categories of persons of concern were IDPs (about 40.3 million people) and refugees (about 22.5 million people) (Titus, 2017). According to the UNHCR population statistics (2016), the top six countries ranked by persons of concern are Syria, South Sudan, Somalia, Colombia, the Central African Republic, and Iraq. These countries had the highest proportion of persons of concern in the population ranking (Titus, 2017). Among developed countries, Sweden hosts the highest number of persons of concern compared with other European countries. Sweden, due to its acceptance of refugees, hosts mainly Syrian persons of concern (Park, 2015).

However, persons of concern are often dispersed over a wide area, and groups or individuals with specific needs are more difficult to reach and can be easily neglected. In most urban areas, persons of concern are a mix of asylum-seekers, refugees, and migrants, and are sometimes in the country illegally. Often, people do not come forward to seek assistance, since they may still have some resources, they may be unaware of existing services, they might be uncertain of their rights, and/or they might fear being sent back to their country of origin (Darling, 2017).

2.5   Urban Refugees

High numbers of international migrants are moving to economically advanced urban areas. According to Boswell, (2003) inequalities of income and employment within a country are mainly responsible for generating rural-urban migration. As urban areas become saturated by rural migrants, this dynamic in turn leads to international migration (Boswell, 2003). Globally, urban areas are seen as a key mediator in the social, economic, and cultural tensions of living with diversity (Darling, 2017). A research conducted on urban refugees in the global south, which focused upon exploring lived experiences amidst a wider recognition, highlights that urban growth has been achieved in part through significant influxes of refugee populations (UNHCR, 2012). Cities like Kabul, Abidjan, Johannesburg, Karachi, Bogota, and Nairobi, suggest Crisp et al. (2012), have a significant growth due to forced migration over the last decades. In 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) adopted broader and more inclusive refugee protection and solution policy to reflect the increasing reality of protected urban refugee situations (Darling, 2017).

- ...... *Camp-based refugees*

Much of the literature on camp-based refuges focuses on the impact of the encampment and experience of refuges on their rights and freedoms, access to basic services and resources, and their livelihoods (O'Callaghan and Sturge, 2018). In Kenya, for instance, there are refugee camps which host over 180,000 refugees displaced from Somalia and Sudan since 1991. For more than two decades, Pakistan has hosted a large number of Afghan refugees. The refugees' presence has considerably complicated Pakistan's efforts to alleviate poverty (UNHCR, 2003). The Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Pakistan said that

> *"Pakistan has sheltered 3 million refugees without any significant international assistance over the last two decades. Each refugee receives 8 to 10 dollars from the international community – the burden of this had been met by Pakistan."*

Furthermore, UN agencies, notably UNDP and UNHCR, initiated the planning of a project for the rehabilitation of refugee-affected areas to help the local economy and

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alleviate the effects of the prolonged presence of large numbers of refugees. The government of Jorden with support UNHCR and other international humanitarian partners is leading efforts to manage and consolidate assistance to the Syrian refugee population through the regional response plan. The Syrian refugees in Jordan live in dispersed urban-based host communities, while others reside in a formal settlement encampment called Za'atari refugee camp. In 2017, the UNHCR registered over 660,000 refugees from Syria. There are various humanitarian agencies and government entities that provide basic services within the Za'atari camp. Agencies have established services such as food distribution, medical services, a youth education centre, and security police offices (Serrato, 2014).

▪ ......*Settlement Patterns*

According to the UN (2016), the proportion of global refugees currently living in urban areas is estimated at 60 per cent and only a small minority of refugees are in camps. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the refugee camps have become almost synonymous with many actors operating in challenging environments and refugees experience a major example of a multifaceted system in action (Carciotto and d'Orsi, 2017). The characteristics of refugee camps in Africa include the separation of refugees and asylum seekers from the local/citizen's population; the necessity to share services among a large number of persons, and a lack of privacy as a result of overcrowding (Carciotto and d'Orsi, 2017). The service delivery in the camps is often arranged by international agencies such as UNHCR. The refugee and asylum seeker populations in South Africa are self-settled and live among South African nationals. This settlement pattern allows greater movement for refugees and it leaves them better integrated to the host communities (Pursell, 2005; Palmary, 2002). South Africa is an attractive option to forced migrants compared with other African countries that are hosting refugees such as Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique. The South African forced migrant population is self-settled and more self-sufficient than those living in camps. Unlike those living in refugee camps provided only basic services by aid organisations, the refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa need to seek out basic services themselves, such as accommodation, employment, education, and health facilities (Pursell, 2005; Palmary, 2002).

2.6   Access to social services for migrant communities in South Africa

Provision of social services is an important measure to alleviate poverty and support marginalised groups and so promote citizens' independent living. The 1951 Geneva Convention for Refugees provides the comprehensive codification of the rights of refugees at the international level. South Africa's Bill of Rights provides protection of socio-economic rights for all, regardless of their nationality or legal status. Refugees enjoy basic human rights under South Africa's Constitution, including the right

- to work and acquire movable and immovable property;
- to access primary and emergency health care;
- to attend primary, secondary and tertiary education;
- to have an identity and travel document, and
- to pursue family unity.

Despite this favourable legislative environment, challenges still exist for refugees and asylum seekers when they access these services. There is a general lack of information and knowledge about asylum seekers and refugees' characteristics and rights, not only among private citizens but also among police officers and health care and critical services workers (Bolzoni 2009). The Social Assistance Act states that only South African citizens are eligible for almost all social assistance benefits. Migrants, in particular those who are undocumented or those who are using temporary resident status, are not entitled to the same level of social protection as citizens (CoRMSA, 2009). With Access to Information Act of 2000, South Africa joined other countries in assigning official rights to receive and obtain information for South African citizens and non-citizens crossing its borders. Accessing information for migrant communities in South Africa is vital to the realisation of their rights and responsibilities. Once they have arrived at the host country, migrants often find themselves facing language barriers and lack of information. Also, they depend on unreliable sources such as friends and social media. Information is vital for refugees to know their rights, what services are available, and how to access them. There are various channels of

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information including flyers, word-of-mouth, household visits, meetings, and loud-speaker announcements (Serrato, 214).

2.7   Service providers organisations and NPO's in Cape Town

Not-for-profit organisations are a large category of structures responsible for community development. The UN (2003) characterised an NPO as an organisation that *"…is self-governing, institutionally separate from government, non-compulsory, and that meets the non-distribution constraint"* (cited in Jegers, 2008: 8). NPOs in the sector play a large role in persistently advocating on behalf of poor and needy, enhancing the lives of the poor and protecting their basic rights such as proper healthcare assistance, being able to enrol their children in schools, and overcoming the hardships of being unprepared in a foreign country. In this context, the term refers to all NPOs delivering services to refugees and asylum seekers in the Cape Town area.

The office of the United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was created in 1950 as an agency mandated by the UN general assembly to protect refugees. The UNHCR supports persons of concern through a network of partnerships with NGOs, civil organisations and governments to create sustainable solutions to the plight of refugees all over the world. In South Africa, The UNHCR head office is located in Pretoria and sub-branches are located in the other provinces of the country. UNHCR may provide targeted assistance through its NGO partner depending on the cases and situations of persons with special needs.

The partner organisations that work with UNHCR undertake many varied projects that help refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. These projects include sustainable livelihood and employment support, tertiary education support, refugee social services and social assistance, social cohesion activities, integration, and legal assistance services. In the Western Cape, the UNHCR field office is located in Cape Town and they have several partner organisations and NGOs that work with their refugee

projects and outreach programs. These organisations include Cape Town Refugee Centre, the Adonis Musati Project, the University of Cape Town Refugee Rights Unit, and the Scalabrini centre.

Below is the summary table of the main Non-profit organisations, NPOs and service providers of refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town.

2.7.1 Cape Town Service providers organisations

University of Cape Town Refugee Rights Unit The Unit's Refugee Law Clinic provides direct legal support services to the growing number of refugees and asylum seekers communities in South Africa	Initiatives	Aim of the Project
	Legal assistance and advice Sustained Advocacy for Empowerment of Refugees (SAFER)	Advocacy intervention on law and policy issues Research in migration law and refugee law Legal documentation Permanent residence application Voluntary return Access to socio-economic rights

Source: http://www.refugeerights.uct.ac.za/advocacy-training

Cape Town Refugee Centre (CTRC)	Initiatives	Aim of the Project
Community Development for Refugees and asylum seekers and South African communities through a human rights-based approach.	Social Cohesion Programme	Advocate for refugee rights Local integration Support group for empowering and educating refugees
	Self-reliance Programme	Access to formal employment Provide start-up funds (to open micro to small businesses)
	Psychosocial intervention Programme	Short-to medium-term Social safety net for the most vulnerable refugees i.e. disabled or chronically ill. Support on children with special needs Psycho-social support to families and individuals in distress

Source: Organisation booklet

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Adonis Musati Project	Initiatives	Aim of the Project
To empower marginalised refugees and migrants in South Africa through fostering sustainable support networks and encouraging personal development that achieves lasting change.	Social services	Emergency assistance to very vulnerable groups
	Support groups	Psychosocial support groups; counselling of Trauma, depression, stress and Mental health
	Youth Empowerment Programme	Team building and social cohesion activities with South African youth

Scalabrini centre	Initiatives	Aim of the Project
"Serving people on the move in Africa"	Women Platform and Unite	Women's network to share resources for personal skills, and business development. support training in skills necessary to find employment childcare, craft, nails and hospitality Traditional events
	Language School	Providing English language classes for the functional needs of refugees & migrants in South Africa
	Child and youth care centre	Care and protection of unaccompanied foreign minors and refugee children
	Sclabrini Institute for human mobility in Africa (SIHMA)	Research-based institute in Sub-Saharan Africa

Source: https://scalabrini.org.za/service/

2.8 Networks and partnerships among host society and migrant communities

Refugees' social integration in the host society is high on the international agenda. Refugees' social integration is also in line with the Sustainable Development Goal 16 which is

> *"Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all level",* particularly target 16.10 which aims to *"Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, following national legislation and international agreements".*

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According to Berry (1997) integration is a two-way process and can only be successfully pursued by migrants when the host society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity. Inclusiveness means that refugees should be provided with equal access to housing, health care, education, training and employment (Berry, 1997).

Many scholars and groups are integrating in different ways. Ager and Strang (2008), identified factors informing the integration process such as nationhood and citizenship, which shapes legal status frameworks, the institutional environment of the receiving society, and the rights and opportunities granted to refugees. The other important determinants of the integration process include cultures and capacities of the settling populations and their demographic characteristics (Platts-Fowler, Phillips and Robinson 2015).

Successful integration depends as much on the refugee communities and their relationship with the host society as it does on the host government's position. This relationship between the refugees and local communities is affected by a variety of factors such as security problems and economic impact. Once refugees arrive in the new country, they seek protection and opportunities to pursue livelihoods in protected situations (Jacobsen, 2001).

