The Social and Economic Integration of Ethiopian Asylum Seekers in Durban and South African Immigration policy

BY Getahun Hailu Gema

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Declaration

I, Getahun Hailu Gema hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been published in any form in another publication. Other peoples' ideas or work has been duly acknowledged.

The research for this dissertation was performed under the supervision of Dr Peter Ubomba-Jaswa at the Centre for Social and Development Studies in the School of Development Studies at the University of Natal, Durban.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1. Introduction

Ethiopian asylum seekers are among the refugees who migrated to South Africa after the collapse of apartheid regime. Combinations of socio-economic and political factors are responsible for refugees movements from Ethiopia. Since the end of apartheid era, Ethiopian refugees influx into South Africa steadily increased. Expectedly, increasing wave of movement has problems that have far-reaching consequences for both countries of origin and destination, the region, and above all, for the displaced individuals and families.

This study arose of an interest to examine the living conditions of Ethiopian refugees in South Africa. There is a growing evidence that suggest foreigners (including refugees) are increasingly the victims of crime and xenophobia, made worse by inadequate redress in the law or lack of protection by the police (McDonalds et al, 1999:2). The overwhelming majority of the Ethiopian asylum seekers crossed several countries to seek asylum in South Africa. Some of them took refuge in other African countries before South Africa.

However, due to lack of basic services such as health, sanitation and education in the camps in which they had been locked up forced them to look for another 'heaven'. South Africa with its openness to the international family and bulk economy that dwarfs many in the continent and relatively better democracy has become a better alternative destination for Ethiopian asylum seekers. It would seem that asylum seekers do not receive satisfactory assistance from both the government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The majority of Ethiopian asylum seekers do not feel legally and socially secure whilst in South Africa. The fear of robbery and deportation are very common. In addition, social and economic marginality characterized the situations of the study population. Insecurity was found to be socially and economically harmful to refugee integration in South Africa. The South African State does not appear to provide basic social support such as accommodation, health and bank services and general economic integration for Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban. This implies lacks of having access to rights and social privileges that determine the sense of belonging to a certain society. In nutshell, Ethiopian asylum seekers are in absence of refugee facilities while they are in South Africa. These situations forced them to look for another haven, especially in northern developed countries.

1.1 Objectives of the Research

The objectives of this study are:

1. To identify the cause of flight of Ethiopian refugees to South Africa.

2. To investigate the livelihood and socio-economic integration of Ethiopian refugees in Durban

3. To discuss the treatment they received in the county of asylum at various levels

4. To examine their future plan.

1.2 Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into 9 chapters. The first introductory chapter contains background to the study. It deals briefly with the international migration movements today, the involuntary and voluntary forms of population movement, and definition of refugees. It also provides the review of related literature and theoretical framework for the Study.

Chapter two provides the methodological framework for the present study. Chapter three investigates the socio-economic and political factors generating refugees from Ethiopia. This chapter renders historical background as well as post 1991 socio-economic and political factors generating refugees from Ethiopia. Chapter four

discusses personal background characteristics of the respondents included in the present study. Chapter five examines the causes of flight of the refugees to South Africa, departure and journey of respondents to South Africa. This chapter also renders a description of intervening factors and hardship encountered on the journey. Chapter six discusses the influx of Ethiopian asylum seekers in South Africa. The same chapter examines location and accommodation of Ethiopian refugees in the host country.

Chapter seven deals with the economic and social integration of Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban. The focus in chapter eight is on the treatment of refugees in the host country. Here, an attempt is made to examine treatments received from South Africa police, Department of Home Affairs and public at large as well as the response of international organizations. The chapter also examines the future plans of the Ethiopian refugees. Chapter nine draws a conclusion to the study.

1.3 An Overview of International Migration and Refugees Movements

Migration of people is not a new phenomenon that is associated with modern world and industrial society. It has been part and parcel of human history. Nevertheless, evidence shows that since the end of the Second World War, international migrations have grown in volume and changed in character. Particularly in the past two decades the volume, direction, dimension and composition of international migration have become extremely dynamic in nature. A recent International Labour Organisation (ILO) report estimates that there are more than 120 million international migrants around the world-75 million more than in 1965. Of these the ILO estimates that there are around 10 to 15 million illegal immigrants in the world (Trade Union World, 2000:16).

Among the fundamental economic, social and political factors that facilitate and exacerbate international migrations in the post cold war era are: the collapse of communist block that is defining east-west migration magnitude and direction; the overthrowing of apartheid regime in South Africa; wars, famines and

crises throughout Africa; rapid growth and development in Asia; and growing economic and political integration of Western Europe (Castles and Miller, 1998:46). Based on this fact, Castles and Miller predict that the closing year of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries will be the age of migration. Migration is likely to grow in volume in the years a head, because of the strong pressure for continuing global integration. As a result international migration will be a challenge for many nation states (Castles and Miller, 1998:46).

Using its exclusive and restrictive definition, [1] the United Nation's High Commission for Refugee (UNHCR) states that, the start of the new millennium the number of people 'of concern' of UNHCR was 22.3 million, or one of every 269 persons on earth. Of these 6.2 million people are found in Africa. The African figure includes 3.5 million refugees, 1.7 million internally displaced and 0.9 million refugee who have recently returned home. In 1999, the global number of people concern to UNHCR was 21.5 million, of which 6.3 million in Africa (UNHCR, 2000).

1.3.1 Why Do People Migrate?

In today's interdependent and integrated world, people are migrating for a wide variety of reasons. Around the world there is a substantial number of people who have been displaced from their countries of origin, either voluntarily or involuntarily or legally or illegally. However, there is no simple answer to the why people migrate Because people migrate from their area of origin for several reasons, no single cause is sufficient to explain why people decide to migrate.

Some people who migrate due to sheer poverty and lack of opportunity and for economic reasons are commonly referred to as 'economic migrants'. Others migrate to join family members living abroad. And others move mainly to escape the violence associated with armed conflict, political instability, the denial of human rights, and lack of government protection in their home country. Some others migrate due to

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[1] See general definition of refugees in section 1.5

tribal and religious repression, environmental degradation and natural catastrophe. Some people migrate to obtain better education, whereas others may choose to leave because they perceive that their aspirations are more likely to be fulfilled and satisfied somewhere other than their local area.

1.3.2 Forms of Population Movements

There are a variety of forms of population movements around the world. It is essential at the beginning to identify and make distinctions between different typologies of international population movements. The two major typologies of migration are voluntary and involuntary migrations.

1.3.2.1 Voluntary Forms of Population Movements

Without wishing to delve into the philosophical problems of "free will" and motivation, as far as the migrant is concerned, it is possible to make a distinction between voluntary movements and those that are involuntary. According to inclusion approach the notion of voluntary migration could be taken to mean that the decision to migrate is taken by the individual considering the move (Bilsborrow, 1984:45).

However, several difficulties arise from this approach. The inclusion approach does not take into account the restricting factors such as ecological, social or economic that motivate migrants to make decision to migrate (Bilsborrow, 1984:45). For example, if we consider 'economic migrants', the migration may be made by "free will" but the circumstances, which faced the migrant, may have left the migrant between the option of survival and starvation. Clearly that decision may be subject to many influences and factors in the individuals 'market situation' but it is not formally constrained (Parnwell, 1993:14).

There are different forms of voluntary migration. Of these the most important are international labor migration, emigration and illegal migration. Here it is impossible to discuss each form of international voluntary migration. But it is worth discussing briefly the most common form of voluntary migration-illegal migration. This type of

migration involves those migrants who do not fulfill the requirement of the migration laws made by countries, but enter to the country of their choice either clandestinely without going through required immigration procedures or violate the terms of their entry by overstaying their permit or working without permission or on the base of false documents (Castles and Miller, 1998:78).

The scale of the illegal migration is increasing around the world perhaps as a result of state's policies towards the movement of people across national frontiers and increasing restrictions on legal forms of immigration; a wide gap in income levels and economic opportunities between countries of the world; and social connection to a person already in the receiving country (Massey, et al, 1998:270). Generally in the case of voluntary migration, individuals make their own decision to migrate in order to meet and maximise their interest which may be economic, education, better life, social and so forth (Parnwell, 1993:34).

1.3.2.2 Involuntary Forms of Population Movements

Involuntary population movement has a wide range of forms and occurs as a result of a wide range of circumstances, such as warfare, civil conflicts, revolution, political and religious discrimination and rivalry, natural disaster and displacement by 'development program' (Cimade, et al, 1985, Bulcha, 1988, Loescher, 1993). This study is about one of the involuntary population movements-Refugee movement.

1.4 Review of Related Literatures and Theoretical Perspectives for the Study
1.4.1 Review of Related Literature

A number of studies have been undertaken to understand the socio-economic integration of refugees in host country. There were and still are huge integration difficulties experienced by refugees in the host country. There are evidences showing the social-exclusion and economic marginalization experienced by this group. Some countries in their immigration policy deliberately exclude refugees from social and economic benefits (Kibreab, 1996).

In his study on Czechoslovakia refugees in South Africa Smedly (1977) found that Czechoslovakian refugees are integrated into South African Society in that the majority seem to have adopted to life in the host culture without relinquishing their own cultural identity. Thus economically and occupationally, it would appear that the Czechoslovakian refugees have settled in and have made progress vis-à-vis their hosts since their arrival in South Africa. A very high percentage of Czechoslovakian refugees intend to take up South African citizenship and look upon South Africa as their home from an early stage ·

The Portuguese Refugee Council (1998) found that, in Portugal refugees remain inserted in the informal labor market, performing precarious, unstable and inconsistent activities, which do not offer security or dignity. This situation amounts, in effect, to a state of permanent insecurity and inconsistency of their economical status. The illegal and irregular forms of work whose immediate corollary is the complete absence of basic social protection, as a rule, do not contribute to effective labor integration or to improving the standard of living of refugees (Portuguese Refugee Council, 1998).

Bulcha (1988) critically assesses the economic integration of Ethiopian refugees in Sudan. He finds that unemployment and underemployment rates are very high among all types of refugees. Only a minority have jobs of a permanent nature. Incomes are very low and the households find it extremely difficult to fend for themselves. The majority of the Ethiopian refugees in Sudan are dependent on seasonal and casual wage-labour employment. A large proportion was not self-sufficient and depends on the support of relatives and other countrymen or aid from humanitarian organisations.

On a study of Congolese refugees in South Africa Sabet-Sharghi (2000) indicated that none of those who participated in the study group was happy with their current employment situation in South Africa. This is mainly due to the inability of those relatively well educated to find jobs that suit their technical or professional qualification. They complain that the sort of jobs they do in South Africa is done by

the least qualified and educated in their home country. Besides, they face a hostile environment of lack of proper documentation, cooperation and trust of the local population, as well as inability to gain access to credit and information. Such a hostile environment makes it extremely difficult for them to participate in South Africa's economic and social affairs in a significant way. This in turn makes their integration into the asylum country very difficult both socially and economically.

On his study of Ethiopian refugees in western USA McSpadden (1987) finds that Ethiopian refugees present a combination of factors which puts them at special risk in terms of their psychological well-being. They have high expectations but experience rapid downward social mobility. They experienced a desperate need to re-gain lost status but do not understand nor accept easily the American methods for doing this. The research indicates that there was high depression and suicide among Ethiopian refugees in Western United States.

1.4.2 Theoretical Perspectives for the Study

This section provides the theoretical perspectives in connection with migration (involuntary migration in particular) and deals with the theoretical perspectives used in this study.

1.4.2.1 "Push-Pull Theory"

Lee (1966) developed this theory. According to Lee (1966, cited in Rip, 1973:11) there are four major factors that influence people to migrate. These are:

a) Factors associated with the area of origin
b) Factors associated with the area of destination
c) Intervening obstacles
d) Personal factors.

The central assumption of this theory is that pushing and pulling factors are one of the key determinants of population movements. Push factors are disruptive conditions such as conflict, lack of access to land, lack of employment, low wages, wasted land,

drought and famine, population increase, political instability, social inequalities, poor economic opportunities, and poverty that push and make people to leave their home area. On the other hand, the pull factors are those conditions that attract people to them, such as higher standards of living, job opportunity, or freer communities in the country of destination (Loescher, 1993:16).

Voluntary migration occurs for a variety of reasons, which can be summed up as the "availability of opportunities" at the place of destination. In other words, the "pull" factor is important in the decision making process. On the other hand, the "push" factor is very strong in the case of refugees. There is little choice but flight in this case (Bulcha, 1988:79)

1.4.2.2 Migration Systems theory

According to Castles and Miller the migration systems approach implies that any migratory movement can be seen as the result of interacting macro- and microstructure. Macro-structures refer to large scale institutional factors such as the political economy of the world market, interstate relationships, and the laws, structure and practices established by the state of sending and receiving countries to control migration settlement. On the other hand, microstructures refer to the networks, practices and belief of the migrants themselves. Informal social networks include personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties, and mutual help in economic and social matters are very essential in order to cope with migration and settlement.

The family and community are crucial in migration networks. Networks based on family or common place of origin help provide shelter, work, assistance in coping with bureaucratic procedures and support in personal difficulties. These social networks make the migratory process safer and more manageable for the migrants and their families. In addition, migrant networks play a profound role in informing potential migrants. The establishment of networks of contact with areas of destination may be playing a paramount role in initiating and facilitating migration from area of

origin. It is often that people usually move to a location where they have connections with a fellow countryman or people from their village. A number of studies have indicated the important role that contact play in finding work, providing shelter, finance and social support for new migrants (Massey et al, 1998:15).

1.4.2.3 Socio-economic Theory in the Study of Migration

It is believed that all migrants including refugees endeavour to make some social and economic integration in host country. In this study the emphasis is on the socio-economic integration of immigrants into the new socio-economic environment and other factors that influence integration.

Beside their distinct identity, it is obvious that migrants attempt to acquire new coping patterns, re-establish themselves occupationally, and perhaps learn new languages in host country. The concept of integration is widely used among social scientists to denote the process of immigrant adjustment in a new environment (Bulcha, 1988:87). However, the integration of first generation refugees should not result in a significant loss, if any, of their own social and cultural characteristics. Integration is generally viewed as a flexible and bi-dimensional process implying not only the refugees' adaptation to the host society but also the malleability and the capacity for changing the host society for the reception and integration of new group (The Portuguese Refugee Council, 1998). It also denotes a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources-both economic and social with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community (Bulcha, 1988:86).

Undertaking the analysis of the experiences and situations of Ethiopian refugees in this study, the underlying assumption is that there is no easy and smooth integration into a host society. According to Portuguese Refugee Council "Some refugees may well be integrated into the host society, whereas others excluded and marginalized. The complete social, cultural and economic integration of refugees in the host country mirrored in the acceptance and inclusion of the immigrants in socio-economic

condition of the host country, and having access to rights and social privileges that determine the sense of belonging to a certain society" (The Portuguese refugees council, 1998). These conditions not only influence to what extent the migrants become a part of their adopted society and participate freely in its economic activities, but also determine the extent of the migrants retention of their original socio-cultural identity.

1.4.2.4 Factors that Facilitate Socio-economic Integration of Migrants in Host Country.

Social networks-the number of linkages one has with other people; and institution; and social support, such as (appreciation, respect, understanding, admiration, acceptance, and love) play a paramount role in immigrants adaptation process in a host country (Wash and Wash, 1987: 992). According to Wash and Wash, the four major functions of social support are:

1. Fulfilis the needs to belong by providing emotional sustenance and instrumental aid (good, service, information etc)

2. Serves as a modifier of negative stress

3. Strengthen hope and moral

4. Giving and receiving social support enhances one's abilities to learn and use new skills in new situations.

The longer the stay of refugees in the host country the higher the chances of refugees adopting some of the social and cultural aspects of the country of asylum. Rogge (1994) points out that social adjustments are made by choice, albeit the pressures to adjust or remain distinct may vary substantially from place to place. Duration of residence is usually one of the most significant variables in the social adjustment process; second generation migrants are invariably more integrated into the host community than were their parents (Rogge, 1994:39).

1.5 Internationally Accepted Refugees' Definitions

It is worth therefore to define refugees and make distinction between refugees and other migrants. Loescher (1993) argues that the question who exactly is a refugee is a major point of contention. Even small definitional distinctions and classifications are important, because they may mean the difference between having access to political asylum, receiving aid, and being granted international protection, or being left without any officially recognized status or help at all. The internationally accepted definition of refugees in Africa are derived from the United Nations (UN) and Organisation for Africa Unity (OAU).

1.5.1The 1951 UN Convention

According to the 1951 Geneva Convention adopted by the United Nations and amended by the 1967 protocol, a refugee is defined as a person who

> " Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted in his country of origin for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR,2000).

However, many argued that this definition has geographical and temporal limitations. The definition effectively excluded attention to persecuted individuals who were still in their own country. They need to have escaped their tormentors in order to be of international concern under the Convention and Statute. Moreover, this definition does not take account of group persecution, or of people forced to flee by warfare or internal conflicts (Gordenker, 1987:31).

1.5.2 The 1969 OAU Convention

The reasons for refugees' flight are complex. Beside the 1951 Geneva Convention, the Organisation of Africa Unity (OAU) convention of 1969 adopts a broader definition of the term refugee:

> "The term "refugee" shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality" (UNHCR: 2000).

On this convention OAU firmly insist member states to receive refugees and to secure the settlement of those refugees who, for well-founded reasons, are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or nationality.

1.6 Difficulties in Identifying Refugees from Other Migrants

In this interdependent and integrated world, however it is difficult to make a clear distinction between refugees and other migrants. This is mainly due to the causes of voluntary and involuntary migrations that sometimes overlap. This creates problems for international organizations and hosting governments due to the fact that they do not fit the international legal definition of a refugee (Loescher, 1993:12).

