REFUGEE AND ASYLUM SEEKING REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Understanding the functions, roles, responsibilities, accountability and decision-making processes within refugee leadership structures

Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa

ISD — Institute for Social Development

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ADF	African Diaspora Forum in Johannesburg
ARCOSA	Association for Refugee Communities & Organisations in SA
ARESTA	Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training & Advocacy
BFV	Buguma Fuliiru-Vira
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
COCOPE	Congolese Community of Port Elizabeth
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants South Africa
CTRC	Cape Town Refugee Centre
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSD	Department of Social Development
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
FCC	Fraternity of Congolese Community
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GFG	Generations for Generations
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KZNSCC	KwaZulu-Natal Somali Community Council
LAF	Legitimacy Assessment Framework
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
LRC	Legal Resource Centre
MRASA	Muslim Refugee Association of South Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RAS	Refugee and Asylum Seekers
RDS	Respondent Driven Sampling
REWA	Refugee Women's Alliance
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARA	South African Refugee Action
SARCS	South African Red Cross Society
SASA	Somali Association of South Africa
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SIHMA	Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa
SORAA	Somali Refugee Aid Agency
TMPD	Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UWC	University of the Western Cape

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Understanding and identifying the functions, roles, responsibilities, accountability and decision-making processes within the representative structures of any community is important, but especially critical among marginalized populations, for whom these structures may be the only source of support and representation. Knowledge of the different aspects of these structures allows for informed decision-making about what to harness and prioritize in order to strengthen them. Yet, most of the existing studies in South Africa do not provide sufficient knowledge or insights about the representative structures and communities of refugees and asylum seeking populations in the country. In general, there is inadequate discussion in the literature. Accordingly, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in South Africa commissioned the University of the Western Cape (UWC), in partnership with the Scalabrini Institute of Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA), to undertake a study on "Refugee and Asylum Seeking Representative Structures and their Communities in South Africa". In response to the call, we conducted a mixed methods study in 6 cities in South Africa. The following is an outline of the key findings generated by the research.

Leadership
- Determining elements/factors for appointment in a leadership position in refugee-led organizations include being male, being of mature age; resident in the country for a long period time or having a permanent residence permit, belonging to a dominant ethnic group, possessing strong language skills; being educated; and belonging to a dominant religious group;

- Possessing and demonstrating a volunteering spirit, showing commitment, motivation, and dedication to help others are also perceived as important attributes;

Representation
- The process of appointing of leaders is varied;

- In some cases, leaders are appointed by a select group of community members, which often excludes women and illiterate individuals;

- In other cases, leaders are self-appointed rather than elected by members of the community;

- Only in one case did the study find a leader who was appointed through a fully democratic and participatory process of election;

- Most leaders are also founders of the organizations they lead;

- Nearly across all of the study sites/provinces, women, young people, people with disabilities and people who are gay/lesbian are completely excluded from leadership positions;

- In most communities of refugee and asylum seekers (RAs), gay and lesbian individuals are underrepresented in terms of access to services;

- Political and ethnic divisions that prevail in countries of origin do not necessarily affect representation dynamics in the country of asylum;

Networks and partnerships

- Refugees and asylum seekers rely on dense community networks, which provide benefits for effective cooperation and mutual support;

- Homogeneous ethnic communities with a strong religious identity and residing in the same geographic location are able to capitalize information and maximize opportunities and resources available within their environment;

- In this regard, the Somali and Oromo community in Johannesburg represent an example of a tight knit community with a strong religious identity where resources are embedded in social networks;

- Community structures and their leaders play a pivotal role in connecting members of the community. Therefore, those individuals who are more connected to community structures and to their leaders have more opportunities to receive information about available services, as opposed to those who socially marginalized and excluded from full participation;

- Leaders possess considerable social, cultural and political capital, which they use to exercise 'community gatekeeping' to regulate access to the resources and opportunities that they control;

Transparency & accountability

- Findings show that there are varying and contradictory perceptions of accountability and transparency of leaders across research sites and population groups;

- Most leaders consider themselves accountable and transparent, however most community members hold a different perception; they reported their leaders to be generally unaccountable to their communities, and their community structures and initiatives lack accountability systems;

- The lack of accountability and transparency is due to the prevailing belief amongst leaders that accountability is only required when there are finances to account for, and since most refugee-led community structures and initiatives are not donor funded, most leaders do not find it necessary to account to their constituencies;

- In general, most of the organizations have limited financial resources, poor accountability, transparency and reporting mechanisms (e.g. websites);

Effectiveness

- Just over 50% of the surveyed respondents in this study perceived their community structures and leaders to be effective;

- The perceived effectiveness is largely in the area of information sharing regarding documentation and other services;

- When it comes to aspects of their mandate that go beyond information sharing, most leaders are perceived to be ineffective in helping RAs. For example, most leaders are thought to be ineffective when it comes to addressing attacks on refugee owned businesses;

- Some of this ineffectiveness is perceived to be due to the pursuit of self-interest by leaders. However, it is also as a result of systemic and structural challenges that leaders are powerless to change;

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction and context

During the last few years, the world has witnessed the greatest rate of increase in the records of refugees and asylum seekers who have been forced to move from their countries due to war, persecution and political violence (Rose, 2017; UNHCR, 2016). While precise information relating to the number of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa is disputed (Stupart, 2016), the same pattern is evident. In the absence of an encampment policy for refugees, the vast majority moves to the largest urban centres and reside within host communities among local residents. Whereas refugees face a myriad of challenges in their attempts to rebuild their lives and experience a sense of community, host governments and local communities also face distinct challenges when accommodating large numbers of refugees and providing necessary support structures and protection interventions.

In recent years there has been a dramatic surge in the number of forcibly displaced persons throughout the world. A total of 65.6 million persons were forcibly displaced in 2016, translating to around 20 people fleeing from war, persecution, violence and human rights violations every 60 seconds (UNHCR, 2017). The global refugee population is becoming increasingly urbanized with more than half of all refugees living in urban areas (Connor & Krogstad, 2016; UNHCR, 2015). However, population levels vary within regions with 28% of displaced persons living in Africa, 28% in Europe, 23% in Asia, 18% in the Middle East and North Africa and 3% in the Americas (UNHCR, 2017). This presents new challenges and innovative responses in addressing the needs of refugees and requires a key role for national and local governments in their efforts to integrate refugees within local host communities, together with the assistance and expertise of humanitarian organisations and NGOs (Halais, 2016; Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, 2012).

Syria, Afghanistan and South Sudan produced the highest number of refugees in 2016. In terms of new individual applications for refugee status, Germany was the largest recipient of asylum applications (722 400), followed by the United States of America (262 000), Italy (123 000), Turkey (78 600) and France (78 400) (UNHCR, 2017). In 2016, the top hosting countries globally included Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Uganda and Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2017).

Within South Africa, the exact number of refugees and asylum seekers appears by all accounts to be difficult to determine and a number of sources have challenged the accuracy of current data and the methods used to record data by the Department of Home Affairs (Africa Check, 2013; Stupart, 2016). The UNHCR's report "Global Trends: Force Displacement in 2016" indicates that, at the end of 2016, the total population of concern in South Africa was 309 342 (UNHCR, 2017). This includes 91 043 refugees and 218 300 asylum seekers. During 2016, South Africa received 35 377 individual claims and the top five sending countries were the Democratic Republic of Congo (5 293), Ethiopia (4 754), Nigeria (3 276), Bangladesh (2 834) and Somalia (1 643). A large number of applications (45%) were submitted by SADC nationals; of these, the majority (63%) of applicants were male, while 70% of the total were between 19-35 years of age (DHA, 2017).

A number of studies have focused on refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. A study conducted by Belvedere (2007) investigated the difficulties facing refugees and asylum seekers and the lack of support and apathy on the side of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), Department of Social Development (DSD) and the South African Police Services (SAPS). Amongst the challenges included the lack of recognition of refugee documents as valid identification documents for the purposes of obtaining social assistance grants, the inability of DSD social workers to provide assistance to unaccompanied foreign minors and violence and abuse at the hands of police officials. Other sources support the claim of inhumane treatment of refugees in South Africa (Enwere, 2006; Johnson, 2015; Amit, 2013).

The topic of refugee rights and creating an enabling environment for refugees in local communities has been the focus of research conducted by Fatima Khan (2007) of the UCT Law Clinic, while Jinnah and Holaday's (2009) study concentrated on migrant mobilisation and claiming rights in South Africa and Nairobi.

Numerous studies investigate the topic of violence against foreigners in post-apartheid South Africa (Neocosmos, 2010; SAHRC, 2010; Misago, Landau & Monson, 2009), whereas others reflect on the causal factors and implications of xenophobia (Misago, 2009) and humanitarian assistance to refugees following xenophobic attacks (Monson, Iggleson & Polzer, 2009; Uwimpuhwe, 2015). A study by Landau (2006) underlined the shortcomings of South Africa's Refugee Policy in the protection of refugees, while Greyling's (2015) study investigates the expected well-being of urban refugees and asylum seekers in Johannesburg as it influences reasons for migration and selection of destination country and such information informs refugee policy decisions.

The topic of integration of refugees has been a subject of much interest within the different provinces of South Africa. Jinnah's (2016) study centred on self-settlement strategies, operationalisation of social networks and governance in Johannesburg, while Mwambetania (2008) investigated the experiences of refugees in terms of integrating within communities. Uwimpuhwe's (2015) doctoral study provides an in-depth focus on the role of immigrant organisations in fostering the integration of refugees in Cape Town. Other studies examined the importance of faith-based organisations in fostering integration, particularly amongst Somalis (Sadouni, 2013, 2009), while Krause-Vilmar (2011) looked at the fostering of self-reliance among urban refugees through a supportive policy environment and the design of relevant economic strategies and approaches.

1.2. Rationale and significance of the study

The increasing incidence of refugees and asylum seekers both globally and in South Africa is a topic that has attracted attention on a number of fronts. In lieu of the uniqueness of South Africa's policy of "non-encampment", it is imperative that detailed and comparative research be conducted on a national scale. For this reason, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in South Africa, commissioned the University of the Western Cape, in partnership with the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa (SIHMA), to conduct a mixed methods study to investigate a number of key research questions among refugees and asylum seekers in six cities in South Africa. Specifically, the study seeks to assist UNHCR and its partners to better understand the nature of refugee-led community organizations, especially their organization, reach, leadership and the extent to which they are

representative of the constituencies they serve. This information will assist UNHCR to design better two-way communication mechanisms with refugee communities and strengthen protection partnerships for refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore, this research will contribute to existing refugee integration literature and further our general understanding of the realities faced by refugees who are attempting to rebuild their lives in new urban contexts.

1.3. Problem statement and aim of the research

More than 65 million people were forcibly displaced from their country of origin during 2015 and forced to flee as a result of war, ethnic violence, religious intolerance, persecution and human rights abuses. The dramatic surge in the ever-increasing number of refugees is deemed a global crisis and poses a number of challenges for the displaced migrants and for local, regional and national governments in their efforts to integrate refugees within host communities and in providing socio-economic assistance to refugees. The situation in South Africa mirrors that of the rest of the world and there is an increasing strand of literature that centres on the struggles faced by refugees in terms of protection from violence, safety and security, humanitarian aid and government assistance in the form of access to education, health care and social assistance. It is against this background that this study will focus on "community-based representation" and protection structures that are available to Somali, Ethiopian and Congolese refugees and asylum seekers in the urban centres of Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Musina.

1.4. Scope and objectives

The general scope of this assignment is to empirically examine refugee and asylum seeking representative structures and their communities in South Africa. Stakeholders include the UNHCR, Government Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs, CBOs, FBOs) who are involved in the protection of, and assistance to, persons of concern in the country.

The project specifically aimed at providing an overview of selected communities amongst the population of concern; mapping refugee and asylum seeker representative structures and responsibilities as well as analyzing the degree of representativeness and legitimacy as per defined criteria and as viewed by constituencies. Furthermore, it focuses on undertaking an inventory of community-based protection and intervention or self-help by persons of concern, including an analysis of whether persons of concern use local social support structures in an organized manner and/or effectively participate and/or are represented in such structures. Additionally, the study also places emphasis on obtaining ideas and guidance from refugees and asylum seekers on how to build legitimate representation structures and strengthen community-based protection agency. Finally, the study provides recommendations for a community representation and engagement model in South Africa.

1.5. Specific research questions

- Where are refugee and asylum seeking representative organizations located?
- Are refugee and asylum seeking representative structures legitimate?
- What kind of social protection/support do refugees and asylum seekers receive from their representative structures?

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Clarification of key concepts and terms

For purposes of clarity and to enable a common understanding, this section provides a review of key concepts and terms used in the study according to their definition and theorization in refugee literature.

2.2. Community

The term *community* has many meanings and uses (Mayo, 1994, cited in Dinbabo, 2005: 10). According to Barton, (2000) *community* refers to that layer of society in which interaction takes place between people who are neither close family and friends nor total strangers. Midgley, (1986) indicates that in terms of geographic locality, the term community refers to shared interests and needs. Ife (2002), cited in Dinbabo (2005:11), refers to "community" as a place, in which people live together, i.e. village or city. He describes a community as a group of people with similar characteristics, or as a concern which people share in common such as religious freedom, status and culture. Ife further concludes that it is customary to view a community in reference to social relations characterised by personal intimacy, emotional depth, social cohesion and continuity in time. According to De Beer and Swanepoel, cited in Dinbabo (2005:11), a community, as an administrative unit, refers to "the lowest level of aggregation at which people organise for common effort" Dinbabo (2005) concludes that community members use informal networks to mobilize local resources in terms of labour, material and finance.

2.3. Community leadership

Within this context, leadership can be understood as 'the reciprocal process of mobilizing, by persons with certain motives and values; various economic, political, and other resources, in a context of competition and conflict, in order to realize goals, independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers' (Burns, 1978:425 cited in Hartley & Benington, 2011).

The study of community leadership involves issues of representation, legitimacy, transparency, accountability and efficiency. Political leadership is largely defined through the legitimacy conferred by electoral vote, but along with leaders elected through voting, there can be leaders who have not been elected but still hold a position of power in an organization due to their qualities to attract and lead people. This is the case of community leaders and informal local political leaders who are in general not formally elected nor have a defined, clear formal mandate (Benit-Gbaffou & Katsaura, 2014:2).

Informal leaders are, however, charismatic leaders capable of reaching different audiences and achieve the goals of their movements. Social movements and civil society organizations' leaders are 'strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements' (Morris & Staggenborg 2002:1); they 'tend to come from the educated middle and upper classes, are disproportionately male, and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters (Brinton 1952; Flacks 1971; Oberschall 1973).

2.4. Representative community based approaches

The current increase in refugees moving towards urban areas, particularly in the developing world, presents new vulnerabilities to refugees in their efforts to rebuild their lives, which in turn requires innovative protection strategies and the promotion of community-based representation (UNHCR, 2013; Couldrey & Hersey, 2016).

The rationale behind the notion of community representation in the context of protection was the result of a shift from seeing refugees as "saved and assisted", to seeing them as equal partners who take an active role in protecting themselves and providing for their basic needs even in emergency situations" (UNHCR, 2008:1).

2.5. Legitimacy

One of the central aspects of community leadership is the constant need to negotiate legitimacy in relation to both state institutions (the top) and the constituency (the bottom) in order to obtain the necessary collective consent (Beetham, 1991). Legitimacy, defined by Suchman (1995) as a subjective concept and 'generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions'. According to this definition, leaders are perceived as legitimate when their actions are seen as such by different actors including their followers, government, political parties, NGOs and other institutions. Legitimacy for social movements and civil society organizations means that 'an organization is lawful, admissible and justified in its chosen course of action and therefore has the right to be and do something in society' (Edwards (2010:11), cited in Lis (2011).

2.6. Representativeness

The question of representativeness and its definition is crucial for informal leaderships and social movements whose legitimacy is often contested in the public arena. Elected officials argue that 'most of the civil society organizations are directed by self-appointed leaders who are not subject – as politicians are – to the scrutiny of formal mechanism of legal and political accountability' (Peruzzotti, 2006:43).

As defined by Lis (2011:21) representation 'refers to the support of a movement not in terms of numbers but rather in extent to which interests of various groups are represented' taking into account such interests in the decision-making process. Leaders often claim to represent an entire community but their organizations can exclude members due to their age, gender, ethnic composition and religious or sexual orientation. In this regard, the UNHCR (2008:58) states the importance of ensuring that the 'community is represented equitably and that the structures allow for the meaningful participation of women, adolescents, persons with disabilities and other marginalized groups.'

2.7. Accountability and transparency

Issues of accountability and transparency are also key in the definition of community leadership. The notion of accountability explains the relationship between the people and their representatives (Mulgan, 2000) and what obligations leaders have towards their constituencies (Shende & Bennet 2004). Whilst upward accountability to direct supervisors or donors is understood by social movements' leaders, 'downward

accountability to the people is usually neglected despite its desirability' (Van Rooy, 2004:73). Accountability also requires 'to raise awareness of rights and responsibilities and develop the capacity of duty bearers such as community leaders to fulfil their obligations' (UNHCR, 2008:24).

Transparency is often referred to as 'clear reporting on the funding and expenses as well as the goals and means employed and dissemination of such information to the people' (Lis, 2011:17). It also refers to the provision of accessible and timely information to stakeholders and the opening up of organizational procedures, structures and processes to their assessment (UNHCR, 2008:23, Dinbabo, & Carciotto, 2015).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This study used a mixed methods approach for the purpose of gathering data. This entails using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodological tools to gather data and guide the research process. Data gathering included the use of both primary (focus group discussions, semi-structured and key informant interviews, survey questionnaires, and observations) and secondary (literature review which included the theoretical and conceptual framework) methods.

3.1. Populations of interest/research participants

The study sampled distinctly defined populations of interest, namely refugee and asylum seeking populations of Somali, Congolese and Ethiopian descent. The study has been conducted in six sites (5 provinces), in various communities in the city. The recruitment sites included Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Musina, Port Elizabeth and Durban. Researchers gathered a multiplicity of experiences and expert opinions and thus needed maximum variation in the sample, in terms of age, level of education, socio-economic status, affiliation to formal/informal structures, and covered the full range of stakeholders represented within the populations of interest.

3.2. Sample size, site selection and provinces

A total of 100 participants were selected in each city for the quantitative component of the research. Furthermore, 9 leaders were selected as participants in each city for qualitative in-depth interviews, another 9 community member participants were interviewed in each city and a total of 9 stakeholders for key informant interviews were selected in each city. A total of 6 to 8 participants per group for 3 focus group discussions were selected in each city.

3.3. Data collection

The collection of both primary and secondary data focused around the following major themes: (1) social mapping of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures; (2) assessing the legitimacy of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures; (3) examining the social protection/support offered by refugee and asylum seeking representative organizations; and (4) identifying best practices to strengthen community based protection.

3.4. Data management process/ analysis and Assessment Framework

Data from the questionnaire surveys were subjected to statistical analysis, with the aim of describing phenomena as well as identifying and examining relationships. Findings from the statistical analysis is presented using graphical representations, charts, graphs, and tables, cross tabulations and frequency distributions. Data generated from focus group discussions, key informant and in-depth individual interviews have been analysed using thematic analysis approaches.

The research made use of the Legitimacy Assessment Framework (LAF) constitutes the conceptual framework for the study, with some adaptations and is illustrated in Figure 1. The LAF has the inherent ability to analyse (1) social mapping of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures, (2) assessing the legitimacy of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures, (3) and examining the social

protection/support offered by refugee and asylum seeking representative organizations.