The government of Iran with support of UNHCR have been worked over the years to provide secondary health care insurance services to 220,200 vulnerable refugees, including up to 2,000 refugees who suffer from the following five diseases: haemophilia, thalassemia, renal failure, cancer, and multiple sclerosis (Morand and Leo, 2015). Provision of health insurance, especially nationally managed plans, is an effective social protection tool when refugee communities are well informed in terms of health care coverage available in the host country with careful financial management (Morand and Leo, 2015).

2.9   Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the available literature on the migration in South Africa and patterns of migration among Ethiopian and Somalian communities in South Africa. The chapter then explored the community and locally-led protection strategies and actions. This discussion was followed by an exploration of migrant communities' access to social service in South Africa, the service providers, NPOs in Cape Town, and the services they offer to migrant communities in South Africa and more specifically in Cape Town.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 The Concept of Migration

Migration is the movement of people from one location to another widely associated with a change of permanent place of residence. The United Nations 1951 Refugee Convention defines a refugee as someone who has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion (Geneva Convention, 1951). Asylum Seeker refers to a person who has left their home country as a political refugee and seeks asylum in another per the right to international protection in another country.

International migration has been described by various contemporary theoretical bases to explain different concepts and assumptions (Massey et al, 1993). The social capital theory is one such theory. It explains how networks aid migration and help migrant communities to survive in the country of asylum.

3.2 The Social Capital Theory

The social capital concept is not new and has been used sporadically since the 1890s. In the 1990s, social capital grew in popularity and became a widely used concept in many fields, from sociology to economics and psychology (Portes, 1998). Each discipline interpreted the dimensions and construct of the concept to suit their work. Social capital is recognised as a panacea for many fundamental problems that affect modern societies. It is well established that high levels of social capital are associated with democracy and economic growth (Petersen, 2016).

The definitions of three seminal authors (Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam) are of particular importance for their contribution to the development of the concept. Although they emphasise different levels and different purposes, overall their definitions of the concept emphasise relationships and their benefits, such as cooperation and resources that result from these relations. According to Bourdieu (1986: 251 cited in Petersen, 2016),

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"Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition."

Bourdieu's (1986) definition stressed the importance of human relations for social capital to work and regarded the group as the key structure for social capital. Moreover, Bourdieu posits social capital as cultural, economic, and social assets as a result of access to resources. Coleman (1988:96) defines social capital by its function:

"It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within that structure."

Unlike other forms of capital, social capital exists in the structure of relations between people. It is lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production. The definition of Coleman (1988) emphasised the relations between individuals and groups to build social capital through relating to others.

Putnam (1993), says that social capital refers to

"features of social organization, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit".

Putnam's definition emphasises the significance of social networks and associations with groups. Furthermore, Putnam deduced that the concept of social capital rests on trust, networks, and norms. Upon review, trust appears psychologically complex, networks prove dense and valuable, and norms pervade individual actions and social relations (James Farr, 2004). The other forms of capital such physical or human-social capital aid future productivity of individuals and groups in civil society, though not mainly economically. Putting these elements together, social capital is complexly conceptualised as a network of associations, activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, particularly trust, which is essential for civil society and produces future collective action or goods, in the manner of other forms of capital (James Farr, 2004). Furthermore, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) viewed social capital in terms of economic benefits and ways to reduce poverty and inequality. They defined social capital as norms and networks that enable people to act collectively. Social capital can be seen as an endowment

associated with particular social groups which can allow for access to potential resources. Social capital is especially important for low- and middle-income transition countries that had faced the triple challenge of economic development, violent conflict, and challenges of democratisation (Kuzio, 2001). Development of exports, scholars of democratisation, economists, and specialists of post-conflict reconstruction widely argue that societies with high levels of social capital stand a better chance of becoming prosperous, democratic and more stable compared with societies lacking these endowments (Radnitz, Wheatley and Zürcher 2009).

Granovetter (1983) and Coleman (1988) suggest that social capital theorists place social capital in a rational choice framework. In their accounts, they look at the institutional perspective for the level of social capital. They view social capital as an endogenous entity, whereby the institutional framework of democratic regimes tend to increase the level of social capital while more authoritarian regimes reduce it. Thus, communities that possess institutions for representation, participation and decision making are likely to have higher endowments of social capital (Radnitz, Wheatley and Zürcher 2009). On the other hand, social capital could be defined as everyday simple social interactions. According to Adler and Kwon (2000), social capital comprises the friends, neighbours, co-workers, and known associates through which the opportunity to utilise one's financial and human capital is manifested. Social capital is commonly viewed as a product of simple, daily interactions between friends, families and colleagues which could be used to facilitate mutually collective actions. In this regard, social capital focuses on the relationships and interactions that influence how members of a social system live their daily lives (Tadesse, 2004:5).

According to Uphoff (2000), social capital is

> "an accumulation of various types of social, psychological, cognitive, institutional, and related assets that increase the amount or probability of mutually beneficial cooperative behavior that is productive for others, not just one's self".

Uphoff divided social capital into structural and cognitive components. Structural social capital pertains to both the vertical and horizontal relationships, and networks and

institutional structures that link members. Horizontal relationships exist among similar groups and vertical relationships are hierarchical due to inequalities in power. Cognitive social capital is the driving force behind the forms of social capital; and it encompasses values, norms, civic responsibility, expected reciprocity, charity, altruism, and trust (Uphoff, 2000),

3.3   Dimensions of Social Capital

The key dimensions of social capital cited by the World Bank (2013) include a social network, trust, reciprocity, norms and beliefs.

Trust is one of the main concepts emphasised in social capital theory. When trust exists between community members, their collaboration becomes inevitable (Putnam, 1993). Trust is the belief in the integrity and reliability of other people. In social capital, trust is either generalised or particularistic.

Generalised trust is associated with trusting people in general, including those beyond the close family. Particularised trust relates to interaction with close people, like family members and friends.

Social capital is embedded relationships between actors that are built out of trust. Different authors have looked at the relationship between social capital and trust. Fukuyama asserts that trust and social capital are equal, Coleman argued that trust is a type of social capital, while Putnam believed that trust is a source of social capital (Fukuyama, Coleman, & Putnam, 1995, 1997; 1998; 1993 cited in Adler & Kwon, 2002). Adler & Kwon (2002) underline that social capital and trust have a cause-and-effect relationship. While social capital can generate relationships based on trust, it is also true that trust will produce social capital. Levels of social capital are a sign of trust between people in every group or society. In communities ridden with crime and unemployment, however, levels of trust between individuals in the community may be too low to permit a cooperative relationship (Esau, 2008). In Putnam's work on democratic institutions in Italy, he finds that the most successful regional governments and regional economies are those possessing high levels of participation in

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associational life, and those in which citizens display high levels of trust in social and political institutions (Mohan and Mohan, 2002).

Norms mean the pattern of behaviour in a circle of people to which members are expected to conform. Social norms vary with location, context, and societies (Uslaner, 2002). Throughout the conceptualisation and definitions, norms of reciprocity are inherently linked to social capital. According to Adler & Kwon (2002), generalised reciprocity could act as a mechanism to strengthen community interactions and also assist in solving problems of collective action. In communities, norms and beliefs often act both as a catalyst for some actions and a constraint on others.

Social Networks pertain to the structures which consist of actors linked by one or more relations (Knoke & Yang, 2008). The interactions of social networks among groups are obtained through participation in civic organisations or social clubs (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Moreover, the benefit of a social network is that it provides access to support structures and resources for collective action (Sobel, 2002; Knoke & Yang, 2008).

When analysing the role of social capital in migrant integration, it is important also to mention the definition by Coleman (1990: 305), according to whom social capital constitutes 'resources that can be used by the actors to realise their interests'. The author defines social capital by its function. Migrants indeed bring family and kinship networks from their places of origin, but they also maintain their social network ties (Coleman 1990: 305).

Migrant community networks are recognised by social scientists as a source of social capital. According to Massey et al. (1993), migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties based on family, kinship, shared nationality or community, and friendship that link to both earlier and new migrants and non-migrants from their places of origin and destination areas. These networks serve important functions for individual migrants, such as the cost and distribution of migration. It also maintains the links between sending and destination countries by serving as a channel for information and resources and influencing adaptation and integration to the host society (Massey et al., 1993). According to Granovetter

(1973:1361), the strength of any tie is a combination of *"the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie"*. Strong ties among members of social networks include primary relationships based on important emotional linkages and frequent interaction such as family, kinship, and ethnic community relationships (Grieco, 1998). Strong ties are usually associated with ethnic community ties because they imply cohesion. Conversely, weak ties are associated with relationships among individuals that lack the same emotional strength, such as neighbours or co-workers (Granovetter, (1973).

3.4   Migrants and Social Capital

Migrant communities tend to build and form social capital as a means of survival in their host countries. In the context of migration literature, migrant social capital is commonly regarded as direct assistance or resource information that migrants obtain through network ties with prior migrants that decreases the costs of moving for potential migrants (Massey and Espinosa 1997; Massey and Garcia Espana 1987; Massey and Zenteno, 1999). This explains the social ties among potential migrants and prior migrants and the benefits that accrue from these ties.

Formal migrants can provide through social capital information on job opportunities, transportation, and other that potential migrants have in the country of destination (Garip, 2008). It is commonly held that the social capital which migrants glean from their social ties assists them to obtain information and job opportunities when they arrive in countries of destination., This illustrates the conversion of social capital to economic capital (Kindler et al, 2015).

The likelihood of potential migrants proceeding to migrate is influenced by access to prior migrants' social capital. The migrant social capital accumulates with each new migrant's network, thus expanding the ties between potential migrants to their predecessors. According to Massey (1990), network connections expand as more

individuals migrate and more migrant social capital is built up. A study on personal networks of migrant and non-migrants in Switzerland revealed that high volumes of network social capital were determined by nationality, level of education, earnings, and type of mobility (Dahinden 2013). Consequently, people formed networks based on certain similarities they share with actors in those networks. Bonding capital is exercised in such circumstances (Massey, 1990).

3.5   Levels at which Social Capital is manifested

The concept of social capital presents at various levels including individual, informal social groups, formal associations, ethnic groups, and even the nation. Authors Hogan, Owen, and Robinson (2000, cited in Claridge, 2004) posit social capital at community and individual levels. Bourdieu mentioned that social capital is only at the individual level. However, Putnam argued that social capital is at the community level, while Coleman suggests that it is a context-dependent aspect of social structure.