UNHCR made a distinction between economic migrants and refugees. Economic migrant normally leaves his or her country voluntarily, to seek a better life. To a refugee, the economic conditions of the country of asylum are less important than its safety. In practice the distinction may sometimes be difficult to establish, but it is fundamental nonetheless: a migrant enjoys the protection of his or her home government; a refugee does not" (UNHCR, 2000).

Normally refugees flee to save their lives but economic migrants to improve their economic conditions and for better life. However, differentiation between refugee and

economic migrant become hardly possible when people flee from countries where poverty and violence are direct consequence of the political system and government policy (Minaar and Hough, 1996:8).

Allen and Morsink (1994:7) also illustrate that sometimes migrations may be done repeatedly as a way of making the most of a difficult environment, and, in areas of long-term and unresolved war, there may be no clear distinction between refugee and economic migrant. An individual may even switch between these categories depending on whom he or she is talking to, and collective identity may be constructed as much out of the shared experiences of migrations as out of language or a traditional relationship with a particular territory.

In general, refugees' immediate cause of flight may be individual persecution, armed conflict, campaigns of repression, the violent collapse of civil society or a dozen variations on these themes. Behind these phenomena lie deeper and often interrelated patterns of political, economic, ethnic, environmental or human rights pressures, which are further, complicated by the interplay between domestic and international factors. In order to escape from this, refugees cross an international border illegally or clandestinely and apply for refugee status or political asylum on the arrival in the host country (Hough and Minaar 1996:7).

1.7 Movements of Refugees to South Africa

In South Africa, at present perhaps, one of the major problems facing the post-apartheid government is unauthorized migration from abroad. The government of South Africa policy document on international migration states that "Illegal alien is some one who is not a citizen or a resident of a country in which he or she is physically present without being authorized by the law of that country to be in or to have entered the country" (White Paper on International Migration, 1999:27).

After the downfall of the apartheid regime, the influx of the international migrants (including 'illegal migrants' and refugees) in South Africa increased in volume and

significance, particularly from the sub-Saharan African countries. One of the reasons is that, in this huge region South Africa is 'an island of prosperity in the sea of poverty'. For example, economically South Africa accounted for 84 percent of the total GDP of the sub-Sahara region in 1993 (Hudson, 1997:228).

This imbalanced regional development makes South Africa 'the land of milk and honey'. This situation encourages 'economic migrants' to 'vote with their feet' and move South from different corners of the continent Africa. In line with this, the unstable social and political situations, and the fragile economies of the sub-Saharan African countries contribute tremendously for the generation of refugees to South Africa. Especially after the 1994 democratic election, the country became the safest haven for asylum seekers and an attractive option for economic migrants.

The number of refugees that applied for asylum in South Africa grew rapidly in 1990s. Refugees and migrants are not only come from Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) but also an increasing number from elsewhere in Africa and further afield (Rogerson, 1997:1).

However, nobody knows the exact number of immigrants in South Africa, particularly the undocumented ones. In 1995 some estimates put the figure between 2 and 9 million, depending on who we refer and listen to (Mills, 1997:224). In 1997 the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) came up with a ridiculous estimate that there were up to 12 million non-South African citizen in the country (Crush, 1997, cited in Sabet-Sharghi, 2000:1). That would imply that 1 out of every 4 people in South Africa is foreign! All of these numbers are highly suspect methodologically and probably grossly exaggerated (Crush, 1997 Cited, in McDonald et al, 1999:5).

For various reasons different bodies overestimate the number of immigrants, particularly, the undocumented immigrants. For instance, Hudson (1997:292) illustrates that at a time when the defence budget is being cut, various security

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agencies justify their continued existence and action by citing the 'threat' that illegal migrants pose to the South Africa State.

Nevertheless, Minaar and Hough (1996) illustrate that the increment of migrants is accompanied by the alarming increment of public xenophobia against foreigners. Politicians and their parties exacerbate the tension of public xenophobia. And anti-sentiment is diffused by different mass media. Immigrants are blamed for the rise and complication of South African social and economic problems such as unemployment, crime, especially drug related and weapon smuggling, the spread of diseases including AIDS, and taking South African spouse (Minaar and Hough, 1996: 179). Undoubtedly, politicians and journalist spread of anti-foreigner sentiment contributes to the hatred and exacerbates violation of migrants' human rights

1.8 Ethiopian Refugees in South Africa: The Problem

Pressure of migration, both voluntary and involuntary is usually strongest in countries at the depletion end of the income and political freedom or human rights spectrum (Appleyard, 1991:3). Ethiopia is among the countries that experienced and encountered these problems.

During 1980s the most tragic concentration of refugees was in East Africa, in particular the horn of Africa, and the major source of refugees was Ethiopia. McSpadden (1987:799) has pointed out that one of the most long-lasting Africa refugee situations was that which exists for Ethiopians. During 1980s one out of every 20 Ethiopians was a refugee. The then military government of Ethiopia created more refugees than anywhere else in the world.

Hence, in the past decades Ethiopia holds the sad record in Africa for the number of refugees. It produced most of the then Ethiopian refugees were rural, poor, and uneducated that reflect the reality of their country. And the greater part of the refugees were highly concentrated and settled in the least developed countries such as Somalia, Djibouti and Sudan. These countries are poorly equipped to give help to such sudden

influx of people. The rural Ethiopian population usually cross the frontier and settled near the frontier as far as possible, with the hope of returning home quickly. Their movements were undertaken hurriedly and in confusion. (Cimade, et al, 1985:43)

In the past few years, the people of Ethiopia have again experienced forced migration. The problem of Ethiopian refugees exodus has experienced beyond the neighbouring countries to other African countries. This fact is mirrored by the dramatic increase of Ethiopian asylum seekers in South Africa in 1998 and 1999. According to the Department of Home Affairs, 2908 Ethiopian refugee applications were received all over South Africa since the readmission of South Africa to the international community until 1999. Since then a steady trickle of Ethiopian asylum seekers have continued to arrive in South Africa. The number of Ethiopian refugees in South Africa is, however, small both as compared to the number of Ethiopian refugees in the world and to the total number of refugees influx to South Africa from other parts of Africa. Until 2001 the total number of Ethiopian refugees applications received by Durban Refugee Reception Centre has been 317 (Appendix 2). The Ethiopian refugee community is the third largest refugee community in Durban next to Burundi and Zairians.

The typical Ethiopian asylum seekers in South Africa are single, young and predominantly male and overwhelmingly urban. They represent the age group likely to experience long distance international migration. Ethiopian asylum seekers in South Africa have had the experience of fear, social and economic dislocation, and downward social mobility and vulnerability to crime.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Barriers to the field Research

Conducting research on refugees and asylum seekers can be quite difficult in a country like South Africa where refugees are sparsely settled and mobile in nature. Accordingly, such a research requires patience and sufficient time which have implications for substantial financial and other resources. In addition to being mobile, asylum seekers tend to be engaged in more than one low paid job daily. Accordingly, even within one city they work in different locations and for long hours. Even though the residence of an asylum seeker is known, she or he may never be found in it during the day for a whole week. This is so particularly during working hours. Therefore, for the present study interviews with identified Ethiopian asylum seekers were designed to take place after five o'clock and on Sundays, when most of them are likely not to be working

2.2 Insecurity

Rising xenophobia and ill treatment by police in the country make refugee communities suspicious and reluctant to give personal information, mainly due to fear of deportation and harassment by South African Home Affairs officials and police. Moreover, refugees feel that what they say may be used against them. All these make conducting research on refugees and migrants difficult in South Africa. As discussed below the researcher faced some problems in the course of conducting this research on Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban.

2.3 Sample selection process

The study was based on data obtained from primary and secondary sources. The techniques used to collect information are individual interviews and documentary. A truly random sampling research method is hardly possible for this kind of study. As many researchers did (McDonald, et al, 1997, Sabet-Sharighi, 2000) this study also

used snowball-sampling method. That means the person being interviewed was asked to give the name of someone else in that "community" that would be willing to grant an interview. This method allowed for an element of randomness and ensured that the confidence of the interviewee was maintained by being referred to by a friend. A total of 48 Ethiopian asylum seekers were identified. Of these 38 respondents were male and the rest 10 were female respondents.

However, the snowballing methodology has some serious limitations. One of the problems with this kind of research method is that, it most likely suffers from biasing the sample (McDonald et al, 1997). For example, on her research on Congolese refugees Sabet-Sharighi finds that the person that introduces the next person often chooses someone who has similar experiences or reflects similar opinion with him. And it was observed that most interviewees were skilled, highly educated, and all but two people with successful careers back in their country. It was also observed that most of the interviewees are from the same tribe and province. This demonstrates that, snowballing method may lead to similar opinion or experiences from similar types of people, particularly if the sample size of the population is small.

Therefore it is hardly possible to generalise the findings of the snowball research method and claim that the sample statistically represent the entire "community" from which it is drawn (McDonald et al 1997). True representativity can however be possible when reliable estimates of the overall sample population exist-both in terms of the total number of people and their socio-demographic profiles. Subsequent researcher should notice and bear in mind this potential problem.

2.4 Questionnaire Design

With this information and potential problem the researcher attempted to include interviewees of both sexes, professionals, different ethnic groups, and people from different provinces of Ethiopia found in Durban. In order to investigate their livelihood and socio-economic circumstances, interviews include a cross section in time that the refugees and asylum seekers have been in South Africa

The questionnaire was designed in such a way to generate data mainly on the personal background and characteristics, departure, arrival, location and accommodations, cause of flight, economic integration, treatment in host country and future plan. The questionnaire also contains open-ended questions in order to allow respondents to express themselves as much as they could. But these were limited due to time and financial constraints.

2.5 Field Work Strategy

The field work for this study took 35 days. In the course of the fieldwork, a total of 48 households were interviewed. The researcher is a member of the community and 'insider'. This facilitates ways to get into the community easily. The researcher himself conducted all the interviews. To a large extent this guaranteed the accuracy of data correction and day to day follow up activities.

2.6 Location of Ethiopian Refugees in Durban

In the beginning it was not difficult to get where the Ethiopian refugees are living. The researcher had already been informed about the places where a large number of Ethiopian refugees are staying in the city of Durban. With the help of the first respondent the researcher located an apartment block where many refugees are staying. During the first visit to the apartment the researcher found many Ethiopians in the restaurant and lounge playing pool, reading newspaper, watching TV or simply chatting.

2.7 Pilot Survey

The first step toward the fieldwork was to undertake a pilot survey in order to test the questionnaire design. The pilot survey consisted of administrating the questionnaire to six respondents. The result of the pilot survey revealed the need for clarification, modification and changes of some the questions. After the necessary corrections were made on the first draft, the final questionnaire (see appendix 1) was largely pre-coded

for ease of data entry and analysis using Statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS)

2.8 Initial Field Problems

In the beginning many of the refugees were suspicious and felt uneasy about the research. Apparently, this research followed a sort of an investigative journalism conducted by an Ethiopian journalist who explicitly published his findings about them in Ethiopia. This was about two weeks before the commencement of this research. Since the journalist taped the interviews with them and took pictures they were afraid to grant anymore strangers access to their secure privacy. They were in the state of shock about some of their names and photographs appearing on Ethiopian news media. Some of them had their photographs taken without their knowledge and concerns. This was of serious concern to both them and their family members left in Ethiopia

In order to overcome the problem the researcher obtained an official introductory letter from the University that stated that the purpose of the research was absolutely academic. Beside this, one respondent who is well known and well linked in the Ethiopian community explained the purpose of the research and appealed for cooperation with the researcher.

Above all, before and after each interview was conducted, the researcher assured every respondent that the answers and their names will remain strictly confidential. It was also explained that names were asked for only for the purpose of revisits if necessary to clarify or obtain further information. Despite this, however, one respondent insisted that his name and address must not be recorded on the questionnaire. He was subsequently dropped as a non-response case since he was also reluctant to answers questions he considered sensitive. Except for this incident there was no other hesitation and reluctance among the refugees to give requested information.

2.9 Composition of Sampled Respondents

In this study attempt was made to include people in the interview who came to Durban at different times from the first comers (1995) to the new arrivals (2000). Attempt was also made to interview more female refugees within a given frame of time. But the researcher could not get the respondents as intended. This is partly due to the smaller number of female Ethiopian refugees in South Africa, in particular in Durban. And partly due to overlapping of the research with 'Christmas business'. Most of the female refugees left Durban for other parts South Africa to take advantage of lucrative business during Christmas holidays. It was difficult to find and interview a significant number of female relative to male refugees.

Refugees statistics from the Department of Home Affairs in Durban show relatively high number of Ethiopian refugees (see Appendix 2). However, there were reports that most of the refugees do not reside or settled in Durban, especially female refugees. According to our respondents, relatively large numbers of female refugees are living in other parts of South Africa, mainly in Johannesburg. They return to Durban once every three months to renew their resident permit. Since the fields work and was limited to Durban it was difficult to locate and interview female refugees relative to their male counterparts. For the present study, therefore, it is become difficult to undertake analysis by gender.

2.10 Questionnaires Editing

Throughout the survey, the researcher went through all the questionnaires in the evenings in order to correct any inconsistency and check for omissions. This resulted in revisits whenever necessary. In one incident, for example information was omitted on the date of arrival in the host country. Attempt was made to revisit the respondent for the second time, but his friend reported that he had left for Cape Town for Christmas business, therefore the only option to get the respondent was to phone him on his cell-phone in order to obtain the omitted information.

Each interview took an average of one and half-hours. The interviews were conducted in English and *Amharic*. The researcher is able to speak the two major languages of Ethiopia. This enabled the researcher to conduct the interviews in the language they wish to express themselves. Notes were taken during interviews.

Almost all interviews were conducted in the residence of the respondents. This enabled the researcher to observe their accommodation and the facilities they had and form an impression about their living conditions. During the fieldwork period the researcher also made close participatory observation of daily living or way of life of the refugees. The information obtained through observation was helpful in supplementing the information from individual interviews. Particularly, the treatment they receive from South Africa police in the work place and on the street.

2.11 Conclusion

It has already been indicated that there is no reliable and actual number of non-citizens in South Africa. McDonald, (et al, 1999: 12) argued that "case studies can shed light on certain aspects of migrants life in South Africa, and have indeed proven to be an extremely useful way of understanding the social and economic lives of migrants in South Africa." However as noted earlier, this is a case study and therefore does not statistically represent the entire Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers in Durban. But it is believed that this work can provide some critical and or up-date social and economic information on the refugees and asylum seekers.

CHAPTER THREE

CONDITIONS PRODUCING ETHIOPIAN REFUGEES

3.1 Introduction

The influx of refugees from Ethiopia may not be understood without examining the historical, economic, social and political conditions of the country. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the conditions that forced Ethiopians to make the painful decision to leave their country of origin and seek for haven all over the world.

3.2 Historical Context: Prior to 1991

3.2.1 Political Factors

Bulcha, (1988) addressed a detail history of Ethiopian refugee movements. He indicated that the underlying cause of refugees' exodus from Ethiopia has historical roots, that is, the formation of the Ethiopian empire state and the economic, social and political relations which have characterised the pluralistic Ethiopian society since the turn of the century. The mass exodus, uprooting and misery of people from Ethiopia have, by and large, its roots in the fateful events, which led to the drawing of the current state boundaries in Africa. He argues that most Ethiopian refugees are victims of the colonial division of the horn of Africa, and the problem of nationalities question in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia as state is not much older than the Sudan, Kenya or any other African country. The foundation of Ethiopia was laid down between 1876 and 1909 through a process of conquest, annexation and subjugation of independent territories such as Oromo, Sidama and other adjacent people by the armies of Menelik, the ruler of one of the four Abyssinian rulers. Before the annexation, the conquered territories were independent and their people differed culturally, linguistically, racially and historically from the conquering minority Abyssinians (Bulcha 1988 37).

Abyssinians were Christians of mixed Semitic and Cushatic race who lived in the mountain regions of the northern and central highlands of the present day Ethiopia. They had a common literary language of Semitic origin and speak dialects (Tigre, Tigriya and Amharic) from it (Bulcha, 1988:33)

The then Amharan landlords and administrators considered their own culture, language, and religion superior to that of their "subject" and attempted to impose these upon them. For the colonised peoples, the bloodshed of the conquest, the loss of their lands, and the imposition of Amharas and a desire for the independence that remain at the heart of many of the conflicts and refugee issues in the Horn today (Ruiz, 1988:9).

The conquest was most violent and involved mass killings, destruction of property and looting. The indigenous peoples were captured and sold into slavery. Likewise, the first conquerors, the Abyssinians forced their own culture, religion (Christianity) and language (Amharic) upon the indigenous people, the subsequent rulers, Emperor Haile Selassie and Mengistu Haile Mariam, also followed their precedents in imposing Amaharan cultural, religious and language sentiments by furthering their so-called policy of Amharization (Bulcha 1988:33).

Modern Ethiopia is full of uprising against and opposition to the conquerors. Ruiz (1988) points out that events since the Second World War, particularly the international community's legitimisation of Ethiopia borders, have crystallised that opposition and laid the ground for evolution of a number of national movements seeking either total independence or regional autonomy.

The major liberation movements in Ethiopia were the Western Somali Liberation front, which seeks Ogadeni Somalis' self determination and independence from Ethiopia; the Eritrean People Liberation Front (EPLF), which fought for 30 years for Eritrean independence and succeeded in 1993; the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) which formed at the beginning with the objectives of Tigryan people

independence; and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) which sought the establishment of an independent Oromo state.

To destroy the Amaharan supremacy of the ruling ethnic group, ethnic-based opposition groups emerged from all corners in the country. They struggled first against Haile Selassie's regime and later the military rule and they overthrew the military government in 1991 (Gemeda, 1999:42).

