



Migration: Challenges and Experiences of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the city of Johannesburg (2000-2015) and the Role of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church's Ministry

By

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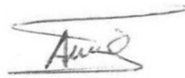
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Supervisor: Professor Simon Burton

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Declaration

I, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other Universities for award of any type of academic degree.



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Professor Simon Burton

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family: Tsiyon, Mekdes, Fikru and Temesgen as well as my parents: my father the Reverend Berhanu Tesfaye priest of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church and my mother Kassech Mekonnin.

Abstract

Migration is a fact of international life as people continuously move from one place to another, have different experiences, and must react to new society and their cultures. Following the 1994 dispensation, South Africa became one of the destinations of choice for many African nationals, including Ethiopians. The migration of Ethiopians is a part of the migration phenomenon which has embraced much of the world in the 21st century. This study examines the multiple challenges related to the social, economic, cultural, political and religious lives of the Ethiopian migrants and the experiences that they face in Johannesburg, their responses, and the role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) in their survival strategy. Using a qualitative research method, it focuses on the analysis of the data collected from Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, indigenous South Africans who are members of the EOTC, and some Ethiopians in Ethiopia who reside in migrant-sending communities. The findings revealed that Ethiopian migrants have a set of social realities with their cultural and identity differences that foster their distinctiveness. This is coupled with problems that are associated with immigration documentation from the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa. They are also blamed for a range of socio-economic problems in South Africa and therefore, are scapegoated which results in some members of the host society engaging in xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, in the case of Ethiopians, their entrepreneurial talents and undertakings make them “soft targets” for robbery in Johannesburg. In coping with these problems, they seek solace in their Church and use a set of their cultural traits for their survival. In general, Ethiopian migrants face the range of problems in Johannesburg which have contributed to the existence of social distance between members of the host society and themselves. However, the study also found that there are common values that have the potential to contribute to social integration and social cohesion between both constituencies which would reduce the existing hostility. In addition, this study makes number contributions to the discipline. It also makes recommendations for the undertaking of further research that may be of assistance to policy makers, to the EOTC’s apostolic mission undertakings, as well as to the Ethiopian migrants themselves, and to the members of the host society.

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Acronyms

AACC	All African Conference of Churches
ABCD	Asset Based Community Development
ADF	African Diaspora Forum
AESM	All Ethiopian Socialist Movement
ANC	African National Congress
AU	African Union
CUD	Coalition for Unity and Democracy
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
ELM	Eritrean Liberation Movement
EOTC	Ethiopian Orthodox <i>Tewahedo</i> Church
EPRD	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRDP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMT	Greenwich Mean Time
HRC	Human Rights Commission
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
MK	Mahibere Kidusam
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OLF	Oromo Liberation Movement
PCD	People Centred Development
RCA	Rotating Credit Assistance

RMMS	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARS	South African Revenue Service
TLF	Tigre Liberation Front
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USA	United States of America
WCC	World Council of Churches
WW-II	World War Two



Source: <http://www.mapsofworld.com/south-africa/provinces/gauteng.html>

Figure 1: Political map of Johannesburg and Surrounding Municipalities in Gauteng Province, South Africa

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter introduces the study's general content with regard to Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, including their motivation for migration. It presents the background to the study, the nature of Ethiopian society, and its overarching ancient Orthodox Christianity together with its impact on the migration phenomenon. The study's motivation, significance, research problems, and objectives are also described in this chapter. In addition, it outlines the study's scope and limitations, multi-dimensional context, the researcher's personal rationale for conducting the study, and the theoretical framework and methodology applied.

1.1. Background to the Study

Migration is undoubtedly one of the most vexing and complex social problems of our time (Groody, 2009:640). This is so much the case that the 21st century “has been referred to as ‘the age of migration’” (ibid.). Despite the challenges posed by migration, people continue to engage in it, seemingly unabatedly. For example, in 2014, and more so 2015, Europe, primarily in the area of the Mediterranean Sea, was flooded with refugees who came largely through North African countries. According to the Migration Policy Institute records, global displacement reached

nearly 60 million people worldwide [were] displaced internally or externally....This trend continued in 2015 as conflicts in places such as Central African Republic, South Sudan, Syria, Ukraine, and Yemen drove millions of people to leave their homes and seek refuge in other communities or across borders (2015: 1).

This massive movement of people into Europe and the United States with its corresponding changes in norms, coupled with the fear of terrorism have resulted in several countries proposing “or pass[ing] legislation making [it] easier to narrow citizenship and broadening the range of offences for which individuals can be stripped of their citizenship” (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2015:1). For these reasons, changes in immigration policy to accommodate large numbers of migrants seem to be highly problematic.

This migratory pattern is unfolding in a world that is seemingly in turmoil, without any respite in sight, especially in the Middle East and parts of North Africa. In Africa, the motives for migration are economic advancement, flight from instability, persecution, and environmental

crises. Particularly, countries in what has been called “The Horn of Africa” are affected. These countries include Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and South Sudan, an area that is regarded as one of the most troubled in the world (Bereketeab, 2013:71).

On the African continent, South Africa is the country of choice. This is because:

South Africa is Africa’s most industrialized country, and it attracts thousands of foreign nationals every year, seeking refuge from poverty, economic crises, war and government persecution in their home countries. While the majority of them are from elsewhere on the continent, such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Ethiopia, many also come from Pakistan and Bangladesh (www.sahistory.org.za, n.d.)

As a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society whose current population is estimated to be 99.5 million (Workman, 2016:1), and is second to Nigeria’s on the African continent, Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. The low educational and technological standards that are compounded by recurrent wars; limited industrial development; massive unemployment and underemployment; limited land availability for viable agricultural undertakings in some areas; a growing population; and what is deemed excessive taxation, all of which are exaggerated by “ethnic conflict and political instability” (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:5).

The aforementioned problems have resulted in many Ethiopians regarding migration as providing them with an opportunity to change their station in life. In recent Ethiopian history, approximately “75,000 Ethiopians migrate annually to Libya” (Casper, 2015:1) and across the Mediterranean Sea into Europe, many of whom, as is the case with others, “get stranded [and] others die trying” (ibid.). Others use the Southern overland route to South Africa in which there are some “62,200 asylum applications” in 2015 of whom, Ethiopian nationals accounted for about 15% (or 9,300). “The Ethiopian Embassy in South Africa estimated that approximately 45,000 to 50,000 Ethiopians live in South Africa” (Adir and Sagar, 2016:51). This current Ethiopian migration has been mainly responsible for the rapid growth of the Ethiopian Diaspora worldwide including South Africa (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015: 1).

Engaging in the migratory process is neither always positive nor promising. The range of negative experiences intrinsic to both the migratory process and their destination include but are not limited to drowning at sea in the case of those who choose to cross the Mediterranean; being

beheaded as a consequence of their religious affiliation; arrest and deportation while in the migratory process; sexual and physical abuse in the case of the Middle East (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:19); the financial exploitation of Ethiopian women, especially by their employers; and exposure to a number of arbitrary and capricious actions by law enforcement personnel, all of which add up to a precarious existence (Debele, 2016:18).

Leaving one's country involves profound losses. Often one has to give up familiar food, native music, unquestioned social customs [and networks], and even one's language. The new country offers strange-tasting food, new songs, different political concerns, unfamiliar language, pale festivals, unknown heroes, psychically unearned history, and a visually unfamiliar landscape (Akhtar, 1999: 5).

Coupled with the hostility that migrants sometimes face, the entire process is daunting. Nothing more clearly demonstrates this than the deportation of 160,000 Ethiopians from Saudi Arabia between November 2013 and April 2014 (de Regt and Tafesse, 2015). In some cases, the problematic nature of the migratory journey is clearly manifested in the fact that most migrants arrive safely while others “never reach their final destination, instead serving time in various prisons and eventually are deported to...Ethiopia. In some extreme cases, the journey concludes permanently with the death of the traveller, according to various testimonies” (Horwood, 2009:8). This hazardous phenomenon is rather pronounced in the migratory process of Ethiopian migrants, including those that come to South Africa.

The three major reasons for the emergence of the Ethiopian Diaspora are: (a) professional opportunities that became available to Ethiopians overseas, a classical manifestation of what is called “brain drain”; (b) political instability and persecution; and (c) those who seek greener economic pastures under the banner of being refugees. Except for a few professionals and their families who came to South Africa under the first category, the vast majority of Ethiopians who entered the country did so illegally under the banner of being political refugees and as such, are a part of the worldwide Ethiopian Diaspora (Scott, 2014: 173).

Any Diaspora falls into one or more of the following categories: ‘Diaspora’ as a Social Form, ‘Diaspora’ as a type of consciousness and ‘Diaspora’ as a Mode of Cultural Production” (Vertovec, n.d.). Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg as a part of the Ethiopian Diaspora, fall into all three categories simultaneously. Hence, for the purpose of being consistent with the

generally used vocabulary, in the body of this thesis, the word “migrants” is used to describe members of the Ethiopian Diaspora in Johannesburg.

Around 2000 and prior to then, Ethiopians tended to use South Africa primarily as a temporary transit destination before travelling to other countries such as Canada, the USA, Australia, and continental Europe. Later, observing business opportunities in Johannesburg and other provincial cities and townships, Ethiopian migrants decided to settle in South Africa after around 2000 to utilize the better economic opportunities (Nuttall and Michael, 2000:434). Paradoxically, in coming to seek work in South Africa, many relatively unskilled Ethiopians find themselves able to earn more than the amount paid to qualified professionals in Ethiopia. This at least partially explains how and why many uneducated Ethiopians exercise their social capital network, firstly, to migrate to South Africa, and secondly, to find a suitable environment in which they may exercise their entrepreneurial talents (Adair, 2011). Their success in this regard is registered in the fact that a certain area of Johannesburg (in the Jeppe Street section) is referred to as “Little Ethiopia” (ibid.).

As a general rule, migration has its own built-in dynamic that affects communities over time. What transpires is that a household member is encouraged to migrate with the support of family and friends (Abire and Sagar, 2016: 64). This forms a part of “[t]he new economics of migration [which] highlights the role of families and households, under[lying] the importance of remittances” (Sagynbekova, 2016:11). The decision to migrate is not an individual one (ibid.), as is the case with Ethiopians. Moreover, one migrant’s manifest success encourages other households to support another member to do likewise. Therefore, from a sociological perspective, “international migration [is] ‘an inherently social process that is organized through networks forged from everyday interpersonal connections that characterize all human groups’” (ibid., p. 15). Consequently, such networks become self-perpetuating and expansive based on the experiences of those who were, in effect, trailblazers and, as the *loci* of earlier migrants, tend to attract subsequent ones (ibid., pp. 15-16). The end result is that this phenomenon has a positive multiplier effect that soon embraces an entire community (Akhtar, 1999: 33).

The social collage of Ethiopians who migrate is multi-dimensional. It consists of a number of largely the unemployed and underemployed; those with high-level entrepreneurial skills; some

with social adjustment problems within Ethiopian society; as well as religious and political refugees (webcahe.googleusercontent.com. 2011:1). Irrespective of the explanations they offer as to why they choose to migrate to South Africa, there is no mistaking the fact that they are all seeking a better life. Ethiopian migrants to South Africa come mainly from the Oromo, Gurage, Amhara, Sidama, and Wolita ethnic groups (Abire and Sagar, 2016:52). However, the most numerous among this population are those from the Hadiya and Kembata communities of Ethiopia from the South Nation Nationality and People Region (ibid.).

Although it is unclear as to just how the Hadiya and Kembata connection with South Africa was established, a speculative but plausible explanation is that one of the first ambassadors from Ethiopia to South Africa came from among the Kembata ethnic group. In turn, observing business opportunities in the country, he encouraged some people from his (Kembata) community to come to South Africa and make use of such opportunities. The subsequent business success of the Kembata people in South Africa soon filtered back both to other Kembata as well as spread among the Hadiya, their neighbouring community. However, the other explanation grew out of a study which maintained that

inhabitants of Addis Ababa have been the first ones to migrate to South Africa following the independence of the country from the Apartheid regime. In 1995, two youths named Erago from Kembata and Habtamu from Hadiya migrated to South Africa along with other youths from Addis Ababa. Shortly after their arrival in South Africa, they wrote letters and made phone calls to youths of their relatives that there is better access for job seekers in South Africa. Currently, these two individuals are millionaires, having mega shops in Pretoria and other cities of South Africa, and have been granted the documents of citizenship ([www. webcahe.googleusercontent.com](http://www.webcahe.googleusercontent.com), 2011).

The reason for the continuation of this phenomenon is that these two rural communities are densely populated and have limited agricultural resources. For these reasons, historically they were a part of Ethiopia's internal migration and worked as casual labourers. However, the current ethnic-based political system encourages people to remain in their own areas or discourages them from going to other areas in Ethiopia that are peopled by different ethnic groups (ibid.). Due to these factors, the Hadiya and Kembata see South Africa as the only viable option for a better life. This became a trend, especially for these two communities in Ethiopia.

Especially between these two ethnic groups, the orientation in the migratory direction begins early in their lives. For example, the study discovered that children express their dream of

migrating to South Africa “like children commonly dream to be a doctor, an engineer, and the like” (Abire and Sagar, 2016: 52). Particularly in the Hadiya and Kembata communities, the motivation to migrate is so overwhelming that negative reports and concrete evidence of the problematic nature of migration to South Africa are overlooked and at times, are out-rightly dismissed. However, they encounter various problems once in South Africa. As a result of this, they return to their religiosity, particularly the EOTC.

Given the pivotal role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) in Ethiopian society, Ethiopian migrants posited that its presence would play a key role in facilitating their adjustment as well as accommodating their religiosity. Consequently, this group of Ethiopians established the church in Johannesburg and requested the church hierarchy to send priests and relics to Johannesburg. Once the church was established, a partially unanticipated offshoot was its accommodating South Africans and others including those Rastafarians who had a longing for an EOTC home. This yearning was based on the church’s originality and its indigenous history in Africa which emerged from its existence on the continent since 34 A.D., and its multi-faceted *kerygma* or a call for the reaffirmation of faith (Yesehaq, 1989:13). This sense of collective African spiritual consciousness and ecclesiastical appeal is clearly spelled out in terms of intra and later, inter-continental identity and religious beliefs. Through this socio-political and religious history with its complex of identification and content, has had a widespread ring to it which is a testimony to Ethiopia’s long-standing and well recognized historical ties for Africans, continental and Diaspora (Comaroff, 1997:78-118). One of the EOTC’s unique characteristics is that it is a Judeo-Christian church with an African ethos and its traditions are substantially different from those of 19th century colonial Christian churches that were established largely by western missionaries, and its solemnity that is consistent with the internalized religious values that are familiar to them as well as to “provide social support in the time of need” (Schaefer 2014:223). Furthermore, the solace that emerges from this experience enhances their sense of belonging and fosters socialization (Eagleton, 2000:34-35) as Ethiopians which, in turn, enhances their sense of security. The foregoing is a cursory explanation as to why Ethiopians who came to South Africa and others were highly motivated to be adherents.

Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg use the Church to gain psycho-social relief from the stress of their daily live by engaging in and internalising the values that are implied in familiar religious

rituals. This is because the rituals with which they are familiar are “grounded in biblical history and deeply embedded in [their] social life” (Ross, 1993:12). Furthermore, rituals enhance the individual’s sense of belonging and her/his socialisation (Eagleton, 2000:34-35) which are key aspects of maintaining her/his identity as Ethiopians. Additionally, they also feel secure in the sense that the Church reinforces their collective security.

1.2. Research Problem and objectives of the Study

1.2.1. Objectives of the Study

This study is geared to exploring and understanding the emotional, social, cultural, and institutional variables that affect Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, their response, and the role played by the EOTC in facilitating their adjustment. The analytical approach to this undertaking is to examine the multi-dimensional characteristics of Ethiopian migrants, “their generally shared visions of meaning, value and preference” (Waters, 1994:13), as compared to the new society, and *vice versa*. As migrants, in their attempt to use their frame of reference as a means of survival and advancement, they also face a number of cultural, integrational, and institutional encounters in their new setting which, in turn, forces them to be culturally introspective (Kao, 2004:172). The challenges faced by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg in all likelihood, are cloaked in what has been called their “symbolic interaction” (Calhoun, et al., 2002:69) which is their interpretation of other people’s behaviour towards them as determined by their cultural reference.

In the case of migrants who are affiliated with Ethiopian Orthodox religiosity, one of the major issues is how their spirituality assists them in their coping with the vicissitudes and exigencies associated with the migratory process. Therefore, this study’s objectives are to:

- investigate the social adjustment problems faced by Ethiopian migrants in their efforts to establish a sustainable livelihood;
- identify the coping strategies used by Ethiopian migrants in addressing the challenges faced in Johannesburg;
- assess the challenges affecting Ethiopian migrants in their social integration and their everyday interaction with members of the host society;

- understand the reasons why Ethiopian migrants are facing the social adjustment challenges that they do;
- evaluate the social elements that foster their relationships in their daily dialectic (daily social interaction) of survival;
- discover the social modalities that may be applied to ameliorating the inevitable culture shock associated with migration and facilitate the migrants' accommodation in Johannesburg; and
- assess the response of the EOTC and those of other relevant organisations to the socio-economic and cultural challenges faced by the Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg in order to reduce the existing social distance and foster greater social integration, both vertically and horizontally, in order to avoid hostility between Ethiopian migrants and the host society.