The stock of social capital can be referred to as the accumulated amount of social capital available within a specified group or area. Social capital has two levels of stock in society generally, and one among individuals (Todaro and Smith, 2011). Society-level social capital is often identified as the stock of trust, mutual understanding, shared values, and socially held knowledge that facilitates the social coordination of economic activity. These include knowledge, ideas, values, and human relationships that are usually transmitted as part of the culture. On the other hand, individual-level social capital is often called reputation or goodwill. Social capital is an intangible concept, but it can be identified in the strengths or weaknesses of collective network relationships. Social capital stock is also dependent on the state-society relation (Todaro and Smith, 2011).

Kilby (2002) asserted that social capital exists at levels or scales correlated with a sense of belonging to community and family. Adler and Kwon (2002) mentioned that social capital's sources can be found within the actor's social environment. Thus,

social capital can be assumed to be used by both individuals and groups (Kilpatrick et al. 1998; Sander 2002). Moreover, Coleman (1988) contends that social capital is a public good, whereas Fukuyama suggests that it is a private benefit that produces both positive and negative externalities (Fukuyama, 2002). Moreover, Fukuyama, (1995) states that social capital is thought to be advantageous to an aggregated societal level because it increases the capacity of individuals, groups, and organisations to reach out and form mutually beneficial relationships with one another.

3.6 Approaches of Social Capital

Three main approaches of social capital have been highlighted by the scholars, namely, the communitarian view, institutional or structural view, and the network view (Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2001). In the communitarian perspective, social capital is built as people interact socially. Relationships in society are built from trust. In this view, social capital is acquired through participation in local organisations. The communitarian view considers that the more social capital a community has, the more beneficial it is for that particular community (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The implicit assumption that all community members will automatically participate in local structures and all members of the community will act in a manner that is beneficial to the whole is problematic. The communities could have ethnocentric, homophobic, racist, or sexist biases and thereby influence with whom they participate in the local structure, and why (Kimmerman, 2001).

The network approach considers how synergies and connection networks assist in enhancing socio-economic development. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) highlight the significance of horizontal and vertical associations between actors in a social network and relations with similar organisational entities. Furthermore, the network view sees social capital as the ability of individuals to receive benefits through their associations with social structures. The network view acknowledges that social capital is a double-edged sword because networks allow community members access to valuable benefits. It also imbues a sense of reciprocity and calls for a distinction between the sources of social capital and its emergent effects (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

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In the institutional or structural perspective, social capital is built through a combination of rules and norms that organisational structure prescribes. Norms, rules, and cultural conditions assist in advancing social capital. Furthermore, this approach looks at social networks and civil society structures as direct results of the political, legal, and institutional environment (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Institutional perspectives see social capital as a dependent variable, while the communitarian and network perspectives perceive social capital as an independent variable. Institutional perspective is largely informed by the performance of governments, their coherence, competence, quality, and relevance to community development. The institutional approach suggests that the capacity of social networks to pursue collective action relies on the quality of formal institutions (Claridge, 2004).

3.7   TYPES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL; Bonding, Bridging, and Linking

- ......*Bonding social capital*

Bonding is bringing together individuals within the same social group. Bonding is a horizontal tie between communities which are already familiar with one another. This type is building of social relations with those like us using *"intra group ties"* e.g. family, friends, and neighbours, as well as union members and religious groups (Dahal and Adhikari, 2008). It focuses on the connections of local communities with those who are family members. Bonding networks exhibit distinctive forms of internal trust and are driven by values and voluntary efforts. Furthermore, bonding social capital is a necessity for poor and marginalised people (Claridge, 2004). Strong social bonds and collaboration among poor people become essential for their development capacity and community strength. Social ties promote development and poverty alleviation as they bring valuable resources to the forms of capital (Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2001). Bonding capital is associated with norms and trust within internal groups. These intragroup ties have positive and negative manifestations and implications for social exclusion. The positive aspect of bonding is that it can fulfil a useful social function by providing a vital source of support to those who suffer from socio-economic hardship or poor health (Claridge, 2004). On the other hand, due to its tightly structured and

exclusive nature, bonding can breed bias and racism as well as exclusion from outsiders.

▪ ......*Bridging social capital*

Bridging is the second type of social capital. Bridging is described as vertical ties between social divides (race, class, and religion) or external group networks. Woolcock and Narayan, (2000) showed that bridging social capital is a construction of social relations among heterogeneous groups *"unlike us"*. This type is characterised by general trust and voluntary participation. Social relationships in bridging social capital are exchanges between people with shared interests but dissimilar social identity. Friendship may also comprise bridging relations, like people with different cultural backgrounds and ages who may, in turn, provide access to information and other groups who did not know each other (Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2001). Bridging is different from bonding social capital. In bridging, social groups are characterised by dense networks and a sense of shared identity and belonging. Their main distinction can be made about a range of relationships and network characteristics. Bridging has many benefits to society; it may provide individuals and groups with access to outside network resources and improved opportunities (Claridge, 2004). Urban communities tend to have strong bridging but weaker bonding, whereas rural communities tend to have strong bonding social capital but weaker bridging capital (Claridge, 2004).

▪ ......*Linking social capital*

Linking social capital encompasses creating synergies with government institutions, both local and private organisations for positive development results (Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2001). Linking social capital is vertical relations between heterogeneous groups. It refers to connecting those with different levels of power, hierarchy, social status, and the general public or between people from different social classes. It allows different people to share their values and beliefs through contact with diverse other. In this approach, social relationships are based on voluntary, where

groups have open options to change one relation for another without strong social sanctions.

Some scholars and authors question whether social capital can be regarded as a form of capital. They examine the similarities between social capital and other forms of capital. World Bank social capital initiatives contend that the link between forms of capital is sustainable growth which is the hallmark of development (Grootaert, 1998). Moreover, Grootaert and Van Bastelear (2000) state that social capital is closely aligned with human capital because it can produce mutually beneficial outputs. The World Bank suggests also that social capital has commonalities with other forms of capital. Like other types of capital, social capital requires investment and at least two actors (Petersen, 2016). Social capital can be commonly viewed as almost anything that leads to societally advantageous outcomes (Petersen, 2016).

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the concepts of social capital theory. Social capital is an evolving hypothesis which emphasises the quality of relationships built between and within groups of people. This discussion was followed by an exploration of the dimensions and significance of social networks, trust, norms, and associations in groups. The theory of social capital examines migrants and their access to social capital networks, as building social capital is worth venturing into if communities and individuals are serious about creating a strong, beneficial society.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research process and methodologies employed throughout the study. This study explores the links between migrant community organisations, stakeholders, and host country institutions in Cape Town. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the approach used to achieve that objective. The chapter starts by explaining the research design and methodology employed in this work. The second part consists of sampling techniques, data collection methods, and data analysis processes. Detailed explanations of each approach precede justifying their use. The final part ends with the limitations and the statement of ethics that guided the conduct of this research.

4.2 Research design

Research design is a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the implementation of the research (Blanche, Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). According to Mouton (2001), research design is a method that gives you the ability to gather relevant information to answer specified research questions. Research designs ensure that the study accomplishes a particular purpose and that research can be completed with available resources (Blanche, Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). A research design should provide a plan that identifies how the research is going to be executed and the way it answers the research questions. Study design constrains how data are collected and analysed, to answer the initial research questions in the final report (Blanche, Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

According to (Neuman, 2000; Rowley, 2002), there are several ways of classifying research designs or strategic alternatives. They include action research, ethnographical, experimental, cohort, cross-sectional, descriptive, historical, longitudinal, sequential and case study. In the present research, a case study research design which involved the use of secondary data is adopted. There are essentially two

reasons why this approach was chosen. The first reason is for time and cost-efficiency. The second is to strengthen confidence in findings from the original study. Furthermore, there are two commonly used designs in the social science field: primary and secondary data analysis (Abbott & Mckinney, 2013). According to Grady et al., many research questions can be answered quickly and efficiently by using data collected in previous research to address research questions other than the originals for which data were originally gathered. The use of existing data is a fast and effective way for new investigators to begin answering important research questions.

The original study was conducted by Dinbabo, et al. (2018) and gathered data on refugees and asylum seekers among Somalian, Ethiopian, and Congolese community representative structures from six cities in South Africa. The study was conducted in six cities of 5 provinces in various communities in more peri-urban spaces. The six recruitment sites include Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Musina, Port Elizabeth and Durban. The scope of the data gathered from the original study was empirically to examine the refugee and asylum seekers populations in South Africa, stakeholders include the UNHCR, government organisations and Non-governmental organisations who are involved in the protection of, and assistance to persons of concerns in South Africa.

Dinbabo, et. al. (2018) provided a reliable and useful source relevant to the legitimacy of refugee and asylum-seeking representative structures, social mapping of the refugee and asylum seekers, and social protection offered by migrant community organisations in South Africa. However, for this research attention was focused on analysing responses from Cape Town's refugees and asylum seekers, particularly Ethiopian and Somalian migrant populations, to explore the link between migrant community organisations, stakeholders, and host institutions. Cape Town's large inner-city hosts numerous migrant communities from Somalia and Ethiopia along with immigrants from elsewhere.

4.3 Research methodology

According to Mouton (2001:35), research methodology is an approach or means of engaging in research. A methodology comprises the design, setting, sample data collection tools, and analysis techniques applied in a study (Burns & Grove, 2010:488). To guide the research process, the study utilised both primary (survey questionnaires, semi-structured, key informant interviews, and focus group discussions) and secondary methods, which include a literature review and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The present work employed a mixed-methods approach involving the combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Each of these methods have their relative strengths and weaknesses; the combination of the two offers strengths that negate the weaknesses of either (Teddlies & Tashakkori, 2011).

According to Mertens & Gisenberg (2009), the quantitative approach provides data for aggregating, describing phenomena, and measuring relationships. It also involves quantifying, modelling, and predicting. Quantitative research emphasises measuring variables and testing hypothesises that are linked to general cause-effect explanations (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:49). The qualitative method, by comparison, is a research method that seeks to analyse social issues and the subjective meanings of those issues by collecting data that are non-standardised instead of numerical figures and statistics (Flick, 2013). Creswell et al. (2007) describe qualitative research as incorporating different interpretive techniques aimed at describing, decoding, and translating to make sense of people's subjective experiences rather than the frequency of social phenomena.

4.4   Sampling

Sampling is the most important step before embarking on data collection for any research. According to Jennings (2001), sampling is a process that shows the representativeness of a given study population. The primary purpose of sampling is to get representative small collections, units, cases, and events from a much larger population to clarify and deepen understanding. Furthermore, the researcher can study the smaller group and produce accurate generalisations about the larger group. There are two types of sampling: probability sampling and non-probability sampling

(Dinbabo, 2012). A probability sample is used when all the members of the populations are alike in aspects such as demographics and behaviour. Non-probability sampling is used when the researcher has limited knowledge of the larger population from which the sample is taken.