The Ethiopian military government that led the country from 1974 to 1991 was one of the world's most repressive regimes. During this regime, the human rights remain deplorable, no civil or political freedom, and no institution or laws to protect their human rights. Beside this the country passed through widespread killings and mass arrests, torturing and simply disappearance of the citizens (Bulcha, 1988:34). The military government, since its coming to power maintained the largest army in the sub-Saharan Africa through conscription of teenagers, and engaged in civil war with insurgent groups. The fighting affected most parts of the country and had a devastating impact on the people, the land, and the economy. As a result hundreds of thousands Ethiopians fled out of the country to save their lives to different directions.

Having considered this fact, Bulcha and Ruiz concluded that the conquest, and the state structure subsequently built to incorporate the subjugated people, and fighting between Ethiopian government troops and Eritrean, Tigryan, Oromo, are among the major underlying causes of conflicts, which in turn result in flight of refugees (Ruiz, 1988, Bulcha, 1988).

3.2.2 Famine
Famine is one among the major causes for large-scale of Ethiopian flight. The 1984/85 Ethiopian famine displaced many hundreds of thousands within Ethiopia and sent many others into neighbouring countries. An estimated 100,000 went to Somalia, 10,000 to Djibouti, and more than 300,000 to the Sudan. It has been argued that beside drought, bad government policies contributed to the causes for the 1984/85

famine. According to Ruiz (1988:17) famine is usually an indication that governments or elite groups are extracting too much food from the countryside with too little compensation to those producing the food. The most significant causes of famine in Ethiopia were official government policies.

3.3 Post 1991 Socio-economic and political Factors

After 1974 ouster of Haile Selassie, Ethiopia became ruled by the military regime, or *Derg* headed by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam for 17 years. Since 1991, following the collapse of Mengistu regime, Ethiopia is ruled by the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPDRF) under Meles Zenawi, who is the head of both EPDRF and Tigray Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF), simultaneously.

The EPDRF pioneered and developed unique and unprecedented state policies in the continent Africa. The constitution that is designed by the ruling government proclaims 'every nation and nationality and people in Ethiopia has an unconditional right to self determination, including the right to secession'. Among the conditions under which this right can be exercised include a two-thirds vote of the regional legislature (Young 1996).

However, none of the ethnic group has been granted the right of succession. This charter was systematically designed by the Tigryan made EPRDF in such a way to capture the support of the Oromo and other southern groups who favored the right of self-determination (Lyons, 1996:124)

Needless to say, such kind of policy has encouraged demands for secession and rises a widespread tension and conflict among different ethnic groups. Significant number of Oromos, for example, opposed anything short of their goal of immediate independence for Oromiya (Layons, 1996). One of Oromos scholar, Jalata argues that the political changes in 1990s failed to address the Oromo question. Therefore, Oromos are continuing their national liberation struggle militarily, politically and intellectually (Jalata, 1996).

Likewise, some Somalis, particularly those from Ogaden clan, also favored secession (Gemeda, 1999:42). It has been observed that these policies created tremendous social disturbance within the country. Particularly, ethnically defined boundaries became the subject of controversy and strife.

3.3.1 Civil War and Human Right Violations

Like its precedent regimes the EPRDF government faced internal challenges from liberation fronts. The internal armed conflict between the government of Prime Minster Meles Zenawi and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) continued in the Oromo region; in the Somali region and at least three regions there was armed opposition from the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and the Ethiopian Unity Front. There were major inter-communal disturbances in the south part of the country (Amnesty International, 1999).

In many sub-Saharan African countries, democracy is still in its infancy and is vulnerable to setbacks. The big challenge remains to consolidate democracy by strengthening civil society organisations, feeling in the media of all constraints and providing real opportunities for people to participate in political affairs at all levels (UNDP, 1998). Ethiopia does not escape from this fact, under EPRDF government, there is no visible changes championed by students, labour union and other civil society movements. People are not taking a sound part in civil society movements.

It would seem that ethnic groups in disfavour with the ruling government are still being targeted for violent attacks. For example, according to the 1999 Amnesty International Report, many members of Oromo ethnic group including students, civil servants and journalists have been detained and arrested without charge or trial suspected having links with the OLF by the government (Amnesty International, 1999). Ethiopian government has also been accused of wide spread human right abuses (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

3. 3.2 Ethiopia-Eritrea War (1998-2000)

The former allies in the struggle against the *Dergu* rule in Ethiopia, the EPLF of Eritrea and the TPLF/EPDRF of Ethiopia, have become enemies. The crisis between the two countries started when the Eritrean army invaded the border area of Badime on May 6, 1998. Eritrea claims the 400sq-km area along the Eritrea-Ethiopia border on the basis of Italian maps of 1935. On the Ethiopian side the EPDRF government argues that the Badime area was under Ethiopian administration prior to the period May 6 1998 (Africa Confidential, 1998). The two famine stricken and poorest countries, but best armed, Ethiopia and Eritrea failed to resolve their border conflicts through diplomatic means.

The war with Eritrea contributed to a considerable worsening of the already dire human rights and humanitarian situation in Ethiopia. The Eritrean population in Ethiopia is estimated at over 500,000 (Human Right Watch, 1999).

As of June 1998 Ethiopia deported those Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin authorities deemed to be a 'threat to national security'. These included men, women and children of full or part Eritrean origin (mixed Ethiopian/Eritrean), most of whom had been born in Ethiopia or had worked there as citizens prior to Eritrea achieving independence from Ethiopia in 1993 (Amnesty international, 1999).

Undoubtedly, the recent border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea caused massive human right abuses, sufferings and forced cross border movement of people as well as tremendous internal displacement. Moreover, the war drained the resources and effectively slowdown their economic growth rates. Humanitarian emergencies and the looming of famine added to the cost of the conflict and both create a recipe for potential exodus of refugees

3.4 Social and Economic Profiles of Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) the country is among the least developed and

category of 'low human development countries'. Of 174 countries Ethiopia ranks 171 in terms of Human Development Index (HDI) (UNDP, 2000). This shows that at all levels of development the three essential capabilities for human development: for people to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable and to have access to a decent standard of living are simply not available and many opportunities are not accessible in the country.

Since the dawn of the century Ethiopia has been under tremendous socio-economic problems. It has been experiencing devastating famine caused by drought and bad government polices which in turn claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, and drove many thousands of people to neighbouring countries and further afield. As mentioned above, the country has also experienced secessionist and ethnic conflicts that claimed the lives of countless number of people and damaged an already weak and fragile economy.

Over the past decade the government has been increasingly constrained in the actions that it is able to take to promote growth and combat unemployment and poverty that have been among the problems for majority of population for several decades. Needless to say, however, the country has a vast area with a diverse environment, fertile agricultural land, and unutilised and untouched water and underground natural resources that could help to overcome the worst forms of poverty and to accelerate socio-economic development for all the people. The principal need of the country is peace and democratic government and institutions that promote people oriented development.

The economy of Ethiopia is mainly dominated by the agricultural sector, raising both crops and animals. The production is mainly for subsistence and generally the country has the lowest exports per capita in the world. Given the country's agriculture-centered economy, Ethiopia is particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of fluctuations in commodity prices (especially coffee), and drought, which is frequent (World Bank 1999).

3.4.1 Comparison of Some Socio-economic Indicators for Ethiopia and South Africa

Comparing the current demographic and socio-economic conditions of Ethiopia and South Africa probably enable us to realise the socio-economic gulf that exists between the two countries and the overall level of development. Table 3.1 shows a detailed demographic and socio-economic features of the two countries. In 1998, Ethiopia had 59.6 million people with only 16.7 percent urban. Life expectancy at birth was 43.3. Whereas South Africa has 40.58 million people of which 53.7 percent live in urban area. Life expectancy in South Africa is 53.2 years. This implies that an ordinary Ethiopian lives ten years less than South African counterpart. In addition to this, all other demographic indicators: annual population growth rates, infant mortality rates, under five mortality rates, under weight children under five and dependency ratio, are worse in Ethiopia relative to South Africa.

In per capita terms, Ethiopia is 'least-lower-income country' and has the lowest level of income in the world, while South Africa is an 'upper-middle-income country', although the distribution of income and wealth in South Africa is among the most unequal in the world (May, 1998).

Furthermore, the concept of human development provides an alternative to the view of development equated exclusively with economic growth. In all Human development indicators including, Human Development Index (HDI), Educational Index, life expectancy at birth, etc South Africa is extremely better than Ethiopia.

 In Ethiopia the value of Human poverty Index (HPI) is as high as 55 percent (see table3.1). The value of HPI reflects the proportion of people affected by the three key deprivations-longevity, knowledge and decent living standard. HPI also measures the extent of deprivation and the proportion of people in the community who are left out of progress.

Therefore, it is possible to say that in Ethiopia poverty is deeply rooted and spread all over the country. The majority of the population have no sufficient food, shelter and clothing-basic needs. Incredible number of people are homeless or live in inadequate shelter, without access to piped line water, electricity and roads, especially in rural parts of the country. Such conditions leave people constantly exposed to chronic diseases and evictions. Chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression are common everywhere in the country.

Table 3.1 Comparison of some Socio-economic Indicators: South Africa and Ethiopia

Economic indicators(1998)	South Africa	Ethiopia
GDP per capita (PPP US$)	8,488	574
GNP (US billions)	136.9	6.2
GDP(US billions)	133.5	6.5
Agriculture (as % of GDP)	4.0	49.8
Industry (as %of GDP)	31.8	6.7
Service (as % of GDP)	64.3	43.3
External debt (US $ millions)	24,711	10,352
Average annual rate of inflation	7.9	9.7
General/Demographic Indicators(1998)		
Land area (1000 m2)	1140,000	1104. 3
Population(millions)	39.4	59.6
Urban population (%of total)	49.9	16.7
Life expectancy at birth (years)	53.2	43.3
Infant mortality rate(per 1,000 live birth)	60	110
Under 5 mortality rate(per 1,000 live births)	83	173
Annual population growth	2.0	2.7
Dependency ratio(%)	63.9	95.8
Population age 65 and above(as % of total)	3.5	2.9
Under weight children under age five(%)	9	48
Human Development Indicators(1998)		
Human Development index (HDI) rank	103	171
Human Development Index (HDI) value	0.697	0.309
Life expectancy index	0.47	0.31
Education index	0.88	0.33
GDP index	0.74	0.29
Human Poverty Index		
Human Poverty Index (HPI-1) rank	33	83
Human Poverty Index (HPI-1) value	20.2	55.3
Population below income poverty line (%) ($1 a day 1993 PPP US $)	11.5	31.3
Adult illiteracy rate(% of 15 & above)	15.4	63.7
Population without access to safe water(%)	13	75
Population without access to health service(%)	-	45
Population without access to sanitation(%)	13	81

Source the United Nations Development Program (2000), World Bank (1999) and Statistics South Africa, 1998

3.5 Conclusion

So far we have seen the root cause of the refugee-producing conflicts in Ethiopia both from historical perspectives and current socio economic and political conditions. In pre 1991 period famine and the question of nationality and rights to self determination were the sources of social conflict in Ethiopia which in turn resulted in mass exodus. In post 1991 the major refugee producing factors are the question of self-determination and secession, denial human rights and ethnic conflicts, as well as Ethiopia-Eritrea war. It is the cumulative effect of these "push" factors that generate refugees from Ethiopia. In the next chapter we will examine the background and characteristics of Ethiopian refugees in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the demographic structure and socio-economic background of the respondents. The Ethiopian asylum seekers had diverse cultural backgrounds, educational levels, occupational skills, ambition and outlooks.

4.2 Age

Since South Africa's readmission to the international family of nations, the studies made on African refugees show that the majority of refugees in South Africa are young males, between 20 and 30 years of age with between seven and twelve years of schooling and an urban background (Mail and Guardian, 1997).

The same pattern is evident in the case of Ethiopian asylum seekers. The majority of the heads of the surveyed households were young (Table4.1). The youngest and the oldest ages were 19 and 38, respectively. More than half (54.2 percent) of the respondents were in the age range between 24 and 28. About 35 percent were between 19 to 23 years of age. The rest 10.4 percent were between 29 and 38 age range. The Mean age of the study group was 24.73 years. This clearly indicates that predominantly the majority of the Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban were very young.

This study, therefore, indicates that flight among Ethiopian refugees was age selective. This is perhaps due to:

a) The nature of the flight movement itself, whereby the old members of the community of origin are left behind because of their lack of physical fitness.

b) About 98 percent of the respondents had no physical disability and 95.8 percent were free of any kind of chronic illness. These enable them to cover the tremendous journey between Ethiopia and South Africa.

c) Young people are more ready to take risks associated with such journey than older people; older people are reluctant to make decisions to flee even when a situation is threatening.

Table 4.1 Age of the respondents (%)

Age	Percent
19-23	35.4
24-28	54.2
29-38	10.4
Total N=48	100

4.3 Marital Status and Family Size

As far as the marital status of the Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban is concerned, the majority was single. In South Africa migrants are blamed for taking South African women, however, table 4.2 indicates that 81.3 percent of the total respondents were single and 10.4 percent were married. Only 8.3 were either separated or living together without formally being married. If they do take South African women, most probably they are causal sexual partners.

Among the five married respondents, one was married to a Mexican and one married to a South African. The two of them had Ethiopian partners. All the married couples were without a child except one. This probably implies the existence of low birth rate and slow family building process among Ethiopian asylum seekers. Refugees appear very cautious in raising up their would be family as being refugees, three out of four asylum seekers were single person households. While about 17 and 8 percent were in two and three persons household respectively.

Table 4.2 Respondents' marital status (%)

Marital status	Percent
Single	81.3
Married	10.4
Separated/not formally married	8.3
Total N=48	100

Table 4.3 indicates that among all household heads, about 79 percent did not have siblings in South Africa, 10.4 percent had 1 sibling each, 8.3 percent had 2 siblings each, and one person had 3 siblings with him. In contrast the respondents had large number of siblings in Ethiopia. This is a clear evidence of breakdown or disintegration of families suffered by refugees in their home country. Since the majority of the respondents were living in South Africa in the absence of their siblings, this would probably create loneliness.

Table 4.3 Number of siblings of respondent in South Africa (%)

Number of siblings	Number of siblings in south Africa
None	79.2
1	10.4
2	8.3
3	2.1
Total N=48	100

4.4 Sex Structure

Sex ratio is disproportionate among Ethiopian community in Durban. About 79 percent of the heads of households were males, whereas female accounted for 20.8 percent (table 4.4). This study tend to reveal that flight of Ethiopian refugees to South Africa is sex selective. The possible explanation for this significant variation in sex composition is the hazardous nature of the long journey to their destinations. Women tend to be more vulnerable to attacks-especially rape attacks. Another probable reasons for the gender imbalance of Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban is females' inability to afford transportation costs due to the lack of income generating

mechanism in their home country. In addition, women are unlikely to take the decision to flee independent of men because of gender biased culture and tradition. Such culture and tradition also discourage women to take active part in national politics which may mean that they are not particularly under political threat except they are targeted ethnically.

Table 4.4 Gender breakdown (%)

Gender	Percentage
Male	79.2
Female	20.8
Total N=48	100

4.5 Ethnicity, Language and Religion

Another remarkable feature of the Ethiopian community in Durban is that nearly half (49.7 percent) of the asylum seekers belong to Amhara ethnicity, 29.2 percent Oromo, 10.4 were Tigre, and 12.5 percent belong to other minority ethnic groups mainly from Gurage and Hadiya. Generally, this study reveals that more than three-fourth of the respondents belongs to the three dominant ethnicity groups namely Amhara, Oromo and Tigre. The respondents in this study spoke mainly the three major languages of Ethiopia. About 71 percent spoke *Amharic*, 18.8 *Oromiffa,* 6.3 percent *Tigrinya*, and 4.2 were able to speak others languages, mainly *Guragigna* and *Hadiya*. Of the total respondents, about 75 percent follow Ethiopian Orthodox Christian faith, 18.7 percent were Protestant and 4.2 percent were Muslim. Only 2.1 percent were practicing other religion, Jehovah Witness.

The language and religion imbalance of Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban appears to fit with what was highlighted by Bulcha (1988) that the Abyssinians forced their own culture, religion (Orthodox Christianity) and language (Amharic) upon the subjected people of the South. Among the other things Amhara cultural domination was manifested in the form of building churches on the sites of indigenous shrines and local people were forced to be converted into the new religion. Moreover, the use of

indigenous languages in education, administration and church were replaced by new language. This impact reveals itself in the present study.

4.6 Educational Background

Another fundamental similarity of Ethiopian asylum seekers is that all of them attended school in their country of origin. As indicated on table 4.5, more than three fourth (81.2 percent) of the respondents completed grade twelve, 4.2 percent attended grade eleven, 10.4 attended grade 10, and 4.2 attended grade nine. At this levels of education all of them are literate. Table 4.5 suggests that flight of Ethiopian refugees to South Africa is education-selective.

Table 4.5. Respondents' level of education (%)

Grade	Percent
9	4.2
10	10.4
11	4.2
12	81.2
Total N=48	100

As far as post school qualification of the respondents is concerned, about 47 percent had certificate after completion of high school, 6.7 percent completed university degree, 6.7 percent were diploma holder, another 6.7 percent complete postgraduate degree, and 33.2 percent had incomplete university education due to their flight (Table 4.6). This demonstrates that people with relatively high educational attainment and skills left Ethiopia. This exacerbates already high loss of 'human capital' through 'brain drain'. On the other hand, the influx of educated refugees to South Africa contributes to the existing 'brain gain' in South Africa.

Table 4.6 Respondents post-school attendance (%)

Highest post school attendance	Percent
Certificates	46.7
Diploma	6.7
Completed University degree	6.7
Completed postgraduate	6.7
University student(1st, 2nd and 3rd year)	33.2
Total N=15	100

Unfortunately, however, almost all (98 percent) of the respondents do not have access to education in South Africa, although they have keen interest to pursue their education. Only one respondent was found pursuing university studies. According to our respondents, the major factors that hinder them not to pursue their education are:

a) Lack of finance to pay for tuition fees,

b) Loss of educational certificates in the course of journey

c) Reluctance of the universities to accept refugees due to the fact that they do not have either study permit or permanent residence permits in South Africa. (All of them had resident permit that must be renewed every three months).