Table 1: Legitimacy Assessment Framework

Legitimacy Assessment Framework (LAF) for refugee and asylum seeking representative structures and their communities in SA		
Refugee and asylum seeking representative structures legitimacy indicators	Hypothesis	Proxy indicators
1. Leadership	The higher the level of education and interaction with institutions, the higher the leader's legitimacy	● Education ● Prior experience in leadership position ● Participation in collective forums (e.g. public forums, debates, advocacy bodies)
2. Vision/mission/ Goal/objectives	The more relevant and universal the movement's mission, the higher is overall legitimacy	● Universality of values ● Accentuation of benefits for larger society
3. Representation	The greater the representation of diverse constituencies, the greater the movement's legitimacy	● Clarity of whom the organization represents ● Gender balance ● Support of people of different political views and religion
4. Numbers	The larger the volume of membership, the bigger the legitimacy	● Number of followers (e.g. members in the organizations, participants in march) ● Geographical scope (local, national, international)
6. 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.)
7. Transparency	The greater clear, open communication, the greater legitimacy	● Financial transparency ● Decision-making process (e.g. community consultation or along personal and ethnic lines)

		• Availability of information (open access to information through www and online tools)
8.Accountability	The greater the accountability, the greater legitimacy	• Decision-making process • Mechanisms for "stakeholder's feedback'' • Reporting (narrative and financial)
9.Effectiveness	The higher the effectiveness, the higher the legitimacy	• Protection cases identified • Protection cases reported • Showcasing newspaper articles celebrating leaders' action

3.5. Chapter summary

The chapter has provided a brief explanation of the research methodology used for the research. After the initial exploration data derived through random and purposive sampling were used to for the quantitative and qualitative research methodologies respectively. A descriptive statistic was used in the analysis of the quantitative data, whereas qualitative analysis was done through the use of thematic content analysis. Based upon the foregoing methodological approach and tools of analyses, the next chapter presents an assessment of empirical findings on the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures and their communities in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1. Quantitative data analysis

4.1.1. Introduction

The overall focus of the research was based on understanding the dynamics of Refugee and Asylum seekers (RAs) communities in South Africa. In this context, the task was to provide an overview of existing RAs community structures and representation amongst selected RAs national groups. It also sought to assess the level of coverage and representativeness through refugee and asylum seeking Community-based Organizations as well as their legitimacy defined within their constituencies. Data was drawn from Ethiopia, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)'s RAs residing in South Africa. Six cities were purposively sampled. These include: Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Pretoria and Musina. This section provides quantitative analysis of responses from a structured questionnaire with closed and open ended questions to obtain relevant information from the research participants. As such, systematic random and purposive sampling technique was applied and a total of 500 questionnaires were administered. A response rate of 87.2% was achieved (436).

4.1.2 Demographics

There has been a marked increase worldwide in the number of RAs over the last decade. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017) it is estimated that around 65.6 million people were displaced in 2016. According to the report, 22.5 million were refugees; 3 million were asylum seekers within a range of countries while over 40 million were internally displaced persons (Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi & Kraly, 2018). Given the controversies on refugee statistics in South Africa, the results presented in this report are based on sampled population of the survey. Our result shows that from the overall sample, 33% were Congolese, 37% Somali and 30% Ethiopia. From a gender perspective the proportion of female to male in the sample show that 27% of male were Congolese, 34% males were Somalis and 39% males were Ethiopians compared to females 40%, 43% and 18% Congolese, Somalis and Ethiopians respectively. Overall, however, 60% of the sample were males and 40% females. Figure 3 provides gender breakdown of the sample.
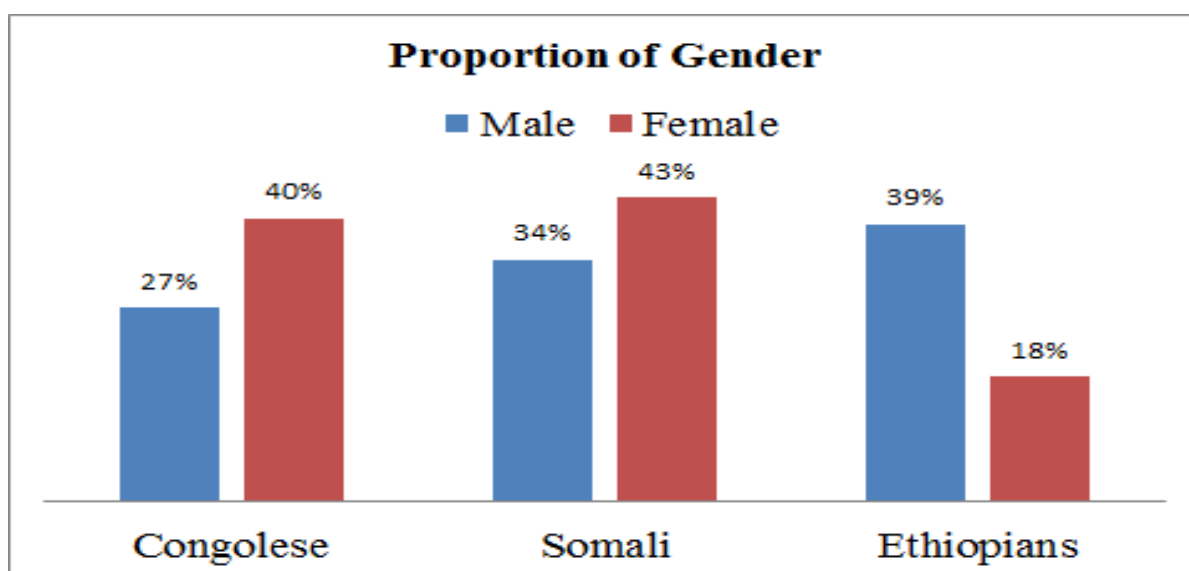
Figure 1: Gender Distribution

The age group of migrants is one of the key indicators to determining migration flow. In this context, age was categorised in four groups. About 78% of respondents were in the age category of 18-44 years. These are the potential economically active group of migrants that have moved from their country of birth. This is in line with findings from recent studies that show that Africans represented a high proportion of young international migrants (Dinbabo, Mensah and Belemebema, 2017).

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics of Refugee and Asylum Seekers								
	DRC (33%)		Somalia (37%)		Ethiopia (30%)		Total	
Gender	value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
Male	72	16%	101	23%	89	20%	262	60%
Female	70	16%	31	7%	75	17%	174	40%
Total	**142**	**32%**	**132**	**30%**	**164**	**37%**	**436**	**100%**
Age								
18-24	16	11%	9	7%	36	22%	61	14%
25-34	56	39%	61	46%	69	43%	186	43%
35-44	51	36%	49	37%	43	27%	143	33%
Above 45	19	13%	13	10%	14	9%	46	11%
Total	142	100%	132	100%	162	100%	436	100%
Documentation								
Refugee Status	49	35%	68	52%	130	80%	247	57%
Asylum seekers	66	47%	43	33%	19	12%	128	29%
Work/business visa	4	3%	10	8%	2	1%	16	4%
Undocumented	7	5%	7	5%	9	6%	23	5%
Other	14	10%	3	2%	3	2%	20	5%
Total	**140**	**100%**	**131**	**100%**	**163**	**100%**	**434**	**100%**
Education								
No formal schooling	2	1%	10	8%	32	20%	44	10%

|								
Completed primary school	11	8%	48	36%	56	34%	115	26%
Matric or country equivalent	70	50%	53	40%	55	34%	178	41%
Tertiary	57	41%	21	16%	21	13%	99	23%
Total	140	100%	132	100%	164	100%	436	100%

The type of document held by respondent was used to identify their legal status. About 86% of the respondents were either refugees or asylum seekers of which about 57% were refugees. Just about 4% were in possession of a work visa, 5% were undocumented and 5% had permanent residence status. One of the main reasons for being undocumented was the lack of finances and the long distances to reach the Refugee Reception Offices. About 17% and 16% stated that their main reason was distance and financial reasons respectively. About 80% of Somalis had refugee status making it the country with the highest refugee status of all three groups. Meanwhile, 47% of DRCs were asylum seekers, the largest group of asylum seekers among the three nationalities that formed part of this study.

The educational level of refugees and migrants plays a significant role in livelihood strategies and access to employment. A number of studies show that African migrants generally are well qualified in terms of secondary and tertiary qualifications. Similarly, this research indicates that overall, the RAs who were targeted by the study have achieved good education levels. Only 10% had no formal education, while 26% indicated that they had completed primary level education. Furthermore, a total of 64% of the sample had completed secondary and tertiary education. However, other research highlights the need for improved education for RAs elsewhere in the world. Rasmussen (2011) assessed the contribution of the Somali Community in London and the role of London city authorities in addressing the challenges faced by young Somali refugees and asylum seekers. He found that language was one of the main barriers to achieving quality education and clan allegiance prevented Somali RAs from accessing services from sources other than those provided by the Somali Community Organization (Ibid).

4.1.3 Access to basic services

Access to basic services is one of the key indicators used to measure refugee wellbeing in destination countries. Knowledge of refugee communities is vital in promoting access to basic services. In this regard, Refugee Community Based Organization (CBO)s play a critical role in addressing some of the challenges faced by RAs such as dealing with isolation, communication problems, language barriers and access to basic services (Burnett & Peel, 2001). Since RAs face multiple challenges, this research mainly focused on problems related to access to basic services within their respective communities. The findings, illustrated in Figure 4, show that safety concerns and lack of documentation are the two major challenges faced by RAs in South Africa. This evidence is not surprising as there have been numerous reports on the backlogs in registering large numbers of undocumented RAs by the South Africa Department of Home and Affairs. The main problem faced by Somali RAs in accessing basic services is related to documentation (22%), safety concerns (21%) and access to medical services (16%). Whereas, problems with access to basic services and other related challenges for DRCs is in finding employment (21%), other problems are safety (18%) and documentation (18%).

Safety is the highest area of concern for Ethiopians RAs, unlike Somalis and DRCs who indicate a range of issues across the spectrum of various challenges. However, Ethiopian and Somali refugees emphasised insecurity of their life and property, because of the high degree of vulnerability to robbery, assault, homicide and police brutality. Their lives and those of their families were insecure and their assets too, were not protected by the police. Moreover, they said that they faced systematic attacks by police and criminal gangs. The Somali respondents particularly emphasised the fact that they face big challenges in accessing medical and other services because of the stereotypes linked to foreigners and institutional xenophobia. In this regard, more detailed information is provided in Section 4.3, which deals with qualitative data analysis.
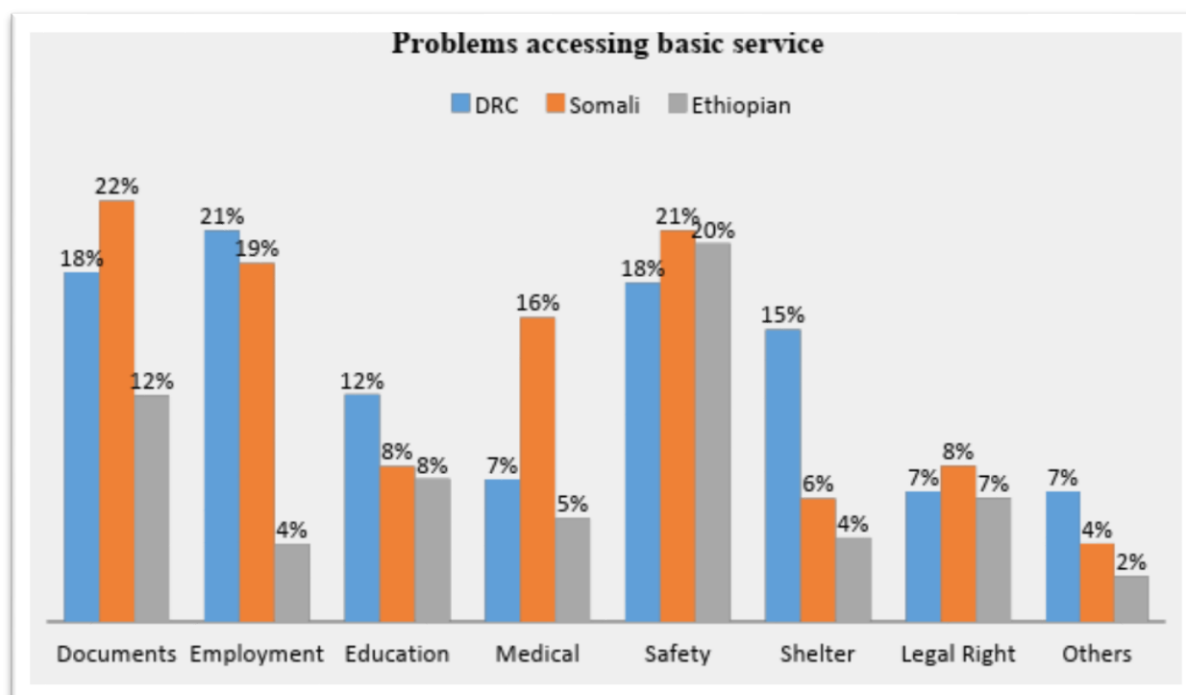
Figure 2: Problems accessing basic services

4.1.4. Representation

Table 3, indicates the findings relating to representation of RAs with regard to leaders and refugee organisations, such as CBOs and self-help groups. About 60% of RAs agree that leaders represent the members of their community compared to 53% of RAs who agreeing that refugee organisations effectively represent the interests of community members.

Table 3: Perceptions of community members about their representation

I agree that leaders and refugee organizations represent the members of the community				
	Organization		Leaders	
	Value	%	Value	%
Strongly Disagree	70	16.71	63	15.18
Disagree	126	30.07	104	25.06

Agree	161	38.42	181	43.61
Strongly Agree	62	14.8	67	16.14
Total	419	100	415	100

4.1.5. Protection structures

Refugees' safety concern has been a major issue in South Africa especially after the 2008 xenophobic attacks on refugees and asylum seekers in particular and black African migrants in general. The result from the sampled population in this study shows that 57% respondents indicated that their communities were insecure. This has created a high dependence on community structures like CBOs, Self-help Organizations and informal networks for security. When disaggregated by country, 80% of Ethiopians perceive they are not safe, compared to 61% of DRCs and 35% of Somalis. As will be seen in the Section 4.3 below, Somalis have been able to develop strong community networks with government and civil society in their host communities that act as safety nets for their security.

4.1.6. Communication strategies in times of crisis

One of the objectives of the survey was to identify communication strategies that refugees and asylum seekers adopt in order to disseminate information relating to the challenges they face on a daily basis. Given that the role of the media and communication in times of crisis is vital, it is hypothesised that the advent of social media has contributed to closing the gap between mainstream media (who have voiced anti-migrant sentiments) and social media coverage of the insecurities of RAs. For this reason some of the social media platforms were examined such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, together with an investigation of the role of phone calls, messaging and door-to-door campaign strategies in addressing the insecurities of refugees and to determine their mod of communication.

Figure 5 illustrates responses relating to communication strategies used by the sample. Respondents were asked to rank their preferred means of communication from 1 to 7 where 1 was the most likely and 7 was the least likely medium of communication or sharing information. This includes threat alerts and mobilization of community members. The results show that phone call was highly ranked amongst respondents across the three variables of threats, available services and mobilization of community members. In information sharing services offered in the communities, a phone call was ranked first (22.5%), WhatsApp ranked second (19.75%), while SMSs had a slight edge over Facebook as communication strategy and ranked third (16.26%). Participants were also asked to rank their medium of communication with respect to threat alerts. Data showed that 23.41% of participants ranked phone call as their first means of communication, followed by WhatsApp (18.59%) and SMSs (17.63%).
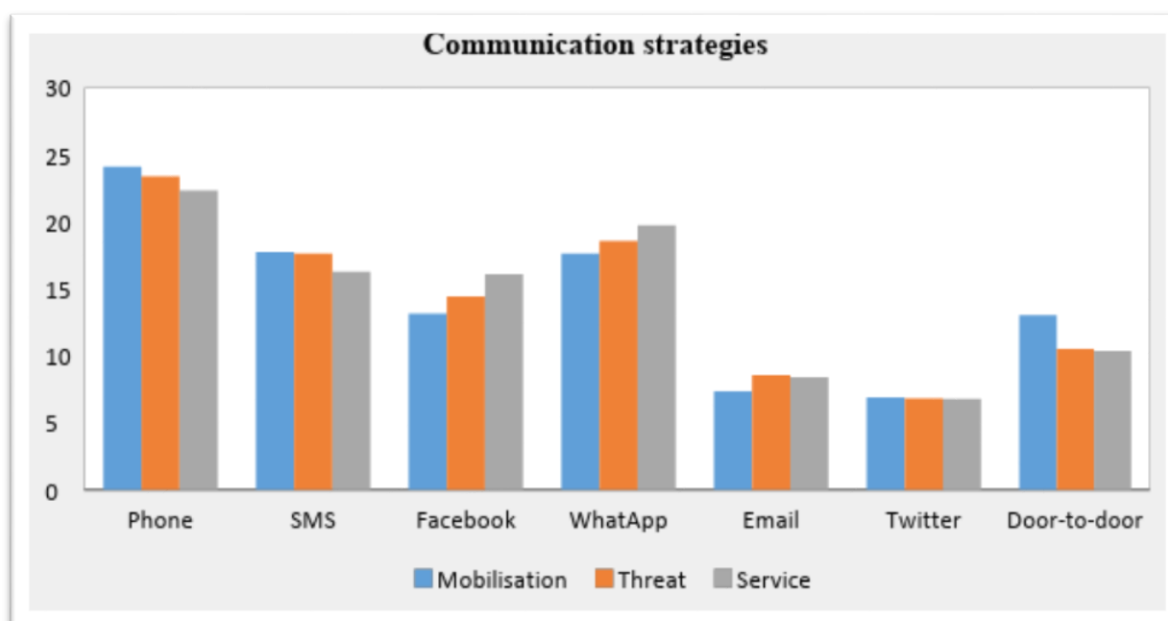
Figure 3: Communication strategies

4.1.7. Perception of leadership by members

RAs were asked to rate how they perceive the job of leaders in terms of their effectiveness in carrying out their assignment. Table 4 below shows that about 52% of the sample view that their leaders are effectively doing their job within the community or organisation. From a country perspective, while Somalis (58%) and Ethiopians (58%) generally agree that leaders are effective in their duties, DRCs largely disagreed that their leaders functioned effectively in carrying out tasks within their community.

Table 4: Perception of Effectiveness of Leadership

Effectiveness of leaders								
	Congolese		Somali		Ethiopian		Total	
	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%	Value	%
Strongly Disagree	26	20%	40	25%	24	18%	90	21%
Disagree	49	37%	36	22%	30	23%	115	27%
Agree	40	30%	62	39%	62	48%	164	39%
Strongly Agree	17	13%	23	14%	14	11%	54	13%
Total	132	100%	161	100%	130	100%	423	100%

This section refers to the responses from community leaders. It presents the perception and experiences of Somali, Ethiopian and Congolese RAs with respect to legitimacy, representativeness, transparency, accountability and effectiveness of refugee-led organizations, association representation within their communities and the role that their leaders play in upholding these structures. Data gathered from community leaders indicate that the leadership for RAs of CBOs and FBOs, as well as

other organizations as per nationality was largely male dominated. More than 96% of leaders were males. This shows the large gender gap in RAs organizational structures within South Africa. Amongst these leaders, 38.46% were aged 25-34, while 42.31% were age 35-44. Only a meagre 5% were above 45 years old. The share of leaders in the sample show that 38.46% of leaders were from DRC, while 26.92% and 34.62% were from Ethiopia and Somali respectively. In addition, 34% were holders of matric level education while 66% had tertiary qualifications. It's worth noting that both respondents and their leaders were well educated. Further detailed information on the appointment of leaders has been provided in the qualitative section.