The study sampled a defined population of interest, namely, refugee and asylum seeker populations of Somalian and Ethiopian migrant communities in Cape Town. The researcher collected a variety of information and expert opinions, and thus needed maximum variation in the sample, including age, level of education, socio-economic status, and formal/informal organisations. The sample covered the full range of stakeholders in the populations of interest.

- ......*Recruitment and sampling plan*

This study utilised maximum variation and a modified version of respondent-driven sampling (RDS). Maximum variation sampling is a purposive sampling technique, where information-rich individuals with the study characteristics of interest are selected from multiple sites to ensure heterogeneity in the overall sample. A respondent-driven sample is a form of snowball sampling, in that it is a peer-driven, chain-referral sampling methodology. Ideally, a randomly chosen sample serves as the initial contacts, although in practice ease of access virtually always determines the initial sample. These subjects provide the names of a fixed number of other individuals who fulfil the research criteria (Heckathorn, 1997). The researcher approaches these persons and asks them to participate, and each subject who agrees is then asked to provide a fixed number of additional names. The researcher repeats this process for as many stages as desired (Heckathorn, 1997).

Moreover, the maximum variation sample was used in terms of sites/locations selected for the recruitment of participants as well as the in the recruitment of initial participants/seeds for respondent-driven sampling and qualitative data collection. Local structures, NGOs, and government centres were also selected to ensure that

they represent the full range of life experiences among refugee and asylum seeker communities. The initial participants selected from these structures were also screened to ensure that they have variations in terms of age, education, religion, socio-economic status, type of residence, and type of affiliation to local social structures.

Sample size, site selection and provinces

With regards to the sampling procedure, the sample size used in this study was a total of 100 participants in each city for the quantitative component of the research, a total of 18 participants in each city for qualitative in-depth interviews with leaders, and another 18 participants for qualitative in-depth interviews with community members. A total of 18 stakeholders for key informant interviews, and 6-8 participants per group for three focus group discussions in each city. The six recruitment sites were Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Musina, Port Elizabeth, and Durban. Data gathering commenced on 1 October and ran to 20 November 2017. The in-depth individual interviews for community leaders and key informants were completed within two hours. Data were captured on demographic and socio-economic characteristics, representation, leadership, transparency and accountability, as well as their legal documentation.

Given the purpose of this study, which was to explore the refugee and asylum seeker representative structures and their communities in South Africa, attention focused on migrant community organisations in Cape Town and their networks with the host institutions, partners, and non-governmental organisations. As such, a total sample of 78 immigrants comprising 36 from Somalian community members and community leaders and 36 from Ethiopian community members and community leaders in Cape Town. Also, three stakeholders from the key informant interviews were selected using the non-probability technique, and two focus group discussions were conducted. The elicited data centred on access to social protection among migrant self-help community organisations, service providers, leadership structures, and networks with host institutions.

4.5 Data collection

In social science research, there are many tools one can use to collect data. Kumar (2005) classified data collection into two: primary and secondary data collection. Primary data are collected by a researcher from first-hand sources using various methods, while secondary data come from existing sources of data that have already been collected. In the context of this study, the researcher employed the following tools as a data collection instruments: literature review, survey questionnaire, semi-structured and in-depth individual interviews for both leaders and community members, and focus group discussions.

▪ ......*Literature review*

The study drew heavily on the extensive literature for information related to the topic. A literature review enables the researcher to understand available information and to build on that pre-existing knowledge (Mouton, 2001; Dinbabo, 2011). The review of related literature consists of empirical evidence and current knowledge from multiple sources for both primary and secondary data. The literature review focused on academic sources such as scholarly journals, books, government reports, web sites, relevant policy documents, and international organisations. During the fieldwork, data were gathered using the following qualitative and quantitative tools:

▪ ...... *Survey questionnaires*

Cooper & Schindler (1988) proposed that research data collection tools can be self-administered questionnaires, personal interviews, and telephone interviews. In this study, a structured questionnaire with closed and open-ended questions was utilised. Langdridge & Hagger-Johnson (2009) highlighted questionnaires as a valuable research instrument consisting of a series of questions to gather information from a large number of respondents. They make for an easier survey or statistical analysis. In this regard, 75 survey questionnaires were administrated to participants selected using systematic random and purposive sampling. In most cases, the questionnaires were completed in the researcher's presences, while other cases were self-administrated and completed by the participants and they were returned to the researchers.

▪ ...... ***Semi-structured key informant interviews with stakeholders***

Semi-structured interviews are a qualitative method of enquiry that combines a pre-determined set of open questions to explore particular themes. Structured interviews are a closed and precise technique that requires direct answers (Brinkmann, 2014). Unstructured interviews require the researchers to use open-ended questions and participants are free to express their opinions and ideas. The researcher poses more questions as more issues arise in the interviewee's responses, consequently, the interviewer can get rich data (Brinkmann, 2014). For this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted with key stakeholders and social actors who are involved in protection work concerning refugees and asylum seekers.

▪ ...... ***In-depth individual interviews with community members and leaders***

Interviews are face-to-face verbal interactions between two people to collect pertinent information, usually through direct questioning. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that comprises conducting intensive individual interviews to explore perspectives on a particular idea, opinion, or situation (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). In the study of refugees and asylum seekers, in-depth individual interviews were conducted with both community leaders and members. The main purpose was to understand respondents' experiences and perceptions of their community structures and self-help initiatives, as well as the leaders' experiences of leading protection services to refugees and asylum seekers. A total of six community members and six leaders of each nationality were interviewed in Cape Town with the aid of a semi-structured interview guide.

▪ ...... ***Pilot-testing***

Before actual data collection, the researchers of the project pre-tested the questionnaires to ascertain the feasibility of the study. The pilot-testing of the questionnaires is important functions and enables the researchers to identify factors including the appropriateness of questions to the target population, valuable insights

for the participants, task difficulty, and flow of questions and timing (Baker, 2003; Dinbabo 2011). Concerning this project, the implementers and data collectors were trained to ensure that all team members receive the same, standardised training and instructions on how fieldwork should be conducted. A full-day training program was provided for all the field staff and study investigators.

▪ ...... *Focus group discussion*

A focus group discussion is a form of group interview between the research participants to generate data. It enables the researchers to understand the different views, ideas, experiences, and perspectives of the participants toward the research problem of the topic. It is also important to use participatory research tools to allow for in-depth reflection and to ensure an empowering community engagement process during focus group discussion (MacDonald, 2012). All the participants have an opportunity to communicate and their viewpoints are recognised. According to Morgan (1997),

> *"…combining participant observation with focus groups is useful in gaining access to the group, focusing on sampling, and site selection, while also useful for checking tentative conclusions and possible changes to be implemented."*

For this study, two focus group discussions were conducted among Ethiopian and Somalian community members in Cape Town. The Ethiopian focus group discussions were held at the Bellville Ethiopian Community Church and the Somalian focus group discussions were conducted at the Bellville Somali Community Centre. Purposive sampling was used to draw a case study of six Ethiopian community members and seven from the Somali community members. In this study, the focus group discussion among members of the refugees and asylum seekers community provided more detailed information about their views of the community and their experiences of refugee-led representative organisations.

4.6   Limitations of the study

The target group of the study is refugees and asylum seekers, in particular, Somalian and Ethiopian migrants in Cape Town. Although the project was conducted in various sites of South Africa, due to the limited scope of the paper the data analysis of this thesis was restricted to Cape Town with a small sample of Somalis and Ethiopians The findings may therefore not be used to make generalisations about migrant communities' representative structures in South Africa. Furthermore, tight deadlines and the busy schedules of voluntary participants were major challenges for this study. Some of the interviews were held at community members' workplaces. Getting participants together in the focus group discussions was also challenging since these participants work on different schedules. The tape recordings were also daunting and some of the respondents were reluctant to give detailed information.

4.7   Ethical considerations

This study was carried out only after approval was granted from the University of the Western Cape Senate and Institute for Social Development. All the participants were made aware of the aim and objectives of the study, and participants had the option to drop out at any time since participation was voluntary. All the information gathered from the participants was kept confidential, including their names and personal information. The researcher did not cause any harm to anyone involved and the participants were given written and verbal informed consent requests translated into their languages.

4.8   Data analysis and presentation

In this study, the data used were extracted from a larger study conducted by the Institute for Social Development at the University of the Western Cape and the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA) from six cities in South Africa. The six recruitment sites were Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Musina, Port Elizabeth and Durban. Structured questionnaires were used for quantitative data collection. The research core team members comprised professors, academics, and various experts, provided input to the design of the questionnaire. The researchers

attended research design training sessions and the training workshop centred on data collection procedures and conducting interviews

The quantitative approach was used to collect data for statistical analysis such as those about refugees' and asylum seekers' demographic characteristics, gender distribution, race, and refugee and asylum seeker community patterns and behaviour. The quantitative findings from the statistical analysis are presented using charts, graphical representations, tables, cross-tabulations, and frequency distributions.

On the other hand, the qualitative approach was used to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences, views and perceptions of refugee and asylum seekers' community organisations, especially their representative structures and leaders, problems of accessing basic services, and the availability protection assistance. Qualitative data were transcribed and triangulated with those from the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews and themed into the group. Using a theme in qualitative data analysis is important and enables the researcher to summarise the phenomena being studied (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

4.9   Chapter summary

In this chapter, a detailed discussion of the methodologies and research design was presented. In the context of this study, a mixed-methods approach was preferred, involving the combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Methods of data collection were utilised, such as a literature review, focus group discussions, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews. The chapter highlighted the limitations and the statement of ethics guiding the conduct of this research. The next chapter presents the findings of the study. They were arrived at using thematic analysis for qualitative findings and the quantitative section, and STATA for statistical analysis.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of the findings collected in this study. It responds to the research questions that are presented in Chapter One. The main purpose of the research is to explore the community-based organisation of refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town as a case study area, and their link with partners, service providers, and host country institutions. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were done side by side. The qualitative analysis was based on in-depth interviews and theme and code focus group discussions, and the quantitative section used questionnaires and survey analysis.

5.2 Participants demographic analysis

The focus of this study was on the refugee and asylum seeker community-based organisations among Ethiopians and Somalis in the urban areas of South Africa. The demographic information of the participants was based on their nationality, gender, age, education and documentation. The work selectively sampled populations of refugees and asylum seekers from Ethiopia and Somalia in Cape Town. The overall sample of the Cape Town participants shows that 22% were Ethiopians and 31% from the Somalian community.

5.2.1 Selected sample Nationality of Refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town

Nationality	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative
Ethiopians	22	41.51	100.00
Somalis	31	58.49	58.49
Total	53	100	

Source: Researcher's own compilation (2020)

From a gender perspective, the proportion of females to males in the sample shows that 20% were females and 32% were males. The overall proportion of gender shows that 62% of the sample were males and 40% of females. Below Table 5.2.2 provides gender breakdown of the sample.