1.2.2. Research Problem and Key Questions

Migration is a pronounced fact of life which finds people taking their culture with them wherever they go. Despite their utilization of migration networks to arrive at their destination, there are still many hardships associated with their journey as well as their adjustment at their destination. In the case of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, they came with their identity and culture to hone a survival strategy. Equally, they face numerous challenges, not only cultural differences but also the host society's socio-economic problems compounds their stressful situation. Their survival instincts force them to create viable but not necessarily comfortable ways to survive. Additionally, the EOTC remains their ever-present spiritual bulwark. Therefore, the major focus of this study is to investigate the social, economic, cultural and emotional, challenges faced by the Ethiopian migrant community in their survival in the City of Johannesburg and the role played by institutions and organisations such as the EOTC in their adjustment. This study also tries to find those common values which may serve as possible avenues that exist between the Ethiopian migrant community and the host society that may be helpful in reducing the challenges faced by Ethiopian migrants and fostering social integration in Johannesburg. Therefore, this study sought to answer the following main question and sub-questions:

1.2.3. Main Question

What are the socio-economic and cultural challenges that the Ethiopian migrant community faces in Johannesburg, their responses, and what role may the EOTC and other organizations play in their survival strategies?

1.2.4. Sub-Questions

- What are the social adjustment problems faced by the Ethiopian migrants in their efforts to establish a sustainable livelihood?
- What are the coping strategies used by the Ethiopian migrants to address the challenges that they face?
- How do these challenges affect their social integration and their day-to-day interaction with members of the host society?
- Why are Ethiopian migrants facing these challenges?
- What are the social elements that foster their relationships in their daily dialectic of survival?
- What are the relevant references that can ameliorate their culture shock and facilitate their accommodation in Johannesburg?
- How do the EOTC and other relevant organisations respond to the socio-economic and cultural challenges faced by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg?

1.3. Ethiopian Society and the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church (EOTC)

This empirical study is taking place at a time when Ethiopian society is experiencing a significant change in its social and institutional structure. This development has ushered in a period of instability which began to be manifested in 1974 with the end of the Solomonic Dynasty. Prior to then, Ethiopian society was relatively stable as the Church and the state combined to ensure a predictable pattern of rational social change and its consequences. With the anomic breakthrough (Ishiyama and Breuning, 2011:754) into the political system and its accompanying instability, the Mengistu Haile Mariam -led Derg (leftist military) regime was established. Various conflicting group interests emerged which led to civil war (Zewde, 2002: 256-268). Ultimately, the Derg was overthrown in 1991.

With the advent of a new democratic government, the independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia, the development of ethnic and language-based constitutionalism and constitution in order to accommodate Ethiopia's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural groups, Ethiopia's social fabric began to change. These legalistic provisions were largely responsible for triggering the ethnic "direct confrontation with each other" (Karbo, 2013: 43). This has resulted in the emergence of various conflicts and territorial disputes among different ethnic groups. The questionable legitimacy of the democratic elections that have been held since 1995 have contributed to the on-going but somewhat muted instability in Ethiopian society. Equally, the public policies that have been formulated are fuelling this internal balkanization and, consequently, have resulted in additional uncertainty. This situation fuels the ongoing migration.

Another of the developments that contributed to Ethiopia's instability was the separation between the EOTC and the state which was accompanied by the declaration of religious freedom for all (Lewis, 2013) that emanated from the new government. This policy promulgation by the democratic government brought a paradigm shift to Ethiopian society. The impact of this government's ascendancy and approach was that, within the EOTC, although the Church remained one and united, dual leadership emerged with one Synod in Ethiopia and another in North America. A significant but negative offshoot of this development is that the Church's membership in the Ethiopian Diaspora is also split along pro- and anti-Ethiopian current government lines. (*Details under the "Literature Review"*). These developments manifest itself among Ethiopians in the Diaspora as various ethnic groups become even more tightly bonded than was previously the case in Ethiopia or the Diaspora. Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg are immersed in these ethnic, religious, and other forms of balkanization.

A further development is that following the Church/state separation and the advocacy of religious freedom in Ethiopia, there were a number of unintended consequences. One such development was the emergence of a number of amorphous groups in the form of "associations" or (*mahbär*) under the name of the EOTC. Among them, one called Mahibere Kidusam (MK) has become very strong and has designed a structure that parallels that of the general EOTC. It has a worldwide membership and influence coupled with a strong financial base and capital that came from EOTC members (H. H. Abba Matthias I. 2016: 1-5). Although MK claims to be working in the EOTC's interest (*ibid.*), its behaviour is, at best, contradictory to the EOTC's

traditional norms and values. For instance, the anomic characteristic of this particular group or *mahbār* manifests itself in the persecution of those who refuse to be a part of it but especially scholars who have formally trained clergy, theologians, and their associates within the EOTC (ibid.). They see such people as threats to their survival. Therefore, they have exacerbated the instability within the EOTC and by extension, Ethiopian society including among the migrant population in Johannesburg which sometimes results in a confrontation between EOTC members who are pro and anti MK.

The above mentioned political splits (pro- and anti-government factions) and/or religious splits (pro-and anti-association factions) are periodically played out in fights and legal confrontation in Ethiopia as well as largely in the Diaspora including Johannesburg. The existence of these factions which is based on distrust as well as ideological differences is contrary to Ethiopian society's history and tradition. The major consequence is that Ethiopians have drifted from their traditional value system and have started confronting each other negatively including in the Church, a place of worship (www.youtube.com. n. 2014; www.youtube.com, n, 2013; www.youtube.com.n, 2016, and ecadforum, 2016).

Although Ethiopia has one of the fastest growing economies in the world and its poverty level has been reduced, this has not been substantial enough to prevent people from migrating. The instability mentioned above coupled with ethnic-based conflicts have resulted in the massive displacement of people internally and contributed to international migration. Currently, there are a number of ethnic group clashes in Ethiopia, among which is that between the Oromo and Somali which in September, 2017, claimed 18 lives and resulted in the displacement of 55,000 people (Yibeltal, 2017; Gardner, 2017), a figure that has now increased to more than 700,000 people as of December 2017 (International Oromo Lawyers Association, 2017). The deterioration in Ethiopia's socio-political order as a result of massive social unrest and anti-government demonstrations have resulted in the declaration of multiple "State of Emergencies", all geared to advancing the current government's longevity.

The socio-economic challenges that emerged from Ethiopia's current instability and the lack of government's adequate response have helped to trigger Ethiopians' internal and international

migration, including their coming to South Africa. This is the social phenomenon that shapes the context within which the study is taking place.

1.4. Motivation for the Study

A cursory observation of the Ethiopian community was that although it was generally successful, particularly in business, it was characterized by a type of uneasiness or success in the midst of challenges that are linked to stress, lack of trusting relationship in some instances, the existence of conflicting factions based on their unacceptable values, and marginalization. The normative qualities that enveloped their behaviour were in many cases, ill-defined if at all and as such, had an anomic quality. This phenomenon can be explained in a manner which is in sharp contrast with Ethiopian society from which the migrants came. In the latter, networks, roles, status, expectations, accepted codes of behaviour, sanctions, and social pressures, are clearly defined within the framework mostly of folkways and playing their roles within the context of expected norms.

Upon their arrival in South Africa, where they are faced with new cultural and social realities, Ethiopian migrants are forced to engage in *ad hoc* ways of behaving in a network system with which they are largely unfamiliar. The only exception to this contrived spontaneity is the Church which they brought along with them – and in most cases preceded them – on their migration. However, in some ways, even this institution had its problematic developments as it is failing to address effectively its members' various needs that emerge from their migration trauma. However, given the multiple schisms which currently exist among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, it is extremely difficult for Church leaders to understand a particular member's motives for coming to the Church under the guise of seeking spiritual assistance. The problematic nature of devising the correct approach needed to address a particular problem is an outgrowth of the desire of many members to use the Church for their own political and other agendas.

Over the millennia, the Church has honed its own canonical rules, regulations, and constitution that governed its operations. These regulatory activities serve the Church rather well in Ethiopian society. However, when Church personnel from Ethiopia come to Johannesburg and are expected to function within the context of the regulations with which they are familiar in Ethiopia, they

soon discover that the difference between the culture of South African society and that of the Ethiopian migrant community with its changing lifestyle confuses them. One of the main reasons for this is because the needs of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg coupled with their new lifestyle are with what exists in Ethiopia. In effect, the Church has not been prepared to contextualize itself within the framework of the new realities that Ethiopian migrants face in Johannesburg. This is a consequence of lack of relevant missiological and ecumenical training in order to be relevant to the context and “the signs of time” (Deneulin and Bano, 2009:138).

There are many pressing issues that Ethiopian migrants face, including their survival in Johannesburg. However, by relying largely on their cultural background, they have managed to devise an effective coping mechanism with a number of successfully functioning methods for their surviving. These methods, although successful, are more times than not, contradictory to local regulations. Operating under such circumstances is both risky and stressful. The foregoing were the major observations that propelled the researcher to conduct this study.

Insertion - Personal Statement

I am an Ethiopian who is temporarily based in South Africa. Enrolled in post-graduate studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, I am an ordained Deacon in the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church (EOTC) and a theologian. During the course of my postgraduate studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, I was serving the EOTC in capacities as a deacon, teacher, and as a member of the management body in Pietermaritzburg, Durban and Johannesburg. Having been brought up in the Church, I observed certain behavioural characteristics among Church members in Johannesburg which seemed incongruous to what usually takes place in this institution. Their behaviour lent itself to my hypothesizing that, due to their migrant status, their inclination towards the Church was stronger than it was to any other institution.

As migrants or refugees in Johannesburg, Ethiopians are away from the primary relationship that is usually provided by family members, relatives, and close friends. They see the Church as a surrogate for the close relationship that is absent in their lives. Consequently, the Church is their refuge and a major viable option for their coping and finding comfort solace in their lives. Despite the Church’s importance to them, partially the EOTC in Johannesburg lacks the

wherewithal to contextualize its role and fulfil the needs of both the Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society.

In the EOTC's tradition, the monastery, the parish Church, and the congregation are led by ordained clergymen. There is no system of a lay person providing spiritual leadership. Upon my arrival in Pietermaritzburg and it became known, through the Bishop, that I was an ordained deacon and teacher, I was approached by the Pietermaritzburg and the Durban EOTC congregations as well as by the Diocesan bishop from Johannesburg to assist in the capacity of a spiritual leader and teacher. I was later requested to become an integral part of the All African EOTC Diocese based in Johannesburg and later became the General Secretary of the Diocese. Exposure to and working in these positions provided me with the opportunities to function as a participant observer in the behaviour of the Ethiopian community as it relates to elements of their sacred and their secular lives.

While working through the EOTC and with the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg, my experience in Pietermaritzburg and Durban and the acuity associated with my observational techniques afforded me the opportunity make notation of what was unfolding pursuant to understanding better the dynamics and challenges associated with their lives. I was further motivated to better understanding the problems experienced by the Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and to gather data and analyse it regarding their challenges and survival strategies in their new environment. I was also motivated to find out more about the extent to which the EOTC had been supporting the Ethiopian Diaspora in South Africa, particularly in the City of Johannesburg.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Since the new dispensation of 1994, South Africa has been receiving large numbers of refugees mostly from other African countries including Ethiopians. They have been accepted and allowed to fend for themselves as oppose being put in refugee camps. This means that they live side-by-side with members of the host society, and enjoy the amenities that are readily available. Simultaneously, South Africa is suffering from a very high unemployment rate and attendant social problems (Menon, 2017). One of the consequences of this dynamic is that South Africans, largely, regard Africans from other countries as people who steal their jobs (Wilkinson, 2015)

and blame them for the existence of other socio-economic problems. This perception has contributed significantly to the periodic xenophobic outbreaks that have been experienced in South Africa since 2008. Ethiopians are among those victimised as a result of this perception despite the fact that they are largely known as entrepreneurs who create rather than steal jobs.

In addition to the above-mentioned challenges, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg encounter a number of social and cultural problems which expose them to other related issues that are constraints on their everyday life interactions. These expose them to unscrupulous individuals who take advantage of their vulnerability in multiple ways. One of the consequences of this development is that it limits their social integration and civic participation and forces them to exercise their primary relationship with their cultural and religious institution with which they are most familiar. To the extent that such an option is exercised, it, in turn, limits their social integration in the host society. In the Simmelian sense, the Ethiopian migrant has a

non-common element is once more nothing individual, but merely the strangeness of origin, which is or could be common to many strangers. For this reason,... [Ethiopians] are not really conceived as individuals, but as strangers of a particular type: the element of distance is no less general in regard to them than the element of nearness (Wolff, 1950:407).

The stereotypical perception (Pickering, 2001:24-25) of Ethiopians as *makwerekwere* (a derogatory word used by indigenous South Africans to describe foreigners) further compounds their problems. This designation adds to the stereotypical perception of migrants including Ethiopians and, in turn, also makes them victim of xenophobia.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study's scope is to examine the challenges and experiences faced by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg in their daily struggle for survival, their response, and the role of the EOTC's ministry. In conducting this study, there were several challenges. Firstly, most of the interviewees are business people. As such, although they wanted to be co-operative, their business interests, particularly that of satisfying their customers, trumped my interview appointment with them. A major consequence of this was that interviews were frequently interrupted and several trips had to be made to conclude interviews.

Secondly, because some Ethiopian business people engage in their activities informally, they are suspicious that information garnered from them will, somehow, reach the South African government and have an adverse effect on them with the South African Revenue Service.

Thirdly, some Ethiopian refugees who are against the Ethiopian government regard the researcher as spies on the government's behalf as they are lacking in understanding of the nature of social science research. This suspicious attitude is compounded by the fact that I am not a refugee and as such, have the freedom to travel to Ethiopia at will. However, this suspicion is ameliorated by the fact that I am of relatively high standing in the EOTC which, in turn, was an advantage. This is because the Church plays such a pivotal role in the lives of Ethiopians. Therefore, they knew and to a degree, trusted me. This contributed to my getting relevant and accurate data.

1.7. Multi-dimensional Context of the Study

This study is geared “to identify[ing] the effects of social context on individual-level outcomes. The idea that individuals are affected by and respond to their social surroundings” (Scott, 2014:496), is the essence of this study. The multi-dimensional factors which have a significant bearing on Ethiopians’ survival in Johannesburg include but are not exclusively their migration to South Africa; interactions with other Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians including members of the host society in their daily life; and working with public and private sector institutions with the norms, values, and structures that are culturally different, new, and perplexing to their worldview.

In examining Ethiopian migrants’ encounters and experiences in Johannesburg, one must be mindful that they hail from a society that is highly textured and which constitutes “a vast ecological area and historical arena in which kindred peoples have shared many traditions and interacted with one another for millennia” (Levine, 1974:26). The corollary to this phenomenon is that Ethiopians have a well-honed cultural prism through which they judge and evaluate other societies. South Africa is a heterogeneous society (www.gautengcc.co.za, n.d.) which has had diverse experiences with various immigrants including but not exclusively Whites, Indians from the sub-continent, Africans from other countries who provided labour for the mining industry, and Chinese (Buhle, 2015:18). The culture that has emerged in South Africa is a social collage of

these diverse groups and their normative patterns of relationships that have been welded into a holistic culture with identifiable subcultures. For South Africans, this cultural pluralism is effectively functional.

Ethiopians are coming from a unique socio-cultural background that makes them quite distinct historically, politically and religiously from other Africans. Their socio-economic world-view as well as their cultural prism with its built-in ethnocentrism (Wessels, 2017) has enveloped them and has culminated in their seeing other people in general but especially other Africans as being below their social station in life, more times than not, irrespective of other people's history. This is largely because Ethiopians have never been enslaved and/or colonized. Consequently, one of the fundamental results of this is that Ethiopians find it extremely difficult to understand in the short term, the nature of the diverse cultural traits that have been blended into what has been referred to as South African culture.

As a result of the foregoing, Ethiopians face various culture clashes and numerous challenges as the perception of them among members of the host society is that, in most cases, they regard themselves as being superior to other Black Africans. This social and mutual discomfort has contributed significantly to the lack of social integration and corresponding social distance between the two constituencies. By the term "social distance" in this regard we mean

the lack of availability and relational openness – of variable intensity – of a subject in regard to others perceived and acknowledged as different on the basis of their inclusion in a social category. It is the result of the dynamic interaction of factors situated on three different dimensions of space, themselves in a reciprocal co-production: physical, symbolic and geometrical (Bichi, 2008:489)

This social distance and cultural perspectives are further compounded by South Africa's long-running as well as current socio-economic problems. As a result of this, state of affairs, members of the indigenous society blame foreigners for a number of societal ills including the idea that foreigners are contributing to terrorism (Cruz, 2008), and to the reduction of the host society's cohesiveness (Castles and Miller, 2009:15). An outgrowth of this misperception is the excuse for xenophobic behaviour which has an adverse effect on foreigners including Ethiopian migrants.