4.1.8 Organization

Respondents were asked whether they represent a formal organisation as leaders. The objective was to ascertain the type of organisation and its legitimacy within the community by investigating if these structures were formally registered and to what extent was their jurisdiction. About 80% of leaders represented a formal organization such as NPOs (65.38%) and CBOs/FBOs (19.23%). Since registration of organizations is one of the indicators to measure legitimacy of the structure, findings show that 65% of these organisations were registered, and 30.77% were not registered. About 3.85% of respondents were not sure of the registration, although they were leaders of their organisation.

4.1.8.1 Organization Legitimacy

Organisation legitimacy in this research relates to the acceptance of a socio-political structure by its members or the general public (Vermeulen & Brünger, 2014). In this study the level of legitimacy of organisations representing refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa was assessed. Legitimacy was measured by leadership experience, representation and networking of organisations. Assessment of the electoral process of the organisation, who is represented and who benefits from services of the organisation was also examined.

Leadership

Legitimacy in terms of leadership assesses prior leadership experience and participation in collective forums. The prior experiences of leaders, and participation in collective forums by these leaders could provide an understanding of the extent to which the organisation is accepted by its members and how members contribute in the welfare of one another. An examination of the previous experience in leadership of elected and non-elected leaders revealed that DRC leaders (80%) have had prior experience in leadership compared to Somalis (66.33%) and Ethiopians (75%). With respect to participation in collective forums, more than 75% of leaders representing the three countries indicated that they had participated in collective forums in the last 30 days before the interview.

Table 5: Assessment of Organizational Legitimacy

Organizational Legitimacy Assessment		Congolese	Somali	Ethiopia
Paid membership		15.38	77.78	-
Non-Paid membership		46.15	-	25
Religion		15.38	-	-
Ethnicity		7.69	11.11	50
Others		15.38	11.11	25
Total		**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Previous experience of leadership	No	20.00	33.33	25
	Yes	80.00	66.33	75
Total		**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Participation in the Collective forum	No	23.00	11.00	25.00
	Yes	77.00	89.00	75.00
Total		**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**
Members know who is represented	No	23.08	-	25.00
	Yes	76.92	100.00	75.00
Total		**100.00**	**100.00**	**100.00**

Representation

Legitimacy by representation assesses the process of becoming a member in RAs organisations in South Africa and provides clarity of who is represented by the organisation and who benefits from the services of the organisation. It was found that members of organisations within the Congolese community did not pay for membership (46%), compared to the Somali community where membership was based on payment (77%). For Ethiopians, responses revealed that 50% used ethnic linage for membership in their community. Furthermore, leaders also indicated that their members were very aware of who is represented in the community. Table 5 illustrates that 75% of Congolese, 100% Somalis and 75% Ethiopians are aware of who is represented by the organisations to which they belong. This evidence suggests that RAs' representative organisations are seen as legitimate structures within the RAs community and as such beneficial in accessing basic services.

In addition, information relating to who benefits from the services of the organisation, was investigated by considering age, gender, nationality, religion, ethnicity, political affiliations as well as LGBTI. It emerges in Figure 6 that access to services of the organisation are mostly based on gender (17.56%), followed by religion (16.79%) and age (16.03%). It is interesting to note that nationality and ethnicity which has been reported in other studies as the barometer for RAs to access basic services is less represented in this study, thus indicative of a shift in the priorities of RAs organisations in addressing RAs problems. The large proportion of gender accessing basic services contributes in strengthening organisational legitimacy.
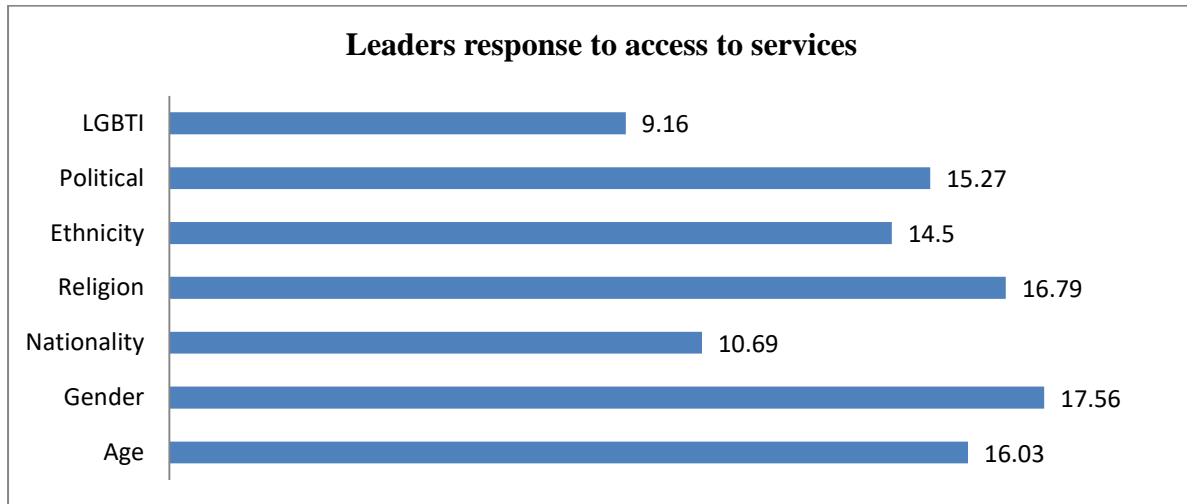
Figure 4: Access to organisational services

Networks

The network of an organisation was used to determine the level of legitimacy of the community organisation of RAs. Since networks depend on a number of elements, it was deemed necessary to consider various factors that could determine the level of strength of the network in terms of number of members. In this regard, the networks were examined in terms of inclusion of RAs' structures, corporate organisations, local councils, political institutions, police forums and the South African police force. Findings show that RAs organisations have developed strong networks with different stakeholders, especially government institutions such as the police. About 80% of respondents noted regular communication between their organisation and other state institutions. However, organisational affiliation with third parties was not well developed. About 30% of the respondents' stated that their organisation was not affiliated with any network, 27% stated that such networks were in the process of being established, while 43% of respondents reported that their organisation is a member of a local, international or regional network.

Most organizations represented over 50% of asylum seekers and about 34% of refugees. Community leaders were asked to rank the way they communicate with their members in order to mobilize, alert and indicate services available within the organization's structure. Illustrated in Table 6, responses revealed that about 20% of leaders used WhatsApp, while 17% using phone calls as communication mechanisms. Respondents ranked the types of communication used from 1 to 7, with 7 being the most important medium used to communicate with members. While networks are critical in determining legitimacy, there are other means of measuring legitimacy, which have been explored in this study. This includes transparency and effectiveness, which is discussed in detail in the qualitative sections.

Table 6: Communication and Leadership

	Share Information	Threat Alert	Mobilize	Total
Phone call	16.67	19.3	15.84	17%
SMS	16.67	17.54	15.84	17%
Facebook	15.08	14.91	13.86	15%
WhatsApp	19.05	20.18	20.79	20%
Email	11.9	11.4	10.89	11%
Twitter	9.52	7.89	8.91	9%
Door-to-door	11.11	8.77	13.86	11%
Total	100	100	100	100%

4.2. Conclusion

In conclusion, RAs in South Africa have developed strong community based networks in order to overcome the socio-economic challenges faced in South Africa. The findings in this report show a growing gender balance with regard to representation which differs from previous research which revealed substantial male dominance. About 78% of the RAs fall within the economically active age group. Regarding education qualifications, 64% of the sample indicate that they have completed secondary and tertiary education. Only a small percentage indicated that they had no formal schooling. Community leaders were also found to have good education qualifications with many having attained tertiary educational.

4.3. Qualitative data analysis

4.3.1. Introduction

The ensuing report provides a detailed account of the perceptions and experiences of Somali, Ethiopian and Congolese refugees and asylum seekers concerning the legitimacy, representativeness, transparency, accountability and effectiveness of refugee-led organizations, associations and self-help groups, in the 6 cities where the study was conducted.

4.3.2. The Somali community in Johannesburg

Leadership

Members of the Somali diaspora have mostly settled in the area of Mayfair/Fordsburg, a largely Muslim populated area of Johannesburg, also known as 'Little Mogadishu'. A number of community organizations in Mayfair provide services to the Somali community, including the *Somali Community Board of South Africa,* a national organization whose leadership structure represents the voice of the Somali community in Johannesburg. The leader of the organization is a well-respected person, considered by respondents as very committed to community service and whose leadership and authority are considered legitimate by community members, NGOs and government agencies.

The leader of the Somali Community Board was appointed by a Council of elders[1] on the basis of availability and specific skills and his role is purely voluntary. As one of the respondents recalled: 'There was an elective process that took place […] there were requirements that people need to meet to become actually a leader of this organization. There were three, in terms of language, in terms of education, in terms of leadership skills, in terms of actually understanding the country' (Interview No 12, Johannesburg, 7 December 2017). He further commented on the structure of the organization:

> *The structure was divided into three, the top council made of supreme elders, they are the top leaders who have the last decision. Elders they consist of seven elders, we also have got a legislative council who usually have to make sure that legislation, what the organization is going to do or not do, is correct not correct, whether they deal with it or not, and all of those things which consists of about eleven members. Here including myself the last part of the organization, these are the executive council of the organization which do normally day to day basis of the work (Interview No 12, Johannesburg, 7 December 2017).*

Representation

In terms of representativeness, respondents stated that community organizations, including the *Somali Community Board* represent all Somalis, without making any distinctions between the different clans or tribes. The Supreme Council, the top structure of the *Somali Community Board*, comprises of elders from different clans and the chairperson does not belong to one of the major clans. Findings revealed that the issue of tribalism is not prominent amongst Somalis in Johannesburg and that legitimate community leaders and successful business men are not necessarily affiliated to major clans.

Despite tribalism not being an element of division, some focus group respondents complained that social assistance offered by community organizations is first provided to members of the same clan. This is the main reason why they preferred to approach South African Islamic charity organizations which do not differentiate between clans.

According to one of the respondents from the *Somali Community Board,* the organization is trying to keep a gender balance and women are actively involved in the day-to-day work. However, illiteracy represents one of the main challenges which hinders their participation. Somali women in Mayfair have also organized themselves and started a self-help group, the *Somali Women's Association,* which assists with translation services and deals with issues such as female genital mutilation (FGM), single-parent families and skill enhancement for women.

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[1] As reported by Hagmann (2007:34) "being old enough is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for being recognized as a Somali elder. A number of distinct and evolving behavioural and sometimes genealogical characteristics are necessary." Religious knowledge of the Quran and being a representative of a clan also entitles one to membership of the elders' group. The primary characteristics that make one eligible, however, are Elim (which means wisdom in Arabic), fairness and truthfulness.

Transparency and Accountability

Community organizations such as the Somali Community Board have limited financial accountability and receive voluntary contributions from community members and donations from the business community. It was the view of community members that community organizations should be accountable to the council of elders who have overall authority and advise the community, although on this aspect one of the stakeholders noted that elders can also be co-opted.

Networks and partnerships

The Somali community in Mayfair is embedded in a social network environment which provides mutual support to community members. Within this context, the Somali Community Board has established referral mechanisms for its members with a variety of local Muslim organizations including Al Bayan, SANZAF and Jamiatul-Ulama. The Somali Community Board also work in partnership with NGOs such as LHR, Wits Law Clinic and the Jesuit Refugee Service, as well as with different government agencies.

Protection structures

Findings revealed that the main challenges faced by the Somali community in Mayfair are access to documentation, access to social services and safety and security. This collaborates the quantitative findings. In the Somali community there is a high concentration of Muslim institutions including Mosques, Madrasas, and Islamic relief agencies, which provide services to Somalis in need. In this regard, the Somali Community Board plays a sort of intermediary role, being an umbrella body, and referring people to relief agencies for assistance. Beside community organizations and Islamic relief agencies, Somalis can approach NGOs and South Africa agencies such as the Police, the Department of Social Development, and local hospitals for assistance, although some respondents complained about the challenge in accessing services due to corruption, discrimination, language barriers and lack of proper documentation.

Effectiveness

The Somali community in Mayfair has access to a large network of Islamic relief agencies and charity organizations. This is viewed by respondents as effective but not sufficient for all their needs. Community organizations such as the Somali Community Board are also effective in connecting key stakeholders, including NGOs and government agencies with the refugee community. Women, and especially those divorced or abandoned by their husbands, face social and financial challenges within their community, revealing the need for a more effective and inclusive protection system.

4.3.3. The Ethiopian Community in Johannesburg

Leadership

The Ethiopian community in Johannesburg comprises of two main groups, Amharas and Oromos, divided along ethnic and religious lines. Whilst Amharas are scattered in different areas of the inner city and are served by numerous Christian churches, with no single representative structure, Oromos reside in the Islamic area of Mayfair and

have two major community structures, the *Oromo Community of South Africa* and *the Oromo People's Association.* As one of the stakeholders noted:

> *With the Ethiopians, the problem that we've seen, the complication that we have seen is that Ethiopians are not a sort of a united people in the sense that the Somalis are, you will find there are more Amhara and Oromo, there is a variety of different ethnic groups in Ethiopia. What we've noticed is the relationship between them is often quite hostile but the two main groups that we have in Johannesburg would be the Amhara and the Oromo (Interview No 16, Johannesburg, 6 December 2017).*

Focus group respondents from the Amhara community in Yeoville confirmed that no organization can be said to represent all Ethiopians living in Johannesburg. They mentioned the *Ethiopian Community of South Africa*, as one of the political organization opposing the ruling party in Ethiopia, but without legitimacy and many acolytes.

The *Oromo Community of South Africa* is a structured organization, with a national scope, which was formed to assist newly arrived migrants, including asylum seekers, with issues of documentation and interpretation, as well as to raise awareness around the systematic discrimination and oppression suffered by Oromos at the hands of Ethiopia's federal government. The President of the organization is appointed every two years by a National Assembly which includes a Council of elders elected by the community; these have mainly a mediation role and deal with crime and community dispute resolution according to the Gadaa system.[2]

The *Oromo People's Association* is a local community-based organization whose chairperson (former President of the *Oromo Community Organization*) was described by respondents as a well-educated person, able to speak English fluently and to refer those in need to relevant NGOs and government agencies.

Representation

According to the respondents both the *Oromo Community Organization* and the *Oromo People's Association* do not refuse to assist individuals of different ethnicity or nationality (e.g. Somalis). Only LGBTI people are not represented. One of the Ethiopian data collectors later explained that it is an absolute taboo to discuss issues of LGBTI. They consider this not part of the value systems of Ethiopians and Somalis, and not their problem. Women play a key role in supporting their communities, participate in rallies and political actions, but do not hold any leadership position.

Transparency and Accountability

Regarding the accountability of Ethiopian community organizations, interviewed leaders reported that community structures do have a sort of financial and organizational accountability, however, respondents from the community complained about a lack of transparency in donor funding and alleged acts of corruption.

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[2] 'Gadaa is a traditional system of governance used by the Oromo people in Ethiopia developed from knowledge gained by community experience over generations. The system regulates political, economic, social and religious activities of the community dealing with issues such as conflict resolution, reparation and protecting women's rights' see http://bit.ly/2EL9cBc

Networks and partnerships

The Oromo community has established networks with migrants' organizations including Somali and Malawians with the aim of enhancing safety and security and dealing with community issues. Moreover, networks include local, provincial and national government, as well as NGOs which provide legal and social assistance.

Protection structures

The information gleaned from the interviews has revealed that the main challenges faced by the Ethiopian community are access to documentation, access to social services and safety and security. The two main organizations that provide assistance to the Ethiopian community (Oromos), are the *Oromo Community Organization and the Oromo People's Association* which have established networks with numerous NGOs and government institutions in Johannesburg. These organizations have limited financial resources, based on the voluntary contribution of their members and, therefore, have a limited capacity to deal with protection issues and to provide social assistance. However, findings revealed a good level of cooperation between migrants' organizations, government agencies and other key stakeholders. The presence of a referral system between community organizations and stakeholders to deal with vulnerable cases was described by the director of an international refugee agency as being very effective.

Effectiveness

Community structures within the Amharas are fragmented and a legitimate and recognized leadership representing the entire community is lacking. Moreover, according to some of the respondents, Amharas do not reach out to NGOs for assistance and community members, when in need, rely on their personal networks. On the contrary, the Oromo community is more cohesive and has effective protection mechanisms for the identification of vulnerable cases based on a referral system with stakeholders, NGOs and government agencies.

4.3.4. The Congolese Community in Johannesburg

Representation

Unlike the Somali or Ethiopian (Oromo) communities, the Congolese community in Johannesburg is described by respondents as unorganized, fragmented and without a defined structure. There are a number of factors which might explain this lack of unity and, amongst these, are the geographical distribution of community members within certain areas of the city, (e.g. Yeoville, Berea and Rosettenville) which makes it difficult for Congolese to form a 'community' based on spatial proximity. Ethnicity and language are also a major source of division although, in this regard, impressions are ambivalent.

Findings confirmed the presence of a multitude of political and religious groups scattered across the metropolitan area of Johannesburg around which bonds and networks are formed. In particular, churches play an important leadership role in the Congolese community providing spiritual and social assistance to those in need and offering a space for inclusion and social interaction. However, unlike the Ethiopian (Oromo) and Somali communities that are united under a common religious identity,

the Congolese community comprises of many different faith-based groups and this contributes to more fragmentation.

Information gleaned from discussions with community members and leaders of community organizations showed that leadership positions are usually voluntary (unpaid) and leaders are not appointed by the community, but are rather selected according to their availability and personal skills. In some cases, those who founded a certain community organization had appointed themselves first and afterwards other office bearers. The lack of a transparent and democratic process to appoint community leaders, as well as the lack of legitimacy amongst community organizations was also confirmed by one of the stakeholders.

Transparency and Accountability

Congolese respondents stated that community organizations are neither transparent nor accountable due to corruption and opportunism. Decisions are usually taken by those in leadership positions with marginal involvement of community members who often do not participate in meetings due to a lack of time or interest. Networking, legitimacy and accountability seem to be essential elements to create an effective and legitimate leadership recognized by both the community and the authorities.

Networks and partnerships

Key respondents referred that Congolese community organizations have networks with other organizations that dealt with refugee and asylum seeker issues, such as the African Diaspora Forum (ADF). Moreover, networks include relief agencies and registered NGOs such as JRS and LHR, as well as the city of Johannesburg which has established a migrant help desk to provide migrants and asylum seekers with information on basic services.

Protection structures

Research findings revealed that Congolese in Johannesburg receive little support from the available community structures in their communities. In some cases churches and religious leaders can provide social assistance and some help with funeral costs. However, there are numerous NGOs including the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), the Pastoral Care for Migrants and Refugees and Lawyers for Human Rights, which provide social and legal assistance for those in need.

Together with employment and documentation, safety and security is one of the major concerns for the respondents. Community members approach South African authorities for protection, although some revealed to mistrust the police.

Effectiveness

Information provided by the respondents indicates an aspiration for a more united community and identifies the lack of trustworthy leadership as one of the main challenges. Moreover, corruption and opportunism arising from bad leadership are listed as main stumbling blocks hindering the establishment of a reliable and effective leadership within the Congolese community.

4.3.5. The Somali Community in Durban

Leadership

Research identified two main organizations in Durban, the *Somali Association of South Africa* (SASA) and the *KZN Somali Community Council* (KZNSCC) which both claim to represent the Somali community. However, these organizations differ in terms of geographical scope; while the former is a national organization with branches across the whole country, the latter, according to its Constitution, "addresses the needs of the Somalis communities in KwaZulu-Natal and surrounding areas."

The main purpose of these organizations is similar and refers to the provision of services for the community, such as funeral arrangements, access to primary health care, education, social support and relevant documentation. Respondents indicated that SASA assists community members in gathering relevant information on available services and matters of concern and in providing interpretation services for those who are illiterate or do not speak English. However, some respondents have also indicated that community leaders take advantages from their privileged collaboration with South African authorities for their own personal benefits and alleged cases of corruption, involving members of SASA, were reported by interviewees.