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5.2.2 The Gender of the participants

Gender	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative
Female	20	38.46	100
Male	32	61.54	61.54
Total	52	100	

Source: Researcher's own compilation (2020)

5.2.3 Age

Documentation	Ethiopian		Somalis	
	Value	Percent	Value	Percent
18-24	1	4.55%	8	25.81%
25-34	5	22.73%	9	29.03%
35-44	15	68.18%	13	41.94%
Above 45	1	4.55%	1	3.23%
Total	22	100	31	100

Source: Researcher's own compilation (2020)

The age group of the participants in this study were categorised into four groups. The majority of the Somalis and Ethiopians interviewed were in the age category of 25-44 years. According to Dinbabo, Mensah and Belemebema, (2017), the higher proportion of international migration in Africa is among the youth aged between 15-29. Their research findings indicate that over 34% is the potential economically active group of youth migrants that have moved from their country of birth.

5.2.4 Documentation

Documentation	Ethiopian		Somalis	
	Value	%	Value	%
Refugee Status	1	4.55	25	80.65
Asylum seekers	19	86.36	5	16.13
Work/business visa	2	9.09	0	0
Undocumented	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	1	3.23
Total	22	100	31	100

Source: Researcher's own compilation (2020)

The migrant communities in South Africa are considered as legalised refugees, asylum seekers, or waiting to receive refugee acceptance and legalised documentation. In this study, the majority of the refugee community interviewed were either refugees or asylum seekers, while there are minor groups of other categories such as

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work/business visa, permanent residence, and undocumented. In Cape Town, about 86% of the Ethiopians migrants interviewed were asylum seekers, and 80% of Somalian migrants had refugee status.

5.2.5   Level of Education

Educational qualification	Ethiopia		Somalia	
	Value	%	Value	%
No formal schooling	1	4.55%	4	12.90%
Completed primary school	10	45.45%	14	45.16%
Matric or country equivalent	10	45.45%	8	25.81%
Tertiary	1	4.55%	5	16.13%
Total	22	100	31	100

Source: Researcher's own compilation (2020)

Several studies show that African migrants generally are well qualified in terms of secondary and tertiary qualifications. The educational qualification for refugees and asylum seekers in this research indicates that the majority have completed their primary and matric levels, while others are at the tertiary level, whereas only 5% had no formal education.

5.3   Refugee and asylum seekers community-based organisations (CBOs)

In the urban areas, most waves of migration, refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrant communities set up organisations that serve their communities or their pre-established communities. The refugee community-based organisation is an organisation that is not only working with refugee communities but is also run by them (Majee, et al. 2019; Zetter et. al. 2005). Many researchers have indicated that refugee community organisations serve to satisfy unmet needs in their communities. According to Burns et. al (2004), refugee-based community organisations act as mediators between state institutions and refugee and asylum seeker communities, providing self-help and survival strategies to enable people to cope during times of adversity and to secure a decent quality of life for themselves and their families.

In South Africa, several refugee community-based organisations are found in urban areas, particularly the refugee and asylum seeker communities. These community-

based organisations comprise burial societies, faith-based organisations, sports clubs, savings clubs, women's groups, and independent churches. This study concentrates on the refugees and asylum seeker communities, namely Ethiopians and Somalis in Cape Town and their community-based structures. The main purpose of refugee-based organisations as highlighted by both leaders and community members is to spread knowledge, assist refugee and asylum seeker communities, and improve their standards, protection, and access to service in migrant communities in Cape Town.

Refugee communities have diverse needs in terms of social, cultural, economic, and psychological needs. Community-based cultural organisations are a platform of engagement for traditional practice. Economically, community-based organisations facilitate mutual support among members through financial assistance during situations of scarcity and uncertainty. Psychologically, migrant communities share their trauma with family in their home countries and alleviate the discrimination they encounter in the host country through their migrant partners, particularly women (who may, for example, have experienced violence or separation from their children), children (who may have experienced violence or separation from their parents), older people, and victims of war in their country of origin.

5.4 Functions of refugees and asylum seekers community-based organisations

At the community level, the locally led organisations play important roles in facilitating community-wide and specific group issues, problem identification, prioritisation, and goal setting (Dinbabo, 2014; Swanepoel, 1997). Depending on the organisational structure adopted by the community, the functions of refugee-led organisations are to explore the ways of dealing with problems, assign responsibilities, and identify resources within the community. They serve as platforms whereby community members deal internally with issues affecting them, exchanging their ideas and engaging in collaborative action. According to Swanepoel (1997),

> *"The community organisation's closeness to community members facilitates information gathering and consultation at community level."*

According to Barbera & Ochse, (2009), the three main role players confronted with the challenges of refugee and asylum seekers are the government institutions, the non-profit-sector, and representative organisations of refugees and asylum seekers. The RCO of Ethiopians and Somalis and in Cape Town provides a range of protection services for unforeseen finance-related misfortune, social events, weddings and cultural events, problems related to the xenophobic attacks, violence, and business robbery in the townships. Moreover, the protection services include access to education for children and adults for language classes, hospital intermediaries and interpreter services when there are language barriers, mobilisation of community members, home affairs and legal documentation problems, crime, and human rights issues. There are other community self-help structures such as savings clubs, burial societies, informal self-help, as well as independent faith-based community organisations, Christian Churches and Islamic structures that deal with religious matters, charity, Madrasahs, Mosques, and cultural and medical advice.

5.5   Asset-based communities (ABCs) among refugees and asylum seekers

The Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach challenges communities to think about what they have and not about what they do not have (Pretorius & Nel (2012). According to Morse (2011:10), ABCs assist community members in developing *"new eyes about themselves and their surroundings"*. The primary assets of a community are social aspects such as individuals, local associations, and institutions. Resource identification is a positive action and it influences a community positively (Swanepoel, 1997).

Local resources among refugee and asylum seeker communities in Cape Town consist of skills, experience, time, or willingness to become involved, traditions, and customs. One of the vital skills used by community members is interpreting by intermediaries. They are frequently relied upon when approaching South African institutions for help with language difficulties, distrust, and fear of discrimination. There are also the physical infrastructure assets among the community, such as workspace, community centres, churches, mosques, and childcare centres. Community-owned

assets include tuck shops, hawkers, cash and carry retailers, internet cafés, restaurants, and remittance services. According to leading researchers (Dinbabo, 2014; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), the more social capital a community has, the more beneficial it is for that particular community. Furthermore, asset-based community development enables all communities, no matter how poor, to possess strengths, assets, and energy that contribute significantly to a self-sustained improved quality of life. The ability to mobilise resources at the community level reflects their membership and constituency base as well as their ability to build confidence in the communities they represent.

5.6   Solidarity among refugee community members

The sense of community and solidarity within refugee communities is expressed through their culture. Both Somalian and Ethiopian respondents stated that they share whatever they have among the members of their ethnic communities, such as food, shelter, and other basic needs. The culture of sharing is specifically demonstrated during traditional festivals, weddings, and religious celebrations such as Ramadan and Eid in the Somali community and Christmas and Easter among Ethiopian communities in Cape Town.

Communities are defined for those who stay in the same geographical area (Swanepoel, 1997). The refugee and asylum communities in Cape Town reside in the same local areas. In Cape Town, migrant communities, particularly the Ethiopians and Somalis are predominantly in Bellville and surrounding areas. In Bellville, both communities have a variety of businesses, including restaurants, malls, and coffee shops. There are educational community facilities like primary schools, churches, Islamic studies schools and colleges that offer short courses as well as other training for immigrant community organisations. The level of solidarity among communities and their strong communal responsibility makes it easier for them to interact and communicate and cope in difficult times. In the case of problems related to xenophobic attacks, solidarity in close communities and coping mechanisms for helping each other were emphasised by the respondents.

5.7 Characteristics of refugees and asylum seekers community-based organisations

Refugee communities tend to establish community-based structures to take an active role in protecting themselves and improving access to their basic needs and available services. Community-based organisations serve primarily as a defence against poverty and destitution and the fulfilment of immediate needs. The main characteristics of community-based organisations are bonding and creating a formal system reflecting the norms and internal trust connections of ethnic communities. In many countries, NGOs and organisations acquire a minimum degree of legitimacy through registration, which certifies them as entities permitted to engage in service provision (Dinbabo, 2014; Dinbabo, 2012; Brinkerhoff, 2005). In terms of registration, this study revealed that the majority of refugee community organisations in Cape Town are formally registered. The refugee community leaders interviewed acknowledged that they represent formally registered community-based and faith-based organisations.

Refugees led Community-based Organizations (CBO)

- Self-help (inward looking only invest in bonding social capital)
- Grass roots initiatives
- Self-rooted protection strategies
- Horizontal tie - bonding social capital
- Internal trust and strong solidarity among the community members
- Bottom up activity
- Homogeneous groups
- intra group ties e.g. family, friends, and neighbours

Leadership representation

- Elected community leaders
- Volunteers
- Faith base leaders (Pastors in the Churches & Sheikhs or Imams in the Mosques)
- Business leaders
- Clan leaders

Participation of community members

- Membership base
- Ethnicity members
- Faith based groups
- Elder and traditional leaders
- Women
- Youth