This negatively charged social climate, has resulted in the prevalence of shysterism, anxiety on the part of members of the host society, official indifference (Horwood, 2009:106), especially

within the bureaucracy, as well as arbitrary and exploitative law enforcement practices (Crush, 2001:8), and xenophobia itself (Castles and Miller, 2009:156). The above are the consequences of the diversity that is integral to migration. This new set of phenomena is often viewed as a challenge to existing norms, rather than as having the potential to rationally reshape and enhance democracy (Fleming and Lovat, 2014:378). The latter phenomenon will result if disparate groups acknowledge diversity and work towards the development of a relationship between them, which results in the maintenance of in-groups and out-groups compatibility. This would emerge if both groups viewed each other “with indifference, sympathy, even admiration, as long as intergroup distinctiveness is maintained” (Brewer, 2002). In this regard, scholars have offered their hypotheses as to how commonality may be developed to foster social cohesion and societal stability.

Fleming and Lovat (2014) maintain that commonality could emerge “when [engagement and imagination] operate together and manifest in a personality that ‘is able to move beyond immediate self-interest, to conceptualize alternative social systems, think impartially about moral problems, counteract harmful instincts or behave altruistically in circumstances.’” Such a dialogue ought to be facilitated by a third party, be it governmental or non-governmental in order to bringing about the “reduction of conflict” and “achieving a common goal” (Brewer, 2002).

In spite of the above-mentioned challenges which pertain, Ethiopian migrants are able to cope and indeed excel in some instances in Johannesburg. This is accomplished by relying on their long-standing, highly structured and effective sacred and secular cultural institutions and their values that accompanied them to South Africa and are used in their day-to-day interaction and survival. Among some of the institutions that are functional in their everyday lives in Johannesburg are the EOTC, *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*. Among the cultural institutions on which Ethiopian migrants rely, these are the main vehicles that help them “to face their challenges collectively” (Menkir, 2013).

Despite their different internal workings and social valences, these cultural institutions mentioned above are a combination of mainly self-help as in the cases of *equb* and *iddir*. In the case of *mahbär*, it is primarily spiritual and is a part of the EOTC’s religious outreach among Ethiopians. All three cultural institutions, however, have got a sense of the philanthropic. These

institutional practices are also implemented in Johannesburg among Ethiopian migrants in order to “maintain a stable social whole” (Scott, 2014:264)), in this case, economic advancement and spiritual enrichment as “Ethiopian Orthodox Christians are known for their deep religiosity. Most people’s everyday lives are linked to Church life, and follow the rhythms of fasting, praying, and attending church, especially on the numerous festivals that rule the calendar” (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016:5).

Through her/his availability to participate as a member of *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, the individual contributes to the group and *vice versa*. One of the main consequences of participating in these is that a network of connectivity is established through which members reinforce each other’s economic interest and survival (in the case of *equb* and, *iddir*) and in the case of *mahbär*, strengthening their spirituality. All three institutions are characterized by a co-operative culture in order to “work together for common end” (Persell and Cookson, Jr., 1993:72-73).

So deeply entrenched in Ethiopia’s system of cultural values are *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* that no internal intra-ethnic group conflict negates their functioning. On a substantive level, it may be said with much certainty that ontologically, notwithstanding their differing internal workings, what characterizes one’s behaviour in all three self-help institutions is that in the act of giving, “one gives away what is in reality a part of what is one’s nature and substance, while to receive something is to receive a part of someone’s spiritual essence” (ibid., p. 10). The internal workings of each of these institutions and the dynamics of the individual’s relationship to the group through various networks which are a part of the Ethiopian migrants’ everyday life in Johannesburg are examined in this study.

Ethiopians migrants in Johannesburg are unable to penetrate the commanding heights of the South African economy. However, on the *micro* level of their day-to-day activities, they are able to use their cultural institutions such as *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* to accomplish their economic objectives. Generally speaking, members of Ethiopian society rely largely on these invaluable institutions for their everyday social and economic survival. These institutions fall under the category of the values that have encouraged the evolution of what Levine calls “adaptive radiation [which] makes the various populations more efficient in particular modes of life” (1974: 167) and are vital parts of the society. Levine elaborates on this point by maintaining that

the social capital that emerges from comparable networks manifests itself in what he called “holistic specialization” (1974:166). It is through this process that Ethiopians share their socio-economic skills with each other and foster what Levine would describe as “a particular habitat or ecological niche” (ibid., p. 167). Among Ethiopians, the traits associated with “holistic specialization” manifest themselves in their spirit of entrepreneurialism both at home and abroad including among those who migrated to Johannesburg.

Through their extended and extensive networks, these self-help home-grown cultural institutions have manifested their effectiveness, potential, and durability, based on mutual trust, reciprocity, and the emergence of a set of norms which, although they are unencoded, are, in many ways, more binding laws. This is because the subjective nature of expectations is inextricably interwoven into the individual’s social and spiritual life. All three self-help philanthropic and cultural institutions mentioned above, in Bourdieu’s words, are “made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital” (Claridge, 2004) which may be used “through a network of social relations” (Thieme, 2006:51) to generate benefits at a later stage (ibid.). This ontological perspective is that which dictates this qualitative study’s use of social capital as a theoretical framework and method of analysis. This is “to investigate an actor’s resources that originate from that actor’s relation to a specific social structure” (Weber, 2009: 107).

In conclusion, this chapter presented the general content of the circumstances relating to Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. The study’s background explained the various sources of instability in Ethiopia which contributed to migration. South Africa is one of the countries to which they migrate and in which they face various challenges due largely to changes in South Africa’s social climate as manifested in their everyday interactions. Furthermore, the cultural traits which help Ethiopian migrants to survive in Johannesburg are explained in addition to the motivation, significance, objective, research problems as well as research questions.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

[Literature review] combines search for information with critical assessment, whereby appropriate resources are sought, digressing from one source to another and the findings subject to critical evaluation, before moving to the next step. [I]t... seeks to describe, summarize, evaluate, clarify and/or integrate the content of primary reports (Sarantakos, 1994: 151).

The literature review presented in this chapter assesses the phenomenon of both old and new histories of migration, together with their distinctive characteristics and current dynamics. The scope of global and regional migration, with a particular emphasis on Ethiopians who migrate to South Africa, is stated in this chapter. A brief history of South Africa and Ethiopia, as well as of the EOTC, is presented. However, Ethiopian history and that of the EOTC are elaborated in some detail. This is because the study's focus and analysis use this background extensively in order to understand the phenomenon clearly and present its findings accurately. In addition, this chapter explores the migrants' culture with special emphasis on religious identity, and the relationship between migration and religion.

2.1. Migration: A Brief Historical Perspective

The Rift Valley in East Africa is scientifically well established as one of the sites where *homo erectus* evolved approximately 1,500,000 years ago. However, it was not until the evolution of *homo sapiens* in the same general area about 200,000 years ago that migration throughout the rest of the world began (Koser, 2007:1). As a case in point, one of the great migrations of the first millennium occurred prior to and following the fall of the Roman Empire. This involved the westward movement of nomadic tribes from Eastern Europe and central Asia, which often caused further migrations by the people who had been living in the lands they invaded. Some experts believe that this mass movement of population was triggered by drought and the rise of the Chinese Empire (Popenoe et al., 1998: 403). This migration has continued to this day.

Human migration denotes any movement by human beings from one locality to another, often over long distances or in large groups. Humans are known to have migrated extensively throughout prehistory and human history. The movement of populations in modern times has continued under the form of both voluntary migration within one's region, country, or beyond and involuntary migration (which includes trafficking in human beings and ethnic cleansing (Kaufmann, 2009).

Whether intra-country or international, this movement has embraced the agricultural revolution, the emergence of towns and cities, the development and expansion of China's Empire, Western slavery, the Industrial Revolution (Harzig and Hoerder, 2009: viii-xii; Popenoe et al., 1998: 403), the meteoric rise of capitalism, colonialism, various nationalist movements, and the current march of globalisation. While domestic migration refers to the movement within a particular nation-state, international migration involves movement from one nation-state or territory to another. Many factors, both positive and negative, influence people's decision to migrate. They may do so in order: to escape current or possible future persecution based on race, religion, nationality, and/or membership of a particular social group or for their political opinion; to escape conflict or violence; find refuge after being displaced due to environmental factors; seek superior health care; escape poverty; offer more opportunities to children; family reunification; for educational purposes; for jobs and business opportunities; marriage; and, just 'cus (Nuñez, 2014:1).

In addition to the economic, social, political, and environmental pushing factors, there are also a number of pulling factors that play a role in migration. These include "employment [opportunities]; more wealth; better service; good climate; safer, less crime; political stability; more fertile land; and lower risks from natural hazards" (www.bbc.co.uk, n.d.; Popenoe et al., 1998: 405).

One can argue that migration has been responsible for "the global spread of the human race... [and is] one illustration of this human characteristic" (Martikainen, 2013:1). It is based both on necessity and on religiosity. Necessity refers to the physical nature of migration, while religiosity refers to the sacred cosmos that accompanies migrants. This means that when people change countries, their migration is not merely physical but that they move with their culture, religious identities, and so on.

The movement from the country of origin to a host country can be perceived as a paradoxical situation. While the new country can offer migrants paths toward economic advancement and liberation, it also simultaneously opens windows to new forms of oppression or, at least, marginalisation (Pickering, 2001:205; Cruz, 2008:6). The current status of Ethiopians in South Africa and the various challenges they face is a case in point.

The migration phenomenon in Africa can be best understood if examined in three phases, namely the pre-colonial, the colonial, and the post-colonial eras. During the pre-colonial era, there was a generalized movement of people who, more times than not, were oblivious to borders if any existed. The colonial period witnessed the inducement of labour from various countries geared to meeting demands in a number of regions (French West Africa, for instance) and countries (particularly South Africa) (Adepoju, 1998:9). However, in the post-colonial period, workers have been induced to move both intra-nationally, internationally, and intercontinentally in response to the labour needs of corporations which have become transnational in nature (ibid.).

Although Ethiopia has never been colonized and, therefore, has not been a part of this historical pattern, in the last third of the 20th century, socio-political changes pushed much of its population into the international and inter-continental migratory flow. This was due to multiple problems at home beginning around 1974 with the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie I, which brought an end to the Solomonic dynasty.

2.2. The Changing Face of Migration

The changing face of migration has witnessed a number of developments that have exacerbated some old phenomena and also given rise to new ones. The former include the old arguments of brain drain from South to North; people moving in order to improve their socio-economic status; and the search for advanced educational/professional training. Sometimes migrants become pockets of relatively cheap labour for industrial and commercial enterprises, and migration is then usually championed by such interests.

The old migration was largely a controlled undertaking, through which specific groups of people were allowed into a particular country in a rational manner and for specific purposes. For example, the case of farm workers entering the United States from various Caribbean countries, based on their skills and country of origin (www.history.state.gov, n.d.); general European, but especially Irish and Italian, migrants to the same country (Glynn, 2011:1); North African migrants to France, and West Indian migrants to England (Peach, 1991).

However, the new migration has been triggered by wars, political and social instability, environmental degradation, and, in at least one case, it is the result of Syrian public policy

(Balanche, 2016:1). In the case of the African continent, one sees South to North and South to South migration in the current flow of people (Banulescu-Bogdan and Fratzke 2015:1). The end result of this latter development is that mass migration has triggered a great fear of new cultural traits. People fear that the influx of migrants will change many countries' political landscapes, while the fear of terrorism has grown since the bombing of the World Trade Centre in September of 2001 (Held, 2015:1). Since then, several other terrorist attacks, particularly in many European countries, have resulted in the fear militant Islamic terrorism becoming even more pronounced.

Migration has therefore increasingly become "a volatile and contentious political issue" (Groody, 2009:639) to the point where it played a critical if not a decisive role in Britain's exit from the European Union in 2016. Much of the fear of migration has to do with cultural and religious differences and identity, "making the migration debate convoluted and confused" (ibid.). Additional issues such as "national security, human insecurity, sovereign rights and human rights, civil law and natural law" (ibid.), are all interwoven in the debate, which is enveloped in an "unfruitful, polemical discourse [that does not reach] the core issues" (ibid.).

In South Africa's case, migrant workers from other African countries had previously been transient workers in the country (Pampallis, 1991:18). The South African economy was elastic until the turn of the century and consequently needed considerable unskilled labour, particularly in the mining industry. Since the economy has shrunk (Saul and Bond, 2014:177), the vast number of unskilled workers are no longer needed. With a shrinking economy and correspondingly high unemployment, the socio-economic problems of the working class have become pronounced. As a result, foreigners who have come into South Africa are stereotypically blamed for its economic problems and, in turn, have become the victims of xenophobic attacks.

Despite these problems, the constant flow of people, particularly across international borders, accounts for Fleming and Lovat's claim that, given the phenomenon of globalization with its diverse uncertainties, migration is the new norm in international life (2014:378). In 2014, almost 200 million people, or one out of every 35 people around the world (or 2.8% of its population), lived away from their homelands. This was roughly equivalent to the population of Brazil, the fifth most populous country on earth (Groody, 2009:1; Koser, 2007:4). In 2013, this figure was revised to indicate that more than "220 million of the world's 6.7 billion people [or 3.28%] are

living outside of their country of birth” (Steiner et al., 2013: 4). In 2015, this figure reached 244 million (United Nations, 2015:1). These figures clearly support Fleming and Lovat’s account that migration is the “new norm in international life”.

With this number of people on the move, largely due to both conflict and economic deprivation, it follows that their movement can also create conflict (Weiner, 1995:137). This is being witnessed with a large number of refugees who make their way to various European countries under horrendous conditions and sometimes with tragic consequences.

Although migration is not always permanent, it was often the case that men migrated with the intention of sending money home and returning after they had been successful. However, women are increasingly joining the migratory fold for the very same reason. This is due to “increasing levels of poverty and unemployment”, coupled with political instability that has resulted in both male and female migrants moving to other countries in search of greener economic pastures. In addition, they hope to find a more peaceful context in which to forge better economic prospects for their children (Palmary et al., 2010:165). Among African women, Ethiopians constitute the largest constituency who migrate (Leon-Garcia, 2014:1). They mainly go to Middle Eastern countries, especially, Saudi Arabia, in search of employment as they seek a better economic future. This trend among Ethiopian women is consistent with the changing demographics of migration. They also migrate elsewhere, including South Africa, for the same reasons as men.

2.3. Global Migration

Ernst Revenstein’s ‘The Law of Migration’ (Sagynbekova, 2016:9; Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:28) is generally recognised as the pioneering work on migration. Written in 1885, his basic argument is that migration is a function of economic interests and seeks to fulfil them (Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:28). Migration is so diverse and multi-faceted that “there is no comprehensive theory” (Sagynbekova, 2016:10) geared to explaining it. Consequently, one finds a range of inter-disciplinary explanations. The reason for this academic/intellectual dilemma is because the “classification [of migration] includes the following approaches: economic, demographic, migration, sociological, political, systemic, geographical, ecological, historical, ethnographic, psychological, biological, genetic, philosophical, juridical, typological, and methodological” (ibid., p. 9).

For instance

the migration phenomenon in Africa can be better understood within the context of political and historical evolution of African societies. The effects of colonization and decolonization on the economy and indirectly on migration are most visible when examined in the context of the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial era. In the pro-colonial era, population movements in Africa were associated largely with the prevailing socio-political and ecological conditions, especially internecine warfare, natural disasters and the search for farm land or colonization. The movements were, as a result, unstructured, occurred in groups, and the migrants were demographically undifferentiated (Adepoju, 1998:9).

Despite this somewhat daunting task of devising a “comprehensive theory”, useful contributions have been made by several scholars, including Everett Lee and Michael Piore, as Mavroudi and Nagel (2016) note. Lee “identified four main sets of factors determining the shape and volume of these flows: factors associated with area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors” (Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:29). Conversely, Piore, “emphasised fundamental and persistent inequalities in the labour markets of industrialized societies, [in a] neo-Marxist account [which] offered a more global perspective, tying migration flows to uneven power relations in the global capitalist economy” (ibid., p. 31). However, the diversity and complexity of current migration flow (Sagynbekova, 2016:10), especially when viewed through the prism of the crises of the first and second decades of the 21st century that have propelled the current waves, defy the neat arguments of Mavroudi and Nagel. Migration, however, transcends ideological analyses and is clothed in a set of much more pragmatic undertakings.

Consider this. Whenever economic conditions deteriorate in a particular country or region, what usually follows is substantial out-migration or a desire to do so as is the case with “Sierra Leone’s population aged 15 and more (52%), 47% of Liberia’s population and 46% of Democratic Republic of Congo want to move elsewhere” (Poisson, 2016). This situation is reversed whenever the economy in the country from which people emigrated improves enough to encourage their return. Although the experiences of Italy and Greece are notable in this regard, one must also be mindful of Ireland’s experiences at the turn of the 21st century (Minns, 2005:1). The same phenomenon pertains for Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, Upper Volta and Mali where immigration or emigration is a function of economic conditions (Adepoju, 1998:9). One of the most pronounced characteristics of migration in this regard is the movement of better educated Africans to Europe and the less educate ones to other African countries (Berriane and de Haas,

2012:170-171). In all likelihood, this pattern will continue (Gonzalez-Garcia and Mlachila, 2016).