4.7 Occupation in Ethiopia

Immigrants may bring a valuable knowledge, teachable skill, enterprise or capital, which may benefit the population of the host country. Such benefits may include transfer of technological 'know how', managerial expertise, enterprises and entrepreneurial experience (Hutt, 1970:44).

As spelled out in table 4.7, in terms of pre-flight economic activities more than half of the total respondents (62 percent) were either employed as government employees, self-employed or employed by private person/company. This suggests that refugees may posses employable skills and abilities to be self-employed in both the formal and informal sectors once in an asylum country. However, unemployment was also high among refugees while they were in Ethiopia. A quarter of the total respondents were unemployed and 22.9 percent claimed to be students and were therefore not on the job market.

Table 4.7 occupation of respondents in Ethiopia (%)

Occupation	Percent
Unemployed	25.0
Self-employed	25.0
Government employee	14.6
Employed by private person/company	12.5
Student	22.9
Total N=48	100

Table 4.8 provides a break down of the occupational categories of the respondents, who were self-employed, government employee and employed by private company or persons. It should be noted here that some respondents had multi-skills. For example, a driver could have mechanic skills or vice versa. But, to avoid confusion we consider only the skill that he or she utilizes most and the livelihood was based in Ethiopia.

Table 4.8 Occupational categories of the respondents' (%)

	Percent
Driver	12.0
Technical and construction (mechanic, painting, wood work, electrician, etc)	36.0
Professionals(researcher, cartographer, experts, etc)	12.0
Office works (typist, computer literate, secretary, etc)	12.0
Member of armed force and security	8.0
Trader, artist, hair care, soccer player, etc	20.0
N=25	100

4.8 Conclusion

Flight among Ethiopian refugees is selective in age, gender, educational background, and type of refugees (all have urban and semi urban background). This implies that, among all other things, Ethiopian refugee movement is selective according to distance they traveled or money spent.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAUSES OF FLIGHT AND DEPARTURE

5.1 Introduction

After the end of seventeen years bloody civil war, the change of government in Ethiopia in 1991 opened the way for many hundreds of thousands of Ethiopian refugees to return to their country. As a result, tens of thousands of refugees returned home hoping that the political situation is conducive. On the other hand, since 1991, the number of refugees leaving the country has dramatically increased from time to time. A number of factors, including the social, political, and economic upheavals pushed people to leave their country of origin.

In chapter three we investigated the current social, economic and political refugee-producing problems in Ethiopia. In this chapter we will examine the reasons given by the respondents for the departure from their country of origin. We will also discuss some of the problems that Ethiopian refugees encountered on their journey to South Africa.

5.2 Causes of Flight to South Africa

The motivations for leaving their country were varied among Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban. In most cases the causes of flight were compounded by interplay of political and economic factors. When we apply the theoretical framework discussed in chapter one to the sample, "push" factor is the main factor for their flight for the majority of the respondents. Of course the "pull" factor sounds strong for 'voluntary' migrants.

The majority of the respondents were forced to leave Ethiopia. About 73 percent of the respondents left 'involuntarily' and 27 percent 'voluntarily'. According to our findings political and economic problems are the main refugee production factors in

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Ethiopia. As shown in table 5.1 about a quarter of the respondents gave fear of political persecution as the main cause of their flight. The majority of these were members of the opposition political parities, namely All Amhara Peoples Organization (AAPO), Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). All of those who belong to these political parties believed that it was dangerous for them to stay in Ethiopia, therefore they decided to leave their country in order to save their lives. However, only 25 percent have established direct contact with their political parties while in exile the rest did not.

About 38 percent mentioned the fear of war, ethnic conflict and military conscription as a motive for leaving their country. And 10.4 percent of the respondents mentioned the cause of flight was being born half Ethiopian or Eritrean (for example having Ethiopian citizen father or Eritrean citizen mother). The main reason they gave for leaving their country was that both Ethiopia and Eritrea did not recognize them as a citizen, therefore, they felt stateless and rejected. Even though they were born and lived in Ethiopia throughout their lives, they were forced to leave the country. They fear the same thing will happen to them if they went to Eritrea because they have Ethiopian blood.

Table 5.1 Reasons for flight (%)

	Percent
Half Eritrean or Ethiopian born	10.4
Economic problems(Unemployment and Government policy)	27.1
Fear of military conscription	12.5
Fear of war and ethnic conflicts	25.0
Political persecution	25.0
Total N=48	100

As can also be observed from the data in table above, 27.1 percent of the respondents decided to leave their country of origin due to economic problems. Most of these mentioned unemployment as the major reason behind their flight. Others mentioned financial contribution imposed on citizens by government to finance the defense force

and for Ethiopia-Eritrea war. Given their reasons for leaving Ethiopia they may be categorized as economic refugees. However, it should be mentioned here that the main causes of underdevelopment and poverty in Ethiopia appear to be lack of proper government policies and implementation of development, and poverty alleviation programs. For example, at the time when 8 million people were under serious food shortage the government was busy buying armaments for the recent Ethiopia-Eritrea war.

According to our respondents, after they have completed grade 12 there was not any kind of job available for them. Neither the government nor the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) attempted to create jobs in the country of origin. Therefore, they decided to leave and come to South Africa with the hope of finding jobs.

We asked our respondents about the Ethiopian political situation before their departure. They lament the fact that their country has suffered from political instability for so long. They reported of political repression, which include lack of freedom of expression, association, assembly and participation in government. The ruling government shaped the country in such a way that people developed ethnic identity and hatred among different ethnic groups.

Moreover, the respondents reported that it was hardly possible to work for individuals in the region or ethnic group he or she does not belong. To be able to work (especially in government offices) in a certain region of Ethiopia, belonging-ness and knowledge of language of that particular region is a prerequisite for everybody. This is mainly due to the fact that every region has tended to use its own local language as official language.

It has already been pointed out that the majority of the respondents left their country at the time when the social, political and economic situations were threatening. The country was engaged with war with Eritrea and internal ethnic conflicts is also going on. Moreover, more than 8 million people faced starvation from famine. The country

also lacks favorable conditions for work and protection against unemployment and poverty. Many Ethiopians suffer the lack of basic means for human survival: food, clothing and shelter. All these push factors force Ethiopian refugees to flee their country

According to our findings, some of the respondents made a plan for their flight and made South Africa as their destination with precise deliberations. Bulcha (1988:82) demonstrates that some refugees' departure could be well planned and often orderly. The country of destination is deliberately chosen and contacts are established before departure. The flight of forced political migrants may resemble that of ordinary immigrants as they often leave with the knowledge of the authorities in the country of origin and carry the necessary travel documents. However, some of them migrated to South Africa after suffering in a remote and uncomfortable refugee camps in other African countries such as Tanzania, Kenya and Malawi.

5.3 Departure

As can be seen from Table 5.2, 8.4 percent of the respondents left their country between 1989 and 1991. Of these, the majority were soldiers and supporters of the former *Dergu* government. There was no respondent who left the country between 1992 and 1994. In Ethiopia the period was a transition period to peace. With this span of time no refugee left the country. The possible reasons for this: The effect of the snowballing sampling and may be a "wait and see' period.

However, gradually the economic and political conditions of the country forced the people to flee. As can be seen in the table, about 21 percent of the respondents left Ethiopia between 1995 and 1997. The figure rose dramatically between 1998 and 2000. Within this span of time, more than two-thirds (70.8 percent) of the respondent left Ethiopia. The months and the date that the respondents left the country revealed that the majority left the country after the outbreak of 6 June 1998 Ethiopia and Eritrea war.

Table 5.2 Respondents time of departure (year)

Year	Percent
1989-1991	8.4
1992-1994	0.0
1995-1997	20.8
1998-2000	70.8
Total N=48	100

Another significant and dominant features of the Ethiopian community population in Durban is that all our respondents originated from the major urban centres like Addis Ababa, Jimma, Gonder, Harar, and from other urban and semi-urban areas of the country. This is indicative of Ethiopian refugees in South Africa being overwhelmingly urban in character. This overwhelming urban character of the refugees can perhaps be viewed as a reflection of the greater mobility of urban population. People with a more urban background are more in favour of immigration than those with a more rural background. This is probably true of international long distance urban-urban migration.

Massey (1986, cited in Massey et al, 1998:47) has pointed that once someone has a migration experience, he or she is very likely to migrate again, and the odds of taking an additional trip rise with the number of trips already taken. In our case, however, more than three-fourth (77.1 percent) of the total respondents had had no international migration experience before they left Ethiopia. Only 22. 9 percent had been in neighboring countries such as Djibouti, Kenya and even further to Arab countries like Saudi Arabia. Some of the respondents went to these countries to seek asylum and others went for a visit or work.

Having information about the country of destination prior to flight can play a paramount role in migration decision making and over all migration processes. About 63 percent of the respondents had information before they came to South Africa and only 37.5 percent were not aware of anything about the country of asylum. However,

83.3 percent of the respondent said they were not encouraged by anyone to come to South Africa, and only 16.7 percent were encouraged by someone living in South Africa to come to the country.

There is no doubt that modern communications have made migrants to know about the life style and opportunities of the country that they choose. Of those respondents who had information about South Africa, 20 percent came to know about South Africa through the mass media. However, the majority of the respondents (50.0 percent) heard about South Africa through Ethiopians, including friends and relatives, who lived in South Africa. As indicated in the introductory part, migrant networks play a profound role in informing potential migrants. The establishment of networks of contact with areas of destination may be playing a paramount role in initiating and facilitating migration from their area of origin.

About 27 percent of the respondents heard about the country through *ashagari*-people who earn their livelihood by organizing migratory movement and transporting people across borders all along from Ethiopia to South Africa. According to some respondents they paid some amount of money (some times up to $500) to these people to take them to South Africa. Of course these refugees believe that without these people few of them would have the information or contacts needed for successful migration. Only 3.3 heard about South Africa through South Africans who lived in Ethiopia.

The respondents heard both good and bad things. Among the good things they heard about South Africa were that country is economically far better than Ethiopia, easy to get job and wealth, easy to get gold and diamond, easy to go to northern developed countries and Oceania. Among the bad things they heard about South Africa were high rates of crime and AIDS, and robbery. Unfortunately, except for the bad things the majority (56.6 percent) did not find true most of the good things they heard about South Africa.

The patterns of movement were different among Ethiopian asylum seekers. Our findings indicate that the decisions of flight were made mainly in-group. It is a well known fact that long journey has many barriers such as attack by wild animals, border police and robbers. Perhaps that is why the majority of the respondents left their country in a group of two or more people in order to reduce the risk. As can be seen from table 5.3, about 40 percent of the respondents left their country of origin with their Ethiopian friends, another 12.5 percent with the closest relatives and siblings, 8.3 percent left with refugees from other African countries and 39.6 percent left the country alone.

Table 5.3 Respondents' companion (s) at the time of departure (%)

With whom did you leave your country?	Percent
Alone	39.6
With an Ethiopian	39.6
With relatives/siblings	12.5
Refugees from other African countries	8.3
Total N=48	100

5.4 Journey to South Africa

As far as the journey is concerned, our respondents can be divided into two categories: those who took a direct flight from Addis Ababa to South Africa and those who crossed several African countries on their journey to South Africa. About 90 percent of the respondent had passed through different countries, and 10.4 percent had a direct flight from Addis Ababa to South Africa.

The direction and the route were almost the same for those who started their journey by car. The initial and end points within Ethiopia are Addis Ababa and Ethiopia Moyale, respectively. Movement within Ethiopia took 2 days by car on average. Normally one had to spent one night in *Dilla*, a town that is found 350 kilometers away from Addis Ababa and another night in Ethiopian Moyale, a small border town between Ethiopia and Kenya.

Once they have reached Ethiopia Moyale, it was not difficult to enter Kenya. Those who have passport can easily pass the border without any problem due to the fact that Ethiopians do not require visa to enter Kenya. But those who do not have passport were forced to "jump" the border in order to enter Kenya.

The respondents passed through a total of 10 African countries to come to South Africa. These were Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Namibia and Botswana. Of these the most frequently crossed countries by the majority of the refugees on their journey to South Africa were Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Swaziland. In order to save time and money some of the refugees stayed for only a few days in each and every country they crossed and moved on their journey.

5.4.1 Intervening Problems and Hardships on the journey

According to our respondent the real challenges of the journey started just at Ethiopia Moyale. There was difficulty in getting public transport from Moyale to Nairobi or any part of Kenya. The majority were forced to use lorries that transport livestock

between Ethiopia and Kenya. The respondents recalled how terrible it was for humans to be together with livestock. However, those who have sufficient money and time to stay for a while in Ethiopia-Kenya border could fly directly from Moyale to Nairobi if they could afford a plane ticket.

Cost of migration to South Africa is high in terms of money (table 5.4). As would be expected the refugees reported tremendous hardships, illness and the danger of detection by the security force. According to our respondents, journey to South Africa is very tough. It needs huge money for transportation, accommodation and food and even to bribe immigration officers of the country that must be crossed to go to South Africa. It also requires courage to take obvious risks in the course of the journey.

Table 5.4 Amount of money spent on the journey in US$ (%)

	Percent
$1-250	6.5
$251-500	54.5
$501-750	21.7
$751-1000	17.3
Total N=46	100

Geographically Ethiopia and South Africa are located far apart and even the two countries situated in different hemispheres, the former in the northern, the latter in the Southern hemispheres. Refugees had to cross tropical Africa, the area that is full of infectious diseases such as malaria and Yellow Fever.

On top of that, on their journey they did not get health service and clean water. Therefore, it is not surprising that more than one-third (43.8 percent) of the total respondent observed someone that accompanied them fell sick. The causes of the sickness were predominantly malaria, yellow fever and diarrhea. Eve though the journey was tough and tedious, only10.4 percent saw someone they accompany died in the course of the journey and the rest 89.6 percent did not see anybody die. The main causes of the death were attack by wild animals and road accident (like when a car in which refugees were travelling overturned).

Some reported that it was common to walk for 6 and 7 hours and sleep in the jungle to avoid detection, security checks and police harassment, especially after they crossed the South African border. This does not mean that our respondents walked only to cross South Africa border, but in other countries too. One of the major problems for those who walked through other countries was to get the exact direction of South Africa. They had to flee in disguise and avoid the main roads. However, since they traveled thorough unknown territories often without a guide, they do not have a good memory of their travel history. This they said made the journey unsafe. But those who had passports were able to use motor vehicles to cross-countries. However, it was common to be asked by the immigration officers to pay more than twice the normal payment of the exit visa. According to our respondents, if they did not pay the requested money, they would either be arrested or deported without trial and charge.

5.4.2 Cost and Means of Transportation

Whatever else migration may be, it is essentially a movement from one environment to another. Table 5.5 indicates that 89.6 percent of the respondents used different means of transportation such as, car, train, ship and airplane and on foot (44.2 percent combined car and foot). Only 10.4 percent of the respondents used airplane for a direct flight to South Africa. Ship was mainly used to cross-Zambezi River and Indian Ocean. The great majority of the respondents used motor transport from Ethiopia to South Africa borders.

Table 5.5 means of transport to South Africa (%)

Means of transport	Percent
Airplane	10.4
Combination (On foot, Airplane, car, train, ship and bicycle)	89.6
Total 48	100

Due to tremendous improvements in the means of transport, the distance that formerly took weeks and months can now be covered in days and hours by modern transportation systems such as airplane, train and vehicles. The refugee journey was a

long one for many of the refugees ranging from one day to 4 months. As can be seen from table 5.6, about 56.4 percent of our respondent traveled 1 to 30 days to reach South Africa and 2.1percent traveled 91 to 120 days.

Table 5.6 Number of days taken journey to South Africa (%)

Number of days	Percent
1-30	56.4
31-60	37.6
61-90	4.2
91-120	2.1
Total N=48	100

It should be noted here that this variation of time taken is influenced by many factors, such as the type of vehicles used, means of transportation, availability of transport, institutional hindrance, arrest, cost of transport. The occurrence of intervening obstacles in the form of hardships such as, illness, etc affect the speed of journey. Moreover, some of our respondents told us that they were robbed in the course of their journey or that their money ran out en-route, therefore they had to stop and wait for or work for additional money for transport. For example, some reported writing a letter or telephoning their family (father and mother) to send them money through a bank in a country where they have stopped. Some others got money from other Ethiopians refugees. The reality is that many of the refugees passed through various African countries having walked from two weeks to a month through wilderness at night to reach South Africa.

5.5 Conclusion

Although the main reason behind most refugees flight is unfavorable socio-economic and political environment of their country, the flight for some of the respondents was characterised by deliberate choice of destination. For these groups the flight resembles the movement of ordinary migrants. However, some refugees made a multiple-step and multiple-vector movement. They seek asylum at the first or second or even fourth and fifth countries they crossed. Due to lack of alternatives they rather move further southward to South Africa. This study shows that the distance covered between the points of departure and settlement is a function of the demographic characteristics of the group in flight.

The overwhelming majority of Ethiopian refugees did not enter to South Africa without experiencing difficulties. On their journey the Ethiopian refugees encountered tremendous challenges and hardship. Detention and expulsion were common experiences of Ethiopian asylum seekers all along their journey. In the next chapter we will discuss the major problems they encountered on their arrival in host country.

CHAPTER SIX

ARRIVAL AND SETTLING IN THE HOST COUNTRY

6.1 Introduction

In chapter five we have discussed the hazards that the refugees faced on their journey to South Africa. In this chapter we will investigate the hardships that Ethiopian asylum seekers encountered in the host environment after the accomplishment of what seemed a terrible journey. Their location and accommodation problems will also be examined.