✓ Community protection mechanisms
✓ Access to rights, services, and resources
✓ Information sharing
✓ Safe space
✓ Referral pathways
✓ Psychological support
✓ Economic support
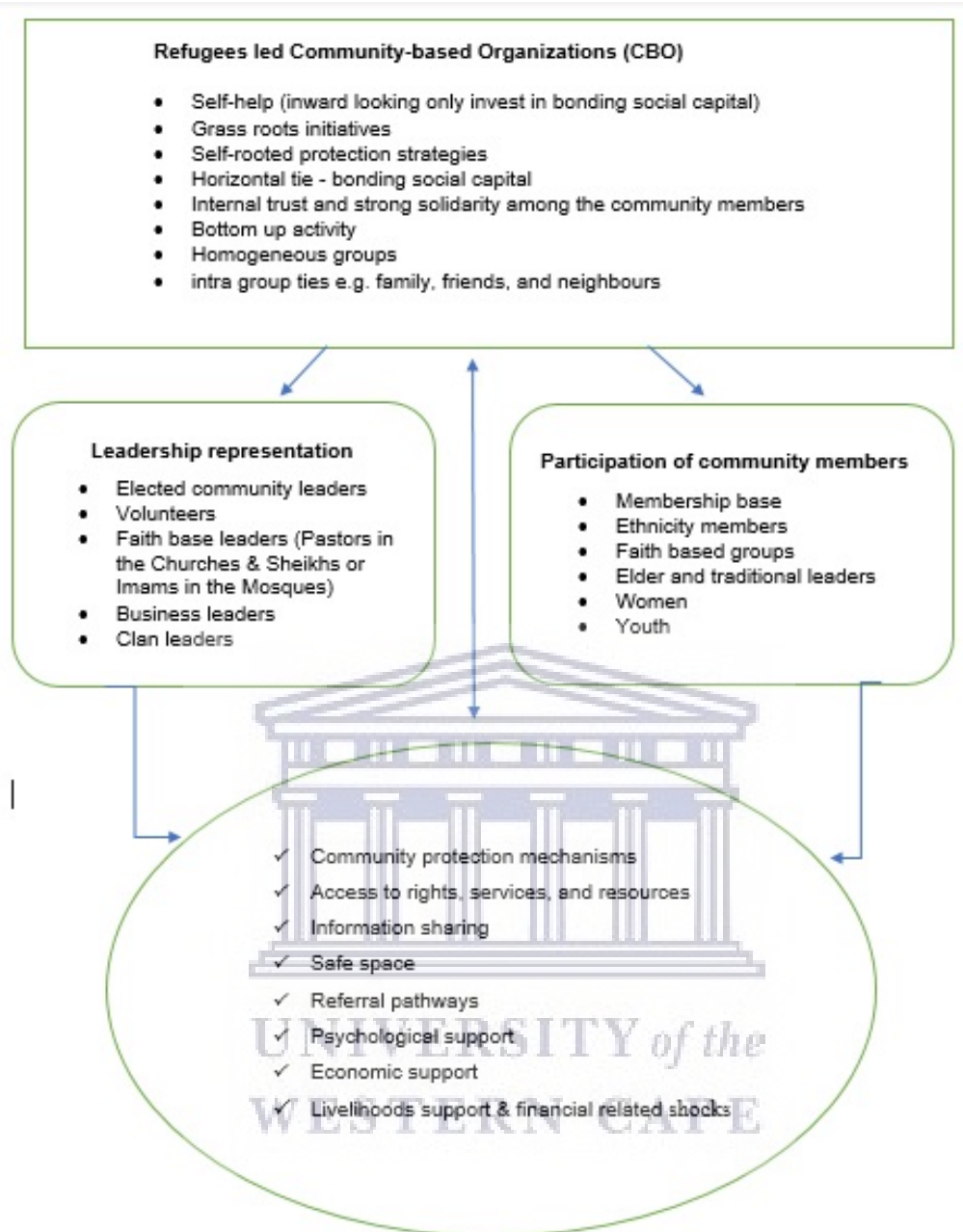✓ Livelihoods support & financial related shocks

Figure 5.1: Characteristics of refugees and asylum seekers community-based organisations

Source: Author's own construct

5.8 Leadership and representation

Community leaders tend to build a bridge that enables community members to come together through engagement and common understanding as well as voicing their

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concern collectively (Campus, 2013; Callistus & Dinbabo; 2014; Ile & Dinbabo, 2015). In Cape Town, the refugee-led organisation of the Ethiopian community leadership structures is made up of seven leaders representing the whole Ethiopian community in Cape Town. The Somalis have several structures that serve their communities for different matters. These structures have community forums that meet regularly to discuss community issues. In the focus group discussions, refugees and asylum seekers community structures of both Ethiopians and Somalis emphasised that they represent their nationalities and ethnic members. Helping the members of the community was considered a norm in both communities.

In the election process, the refugee community leaders are elected based on their experience, duration of stay in the country, and their age (40 years and above) that are commonly perceived as wiser by the Somalian community. In the Ethiopian community in Cape Town, the leadership election process is both participatory and democratic, and the entire community is involved in the selection process. The Somali leadership election process in Cape Town involves the elders, business associations, and clan structures. In this study, findings show that both the Ethiopian and Somalian community leaders are likely to be males of mature age. In the focus group discussion, members noted that age and experience were more important when appointing leaders than other factors such as education and socioeconomic status. However, some respondents asserted that leadership tasks are often associated with education and managerial skills. Other indicators were also considered in the leadership elections, such as partaking actively in community affairs and personal wealth.

5.9   Participation in the refugee community-based organisations

Community-based protection is aligned with the concept of community development which promotes the active and meaningful participation of the beneficiaries of development (Beyene & Dinbabo 2019; O'Fallon and Dearry, 2002; Dinbabo, 2014; Penderis, 2014). The organisational structures adopted by the leaders facilitated the participation of the community in the association's decision-making processes at various levels.

Participation of Elders and Traditional leaders: Elders and traditional leaders are part of the formation process of the organisations. The inclusion of elders in community organisations facilitates the integration of their traditional power and influence as well as traditional networks existing in the community. In this study, respondents emphasised that the Somalian leadership election process involves the elders and clan structures, which makes it easier to gain the trust and support of the community. For instance, Somali community members interviewed stated that clan leaders and elderly people enjoy the overall authority in the community, and sometimes community members take grievance issues to them.

Participation of religious groups: The places of worships such as churches and mosques play especially important roles in a community's social life. The Ethiopian faith-based leadership structure comprises both Christian churches and Islamic structure. In the interviews, respondents highlighted that both religious groups have structures that aid their constituencies as well as members of their communities. Albayaan is a faith-based organisation among Somalians that deals with religious matters like Mosques, Madrasahs, family related matters and cultural advices.

Participation of Women: In many informal networks, women often play the role of facilitator for get-togethers, keep in touch with others, remain up to date with news, and ensure that everyone stays more or less on good terms. In this study, female community members mentioned in interviews that they were engaged and active participators in community activities. In the faith-based sector, Ethiopian women serve at micro level as cell-leaders at churches. In the Somalian community, women organise into separate groups to raise funds among themselves, thereby helping to solve touching issues such as help people in need and orphans in the community. However, this study revealed that women occupied inferior positions or in other cases women are excluded from leadership positions. This is partly related to customs and traditions as

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well as their educational level, added to the fact refugee women in a host country must take care of their children. On the other hand, there are other women's platforms supported by the Scalabrini centre that provide mutual support for women such as training, networking opportunities, capacity building, and informal business incubation. The platforms also support new and existing as well as self-organised nationality-based groups. They aim to become a cross-national support network by empowering participants with skills, small business acumen, and personal development workshops (Mundell & Carone, 2016). Women's platform projects are designed and led by the participants themselves. The participant groups for women represent several nationalities: Rwandan, Congolese, Somali, Angolan, Zimbabwean, Malawian, Nigerian, and South African (Mundell & Carone, 2016).

Participation of Youth groups: The youth plays an essential role in issues that affect their life by working with community organisations and their leaders. The inclusion of youth in community organisations is necessary because of their energy, modern education, and the new dimension they bring to an association. Assessment by age group in this study, however, indicated that the involvement of young people for both Ethiopians and Somalis is rather limited. The leaders and executive members of community organisations are elected based on their age. The findings highlighted that youth were excluded from leadership positions because they were believed to be too immature to provide strong leadership. Refugee youth groups interviewed specified that some are busy with entrepreneurial enterprises while others are occupied with tertiary education.

5.10 Methods of communication among community members

Social networks among communities and groups are maintained through face-to-face communication and media by using letters, telephone calls, or the Internet. The Internet and other forms of communication allow people to maintain contact with members of their social network, cultivate ties, and garner aid and resources as well

as information (Sithole and Dinbabo, 2016; Kavanaugh et. al, 2005; Servaes, 2000; Tibbie. 1997).

One of the most important gains for a community is the awareness they generate of their environment, of their needs, and their resources. In this study, the Ethiopian and Somalian leaders stressed that during mobilisation campaigns and threat alerts, community are reached via cell phone technology and social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and mass text messaging Events requiring these alerts include xenophobic attacks and break-ins, and destruction of informal businesses in townships. Community members asserted in interviews that they use personal as well as group pages on Facebook and social media platforms to highlight their concerns. Feedback and consultative meetings are organised mainly through WhatsApp groups and word of mouth.

The interviews highlighted that they use this method of communication for protection strategies and to address insecurities in their communities. The current work examined the mode of communication among the Ethiopians and Somalian communities in terms of phone calls, door to door, text messaging, and social media platforms. Figure 5.2 explains responses relating to methods of communication used by the sample. Respondents ranked their preferred means of communication from 1 to 7 (where 1 was the most likely and 7 was the least likely). Phone calls were ranked as the most likely channel of communication for sharing information (22.5%), followed by WhatsApp (19.75%), SMSs and Facebook ranked third (16.26%), and fourth-ranked, door-to-door (12.3%). The least likely modes of communication were email and Twitter.
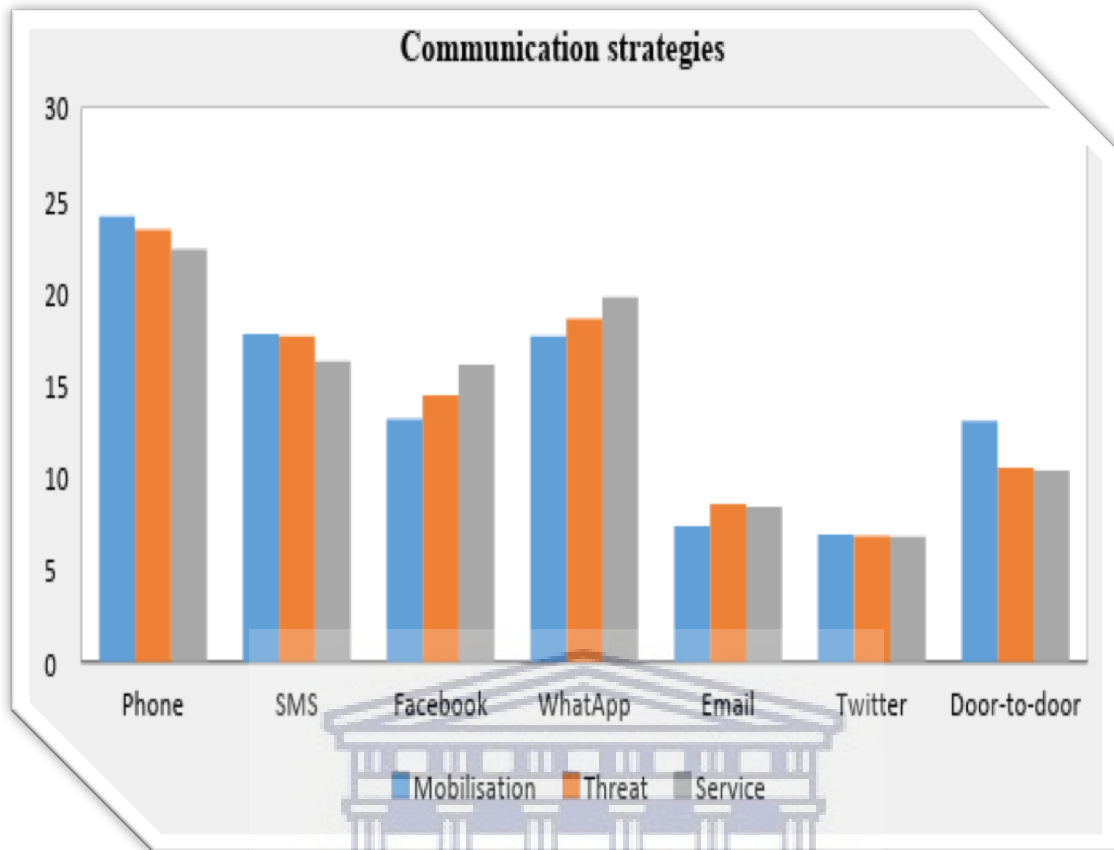
Figure 5.2: Methods of communication among refugees leaders and community members

Source: Dinbabo et al. field survey, 2018

5.11 SWOT Analysis of refugee led-community organisations in Cape Town

The refugee and asylum seekers' organisations are self-rooted or locally led protection strategies providing awareness, education, and support services to community members (UNHCR 2019). In Cape Town, Somalian and Ethiopian community organisations provide a range of protection services such as unexpected finance-related reverses, social events, weddings and cultural events, problems related to xenophobia, violence, and business robbery in the townships.