For example, in 2013 that worldwide migration was estimated to be 232 million, or 3.2 percent of the world's population (Leal and Rodriguez, 2016:1). Two years later, this figure increased to "244 million international migrants worldwide ('or 3.3 percent of the world's population, lived outside their country of origin') (United Nations Population Fund, 2015:1). [Of this 244 million people] 104 million (43 percent) were born in Asia. Europe was the birthplace of the second largest number (62 million or 25 percent), followed by Latin America and the Caribbean (37 million or 15 percent) and Africa (34 million or 14 percent)" (Menozzi and Hoby, 2016:5). Significant dislocations in the global social order in 2015 have triggered an unprecedented movement of people not seen since WW II. There is evidence that, despite the prospect of large number of deportations, the United States has seen what has been called a "fourth 'great wave'" of legal migration, which has seen "approximately one million individuals receive legal status every year, not including nearly 40 million temporary visitors" (ibid., p. 2). The consequence of this massive movement is that some 65.3 million people have been displaced worldwide. Among this group are 5.2 million asylum seekers, 201,400 refugees, and 107,100 people who were resettled. In addition, there were "unaccompanied or separated children in 78 countries; mainly Afghans, Eritreans, Syrians, and Somalis lodged some 98,400 asylum applications in 2015. This was the highest number on record since UNHCR started collecting such data in 2006" (UNHCR, 2015:3). Along with many Middle Eastern countries, Africa is also having a significant impact on international migration, particularly to Europe.

The international flow of individuals also includes those billions of people who move intra and inter-continently "as visitors, business people, tourists, exchange students, and the like – [in a world] that is increasingly on the move...[and one] in which different places are bound together by dense networks of commercial activity" (Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:22). When the "tens of millions of trucks, rail containers, buses, and personal vehicles [that] cross US land borders with Mexico and Canada" (ibid.), together with those that cross other international borders worldwide, are added to this list, the number of people and goods constantly on the move is staggering.

Undocumented people who move internationally are referred to by a number of names, including “émigrés”, “asylum seekers”, “illegal immigrants”, “undocumented immigrants”, and “unauthorized immigrants” (Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:21). These adjectives are usually loaded with pejorative implications, many of which have racial overtones. In order to counter such negativity, it has been argued that the more neutral word “mobility” should rather be used to describe this population as it “is an attractive one that brings together multiple forms of human movement and circulation within a single analytical framework” (ibid.). The movement of such people, irrespective of the classification by which they are identified, was initially accommodated under the umbrella of multiculturalism, with its inbuilt tone of tolerance (ibid., pp. 147, 175 and 194). However, this spirit of accommodation has now been replaced by the identification of migration with what has been called “securitisation, a term that hints at paranoia towards external ‘threats’” (ibid., p. 148). In turn, such a mental attitude has resulted in a “distinction [being drawn] between ‘wanted’ and ‘unwanted’ migrants” (ibid., p. 147). This ubiquitous international movement is matched only by its domestic counterpart.

For every 10 people seeking refuge from civil conflict across borders, there are 26 displaced persons within their own countries. For every Chinese-born person living outside of China’s borders in 2010, there were 18 living and working outside their province of birth. Internal and international movements are often linked to each other, rather than being distinct phenomena. For example, individuals and families may undertake multiple internal migrations before crossing an international border. Conversely, international migrations typically take place in circumstances marked by significant internal mobility (Mavroudi and Nagel, 2016:22). As this example indicates, “migration obviously has social and cultural impact” (Oliver, 2011:1). Nevertheless, the migratory movement persists.

2.4. Regional Migration

The dynamics of regional migration as they relate to the African continent are largely consistent with those that trigger global migration. Migration has been a fact of life for millennia in Africa. An example of intra-Africa migration is the current phenomenon which manifests itself in what is called “transnationalism” (Maphosa, 2012:346) and is a metaphor which endorses the finding “that about 86 per cent of international migration [takes place] within Africa” Flahaux and De

Haas, 2016:2-3). It has been estimated that in 2014, “close to three million people – displaced by conflict and persecution – were refugees on the African continent” (Landau and Achiune, 2015:1). Such refugees tend to remain in a particular location for a sustained period (Fauvelle-Aymar, 2015:13). Migration in search of routes out of poverty, and for a host of other reasons, occurs on an even larger scale. This movement will only increase as economic and institutional disintegration continues, both regionally and globally.

The major difference between the two types of migration is that South Africa is the country of choice for migrants in particular, due to its economic strength, relative tolerance, and democratic institutions. It is here more than in any other African country that migrants find it possible to carve an economic and professional niche in the society’s fabric. With regard to the African continent, the South to South migration has been summarised as follows:

Only three percent of the world migrates, and around 1.9 percent of Africa’s population engages in international migration. This is not surprising, however, as it is well documented in migration studies that the “poorest of the poor” do not migrate, and Sub-Sahara Africa is the poorest region in the world. Migration flows from Sub-Sahara Africa are thus occurring within a context of extreme poverty, conflict, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic, all of which impact migration dynamics (Adepoju 2008 in Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:4).

According to Terrazas (2007:1), the area comprising the East African states of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan (otherwise known as the Horn of Africa), can be described as the “hottest conflict zone in the world” although this designation seems to have been replaced by several North African and Middle Eastern countries. As a result, “the Horn of Africa” has become one of the epicenters of international migration (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). In 2015 Djibouti became one of the major transit points for migrants from “the Horn of Africa” to the Arabian countries (www.regionalmms.org, 2016:1), while Ethiopia and Sudan fulfill a similar function for migrants on their way to Europe (Anshebo, 2015:1). “While exact numbers vary, Eritreans make up one of the largest groups of migrants crossing the Mediterranean, coming second in number only to Syrians. Somalis are third” (ibid.). Largely as a consequence of internal conflicts, West and Central Africa provide large numbers of migrants who head for other African countries and/or for Europe.

About 8.4 million migrants, representing 2.8 percent of the total population, move around West Africa (UN DESA, 2009). This is the largest total migrant stock in Africa, and it moves internally, intra-regionally, continentally and internationally. West Africa also concentrates the highest

number of intraregional migrants and, to a lesser extent, migrants moving towards Northern Africa and Europe (IOM Migration Initiatives, 2015: 74).

According to this line of argument, inequality between the developed and the developing world will continue to propel migration. Consequently, with international migration growing faster than the rate of population growth (UN Department of Public Information, 2015:1), the motivation for such international migration will continue paralleling the inequality on which it is based. Stated differently, “national policies in population and development catering to the needs of the individual are... critical to reducing migratory potential” (Castles and Miller, 2009:155). In this regard, “long-term initiatives designed to provide jobs, land, rural development, access to credit and means of livelihood for the poor are crucial policy tools” (Massey and Taylor, 2004:73). The urgency of this matter was articulated in a speech by the president of Nigeria (Muhammadu Buhari) at the AU summit in June 2015 at Sandton, South Africa (vanguardngr.com, 2015).

Ethiopia is the greatest source of migrants within the Horn of Africa. According to Jeffrey (2016), more than 2 million Ethiopians live outside Ethiopia. The majority of Ethiopian migrants cite economic reasons (particularly the difficulty of earning a livelihood) as the main driving force for their migration. The second most powerful motivation for migration is insecurity. For example, a high proportion of ethnic Oromos gave the fear of political oppression or persecution as their central reason for leaving Ethiopia (RMMS, 2013:33); Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:21). This migratory phenomenon is not culturally motivated as Ethiopians do not make a conscious effort to establish institutions in their final destination. Rather, as with other migrants, their institutions accompany them wherever they go (Kristiansen and Rise, 2013:614). Whether due to the fear of political persecution in the case of the Oromos, or the need for economic survival cited by many Ethiopians, Ethiopians have been at the forefront of this migratory phenomenon.

Until the early 1990s, more migrants originated from Ethiopia than elsewhere on the African continent (Barangaber 1999 in Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:4). Using this development as a point of reference, one study showed that the number of Ethiopian refugees increased from 55,000 in 1972 to over a million in 1992, out of Ethiopia’s then total population of 84, 734,300 (RMMS, 2013, and Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009). By 2016, Ethiopia’s population was

estimated to be 99.4 million (www.worldbank.org, 2017; World population review, 2016) and it had a Diaspora that was estimated to be “around two million” (Carter and Rohwerder, 2016:12).

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has recently suggested that there is a culture of migration in Ethiopia in which families expect their children to go abroad and provide remittances to assist them at home (RMMS, 2013). This expectation of assistance involves engaging in a hazardous trip at the hands of multiple people smugglers who various television reports show to be devoid of mercy. Ethiopia is also, to a lesser extent, a country through which migrants travel to other destinations (RMMS, 2013). There are three routes migrants use to move from Ethiopia to other parts of the world. Firstly, there is the “Eastern route” to Djibouti, across the Red Sea to Yemen, and into the Gulf States, particularly Saudi Arabia. Secondly, there is the Northern route through Sudan, into Libya, and across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe (RMMS, 2014: 26). Thirdly, there is also the “Southern route” to Kenya, and further south to South Africa (RMMS, 2013), which is “among the top 15 desired destinations in the world...and reflects [its] greater economic opportunities and political freedoms” (Besharov and Lopez, 2016:34). The third route has assumed a rather different level of importance. Instead of being a transitory one, it has become a one of permanent residence. Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of Ethiopian migrants currently living in Johannesburg, its attractiveness is, in large measure, a consequence of its being viewed as “the city of gold” (Onuh, 2016; www.ewn.co.za, 2016).

As South Africa’s economic hub, Johannesburg is the city of choice for many migrants, including Ethiopians. In comparison to the rest of South Africa, migrants report lower levels of xenophobia, which has contributed to the romanticised image of Johannesburg. However, most immigrants have had to adopt a number of strategies in order to survive including

adopt South African languages, ways of dressing, bribe the police and some engage in friendships, relationships and marriages with locals. Migrants also engage in self-employment, crime and church activities. The study however reveals that migrants mainly use their ethnic and religious networks, which largely promotes bonding rather than bridging social capital. Such social capital may not really help them to be integrated into the local South African community (Hungwe, 2013:52).

2.5. A Brief History of Johannesburg

Johannesburg is one the five municipalities in the Gauteng Province. It is South Africa’s major urban area and its economic capital which grew by leaps and bounds on the back of the mining

industry. However, Johannesburg has now the reputation of being the world's most income-unequal city (Saul and Bond, 2014:5). Despite this dubious reputation, since 1994 South Africa has opened its doors to everyone, and especially to Africans from other countries, who were previously excluded by the Nationalist government that favoured White immigration. The response has been predictable. Many Africans, including Ethiopians, with entrepreneurial skills, have migrated to the Johannesburg area. They have found or created niches in the economy and have managed to become quite successful in their business undertakings. In contrast to indigenous South Africans who were prohibited from developing such skills, they have become the new small shop owners, specializing particularly in clothing and food. In Marxist terminology, they now constitute the new *petit bourgeoisie*. This was facilitated by changes in the South African immigration policy.

Beginning with the post-apartheid era of 1994, South Africa joined a number of international organizations and became signatory to various international agreements that obligate it to accept refugees and asylum seekers. In terms of memberships, South Africa joined the Organization for the African Union (OAU) in 1995 and the United Nations in 1996. The agreements that it entered into include: (a) "the UN Refugee Conventions signed in 1995 and 1996, respectively" (Ghebreyohannes, 2014: 32); and (b) The United Nations High Commission for Refugees. In addition, its 1996 Constitution obligates it to accept refugees and asylum seekers and to provide them with equal rights to those of South African citizens, including that of obtaining refugee IDs, travel rights, the right to seek employment, and access to health care and education.

This open-door policy also attracted migrants "from Eastern Europe, the Far East...and poor regions of the European Union (EU)" (ibid.). While Whites enjoyed such privileges under the apartheid regime, Blacks were excluded from them (www.american.edu, 2011). However, since 1996, and coupled with a booming South African economy that accounted for "over a third of [sub-Saharan's] GDP" (IMF, 2006:15), Black Africans from such countries such as "Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Malawi" (Crush, 2015:2), among others, have been attracted to South Africa. Most of those who came to South Africa pretended to be asylum seekers but were really economic refugees (ibid.).

One of the outgrowths of the new dispensation was that Ethiopians were among the first groups of Africans to migrate to South Africa. Following a period of initial euphoria over meeting Africans from other countries, this climate of openness and warm welcome soon degenerated into suspicion and open hostility as the social distance between South African nationals and foreigners, including Ethiopians, increased.

2.6. A Brief History of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church (EOTC)

The available evidence indicates that Cush (Ethiopia), or “the land of the Blacks”, was mentioned in the Bible (Genesis 2:13 in Marks, 2012: 18). Named after Noah’s eldest grandson, the son of Ham (Hess, 1970: xvii), Cush (sometimes spelled Kush) was the world’s first civilization. It existed from approximately 9000 B.C. (Levine, 1974:27) to 6000 B.C. (Taneter.org, n.d.) and covered all of East Central Africa, including such countries as modern day “Sudan, [South Sudan], Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, the Central African Republic, Chad” (Lipsky, 1962:5), and stretched across the Indian Ocean “as far as India” (EOTC, 2005: 77). This information further supports the argument that the name Ethiopia covered the land mass “from the East, across the sands and the scrub of Somalia, its frontiers are the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean” (Ješman, 1963:10). According to Levine, “Ethiopia is taken to mean all of Black Africa, the Nubia of Napata and Meroe, the Abyssinia of Aksum, or the latter Christian kingdom of Nubia” (1974:4).

Ethiopia’s geographic designation has shifted over time. In this regard, consider the following:

For the early Greek writers, Ethiopia was less a geographical location than a state of mind. For Greeks and Romans generally, Ethiopians meant dark-skinned peoples who lived south of Egypt. At times the reference was so vague as to include peoples from West Africa, Arabia, and India. At times it was more localized, referring to the Nubian kingdom of Kush, with its capital first at Napata and later at Meroe. What was constant was that the name Ethiopian denoted a person of dark color literally, of burnt face—of that it connoted, above all else, remoteness... [However], it was probably in the fourth or fifth century that Hebraic and Hellenic allusions to Ethiopia began to be associated with the region now called Ethiopia whose chief political center was then at Aksum (Levine, 1974:1-2).

The current land-locked country of Ethiopia is a far cry from the one mentioned in ancient times. One explanation is that: “The word Ethiopia is derived from a Greek word which means black and became the name given [to] the people who [occupied that area. Their designation is as a result of] the Colour complexion (beauty) of the people” (EOTC, 2005:77). Another maintains

that “Ethiopia [is] a word of obscure origin. The ancient Greeks called all areas inhabited by dark-skinned peoples Aithiopia; [meaning] ‘Land of the Burnt Face,’ after the legend that Phoebus’ golden chariot passed too close to the tropics and thereby left the people of the Torrid Zone permanently sun-tanned” (Hess, 1970: xvii). A third explanation maintains that the name Ethiopia is “etymologically derived from Ethiops, an alleged descendant of Noah’s son Ham” (ibid.). The name Ethiopia or Cush was later used to describe the geographical areas outlined above.

It must be noted, however, that the name “Cush” or “Kush” has three meanings. These are, namely, “it refers to one of the sons of Ham who was known by the name Cush;...Cushites or the people of Cush; the third one is the name given to the Black people who lived in the area which is South of Egypt” (EOTC, 2005:78). One can reasonably argue that that in 1000 BC when King David said: “Ethiopia stretches out her hands to God” (Psalms 68:31 in Marks, 2012: 1023), he was referring to the land and the people, and acknowledging their religiosity. It has been argued that “in ancient times, the name Ethiopia was used by Old Testament writers to symbolize the unlimited extent of God’s sovereignty...[and]...to celebrate the transference of the [A]rk of the Lord from the temporary resting-place to the new tabernacle which David had prepared for it on Mount Zion (cf 2 Samuel 6:12-15)” (Pretorius, 1993:1).

Ethiopia has also been called *Abyssinia*, which is a derivative of the pejorative word *Abesha* or *Habesha* that means “mixed blood” in Arabic (Minda, 2004:120). This was as a result of Arabs co-habiting with Ethiopians, a tradition that is thousands of years old (Williams 1987: 11, 74 and 253). Ethiopia’s illustrious history is further recorded in the *Kabre Nagest* (The Glory of the Kings) (Ullendorff, 1967: 74, Persoon, 2005:310).

According to this work, the fame and the wisdom of King Solomon, King David’s son, spread to the land of Ethiopia. This, in turn, resulted in: (a) the Queen of Sheba’s famous visit to Solomon when she adopted his religion and bore him a son, Menelik I; (b) the Ark of the Covenant and the scrolls of the Books of the Old Testament coming to Ethiopia with Menelik I, and ending up at Aksum, Ethiopia’s ancient capital or the New Zion (ibid.); and (c) the establishment of the importance of the “Solomonic line of kings in Ethiopia” and the Ethiopians worshipping the God of Israel (Miguel F. books, 1996; www.eotc.faithweb, n.d.).