Election processes vary within the Somali community in Durban and office bearers from both organizations reported to be elected directly by the Somali community based on their availability, personal capacities and specific skills (e.g. level of education and leadership skills). Some of the respondents from the community stated that so called "community leaders" are not elected but are rather self-appointed. A young Somali student complained about the lack of integrity amongst community leaders and the high level of corruption linked to the documentation process at the Department of Home Affairs.

Representation

Despite elements of cohesiveness based on geographical proximity, religion and cultural affinity, no leadership structure is perceived as representative of the entire Somali community in Durban.

Both SASA and KZNSCC claimed to welcome and represent individuals of different age, gender, ethnicity and religion and do not have a formal or paid membership. However, some of the respondents revealed that the environment within the community is highly politicized and divisions based on tribalism are common. The involvement of women within the identified leadership structures is minimal and is limited to those individuals who are more educated and can speak better English. Women's specific challenges are taken into account by leadership structures but they (women) do not take part in community meetings and do not hold any leadership positions.

Both SASA and KZNSCC claimed to represent all Somalis and to speak on behalf of the entire Somali community in KZN but perceptions amongst community members seemed to differ. Leaders from KZNSCC stood out as respected and influential individuals mainly due to their personal status: the chairperson is, in fact, a well-known and successful businessman, while his deputy is a highly educated person who was naturalized and later became a South African citizen.

Respondents reported that KZNSCC operates as an arbitration or a mediation body capable, when a need arises, to mobilize representatives of selected groups including, the business sector, the elders and the students to discuss specific issues of concern for the community.

Transparency and Accountability

Although leaders are accountable to their community there is no accountability process with the organizations and office bearers do not report to any higher structures.

Networks and partnerships

There is a positive relationship amongst the different Somali organizations, as well as with other refugee organizations and stakeholders, including SAPS which provide services and protection to migrants' communities. Positive relationships with local police commanders are crucial to prevent violence and attacks. Somali community structures have also established networks with ward councillors and with the local municipality to promote integration and social cohesion activities in the informal settlements

Protection structures

There are a few structures that community members can approach when requiring protection in Durban. These include the Refugee Social Services (RSS) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR). There are also several Christian and Islamic faith-based organizations, such as the office for Pastoral Care for Migrants and Refugees and Jamiatul-Ulama which provide social assistance to those in need. Many respondents reported the lack of security as one of the major protection issues; newly arrived Somalis with little language and cultural knowledge are usually sent by wealthy businessmen to work as shopkeepers in informal settlements where they are exposed to violence and crime. Some of the respondents suggested that community leaders should be more present in the informal settlements to promote social cohesion and awareness raising events.

The KZNSCC deals with protection issues, including safety and security, documentation, access to health care and education. Some of the business people contribute financially to the rendering of services in the informal settlements. This is done to create a positive relationship between the Somali community and local residents; relationship with local police commanders are also crucial to prevent violent and accidents. In the event of a security threat, a shopkeeper would call first his superior who will then inform a member of KZNSCC who deals with protection issues. This person will then immediately alert the local police station. KZNSCC does also refer protection cases to government structures and does follow up on individual cases.

Effectiveness

A respondent from KZNSCC stated that the organization is only effective at fifty percent due to the fact that office bearers are volunteers and their involvement is based on their personal availability. One of the respondents reported that KZNSCC is

not a 'community organization' in the sense that they are not involved in the day-to-day issues affecting community members.

4.3.6. The Ethiopian community in Durban

Leadership

There are numerous community organizations which serve the Ethiopian community in Durban, including political and religious groups, although stakeholders reported that members of the Ethiopian community do not reach out for help and hardly approach relief agencies, which makes it difficult to identify legitimate leaders. In 2015, following the murder of some Ethiopian nationals during the xenophobic violence, the chairperson of the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* was identified by a number of NGOs and government agencies as the leader of the Ethiopian community in Durban. Information gleaned from key informant interviews revealed that the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* is not structured and its leader is a one-man show who was appointed because of his social and financial status, his ability to speak English and to play an intermediary role between key stakeholders and community members.

Representation

The interviews revealed that the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* is an inclusive organization which stands for all Ethiopians living in Kwazulu-Natal, however, women are not represented and do not hold any leadership positions. Respondents noted that women do not attend meetings as, according to their culture, men are entitled to speak on behalf of their wives but also because women are responsible for businesses and do not have time to attend meetings. Moreover, some of the respondents stated that members of the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* are largely economic migrants, as opposed to another community organization, the *Ethiopian Refugee Association*, whose members are political refugees opposing the ruling party in Ethiopia.

Transparency and Accountability

Findings revealed that the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* is an unstructured organization with limited financial resources, poor accountability, transparency and reporting mechanisms. The leader of the organization was allegedly appointed during a community meeting convened by the Ethiopian Embassy in South Africa and makes all decisions within the organization. Unlike the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal*, the *Ethiopian Refugee Association* is viewed by some of the stakeholders as more accountable, reliable and trustworthy organization. Despite these challenges, community organizations play a key role in connecting stakeholders to refugee communities.

Networks and partnerships

Community leaders play a key role in connecting stakeholders to refugee communities.

Protection structures

There are numerous NGOs and relief organizations that provide services to refugees and asylum seekers in Durban, including the Refugee Social Services, the Pastoral Care for Migrants and Refugees and Lawyers for Human Rights. However, Ethiopians do not seek social assistance and rely on personal networks and resources available within their communities. Information gathered revealed that the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* is active in assisting people with documentation issues, referring cases to pro bono lawyers for legal assistance and also providing some financial support to cover funeral expenses.

Effectiveness

It was difficult for stakeholders to gauge the effectiveness of community organizations within the Ethiopian community. Information gathered revealed that factors hindering the effectiveness of the *Ethiopian Community of Kwazulu-Natal* were its lack of structure, organization's capacity and the unpredictable availability of its leader to attend meetings. However, in 2015, the organization played an important role in identifying and reporting the xenophobic attacks which took place in the informal settlements of Durban. According to respondents the *Ethiopian Refugee Association*, was also effective in promoting social cohesion and anti-xenophobic activities. One of the respondents described the effectiveness of these two organizations

4.3.7. The Congolese Community in Durban

Leadership

There are numerous religious and political organizations which represent the Congolese community in Durban, although respondents identified the *Congolese community of Kwazulu-Natal*, also known as *La Congolaise,* as a legitimate umbrella organization. Information gleaned from discussions revealed that the president of the organization was elected after a lengthy process of about two years which involved influential and respected community leaders (wise men) who set criteria, defined procedures and drafted the constitution of the organization. To ensure impartiality, elections were overseen by a religious leader, the secretary of the Congolese Pastors Organization.The *Congolese Community of Kwazulu-Natal* is a registered NPO whose aim is to refer and advise those who are in need of social and legal assistance, as well as to provide financial help to cover funeral expenses. The President of the organization stated that his goal is to unite all existing leadership structures under one leadership based on a common Congolese identity.

Representation

In terms of representativeness, respondents noted that leaders of the organizations represent the views, interests and priorities of all Congolese nationals and do not make discrimination in terms of ethnicity, religion, gender, political views or sexual orientation. Women play an active role within certain organizations although leadership positions are dominated by men. Respondents noted that the *Congolese Community of Kwazulu-Natal* represents the views, needs and priorities of all Congolese, without making any distinctions based on language or ethnicity. In order to guarantee full representation within the organization, the president, his deputy and all seven office bearers are selected from different provinces of the DRC. One of the

respondents complained that women were underrepresented and that no woman run for the elections. Information gathered during the study identified social and cultural barriers which hinder women's participation in community service.

Transparency and Accountability

It is difficult to gauge the level of accountability of Congolese community structures in Durban. Some organizations use social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp to share information and report to their members. However, some respondents stated that communication between organizations and their members is not always effective and can be improved.

Networks and partnerships

The *Congolese Community of Kwazulu*-Natal has networks with several NGOs and government agencies, including the Department of Home Affairs and the Department of Arts and Culture. The organization liaise also with the local municipality which monitors the level of security and the presence of xenophobic threats within the community.

Protection structures

There are several NGOs and government agencies that Congolese refugees can approach for assistance. These include Refugee Social Services, the Pastoral Care for Migrants and Refugees, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Police and the Department of social Development. Community structures, including churches, faith based organizations and self-help groups also offer some services, although these are limited due to the lack of financial resources. Moreover, referral mechanisms between community organizations and stakeholders represent a tool to identify vulnerable cases and people in need of protection.

Effectiveness

On the issue of effectiveness one of the stakeholders stated that the referral mechanisms and the communication with community organizations were not effective.

4.3.8. The Somali Community in Port Elizabeth

Leadership

The selection of leaders in the Somali community in Port Elizabeth takes on different forms. Some leaders are elected in terms of how active they are in the community or how well known they are to community members. Others take on the leadership role according to their status, such as the Council of Elders who play an important role particularly in terms of solving business issues and disputes among the families.

Respondents indicate that many leaders are elected due to their perceived influence, knowledge of community issues and their ability to speak English. Such leaders are elected as a result of communication skills with government officials and other partner organizations and their ability to gather information that the communities need from organisations such as the Department of Home Affairs, hospitals, clinics, universities, private sector organisations, municipalities and human rights organizations. These

leaders are very respected due to their ability to network, knowledge of procedures to access assistance and language ability.

Election processes vary within the Somali community. Some organisations use democratic processes and leaders are elected by voting. However, the current leader of the *Somali Association of South Africa (SASA)* was self-appointed according to respondents and there was no election process. When the previous leader of the organization left the country, the current leader appointed himself as he had worked for the organisation for a long period of time working as a volunteer. The election of leaders for the student association follows a formal voting process. These leaders are more senior students (4th year) and they deal with issues affecting students who are studying at universities and colleges. Such student leaders are required to be experienced and have knowledge of student related matters.

While women are appointed as leaders in organizational structures, they are not elected to high positions in the leadership structure. Their roles include providing social awareness and collecting money for those in need.

Representation

In the past, the Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) represented the interests of the entire community including all nationalities, ethnic and religious groups. During that period, all residents were represented equally and could access the range of services offered by government. However, currently, there is no structure or community organization that works for the interest of the Somali community in Port Elizabeth and when Somalis require assistance they approach any person who can speak English and has the ability to translate their requests into English. Somali residents also approach student leaders for assistance as they usually have knowledge of processes and procedures required by refugees. In terms of representation, males predominate in the top leadership positions, although some females occupy lower level leadership positions.

Transparency and Accountability

The Somali Association of South Africa (SASA) used to be an accountable organization according to information provided by respondents. The association was located within the municipality offices in Port Elizabeth and they provided a range of services to Somalis. Respondents attributed this to the previous leader of SASA, who was young, active and committed to supporting the Somali community as well as the South African community. However, since the previous leader left the organization, the leadership changed and SASA does not provide the quality of assistance as in the past.

Networks and partnerships

Somali refugees network and partner with a number of organisations including the UNHCR satellite office in Port Elizabeth, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Legal Resource Centre, and the Cape Town Refugee Centre through their Port Elizabeth satellite office. Other partnerships include Government departments such as the Department of Social Development, Department of Health, Department of Health and the offices of local government and ward councillors. Other organisations that the Somali community partner and network with include the South African National Zakah

Fund (Sanzaf) and DAFI Scholarship organisations which assist Somali students to access bursaries and scholarships for their studies. The students these two organizations directly in order to get financial support for their studies.

Protection structures

There are a number of organizations or structures that members can approach when requiring protection in Port Elizabeth. These include the Satellite office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Legal Resource Centre and the satellite office of the Cape Town Refugee Centre.

Other services that are used include the local municipality, government departments such as South African Police Service (SAPS), Department of Home Affairs (DOH), local Schools, the South African Social Services Association (SASSA) and clinics/hospitals, as well as the ward councillor and the Port Elizabeth municipality. Students approach the South African National Zakah Fund and the DAFI Scholarship Fund for assistance with funding tertiary education. Residents also approach community members they know and trust, as well as family members, friends, relatives, clan members and faith based organizations

One of the main barriers to accessing protection structures is the poor command of English language. Respondents indicate that this impacts fairly severely on them when approaching hospitals and clinics and the Department of Home Affairs, as there are language barriers between community residents and officials. Furthermore, security services are also poor and police do not serve the Korsten community which comprises 70% Somalis. Accessing SASSA Grants is also a problem as there is no intermediary community organization between the Somalis and the SASSA grants offices. Other protection problems include lack of information and effective response systems from government departments such as the police and the traffic department. This opens up Somalis running small businesses to harassment, abuse, violence and crime from locals.

Effectiveness

At the moment there is no effective and transparent organization for the Somali community in Port Elizabeth and refugees have to seek assistance from students or influential and knowledgeable community members who understand the required process.

4.3.9. The Ethiopian Community in Port Elizabeth

Leadership

The church plays an important leadership role in the Ethiopian Community in Port Elizabeth. In each church, there is a pastor or senior preacher, commonly referred to as the "overseer". The overseer is assisted by a group of Deacons and other selected members, commonly referred to as "ushers". For an organization like the *Generations for Generations* (GFG), members of the management committee are composed of the judge or president, chairperson and secretary. The leadership of the GFG is governed by the constitution. Because the GFG is a registered organization with a constitution, its governance and disclosure of financial statements, reporting mechanism as well as monitoring and evaluation are clearly stipulated in the constitution.

Respondents noted that for the appointment of a church pastor, there must be a calling from God and the person must have good reputation. The pastor must have a good track record, by proving that he is managing his family in a proper manner. For a person to be in the leadership of the GFG and Iddir, he/she must be an Ethiopian national, be able to communicate and speak their language and English. This is required so that leadership can play a liaising role between the Ethiopian community in PE and other important stakeholders. The position of president in the GFG is reserved for the founding member of the organization, while the secretary and treasurer are appointed according to the procedure laid out in the constitution; these individuals form part of the GFG's management committee and are appointed by members of the organization.

With regard to mobilization and according to current technological advancements, the Ethiopian community utilises different mediums of communication to communicate and mobilise among themselves. If for example a person passes away, the president convenes a meeting and asks everyone to make contribution towards the funeral. When an urgent matter arises, the community is mobilised using different technological tools such as the WhatsApp group, phone calls and SMSs. In case of xenophobic attacks and police raids, the information is shared via twitter and Facebook, while in certain occasions, residents visit each other. Overall, they rely heavily on the networking sites as means of sharing information.

Representation

Among Ethiopian leadership structures in Port Elizabeth, the appointment process of leadership is considered inclusive. However, there are no women in the leadership of EBER because the Ethiopian culture tends to make women feel shy and sometimes they are limited to kitchen duties. Leadership selection processes are conducted in a very transparent manner through voting by members of the organization. People with disabilities are not likely to occupy leadership positions, due to the perception that these positions are physically demanding and require mobility. Young people are welcomed into leadership positions and their expertise is often sought. In terms of inclusiveness, leaders represent and prioritise the interests of the community of Ethiopians; this is because they operate according to the general needs of the Ethiopian community. Everyone is included except people from other nationalities. In terms of decision-making, all decisions are made in the meeting that normally takes place every last Saturday or Sunday of the month.

Transparency and Accountability

While the Ethiopian Association appears to be accountable, respondents suggested that the UNHCR should come on board and support Ethiopian community initiatives through education and training in management/ leadership skills, as well as funding social upliftment programmes for their community.

Networks and partnerships

The Ethiopian community networks with Government departments such as the South African Police Service (SAPS), Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and Department of Education, Department of Social Development (DSD)-SASSA), Department of Health (hospitals and clinics), financial institutions and Banks as well as rental and property agencies, NGOs and human rights organizations and Community as well as religious

organizations. These departments provide different levels of assistance to refugees and asylum seekers. Respondents recommended that their leaders need to form more partnerships with other big organizations at both national and international levels.

Protection structures

Ethiopians in Port Elizabeth approach government departments such as South African Police Service (SAPS), Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and Department of Education, Department of Social Development (DSD), SASSA, Department of Health (hospitals and clinics), financial institutions and banks as well as rental and property agencies, NGOs and human rights organizations and community as well as religious organizations, for help.

Despite the fact that the government departments are mandated to provide protection, beside the Department of Social Development, the officials from SAPS and the DHA discriminate against Ethiopian refugees. The DHA in PE does not process the application of newly arrived asylum seekers, while the police constantly harass community members through unwarranted raids and arrests. Respondents shared one detailed example of the abuse they suffer in the hands of SAPS officials. About three years ago, the police raided Ethiopian properties and businesses. They also carried out searches in refugee homes without producing search warrants, confiscated laptops and money. After the Ethiopian Association reported the matter and laid a complaint to the Port Elizabeth Central Police Station, the officers on duty laughed and refused to help, noting they were refugees. At another police station, when attempting to open a case, the Association was told that the police could not assist as they were dealing with more important cases that were brought by the South African citizens. With regards to the NGOs, the Cape Town Refugee Centre PE Satellite Office (CTRC) plays a humanitarian role by providing assistance in food and non-food items to the new comers. The CTRC also provides financial assistance to the most vulnerable.

Effectiveness

By all accounts, the Ethiopian community appears to be more structured than the Somalis in terms of effectiveness of leadership. Respondents pointed in particular to the effectiveness of the Ethiopian association, which provides assistance to all members of the Ethiopian community.

4.3.10. The Congolese Community in Port Elizabeth

Leadership

The Congolese population in PE is very small, with very few self-help organizations. Respondents indicated that in most cases organisations are based on the religious beliefs and the political affiliations of their leaders. Beside the Methodist church of PE that caters and provides assistance to all categories of Congolese migrants including refugees, the biggest organization representing the Congolese in PE is referred to *Communauté Congolaise de Port-Elizabeth* (COCOPE) which translates to the Congolese Community of Port Elizabeth in English.

The Congolese Community of Port Elizabeth (COCOPE) is a registered Non- Profit Organization that was started by Congolese refugees with the main aim of facilitating

and speeding up the integration of refugees of Congolese origin in PE. Information provided by respondents indicated that the leadership structure of COCOPE includes the President, Deputy President, Secretary, Vice-secretary, as well as Two Treasurers. This structure works with an Advisory Committee composed of Four people known as" Wise men", or in French commonly referred to as "Les Sages". To be selected for leadership positions in community-led organizations such as COCOPE, a community member must follow the process as prescribed by the organizational constitution. In this regard, the candidate shows his/her willingness and the general assembly must vote from the list of the people nominated (shortlisted) by an independent committee.

Information gleaned from discussions specified that all community members have an equal chance of being selected to the leadership structure of the Congolese organizations. However, the person must be of Congolese origin and possess experience and be a reliable person. It was also emphasised that the most crucial positions such as treasurer and wise men require extra qualities such as maturity, honesty, hardworking ethics and wisdom. Furthermore, the position of treasurer is likely to be occupied by a female because it is believed that women are naturally honest with a unique participatory leadership style. The current leadership of COCOPE is mixed, with a very young president and a woman as the secretary.

Representation

In terms of representativeness, respondents noted that leaders of the organizations represent the views, interests and priorities of all Congolese refugees and asylum seekers. Having said that, the majority indicated further that in the organization such as COCOPE, there are two types of members; effective members or "*membres effectifs*", who are actively involved in day to day activities of the associations through regular payment of membership fees, and sympathising members or "*membres sympathisants*", who are non-paying members. Based on this categorisation, there was a feeling from some participants that sympathising members' interests and priorities are less important, sometimes not represented, while effective members insisted that their leaders are easily accessible to everyone and that they try their best in serving various groups, despite the circumstance and lack of resources.