Strengths: The main strengths of the refugee community-led organisations in Cape Town are reflected by refugee and asylum-seeking communities as they serve the needs of their communities. Secondly, greater financial support among the

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community members themselves, as most funding is currently sourced from businesspeople and faith-based associations. Another strength that many participants mentioned is bringing members of the community together around mutual concerns and needs, participation in making decisions, and consultative and feedback meetings with their constituencies.

Weaknesses: It has been highlighted that the number of limitations that the community-based organisation have, this include, limited self-sustainability, technical capacity, limited managerial & organisational capabilities and lack of a broad programming context (Cernea, 1988; Brekke, 2014; Abdelkerim, and Grace, 2012). The refugee community organisations in Cape Town are struggling with these problems. In some cases, the community-based organisations, and the leaders of the organisations struggle to deal with the demands of the people that are struggling to survive in harsh circumstances. The leaders and community members interviewed specified that the refugee organisations in Cape Town are not readily available to deal with such difficult community needs. Consequently, they use a referral system to local partner organisations, NGOs that help with refugee and asylum seeker issues, and government agencies. According to White (1986), the presence of CBOs and their establishment is not easy to achieve and there is no guarantee that they play their proper role of representation. Participants highlighted a lack of leadership skills and resources. Community members are of the view that in some cases, community leaders are ineffective in addressing the regular attacks and business robbery incidents in the townships.

Opportunities: Growth and expansion opportunity – the refugee community organisations can benefit from the advanced institutions in South Africa and also expand their capacity for networking and partnerships with civil society, inter-regional organisations and many other institutions that provide services to the refugees. The refugee community has many opportunities in terms of access to physical resources and technologies from libraries, colleges, universities, and many other high-quality learning facilities.

Threats: Lack of funding was the main difficulty that community organisations face. Community leaders and members struggle to pay for community centre office

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facilities such as rent and electricity. There are limiting barriers and in some cases, the lack of funding might harm organisational activities and community events.

Competition exists between community members as there are many community service organisations, some of them not formally registered as is the case with multiple Somali community-based representations. Individuals who are unknown to the Ethiopian community are the most poorly represented by service organisations.

5.3 Summary of SWOT Analysis of R & A Community based organisations in Cape Town

Strengths	Weaknesses
Social assets (Friends, family)	Poor networking
Asset based community	Community support base
Community support funding	Strong ties (ethnic community only)
Leadership within community	limited self-sustainability
Affordability	Lack of formal mechanism
Location	Lack of accountability & transparency
Solidarity	
Ethnicity	
Skills	
Intermediary actors.	
Opportunities	**Threats**
Resource availability	Lack of funding
An advanced institution in the host country	Competition
Referral system	Less representation
Support system	
Networking	
Partnership with civil society, local, inter-regional and international organisations.	

5.12 Networks and partnerships with the other organisations

Much of the literature on community networking and organisation stresses the importance of personal relationships developed at both micro-level and macro-level of structure and agency. Networking is a vital aspect for supporting multi-agency partnership, alliances, organisational boundaries, and community development (Bryson, 2004; Gilchrist, 2019). It can be used to develop a well-connected community

and effective mode of organisation in managing complex changing situations (Gilchrist, 2019; Nederhand and Klijn, 2016).

Throughout the study, respondents from refugee and asylum seeker community organisations emphasised that their networks are community support bases for funding and support. The Ethiopian and Somalian community organisations in Cape Town provide advisory services and host a variety of events and activities for their communities. Strong ties are crucial for mobilising financial capital, something which requires a high level of mutual trust, but their homogeneity tends to limit their capacity to gain access to the other types of resources.

Networks consist of both primary relationships (strong ties) and secondary relationships (weak ties). Social ties between network elements vary in connection strength. Strong ties are similar to primary relationships, consisting of people in which there is an important emotional linkage, characterised by routine interactions such as family, close friends, and ethnic groups. To the extent that networks are defined by weak ties, relationships are secondary. Weak ties serve as bridges, uniting diverse networks which in turn increase the pool of resources potentially available to network members.

The Ethiopian and Somalian leaders said that they liaise regularly with the host country's institutions, particularly with community police forums. The primary function of community development work is to establish and nurture bridging capital found in the weak ties and linking the capital of community and inter-organisational networks (Dinbabo, 2014; Dinbabo, 2012; Gilchrist, 2019). Migrant leaders and community members highlighted in their interviews that community organisations are still in the process of establishing networks with a range of stakeholders and government institutions. In the same way, both communities have networks and are raising awareness among other foreign migrants about the issues of xenophobic attacks and discrimination. They are also part of the Association for Refugee and Community Organisations in South Africa (ARCOSA), which is an umbrella structure representing refugee community organisations in South Africa. Networks are based on relationships

and patterns of interactions between individuals through connections and reciprocal exchanges.

5.13 Inter-organisational dynamics

By looking at the importance of resource utilisation for better development performance for refugees and asylum seekers, there is a need to look at the nature of inter-organisational dynamics among various community organisations, the relevance of partner organisation, and utilising social capital in host country. With regards to partnerships and networking, however, refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town have no well-developed affiliation with third parties. Maintaining connections with different sources within and beyond the community allows a form of intelligence gathering, enabling people to gain access to advisory services and resources that they might not otherwise have known or influenced (Gilchrist, 2019). Networks are often studied as an important source of resources and capabilities (Zaheer, Gözübüyük and Milanov, 2010). The resources originate in the characteristics of the relationships, from the structure of the ego-network itself or from alter-ego characteristics (Michelfelder & Kratzer, 2013). Communities or individuals with contact networks rich in structural capacity are those who know about, have a hand in, and exercise control over more rewarding opportunities (Burt, 2001).

Linking characteristically connects individuals with heterogeneous backgrounds, experience, knowledge, capabilities, and skills, which increases the potential opportunities from diverse ideas in multiple specialised domains of expertise (Tiwana, 2008). According to Granovetter (1973) *"strong ties left unbalanced by weak ties result in isolation of a network from broad segment of society."* Granovetter considers weak ties to be powerful elements in the context of social structure because they are more likely to serve the important bridging function compared with strong ties. On the other hand, networks with strong ties are inherently closed with limited scope, which requires the investment of considerable time and emotional resources. According to Grieco, (1998), the predominance of either strong or weak ties within any migrant social network can directly influence its continued isolation from, or level of integration with,

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the destination society. Gurak and Caces, (1992) assert that weak ties are more important than the strong ties because they unite diverse networks among other groups which, in turn, increase the resources available to members of the network. Granovetter (1973) argues that unbalanced strong ties and weak ties result in the isolation of a network from broad segments of society. To be a well-connected group, the refugee community organisation must benefit from useful links with people and organisations beyond its immediate borders.

5.4 Legitimacy Assessment Framework

Refugee and asylum-seeking representative structures legitimacy indicators	Hypothesis	Proxy indicators
Networks	The more extensive the network with other legitimate actors, the greater the legitimacy	Variety of types of networks leaders reach Cooperation with local support structures (local councils, committees and political parties, etc.)
Numbers	The larger the volume of membership, the bigger the legitimacy	Number of followers (e.g. members in the organisations, participants in march) Geographical scope (local, national, international)

Source: **Adopted from Lis (2011) pp 37- 40**

The network approach examines connection synergies that assist in enhancing socio-economic development. For example, Beyene and Dinbabo, (2019) and Woolcock and Narayan, (2000) highlight the significance of horizontal and vertical associations between actors in a social network and relationships with similar organisational entities. Linking social capital encompasses creating synergies with government institutions, and both local and private organisations for positive development results (Warren, Thompson and Saegert, 2001). Linking social capital is a vertical relation between heterogeneous groups. It refers to connections with different levels of power, hierarchy, social status, and the general public or between people from different social classes. Establishing connections with official organisations is important for poor people because it helps them find the necessary resources from supporting organisations.

According to Claridge (2004), the key function of linking social capital is the capacity of the community to leverage resources, ideas, and information from formal institutions outside the community. Communities can benefit from linking social capital by connecting government official with the people who provide the knowledge and skills they need to perform their jobs. Furthermore, the network view sees social capital as the ability of individuals to receive benefits through their associations to the social structure (Gilchrist, 2019). Specific attention has been given to three forms of social capital to highlight the importance of household, community-level associations and the macro environment when considering how social capital is formed and influence social capital has on structures. Combining multiple types of social capital, rather than attempting to increase one type alone, can be useful in resolving public problems and enhancing wellbeing (Adhikari, 2008; Woolcock & Sweetser, 2002; Pretty, 2002).

Social capital also provides insights into the influence of social relations amongst community members and local organisations, and economic performance (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). They are also instrumental in analysing the influence of social capital on social development and poverty alleviation programmes, and in assessing the influence of social capital on determining democratic attitudes in communities (Mohan &Mohan, 2002; Carbajal et al, 2012). Moreover, the concept of social capital is crucial to community development. Social capital improves understanding of why solidarity in communities has translated into self-sufficient communities, for understanding why communities can function without formal control mechanisms, and why community networks are so important in ensuring that developmental initiatives succeed (Adler & Kwon, 2000; Mattessich, 2009).

5.14 Chapter summary

This chapter covered the functions and characteristics of refugee and asylum seeker community-based organisations at a micro level, followed by a discussion of the leadership and members' participation in the organisation and their methods of communication. Analysis showed that refugees and asylums seeker community organisations is a case with bonding social capital, based on the close circle of family, clan, kinship, and ethnicity. Therefore, the stock of different types (bonding, bridging

and linking) of social capital and their mutual interaction is crucial for the effective management of collective resources and positive development results.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1   Introduction

The purpose of this research study was to explore the link between community based representative refugee organisations in Cape Town and the stakeholders and host institutions. From the findings, it is clear that refugee and asylum seeker community-based organisations are helpful at the micro-level in terms of protection services and community awareness. The discussion in this chapter starts with a summary of the research findings, followed by proposed recommendations for further research.