These developments explain how the Solomonic Dynasty, the worshipping of the God of Abraham, and Jewish cultural traditions permeated Ethiopian society and gave birth to the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewehado Church (EOTC). Likewise, the use of the term “Judeo-Christian” to refer to the EOTC emanated from these developments. In addition to the more than 43 times Ethiopia is mentioned in the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments attest that Ethiopia is the first African nation to have adhered to the Jewish religion (from 900 B.C). The same was true of the Christian religion from its inception in the Apostolic Era as it was first brought to Ethiopia by an Ethiopian eunuch in 34 A.D. He had been baptized by the Apostle Philip, and then introduced this faith to his own country (Acts 8:26-40) (Tefaye, 2016: 268-269).

According to Yesehaq, the Ethiopian Orthodox Archbishop of New York, “the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) is an indigenous and integral church of Africa. It is one of the oldest churches in the world, if not the oldest, and one of the found[ing] members of the World Council of Churches and has branches in other parts of the world” (1989: xxi).

The EOTC is one of the six Oriental Orthodox Churches, the others being the Coptic, Syrian, Indian (Malankara), Armenian, and Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Churches (Tefaye, 2013: 281). They are called the non-Chalcedonian churches as they do not accept the Council of Chalcedon 451 A.D., which decreed that Christ has two distinct natures, the Divine and the Human (ibid.). They believe that Christ has only one nature, which is both Divine and Human, that this union was achieved in the Womb of the Virgin, and that these natures are inseparable and indivisible. Christ is completely Divine and completely Human at all times and in all actions, being fully God and fully Human at the same time (Melaku, 2008: 12-13).

According to Gerima et al. (2008: xxi), the EOTC has more than 50 million members, 50, 000 churches and monasteries, and about 500, 000 clergymen, mainly located in Ethiopia. It has been the dominant church in Ethiopia since the fourth century and is also the largest Oriental Orthodox Church in the world. In the realm of global social and ecumenical participation, the EOTC is also a founding member of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and of the All African Conference of Churches (AACC). Membership in these two organizations enhances the EOTC’s pastoral care and missiological responsibilities for the wellbeing of humanity. Therefore, in the context of South Africa, the EOTC is understandably a pivotal and most vital

institution that plays an indispensable and multi-layered role in assisting migrants to cope with their stressful life.

A number of factors combined to contribute to the Cush's demise. These included the trusting nature of Blacks and their thirst for religion, together with the Arab invasion of the northern part of Africa in the seventh century (Vianna, 1975:8), accompanied by the Islamic religion. In addition, the trans-continental slave trade expanded rapidly, with some Blacks participating in it, both willingly and unwillingly. Cush existed only in sentiment by this time, but Ethiopia still represented the land of Cush although it was reduced in size. Paralleling this development was the movement of Blacks farther and farther into interior of the African continent in order to evade those seeking to dominate them (Woodward, 1996:11-14).

Simmering unrest under the monarchical system in Ethiopia culminated in the 1974 overthrow of the 3000 year old Solomonic Dynasty headed by Emperor Haile Selassie. He was soon assassinated by the military, which "established a socialist rule known as the '*Derg*' (committee). The *Derg* established totalitarian rule where civil liberties were limited" (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:5).

This development ushered in a period of unprecedented instability in Ethiopian society on the back of which, war ensued between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1976 after the latter occupied the Ogaden territory of eastern Ethiopia (Dougherty, 1982: viii). Complementing this unrest, was the establishment of an anti-Mengistu and anti-*Derg* coalition, which consisted of the Oromo Liberation Movement (OLM) and the Tigre Liberation Front (TLF), together with the Eritrean Liberation Movement (ELM) (Legum and Lee, 1979: 27-32), which continued their struggle. Although they had different and sometimes conflicting agendas, this anti- Mengistu coalition succeeded in overthrowing the Mengistu-led *Derg* in 1991 (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015: 5). The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDP), a coalition of different ethnic groups, overthrew the *Derg* regime, announced its intentions to institute democratic reforms, and established a transitional government. In 1993 Eritrea separated from Ethiopia, Ethiopia's Constitution was established a year later, and the country held its first elections in 1995 (Lyons, 1996).

During the third general elections in 2005, the Tigre-led government was successfully challenged by many opposition groups, the foremost of which was the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) (Nega, 2010:1). This resulted in the People's Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDP) or ruling party's defeat by the CUD in Addis Ababa the capital city, and in some other places. The government was willing to surrender Addis Ababa's administration to the opposition (CUD), but the latter refused this offer and demanded that other cities in which the CUD claimed to have won the election also be turned over to it. The CUD, therefore, refused to join parliament, and the people of Addis Ababa and other provincial cities demonstrated their support for the CUD through protest action, claiming that their vote should be respected. The government's response to this protest resulted in some injuries and deaths, and ultimately in the persecution of the government's opponents. The government accused opposition leaders of fermenting unrest and many opposition leaders, particularly CUD associates, were consequently arrested, tried, and sentenced (McRae, 2007:1). They were later pardoned and released.

These developments culminated in many opposition leaders fleeing the country. Some of them established an anti-government organization called the *Ginbot7 Movement for Freedom Justice and Democracy*, or the Political Movement for Military Confrontation (ginbot7.org, n.d.). Their leaders orchestrate the overthrow of the government from foreign soil. With the subsequent and further instability, and massive human rights violations taking place in the country, a virtual state of internecine warfare has existed. Its accompanying instability has triggered even more out-migration. In addition, this internecine struggle has succeeded in pitting one ethnic group and region against another. In large measure, this is a consequence of Ethiopia's constitutionalism, which resulted in a constitution that enforces ethnic sovereignty and rights. In the final analysis, group rights are sometimes protected, while individual rights are not. Given its historical and pivotal role in Ethiopian society, the EOTC has been indirectly immersed in and affected by these developments (Engedayehu, 2014:123).

The shattering of the relative stability that was linked to the Solomonic Dynasty was shattered by Haile Selassie's overthrow in 1974. The ensuing instability has been largely responsible for the out-migration of Ethiopians and the expansion of the Ethiopian Diaspora internationally including South Africa. The EOTC is also a victim of this instability. Historically, the dovetailing of church and state resulted in a textured, predictable, and complementary relationship.

Although Ethiopia's new democracy has embraced the exercise of diverse religious rights and expressions, the historic relationship between the EOTC and the state, with its ideological intertwining, has resulted in the commanding heights of Ethiopia's civil society being characterized by compatibility. This is why Wondmagegnehu and Motovu maintain that "the state and the church are two faces of the same book. This book is Ethiopia" (1970: 113). The dual assassination of Patriarch Theophilos and Haile Selassie in 1974 (*ibid.*, p. 115), and the elimination of the steadfast leadership that they jointly represented exacerbated instability in Ethiopia. It is therefore understandable that the destruction of this long-standing joint leadership in Ethiopian society shattered both the leadership style and substance. A similar political drama was acted out in the EOTC's leadership.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church (EOTC) has gone through a turbulent period during the last three and a half decades, especially since the overthrow of the *Derg* regime in 1991. The current regime took over the reins of power from a Marxist military junta that had toppled the government of the late Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and killed the emperor and the EOTC Patriarch Theophilos. Within the context of the Orthodox faith, the most dramatic outcome of this tumultuous period has been the official split of the EOTC Patriarchate into two Holy Synods—one exiled in North America, and the other in Ethiopia. This unheralded turn of events occurred immediately after the 1991 seizure of government by a coalition of rebel movements known as the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Engedayehu, 2014:115).

The end of the *Derg*-led government saw the departure of Patriarch Merkorios, who was rejected by the new government on the grounds that he was a Mingustu supporter. The unwillingness of the new government (the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front) to work with him as head of the EOTC resulted in the development of a climate of mutual distrust. As a result of his rejection by this government, Merkorios thought it prudent to leave Ethiopia by way of Kenya and to move to the United States (Prunier and Ficquet, 2015). This was a precursor to the establishment of a synod in North America consisting of a number of bishops who had left Ethiopia for a variety of reasons and settled in North America and elsewhere. Together with many others in the church, they claimed that, on the basis of the church's canon laws, Patriarch Merkorios was the legitimate head of the church and could be replaced only by death.

In the interim, the new government pressured the Synod to elect a new Patriarch in Ethiopia. This took place and led to the emergence of the EOTC's two Synods. As a result, the church membership outside of Ethiopia was also split so that there is a split in the Diaspora between those who support the Ethiopian Synod and those who support the North American Synod. Understandably, this schism also affects the unity of the Ethiopian community in the Diaspora, including in Johannesburg. As is the case elsewhere outside of Ethiopia, the two Synods of the EOTC have their affiliated churches and their respective congregations in Johannesburg. Among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, those who are anti the current Ethiopian government, have membership affiliation and attend services in the Church which is affiliated with the EOTC North American Synod. Those migrants who are pro the current Ethiopian government are affiliated with and attend services in the Church which is a part of the EOTC Ethiopian-based Synod. This is the case outside Ethiopia. However, in Ethiopia, there is only one Synod and no North American Synod affiliated church.

To summarise, the world-wide Ethiopian Diaspora emerged in four stages:

The flow of migrants from Ethiopia led to the emergence of the Ethiopian Diaspora around the world. Abye 2004 (in Lyons, 2007) identifies four stages of the growth of the Ethiopian Diaspora. The first occurred before 1974 and was comprised primarily of elites. The second wave occurred from 1974-1982, when people fled the Derg's Red Terror. The third wave occurred from 1982 to 1991 and was largely comprised of family reunification to the west. The fourth wave occurred post-1991 as people fled ethnic violence and political repression. In this section, the Ethiopian Diaspora will be described along with their involvement in their home country (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:20).

These and other drastic and rapid changes in Ethiopian society indicate pronounced elements of anomic behaviour in that Ethiopians saw themselves as politically and socially rudderless. Many groups emerged with conflicting motives and intentions. They advocated movement in one direction or the other, in contrast to what they were accustomed to and had been largely satisfied with. The link to poverty, unemployment, underemployment, the violation of human rights, and ultimately a new regime, resulted in a state of uncertainty. This is precisely what contributed to the anomic behaviour discussed above. In the absence of a civic culture with its predictable political and religious patterns of guidance, and coupled with the need to improve their economic lot, Ethiopians resorted to a patchwork of alternative behaviour patterns. One such pattern was internal and international migration.

Ethiopia's population was estimated to be 99.4 million in 2016, which is second to Nigeria's (www.worldbank.org, 2017; World population review, 2016). Eighty-five percent of its people are engaged in subsistence farming and survival is extremely difficult. When combined with their low level of education, the absence of technology, soil that has largely been depleted by erosion, the increasingly unpredictable and sporadic rainfall, their low level of agricultural production becomes unsustainable. A combination of these factors has contributed to Ethiopians migrating elsewhere. In this regard, the largest number of people who migrate to South Africa are the Hadiya and the Kembata, who hail from one of the most densely populated areas of Ethiopia in which there is great scarcity of land (Abire and Sagar, 2016:57). Contemporary migration is largely undertaken in order to avoid political persecution and to find security, together with the need to avoid the effects of environmental degradation and to ensure economic survival.

Paralleling this residence of choice, Ethiopian migrants carry with them both the need for economic advancement and their own religiosity, the EOTC. The former is dictated by livelihood needs, while the latter is triggered by the need for religious fulfillment and the psychic reinforcement that they get from practicing their religion. Consequently, migrants take their religiosity with them as a contributing factor in their social adjustment and commonality. To them, "travel [is] foremost a journey of the mind, including an imaginary connection with many sacred centers that has a significant impact on notions of religious belonging over distance, collective identity with those elsewhere, and ritual practice that is both universal and localized" (Vertovec, 2000: 9). The preceding background is vital for the study's discussion and analysis in Chapters 5 and 6.

2.7. Culture and Religious Identity

According to Bate (2002), the word 'culture' has multiple meanings and is used in many dissimilar ways by different groups of people. It is "the symbolic and material elements of human society that make up a way of life. These are not biological but are transmitted and shared through social interaction" (Burton, 2015:118). Nevertheless, it is a people's fingerprint which leaves an indelible and distinguishing set of characteristics as demonstrated by their behaviour patterns, values, interests, likes and dislikes that make them unique one from another. As such, the elements of that culture is functional for their purposes and as significant to them as someone

else's culture is to that individual, quite independently of the idea that a particular culture is created by God (Cobb, 2005:41).

By the use of the word “functional”, is meant that each culture has its set of “beliefs, values, rituals, and traditions, styles of dress, language and so on” (Burton, 2015:120). In the same vein, Cobb maintains that “Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (2005:43). Culture's profundity in human existence is best expressed by Eagleton who maintained that it is “the whole way of life of a people, from birth to the grave, from morning to night and even in sleep” (2000:112-113).

Because each society has its own culture which embraces its needs and human needs are basically the same, it follows that each culture has traits that fulfill their needs and may be used in “building a bridge to establish a measure of shared understanding” (Burton, 2015:120). Such an undertaking must be cognizant of the fact that the discipline of sociology is moving away from the study of institutions to the study of such phenomena “as performance, discourse, code and narrative” (ibid., p. 126). This “cultural turn” (ibid.) in the discipline of sociology makes its study no less complex than has always been the case. A cursory sociological examination of African cultures makes this point.

The generally accepted idea in scientific and non-scientific circles alike that Africa is the cradle of civilization and the continent from which mankind began to populate the earth between 60,000 and 120,000 years ago (Zimmermann, 2017). The continent's 54 countries are peopled by thousands of ethnic groups that are called “tribes” (ibid.), all of whom have correspondingly, different cultures through which “we [may] seek to grasp, consolidate, and transmit a coherent order of values that we perceive to be transcendent and therefore worthy of pursuit” (Cobb, 2005:44).

In contrast to other areas of the African continent, Ethiopian culture has not been strongly influenced by European-centred colonial rule over the past three to four centuries. As a result, Ethiopia has not developed a serious identity crisis. This singularity also means that Ethiopian culture differs in many aspects from other African cultures. For example, Ethiopians use the Julian calendar, as opposed to South Africans who use the Gregorian calendar, and Ethiopia also

has its own indigenous language with its original alphabet, numbering system, and religious practices. Likewise, its dietary habits are different, as is its manner of dressing, particularly among the Ethiopian Orthodox clergy and members. With regard to social relationships, Ethiopian women are extremely conservative, in contrast to the outgoing behaviour of most South African women. These traits highlight cultural differences among Ethiopian migrants which endorse the idea that: “the power of religion in shaping an individual’s identity ...is an issue of family, culture, ethnicity, and nationality” (Nzayabino, 2010: 52). It is this relationship between culture and identity that constitutes the basis for people knowing who they are, how they should live, and what they want from life. Therefore,

[i]f culture is how we behave as a member of a group, then the word ‘identity’ relates to how we think about ourselves as people, how we think about other people around us, and how we think others think of us. Thus, ‘Identity’ means, being able to ‘fix’ or ‘figure out’ who we are as people. Therefore, culture and identity are frequently linked, but they should not be seen as exactly the same. While our culture often establishes our sense of identity or even identities, sociologists usually separate the two concepts, with ‘culture’ representing the ‘macro’ pattern – the big picture’ and ‘identity’ representing the smaller, more ‘micro’ meaning we have as individuals (Kidd, 2002:7)

From the foregoing, we may accurately infer that religion is an intrinsic element of culture and as such, it helps to shape one’s identity (Oppong, 2013:10). Although the relationship between religion and identity may vary over time and is a function of age which, counterintuitively, finds more young people being religious than older ones, religion seems to have been more significant in earlier times than is the case today (ibid.). This point of view has been contradicted by a counter-argument that at least, in many Latin American societies, there has been a “rechristianization from above” (Le Bot, 1999:170) which has seen a great many people “turn towards evangelical churches” (ibid., p. 173). Despite this seeming contradiction, the argument has also been advanced that older people are more religious than younger ones (White, 2016:1). It is apparent from the foregoing that irrespective of the variables mentioned with respect to people’s religiosity, their religion is a vital aspect of their identity.

From a Durkheimian perspective, religion helps to reconcile people to the hardships and inequities of their society (Popenoe et al., 1998:325). In this sense, religion is “a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life” (Frazer, 2009:50). In the case of migrants and that religion also

provides migrants with “the spiritual resources to cope with the psychological effects of migration” (Cruz, 2008:4). It is for this reason, among others, that Eliot (1962:31) argues that “we have to face the [fundamental] idea that what is part of our culture is also a part of our lived religion”. The theological argument which explains the rationale for the importance of religion is relevant at this juncture.