6.2 The Uncertainty of Entry into South Africa.

The movement of Ethiopian asylum seekers to South Africa is a mid 1990s phenomenon. Historically, the two countries, Ethiopia and South Africa did not have diplomatic, political and commercial relationships. However, the collapse of apartheid and the first democratic election in South Africa in 1994 constituted the fundamental step towards democratisation of the country (David and Van Rensburg, 1995). This paved the way for those Ethiopians who wish for safe haven in South Africa.

The influx of Ethiopian asylum seekers into South Africa appears to have been increasing steadily since the beginning of South Africa's new political dispensation. As indicated in table 6.1, in 1995 only 6.3 percent of the respondents arrived in South Africa, 8.3 percent in 1996 and 10.4 in 1997. The majority (75 percent) of the respondents arrived in South Africa between 1998 and 2000.

Table 6.1 Respondents' by time of arrival in South Africa (%)

Year	Percent
2000	8.3
1999	37.5
1998	29.2
1997	10.4
1996	8.3
1995	6.3
Total N=48	100

Except for those who came by air, the rest of the respondents did not have an entry-visa for South Africa. As a result most of the respondents (89.6 percent) entered South Africa clandestinely either via land or sea borders. Of these 97.7 entered into the country via land borders and only 2.2 percent via sea borders. 10.4 percent of the respondents entered through airport, most of them having obtained a tourist visa.

It is obvious that refugees as other migrants arriving in a strange cultural environment are bound to feel what is commonly known as "cultural shock". This is further exacerbated by the sense of helplessness and fear for those who entered and are staying illegally in a host country. On their arrival more than half (62.5 percent) of the respondents did not have contact address. Only 37.5 percent did have contact address on their arrival. And 85.4 percent of the respondents did not have anyone to welcome them. Only 14.6 percent had been welcomed by Ethiopian friends and relatives at the time of entry.

One of the consequences of long distance journeys is physical exhaustion. The majority of the respondents faced health problems due to exhaustion, a change of climate and malnutrition at the time of arrival. Accordingly, they faced the economic and psychological problems that the refugees encountered on arrival into the country

of asylum. Undoubtedly, all these factors delay the social and economic integration of refugees in the host country, and the over all adjustment to the new environment.

As soon as they arrived in South Africa, our respondents targeted major urban areas of South Africa as their final destination. 70.8 percent of the respondents went to Johannesburg, 20.8 percent to Durban and 8.3 percent to other major South African cities. Our respondents were asked why they did go to these places as soon as they arrive in South Africa. For some, it was the nearest place to their point of entry, and some others to find a job. Those who went to Johannesburg did so apparently because they had heard that Johannesburg is the place where many of their fellow countrymen live. Therefore, they went there in order to get some kind of social assistance and support to obtain valid permits, secure accommodation and some financial aid to help them settle and establish contact with relatives left behind in Ethiopia.

6.3 Settling in South Africa: Location and Accommodation

6.3.1 The Basics for Settling

The most basic or primary human needs are shelter (protection from danger), food (for physical sustenance) and clothing (for warming and decency). The need for these is heightened among the refugees. If they have these they will probably be considered as settled in that locality. But the need for the work, education and social interaction become increasingly important once the most basic needs are met. We will discuss this in the subsequent chapter.

When the refugees get into the new environment there are many problems that they face, accommodation is one among many. The need for assistance with accommodation is important particularly at the time of arrival. On their arrival, more than half of the respondents (50.1 percent) obtained their initial accommodation with assistance from their fellow countrymen (including friends and relatives), and slightly more than a quarter (29.2 percent) received the greatest assistance from humanitarian organization, called Muslim agency and compassionate South African citizens, and

18.8 percent claimed to have secured accommodation as a result of their own initiatives, and 2.1 percent assisted by the government (table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Respondents' initial assistance to get accommodation (%)

Assisted by	Percent
Fellow countryman	50.1
NGOs and South African	29.2
Government	2.1
Self	18.7
Total	100
N=48	

However, after a short period of time the respondents were able to get their own accommodation. At the time of interview, 95.8 percent of our respondents had their own accommodation, and only 4.2 percent were not self accommodated. Those people who do not have their own accommodation stay with their friends or with their Ethiopian employer.

Kibreab (1996) argues that the origin of the refugees determine the choice of the place of residence within the country of asylum. For example, the study conducted in Sudan revealed that among those who originated from the urban areas in Eritrea and Ethiopia, the majority came directly to and settled in the capital city of Sudan, Khartoum. The pattern is evident in the movement and settlement of asylum seekers from Ethiopia to South Africa. The majority of the respondents lived in the center of the city of Durban inner city. However, this may be due to the effect of snowballing sample method used in this study. About 60 percent were renting inner city flats, 37.5 percent private houses, and 2.1 percent rent hostel. In nutshell, the asylum seekers did not only select the area of settlement, but the country of asylum.

Most of the asylum seekers came to Durban via other South Africa cities where they had a brief stay. The majority (81.6 percent) of our respondents lived in different cities of South Africa before they made Durban their destination. About 64 percent of our respondent intend to settle in Durban, even though they had to go through other

cities first. The rest 36.1 percent intend to settle in other parts of South Africa. Most of them prefer Johannesburg.

Due to lack of assistance from external bodies, such as government and NGOs to obtain free accommodation nearly all the asylum seekers are forced to obtain rented accommodation. Table 6.3 illustrates that among all respondents, more than half (52.2 percent) were paying house rent between Rand^2 0 and Rand 200, of these 60 percent paid Rand 200 a month, about one third pay between Rand and 201 and Rand 400, about 10.3 percent pay between Rand 401 and Rand 600, and 4.2 percent between Rand 801and Rand 1000.

Most of the respondents earn meager monthly income accordingly they cannot individually afford independent accommodation. Therefore, they have shared accommodation. Nearly all (93.8 percent) of the respondents share accommodation with someone else. In fact this is sometimes done to the point of overcrowding. Sometimes as many as 8-10 people share a single room. A bedroom shared by 2 or 3 adult is considered overcrowded let alone shared by 8 adults!

About 98 percent share a room with their Ethiopian fellow countryman or woman, and only 2.1 percent share house with Eritrean. Generally, it seems that Ethiopians do not maintain close links with Eritreans. It is not clear whether this is an extension of suspicion of one another due to the violent conflict at home.

Table 6.3 Respondents' monthly house rent (%)

Rand	Percent
0-200	52.2
201-400	33.3
401-600	10.3
601-800	0.0
801-1000	4.2
Total N=48	100

In the course of undertaking the interview, it was observed that the rooms were too small, old, ugly and dirty. Regrettably, some of the refugees share bed and some of them sleep on the floor. It was also observed that there was high incidence of overcrowding and undesirable sex mixing in the bedrooms of dwellings occupied. The majority do not have proper facilities such as fridge, toilet and other basic things in their room. The majority of the respondents were able to get accommodation in the inner city flat.

For security and other reasons it was found that Ethiopian asylum seekers changed their accommodation very often. Of the total respondents only 22.9 percent did not change house since they came to Durban. More than three-fourth (77.1 percent) of the respondents changed accommodation between 2 and 10 times. About 43.9 percent said the main reasons for changing accommodations were: the attempt and vulnerability to robbery, 33.3 percent said lack of facilities (broken windows and doors, lack of proper sanitation, etc), 8.3 percent were forced by the authority or the landlord to leave. Respondents reported that some South Africans were reluctant to let accommodation to refugees, and only 8.3 percent changed accommodation.

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2 ZAR (Rand) is South African Currency

6.4 Conclusion

According to the findings of this study, the assistance available to Ethiopian asylum seekers, either from the government or NGOs has been very limited since their arrival in South Africa. Most of the respondents obtained assistance from their fellow countrymen. The refugees have a serious problem regarding accommodation. It was indicated that there was high incidence of overcrowding and undesirable sex mixing in the bedrooms of dwellings occupied. In addition the majority of the refugees do not have proper facilities such as fridge, toilet and other basic things in their house.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF ETHIOPIAN ASYLUM SEEKERS IN DURBAN

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two fold. The first section will examine the problem of economic integration of the Ethiopian refugees in Durban. While the second section is devoted to the social integration of the refugees in the country of asylum. Ethiopian refugees in Durban have remained inserted as a part of the informal economic activities, which do not offer security or dignity. Their integration into the informal economy has happened, to a large extent, through their integration into the informal networks of interrelations and support.

It is also evident from this study that the Ethiopian refugees have experienced social exclusion. This is further illustrated by the overwhelming majority of respondents that even after living in South Africa for several years have failed to get married to South African citizens and their inability to form friendship with local population, even though repeatedly tried to.

7.2 Economic integration

Economic integration is defined as "the process of securing work and becoming a part of the regularly employed labor force in a given society (Shannon and Shannon, 1973, cited in Bulacha 1988). Bulcha (1988:149) has argued that economic integration of the refugees into host country is coterminous with self-sufficiency and implies a certain degree of success as productive members of that society and attainment of a reasonable standard of living commensurate with that of the majority of the indigenous population.

It is worth mentioning the amount of money that the migrants or refugees brought to host country because it can perhaps enable us to know their economic circumstances at least at the time of arrival (table 7.1). About 65 percent of the respondents did not

have money either at hand or elsewhere in bank when they arrived in South Africa, notwithstanding 95.6 percent of the respondents took money with them when they started their journey to South Africa. About 23 percent of the respondents have had between Rand 500 to 3000 soon after they arrived in South Africa.

This is partly indicative of having spent almost all their money on their journey to South Africa. It was noted earlier that, the refugees had to pay for their accommodation, food, and transportation and even to bribe immigration officers in order to be able to come to South Africa. Moreover, some were robbed as they passed through other African countries before South Africa. This implies that the majority of the respondents had the lack of starting capital on their arrival.

Table 7.1 Respondents' economic circumstance at the time of arrival (%)

Rand	Percent
No money	64.5
R1-499	12.4
R500-998	6.3
R999-1497	6.3
R1498-1996	6.3
R1997+	4.2
Total N=48	100

7.2.1 The Process of Economic integration

It is a well-known fact that all refugees need to work to support themselves and their dependants. Because refugees arrive in or with a situation of financial desperation they attempt to get employed or engaged economically soon after arrival in the host country. Refugees very nearly impose themselves on the economic systems of the host country for survival and with acute sense of adventure and sometimes high risk taking.

Bulcha (1988:156) has pointed that refugees are handicapped in many ways on the labor market in their countries of asylum. The inability to speak the local language, the mismatch between the refugee's occupational backgrounds and experiences with

those required in the host country and the unavailability of language and job-training services are some of the obvious obstacles and vehicle to early entry into the labor market of the host country.

Refugees economic integration can also be determined by the market policies of host countries, the level of socio-economic development, the treatment of the local population, the skills and the ambitions of the refugees themselves (Kibreab, 1996). Unless and otherwise refugees are allowed to participate in the economic and social affairs of the host country, they can not make contribution to the socio-economic development otherwise. Rather they become unproductive and a burden to the host country.

7.2.2 Respondents Employment Situation in Durban

The type of job that refugees perform can serve as an indicator of their absorption into the economic and social streams of the host country. In many countries, refugees and immigrants belong to the most disadvantaged sections of population and are unable to get employment that is considered "respectable". They are forced by circumstances to undertake the worst paid and most socially undesirable jobs, and are often employed in marginal and seasonal occupations and menial work (Bulcha, 1988:154).

Refugees usually come to host country with diverse experiences and skills. The country that welcomes them with open arms may benefit from this pool of human resources that readily available sometimes endowed with rare skills and definitely determined to work hard and survive. Unfortunately, evidences show that South Africa has failed to acknowledge and utilize efficiently the skills and knowledge of migrants and refugees that could contribute to overall socio-economic developments of the country.

In South Africa once the claim for asylum has been approved a temporary residence permit is given for three months to the concerned applicants (in the case of Ethiopian asylum seekers). Although the residence permit entitles the applicants to work within

the country, the refugees are hardly accepted in the formal economy labor market by the private employers or government. Therefore, refugees divert from attempts to enter the formal labor market and insert themselves into informal and causal labor. According to our finding (table 7.2), about 94 percent of the respondents were working in the informal sector on full-time bases, and only 2.1percent in the formal sector and 4.2 percent unable to secure any kind of job yet.

Table 7.2 Occupational status of respondents' in South Africa (%)

Type of occupation	Percent
No employment	4.2
Mechanic	2.1
Security guard	2.1
Street traders and hawkers	81.2
Distributors for street traders and hawkers	2.1
Food sellers(*injera*)	4.2
Domestic work	2.1
Researcher	2.1
Total	100
N=48	

7.2.3 The Role of Social Networks in Economic Integration

For Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban, it would appear that integration into the informal economy has largely been made possible through their integration into the informal social networks of interrelations and support among themselves. These networks make the newly arrived refugees aware of existing opportunities for employment through other asylum seekers who are already employed in the informal labor market. This situation appears to fit with migration system theory that we discussed earlier: the establishment of networks of contact in the areas of destination may be playing a paramount role in finding work, providing shelter, finance and social support for new migrants. It is often that people usually move to a location where they have connections with a fellow countryman or people from their village. A proportion of Ethiopian asylum seekers, went to Johannesburg where they heard many of their fellow countrymen lived to obtain this assistance.

It is not surprising, therefore, that for the majority of the respondents their current job was obtained through the informal channel. 65.2 percent of the respondents obtained their current job through the " support of friends and relatives", 30.4 percent declared they managed to obtain their current job by simply "looking at what others are doing" and 4.3 percent by their "own initiative".

7.2.4 The Problem of the Informal Sector in South Africa.

In South Africa the jobs in the informal sector especially the so called 'survivalist enterprise' are predominantly occupied by people unable to find a paid job or get into the formal economic sector. In fact, the incomes generated from these activities usually fall far short to attain and maintain a decent standard of living. Poverty and attempt to survive are the main characteristics of this category of enterprise in South Africa (White paper on the National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business in South Africa, 1995).

Due to serious inability of the economy to create employment in the formal sector, large numbers of people are entering the informal sector, particularly the blacks (Manning, 1993). Therefore, competition among refugees in particular unskilled or semi-skilled and local population is inevitable on such kind of jobs. Ethiopian refugees who are employed in the informal sector are largely engaged in those branches of the informal sector which are called 'survival occupations'. These include among others, hawker, street trade and security guard and domestic work. These are the activities Ethiopian refugees can initiate and enter into independently. However, the earnings from these activities are very low. Nevertheless, they provide for the purchase of their basic need-shelter and food.

7.2.5 Economic Performance and Job Satisfaction

According to our finding one of the remarkable feature of Ethiopian asylum seekers was that, almost all those who engaged in the informal sector (hawker and street trader) sold the same kind of item. These were belts, pillowcases, curtains, table clothes, shoes, hat, etc. The majority of them have been doing such kinds of job since

they came to South Africa. Only a few of them served as security guard and distributed tracts before they started their current job.

As noticed above, once integrated into the informal economy labor market, the overwhelming majority of the respondent population was subject to undertaken low-skilled or unskilled work, such as street trading and hawking. The cross-classification analysis of the job they perform in South Africa with educational level enable us to conclude that the majority of the respondents are much more highly qualified than indicated by the task they perform. Moreover, if we cross-classify occupation of respondents in their country of origin with activities in South Africa, it would be found that almost all respondents have different occupation. In addition, most of them are highly over qualified with valuable experience for the current jobs they have in the informal sector.

Most of the respondents employed in the informal sector would readily give it up if they got another job. Occupation is not only an indicator of individual material well being, but also a symbol of status. It determines not only the evaluation of self by others but it influences self-esteem. Therefore mobility from socially prestigious and satisfying occupations can, with some individuals, result in maladjustment and lack of self-respect Bulcha, 1988:157).

Generally, many of the respondents are performing the activities not in compliance with their technical and professional qualifications and educational level. For many this degrading social and economic conditions encountered resulted in the psychological trauma as the refugees experience declining self-esteem and social status perform menial jobs reserved for the under class in South Africa.

7.2.6 Income Distribution

The type of job that one has usually determines the income that she or he earns. As noted above income generated from 'survivalist enterprise' activities is usually far too low, even lower than the minimum wage. Therefore, for the majority of Ethiopian

asylum seekers, poverty and the struggle for survival are the main characteristics of their livelihood in South Africa.

It is difficult to obtain the exact amount of income of the refugee community within a certain period of time because they do not have a steady job that can generate sustained predetermined income in the form of wages or salaries. In addition, their income is seasonal and fluctuates from time to time. To see their monthly income, our respondents were asked to tell the amount of money that they earned last month. As can be observed from table 7..3, more than half (56.5 percent) of the respondents earned between Rand 501 and 1000 a month, about 21 percent between Rand 1001 to 1500, about 10.9 percent between Rand 1 and 500, and another 10. 9 percent earned Rand 1500 or more a month.

Table7.3 Respondents' monthly income (%)

ZAR	Income Percent
1-500	10.9
501-1000	56.5
1001-1500	21.7
1501+	10.9
Total N=46	100

More than two-third (68.7 percent) of the respondents said their income was not sufficient to cover their monthly expenditure. Only 31.3 percent said their income was sufficient to cover their monthly expenses. The respondents who declared that their income was not sufficient were asked how they survived, about 67 percent partly survived by borrowing money from friends, 15.2 percent ask assistance from relatives and friends living in developed countries, and another 15.2 percent use their previous savings. Only 2.1 percent requested charity organization, Muslim agency for assistance. This indicates that the great majority resorts to informal network of interrelations and support when their income is not sufficient.

7.2.6.1 Income Comparison in Ethiopia and South Africa

It seems difficult to compare the economic situation of refugees in the host and country of origin due to the fact that the exchange rate, inflation and other economic factors limit the comparison. However, the reality here is that in South Africa incomes are low and the majority of asylum seekers find it extremely difficult to fend for themselves. And the majority of the asylum seekers tend not to be self-sufficient whilst in South Africa.