Transparency and Accountability

In terms of the Congolese community, there was a general consensus among participants that the decision making processes in the COCOPE organization representing them takes place a democratic fashion, with elected leaders striving to convene meetings and presenting matters of importance before the members and voting whenever there are major decisions to be made. Similarly, respondents noted that to maintain accountability, every two months the leadership committee prepares and presents detailed financial statements and makes them available on the organization's website.

Networks and partnerships

In the Congolese community partners with the Office of the Public Protector, the Department of Home Affairs, the PE satellite Office of the Cape Town Refugee Centre, the Legal Resource Centre, the local police force, South African Red Cross Society, the Human rights Commission and the Refugee Rights Centre of the Nelson Mandela

University as well as a number of Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs). Other partners noted by the Congolese include a the Congolese Community of Port Elizabeth (COCOPE), which is a CBO, while churches were noted as important partners as they provided socio-economic protection to the most vulnerable refugees and asylum seekers.

Protection structures

In the Congolese community of Port Elizabeth, when in need of assistance/ help or protection, refugees and asylum seekers approach a number of different organisations, namely the Office of the Public Protector, the DHA, Cape Town Refugee Centre (CTRC, PE Satellite Office), Legal Resource Centre (LRC), Police, South African Red Cross Society SARCS), Human Rights Commission and Refugee Rights Centre of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (RRC) as well as Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs).

Effectiveness

With regard to effectiveness, members from the Congolese community indicated that despite the fact that most of the Congolese organizations are at the start-up stage, they are effective and have connections with external/ broader institutions that provide support to refugees and asylum seekers, such as the Human Rights Commission of Port Elizabeth. Furthermore, it was revealed that such partnerships led to success stories that one can use to measure the level of effectiveness of the leaders. Some of these success stories include for example, the COCOPE's adoption of two young Congolese orphans when their parents passed away, organizing Christmas parties for the less advantaged individuals in PE, conducting community outreach programs and donating gifts on 10, December 2017, as well as organising and mobilising people for the celebration of Africa Day.

4.3.11. The Somali Community in Cape Town

Leadership

Numerous Somali community organisations service the Somali community in Cape Town. These comprise NGOs, faith based organisations, business associations, and clan structures. Members of NGOs and business associations elect leaders, while assistants to clan leaders usually automatically take over when leaders resign. Despite being unelected, clan leaders still require community support in order to be recognized. Community leadership positions are usually unpaid volunteer roles with few resources at stake. As a result leaders tend not to actively campaign for positions, but are requested by organizations to take up positions and then elected. Leaders are chosen on the basis of three considerations, namely their personal wealth, their age (those who are 40 and above are perceived as being wiser and more experienced) and the degree to which they actively partake in community affairs.

Although Somali women are engaged in community structures, leadership positions are almost exclusively held by men. Women organise themselves into separate groups that engage in activities such as raising money to assist community members and visiting people in hospitals. Barriers preventing women from taking up leadership positions include low education levels and marrying at an early age. However, women are increasingly becoming more educated and politically active.

Representation

Somali community structures in Cape Town are highly diverse and have different focus areas. As a result no organization can be said to represent the whole community in all matters. Structures include:

- The Somali Student Association of South Africa: Enable access to education.
- Save the Somali Community (Save): Assists spaza shopkeepers in townships.
- The Somali Association of South Africa (SASA): Helps with Home Affairs problems, legal issues, skills development, and works closely with NGOs and government departments. It is a member of the Western Cape Migrant Forum, and the Association for Refugee Community Organisations in South Africa.
- Somali Refugee Aid Agency (SORAA): a smaller community organisation that assists with Home Affairs problems, crime, and human rights issues.
- Somali Community Board: A community organization that has a representative in Cape Town, but is more active in Johannesburg and elsewhere in the country.
- Somali Bantu Association of South Africa: Represents Somali 'Bantus'.
- Clan elders: Deal with crime in townships, conflict resolution, burial services, financial aid, bankruptcies, and resettlement.
- Hospital intermediaries: Individuals who accompany people to hospitals in return for a fee, as they understand the system and help with language barriers.
- Al Bayan: A faith based organisation that deals with religious matters, education, charity, culture and medical advice.
- The Somali Elders Council: Represents Somali elders in the Western Cape.
- The Somali Community Forum: A forum made up of SASA, the Somali Elders Council, the Somali Community Board, the Somali Bantu Association of South Africa, SORAA and Al Bayan that meets regularly to discuss community issues.
- Business leaders: Meet over matters affecting the business community in CBD areas and provide loans to businesses.

With the exception of clan structures, Somali community organisations are accessible to all tribal groups. Groups that are not represented are LGBT people, drug addicts and Sufis, who are present in the community, but often shunned. While many with addiction problems (especially those addicted to the leaf 'khat') are known within the community, the research did not ascertain to what degree LGBT individuals and Sufis are visible. Clan structures proactively deal with members' problems, as custom places a duty them to approach members in need, not vice versa:

 […] *they [clan elders] must come to you and ask you how is things and we heard you are in this trouble or that trouble. Then they must offer you the help'.*[3]

Transparency and Accountability

Somali focus group respondents stated that community organisations in Cape Town are not transparent. They felt that greater financial support from the community would make them more transparent accountable to the community, as most funding is currently sourced from Somali business people. When community members are unhappy with community organisations there are no formal mechanisms through which they can lay complaints. Sometimes community members take grievances to

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[3] Interview with Somali community member in Cape Town, 12 December 2017.

clan elders, who enjoy overall authority in the community. Community members also use personal as well as group pages on Facebook to highlight concerns.

Networks and partnerships

SASA partners with many NGOs (Scalabrini Centre, Africa Unite, Adonis Musati), the UNHCR, government departments (police, City of Cape Town Economic Development, SARS), security companies, the Greater Tygerberg Partnership, researchers, interns, mosques, religious leaders, other Somali community organisations and other migrant community organisations. One of the challenges of working in partnership with other organisations is that some exist only in name. SASA is also part of Association for Refugee and Community Organisations in South Africa (ARCOSA), which is an umbrella organisation representing refugee community organisations in South Africa.

Protection structures

The two primary organisations providing protection services to the Somali community in Cape Town are SASA and Save the Somali Community ('Save'). Respondents stated that SASA is professionally run and works closely with South African NGOs and state institutions. However, it is not adequately connected to Somalis in township areas. Save has a township presence, but leaders lack English language communication skills and are not adequately networked with civil society and government. The main challenge in initiating community organisations is lack of resources, as well as community suspicion - especially amongst different clans.

Community members also approach South African organisations for protection. These include government institutions (the police, the Department of Home Affairs, SASSA, universities, and hospitals), and NGOs (the Legal Resources Centre, the Scalabrini Centre, the Adonis Musati Project and UCT Refugee Rights Unit). They also seek assistance from the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), although there are complaints that the Cape Town office has engaged in corruption. These allegations were investigated by the Inspector General's Office within the UNHCR, and legal steps were taken to address the matter. Somalis frequently rely on Somali intermediaries when approaching South African institutions due to distrust, language barriers, and fear of discrimination.

Effectiveness

Somali respondents in Cape Town viewed community organisations as generally effective. A focus group respondent remarked: 'Those organisations are helping the people. Without them, they won't know where to go, that is the bottom part'. Yet, organisations are hindered because they operate in a fragmented way. Respondents therefore recommended that community organisations work more closely together under an umbrella. The Somali Community Forum currently doesn't include Save the Somali Community, which makes it less effective.

4.3.12. The Ethiopian Community in Cape Town

Leadership

The overarching leadership structure among Ethiopian RAs is known as the Ethiopian Community Leaders. This structure has seven leaders who are elected through what is perceived by community members as a rigorous selection process that is participatory (involves the entire community) and democratic. This leadership structure also mobilizes people concerning particular protection projects, e.g. when there is a spate of xenophobic attacks and/or break-ins and destruction of Ethiopian and Somali businesses in the townships. During such mobilization campaigns community members are reached through cell phone technology platforms such as WhatsApp and mass text messaging.

Other leadership structures that serve Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers are faith-based structures, and community self-help structures such as savings clubs, burial societies and an informal self-help group called Erde. Faith-based leadership structures comprise Orthodox Christian Churches, Charismatic/Born Again Christian Churches and Islamic structures. Details of the precise ways in which leadership within the faith-based sector is organized were not provided, as community members considered leadership processes within this particular space a confidential matter.

Representation

Leaders are likely to be male and of mature age. They include businessmen, as well as professionals and non-professionals alike. It was emphasised in the focus group discussions and individual interviews that education and other indicators of socio-economic status are not taken into account when appointing leaders. However, illiterate individuals were considered unsuitable for leadership positions due to the perception that leadership tasks often involve a degree of reading and writing.

Across all leadership structures, women and young people are excluded from leadership positions. Women are excluded due to cultural beliefs, and young people due to the belief that they are not mature enough to provide strong leadership. That said, within the faith-based sector, specifically in churches at the micro-level, women do become leaders, where they serve as cell-leaders[4].

People with disabilities were also thought to be excluded, due to concerns that leadership activities require a lot of mobility. Exclusions on the basis of religion and ethnicity were not considered an institutional norm, although they do in fact occur. For instance, among the current seven leaders of the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure, none of them are Muslim. Respondents were of the view that the exclusion of Muslims has to do with the fact that the majority of Ethiopians are Christian, and also because Ethiopians who are Muslim have their own organizations that provide assistance to their constituency.

Individuals who are unknown to the community and who are not active participants in the different community groups are thought to be the most poorly represented by leadership structures and service organizations. They are the most likely to not receive

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[4] Cell groups are home based small groups of Christian believers who meet at each other's houses on a weekly basis.

help when in need. To receive help, especially from Ethiopian Community Leaders, people must be known by at least one of the seven community leaders. It is considered risky and dangerous to provide assistance to an unknown person, because it is feared that they could be criminals or lying about their Ethiopian citizenship or background.

Transparency and Accountability

Ethiopian Community Leaders and leaders of community self-help groups are considered transparent and accountable, in that they set up consultative and feedback meetings with their constituencies. Feedback and consultative meetings are organized mainly through Whatsapp groups and word of mouth. However, it is believed that this is an area of improvement for the Ethiopian Community Leaders, as they are thought to hold meetings less frequently than they should. Further, respondents believed they do not always pursue cases and matters of interest to the community, except when it concerns one of them.

Networks and partnerships

The Ethiopian Community Leaders collaborates with the Department of Home Affairs, as well as the Legal Resources Centre, and the Law Clinic at the University of Cape Town to resolve community members' legal problems, and those to do with their documentation.

Protection structures

Community members approach the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure for protection related problems. Usually these problems have to do with attacks on Ethiopian owned businesses in the townships, which are often meted with violence. Community members perceive the Ethiopian Community Leaders to be somewhat ineffective in addressing the regular attacks on Ethiopian owned shops. There are conspiracy theories about the masterminding of these attacks, and one of them includes the belief that unemployed, destitute Ethiopian migrants sell out information to local criminals, which is then used to rob the shops. Community members are of the view the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure is not investigating this theory.

Effectiveness

Whilst community members found their community self-help groups for day-to-day assistance, and finance related shocks such as deaths and social events such as weddings effective, there were mixed views about the effectiveness of the larger associations representing them for matters relating to protection, legal assistance and navigating the bureaucratic processes of gaining clearance to return to Ethiopia for emergency reasons. It is believed that whilst effective in helping most refugees and asylum seekers when it comes to obtaining clearance to return to Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure is not so effective in providing protection to Ethiopian businesses that are often the target of crime and violence in the townships. It is believed that the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure does not do enough to address these incidents. For instance, there are perceptions that many of the spates of crime against Ethiopian owned shops in the townships are facilitated by Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers, who sell information about these businesses to criminals. Community members are of the view that the Ethiopian Community Leaders structure has failed to investigate these suspicions and allegations. In fact, it is

believed that unless the looting of targeted Ethiopian businesses personally affects one of the seven leaders, the leadership structure does not do much to respond to these kinds of incidences.

4.3.13. The Congolese Community in Cape Town

Leadership

Congolese refugees and asylum seekers congregate and form social and self-help groups along tribal lines. This was said to be due to the social belief that people ought to be taken care of by those of their own tribe, and each tribe ought to maintain its language and culture. That said, it was also the perception of respondents that newcomers from small minority tribes, finding themselves to be a minority, and for the purposes of survival, adapt and socialize with other small ethnic groups in order to be accommodated in the larger Kiswahili and Lingala-speaking communities, associations and churches. Respondents recognised leaders of their particular ethnic-based self-help groups, as well as those of their churches, which tend to be organized according to language (French, Lingala and KiSwahili), and the leaders of a broader leadership structure known as Congolese Association of Cape Town.

The Congolese Association of Cape Town is a prominent association that mainly represents a diverse and heterogeneous membership of Congolese of Kinshasa. It also reaches out and welcomes French-speaking refugees and asylum seekers from neighbouring countries such as Rwanda, Cameroon and Congo Brazzaville. The association is led by a president, who is always a male of mature age. The services provided by the association include helping refugees during the application process of Section 22 and Section 24 permits at the Department of Home Affairs, as well as providing information related to resettlement in more economically advanced economies such as the United States of America. The leaders also mobilise and bring their members together during times of trouble, including deaths in the family and xenophobic attacks.

In the focus group discussion with Congolese refugees and asylum seekers, members identified a community self-help group called Mubondo. Mubondo represents Congolese refugees and asylum seekers of the Bhembe tribe. They provide a variety of services including assistance of new comers with documentation at the Department of Home Affairs, accommodation, job-seeking, and integration into the local community. Mubondo has four leadership positions; president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer. Members are elected into these positions through voting held during formal elections.

Representation

The Congolese Association of Cape Town was reported to represent mainly all refugees and asylum seekers from Congo Kinshasa. However, a fair number of refugees from neighbouring countries, particularly French speaking countries, are also represented in the Congolese Associations. As such, refugees from Congo Brazzaville were cited as the group which was most welcomed. This is apparently due to the importance of language as a unifying tool among the Congolese. Furthermore, it was clear from the focus group discussions and individual interviews that language can be an important barrier to accessing social support from community self-help groups and associations in the Congolese community.

When it comes to minority groups, the president of the Congolese Association of Cape Town was reported to embrace and reach out to people who are gay and lesbian, despite the stigmatization and discrimination of this group of people within the Congolese community.

There were mixed views among community members regarding the representation and inclusion of women in leadership positions within the Congolese leadership structures. On the one hand, in the focus group discussion, the view was that leadership positions are generally male dominated. The position of President in Mubondo and in the Congolese Association of Cape Town can only be filled in by a male and the other leadership positions, whilst they can be filled by women, are usually occupied by men. On the other hand, women were viewed as a dominant force within the different associations, particularly those that are business related, due to their success in the food and beverages sector as well as hair care businesses.

Young people are considered ill equipped, immature and unsuitable for leadership among Congolese refugees and asylum seekers, and are thus not represented in leadership structures. In the same way, people with disabilities that affect mobility are also excluded from leadership positions.

Finally, a key exclusionary factor from receiving support and social services from the different Congolese associations and self-help groups was indicating support for the Kinshasa government. Such people were said to be rejected by the refugee community, and sometimes even murdered for supporting President Kabila and his government.

Transparency and accountability

Community leaders were thought to be transparent in their conduct and leadership of their constituencies. However, there were perceptions among some respondents that one area of service that lacks full transparency is the one concerning refugee resettlement in high income countries. It is believed that when community leaders receive information regarding re-settlement or movement of refugees from South Africa to high income countries, such information is not fully disclosed or reported by the leaders, because they themselves want such opportunities for themselves or their close family and/or friends.

Despite the lack of transparency concerning refugee resettlement opportunities, respondents perceived Congolese community leaders to be accountable to their constituencies. They were reported to engage in regular communication and consultation with their constituencies, through face-to-face meetings and on media platforms such as Whatsapp and Facebook. On these platforms, leaders keep their constituencies abreast of new developments affecting the refugee community and also facilitate participatory decision making processes with their members. The leadership of Mubondo was especially said to provide its members with extensive accounting of the association's finances.

Networks and partnerships

Respondents did not know much about the networks and partnerships of specific refugee-led organizations, largely because they were not involved in the leadership structures of those organizations, but also because there seemed to be some

confusion about what constituted a refugee-led organization. Members did not know if a refugee-led organization was one that had refugees as its employees, or if it was one founded by a refugee. Nevertheless, respondents singled out Adonis Musati and Voice of Africa for Change (VAC) as two refugee-led NGO that function as an interface between refugee organizations and the Department of Home Affairs.

Protection structures

Congolese refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town approach NGOs, churches, community based organizations and their associations when faced with protection related threats and incidents. Respondents especially emphasised the effectiveness of PASSOP and the churches in matters of protection. They also mentioned non-refugee led NGOs that represent refugee interests such as Scalabrini, UCT's Law Clinic and the Legal Resources Centre as places of help when faced with legal and protection challenges.

The police were considered the most unhelpful when it comes to protection related problems. Community members shared detailed experiences of being discriminated and treated unfairly by the police in their communities. Altogether, law enforcement was considered untrustworthy and ineffective in protecting refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town.

Effectiveness

Community leaders are generally considered to be effective in carrying out their mandate of representing the interests of Congolese refugees and asylum seekers, particularly where legal and migration status issues are concerned. They are also perceived to be effective in providing financial and moral support to the constituencies, particularly when faced with a bereavement.

4.3.14. The Somali Community in Pretoria and Musina

Leadership

Four key structures defined the Somali community leadership. These included the Somali Association in South Africa (SASA) leadership, the Sharia court or *Al Bayan* (meaning, men of wisdom and eloquence, in the Somali language), the Council of Elders and clan leaders. Unlike the Habesha community, the religious leaders or *Al Bayan* was a formally recognized institution in the Somali community. SASA leaders were chosen through long, free and fair deliberations. This was based on the merit of the individuals nominated for leadership. The leaders were elected through consensus, arrived at by all members of the community. Though young, the Chairperson of SASA is regarded the father of the community. He enjoys a great degree of legitimacy.

According to key informants, the SASA leadership played an important role in alerting and protecting the Somali community during/from xenophobic attacks. It also helped rehabilitate and support community members whose businesses were looted, especially during xenophobic and attacks on foreign nationals.

On their part, the *Al Bayan* (Sharia court) worked at mosques, where they handled issues relating to marriage and family, according to Islamic law. Their leadership was based on religious learning and position in the Somali mosque.

The Council of Elders was an informal structure, which helped in the day-to-day resolution of disputes among community members. Clan leaders had power and influence within their respective clans. They were also powerful in the handling of intra-clan disputes. The function of the SASA leadership was, thus, complemented by the three leadership structures including *Al Bayan*, the Council of Elders and clan leaders.

The Somali *Al Qwa* Solidarity community leadership in Musina was a branch of the *Al Qwa* community of Polokwane. It had two representative structures: the *Al Qwa* leaders and the *Al Bayan*. The *Al Qwa* leaders were accountable to their constituency in Musina and the leaders in Polokwane. They were elected by the general assembly of the community, using the same criteria as those required of leaders in SASA, in Pretoria. The *Al Qwa* too provided various services through committees, such as humanitarian support to rescue missions for Somalis.

The devoted leader of the *Al Qwa* community in Musina was chosen to lead through consensus, by the community in Polokwane and Musina. He had served for the past 15 years, at the time of the interview. He was respected by the migrant community at large in Musina because of his commitment to the safety and security of his fellow Somalis.