With regard to Ethiopian society, both its history and its historiography attest to the evolution of its people’s religiosity which is based on a genesis that is approximately 11,000 years old or since “the Late Stone Age” (Levine, 1974:27). Over this period, Ethiopians have mastered the delicate art of accommodating various cultural traits and incorporating them into their own genre “to such an extent that...the literal sense of the original is completely lost” (ibid. p. 65-67) as it is absorbed into the Ethiopian culture to the point where the trait becomes uniquely Ethiopian. Arguably, no other institution in Ethiopian society manifests this quality of absorption more pronouncedly than the manner in which the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church has evolved and the impact that it has had on Ethiopian society.

Prior to the migration of the Solomonic dynasty and the Abrahamic faith to Ethiopia, the Ethiopian society was monotheistic in its religiosity (ibid., p. 47). This development has resulted in religion and state affairs becoming intertwined and maintained their textured relationship over the millennia and resulted in speaking about one entity automatically reflected on the other. This dovetailing morphed into the existence of a strong church/state relationship from which emerged a set of strong norms, values, and networks that became highly functional in the society’s dialectic. The EOTC is a home-grown religious institution that has its roots in the society as is an inextricable part of it. The Church has developed its own idiom (ibid., p. 66) which is an amalgam of traditional religious beliefs and practices, Judaism, and Christianity. It neither proselytizes nor does it advertise. Rather, people are drawn to the Church on the basis of its history, example and precepts, and its reputation and the piety of a great many of its devotees. The preceding constitutes the sacred envelope that encloses the individual and her/his identity which “defines the person in all social settings whether we see and hear the identity or not” (Ammerman, 2007:140).

2.8. Migration and Religion

The Old Testament tells us of Abraham's migration from Haran to Canaan, where God promised a better future to him and his descendants (Genesis chapter 12 in Marks, 2012: 37). Subsequently, "the Lord spoke to Moses and unto Aaron and gave them a command for the children of Israel and for Pharaoh king of Egypt, to send forth the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt" (Exodus 6:13 in Marks, 2012:122).

The story line in the books of Exodus, Leviticus through to Numbers, reflects the encounter of God with 'the children of Israel' rescued from bondage in the hands of Egyptians and migrating with them through the desert to 'the promised land' of their fore-fathers (Genesis 15: 13-16, 46: 3-4), a migrant God journeying with his people (Buhle, 2015:86).

The book of Exodus describes how the Israelites moved from Egypt to the Promised Land as a result of God's intervention that liberated them from oppression. In the New Testament, we read of the Holy Family moving to Egypt in order to protect the baby Jesus from Herod Antipas, the son of Herod the Great (www.biblehub.com, n.d.). This migratory phenomenon continued through the Middle Ages into the present.

Theology takes the discourse to a deeper level. "The Judeo-Christian tradition," as the U.S. Catholic bishops have noted, "is steeped in images of migration," from the migration of Adam and Eve out of the garden of Eden (Gen 3:23-24), to the vision of the New Jerusalem in the final pages of the New Testament (Rev 21:1-4) (Groody, 2009: 644).

This is the reasoning behind the argument that when people migrate, they take their religion along with them. This fact endorses the truism that: "*When the people move, the church moves*", as an assertion that the church is not the temple built in local communities but it is a lived religious experience embodied by people who belong together through a family or a community called church" (Buhle, 2015:iv). This argument complements the idea that

Migration is not only a social reality with profound implications but also a way of thinking about God and what it means to be human in the world, which can become an important impetus in the ministry of reconciliation and a compelling force in understanding and responding to migrants and refugees (Groody, 2009: 642).

Therefore, religion's functionality is to be found in people's reliance on it as they face various problems in their lives. In the religious context, Levitt confirms this by saying that: "religious institutions differ from other immigrant institutions in that they see themselves as embodying

universal and timeless truths. [These truths] provide members with a moral compass and orient them to act upon these values in particular settings in particular ways” (2003:865).

As a general rule, religion facilitates socialization and values acquisition as well as provides “a space for social capital for migrants because they get to participate in celebrations, create networks which can assist new migrants to deal with the pressure of being a migrant” (ibid.). From a conventional standpoint, although religion can be an incorporating mechanism for new migrants, this is a function of its missionary obligation as an aspect of its social outreach (Marlowe, 2016:14). However, this is not the case in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church. It is the migrants who take the initiative to establish their Church by forming a congregation wherever they migrate.

Adherents of the Ethiopian Orthodox Faith who came to South Africa were highly motivated to establish a similar church in Johannesburg as they regarded such a church as a vital aspect of their identity and because it filled a spiritual vacuum that no other church could (Salamone 2004:189). What is unique about the presence of the EOTC in Johannesburg is that it was initiated by the immigrants themselves who acquired physical space for church building. More importantly, the kerygma which propelled them to found a church building also dictated their summoning the EOTC hierarchy in Ethiopia to dispatch priests to relay the necessary message that would fulfill the community’s spiritual needs.

The sociological explanation of the link between Ethiopians and their religiosity is offered by Salamone who posited that: “religion is by nature ‘highly resistant to change’. As churches pass their traditions from generation to generation, ‘rituals, ceremonies, and religious texts represent a tie to the past, a connection to a transcendent history” (Seibel and Nel, 2010). The foregoing is reaffirmation in the argument that: “The inability to culturally integrate into a refugee church is likely to cause refugees who are strongly culturally oriented to look for another refugee church [in this case, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church] to culturally accommodate them” (Nzayabino, 2010: 54).

There are numerous studies have been done regarding migrants and their adjustment in Johannesburg. For example, such is the case with Rwanda (Justin 2008); Eritrea (Araia, 2005); the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Nzayabino, 2005); Mozambique (Machava, 2005); and

Somalia (Niyigena, 2013). Other case studies have been conducted on the Ethiopian community in the United States and the United Kingdom (Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009:20; Gebrehiwot et al., 2004; and Heldman, 2006). However, no comparable study has been done on the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg. Therefore, there is a particular gap in recording details of the Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, regarding their socio-economic challenges and their coping.

In conclusion, the literature review mentioned above covered both the positive and negative elements relating to migration internationally as well as regionally. The chapter examined the cultural values including their religiosity which accompanied migrants in their journey with a particular emphasis on Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. In the course of literature assessment, it was discovered that there are voluminous studies that have been done in the field of migration internationally, regionally, as well as in Johannesburg. However, there was a gap in the literature regarding Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg that this study attempts to fill.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents social capital as the study's theoretical framework. It includes the three dimensions of social capital, bonding, bridging, and linking. Due to the unpredictable circumstances that are associated with illegal migration, the on-going usage of linear social capital is presented as a combination of the above-mentioned three dimensions of social capital in this chapter. The positive and negative characteristics of social capital, potential sources of this social construct such as religion, and the values of social capital in social integration and social cohesion are explored in this chapter.

3.1. The Concept of Social Capital

Migration is associated with isolation, usually, the absence of friends and relatives, and no one with whom to have a primary relationship. The resulting social distance that isolates the migrant from members of the host society, an alienation which results in their devising their own survival mechanism. Among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, ample use is made of their norms, values, and networks in their daily struggle to make a living. This results in a pattern whereby the migrant group spontaneously develops a system of self-reliance. The emergence of such a relationship carries with it "obligations and expectations" (Kao, 2004:1) which are the essence of social capital. This explains the reason for the study's use of social capital as a theoretical framework.

The concept of social capital is used to explain the relationships that manifest themselves in networks, norms, and shared values (Field, 2008: 34). Additionally, there are guidelines that govern people's behaviour, and intangible but real mutuality of expectations that is generally referred to as trust which is inextricably bound to and identified with anticipated reciprocation (Herreros, 2004: 16). In this sense, "social capital can grow out of almost any everyday human interaction" (Bevir, 2009) through which the individual may advance herself/himself proportionately to the extensiveness of the social network that encompasses.

Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert D. Putnam are three of the foremost scholars who have contributed significantly to a general understanding of social capital. According to

Bourdieu, social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (1986:248). Coleman maintains that social capital “consists of some aspect of social structure, and facilitates certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors within the structure” (Tzanakis, 2013:4). By contrast, Putnam contends that social capital has “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit” (1993: 35-36) between and among disparate groups. Although all three definitions have in common the role of individuals in their participatory activities, it is the different manners in which they function that indicate the sociological foundation upon which their arguments are premised.

Bourdieu has a utilitarian concept of social capital. In his view, both economic capital and cultural capital, are significant; the one may not be replaced by the other, although economic capital has primacy over cultural capital. For Bourdieu, “the social world is accumulated history” (Bourdieu, 1986) which requires sustained social input in order to create what has been called “credit worthiness” (Thieme, 2006:50), which is a socially bankable resource. In this sense, Bourdieu “reform[ed] Marx’s concept of capital, where the term ‘capital’ is expanded to include both material and non-material phenomena” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004: 16). Therefore, for Bourdieu, social capital is based on belongingness to a family, class, or ethnic group...caste or clan. This facilitates common action among like-minded people and “enable[s] people to cooperate with one another—and not just with people they know directly – for mutual advantage” (Field, 2008:14).

James Coleman’s definition of social capital has a Parsonian ring to it in that it “is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspects of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure” (ibid., p. 29). Coleman equates social capital with human capital and, by so doing, posits that the interaction that takes place between and among individuals produces a network of mutual dependency. In addition, his idea of cooperation for “mutual advantage” is most relevant (Field, 2008:14) in that it may entail co-operation which, at times, may include strangers. Despite the differences in the premise of their arguments, the structural definition of social capital as maintained by both Bourdieu and Coleman is that it is “a

range of resources available to individuals thanks to their participation in social networks” (Herrerros, 2004:6). With Robert Putnam, the concept of social capital has a different but related composition.

For Robert Putnam, the cornerstones of social capital are voluntary associations which are the foundations for social action and the stability that emanates therefrom. Putnam states this matter as a central feature of his presentation (1995:67). For him, networks, norms, and trust are key and indispensable aspects of social capital, as was pointed out in his study of Italy. Putnam further indicates that where widespread and diverse participation in civic activities are pronounced, social capital is established and translates itself into a range of policy formulation and successful execution, which, in the case of Northern Italy, contributed significantly to economic prosperity.

Based on the above-mentioned definitions of social capital, Dasgupta and Serageldin eclectically defined social capital “as trust, the willingness and capacity to cooperate and coordinate, the habit of contributing to a common effort even if no one is watching—all these patterns of behaviour, and others, have a payoff in terms of aggregate productivity” (2000:7), as well as social stability. The expansiveness and extensiveness of such stability transcend locality, kinship groups, clans, ethnicity, “tribes”, and regions in a network of overlapping associations which result in an individual having membership in several groups, all of which tend to restrain each other by way of their structures and functions.

Reflecting on Bourdieu’s definition with its utilitarian characteristics, one is strongly of the opinion that recent immigration patterns do not have the characteristics of “institutionalized relations” (Herrerros, 2004:6) although they do feature some elements of Putnam’s idea of trust forming the basis of cooperation for common benefit. Nevertheless, Dasgupta and Serageldin’s (2000) idea of aggregate productivity and Mclean et al.’s (2002:204) idea of pursuing “shared objectives” are useful. All these scholars make a most salient contribution by pointing to the idea of strangers cooperating under the “condition of impersonality and anonymity” (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011:181). These are the essential elements to be found in the utilization of social capital as it applies especially to the phenomenon of temporary migration.

All the definitions of social capital mentioned above provide a clear understanding of this concept. However, Bourdieu's definition of social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources... [that foster] mutual acquaintance or recognition" (1986:248) is best suited for analyzing the Ethiopian migrant community everyday dynamics of social, cultural, institutional and emotional adjustment in Johannesburg. This is despite the fact that Nan Lin's definition of social capital, namely: "*investment in social relations with expected returns*" (1999), is the most succinct. This is because the value system of the cultural structure of *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, are used through networks by Ethiopian migrants as institutionalized resources that facilitate their survival and advancement in Johannesburg. The practices associated with these institutions and the social integration that is identified with them lend credence to the Durkheimian notion that "people's norms, beliefs, and values make up a collective consciousness, or a shared way of understanding and behaving in the world." (www.boundless.com, 2016). The social structures allow the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg to work together to promote solidarity and stability in the family, in the community, and through the EOTC as a religious organization parallels the structural-functional perspective in the Parsonian sense (Maynard, 1989:26) and allow these structures to be productive.

In this regard, "productive social capital generates understanding, compassion, trust and an inclusive concept of community" (Wilson, 1997:746), that is "embedded in a complex web (or network) of interrelationships with other actors" (Brass and Krackhardt, 1999:180). Such a relationship contributes to anchoring the concept of social capital and provides it with practicality (Lin, 1999:48) in the particular community's interest (Kwon, et al., 2013:980; and Wilson, 1997:746). It is through this type of relationship that, in turn, the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg realizes its "aggregate...potential" in the Bourdieu sense of the term. Ethiopian migrants rely on their institutional value system of *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, to hone their daily survival and economic advancement in Johannesburg. These practices are endemic to the cultural values that they brought with them as aspects of their values system that fosters their survival which is as durable in the secular sense as their religion is in the sacred sense. Such behaviour is consistent with what Bourdieu has postulated. In this undertaking, the characteristics of bonding, bridging and linking social capital analysis is relevant to this study.

The researcher chooses to call this indispensable co-operation mobile social capital, and labels the overlapping elements of social capital that pertain as “linear social capital”. This is because its “weak ties, often denounced as generative of alienation are here seen as indispensable to individuals integration into communities” (Granovetter, 1973:1378) for their survival, transient and amorphous though the community or group may be. Therefore, the researcher’s idea regarding all of these definitions of social capital needs to be revisited as they relate to the recent phenomenon of the migration of Ethiopians to South Africa. This is because migration may, at least partially, take place as a consequence of those who have previously migrated, setting a precedent for those who may follow through durably established networks.

Almost invariably, such networks consist of strangers whose commonality of interests motivates their activities on the basis of trust. In this regard, Stolle examines the relationship between trust and social capital when she argues that “[a]ttitudes of generalized trust extend beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction and incorporate people who are not personally known” (2002:397). This argument is buttressed by the observation that:

All the sources of social capital in Potes’ typology are predicated on the existence of closure networks in bounded communities whose members share a strong sense of belonging and obligation, usually based on an identifiable underpinning of solidarity such as religion, ethnicity, region, kinship, immigrant status, or political affiliation (Torche and Valenzuela, 2011:185)



Source: <http://www.globoforce.com/gfblog/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Slide1.jpg>

Figure 2: Diagrammatic Presentation of Social Capital

Irrespective of the differences in definitions, there are at least three characteristics of social capital that have been pinpointed in the literature, i.e., (a) bonding; (b) bridging (Bacishoga et al., 2016; Harper and Kelly, 2003); and (c) linking social capital (Harper and Kelly, 2003:3).

3.1.1. Bonding Social Capital

One of the chief aspects of this element of social capital is that it is characterized by an intense primary relationship among its members (Panth, 2010:1; www.oecd.org, n.d., p.103). It is a behaviour pattern that is almost the exclusive purview of the relationship among family members, close relatives, friends, religious, and other social groups (Claridge, 2013:1). Understandably, therefore, it is at this level of social capital that trust and reciprocity are most pronounced. Bonding social capital may also contribute to ethnocentrism or cultural pluralism (Gale, 2008:1). The former manifests itself in cultural inbreeding in which the individual begins to think that she/he and what she/he represents is superior to other societies' cultural traits. Cultural pluralism is a behaviour in which an individual judges another culture on the basis of her/his own. Conversely, cultural relativism is seeing the other person's culture as just as functional as her/his culture.

Bonding social capital is positive in the sense that it helps individuals within a group to develop close working relationships, which sometimes degenerate into asocial, if not criminal, behaviour. In this sense, bonding social capital is negative in that it restricts the individual's opportunity and inclination to go beyond the network of associates and to reach out for more, and probably better, opportunities elsewhere (Thieme, 2006:53). Exercising the latter option would be a manifestation of bridging social capital, while getting by as an element of bonding social capital is, at best, a mere hand to mouth existence (*ibid.*). Conversely, getting ahead, as would be the case with bridging social capital, has the potential of improving one's socio-economic status. Nevertheless, bonding social capital is accompanied by a high degree of "thick trust", as oppose to a more generalized "thin trust". These are characteristics of cognitive social capital that are intangible (Lancee, 2008:4).

3.1.2. Bridging Social Capital

In this relationship, there are thinner social ties, which may have weaker treads of working relationship and/or social-psychological connection between and among the individuals involved. These “weak ties...are loose connections between individuals coming from different cultural, ethnic and occupational backgrounds” (Bacishoga et al., 2016:4). The reason for this is that the relationship is temporary and in all likelihood is aimed at accomplishing a specific objective or even a number of objectives. However, although the idea of its temporary functionality is useful, the intensity of the natural dependence on key individuals in the migration process, and the inter-changeability with which it is used lends credence to its linear or mobile characteristics.

3.1.3. Linking Social Capital

Of the three types of social capital mentioned above, the one that accommodates the lowest level of relational intensity is linking social capital. The reason for the social distance between the individual and linking social capital, and the institutions through which it is manifested, is simply that this type of social capital is associated more with institutions than is the case with either bonding or bridging social capital.