The problem of comparing respondents' economic situation raises the question about the minimum income required meeting for the basic needs (food, shelter and clothing) in Ethiopia and South Africa. Without getting into this question, however, we asked our respondents whether their incomes covered their basic needs in the country of asylum and country of origin. As demonstrated in table7.4, about 44 percent of the respondents said their income in South Africa is low compared to their income in Ethiopia, only 16.7 percent said their income was far better in Ethiopia.

Table 7.4 Comparison of respondents' income in Ethiopia and South Africa (%)

Income in South Africa compared to Ethiopia	Percent
Far better	16.7
Better	18.8
The same	4.2
Not so good	14.6
Do not know	2.1
Low in South Africa	43.6
Total N=48	100

It should be noted here that it is not the quantitative difference in the amount of money earned in Ethiopia compared to South Africa, but rather the fact that an amount of money which was found sufficient for a decent livelihood in Ethiopia does not guarantee the purchase of basic necessities in South Africa. The respondents complained about the differences in purchasing power of money they got in South Africa-it does not buy much. The respondents also tend to reside in relatively

expensive central business district of Durban-that further reduces the amount of goods and services they are able to purchase with their meager earnings. Some respondents take to selling of counterfeit goods as a strategy for improving the level of their income.

7.2.7 *Property Ownership and Remittance*

Another possible measurement of the economic integration of the refugee in the host country is the property ownership. About 94 percent of the respondents did not have any kind of property in South Africa, except the goods that they sell in the street. Only 6.3 percent had property in South Africa, mainly car and machinery used for metal work. Refugees' economic self-sufficiency can perhaps be measured by their remittance. Our respondents were asked whether they send money home or not. About 84 percent did not send and only 16.7 percent of the total respondent send money home.

7.2.8 *Ethiopian Refugees Economic Role in Durban*

One of the principal characteristics of the Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban is that they were productively busy and hard working. As can be observed from table 7.5 that the majority of the respondents (65.1 percent) worked 8 to 10 hours a day, 15.2 percent between 5 and 7 hours, and the rest 18.7 percent worked between 11 and 24 hours. In line with this, the majority (73.3) percent of the respondents said they were working continuously for seven days, 23.9 percent working five days a week and only 2.1 percent working 5 days a week.

Table 7 5 Respondents' length working hours (%)

Hours	Percent
5-7	15.2
8-10	65.1
11-13	12.4
14-16	2.1
17+	4.2
Total N=46	100

Ethiopian Asylum seekers are a part and parcel of a chain of production and distribution of goods and service which in turn contribute to the economy of Durban seemingly insignificant and yet may be important. About 84 percent of the respondents believed that South African were benefiting from their economic activities through the commodities they sell at competitive price, they make available commodities in Durban by bringing from other part of South Africa and creating job for South African, particularly for the blacks. It was observed that several black Africans were working with them. About 95.8 percent of the total respondents were willing to contribute to the South African economy, and only 4.2 percent were not willing to contribute to South African economy.

7.2.9 Barriers to Economic Integration

Needless to say, the economic situation of the refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa is made difficult by the high crime rate (McDonald et al, 1999:19). Ethiopian asylum seekers work in the informal sector tend to have insecure and precarious work environment and are exposed to occupational hazards. Moreover, the economic problem of the asylum seekers further exacerbated by lack of access to bank service and other business facilities. Thus their business ventures will remain limited in scope and not expanded even if they have the ability to generate bigger economic venture. Further more, the problem is exacerbated by law enforcement agencies patrolling the street such as police and traffic. It was reported by the majority of the respondents that police and traffic were "sweeping" Ethiopian refugees when found selling on the

'prohibited' streets. If they are caught they are charged ZAR 100 without any record of the charge being made. This is done repeatedly.

7.3 Social Integration

This section will attempt to examine the internal integration (social relation among refugees themselves) and external integration (host-refugee relation). As mentioned earlier for this study social integration refers to the way in which refugees relate to the social environment in the host country. Thus social integration starts with the establishment of contacts between refugees and their hosts. It is through social integration that these barriers are removed between refugees and the host (Bulcha, 1988:174).

7.3.1 Social Relation Among Ethiopian Refugees

It is evident from the above discussion that social interaction and social ties among Ethiopian asylum seekers played a paramount role in integration to the informal sector. The Ethiopian refugees expressed such a high degree of solidarity and dependency on one another. They said it is an Ethiopian culture helping one other in hard and bad situations. As high as 91 percent of the total respondent said they assisted their fellow countrymen or countrywomen in one way or another whilst they were in South Africa. They assisted each other in providing temporary shelter, share food, share clothes, make money available as initial capital to start business, engaged each others as vendors, assist each other in processing documentation in the department of Home Affaires, and provide guidance and counseling on life in South Africa.

As explained in the previous chapters Ethiopian refugees in Durban tend to stay together. It was found that most of them have the same religion. Obviously the snowballing sampling method might have led the researcher to interview refugees of similar background. But it might also be that the refugees actually chose to stick together because of their similarity derived in Ethiopia. However this does not mean there was no conflict between them. As illustrated in table 7.6 about 23 percent said

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business and resources competition are the main cause of conflicts, 14.6 percent said cultural differences, and 8.3 political differences.

Table 7.6 Source of conflict or disunity among Ethiopian Refugees (%)

Causes of conflicts	Percent
No conflict at all	54.2
Cultural differences	14.6
Political differences	8.3
Resources and business competition	22.9
Total N=48	100

7.3.2 Refugees-Host Relation

In order to learn the new roles and participate in the new society, the migrant must acquire a set of external symbols, which make communication and identification with the new society possible. These are languages, dress and acceptable behaviors in the various sphere (Rip, 1973:16). To measure host-refugee social integration we used three variables-language proficiency, intermarriage and formation of friendship or contact with local population out side work time and place.

7.3.2.1 Language Proficiency

Knowledge of the host country's language determines both economic and social integration of the refugees. Language plays a significant role in facilitating an efficient relationship between host community and refugee community. It also helps to run their business effectively. Moreover, language can stimulate refugees' economic contribution in the host country by providing an effective and consistent flow of information for the process of production and distribution. In the case of Ethiopian refugees communication problems are actually lesser due to the fact that English is taught in Ethiopian school from the 7th grade up. About 79 percent of the respondent speak some English and 14.6 percent speak good English and 6.3 percent of the respondents able to speak a bit Xhosa or Zulu. This implies English was the most often used in language in communicating with the local population. However, the results of this study show a low relationship between knowledge of English and refugee-local population relation.

7.3.2.2 Informal Relationships and Friendship with Local People

Another variables used to measure the refuge-host relation was personal relationship between refugees and local population. 81.3 percent of our respondents did not have informal contacts with South Africans, and only 18.8 percent had informal contact with local population outside the work place. The contacts were often made during social outings such as bars and beachfronts. In the introductory part we have noted that social networks the number of linkages one has with other people; and institution; and social support, such as (appreciation, respect, understanding, admiration, acceptance, and love)-are playing a paramount role in immigrants adaptation process in host country. In the case of Ethiopian refugees all these social-networks with local population almost absent.

7.3.2.3 Intermarriage Between Refugees and Local Population

Another important indicator of refugee-host social integration is the existed marriage between refugee and local population. Bulcha (1988:182) has noted that intermarriage is the only means by which a visible immigrant group can eventually merge into the host population and become totally assimilated.

Some of the refugees have lived in South Africa for six years. However, our finding indicate only one respondent is married to a South African citizen. The possible explanations for this lack of intermarriage may be:

a) Lack of 'informal' interaction between refugees and local population outside workplace.

b) Social, cultural and religious barriers

c) Inferiority complex of the refugees themselves due to their poverty (economic problems) and refugee status which tend to undermine self-esteem.

7.4 Conclusion

It appears that from the discussion above, Ethiopian asylum seekers were marginalized both economically and socially from host country. We have examined the social and economic integration of refugees in host country with the variables we selected as indicators of socio-economic integration. Our findings revealed that the overwhelming respondents lack integration into their host society.

Economically the majority of the respondents are struggling to make the best out of worse situations. They were concentrated in the informal sector of the host country. Accordingly, their income is barely at subsistence level. The majority were unsatisfied with the job they were doing. In general, the variables we used to measure the economic integration such as sort of job they perform, monthly incomes, property ownership, and remittance indicated the refugees are economically marginalized.

In addition, the variables we have used to measure the social integration such as language proficiency, informal relationship between refugee and local population and intermarriage across refugees and local population show that the refugees suffer from extreme social alienation in South Africa.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ETHIOPIAN REFUGEES TREATMENT IN THE HOST COUNTRY

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter we endeavor to examine the local treatment and international responses to the Ethiopian refugee problems in South Africa. The local response involves the treatment that the refugees received by the Department of Home Affairs, police and local population at large. Whereas the international response refers to the responses of international agencies such as UNHCR.

8.2 African Governments' Responses to Refugee Problems

As the new century dawns, one of the biggest problems that humanitarian organizations and hosting countries face is how to react to and deal with the tremendous wave of refugee movement. Particularly in Africa the institutions of asylum and the system of refugee protection are under tremendous stress. Over the past decade host countries in Africa have become increasingly reluctant to host refugees and retreated from applying the basic principles of asylum. They have closed their doors to refugees; forced undignified and unsafe repatriation, increasingly insisted on short-term asylum regardless of the conditions of the countries of origin and failed to provide security in the refugee camps (Schneider, 1999:31).

African hosting countries felt the refugees problem in their urban centers being exacerbated by the presence of refugees who are said to compete with nationals for scarce job opportunities and social services such as health, education, housing, water and transportation (Kibreab, 1996).

In a number of countries, the basic principles of refugee protection are not being upheld. Refugees have been arrested and detained without charge. Others have been restricted to refugee camps or to remote and inaccessible locations where they are sometimes exposed to banditry and rape and other forms of criminality. And many

have not been able to enjoy social, economic and civil rights in the host countries (UNHCR, 1994:6). In addition to this, it is unfortunate that some persons who claimed protection as refugees were denied that status, while others whose claims were controversially granted.

There have also been an increasing number of violations of the established principle of involuntary return that endangers the lives of refugees. Detention and expulsion are common experiences of asylum seekers all over the world. In some countries asylum seekers are detained and subjected to long periods of confinement. For example, in 1996, 1.2 million formally registered refugees were tragically expelled from Tanzania and Zaire (Allen, 2000).

These problems are partly the results of a combination of political, security, social and economic constraint whereby African states are able to abide by their international legal obligations only under the most difficult and burdensome circumstances. And partly because of the insufficiency of the international community's financial and material support to share the burden on African host countries as a result of increased numbers of people seeking asylum all over the world (UNHCR, 1994:6).

To overcome these problems, the Addis Ababa Document on Refugees recommended the governments of host countries to use their best endeavors to treat refugees according to the standard established under refugee law. In particular, they should ensure the personal safety of refugees, locate them in areas which are accessible, safe and where basic services and amenities can be provided, and enable them to regain a normal way of life (UNHCR, 1994:7).

The Document also recommended that the international communities, the United Nations, UNHCR, and other relevant organizations, should support and assist host countries in fulfilling their responsibilities to take care of refugees in a manner consistent with the principles of refugee law on the one hand, and legitimate national security, social and economic interest on the other hand. In particular financial,

material and technical assistance should be available to secure and to tackle the above mentioned problems (UNHCR, 1994:8).

Evidence shows that the majority of African refugees are women and children, many of whom are single women and unaccompanied minors, respectively. Dirasse (1999:12) notes that incidence of rapes evident while women flee the conflict and can continue on arrival in asylum countries or internal sanctuaries. Many women are forced into non-consensual relationships in asylum countries in order to receive protection and food security for their families. For example, it is believed that almost all women who experienced Rwanda's genocide were raped, most repeatedly (Dirasse, 1999:12).

This implies that refugees generally and in particular women and children, are in a vulnerable position. They are often pressured into having sex or raped. They are thus subjected to sexual relations that present extremely high health risks in the era of HIV/AIDS.

8.3 International Organizations' Responses to Ethiopian Refugees Problem in South Africa

The early 1990s in fact showed significant reductions in the number of refugees hosted in Southern Africa region, especially with the organized return of Mozambicans at the end of civil war in that country. Between 1992 and 1995, nearly all Mozambican refugees returned home, many with UNHCR and its partner assistance. Notwithstanding the relative decline in the mass influx of refugees, there continued to be flows of asylum seekers and increasingly refugees became an urban phenomenon within the region. This is particularly mirrored in South Africa (Schneider, 1999:30).

In principle, UNHCR stands to provide refugees assistance, international protection, and to seek permanent solutions for the problems of refugees; and to promote the adoption of international minimum standards for the treatment of refugees and the

effective implementation of these standards in the country of asylum. However, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (95.8 percent) did not receive any kind of financial or material assistance from UNHCR (Table 8.1). Even those who received assistance (4.2 percent) were given money (Rand 1000) only once during their stay in South Africa.

Nevertheless, part of the problem seems to be that refugees are quite ignorant of their rights. It was found that more than half (56.3 percent) of respondents said they did not know the rights of refugees, and only 43.8 percent said they were aware of their rights while they are in exile.

Table 8.1 Refugees assisted by UNHCR (%)

	Percent
Yes	95.8
No	4.2
Total	100
N=48	

8.4 Internal Treatment of Ethiopian Asylum Seekers in Durban

The treatment that refugees received at various levels in the country of asylum determine the social and economic integration of refugees and even their future plan. As this study has shown, Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa are under unbearable pressure having come out of fear and insecurity. This fact was echoed by 91.7 percent of the total respondents who live in fear that something bad will happen to them sometimes in the near future. Their major fears include crime, robbery and deportation. In addition, female refugees fear rape and sexual harassment. As noted earlier, refugees are vulnerable to crime, violence and sexual harassment.

8.4.1 Local Population Treatment

As noted above, after the demise of the apartheid regime, large number of migrants and refugees have been moving to South Africa. Unfortunately, the unprecedented inflow of foreigners into the country is accompanied by the alarming increment of

public xenophobia against immigrants particularly of African origin. Politicians and the mass media have tended to exacerbate the tension of xenophobia.

The print media in South Africa has perhaps inadvertently, perpetuated negative stereotypes about migrants. The most common stereotypes being migrants as job stealers, migrants as criminals and migrants as "illegals". The South African print median's coverage of cross border migration in the post-apartheid period has been largely anti-immigrant and unanalytical. Particularly the overwhelming majority of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor are negative about immigrants and immigration. They are extremely unanalytical, uncritically reproducing problematic statistics and assumptions about cross-border migration (Danso and McDonald, 2000).

On the other hand, the news media has also been filled with reports from various places around the country where foreign citizens have been the targets of different forms of abuse at the hand of South Africans. The killing of two Senegalese and a Mozambican by a mob of angry South Africans at a train station in Johannesburg is a tragic example (Mattes et al, 1999:13).

However, our findings reveal that (Table 8.2) most of our respondents (72.9 percent) receive good treatment from local population, 4.2 percent said they received very good treatment from public at large. Only 22.9 percent reported being mistreated by South Africans.

Table 8.2 Respondents' response to treatment by South African public (%)

How do South Africans treat you?	Percent
1 Good.	72.9
2. Very Good	4.2
3. Bad	22.9
Total N=48	100

According to our respondents the popular perception about Ethiopian refugees is that: they come to South Africa looking for their daily bread. The people often associated Ethiopian refugees with poverty and starvation. The majority of South African are aware through the mass media that the country is repeatedly stricken by drought and war, which result in serious shortage of food. Other than this, Ethiopians are not associated with anything in South Africa. This is also true for Ethiopians and other foreign nationals refugees or migrant are classified and nick-named by local population as 'Mkwerekwere' a name that is given to 'aliens'.

8.4.2 Treatment by the Department of the Home Affairs

Refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa also encountered problem from Home affairs officials and South African police. Refugees trying to renew their permits risk not only being picked up by police, but also the possibility of rejection by the Department of Home Affairs without being given legitimate reasons. Nearly all refugees and asylum seekers have similar complaints: of police tearing up permits and arresting them, or of officials refusing to renew permits and constantly telling them "come back tomorrow". Both police and Home Affairs have come under fire recently amid allegations of bribery, corruption and intimidation of refugees and asylum seekers (Mail and Guardian, 2000).

Department of Home Affairs has responsibility to administer the system of refugee status determination, notwithstanding, 31.3 percent of the respondents said they received bad treatment from the Department of Home Affairs, 27.1 percent said very bad treatment, 2.1 percent said very good treatment, and 39.5 percent received good treatment (table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Respondents' response to the treatment by the department of Home Affairs (%)

How do the department of Home Affairs officials treat you?	Percent
1. Bad	31.3
2. Good	39.5
3.Very Good	2.1
4.Very Bad	27.1
Total N=48	100

According to our respondents getting the temporary permit is easier in Durban than other parts of South Africa, even though they report some difficulties, which include bribing of officials to obtain permits and overcome bureaucratic procedures.

One of the major problems of Ethiopian asylum seekers in South Africa is that they have not yet granted refugee status, including, those who have been in South Africa since 1995. Each and every Ethiopian asylum seekers granted a temporary permit that needs to be renewed every three months. The proposed refugees status determination procedure is based on a three-tier structure consisting of preliminary interviews, initial determinations and determinations on appeal. The overall time frame for the status determination procedures should not be longer than six months. And the overall time frame of the accelerated procedures should not be longer than three months (Draft Refugee White Paper, 1999)

Despite this none of the Ethiopian asylum seekers have been granted a proper Identification Card and travel document. Absence of these things handicapped them to have access to education, travel, health, and open bank accounts. The 1951 UN Convention relating to the status of refugee states that the contracting states should issue identity papers to any refugee in their territory who does not possess a valid travel documents. Moreover, States should issue to refugees lawfully staying in their territory travel documents for the purpose of travel outside their territory unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require (UNHCR,

1995:22). In this regard the South African treatment of refugees does not conform to international refugee law as far as our respondents are concerned.