Representation

The way in which divergent groups in the Pretoria-based Somali community were represented reflects the unique Somali tradition that emphasizes unity and solidarity. No one is excluded on any grounds. Still, a major source of division in the Somali community was political affiliation. Unlike politics, factors such as language, religion and ethnicity actually promoted harmony, as all Somalis had a shared sense of identity. In Pretoria, participants in the mixed FGD also disclosed that males and females were equally represented in the SASA leadership. However, young female discussants emphasized that there were issues that they could not mention to male leaders or even the *Al Bayan* or clan leaders. The discussants noted that the presence of only two females on the SASA committee was not enough to deal with the issues relating to women. The SASA in Pretoria, however, was the only institution that provided opportunity for female participation in leadership within the Somali community. Otherwise, females had no representation in the *Al Bayan*, the Council of Elders and clan leaders, for cultural and religious reasons.

Respondents and discussants in Musina said that the representation of all Somali speaking people around the world irrespective of nationality (citizenship), ethnicity, religion and political affiliation constituted an overriding principle of the Somalis umbrella association *Al Qwa*. Observations made in Musina suggested that, the youth had a high level of representation in community leadership because they possessed academic, language and technical skills with which they could use modern communication technologies. However, the elders maintained their position of leadership in the background, as advisors and guides. The *Al Bayan* in Musina performed its judicial and conflict resolution function just like one in the Pretoria-based SASA. Respondents, however, said that the community was not well represented in

terms of gender, age, religion and economic status in the community leadership. Despite this, community members believed that their interests were covered.

Transparency and Accountability

The accountability of leaders was highly pronounced in the Pretoria based Somali community. Community members generally believed their leaders were very accountable and that the leaders neither engaged in any activity nor acted without the knowledge and consent of the community.

The provision of services and protection to members were determined with fairness and prioritized, based on the needs of members. Despite the invisibility of checks and balances or mechanisms of control as per strict modern management science, members believed their leaders were accountable and that they sacrificed themselves in the best interest of the community.

Networks and partnerships

A community leader in Pretoria disclosed that SASA worked with the African Diaspora Forum in Johannesburg (ADF), and the Habesha [Ethiopian] and Congolese community of migrants in Pretoria, respectively. SASA also worked with NGOs like LHR and Future Families. According to the informant, the Somali community also made efforts to cooperate with indigenous South African community associations, in an attempt to show solidarity and achieve social integration.

Therefore, two factors were important in the wider networking scope of SASA. First, it did not distinguish Somalis by nationality. The association had a membership that included Ethiopians, Djiboutian and people from the two Somali states. This made it a Pan-Somali association for all Somalis in South Africa. Second, SASA capitalized on the shared fate of migrants' struggle to survive in South Africa. Habesha [Ethiopian] community informants actually disclosed that their collaboration with the Somalis earned them respect and contributed to their safety when xenophobic violence occurred.

Protection structures

Respondents in the Somali community said it protected and provided security to members from all types of threats and risks too. All respondents in both in-depth interviews and FGDs disclosed that the major challenges to the safety and security of its members were robbery and killings. Because of this, the association had to cooperate with the police; to ensure the safety of its members. Respondents in the *Al Qwa* Somali community in Musina actually disclosed that their members were victims of police brutality and abuse by "intelligence and the immigration authorities." Because of this, Somalis used their own early warning mechanisms and members to protect members. A Pretoria-based leader disclosed that the community established its own defence initiatives during communal riots and xenophobic attacks. Discussants in the mixed FGD in Pretoria identified a list of protection services provided by SASA, Al Bayan, and the general community.

The female-only FGD indicated that presenting such problems as rape and sexual assault to the SASA leadership was culturally challenging. Despite this, SASA leaders collaborated with the NGO Future Families to provide psychosocial support to victims of sexual violence and those facing economic challenges, provided they informed the leaders. A difference existed between male and female discussants, however,

regarding the rank ordering of preferred security structures from which they sought protection. The male discussants listed, in declining order of priority, the police, family, SASA and the general community. A leader, however, disclosed that they sometimes had to helplessly fend for themselves, when an outbreak of violence occurred. This is because the police were "not responsive to imminent dangers." The female discussants listed family, community, police and Al Bayan.

Effectiveness

FGD participants and key informants in the Pretoria based Somali community considered their leaders to be very effective. They said the leaders worked well, despite the limited available resources to carry out their duties. The SASA Chairperson was respected for his effective leadership and utilization of resources. Respondents said he managed and distributed available resources with equity and fairness. They attributed his effectiveness and success in executing his duties to education, life experience, integrity, voluntarism and a high level of devotion to his work. In Musina, a key community informant said *Al Qwa* had effectively managed to ensure the safety and security of its members.

However, the respondents said the lack of financial resources, education and training, lack of support from governmental organizations, the absence of positive attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers, and practical commitment for the social and economic integration of refugees and asylum seekers affected the effectiveness of the leader and SASA in general.

4.3.15. The Ethiopian Community in Pretoria and Musina

Leadership

Two key leadership structures define the Habesha communities in Pretoria and Musina. These include community and church leaders. At the time of data collection, however, the Musina community did not have any formal religious establishment or church like the community in Pretoria. Still, the religious leaders in Musina helped solve problems and mobilize support whenever the need arose, as discussed below. The founding leaders of the Habesha community in each of the cities were not formally elected. They were, rather, self-motivated individuals who sought to establish the community.

The Habesha community was led by elected Board members for a two-year term. Besides the Board, the communities in both cities were served by Executive Committees led by community Chairpersons, Deputy Chairpersons and Secretariats. The committee members were responsible for running the day-to-day activities of the community including, economic, security and protection, public relations, legal, social, media and publication, and external affairs issues.

Religious leaders provided alternative leadership and helped resolve conflicts in the Habesha community. They also provided forums for mobilizing support whenever needed. The specific religious institutions represented in the community included the Orthodox Christian Church, Muslim and Protestants. The religious leaders in the Habesha community were not formally recognized, though.

The leaders were popular and respected, because of their devotion and commitment to ensuring their people's interests were satisfied. Moreover, the leaders worked on voluntary bases and spent their own resources in the service of the community. This created a sense of a paternal relationship between the leaders and the community. Because of this, community members believed their leaders were responsible and accountable, as they sacrificed themselves in the best interest of the community.

Representation

The Habesha community represents a unique mix of Ethiopian and Eritrean nationals. Contrary to expectation, the researchers did not see any evidence of intra community divisions/conflict along religious, language, ethnic, citizenship or political lines. Respondents said that the community avoids political divisions by encouraging equal representation that ascribes a sense of common identity to members. Further, FGD discussants disclosed that all members of the community are equally represented in terms of gender, age and economic status. The researchers, however, noted that there were only two out of seven females represented in the leadership of the Habesha community in Pretoria. In Musina, women and Muslims were not part of the community leadership but did not see any problem with that because their interests were well represented. According to FGD discussants and interview respondents, the only people who were not represented and excluded from the Habesha community were those who provoked divisions on ethnic, religious, political or nationalistic divisions.

Transparency and Accountability

In terms of structure, the Habesha community had a leadership comprising an Executive Council, a Board and various Committees. These positions were occupied by a diversity of officers with well-defined roles and functions. They formed an important structure in which checks and balances established a system of accountability. Community members believe that their leaders were very accountable to them. The leaders made community decisions through various committees by voting, and based on the guiding principles prescribed in the community constitution. According to respondents, the leaders acted fairly and responded to members based on priority.

In Musina, the community leaders said that the active engagement and follow up made by community members made it necessary for the leaders to provide unwavering accountability to their constituents.

Networks and partnerships

LHR and Future Families provide legal and psychosocial support to Habesha community members. Informants from each of these NGOs said LHR provides legal counselling, training and represented refugees and asylum seekers in court and at DHA. CoRMSA advocated for refugees and asylum seekers and provided training and legal counselling. Future Families provided economic assistance and psychosocial counselling to women and children.

The Habesha community also worked with the Somali community's *Al Bayan* and Council of Elders to resolve conflicts that involved Ethiopians and Somalis. Respondents indicated that people in the Ethiopian community sometimes preferred settling their disputes through the Somali community's Al Bayan and Council of Elders.

Protection structures

Respondents in the face-to-face interviews disclosed that the Habesha community provides security and protected members against various threats. The greatest challenge people in the Habesha community faced was unethical business competition and related disputes. These often led to arson, murder and looting. The Habesha community FGD was of the view that, "the root of all evils is unethical business competition caused by lack of creativity and farsighted business management skill." This problem was caused by the robbery and killing of community members. It was further compounded by the lack of commitment by the police. The community thus largely dependent on its own early warning and quick response of members, to reduce risks and avert threats to members' businesses and lives.

Discussants and interview respondents, however, said that the community eventually established "very robust and productive working relationships with the police by persistently engaging the police and other concerned security agencies." The Habesha community is thus well connected to Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) and receives rapid responses when security situations in their areas get out of control. Members of the Habesha community policing force had also been empowered to arrest and take offenders to the police in the Marabastad area.

FGD discussants said the Habesha community leadership provided social, economic and psychological support to families affected by violence and members whose businesses had been looted. Further, members who had become homeless, targets of violence and victims of rape and/or divorce were kept in a community safe house. The leadership also provided legal support to members in processing applications for asylum, aimed at the legalization of their residence status with the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and police. Both face-to-face interview respondents and discussants in the FGD said that the legal and social support was provided in collaboration with NGOs like LHR, CoRMSA and Future Families. Further, these NGOs and the community leadership provided training and psycho-social support to members.

Effectiveness

Respondents in face-to-face interviews and discussants in the Habesha FGD said their leaders were very effective in their operations. The operations were, however, constrained by limited resources and capabilities. The leaders helped solve members' problems relating to unethical business competition, displacement and differences over business/trading spaces.

In Musina, for example, respondents said that other than the new emergent violent crime of abduction which caused fear in the community, the leaders had managed to end business related disputes and violent crimes that had been affecting the community. A police officer in Musina confirmed the effectiveness of the community leaders and members in combating violent crimes. The Community Crime Combating Unit commander of the police in Musina also noted that the Ethiopian-Eritrean community was the least of all community groups involved in crime and actively collaborated with police in combating crime.

However, respondents in the Habesha community also indicated that the lack of, among other things, financial resources, education and training, support from

government and commitment to the social and economic integration of refugees and asylum seekers had reduced the effectiveness of the Habesha community.

4.3.16. The Congolese Community in Pretoria and Musina

Leadership

Leadership in the Congolese community was very diversified compared to the other refugee and asylum seeker communities. The Congolese community generally had three main leadership structures notably, the Fraternity of Congolese Community (FCC) umbrella body, ethnic community leaders of such organisations as the Buguma Fuliiru-Vira (BFV) and church leaders. Most of the elected leaders of the FCC had also founded the organization. The election of community leaders was conducted on one person one vote democratic principle and it was declared to be free and fair. The FCC leadership sought to unite and provide mutual assistance and protection to Congolese in Pretoria, in accordance with its constitution. The office bearers were elected based on number of years they had lived in Pretoria, fairness, ability to solve problems, tolerance, availability and sense of sacrifice for others. They also had to demonstrate good and exemplary conduct within the community.

One respondent added that it took "sacrifice for someone in a foreign land to avail his or her own time and financial resources for the sake of the organization and community at large without expecting any pecuniary reward in return."

Besides the umbrella community organisation and the ethnic based organisation, church leaders played a key role within the wider Congolese community. According to FGD discussants, the church leaders provided a meaningful alternative to "the failing FCC and ethnic-based communities", which some deemed to be "discriminatory and separatist instead of being inclusive." Church leaders in the Congolese community were not elected, but self-appointed. They availed their venues in case of funerals or any other important meetings involving large numbers of Congolese.

The FGD also disclosed the existence of an important informal group of Congolese community leaders. They called it "Combatants" and said it was "strictly politically motivated." Sometimes, these combatant leaders created a divide within Congolese community because of the radical political opinions they held against the political regime in the DRC.

Representation

Unlike the Somali, ethnicity has a significant impact on the representation of migrant, refugee and asylum seekers' interests, and the provision of services to these people in the Congolese community in Pretoria. The multiplicity of ethnic groups from the DRC compounds the situation, as it seems to divide the Congolese. A respondent said that ethnicity fuels leadership crises within the Congolese community because "people find it difficult to tolerate each other once one ethnic group is not represented within the leadership structure of an organization that lobbies for all Congolese community members." A leader indicated that the multiplicity of ethnic groups and lack of tolerance weakened solidarity among Congolese in Pretoria. However, the ethnic-based communities were found to be inclusive and representative of members. This is because fewer interests were represented in the leadership structure.

The FGD revealed that better representation in terms of gender, age and economic status existed within ethnic-based communities than the umbrella organization. However, most ethnic-based organizations exhibited strong patriarchy. Women were not only poorly represented but were voiceless too, in some cases.

Transparency and Accountability

Citing the BFV and Umoja Development Foundation, Congolese respondents and FGD discussants said some community leaders were accountable and enjoyed the legitimacy of members. The leaders of these organizations reported back to their community every three months and had an annual report too. The FCC leaders, however, sometimes struggled to give feedback to their members, despite the fact that the constitution required them to do so. Discussants said that there had been cases where community leaders had lost their legitimacy because they struggled in addressing the pressing socio-economic needs of community members. The misuse of funds and other internal conflicts were cited as cases in point, in which the leaders had fallen short of expectation. The leadership of the BFV particularly stood out as an organization that enjoyed legitimacy and the respect of the Congolese community.

Networks and partnerships

Key respondents and FGD discussants alleged that the level of cooperation between Congolese community organizations and other organizations that dealt with refugee and asylum seeker issues was low. Still, organizations such as BFV cooperated with the Nigerian, Angolan, Burundian and Ethiopian communities. Some respondents said Congolese migrants collaborated with the LHR in the provision of counselling and legal to unlawfully detained community members and those who were unfair treated by local law enforcement agencies. As mentioned above, the BFV networks with Future Families in the provision of protection and security. Respondents also said that the Congolese community in Pretoria worked with the UNHCR to provide information and training on the rights and obligations of refugees and asylum seekers.

Discussants unanimously underlined the need to strengthen networks and partnerships between their respective self-help organizations and service providers. Respondents also discussed the Association for Refugee Communities and Organisations in South Africa (ARCOSA) formed to promote harmony between refugees and asylum seekers. Respondents considered ARCOSA to be a promising avenue through which the Congolese community would strengthen its network and partnership with other community organizations and stakeholders. A respondent at LHR confirmed this view, that ARCOSA provided an avenue for partnership and exchange among migrants. Indeed, most of the groups that were studied in this research noted close networks with partners such as LHR, Future Families and JRS, etc. For the Congolese, they might be interested and have confidence in the umbrella organisation because a Congolese held an executive position in the association.

Protection Structures

For the Congolese, community self-help organizations protected members from internal conflicts and helped with documentation, health challenges, accommodation and food, and the search for employment, etc. A key respondent in the community highlighted the limited social assistance refugees and asylum seekers received from authorities, the lack of information on the refugee and asylum seekers' rights,

inadequate responses from the police and other stakeholders dealing with refugees and asylum seekers as factors that motivated the Congolese community organizations to establish protection structures for its members.

The public relations and lobby departments of Congolese community organizations such as the FCC and BFV engaged refugee and asylum seeker stakeholders in order to acquaint themselves with information about services available to refugees and asylum seekers in Pretoria. Further, the communities fundraised through monthly contributions, for example, and used the funds to assist members in need with food parcels, temporary shelter, and money for rent and clothing. When funerals occurred, all community organizations mobilized themselves to honour the deceased with financial contributions and physical needs.

Congolese community organizations also collaborated with other refugee organizations like the Nigerian, Somali and Ethiopian. An informant said this was done to "form a common front against common threats, like the time of recurring xenophobic attacks by local community."

Effectiveness

Key informants in the Congolese community considered the leaders of the FCC to be ineffective compared to ethnic-based community organizations like the BFV. The BFV was effective in organizing funerals, wherein community members were mobilized to make financial contributions to bereaved families. Community leaders also occasionally helped members of their respective organizations in such matters as providing temporary shelter, food parcels, and important information. During an interview, a respondent said "In the event of emergency, community leaders refer us to the relevant service providers notably LHR, police, JRS [the Jesuit Refugee Service], DHA, Department of Social Development, and so on for assistance."

4.4. Conclusion/summary

The foregoing has provided a detailed description of the manner in which refugee-led organizations, associations and self-help groups among Somalis, Ethiopians and Congolese communities are led. In these descriptions the perceptions and experiences of refugees and asylum seekers on the degree to which their leadership structures are representative, transparent, accountable and effective in these leadership structures are illuminated. The qualitative inquiry also provides important details about the protection needs of refugees and asylum seekers in the 6 provinces, and how and where they go to meet those needs.

The findings of the focus group discussions and individual interviews indicate clearly that refugee-led community structures exist in every community of refugees and asylum seekers, providing crucial social, moral and sometimes financial support in times of need. Whilst the type of leadership provided differs in its organization, quality and effectiveness across the different nationalities and provinces, what is clear is that in most communities, refugees and asylum seekers have community structures that they look to for leadership. In some settings, such as among some Congolese refugees and asylum seekers in Cape Town, these community structures are limited to small, informal self-help groups, that whilst limited in their ability to provide protection related assistance, provide critical social, moral and material support. Among Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers in Port Elizabeth, these community

leadership structures largely comprise churches, through which spiritual, psychosocial and material support is provided.

The qualitative inquiry also shows various dichotomies, tensions and contradictions in the manner in which refugees and asylum seekers perceive and experience leadership in their community structures. The Somali community benefits from being united by the oneness of religion, language and geographical proximity in most of the cities where the study was conducted. Yet, in cities such as Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban differential treatment based on clan and tribal affiliations is reported. The Congolese leadership appears well organized in Cape Town and in Port Elizabeth and yet fragmentation, lack of structure and tribal clashes and divisions in Pretoria undermine the capacity of this population to have a united and effective leadership. The findings of this inquiry show clearly that the higher the degree of heterogeneity in a community, the more challenging it becomes to have representative, inclusive and cohesive leadership.

Given the heterogeneity that prevails among most of the nationalities of refugees and asylum seekers selected for this study, it is not surprising that the study found the degree of representativeness to vary across the different sites. Whilst just about all of the different populations of refugees and asylum seekers interviewed for the qualitative inquiry generally perceived that their interests were represented by the refugee-led community structures in their communities, exclusions of particular groups in leadership positions were noted, as was the marginalization of others from receiving services. Specifically, nearly across all of the study sites/provinces, women were either completely excluded from leadership positions or where they were included, occupied inferior positions. The exclusion of women in leadership was especially noteworthy among Ethiopian and Congolese communities. Among all of the Somali communities in the six study sites, women did not occupy significant or high positions of leadership, but they were noted to have some positions in leadership, for instance in SASA in Musina. Cultural barriers and reproductive and domestic responsibilities were cited as the reason for women's exclusion and marginalization from leadership positions.

Young people were another group that was largely excluded from leadership positions, due to the perception that they lacked the wisdom, experience and competence required in leadership. The Somali community was slightly different from the rest, as young people were sometimes noted to occupy leadership positions, for instance in Port Elizabeth.

People with disabilities that affect mobility were also excluded, due to the perception that leadership tasks are physically demanding and require mobility.

Exclusions from leadership and from receiving services on the basis of sexual orientation were common across the different nationalities of refugee and asylum seeker communities in the six provinces where this study was conducted. The only exception was the Congolese community in Cape Town and in Johannesburg, where the leaders of the leading associations in these provinces were said to embrace gay and lesbian refugees and asylum seekers when providing services.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This research focused on the representative and protection structures that are available to Somali, Ethiopian and Congolese refugees and asylum seekers in the urban centres of Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Musina. Within this overall objective, indicators such as leadership, legitimacy, representation, management skills, networks/partnerships, accountability, transparency and effectiveness were used to gather information regarding refugees and asylum seeking representative structures. This empirical research also has provided a detailed description of the manner in which refugee-led organizations, associations and self-help groups among Somalis, Ethiopians and Congolese communities are led. Empirical fieldwork examined the perceptions and experiences of refugees and asylum seekers on the degree to which their leadership structures are representative, transparent, accountable and effective. A mixed method approach including both quantitative and qualitative inquiry methods provided important details about the protection needs of refugees and asylum seekers in the five provinces, and how and where they go to meet those needs.