By their very nature, institutions tend to be characterized by a pattern of behaviour that is highly structured, disciplined, somewhat restrictive, routinized, and rational and legal, in the Weberian sense of the word (www.boundless, n.d.). These characteristics tend to render institutions behaviourally predictable but equally impersonal. In the case of the Ethiopian migrants, because of the complexity of the intertwining and the ever-changing and unpredictable social structures with which their lives are inextricably bound, and the exigencies that are inherent in the journey from their home country to South Africa, they are immersed in a web of uncertainty.

Because of the necessary spontaneous adjustments involved and the intensity of the relationships inherent in them, this researcher has chosen to use the term linear social capital or mobile social capital to define this relationship among bonding, bridging, and linking social capital and the roles they play in the Ethiopian migrants’ move from their country to South Africa.

Such a usage deviates substantially from that applied by Mary Maynard (1989:12) who maintained that “sociological theory is *pluralistic* rather than *linear* and *cumulative*” (emphasis in the original). Rather than address the migration phenomenon as an aspect of a theoretical construct, this study uses the term linear to mean an amalgam of social capital elements that are used as a survival mechanism on the treacherous overland route from Ethiopia to South Africa. In the course of analyzing this phenomenon of migration, the above mentioned three characteristics of social capital are used and an analysis of their respective roles established.

The study further takes the liberty of combining Bourdieu’s idea of utilitarianism, Putnam’s emphasis on trust among disparate groups, and Coleman’s idea of mutual advantage into the concept of linear or mobile social capital. Therefore, the researcher chooses to use a multi-dimensional approach to the use of the concept of social capital in this study as its method of analysis.

3.1.4. Linear Social Capital

The use of the term linear social capital addresses an amalgam of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital in their mobility. This term specifically applies to the sociological phenomenon of migrants moving from Country A to Country B, without being absolutely sure of their route, and/or their fate, but rather having a notion, vague though it may be, that their economic lot will improve at the destination to which they are headed. Understandably, therefore, as difficult as it to accomplish this objective through unreliable bridging links, they do make an effort to maintain bonding links with families and friends in their country of origin or elsewhere, and, if possible, at their intended destination. This is precisely what Field posits when he maintains that “various capitals might not always be substituted for one another, but in combination, they may in turn breed new capital” (2008:16-17).

The researcher’s use of linear social capital renders Bourdieu’s idea “of more or less institutionalized relationship of mutual acquaintance” (Baron et al., 2000:4) of dubious value. The heterogeneous nature of the like-minded individuals with whom they migrate forces them to associate out of necessity, in order to establish both bonding and bridging links. The linking social capital aspect of their relationship is to be found in the new institutional structure in which they are forced to function once they arrive at their destination. This new social reality is a

manifestation of Coleman's idea of social capital, which Torche and Valenzuela (2011:183) describe when they maintain that social capital is "any aspect of the social structure that the actor can use as a resource for action", and which "enable[s] people to cooperate with one another - and not just with people they know directly – for mutual advantage" (Field, 2008:14). The pattern that is established also complements the argument that what it portends is "generalized trust [which] extend[s] beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction and incorporate people who are not personally known" (Stolle, 2002:397).

In the context of the migratory phenomenon, there is a linear relationship among elements of any such community and the various individuals who preceded them. One element of the migratory phenomenon may be generalized trust in the sense that the common objective that is shared by those who are enamoured by migration provides them with the solace that they will re-establish cultural links with such individuals. This is one key consideration in the linear relationship among migrants and those who have preceded them. It is the essence of linear social capital as it embraces identification with cultural traits, behaviour patterns, individuals who reside in a particular society, and what the migrant envisages may be awaiting her/him at her/his intended destination. The pattern of movements from one point to another becomes institutionalized over time when generalized knowledge of the intricacies of the migration phenomenon becomes increasingly well known, established, and routinized.

The complex of institutions constituting the collage that is the network of both illegal migration and those undertakings aimed at preventing such migration forms a sub-culture of Ethiopian society. It has its own opposing duality and constitutes manifestations of both positive and negative social capital. On the one hand, the people smugglers are deeply entrenched in specific communities of Ethiopian society. On the other hand, there are the legally constituted and authoritative bodies, such as the police, whose function it is to prevent such smuggling. Undergirding this illegal migratory pattern is the smuggler's responsibility to provide sustenance to those being smuggled, a responsibility that he may or may not honour. It is in this challenge to survive with its uncertainty that results in those being smuggled solely relying on linear or mobile social capital in all instances. According to Horwood, the entire smuggling undertaking is a classical manifestation of the adage that there are no permanent friends or allies, nor are there permanent enemies (2009:9).

The above are some of the reasons why the treacherous migratory route that takes the prospective migrants through several countries, including desert, jungles, and wildlife preserves, is quite often life-threatening and sometimes leads to fatalities. Illegal migrants are at the mercy of people smugglers with whom they have developed a temporary case of both bonding and bridging social capital, although this is, tangential, superficial, and unpredictable. It is a relationship of temporary necessity (Baron et al., 2000: 7). By its very nature, this undertaking complements Coleman's construct of social capital as having a pragmatic element.

In the definition of social capital offered by Baron et al. (2000), one of its characteristics is cooperation among people, including strangers. Depending on the vicissitudes and the exigencies of the unpredictable migratory process, sometimes breaks down. This has been the experience of many Ethiopian migrants who opt for the "underground railroad" of people smugglers. According to Bacishoga et al. (2016), although cellular phones are an indispensable element of communication in an effort to bridge the communication gap, especially among migrants, it is not unusual for the telephones of migrants to be stolen or misplaced. A lack of electricity to charge the phones, or money for purchasing airtime and sim cards usually contributes to their woes. Consequently, the linear characteristics of social capital are usually broken and re-established only when the individual communicates either with folks back home or with those at their intended destination.

Although definitions of social capital are useful in terms of understanding the nature of relationships between and among individuals, groups, and institutions, the transitory nature of the moves most Ethiopian migrants make through the informal routes to South Africa negates the possibility of the establishment of long-term bonding, bridging, or linking social capital. Therefore, in the micro-world of those who are being smuggled, to the extent that any of this type of relationship exists, it is merely a survival mechanism geared to the accomplishment of the specific objective of getting to their destination. As such, it is a relationship of convenience.

It is for these reasons that linear or mobile social capital continues to be functional. This is so because it exists among Ethiopians, people smugglers, and some of those who represent various institutions. The fact that sometimes communication links are broken during their journey to South Africa increases anxiety levels among family, friends, and themselves, and further

explains the sense of relief when communication is re-established. In this way, the social distance between and among all those involved is reduced, and the linear elements of social capital are re-established in the process, despite its temporary nature.

3.2. Positive and Negative Social Capital

Social capital consists of the element of trust, norms, and networks that facilitate cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993:167). Its use is not always positive as it can also be an element in generating negative outcomes that are inimical to the larger society's interest. Whether social capital is defined as "negative externalities or...fragmented societies" (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004: 2), its roots are deeply set in bonding social capital which" (ibid.), when taken to its logical conclusion, negates the possibility of members of one group reaching out to another in a bridging or co-operative fashion (ibid., p. 2; Rohman, 2014: 2).

The downside particularly of bonding social capital is to be found in those relationships that may produce positive rewards for saying corrupt (Graeff, 2009:144) and/or criminal groups (Field, 2008:69). In general, bonding social capital manifests itself among ethnic group "and leaves little space for people with different characteristics than those group members already possess" (Graeff, 2009:143). As such, there is a pronounced "in group"/"out-group" dichotomy although "many groups simultaneously bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others" (Smidt, 2003:10).

As an example, in Johannesburg, there have been businesses that have been raided by the police in response to community protests against them such as prostitution, drug dealing, and unauthorized business dealings. These undertakings benefit the group members but are harmful to the rest of society.

3.3. Religion as Social Capital

Social capital facilitates a cooperative effort for the purpose of accomplishing a specific goal (Smidt, 2003:3) or a number of goals. To the extent that social capital is defined as "something that is socially embedded in a particular relationship" (ibid., p. 8), it follows that "religion can build social capital by providing physical care, social support and social networks" (ibid., p. 2). As such, religion can play a significant role in its efficacy by fostering "associational life" (ibid.).

This is because the nature of religious belief fosters group solidarity as well as group accomplishments. It does so by

endow[ing] followers with symbols, rituals, and narratives that allow them to imagine themselves in sacred landscapes, marked by holy sites, shrines, and places of worship. Some individuals imagine these spaces as easily coexisting with the actual physical and political geography [of their religious practice]. For others, the religious landscape takes precedence over its secular counterpart. What happens in Bombay, London, Johannesburg, Fiji, and Trinidad is what matters most to some Swadhyayees, who think of these sites as the boundaries of a sort of Swadhyaya “country” (Ammerman, 2007:110).

The this-worldly goals that religion fosters, such as ‘almsgiving’ and other forms of charity, serve to rescue individuals who would ordinarily be abandoned by various social networks and safety nets. The interaction between the giver and the receiver is a form of social capital minus the reciprocity that ordinarily accompanies it, and is an integral part of this concept. However, to the extent that the recipient may express gratitude for that which she/he is given, the provider may regard such an expression as that of reciprocity. It is distinctly possible, however, that in the case of religion, the provider consoles herself /himself with the thought that her/his reciprocity will come from God in the afterlife in the form of treasures stored in heaven. In this sense, religion is a vital source of and contributor to social capital. Moreover, a social network may also be built through religion.

A social network is manifested in the fact that the longevity and the intensity of religious practices among any group of people create such a bond that its hold on them is interwoven into their secular life. This is so strongly the case that the sense of obligation to each other transcends what is ordinarily associated with corporate loyalty. In this case, “religious beliefs can serve to shape the level, form and goals of one’s associational life” (Smidt, 2003:2) as well as the norms that govern it. Therefore, it is quite common for people to address each other as “my church brother or my church sister”, which means, at least tangentially, that religious beliefs and even practices are integral parts of their secular social interaction. The result is that congregational life fosters the “community [being galvanized around] activities [that are] shared by other members” (ibid., p. 23) as a manifestation of social integration.

However, one must be mindful of the fact that due to her/his spiritual commitment, the individual is highly motivated to participate and play her/his role by taking communion which binds the individual to community horizontally and communion with God vertically. Therefore,

It is dangerous to think of churches in terms of social capital. Churches are carriers of religious stories that reveal God's will and grace. Salvation, not the increase of social capital, is the primary purpose of church and their narratives. Christianity tells the story of how God's creation and grace empower us not only to live an ethic of equal regards but to risk moments of self-sacrifice with a sense that God's grace will sustain us. Salvation is having the trust to risk sacrificial love and self-giving, even though the mutuality of equal regard is its ultimate goal. Christians do not live the Christian life to produce social capital but it appears that increased social capital is a long-term, secondary consequence of Christian life (Smidt, 2003:45).

3.4. Social Capital and Social Integration

Durkheim maintains that “norms, beliefs, and values make up a collective consciousness or a shared way of understanding and behaving in the world” (www.boundless, 2016) including the enhancement of “social integration” (ibid.). Such integration takes place among groups that share certain values that enhance bonding social capital, which brings “people together who already know each other with a goal of strengthening relationships that already exist” (Green and Haines, 2008:112). The longitudinal integration that results may facilitate the emergence of bridging social capital which, in turn, “brings together people or groups who did not previously know each other with the goal of establishing new social ties to provide new information, access additional social networks, and fill the ‘structural holes’ in the system of networks in the community” (ibid.). However, there is a social caveat associated with this development.

In the case of the existence of social distance, which is so pronounced that some people are “othered”, it is imperative that the operational assumption be established that such individuals or groups “are unequally positioned in relation to those who do the ‘othering’” (Pickering, 2001:73). This is particularly the case where “the Other is constructed in and for its subordination, in and for its ‘inferiority’ to the self-in-dominance who has produced it” (ibid. p. 75). Given this antecedent, social integration becomes extremely difficult, except in those instances where a common sense of belonging, a historical tie, and an entrepreneurial spirit have merged into a sense of mutually reinforcing values geared to the realization of specific goals.

In the case of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa, there is a paradox regarding the matter of social integration. On the one hand, the historic, religious, and socio-political sphere means that there is a sense of belongingness and common interest that can foster social integration (Putnam, 1993:36). On the other hand, Ethiopians' strong in-group/we-group feelings have contributed significantly to members of the South African society being "othered" and/or regarded as representing a cultural barrier. This barrier is largely a function of the stigma associated with one form or another of other Africans' oppression, whether as a result of slavery, colonialism, or apartheid, experiences over which they had no control and from which they could not escape. However, the matter of social integration is somewhat more complex as it is non-coerced and, therefore, a voluntary process by which an individual becomes assimilated into the mainstream of a society. Such integration fosters society's cohesiveness.

Therefore, social integration can be seen as a dynamic and principled process in which all members participate in dialogue to achieve and maintain peaceful social relations. Social integration does not mean coerced assimilation or forced integration but is rather a process that fosters stability and includes peaceful "social relations of coexistence, collaboration, and cohesion" (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2005:2). This position complements Durkheim's argument that "social integration is necessary for the maintenance of the social order and for the happiness of individuals. In particular, he suggested that happiness depends on individuals' finding a sense of meaning outside of themselves that occurs within the context of group involvement" (Hughes and Kroehler, 2008:12). The ultimate objective underlying this undertaking is for the individual to become a part of society's mainstream (www.citelighter, n.d.). In this regard, religion also can be instrumental in fostering social integration by inducing participation for a common purpose, namely, worshipping, and, in so doing, enhancing social cohesion.

3.5. Social Capital and Social Cohesion

Social capital is a prerequisite for social cohesion and social cohesion is required for stability and economic advancement in society. One of the most useful definitions of social cohesion that has been provided to date has come from Chan and Chan, (in Cloete, 2014:1). They maintain that social cohesion is "a state of affairs concerning both the vertical and the horizontal interactions among members of society as characterized by a set of attitudes and norms that includes trust, a

sense of belonging and the willingness to participate and help, as well as their behavioural manifestations” (ibid.). Chan et al. further maintained that social cohesion is “more holistic and is concerned mainly with the general condition of society” (2006: 292). On the other hand, Karbo regards social cohesion as “building shared values...[and] facing shared challenges” (2013:45) as members of a community.

However, social cohesion does not necessarily mean the inclusion of everyone in the society as numerous societies accommodate people who are not totally integrated into its social fabric (Berger-Schmitt, 2000:4). Exclusion may manifest itself in the paucity of social services delivery, or it may be multidimensional and reflect on the functioning of various institutions (ibid.). Such a weakness may very well be a result of laxity on the government’s part in exercising its oversight function on the workings of the bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the government can be quite effective in the creation of social capital depending on how it chooses to use its distributive and redistributive options (Irish, 1965). The corresponding rendering of such institutions as anomic further puts a wedge between the government and those who are marginalized.

Such a development renders linking social capital rather difficult to realize. This is because, by its very nature, linking social capital forces the individual to engage in bonding social capital, which, rather than being positive in its impact on society by enhancing centripetal forces, becomes negative by forcing the individual to embrace its in-group members. It is this negativity that is translated into anti-social behaviour as those who are so omitted devise unacceptable means of survival. The foregoing suggests that societies will benefit when their institutions function effectively in order to enhance social cohesion in the manner in which they execute policies.

Social cohesion, therefore, should foster a sense of belonging, inclusion, participation, and recognition, and should enhance the social system’s legitimacy (Berger-Schmitt, 2000:3). The combination of these qualities falls within the rubric of what political scientists call the civic culture (Almond and Verba, 1989). To the extent that this culture addresses the textured nature of the social fabric, it speaks to what has been called “the general condition of society” (Chan et al., 2006: 3). Although social exclusion is conceived as “one aspect of the first dimension of

social cohesion” (Berger-Schmitt 2000:4), it has to be an undesirable phenomenon in any society.

3.6. Religion and Social Cohesion

The role played by religion in fostering social cohesion may be a negative or a positive one. To the extent that religion is a Balkanizing force, it automatically divides society into competing and sometimes conflicting zones of influence. Furthermore, where those zones fail to find common ground in an effort to unify the society, religion serves as a catalyst for disunity (Cloete, 2014:4-5). However, it is argued that the increasing concern “to respect others’ religions” (Rao, 1990:100) sets a positive tone for constructive inter-religious problem-solving dialogue. Therefore, religion may be an integrating force for social stability as what may emerge is “[t]he intrinsic ethic of a people” (Hauser, 2005:14) through their religious leaders. Their undertakings in this regard, therefore, enhance the establishment and maintenance of bridging social capital (Cloete, 2014:4). This position dove-tails with Fukuyama’s argument that social capital and social cohesion are mutually dependent. Concomitant with this argument is that advanced by Chan, et al., which posits that “vertical and horizontal interactions” among society’s members are vital to the existence of social cohesion” (2006:290). With respect to the relationship between religion and social cohesion, however, the longitudinal characteristics of inter-institutional relationships among religious bodies must be characterized by a number of both objective and subjective factors that are equally indispensable.