8.4.3 South African Police Treatment

Regarding police treatment, more than half (52.1 percent) of the total respondents said South Africa police treat them very badly and another 22.9 percent said they have been treated badly (table 8.4). According to our respondents, police does not give serious attention to their problems such as when they are victims of crime, for example when they got robbed. In addition to this, whenever there is conflict between refugees and local population the police take sides with the local people, even though refugees are the ones attacked and are apparently innocent.

Table 8.4 Respondents' response to the treatment by police (%)

How do the South Africa police treat you?	Percent
1. Bad	22.9
2. Good	22.9
3.Very Good	2.1
4.Very Bad	52.1
Total N=48	100

Our respondent also told us that police repeatedly investigate or raid their residences, often during after office hours. Police come to their residences reasoning for investigating and checking drugs and fire arms. However, refugees blame police for taking their money, gold and other valuable items, during such exercises. According to our respondents, police do not have respect for them. Some of them told us that they have been beaten and insulted for no reason. Even some reported that police threaten to tear their residence permit and arrest them if they do not give money.

The problem of police is also extended to their work place. They have been repeatedly removed from position where they sell their goods. If they are caught selling in the "prohibited street" they will be charged Rand 100, and if they are unable to pay their

property will be taken instead. This situation really threatens their survival in the country and put their lives at risk and constant social and economic insecurity.

8.5 Future Plans of Ethiopian Asylum Seekers

According to our respondents, as a foreigner the principal questions that they were frequently asked by the local population were "where are you from?" and "when will you go back home?" These questions underlie a popular perception in South Africa that foreigners, particularly black Africans coming into the country will not leave and want to claim South African citizenship. However, contrary to this popular perception this study has found that the majority (85.4 percent) of the respondents do not want to be a citizen of South Africa, and only 14.6 percent said they would like to become citizens of South Africa.

It seems that the majority of Ethiopian refugees are not happy or satisfied with their living conditions in South Africa. Nearly 80 percent of our respondents said they did not get conditions of living in South Africa as they expected. The rest reported that living in South Africa was better than Ethiopia. Furthermore, our respondents were asked how long they will stay in South Africa. About 43.8 percent said they will stay in South Africa until it is safe to return home (table 8.5). More than a quarter (27.1 percent) said they had no intention at all to stay in South Africa. 8.3 percent thought they would stay for up to a few years. Only 2 percent have the intention of remaining in South Africa permanently. These findings are indicative of the fact that refugees, like everybody else, would like to be in their place of birth they call home. They underlie the fact that they are forced to flee their home and seek asylum, but remain with that hope and longing that they will one day go back home to a place they call home.

Table 8.5 Respondents' future plan (%)

Intended length of stay in South Africa	Percent
No intention to stay in South Africa at all	27.1
For a few months (2 to 3 Months)	8.3
Until the time return to home is possible	43.8
For a few years	10.4
Do not intend to go anywhere	2.1
Do not know	8.3
Total 48 N=48	100

In order to gauge possible change of asylum country we asked our respondents what country apart from Ethiopia they choose to go to if they were to leave South Africa. Nearly all, 98 percent, wanted to go to the developed countries and mostly to the northern developed countries-Canada (38.3 percent), England (22.9 percent), United States (14.8 percent), other western Europe countries (14.8 percent) and about 8.3 percent want to go to Australia and New Zealand.

The main reasons for choosing these countries appear to be better economic or employment prospects, freedom from crime and harassment, better access to education, and to join their closest relatives, families and friends who have been granted asylum. As noted earlier, in South Africa the refugees are marginalized economically and have no access to social services. Accordingly, most Ethiopian refugees express a great longing to get out of South Africa. Most of them hate being in South Africa to the point that they do not want their friends or relatives to come to South Africa. As high as 92 percent of the respondents said they discourage other Ethiopians from migrating or seeking asylum in South Africa.

Our finding is similar to Cimade findings on Ethiopian refugees in Sudan "the urban refugee is above all an individual, and his flight to a neighboring country is deliberate and organized. He is not satisfied to stay in the first place where he feels safe, as they are: he tries to go to a country in Europe or North America or, at least, to reach the capital of the country he has chosen for his exile. This is in order to continue his

studies or to find a job corresponding to his training or his social ambition" (Cimade, et al 1985:91)

Being a refugee means losing country, community, family, property, culture and personal identity. Each and every respondent longs for these things in Ethiopia and waiting for the time and condition that enable them to re-join their country of origin. The overwhelming majority of the respondents interviewed for this research do not intend to stay out of Ethiopia forever. They have very mixed opinion when they were asked in what condition they want to go back home. The most common responses were "after I become well-off" and "after economic, social and political conditions of Ethiopia are conducive and stable".

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Even though the major force behind Ethiopian refugees movement is unfavorable socio-economic and political condition of the country of origin, the result of this study indicate that flight among Ethiopian asylum seekers in Durban is very restrictive and selective in terms of the kind of people it accommodates. Ironically, the decision to flee is highly determined by demographic characteristics and geographical variables (distance). Accordingly, the overwhelming of Ethiopian refugees in Durban involve predominately young male with high education and skills. In addition to this, all of the refugees have urban and semi-urban backgrounds. Thus urban refugees often move further into the cities of the host country. In the case of Ethiopians, the destination is the major cities of South Africa like Durban. Furthermore, they are more ambitious to go to other developed countries. Most of the respondents said their presence in South Africa is for short while.

For the majority of the respondents the journey was painful and with serious dangers such as prison, lack of food, water, illness and robbery. Moreover, they encountered another hardship in the host country since their arrival in South Africa. The overwhelming majority of the respondents complain about the extreme ill treatment of police and Home Affairs officials. In South Africa Ethiopian refugees are not given refugee status and are not readily recognised as refugees. They are recognised as a 'prohibited person' and given a Temporary Permit to Prohibited Person, which should be renewed every three months. However, such permit does not allow the refugees to open bank accounts and access to other financial loans. Accordingly, their money is exposed to robbers. This in turn depreciates the capacity of the refugees for economic participation and production.

To investigate the economic integration and economic self-sufficiency of the Ethiopian refugees in South Africa we have used indices such as income, property ownership and employment. The indicators have shown that almost all Ethiopian

asylum seekers in South Africa are marginalized. In South Africa Ethiopians have great difficulties in obtaining well-paid job. Even well educated and experienced refugees were not successful in getting formal jobs in South Africa. It is interesting to note here that there was rapid downward social mobility among refugees. The ironic fact is that the great majority of Ethiopian refugees engaged in the informal sector that generates very low incomes.

In fact the majority of the refugees were hard working people. Entrepreneurship was not lacking. Of course few of them are able to create job opportunities for South Africans too. However, the majority of the study population was self-employed and struggling to make the best out of a harsh situation.

The results of this study reveals that Ethiopian refugees had a strong social relation among themselves. This is echoed in the fact that they have been assisting one another in finding jobs, providing accommodation and so on. In addition to this, there was no significant socio-economic and political conflict among the refugees. On the other hand, however, the degree of social integration of Ethiopian refugees with the local population was low. Some of the social integration indices that we have used to measure the level of social integration such as intermarriage, interpersonal relations and friendships were significantly low. High crime rate in South Africa is one factor that result in low rate of social integration in the host country. In a nutshell, Ethiopian refugees were often marginalized from the receiving population in social life and tradition.

The problem of accommodation and socio-economic integration is exacerbated by lack of assistance of host government and humanitarian organisations. It is believed that host government initiatives are necessary to find more meaningful and lasting solutions to the existing problems.

9.1 Possible Solutions for Refugees Problems

The rising influx of refugees from Ethiopia implies the unstable socio-economic and political conditions of their country. Therefore, there is a need to address the causes of the problem in the country of asylum. Refugees are the products of "push" factors.

As a humanitarian agency the policy of the UNHCR is essentially determined by the objective needs of the refugees under its jurisdiction. In addition to providing relief assistance and legal protection the organisation is seeking lasting solutions through voluntary repatriation and when repatriation is deemed remote or impossible through local integration. Resettlement in third countries of asylum is another method of giving a lasting solution to the problem (UNHCR, 2000). However, as far as our respondents are concerned there was no attempt made by humanitarian or the government of the country of asylum to find a long lasting solution for the Ethiopian refugees. If the humanitarian organisations the country of asylum fail to solve the problems who else can?

It is to be recalled that the majority of the respondents reported that fear of war (Ethiopia and Eritrea), military conscription and having Eritrean mother or father were the major reasons for their flight from Ethiopia. However, the recent faire seize between the two countries may probably pave the ways for these refugees to return home. Therefore, the host government needs to negotiate with the government of Ethiopia.

Creating public awareness and increasing involvement of domestic civil society organizations are some of the ways to find solutions for refugee problems. For example, a national Consortium on Refugee Affairs has been establisedh, bringing together a variety of role players concerned with the plight of refugees, and the South African Human Rights Commission launched a National Action plan to combat xenophobia (Schneidre, 1999:31).

9.2 Refugee policy in South Africa

One of the most significant elements of the democratic transition in South Africa has been the increased inflow of migrants into the country from surrounding Southern Africa countries, distant African countries and beyond. South Africa's borders are extremely porous and it is widely accepted that the flow of both legal and undocumented migrants to the country from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and beyond has grown markedly since 1990 (Hunt, 1998:124)

However, the tremendous influx of refugees and migrants create the problem of identification of refugees from 'economic migrants'. The distinction between refugees and 'economic migrants' is confusing in South Africa; as Hough and Minaar (1995:15) spell out that "in a certain circles in South Africa there still exists considerable confusion about exactly who is a refugee and who is an illegal alien migrant".

The openness of the country to the international community and large size of the South African economy makes the allure of the country almost overwhelming to many in the continent. The country has become a destination for many of those seeking employment, a higher living standard and brighter economic opportunity. Refugees have also granted freedom of moving where they want within the country, This privilege make South Africa an even more attractive destination (Schneider, 1999:33). This makes South Africa appear as the safest 'haven' for refugees who flee their home country for safety and an attractive destination for migrants who are seeking for a better life and maximise their economic opportunities.

South Africa is a signatory to the international conventions such as the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, the protocol of 1967 and the OAU regional Refugee Convention of 1969. The spirit and the main principles of the conventions reflected in the Draft Refugee White paper in 1999 which defines the eligibility procedures and the authority responsible for granting asylum.

In 1999, the South African government formulated its policies and principles on the Draft Refugee White Paper, which will govern the status, rights and standards of treatment that refugees may claim. The major role players in the policy drafting were the officials, policy makers from Home Affairs, UNHCR, Gender Commission and South Africa Human Science Research Council. It should be noted here that refugees were completely excluded in the policy making process

The formulation and implementation of 'genuine refugee policy' under international law is one of the features of democratic government. The refugee policy should mirror progressing human rights and respond to the real problem of refugees in their territory. The status, right and standard of treatment of the refugee and asylum seekers is the milestone of a genuine immigration policy. The policy that considers international legal and human rights standards which is committed to protect the rights of asylum seekers and refugees in its territory may be the safest place in the terrible world (Draft Refugee White paper, 1999).

Under the umbrella of the international law, as endorsed in White Paper on Refugee, the government of South Africa is devoted to grant asylum and refugee status; to provide them protection; and to search for sustainable solutions. The policy takes the UN and OAU definitions of refugees into account, as well as the political situation of the person's home country.

However, the real problem in South Africa refugee policy is its delay in implementation. The viability and credibility of the refugee status determination system may be undermined by delays and backlogs, which in turn encourage and open the submission of fraudulent claims, by 'economic migrants'. The situation is further exacerbated and confused by criminals, such as drug and arms dealers influx into the country. The present status determination is seen widely abused by migrants coming to South Africa for non-refugee related reasons (Draft Refugee White Paper, 1999).

Be that as it may, for the Ethiopian refugees the best place they want to be is home. And they clearly long for a peaceful and stable democracy in their country to enable them to do just that.

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Appendix 1

Introduction

My name is **Getahun Hailu.** I am a post-graduate student at the University of Natal, School of Development Studies. As a part of my study and partial fulfillment of my masters degree, I am conducting this research. The purpose of the study on Ethiopian refugees and asylum seekers is absolutely for academic. I kindly request you to help me in answering questions that will take some of your precious time. I here by assure you all answers to questions will remain strictly confidential and your name will never appear in the analysis.

Thank you for your assistance. Your co-operation is greatly appreciated.

Do you have any question about the purpose of the study or your participation?

Do you agree to be interviewed today?
(1) Yes
(2) No

If latter you have any questions regarding the study, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher, Getahun Gema (telephone 031-4684122 Cell 0825187769 or e-mail 200276722@nu.ac.za)

Strictly confidential

This information is confidential and the name and address of the respondent will not be used for any other purpose. Names will not be linked to the information gathered and are required only for the purpose of follow up in the study.

ETHIOPIAN REFUGEES AND ASYLUM SEEKERS SURVEY IN DURBAN

BY GEMA GETAHUN

001CODES	FIRST AND LAST NAME	ADDRESS
E1	_____	_____
E2	_____	_____
E3	_____	_____
E4	_____	_____

002 interviewer visit

	Visit1	Visit2	Visit3
Date			
Interviewer			
Result			

Result code

Completed = 1

Refused = 2

Partially completed=3

Other (give reason)_____

003 interviewer : Code ____/____   Name_____

Date of interview ____/____/____

SECTION A
PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS

No.	Name of the interviewee (1)	Age (2)	Marital status (3)	Sex (4)		Total member in household in South Africa (5)	Total member in household in Ethiopia (6)	Number of siblings in South Africa (7)		Number of siblings in Ethiopia (8)	
			SEE 'A'CODES	**Record SEX** Male=1 Female=2 M F				Sisters Brothers		Sisters Brothers	
1				1	2						
2				1	2						
3				1	2						
4				1	2						
5				1	2						
6				1	2						
7				1	2						
8				1	2						

CODE A	
1. SINGLE	4. WIDOWED
2. MARRIED	5. HAVE LEFT WIFE/HUSBAND BACK
3. DIVORCED	6. OTHERS/SPECIFY

NO	Interviewee	Ethnicity (9)	Religion (10)	Home language (11)	Occupation in Ethiopia (12)	Employment status in Ethiopia (13)	School Attendance (14)		If attended school (15)			
	Repeat name of the interviewee	SEE 'B'CODES			SEE 'C'CODES	SEE 'D'CODES	Have you ever attended school? **If No go to Q 16 Record Yes=1 No=2**		What is the highest grade ever passed in school? (15a)	Highest Post school Qualification **SEE 'E' CODES** (15b)	Ask still In school or still studying university or technikon (15c)	
							Yes	No			Yes	No
1							1	2			1	2
2							1	2			1	2
3							1	2			1	2
4							1	2			1	2
5							1	2			1	2
6							1	2			1	2
7							1	2			1	2
8							1	2			1	2

CODE B	CODE C	CODE D	CODE E
1. OROMO 2. AMHARA 3. TIGRE 4. OTHERS/SPECIFY	1.UNEMPLOYED 2.SELF-EMPLOYED 3.GVERNMENT EMPLOYEE 4.EPLOYED BY PRIVATE PERSON OR CAMPANY 5.OTHER/SPECIFY	1. PROFESSIONAL.(SPECIFY) 2. MANAGERIAL 3. CLERK (ALL OFFICE WORK) 4. SKILLED LABOUR 5. UNSKILLED LABOUR	1=CERTIFICATE 2=DIPLOMA 3=COMPLETED UNIVERSITY/HONORS 4=COMPLETED POSTGRADUATE 5=OTHERS/ SPECIFY

No	Interviewee	Place of birth (16)	Date of birth (17)			Health status (18)			
	Repeat name of the interviewee		**Record** **DD**=date **MM**=month **YY**=year			Physical Disability Does she/he have any permanent disability? (18a)		Chronic illness Was he/she suffer from any chronic illness? (18b)	
			DD	MM	YY	Yes	No	Yes	No
1						1	2	1	2
2						1	2	1	2
3						1	2	1	2
4						1	2	1	2
5						1	2	1	2
6						1	2	1	2
7						1	2	1	2
8						1	2	1	2

SECTION B
DEPARTURE

NO	Interviewee	Respondent's origin (19)	Time of departure (20)	When you started your journey what was the most important thing that: (21)		Migration experience (22)	
	Repeat name of the interviewee	Which part of Ethiopia did you come from? **SEE 'F'CODES**	When did you leave Ethiopia?	You took with you? (21a) **SEE 'G'CODES**	Left behind (21b)	Did you move to another part of Ethiopia before leaving the country?	
			DD MM YY			Yes	No
1						1	2
2						1	2
3						1	2
4						1	2
5						1	2
6						1	2
7						1	2
8						1	2

CODE F	CODE G
1.NAME OF REGION_____ 2 NAME OF PROVINCE_____ 3.NAME OF KEBELE_____	1. MONEY US$____ 6. FOOD 2. CLOTHES 7.OTHERS/SPECIFY 3. EDUCATIONAL CIRTIFICATE 4. PRECIOUS METAL (e. g, gold, diamond, etc) 5.TRAVEL DOCUMENT(PASSPORT)

No	Interviewee	Respondent's international migration experience (23)			If yes (24)	(25)			(26)		
	Repeat name of the interviewee	Excluding countries you passed through and stop for a short while on your journey to South Africa, did you go to another country? **If No go to Q 29** Yes		No	Which country did you go?	How long did you stay there before coming to South Africa? **RECORD WW**=week **MM**=month **YY**=year WW MM YY			When did you go to that country? DD MM YY		
1		1		2							
2		1		2							
3		1		2							
4		1		2							
5		1		2							
6		1		2							
7		1		2							
8		1		2							