6.2   Summary of the research findings

In recent times, the functions and roles of refugee community organisations have been the subject of considerable interest. Community-based protection is commonly seen as something that the community must do by itself. In some cases, external actors play a crucial role in supporting community-led organisations to run their projects and determine their needs (de Beer & Swanepoel, 2012).

In this research, the findings acknowledge that the refugee community organisations were successful in terms of organising at a micro level, transferring some of their knowledge to the communities they represent, as well as practical applications of that knowledge. The community members highlighted improvements to representative organisations in terms of awareness, education, and protection. Their strength is community representation, assisting and sharing skills with community members. Concerning organisational effectiveness, community respondents viewed community organisations as helpful and effective. Respondents declared that without them, they wouldn't know where to go. (Dinbabo, et al. 2018).

The community refugee-led structures provide emotional and psychological support and networks within their communities. To adjust their environment and counter physical and emotional struggles, the community support base must have mutual assistance which is vital as the front line of protection. This research concentrated on the role and functions played by the refugee community-based organisations among Ethiopian and Somali community in Cape Town at the self-rooted level and locally led

protection strategies. The horizontal ties within communities who are already familiar with one another show strong social bonds and collaboration among refugees and asylum seekers, which are essential for strengthening and supporting their community. This work found that the refugee-led community structures need improvements in systems and procedures., For example, they lack service contracts with partner organisations, and bridges for uniting diverse networks, which in turn would increase the pool of resources potentially available to network community members.

Besides, in the context of this research as highlighted in the chapter five analysis the term community-based organisation (CBO) refers to as a formal organisation, an area-based membership association existing at the community level that brings together all or most people within the community and promotes its development by direct self-help or lobbying for needed services.

The study revealed that at grassroots level, refugee and asylum seekers community organisations in Cape Town play a leading part at the micro level to address basic needs, spread knowledge, assist in the refugee and asylum seeker communities, and improve their standards, protection and access to service. Throughout the study, refugees and asylum seeker community respondents stressed that their structures and representative organisations are self-rooted and locally led protection initiatives established by themselves and funded by the community itself.

Several related studies (Adhikari, 2008; Bhattacharyya, 1995; Dinbabo, et al. 2018; Gilchrist, 2019; MacDonald, 2012; Dinbabo, 2014) measured the main factors used to protect communities themselves. These are the range of assets and their ability to protect their livelihoods, and the extent of sharing among members of communities and families when a crisis hits. Also, the relative importance of community culture, religion, value, and social norms are the most important factors in their protection strategies.

The findings also show that community leaders can make do with what they have. Through interviews and focus group discussions, it is noticeable that representative leaders play an invaluable role in the functioning and success of community-based organisations. The community members emphasised the leadership roles and altruistic spirit, and how they continuously assist the community in any way they can without expecting power, position, or money in return. It was concluded that since the refugee community organisation are established by themselves, they provide better protection assistance and community transformation.

The findings of the study highlight that refugee and asylum seeker community-based organisations utilise participatory decision-making processes. At various levels, elders, business leaders, and traditional leaders play a major role in the formation and decision-making processes. Although women are part of the community organisation, their leadership positions are limited, and they tend to occupy inferior positions because of cultural barriers. Young people are excluded due to the perception that they lack the wisdom, experience, or competence required for leadership.

The study further showed that the refugees and asylum seekers rely on dense community networks and strong mutual support among their homogeneous ethnic communities to capitalise on available resources and opportunities in their environment. At a community level, social capital enables people to network and help each other in their neighbourhoods. However, effective outcomes and a large impact require capable intermediary actors who can facilitate enthusiasm and aggregation at higher levels.

By looking at the beyond the community, it is clear that refugee community-based organisations need an array of intermediary actors depending on the type of activities and the area of specialisation of the service providers. In Cape Town, the refugee community-based organisations and their links with other stakeholders still being established. However, the affiliation with third parties is not well developed. Maintaining connections, the nature of inter-organisational dynamics among the

various community organisations and the relevance of partner organisations, service providers, and host country institutions allow a form of intelligence gathering. This enables people to gain access to advisory services and resources for the utilisation of social capital for better development performance. The higher the number of networks and partnerships, the greater the benefits and efficiency of community organisations.

6.3   Recommendations

Since the Ethiopian and Somalian community organisation services target their ethnic community members all over Cape Town, they have to create bridging and linking social capital with the key stakeholders and service provider partners from the UNHCR to maximize resources and effectively address problems in their communities.

Since the learning process is vital to community development, the leaders, role players, and community development workers, it is important to be equipped with the necessary skills. On the other hand, empowerment of communities is the objective of people-centred development, therefore the refugee and asylum seekers community members should benefit from the training and development programs that are available to the refugee agencies and service providers.

Refugee led Community organisation should develop a monitoring system and procedures for keeping a record of the advice given and the implementation of complaints procedures and policies. Quarterly reports are also needed for accountability and transparency purposes as well as for funding requirements

Within the migrant communities, refugee-led organisations should work more closely with other migrant community associations, migrant forums, and interact with the local community authorities.

Cooperation with several refugee agencies develops through a referral system, which builds strong relationships with the key protection and assistance roles played by national authorities, and legal authorities. National charities and civil society networks and partnership are critically needed.

6.4 Areas for further research

A suggestion for further research includes recommendations to explore the migrant community-based organisations and their connections with other platforms in different migrant communities in the urban areas of South Africa.

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APPENDIX One: Structured survey questionnaire

Study Title: Refugee and Asylum Seeking Representative Structures and their Communities in SA.

STUDY BACKGROUND

This questionnaire is designed to investigate Refugee and Asylum Seeking Representative Structures and their Communities in SA. The research is anonymous; you do not need to disclose your personal details. The information that you provide will be used for analysis purposes. It will take 15 to 20 minutes of your time to complete the questionnaire. Your time to fill in this questionnaire is truly appreciated.

Duration: 20 minutes

REMEMBER!!!

"The information you will provide will be treated confidentially"
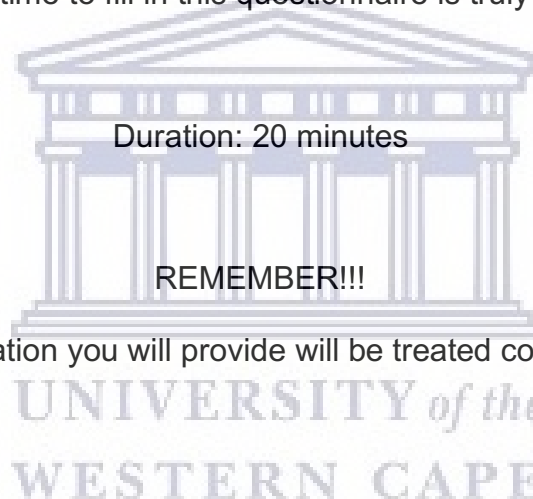
Please mark your preferred answer with an (x) and mark only one answer per question.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Gender

Male (1)	Female (2)

2. Age

(1) 16-35	(2) 36-45	(3) 46-60	(4) above 60

3. Nationality

(1) Congolese	(2) Ethiopian	(3) Eritrean	(4) Somali

4. Documentation

(1) Refugee Status	(2) Asylum seekers	(3) Work/business visa	(4) Undocumented	(5) other

ACCESSING SERVICES FROM COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURE

5. Have you faced problems or barriers in accessing services?

Not at all (1)	Yes (2)

6. What are the services you faced problems/barriers with?

Documentation (1)	Employment (2)	Education (3)	Medical Services (4)

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Safety/Security (5)	Shelter (6)	Legal Rights/Advice (7)	Others (8)

7. What are the problems/barriers related to?

Documentation (1)	Distance to service (2)	Lack of information (3)	Security concerns (4)
Discrimination (5)	Financial issues (6)	Others (7)	

8	**Do you feel safe in your community?**	Not at all (1)	Yes (2)

9. Whom do you contact for help in case of a security/safety problem?

Family member (1)	Community leader (2)	Religious leader (3)	NGOs (4)
Police (5)	No one (6)	Others (7)	Others (8)

10. Who are your trusted source of information in your community?

Family member (1)	Other refugees (2)	Community leader (3)	Religious leader (4)
NGOs (5)	Police (6)	No one (7)	Others (8)

C. PROTECTION TO REFUGEE AND ASYLUM SEEKERS

11. Where do you go to when in need of assistance?

Family member (1)	Other refugees (2)	Community leader (3)	Religious leader (4)
NGOs (5)	Police (6)	No one (7)	Others (8)

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D. LEVEL OF MEMBER'S PARTICIPATION

12. Are you involved in any type of community meetings to discuss issues of concern?

Not at all (1)	Once in a while (2)	Sometimes (3)	Fairly often(4)

13. Do you know any refugee organisation representing you in the community?

No (1)	Yes (2)

14. I consider myself involved in the community/representative structure works

(1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Agree	(4) Strongly agree

15. How attached are you in the community/representative structure?

(1) Detached	(2) Neither attached or detached	(3) Attached	(4) Very attached

16. How important do you feel it is for people to be actively involved in community/representative structure?

(1) Unimportant	(2) Of little importance	(3) Important	(4) Very important

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME ☺

APPENDIX TWO: Focus group discussions and Individual in-depth Interviews for Community Members

This research focuses on protection structures that are available to refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. Information that is collected from you during this interview will be safely secured and any personal information identifying you will be removed in order to ensure your anonymity. The data will only be used for research purposes and no names or addresses of respondents will be revealed.

Leadership

Do you consider the leaders in your community to be good leaders?

What are the qualities that make them good leaders?

Have you had any problems in the last 12 months that you have discussed with these leaders?

Do you consider that they were effective in solving your problems?

Representation

Do your leaders represent your views and priorities in the community? How do they do this?

Do community leaders support people from different ethnic, religious and political groups? If not, could you give reasons why you think they do not.

Are women represented in leadership position?

Are there barriers that could prevent women from becoming leaders? Could you name them?

Protection structures

What are the different types of support structures that exist in your community?

Which of these structures have you used in the last 12 months?

Which, in your view is the most supportive structure?

If you had a problem, name the three most important structures that you would consult?

Who else would you approach in your community if you had a problem?

Transparency

Are you informed by the organisation about the services they offer?

How do they communicate with community members?

Do they give feedback to community members and are you happy with their feedback?

Effectiveness

Do you consider that your leaders are successful in their different roles in supporting community members?

What are the activities that you consider makes them effective?