The findings of the study clearly indicate that refugee-led community structures exist in every community of refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore, field data revealed that these protection structures provide crucial physical, social, moral and sometimes financial support in times of need. The following section provides a summary of the overall research findings and recommendations.

5.2. Research findings, conclusion and recommendations

5.2.1. Leadership and legitimacy

There are numerous community organizations which serve the Ethiopian, Somali and Congolese communities in South Africa, including formal and informal political and religious groups. The study shows that the degree of legitimacy is higher in communities living in close geographical proximity where tight-knit networks act as structural supports for their members. Leaders who share common characteristics such as ethnicity, language, culture and religious beliefs are also perceived as more legitimate. Results reveal that leadership positions have predominantly been held by men (the research shows about 96% of leaders are male) and are usually unpaid, volunteer roles with few resources at stake. As a result leaders tend not to actively campaign for positions, but are requested by organizations to take up positions and then become elected. Community leaders are also appointed according to their availability, age (mature age), level of education (the higher the better) and knowledge of the English language. In particular, their communication skills and ability to network with government officials and other key stakeholders give them authority and legitimacy. Qualitative data indicates that leadership structures are in the majority of cases appointed or self-appointed rather than elected by members of the community and most of the appointed leaders have also been the founders of the organization. This has raised numerous challenges within refugee communities including, lack of integrity, nepotism, suspicion, tribalism and corruption.

This study has also established that leadership of Somali and Ethiopian communities was largely voluntary. Some community leaders assumed their unpaid positions based on availability and personal skills. Some respondents actually associated the voluntary nature of the positions with the leadership culture of not providing regular feedback on issues to communities. Added to this, was the suggestion that the reason community leaders did not provide regular reports and feedback, was because they lacked education and training. Education and training are thus viewed as essential for the acquisition of requisite skills for managing any organisation. The research has shown that the highest level of education for the majority of respondents was matric or country equivalents. This has direct implications on leadership abilities and their effectiveness in managing the affairs of the associations they lead. It raises the need for leaders to be better equipped in running the affairs of their organisations.

Thus, based on the above findings, *it is recommended* to train leaders and refugee-led groups to improve their leadership skills, performance and capacity to assist their communities. The training will help enhancing efficiency and reducing conflicts and dysfunctionality within community organizations. It will also help community members acquiring the necessary resources and tools to define clear strategies and effectively address problems in their communities. There are a number of good practices in the field of capacity building for refugee-led organizations. Amongst these, the 'Urban Refugee Incubator' is an initiative which aims at training refugee-led groups over a period of six months to leverage their skills and resources. This program comprises of three main elements: organizational capacity building (e.g. finance, governance, strategic planning, project management and communication); access to seed funding and advocacy and outreach. Both implementing and operational partners of UNHCR should consider the opportunity to introduce and strengthen capacity building programs to minimize the challenges faced by refugee-led organizations and maximizing their role in disseminating accurate information, referring vulnerable cases to NGOs and networking with government agencies and other key stakeholders.

5.2.2. Representation

Leaders often claim to represent an entire community but their organizations can exclude members due to their age, gender, ethnic composition, religious or sexual orientation (Lis 2011). This study found that full representation of all population groups by a given leadership structure is not a common phenomenon in the case study areas selected for this research. The quantitative findings indicate that across the three nationalities represented in this study, between 46 and 66% of respondents perceived that their leadership structures represented their interests. Within this figure, some variations were found. Given the heterogeneity that prevails among most of the nationalities of refugees and asylum seekers in this research, it is not surprising that the study found the degree of representativeness to vary across the different sites. Whilst just about all refugees and asylum seekers interviewed for the qualitative inquiry generally perceived that their interests were represented by the refugee-led community structures in their communities, exclusions of particular groups in leadership positions were noted, as was the marginalization of others from receiving services.

Across all the six study sites within the five provinces women, young people, people with disabilities and people who are gay and lesbian were either completely excluded from leadership positions or where they were included, occupied inferior positions (e.g.

women in the Somali community in Musina and Johannesburg). Cultural barriers and reproductive and domestic responsibilities were cited as the reason for women's exclusion and marginalization from leadership positions. Young people were largely excluded from leadership positions due to the perception that they lacked the wisdom, experience and competence required in leadership. The Somali community was slightly different from the rest, as young people were sometimes noted to occupy leadership positions, for instance in Musina and Port Elizabeth. However, this was attributed to the young people being educated at tertiary institutions. People with disabilities that affected mobility were also excluded, due to the perception that leadership tasks are physically demanding and require mobility.

Exclusions from leadership and from receiving services on the basis of sexual orientation were common across the different nationalities of refugee and asylum seeker communities in the five provinces where this study was conducted. The only exception was the Congolese community in Cape Town and in Johannesburg, where the leaders of the leading associations in these provinces were said to embrace gay and lesbian refugees and asylum seekers when providing services. Accordingly, the following **recommendations are offered**.

- Address cultural barriers that marginalize women and other less represented groups from leadership, through training and awareness campaigns. Such training and awareness campaigns should be delivered using participatory and critical reflection tools that address bias, stereotyping and prejudice. They should target the range of leaders who lead refugee-led initiatives and actively explore mechanisms that can diffuse transformational learning to the broader community.

- Provide training to refugee-led organizations on the importance of ensuring representation of all social and demographic groups in their leadership structures.

- Secure and strengthen service provisioning for LGBTI refugees and asylum seekers as they are most vulnerable to exclusions from services.

5.2.3. Protection structures

Quantitative fieldwork within the six urban centres revealed that overall safety and security is a major concern for refugees in South Africa with Ethiopians expressing the highest feelings of insecurity followed by the Congolese and a lesser amount of Somalis. This finding is surprising, as according to media reports Somali's appear to face the most xenophobic attacks and their security is compromised more than the other two groups of refugees. However, responses point to the strong networks with government and civil society as the reasons for the Somalis' feeling of safety in general and the support given by government departments and civic organisations. The practice of giving back to the community through projects for the vulnerable and participation in the Mandela Day is also helping to change attitudes towards some refugee communities.

Qualitative responses regarding accessibility to protection structures disclosed that Ethiopian, Somali and Congolese refugees have access to social and legal protection structures with varied degrees of success. Social protection structures include a number of UNHCR social assistance partners such as the Cape Town Refugee Centre

and its satellite offices, the Department of Social Development, the Department of Home Affairs, the South African Social Services Association, local schools, local government structures and the South African Police Service, while legal protection structures that offer assistance include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and implementing partners in relevant areas, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Legal Resource Centre (see Annexure 1). Other organisations that offer protection and/or relief include churches, faith-based organisations, student organisations and self-help groups. However, despite some support from the police, many refugees report unwarranted harassment and violence from the South African Police Service in many centres in South Africa, and the confiscation of property and money from businesses without any reasonable explanation. When taking these issues further, it is reported that, due to their refugee status, the police indicate that they are too busy to deal with issues relating to non-South African citizens. Other challenges relating to access to protection and support include language barriers when attempting to access information, accessing the correct documentation required by South African officials, discrimination and corruption by officials.

Hence, *recommendations put forward* by refugees and asylum seekers include the implementation of a referral system between community leaders and other organisations whereby vulnerable cases and people in need of protection can be identified and dealt with more efficiently. Other recommendations include increased efforts to promote cohesion within the host community, by community leaders and local government officials. In lieu of South Africa's progressive legal framework for refugee protection, it is further recommended that oversight structures be put in place to ensure the rights of refugees and asylum seekers with regard to access to public services and the related socio-economic rights afforded by the Constitution (and other relevant legislation) to refugees. This includes access to food and water, adequate housing, basic health care, basic primary education access to education and access to social protection as provided to South African citizens.

5.2.4. Networks and partnerships

Findings indicate that refugees and asylum seekers rely on dense community networks which can provide benefits for effective cooperation and mutual support. Moreover, homogeneous ethnic communities with a strong religious identity are able to capitalize information and maximize opportunities and resources available within their environment. In this regard, the Somali and Oromo community in Johannesburg represent an example of a tight community with a strong religious identity where resources are embedded in social networks. Within such common space, members of these communities rely on a variety of local faith-based organizations which provide social assistance and social relief.

Community structures and their leaders play a pivotal role in connecting members of the community providing relevant information. Therefore, those individuals who are more connected to community structures and to their leaders have more opportunities to receive information about available services, as opposed to those who experience social marginalization and are excluded from full participation. The deep connection of leaders to their communities and their cultural and political influence is what makes them 'community gatekeepers' who can decide how to regulate access to the resources and opportunities that they control. Elected and self-appointed community leaders, as revealed by the study, are individuals who can speak English fluently and

act as 'brokers between local residents and various institutions' (Benit-Gbaffou, 2014) which refers to those in need of legal and social assistance from relevant NGOs and government agencies. However, the referral system to connect key stakeholders to refugee communities is not always effective. This is due to the lack of organizational capacity and the poor financial resources, which do not enable community organizations to properly handle the case management of vulnerable people in need of protection.

The level of engagement of leadership structures with government agencies represents a source of legitimacy and varies across departments, nationality groups and geographical areas. Somali organizations in Cape Town and Durban reported to have established positive relationships with SAPS and local police commanders to prevent violence and accidents, although respondents in Pretoria and Musina reported a lack of positive synergy with law enforcement. This study also highlights that community structures and their leadership have established partnerships with pan-African umbrella organizations capitalizing on the shared fate of migrants' struggle to survive in South Africa, as well as with local municipalities to promote integration and social cohesion activities in the informal settlements.

Hence, it is recommended that detailed community mapping is conducted with an emphasis on identifying individuals and social groups who are marginalized and do not have access to community structures; to strengthen organizational capacity of local leadership structures to refer and manage effectively protection cases; and to encourage networking and exchanges between local leadership structures and stakeholders through bilateral and multilateral meetings, roundtable discussions, and other platforms.

5.2.5. Accountability and Transparency

Findings show that there are varying degrees of accountability and transparency across research sites and population groups. Among the Somalis, community organizations had limited financial accountability and, at times, ceased to be accountable and transparent when leadership changed (e.g. in Port Elizabeth). However, some leaders were accountable to their communities, donors and community elders (e.g. in Pretoria and the *Al Qwa* in Musina). The Somali communities in Durban and Pretoria were somewhat different from the other Somali communities in this study because although leaders were reportedly accountable to their communities, no accountability process existed and office bearers did not report to higher structures. Some Ethiopian community leaders (and leaders of the Habesha community) were considered accountable and transparent as leaders held consultative and feedback meetings with their constituencies. In some communities, while interviewed leaders of the Ethiopian community organizations reported that some form of accountability and transparency existed, members bemoaned a lack of transparency in donor funding and alleged acts of corruption (e.g. in Johannesburg). Interestingly, the Ethiopian community in Kwazulu Natal had limited financial resources, poor accountability, transparency and reporting mechanisms.

Similarly, leaders in the Habesha community lacked formal or regular reporting on community issues. Generally, Congolese respondents reported that their leaders were transparent and accountable - with decision making conducted democratically and detailed financial reports posted on the organization's website (in Port Elizabeth).

However, although leaders are thought to be accountable and transparent, respondents in Cape Town complained about lack of full transparency on matters relating to refugee resettlement in high income countries as leaders allegedly wanted such opportunities for themselves or for their close family and friends. In addition, Congolese respondents in Johannesburg reported that community organizations are not transparent and accountable owing to corruption and opportunism (e.g. in Johannesburg).

Hence, *it is recommended* that external partners provide training on the development of accountability systems in refugee led initiatives, community structures and organisations.

5.2.6. Effectiveness

The Congolese Community leaders are considered overall to be effective in carrying out their mandate of representing the interests of Congolese refugees and asylum seekers. With regard to effectiveness, the findings show that the Congolese organizations are at the start-up stage, they are effective and have connections with external/broader institutions that provide support to refugees and asylum seekers. Furthermore, it was revealed that such partnerships led to success stories that one can use to measure the level of effectiveness of the leaders. However, information provided by the Congolese community respondents indicates an aspiration for a more united community and identifies the lack of a trustworthy leadership as one of the main challenges.

The participants of Somali communities in the six provinces stated that their organizations and leaders were helpful despite their shortcomings. They have good networks and connections with the stakeholders, partner organizations and government agencies, to broaden their scope and influence. Although the available resources are limited, the key informants noted that lack of financial resources and lack of support from government institutions, together with the absence of positive attitude towards refugee and asylum seekers, impacted on the effectiveness of the community organizations. In other provinces, though, there are few community based organizations and of these none are effective according to Somalis, due to the fact that office bearers are volunteers and their involvement is based on their personal availability. Somali community members currently seek assistance in terms of accessing information regarding government services.

With regard to the effectiveness of the leadership within the Ethiopian Community, there were mixed views across the different sites. For example, respondents in Port Elizabeth indicated that their leaders were very effective in terms of providing information assistance and protection to all members of the Ethiopian community. In Durban, however, there were reports of fragmentation which hindered effectiveness.

Hence, *it is recommended* that the community organizations should draw on both internal support (the intellectual educated people and community fundraising/contributions and inputs) and external support (the broader institutions that provide support to the refugees and asylum seekers), which will help them function in a more sustainable manner and achieve their goals and objectives.

In addition, to increase effectiveness, the different organizations should provide more support to each other. Working in silos, as is currently the case, results in

ineffectiveness. Other recommendations include addressing cultural barriers that marginalize women from leadership, through training and awareness campaigns; and provide training to refugee-led organizations on the importance of ensuring representation of all social and demographic groups in their leadership structures.

5.2.3. Towards a best practice model

The evidence on what works to strengthen refugee-led initiatives and community structures although urgently needed remains limited. For this reason, it is critical that despite the limited evidence base, efforts are initiated towards the development of a best practice model for the strengthening of leadership structures in general, and representation and legitimacy in particular, in refugee-led initiatives and community structures.

To this end, the University of the Western Cape and SIHMA, and in collaboration with multiple stakeholders that they brought together in a workshop to validate the findings of the research that are described in this report, developed a set of recommendations that can be considered as the beginning steps towards the development of a best practice model.

This section of the report is first going to present the recommendations that emanated from the validation workshop. Thereafter, a summary of the key messages from the recommendations will be given. The section will end by providing details of some of the most promising interventions and components that are considered key in the strengthening of community structures that are led by vulnerable groups such as refugees and asylum seekers.

In the research herein reported, the most underrepresented groups in the leadership of refugee-led community structures were women, youth, people with disabilities and LGBTI individuals. Yet, in the recommendations given towards the construction of a best practice model to enhance representativeness, legitimacy and effectiveness in refugee-led community structures, focus shall be limited to only women and youth. This is not to suggest that LGBTI individuals are an unimportant group, nor that their exclusion is a minor problem; on the contrary, the consensus across many development and academic fora is that development processes must work towards eliminating the discrimination and exclusion of people on the basis of sexual orientation. Rather, the refrain from attending to the other groups that were shown to be underrepresented is due to the following considerations:

> (i)   There was minimum exploration of the factors underlying the exclusion of LGBTI individuals, people with disabilities in the research,

> (ii)   The extent of the complexity of the issues underlying the discrimination and exclusion of LGBTI in refugee-led community structures means that an independent research project is required to gather in-depth knowledge on this issue among refugees and asylum seekers,

> (iii)   The lack of mention of all of the excluded populations, except women by stakeholders in their recommendations at the validation workshop.

Thus, in these recommendations towards the development of a best practice model for the strengthening of leadership, representation and legitimacy in refugee-led initiatives, the focus will be primarily on women.

Recommendations from the validation workshop

The following recommendations were generated from three questions that were asked of the stakeholders at the validation workshop that UWC and SIHMA hosted to validate the findings of the research herein reported.

1. How do we make sure that refugee-led organizations largely reflect the populations they are expected **to represent** before authorities, with particular attention paid to the inclusion of women? To address cultural barriers that marginalize women and other less represented groups from leadership, is important to conduct training activities and awareness campaigns. Who do you think these campaign should target (for e.g. community leaders, faith based leaders, etc.); and what might be the best methods of engagement to be used?

    I. To increase the representation of marginalized and excluded groups, such as women in the leadership of refugee-led initiatives and structures, the following is recommended:

        a. Support agencies such as UNHCR need to make use of women's empowerment structures such as Scalabrini Women's Platform. Through such empowerment platforms, women can be trained in various skills that will make them sellable as leadership candidates. Once women are trained, they can also be trained to train and raise another crop of women leaders from their communities

        b. Another strategy is to ensure that where funding agencies fund refugee-led initiatives to have paid employment positions, they make it a requirement that the incumbents of such positions are female. In another words, it is recommended that employment equity targeting gender parity should be made a condition of employment in refugee-led initiatives and structures.

        c. Education and awareness campaigns targeting men and women in refugee and asylum seeker communities, and in refugee-led structures. Such campaigns should focus on raising awareness about the importance of having equitable representation of men and women in leadership positions.

    II. To ensure legitimacy of leaders, is it recommended that UNHCR facilitates leadership workshops that conscientize refugee-led initiatives about the importance of legitimate leadership, and how to identify, measure and support it. There should also be some formal vetting process that is co-formulated by refugee community members, their leaders and all relevant, local stakeholders. The vetting of leaders to assess their legitimacy in their communities should culminate in the issuing of certificates to all those who are assessed and found to be legitimate leaders.

    III. A constitution template should be developed for use by all refugee-led initiatives and community structures, and in it, a 50-50 men to women ratio should be specified. This could be attached to the conditions of funding for activities funded by UNHCR

2. What can be done to improve the **referral system** between community leaders, refugee organizations and authorities, so people in need of protection are identified and dealt with more efficiently? How can we avoid negative effects such as favoritism, fraud, leaders not knowing the most vulnerable and 'invisible' individuals in need of protection, leaders deliberately ignoring some vulnerable groups (i.e. LGBTI refugees and asylum seekers)? How can a referral system work transparently?

    I.   To improve the referral system between community leaders, refugee organizations and authorities, information about services provided by refugee organisations, community based organizations and government institutions needs to be better disseminated. This way, community leaders of refugee-led initiatives will be better equipped to make appropriate referrals to the relevant service providers. Cross referral systems need to also be strengthened.

    II.   To facilitate the above, participatory processes that involve refugees and asylum seekers along with service providers, in identifying and developing a knowledge base of the services that exist in their communities and the ways in which they can access them, must be in place. One such participatory process is community mapping; this process must be done in a collaborative process between community leaders, their constituencies and service providers.

    III.   Services provided to refugees and asylum seekers must also be strengthened and improved, because in some cases referral systems are in place and effective, however, the services to which refugees and asylum seekers are referred are not adequate nor effective in helping them.

    IV.   To increase the efficiency and effectiveness of cross-referral systems, refugee-led community structures and organizations, NGOs, and government departments whose services are of relevance to refugees and asylum seekers must undergo training on how to make referrals to each other. They must also receive training on how to make their services known and accessible to this vulnerable population.

3. What are your specific recommendations on **capacity building** for refugee-led organizations? For example duration of engagement, content of training, sustainability, measuring success, etc.? Any ideas on how to strengthen community-based / self-help structures? Any good practices to consider?

    I.   Capacity building workshops should be delivered through half-day, weekly or bi-weekly training sessions over a short but intensive period. This is because most leaders of refugee-led community structures and initiatives are busy in various occupations, and thus would not be able to attend daily training programs.