27. Why did you go to that country?

28. Why you left that country?

29. Describe how you travelled from Ethiopia to South Africa?

No	Interviewee	Awareness about host country (30)		Source of information	Information (31)	(32)		Accompany on journey (33)	If respondent left with someone, Did any one you left with: (34)				(35)	
	Repeat name of the interviewee	Before you came to South Africa did you have any information about the country? If No go to Q33		Source of information SEE 'H'CODES	Please tell me good or bad things you heard about South Africa? RECORD Listed below GOOD THINGS BAD THINGS	Do you find that what you heard about South Africa is true?		With whom did you leave your country? SEE 'I'CODES	Fall sick on journey? (34a) If yes go to Q (35a)		Die on journey? (34b) If yes go to Q(35b)		Type of sickness SEE 'J'CODES (35a)	Cause of death SEE 'K' CODES (35b)
		Yes	No			Yes	No		Yes	No	Yes	No		
1		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
2		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
3		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
4		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
5		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
6		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
7		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		
8		1	2			1	2		1	2	1	2		

CODE H	GOOD THINGS	BAD THINGS	CODE I	CODE J	CODE K
1.MASS MEDIA 2.TRADERS 3.SOMEONE WHO LIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA 4.SOUTH AFRICAN IN ETHIOPIA 5.OTHER/SPECIFY	1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____	1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____	1.ALONE 2.WITH RELATIVE(S) 3.WITH AN ETHIOPIAN(S) 4.REFUGEE FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRY(IES) 4. OTHERS/SPECIFY	1. MALARIA 2. YELLOW FEVER 3. OTHER DISEASE/ INFECTIOUS	1.WAS KILLED BY WILD ANIMALS 2.WAS KILLED BY ROBBERS 3.WAS KILLED BY BORDER POLICE 4.LACK OF FOOD 5.LACK OF HEALTH SERVICE 6.OTHER/SPECIFY

No	Interviewee	Did you know anyone living in South Africa before you came? (36)		Motivation by already migrated people (37)		Means of transport to South Africa (38)	Transport cost (39)	Time taken to travel (40)			Passage through different countries (41)		If yes (42)	Danger encountered on journey (43)
	Repeat name of the interviewee	Did any one you know in South Africa encourage you to come?		What means of transport did you use to travel to South Africa? SEE 'L' CODE		How much did it cost you?	How long did your journey take? **Record** **DD**=days **WW**=Weeks **MM**=Months			Did you go through other countries before you came to South Africa? **If No go to Q43**		Please list countries starting with the one you arrived in First. **RECORD SEE COUNTRIES CROSSED BELOW**	What were the hazards you encountered on your journey? **SEE 'M' CODES**
		Yes	No	yes	No		Birr	DD	WW	MM	Yes	No		
1		1	2	1	2						1	2		
2		1	2	1	2						1	2		
3		1	2	1	2						1	2		
4		1	2	1	2						1	2		
5		1	2	1	2						1	2		
6		1	2	1	2						1	2		
7		1	2	1	2						1	2		
8		1	2	1	2						1	2		

CODE L	CODE M	COUNTRIES CROSSED
1.CAR 2.AIRPLANE 3. ON FOOT 4. SHIP 5. COMBINATION(e.g., car & plane; plane, car &foot)	1. NO HAZARD 2. ROBBERS 3.WILD ANIMALS 4. BORDER POLICE 5. OTHERS/SPECIFY	1 _____ 2_____ 3_____ 4_____

SECTION C
ARRIVAL

No	Interviewee	Time of arrival in host country(44)			Contact address (45)		Type of visa (46)	Point of entry (47)	Area of arrival (48)	Reception (49)			Initial problem of respondent(50)
	Repeat name of the interviewee	When did you arrive in South Africa?			Did you have contact address upon arrival?		What type of visa did you have?	Where was your first entry to South Africa? **SEE'N'CODES**	To which city/ province of South Africa did you first arrive/go?	Was there any one to welcome you upon arrival? **If No go to Q 50**		If yes (49a) Who welcomed you?	On your arrival what was the most difficult problem you encountered? **SEE 'O' CODE**
		DD	MM	YY	Yes	No				Yes	No		
1					1	2				1	2		
2					1	2				1	2		
3					1	2				1	2		
4					1	2				1	2		
5					1	2				1	2		
6					1	2				1	2		
7					1	2				1	2		
8					1	2				1	2		

CODE N	CODE O	
1.AIR PORT 2.LAND BORDER 3.SEA PORT	1. NO PROBLEM 2. LONELINESS 3. GETTING PERMIT	4.LANGUAGE 5.LACK OF MEANS OF SUBSISTANCE 6. OTHER/SPECIFY

51. Describe the treatment you received at the point of entry?

52.As soon as you arrived in South Africa where did you go? And why?

SECTION D
SETTLING IN SOUTH AFRICA: LOCATION AND ACCOMMODATION

No	Intervi ewee	(53)	(54)		(55)	If the respondent rent house(56)	(57)		(58)	(59)	Reason for changing accommodation (60)
	Repeat name of the intervie wee	On your arrival Who assisted you to get accommodatio n? **SEE 'P'CODES**	Do you now have your own accommodation? **If No go to Q (56)** Yes	No	What kind of accommodation are you able to find? **SEE 'Q' CODES**	How much you pay for house rent a month? Rand	Do you share the house with other individuals? **If No go to Q59** Yes	No	If you share who? **SEE 'R'CODES**	How many times you changed your accommodat ion?	Why you change your accommodation? **SEE 'S' CODES**
1			1	2			1	2			
2			1	2			1	2			
3			1	2			1	2			
4			1	2			1	2			
5			1	2			1	2			
6			1	2			1	2			
7			1	2			1	2			
8			1	2			1	2			

CODE P	CODE Q	CODE R	CODE S
1. MYSELF 2. FRIENDS 3. RELATIVES 4. GOVERNMENT 5. OTHER/SPECIFY	1. HOSTEL 2. RENT INNER CITY FLAT 3. RENT PRIVATES HOUSE 4. OTHER/SPECIFY	1. A REFUGEE FROM OTHER COUNTRY 2. A FELLOW COUNTRY MAN/WOMAN 3. SOUTH AFRICAN 4. OTHRE/SPECIFY	1. TO JOIN FRIENDS/FAMILY 2. NO FACILITY(e.g. sanitation, Tel, transport, etc) 3. FORCED TO LEAVE BY AUTHORITY 4. OTHER/SPECIFY

No	Interviewee	Movement within South Africa (61)		Reasons for choosing Durban as destination (62)	(63)		(64) if No where you want to settle in South Africa?
	Repeat name the of interviewee	In South Africa did you live in another place before you came to Durban?		Why do you chose Durban as your Destination? **SEE 'T' CODES**	Do you intend to settle in Durban?		
		Yes	No		Yes	No	
1		1	2		1	2	
2		1	2		1	2	
3		1	2		1	2	
4		1	2		1	2	
5		1	2		1	2	
6		1	2		1	2	
7		1	2		1	2	
8		1	2		1	2	

CODE T

1.TO JOIN FRIENDS/ RELATIVES
2.BETTER JOB OPPORTUNITIES
3. SAFE TO ESTABLISH BUSINESS
4. SEARCH FOR EDUCATION
5.HEALTH PROBLEM
6.GOOD WEATHER
7.EASY TO GET PERMIT
8.COST OF LIVING IS LESS
9.OTHERS/SPECIFY

65. Do you get life in South Africa as you expected?

SECTION E
CAUSES OF FLIGHT

66. Did you leave your country of origin:

1.Voluntary

2. Involuntary

67. Why you decide to leave your country?

68. Why you came specifically to South Africa?

69. Describe the political situation of Ethiopia before you were leaving

70. Do you feel that it was only members of some political parties that were leaving the country?

71. Could you name these parties?

72. Did you belong to any political party?

1. Yes   2. No

73. If Yes which one? **If No go to Q 83**

74. Do you believe it was dangerous for you to belong to that political party at the time you were leaving?

1. Yes   2. No   .

75. If yes, why?

76. Were you an active political party member?

77. Do you think because you were active in your party that is why you found it necessary to leave?

78. Is it possible to be a party member while in exile?

1. Yes   2. No

79. Are you still in contact with your party in Ethiopia?

1. Yes   2. No

80. Do you think that there is need for a political change in Ethiopia?
1. Yes   2. No

81. If Yes can you explain why political change is now necessary in Ethiopia?

82. Do you belong to the ruling party?
1.Yes   2. No

SECTION F
ECONOMIC CONDITION

83. How much money did you have with you and in the bank when you arrive in South Africa?
Rand_____

84. What kind of job were you able to get when you arrived in South Africa?

85. Do you have a job right now?
1. Yes   2. No

86. If yes, What kind of job do you have at present?

No	Interviewee	(87)	Household income (88)	Expenditure (89)	(90)		If No (91)
	Repeat name of the interviewee	How did you get your current job? **SEE 'U' CODES**	What is your income a month?	An approximately how much money you expend a month On: **SEE 'V' CODES**	Is your income sufficient to cover the cost of subsistence for you and your dependant **If yes go to Q 92** Yes	No	How do you manage to live without sufficient income? **SEE 'W' CODES**
			Rand				
1					1	2	
2					1	2	
3					1	2	
4					1	2	
5					1	2	
6					1	2	
7					1	2	
8					1	2	

CODE U	CODE V	CODE W
1. FRIENDS/ RELATIVES 2. ADVERTISED 3. READ ON NEWSPAPER 4. ASKED EMPLOYER 5. OTHER /SPECIFY	1. FOOD R____ 2. HOUSE RENT R___ 3. MEDICINE R___ 4. EDUCATION R____ 5. ENTERTAINMENT__ 6. OTHERS/SPECIFY	1.UNHCR ASSISTANCE 2.CHARITY ORGANIZATION ASSISTANCE/ SPECIFY 3.ASSISTANCE FROM FRIEND 4.COMMUNITY/ETHNIC/MIGRANT ASSOCIATION 5.PREVIOUS SAVINGS 6. OTHER/SPECIFY

92. Are you willing to do the kind of job that you are currently doing in your country?
1. Yes   2. No

93. If No why?

94. How long do you expect to continue doing this job?

95. If you were given a choice, what work would you prefer to do?

96. Would you have to move to take up such a job?

97. A part from your main job, what other types of work do you do?

98. A part from your current job, what other type of work have you done before?

99. Do you own property in South Africa?

1. Yes   2. No

100..If yes, what?

No	Interviewee	(101)	Working time(102)		(103)		If Yes (104)
	Repeat name of the interviewee	How would you compare your income here with that in Ethiopia? **SEE 'X' CODES**	How many hours you work in a day? (102a)	How many day you work a week (102b)	Do you send money home?		Who for you send? **SEE 'Y'CODES**
			Hours	No. days	Yes	No	
1					1	2	
2					1	2	
3					1	2	
4					1	2	
5					1	2	
6					1	2	
7					1	2	
8					1	2	

CODE X	CODE Y
1.FAR BETTER	1.FATHER
2.BETTER	2.MOTHER
3.THE SAME	3.BROTHER/SISTER
4.NOT SO GOOD	4.WIFE/CHILDREN
5.DO NOT KNOW	5.OTHERS/SPECIFY

105. Do you think South Africa is benefiting from you?
1.yes   2.No
106. If yes how?

107. If no why?

108. What special skill do you have?

109. Do you use your main skills in your current job?
1.Yes   2. No
110. Are there opportunities in South Africa to use your main skills?
1. Yes   2 . No
111. If yes, what?

112. Do you think that there are no many South Africans who do not have the skill that you have?
1. Yes   2. No

113. Are you willing to contribute to South African economy?
1. Yes   2. No
114. Can you name some of the barriers that prevent you from contributing to South African economy?

115. What advice would you give to your friends or relatives who are still in Ethiopia regarding migrating to South Africa?
1.   Encourage them 2. Discourage them to move here 3. Do not know 4. Other/specify.
116. Have you assisted any Ethiopian in South Africa?
1.Yes   2. No
117. If yes how?

SECTION G
TREATMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

No	Interviewee	(118)	(119)		If No (120)	(121)		If No (122)
	Repeat name the of interviewee	Do you speak any local South African language? **SEE 'Z' CODES**	Are you married to a South African citizen? Yes	No	What is the nationality of marriage partner?	Do the Ethiopians get along together? Yes	No	What is the source of conflict/disunity? **SEE 'SO' CODES**
1			1	2		1	2	
2			1	2		1	2	
3			1	2		1	2	
4			1	2		1	2	
5			1	2		1	2	
6			1	2		1	2	
7			1	2		1	2	
8			1	2		1	2	

CODE Z	CODE SO
1 .SOME ENGLISH/SOME ZULU	1.RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCE
2. GOOD ENGLISH/ZULU	2. CULTURAL DIFFERNENCE
3. FLUENT ENGLISH/ZULU	3.POLITICAL DIFERENCE
4. OTHERS/SPECIFY	4.OTHER/SPECIFY

123. Do you have informal contact (outside the work place) with the local population
1.Yes   2. No
124.If yes, when and where?

125. How do the South African immigration officers treat you?

126. How do the South African police treat you?

127. How do the people treat you as an Ethiopian?

128. Do you fear or think that something very bad could happen to you because you are a foreigner?
1.Yes   2. No

129. If yes what?

130. Are you aware of the rights of refugees and asylum seekers?
1.   Yes   2. No

131. Have you ever received any assistance from UNHCR or any other humanitarian organisation?
1.Yes   2. No

132.If yes, what?

133.Do you receive any benefit such as health, bank service, etc?

1. Yes   2. No
134. What are the main problems of Ethiopian refugees in South Africa?

SECTION H
FUTURE PLAN

No.	Interviewee	Future settlement (135)	Decision to move other countries (136)
	Repeat name of interviewee	How long do you intend to stay in South Africa? **SEE 'HF' CODES**	If respondent wants to move: why would you like to leave South Africa and go to another countries? **SEE 'TG' CODE**
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

CODE HF	CODE TG
1. NO INTENTION TO STAY HERE AT ALL	1.ILL-TREATMENT OF HOME AFFIRS OFFICIALS
2. FOR A FEW MONTHS/SPECIFY	2.ILL-TREATMENT OF POLICE
3. FOR A FEW YEARS/SPECIFY	3.TO JOIN FAMILY OR RELATIVES ABROAD
4. UNTIL THE TIME RETURN TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN IS POSSIBLE	4.IN SEARCH OF JOBS
5. DO NOT INTEND TO GO ANY WHERE ELSE	5.CHANGE CLIMATE
6. OTHERS/SPECIFY	6.OTHER/SPECIFY

137. If you were to chose another country to go to what would that country be?

138. Would you like to become a citizen of South Africa?
1.Yes   2. No

139. Under what circumstances you would like to go home?

142. What are the things you long for in Ethiopia?

Thank you very much for talking to me about your life in South Africa. This information as noted at the beginning will remain extremely confidential. Your name will not be used in the analysis.

TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS AT: Durban Refugee Reception Centre

EXCLUDING APPEALS

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	APPLICATIONS RECEIVED				APPLICATIONS FINALISED				APPLICATIONS PENDING			
	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL
ALBANIA	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
ALGERIA	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
ANGOLA	51	8	9	68	29	3	6	38	22	5	3	30
BANGLADESH	16	0	0	16	1	0	0	1	15	0	0	15
BENIN	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
BOSNIA_AND HERZEGOVINA R	2	2	1	5	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	5
BULGARIA	2	1	1	4	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0
BURUNDI	353	57	110	520	24	4	10	38	329	53	100	482
CAMEROON	19	1	0	20	2	0	0	2	17	1	0	18
COMOROS	3	0	1	4	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	3
CONGO	84	13	31	128	9	2	7	18	75	11	24	110
COTE D'IVOIRE	8	0	0	8	1	0	0	1	7	0	0	7
CROASIA	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
ERITREA	8	3	0	11	0	0	0	0	8	3	0	11
ETHIOPIA	265	38	14	317	7	1	0	8	258	37	14	309
GERMANY	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
GHANA	102	18	1	121	10	0	0	10	92	18	1	111
INDIA	9	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	9
IRAN, ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
IRAQ	9	0	0	9	1	0	0	1	8	0	0	8
KENYA	66	3	3	72	0	0	0	0	66	3	3	72

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	APPLICATIONS RECEIVED				APPLICATIONS FINALISED				APPLICATIONS PENDING			
	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL
KIRGHIZIA	2	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	4
LIBERIA	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
MACEDONIA, REPUBLIC OF	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
NIGERIA	184	6	0	190	30	1	0	31	154	5	0	159
PAKISTAN	139	2	6	147	41	0	0	41	98	2	6	106
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
REPUBLIC OF CHINA/TAIWAN	6	2	5	13	0	0	0	0	6	2	5	13
RWANDA	121	46	92	259	6	3	5	14	115	43	87	245
SENEGAL	213	2	2	217	50	0	0	50	163	2	2	167
SIERRA LEONE	6	2	1	9	0	1	1	2	6	1	0	7
SOMALIA	29	10	14	53	12	5	3	20	17	5	11	33
SOUTH AFRICA	0	0	51	51	0	0	16	16	0	0	35	35
SRI LANKA	2	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3
SUDAN	4	0	1	5	2	0	1	3	2	0	0	2
TANZANIA, UNITED REPUBLIC	3	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	5
TOGO	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	4
UGANDA	58	8	2	68	2	0	0	2	56	8	2	66
UNKNOWN	0	18	7	25	0	0	0	0	0	18	7	25
ZAIRE	747	145	234	1126	122	29	52	203	625	116	182	923
ZAMBIA	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
ZIMBABWE	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2

TOTAL NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS AT:

EXCLUDING APPEALS

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	APPLICATIONS RECEIVED				APPLICATIONS FINALISED				APPLICATIONS PENDING			
	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	CHILD	TOTAL
TOTAL	2529	393	588	3510	352	50	103	505	2177	343	485	3005