    II.   The content of leadership training workshops/curricula should include the following:

        a)   Democratic election processes for the appointment of community leaders

b) Representation

c) Legitimacy

d) How to set up accountability systems

e) Communication skills, including public speaking and power-point presentation skills, as well as meeting and conference attendance etiquette

f) How to access resources for constituencies

g) How to access sources of information regarding available funding/funding calls

h) Grant application or proposal writing training

i) Financial and budget management skills

j) Project and resource management skills

k) Stakeholder management training, including training on how to interact with UNHCR, the chain of command in the institution and how to bring different people together around a vision

l) External partners and UNHCR to provide assistance to CBOs in drafting a gender balance constitution

III. The impact and success of these training programs will need to be continually monitored and assessed in order to ensure ongoing improvement of their reach and effectiveness. The following are some of the recommendations on how this can be done:

a) Maintain a database of community leaders who participate in capacity building programs of this kind. This is to allow for follow up.

b) Conduct periodic surveys assessing the impact of the leaders' exposure to capacity building programs among their constituencies (community members)

c) Conduct site visits and observations

IV. Development agencies that work with refugees and asylum seekers, including UNHCR, must model the principles of representation, accountability and transparency, collaboration that they wish to see manifesting in refugee-led initiatives and community structures. This can be done by creating multiple opportunities for community leaders of refugee-led community structures to interact with and thus observe these principles whenever they come into contact with the UNHCR.

The above recommendations highlight that a few interventions are widely considered important to include in efforts to strengthen leadership, representation and legitimacy in refugee-led community structures. These include training, and collaborative engagement between community leaders, service providers and other relevant stakeholders. In the literature that is described below, the emphasis on these interventions is echoed.

Key interventions to strengthen representation and legitimacy in refugee-led community structures

Coproduction (collaboration)

The concept of coproduction is thought to be integral to building resilient, participatory, and effective refugee-led initiatives (European Social Fund 2017). It is a concept that is traditionally used to construct the role that citizens should play in policy-making (Whitaker 1980). However, several thought leaders in the field of migration are exploring its use to refer to a collaborative engagement between refugees, service providers and lawmakers, and the involvement of refugees in the design and implementation of services that benefit them (European Social Fund 2017). The concept of coproduction is relevant and useful for the characterization of the relationship that should exist between refugee-led initiatives, service providers, and lawmakers. This is because in the conventional version of coproduction, citizens coproduce services by requesting their existence, shaping how they are delivered and collaborating with service providers in their delivery (Whitaker 1980).

Coproduction is also closely linked with participatory, inclusive, and collaborative processes that bring those at the margins of society to the centre of matters that affect them. In this way then, it is a concept that can be used in two ways to help leaders of refugee-led community structures reimagine and transform the role of women, youth and other marginalized and excluded groups in their programs. Firstly, coproduction can be facilitated between refugee-led community structures and development agencies, service providers, government officials who are involved in work that concerns refugees and asylum seekers. Such a coproduction partnership has the power to model the principles of representativeness and inclusion that are desirable characteristics for refugee-led community structures. In others, let refugee-led initiatives see and experience what it is they are being conscientized to replicate in the way they run and lead their initiatives. In a town called Arnsbeg in Germany, this model of coproduction is being implemented with great promise. Through a refugee-led initiative known as *Neue Nachbarn*, refugees in this neighbourhood have entered into coproduction partnerships with the local municipality. This initiative has transformed the way refugees are perceived by locals; they are no longer seen as passive victims of circumstance, but as active agents of change in their own lives.

Secondly, if community leaders are taken through a process of conscientization (in the form of training and awareness campaigns) about the benefit of coproducing the services they offer with women, young people and other excluded groups, such a process may result in their cooption in leadership structures and thus a greater degree of representativeness in refugee-led community structures.

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Training of women

The importance of women representation and participation in decision-making roles has long been recognized in the field of development in general, and in matters concerning refugees and asylum seekers in particular. The UNHCR has not been left behind in these efforts to do away with gender-blind development models. In 1990, the institution released its first Policy on Refugee Women (UNHCR 1990). Since then many more position documents and policies have been published enshrining the importance of women's participation in development programs targeting refugees and asylum seekers. Yet, we remain little informed about the precise formula that should be applied to ensure not only that women are equitably represented in leadership structures of refugee-led community initiatives, but also that this representation results in the elevation of women's needs in such platforms. Ensuring that women are represented in leadership structures in refugee-led community structures and initiatives should not merely be a quantitative, headcount exercise, nor should it be only a tool to optimize the efficiency and effectiveness of refugee-led initiatives. The ultimate goal should be to ensure that by increasing women representation in decision-making and leadership structures of refugee-led initiatives, women's lives, their needs and issues become central in such structures and that gender equality is achieved.

Lack of information and lack of training have been cited as the factors that explain the lack of representation of women in positions of leadership (Women Leadership and Governance 2016). Such a recognition means that whilst the training of men to conscientize them on the need to incorporate women in leadership is important, the training of women is just as essential; both to arm them with knowledge of the importance of their inclusion in leadership positions, and to equip them with leadership skills. In Kenya, a women, leadership and governance program approached the training of women in leadership by: (i) forming partnerships with local government to ensure the visibility of women and their issues in policy and program planning and implementation; (ii) entering into collaborative partnerships with various key local stakeholders to conduct training that raised awareness on the absence of women in leadership and the benefits of coopting them; and by (iii) ensuring the participation of men in the trainings so as to engage them in critical reflection and conscientization about the negative impact of excluding women from leadership.

Conclusion

The knowledge base on what works to strengthen representation and legitimacy in the leadership of refugee-led community structures and initiatives is limited. This factor makes the UNHCR commissioned research that UWC and SIHMA have conducted on representativeness and legitimacy in refugee-led community structures a critical starting point towards filling the existing knowledge gaps. It also clearly indicates the need for the research herein reported to be expanded and deepened so as to provide greater understanding of the key opportunities and necessary steps for the enhancement of refugee-led community structures.

The research conducted by UWC and SIHMA has enabled exploration of the key factors that need to be considered in the development of a best practice model for the promotion and enhancement of representativeness and legitimacy in refugee-led initiatives. Key among these is the importance of building a culture of coproduction in the broader field of refugee work, and also between refugee-led community structures and service providers and development agencies. The importance of creating change through training is also highlighted, as well as the modalities and content of such training programs.

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Annexure 1: UNHCR's partners in South Africa

1. Cape Town:
- Cape Town Refugee Centre (CTRC)
- University of Cape Town (UCT) Law Clinic
- UNHCR Field Office

2. Port Elizabeth:
- CTRC satellite office and
- NMU Refugee Rights Centre

3. Musina:
- Lawyers for Human Rights
- LHR, Future Families satellite office,
- UNHCR Field Office

4. Pretoria:
- Future Families,
- UNHCR direct outreach programmes,
- Lawyers for Human Rights

5. Johannesburg:
- The Jesuit Refugee Service
- UNHCR direct outreach programmes,
- Lawyers for Human Rights

6. Durban:
- Refugee Social Services is a South African (RSS)
- Lawyers for Human Rights
- ZoeLife (Zoë-Life is a professional capacity building and development organisation with a special interest in child health).

**Annexure 2: Theoretical/Conceptual Framework**

This research framework presents the research processes and methodologies adopted and employed throughout the study. The framework of the research is important as it helps draw emphasis on systematic ways of providing answers to research questions, solving the research problem and ensures effective and efficient implementation of the project within the proposed time frame. The research framework starts with an elucidation of the scope of the assignment and research design. Also, the sampling techniques, data collection methods, data analysis process as well as the statement of ethics that guided the conduct of the research are discussed. The next section thus intends to provide a strong footing for the general implementation plan and schedule.

The major theories of contract theories (representative structures) include the principal-agent theory, implicit theory and relational theory (Laffont and Martimort 2002). The contract theories provide a specific understanding and agreement of how different representative structures (parties) stand and how they should perform various tasks. They also provide insight into the implied trust between representative structures and information relating to their perceived legitimacy.

There are also a number of theoretical models and conceptual frameworks that provide insights about the contractual arrangements and legitimacy that can arise in different institutions and systems (Dinbabo, 2014). In the context of this research, the Ager and Strang's conceptual framework, Purdue et al (2002)'s model and the Legitimacy Assessment Framework (LAF) are most relevant and were used as the basis of the theoretical framework. The following section provides a brief discussion of the selected models and conceptual frameworks.

1. Ager and Strang's (2008) model

There are a number of theoretical models that provide insights into the experiences that refugees face when moving into urban areas and their attempts to integrate with members of the receiving host community. However, the most well cited model in refugee research is Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework of core domains of integration. This model will be used to inform the study on a conceptual level and as a theoretical platform from which to launch the empirical fieldwork. The usefulness of this model is that specific domains, relevant to the research question under study, can be used to interrogate selected dynamics in the field. The model will be explained below.
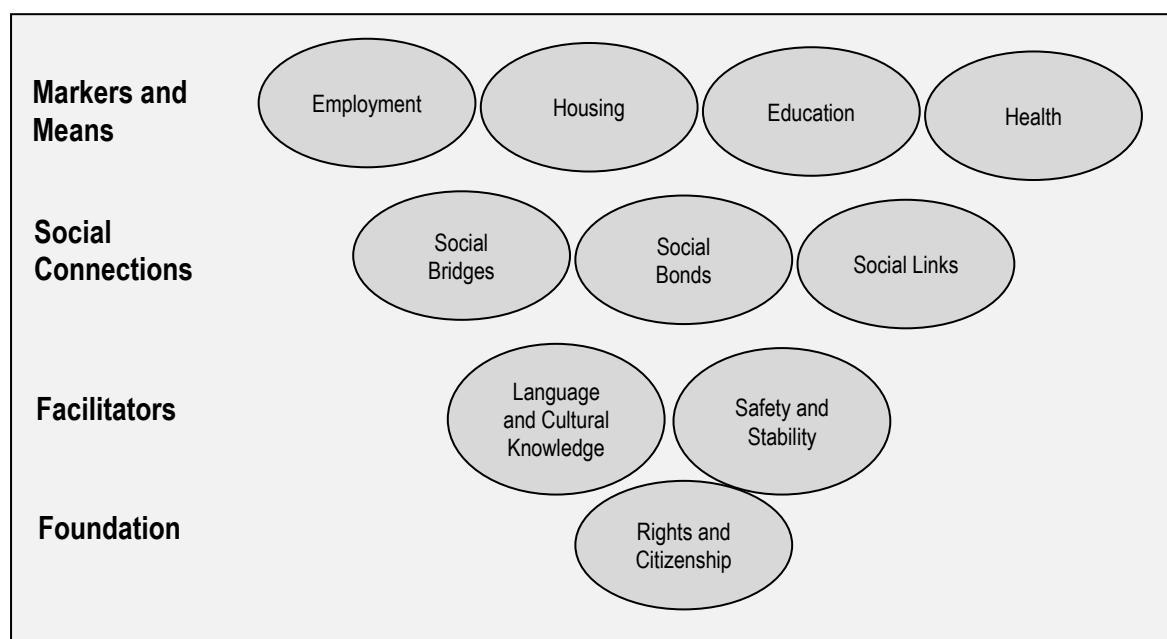
Figure-1: Conceptual framework of core domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008)

Ager and Strang (2004, 2008, 2010) developed a multidimensional conceptual framework as a structure for analysis when studying refugee integration within urban areas. The model, illustrated in Figure 1, comprises four dimensions of analysis, namely means and markers, social connections, facilitators and foundation. There are ten core domains within these dimensions and achievements in each domain is seen as a contributor to successful integration. Furthermore, within each domain, there are a number of indicators can be used to assess the attainment of integration which has been found to be very useful to governments, policy makers, NGOs, community organisations and development agencies (Home Office, 2002, 2004; Scottish Refugee Council, 2010). As it stands, the model does not measure the linkages and relationships between the domains or level, however improvements in one domain will have potential impacts on other domains.

1.1. Means and Markers Dimension

Within the dimension of means and markers, the four domains of employment, housing, education and health are referred to as the 'public face' of integration (De Lomba, 2010) and 'markers' of successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). Key indicators for these four domains could include employment rates, number of refugees participating in language proficiency courses, participation in government and civil society training programmes, income levels, rates of informal employment, rates of under-employment, satisfaction with housing conditions, health problems and so forth. The choice of indicator(s) for each domain is flexible and dependent on focus of the research and available data within a selected domain (Alencar, 2017; Ager & Strang, 2002, 2010; Home Office, 2002).

1.2. Social Connections Dimension

A number of scholars have explored the concepts of social connections (Ager & Strang, 2004), social networks (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013, Alencar, 2007), social capital (Landau & Duponchell, 2011; Madhavan & Landau, 2011, Sithole, & Dinbabo, 2016) and the process of community cohesion and community building (Bartolomei, Hamidi, Nima, Mohamud & Ward, 2016; Couldrey & Herson, 2016).

Domains within this dimension highlight the importance of different types of social connections for refugee integration. Ager and Strang's (2008) social connection dimension draws on Putnam's (2000:19) theories of social capital, which refer to the "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and that arise from them". Ager and Strang (2008) highlight the explanatory value of the domains of social bonds (social, ethnic and religious connections within a community), social bridges (social connections with other communities) and social links (connections with government institutions) in the context of local integration. They draw on the work of Zetter et al. (2006) and their analysis of secondary refugee data to support this claim (Ager & Strang, 2008).

1.3. Facilitators Dimension

This dimension refers to the facilitatory role of the policy environment, language proficiency and cultural knowledge in promoting integration and fostering sustainable livelihoods. Ager and Strang (2008) view state designed policy measures as paramount to the facilitation of local integration and highlights the state's responsibility in removing 'barriers' to effective integration through policy. The language and cultural knowledge domain is identified as a critical component of integration (Alencar, 2017; Cheung & Phillimore, 2013). Poor language proficiency is viewed as one of the main barriers to integration and impacts on an individuals sense of belonging within the community, limits access to the labour market and impacts on access key information (Sansonetti, 2016; Bloch, 2006) and restricts opportunities for refugees to engage confidently with host community residents (Cheung & Phillipmore, 2013).

In terms of cultural knowledge, Ager and Strang, (2004:4) mention the two-way exchange process as "refugees obtaining knowledge of the dominant culture as well as non-refugees acquiring knowledge of the circumstances and culture of refugees". The safety and security domain, the second facilitator sphere, stresses indicators such as fear of crime, feeling safe from persecution, discrimination or harassment as impacting on positive integration (Home Office, 2002, 2004; Sansonetti, 2016). Cheung and Phillimore (2013) argue that improvements in these domains, particularly language proficiency contribute substantially to successful engagement within community residents. Thus, an examination of the indicators within the facilitator domains is important for policy decisions and can be useful when designing protection strategies and interventions to improve the wellbeing of refugees.

1.4. Foundation Dimension

Rights and citizenship is located within the foundation dimension. The topic of human rights in refugee integration literature highlights the responsibility of governments in guaranteeing the rights of refugees (Baneke, 1999; Sansonetti, 2016; ICAR, 2006; O'Neil, 2001). Refugee rights refer to equality in terms of access to facilities and benefits enjoyed by the host population, protection from discrimination, human rights

equality, inclusion and social justice.

Citizenship is a fundamental element of human security. As well as providing people with a sense of belonging and identity, it entitles the individual to the protection of the state and provides a legal basis for the exercise of many civil and political rights. Citizenship refers to nationality and identity (UNCHR) 'belongings' (Scholten & Van Nispen, 2015) and assimilation within the host community (Mulvey, 2013). Despite being refugee status temporary in nature, when alternative options such as repatriation and resettlement are not viable, states can offer refugees long term solutions in the form of permanent residency and naturalization.

2. Purdue et al (2002)'s model

Purdue et al (2002)'s model incorporates five factors that are crucial to building community leadership structures that are representative, legitimate and effective:

(i) **The policy context of community leadership:** This theme refers to the important role that is played by the policy environment within which community leadership is located and practiced; its responsiveness, inputs and effectiveness.

(ii) **The impact of working together in partnership**: This theme refers to the relationship between community leaders, other key stakeholders and community members, and the extent and impact of power and trust dynamics on such partnerships.

(iii) **The personal experience of leadership:** Within this theme, three sub-themes are explored, namely

    a. *community as a vocation*

    b. *practicalities of leadership*

    c. *burn-out*

(iv) **Representation and accountability:** This theme is explored through two sub themes, namely

    a. *social divisions, exclusions and limits of representation,*

    b. *accountability, feedback and organizational connectedness*

(v) **Leadership succession and capacity building:** This theme is divided into 5 subthemes:

    a. *innovation and conformity;*

    b. *layers of leadership;*

    c. *leadership succession;*

    d. *capacity building and new leaders;*

    e. *crisis of representation*
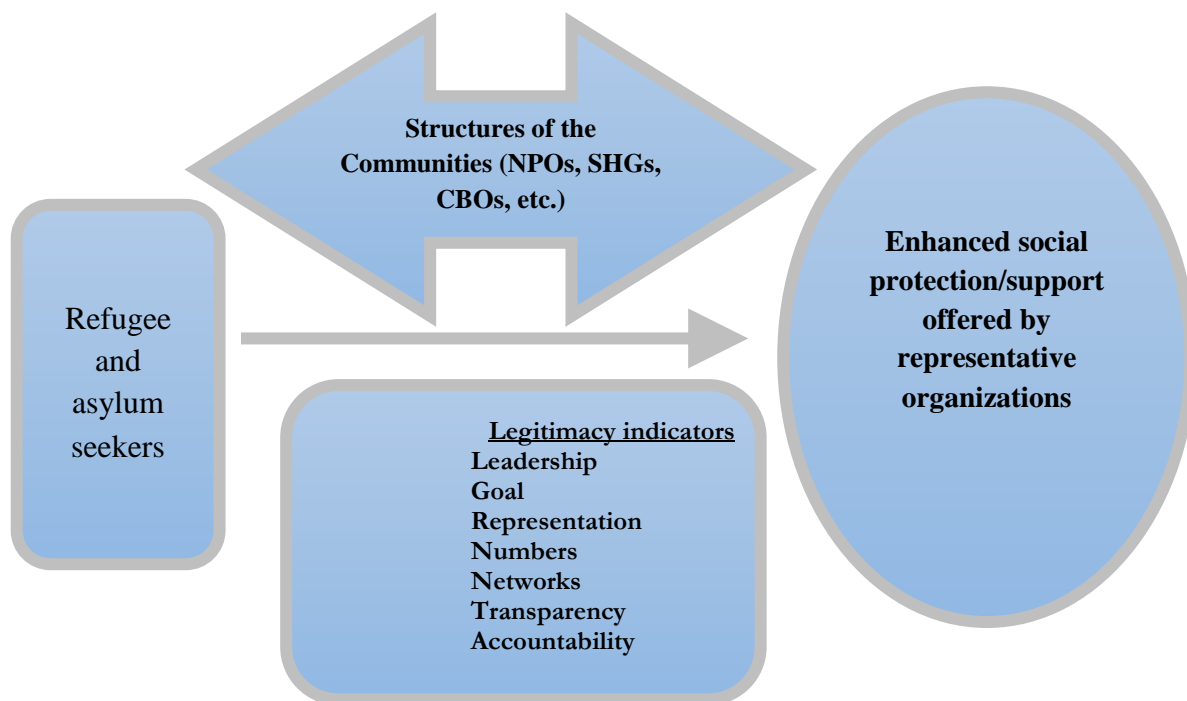
Figure 2: Legitimacy Assessment Framework (adapted) for Refugees and Asylum Seekers

For this study, the collection of both primary and secondary data will focus around the following major themes: (1) social mapping of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures (2) assessing the legitimacy of the refugee and asylum seeking representative structures, (3) examining the social protection/support offered by refugee and asylum seeking representative organizations. (4) Identifying best practices to strengthen community based protection.