Fleming and Lovat argue that the antecedent to fostering the resolution of social problems between and among people with diverse religious backgrounds requires seriousness, humility, hesitation, articulation, and imagination (Silvestri, 2014:383). In addition, it is maintained that “respect [for] the depth and richness of another’s devotion to and obedience to what they have received as truth” (Williams, 2012:301) is equally important. The necessity for these qualities to exist in a spirit of “interactive social harmony” (ibid.) is the essence of social cohesion as it is a tool for the maintenance of stability.

Notwithstanding the argument that social cohesion is “the nature and extent of social and economic divisions within society” (Li, 2015:326), it is indisputable that there is a religious dimension to social cohesiveness. This is so strongly the case that inextricably interwoven into

the fabric of society is a religious dialectic that is quite apart from the materialistic definition (ibid.) that this scholar offered above. This is the case because “religion [is] the ultimate uniting factor in social cohesion” (Cloete, 2014: 4), as it galvanizes individuals around a body of beliefs, doctrines, and practices that may not necessarily be a negative development (Simmel in Brash, 2001). This is so despite religion’s aforementioned Balkanising tendency (Cloete, 2014:1 and Brewer, 2002:1), as demonstrated by the behaviour of certain extremist religious groups. Consequently, for quite different reasons, Simmel in Brash (2001), Williams (2012) and Cloete (2014) see religious differences as assets rather than liabilities.

In the case of the former, intergroup conflicts are viewed “as having positive functions [by providing] the basis for group formation and cohesion” (Simmel in Brash, 2001:156), while in the case of the latter, through the use of “careful dialogue [that is undertaken with] humility [and] respect..[the relationship among] passionately convinced [religious leaders could lead to] coherence, justice, and peace” (Williams, 2012: 31). This antecedent must be the basis on which social cohesion is formed precisely because no religion or religious leaders have a monopoly on religious truth. Such a spirit of toleration and mutual respect must constitute the basis of social cohesion that is founded on a religious basis. To the extent that this unfolds, it may be argued that “bonding capital in religious institutions could lead to bridging capital on individual and congregational levels” (Cloete, 2014:4) and, as such, advance the spirit of ecumenism towards the common good. This is the case because “some of the most pressing challenges in our time – climate change, poverty, migration, marginalization of women, discrimination and terrorism – can only be solved if we unite resources across traditional dividing lines” (European Council of Religious Leaders, 2008:1).

In conclusion, this chapter presented social capital as the study’s method of analysis. This is in order to examine the range of everyday interactions in which Ethiopian migrants engage in their survival in Johannesburg. This chapter also explored the usage of linear social capital to address the unpredictable circumstances that are associated with illegal migration. This chapter also examined the characteristics of positive and negative social capital with their various dynamics and outcomes. Other issues related to social capital such as religion, social integration, and social cohesion are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four: Methodology and Method

Research techniques refer to the behaviour and instruments we use in performing research operations such as making observations, recording data, techniques of processing data, and the like. Research methods refer to the behaviour and instrument used in selecting and constructing research technique...research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem (Kothari, 2004:7-8).

This chapter presents the methodology of the study. It uses the qualitative method to explore Ethiopian migrants' adjustments to a new and challenging set of social realities. Data was collected from participants in this research as it was outlined in the data collecting procedure.

4.1. Research Design

According to Terre Blanche et al., a research design is “a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research” (2006:34). It is planned and carefully executed as opposed to an observation that is based on happenstance or serendipitously and in the process, it “integrates different components of the study in a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring you will effectively address the research problem” (Lynn and Lynn, 2017). This explains Kothari's argument that the research designs “facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible yielding maximal information with minimal expenditure of effort, time, and money” (2004:32).

This study adopted an exploratory research design which was “used to make preliminary investigations into relatively unknown areas of research. [This method employed] an open, flexible, and inductive approach to research as [it attempted] to look for new insights into phenomena” (Terre Blanche et al., 2006: 44). It was also “concerned with *why* phenomena occur and the forces and influences that drive their occurrence” (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003:28). Therefore, the research was undertaken in four main areas of the nature of Ethiopian migration; the challenges that are associated with it; attempts to cope with life in Johannesburg; commonly shared values and the intervention of the EOTC in the Ethiopian migrants' survival.

4.2. Research Methodology and Method

4.2.1. Qualitative Research Methods

This is an empirical study which “relies on experience or observation alone, often without due regard for system and theory. It is data-based research, coming up with conclusions which are capable of being verified by observation or experiment” (Kothari, 2004:4). Consistent with Kothari’s explanation, this study explores the nature of Ethiopian migrants’ daily life in Johannesburg, their interactions on multiple levels, the challenges they encounter and their reactions in coping. Its aim is to examine the dynamics relating to their everyday life in their businesses, religious activities, family life, and social affairs.

For this reason, this study used the qualitative research method. Such a research technique is “a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings, such as ‘real world’ settings, where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (Patton, 2002:39) but rather, provide meaning and explanation for an on-going process (Mason, 1997:96-97). It is a way of approaching the empirical world by having individuals or groups express their opinions, judgments, and experiences in their own words as opposed to the researcher “collecting data to assess preconceived models, hypotheses, or theories” (Taylor et al., 2016:8).

Usually, this interviewing is conducted by way of open-ended questions followed up by probing if the interviewer finds this necessary. Through this approach, the researcher is able “to study selected issues in depth, openness, and detail as they identify and attempt to understand the categories of information that emerge from the data” (Terre Blanche et al., 2006:47). The qualitative research method further facilitates the interviewee’s expressiveness that gets to the core of an issue or an experience which “underpins, a decision, attitude, behaviour or other phenomena. It also allows associations that occur in people’s thinking or acting – and the meaning these have for people – to be identified” (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 28).

The versatility of the qualitative method is to be found in the fact that it seeks to provide meaning and explanation to human action (Ezzy, 2002:29) which accommodates multiple epistemological bases of understanding and “engages with the complexity” (ibid.) of human dialectic. The reason for this study’s usage of the qualitative research method is to discern

patterns of behaviour among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg with a view to identifying their challenges and experiences of cultural traits and explore how the utilization of such norms and values helps them in the structuring of their coping mechanism as a means of survival. The study also used this method to garner information that is context-specific, as well as to use that context to identify insights that may be of use in the actions taken by organizations and institutions including the EOTC and how they address the immediate needs of the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg.

4.2.2. Selection of Research Sample

“Qualitative samples are usually small for practical reasons to do with costs, especially in terms of time and money...[however] there is no inherent reason why a qualitative sample *must be small*” (Mason, 1997:96). The above postulate complements the study’s sampling technique. This is because although there are a large number of Ethiopian migrants residing in Johannesburg, it is extremely difficult to arrive at an accurate approximation of their numbers. The reason is that there are three categories of such migrants: (a) those who have proper Home Affairs documents; (b) those who have applied for asylum seeker status, have been rejected, and are appealing their rejection, and (c) those who have yet to initiate the process of applying. Those who fall under categories “b” and “c” are understandably defensive, secretive, and cautious. Such individuals are loathe to reveal anything about their immigration status and/or their lifestyle to anyone, including other Ethiopians. This is why the study used non-random sampling, which “cannot be statistically assessed for representatives” (O’Leary, 2004:109). Such a sampling lends itself to the snowball method of sampling to identify the target population’s representation. This entails “the process of selecting a sample using networks...a few individuals in a group or organization are selected and the required information is collected from them. They are then asked to identify other people in the group or organization, and the people selected by them become a part of the sample” (Kumar, 1999:208). A further elaboration on this method is that:

the researcher chooses a few respondents, using accidental sampling or any other method, and asks them to recommend other people who meet the criteria of the research and who might be willing to participate in the project... [Its] process is continued with the new respondents until saturation - that is, until no more respondents are available (Sarantakos, 1994: 179).

Although the snowball method does not involve a “statistical basis of randomness or representativeness” (O’Donnell, 1992:28), the study chooses to use this sampling method in

order to get a representative body of the population being studied as this facilitates the drawing of accurate inferences (Terre Blanch et al., 2006:49). In addition, snowball sampling affords the researcher the option of selecting “the same proportion of individuals from each stratum as there are in the population” (ibid., p. 136). Complementing our antecedent to this section, it must be pointed out that the reason for reliance on the snowball method is because Ethiopians are neither clearly documented in official statistical records in any area of the South African bureaucracy, nor are they enumerated in the Church. Due to this phenomenon, the researcher used the snowball method of data collection to identify Ethiopian migrants he knows within the EOTC congregation as well as locally-based South Africans. Through them, he expanded the body of sampling to locate other respondents to be a part of the larger sample. This empirical data has been supplemented by philosophical data found in books, electronic resources, and documents.

4.3. Data Collecting Procedure

The researcher conducted individual (one-on-one) in-depth, open-ended interviews that generated “useful information about lived experience and its meanings... [it] is a conversation, the art of asking questions and listening” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:47-48). This is “a method of data collection that involves researchers asking respondents basically open-ended questions” (ibid., p. 162). The legitimacy of research using these means has been established as indicated by Hesse-Biber and Leavy, who maintain that “validity takes the form of subjecting one’s findings to competing claims and interpretations and providing the reader with strong arguments for your particular knowledge claim” (2011:48).

Initially, the researcher planned to interview 36 people in Johannesburg affiliated with the EOTC. It was anticipated that each interview would last 45 minutes, in addition to two case studies. The case study serves “to investigate social life within the parameters of openness, communicativity, naturalism, and interpretativity, as informed by the interpretive paradigm” (Sarantakos, 1994:222). Furthermore, “[c]ase studies are usually descriptive in nature and provide rich longitudinal information about individuals or particular situations” (Terre Blanch et al., 2006:461). This is also a research method used to “study individuals as individuals rather than as members of a population” (ibid).

Almost invariably, however, the time went beyond 45 minutes and involved more than one session. This was because of people's availability and the flow of information from the respondents, coupled with their business undertakings that had a prior claim on their time. In addition, many interviews had to be conducted at their business places which, were sometimes rather noisy and not conducive to such an undertaking. With security considerations in mind, the researcher had to find alternative venues and reschedule several interviews. The security issue was a particularly vexing one as most of the respondents and their businesses are located in downtown Johannesburg and, more specifically, in Jeppe Street. Not only is this area a bustling part of the city center, but it is also a high-crime area. Furthermore, during the course of the interviewing, it was necessary that the interviewee was probed by the researcher, which resulted in additional time being consumed. These are the major reasons why the researcher had to find a convenient time and place in which to conduct interviews.

In addition to the above, the number of interviewees was increased from 36 to 43. This was because the researcher interviewed seven additional respondents in Ethiopia, four of whom were from the communities from which most of the migrants originate (namely, Hadiya and Kembata), while the remaining three were from other communities. This undertaking was adopted because migration was previously accompanied by great community fanfare in anticipation of the remittances that would be forthcoming in order to raise the family's standard of living (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015: 53). This anticipation caused migration to become embedded into Ethiopian culture and became an integral part of the positive valence of Ethiopian society. However, Ethiopians have become sobered to the hazards of migration due to the spate of challenges that are associated with migration, including such things as possibly facing arrest at home or in a foreign country, death due to a multiplicity of causes, including at sea and killings by Islamic militants due to their Christian beliefs, and the journey's hardships. These occurrences have been graphically relayed to Ethiopian society largely by means of social media. It is for this reason that the researcher was interested in determining the extent to which the hardships associated with migration to South Africa have impacted Ethiopian migration.

The respondents were divided into two groups: those who came to South Africa prior to 2003 as transitory migrants on their way elsewhere such as to Europe, Canada, the United States, and Australia, and those who came at a later date largely for the purpose of settling as entrepreneurs

given the viable business opportunities that were available in Johannesburg. The recruitment strategy was initially based on the researcher's informal observation in the EOTC services as well as at Ethiopian business locations in Johannesburg.

This informal relationship was utilized to provide the researcher with the requisite data from the 36 people who are in Johannesburg, and who represent the seven categories and two case studies noted below. Participants' recruitment was based on the researcher's informal observations in the EOTC church as well as Ethiopian business locations in Johannesburg. On this basis, he estimated that the total of 36 people in the observed interrelationship dynamics of 6 categories and 6 people from each category could provide the required data. These categories represent the existing variables that this study addresses. Although there is no statistical record regarding the size of the research population, the researcher used his close working relationship with EOTC leaders and church members to determine church membership. It was on this basis that he decided on 36 interviewees equally representing the six categories. In order to reach these participants through the snowball sampling method, the researcher obtained assistance from church leaders and others with whom he had previously established a close working relationship. In addition to these 36 people, seven respondents in Ethiopia were added.

As explained above, the one-to-one in-depth interview is "a direct face-to-face attempt to obtain reliable and valid measures in the form of verbal responses from one or more respondents" (Key, 1997:1). According to Gray, an expert in research methods, the semi-structured interview "allows the researcher to 'probe' for more detailed responses where the respondent is asked to clarify what they have said" (2009:370).

In this phase of data collection, the researcher interviewed forty-five (45) people, viz.:

- Six (6) of them had come to South Africa prior to 2003;
- Six (6) of them came at a later date;
- Six (6) were Orthodox members who founded the church by acquiring the church building and soliciting church leaders from Ethiopia;
- Six (6) were youth members who represent their Sunday school constituency;
- Six (6) were church leaders;
- Six (6) were indigenous South African citizens who are members of the EOTC; and

Seven (7) were Ethiopians residing in Ethiopia, with an additional two case studies.

Of the total population of 45 interviewees, 38 were men and seven were women. The reasons for this imbalance are as follows: (1) As Ethiopia is a patriarchal society in which men make major family decisions, women's migration is not very pronounced in Johannesburg. As a result, the number of Ethiopian men in South Africa far exceeds that of women. (2) As a patriarchal church, women in the EOTC are not a part of its clerical leadership. Furthermore, more men than women migrated to Johannesburg. As a result, women were not included in the category of church leadership. The study relied on:

semi-structured and open-ended interviews to address both the need for comparable responses – that is, the same question was asked of each interviewee – and the need for the interview to be developed by the conversation between interviewer and interviewee – which is often very rich and rewarding. With a semi-structured, open-ended interview there is a series of set questions to be asked and space for some divergence, with the interviewer then returning to the structured interview questions (Wisker, 2008:194-5).

Of the two case studies, one was that of an individual who came to South Africa prior to 2003 and the other individual was someone who came at a later date. This approach complements Yin's argument that the case study is an "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (1991: 23). The interviews were recorded and were simultaneously listened to intently by the researcher who was interpreting their meaning, while also taking notes (O'Leary, 2004:162). The amended timeline of the data collection started from May 2016 and extended to August 2016, and included the researcher's visit to Europe. Within this timeframe, the researcher managed to collect the necessary data from Ethiopian migrants and a few South Africans in Johannesburg and from Ethiopia's migrant-sending communities.

Furthermore, the researcher visited and observed the coping mechanisms of individuals and the functioning of EOTC churches in Frankfurt and Munich in Germany and in Amsterdam and Leiden in the Netherlands. These experiences facilitated the researcher's understanding of the cultural context in which the EOTC churches are functioning, and,

particularly, the support system they have devised in order to accommodate the legitimate aspirations, expectations, and adjustment requirements of Ethiopian migrants. Such exposure enhanced the researcher's understanding of the relevant theological perspectives that can foster the EOTC's engagement with migrant communities within its ministry. In addition, the richness of such cross-cultural comparative exposure provided a basis for demonstrating relevant theologies (social welfare) that may enhance the church's missiological influence and legitimacy.

4.4. Research Sites

This study was conducted in the city of Johannesburg as it is a major economic hub and at the center of global economic developments that impact the African continent and is, therefore, a magnet for migrants. Consequently, it is the most desirable destination for African migrants on the continent. This situation is one of the major attractions for Ethiopians who find that their entrepreneurial spirit can be accommodated within the fabric of Johannesburg economic life. This explains the basis for such a large number of Ethiopians residing in this city.

4.5. Data Translation and Management

Ethiopians speak only Amharic and the interview were conducted in this language. Because the analysis was done in English, the translation was necessary. Data storage was important as it could save both the researcher's and participant's time and other resources. Therefore, the researcher used a digital recorder to collect the data and stored it on a hard drive on a laptop, in a memory stick, on a CD, and in the drop box on the internet system until the work's completion. Following this, the data will be destroyed.

4.6. Data Analysis

In examining the data, the researcher employed a combination of interpretative, thematic, and contextual analyses. According to Hesse-Biber and Leavy, the interpretative approach "assumes the social world is constantly being constructed through group interactions, and thus social reality can be understood via the perspective of social actors enmeshed in meaning-making activities" (2011:5).

Thematic analysis, on the other hand, is “one of a cluster of methods that focus[es] on identifying patterned meaning across a dataset” (www.psych.auckland.ac.nz, n.d.) and is based on the inference that one may draw from a presentation (Marks and Yardley, 2004:57). The three thematic categories are basic, organizing, and global (www.ellieharmon.com, n.d). The global migration phenomenon which is associated with a number of experiences that may be characterized as emotional, social, cultural, and institutional themes, all of which are associated with various challenges faced by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg has been analysed.

Both interpretative and thematic approaches have been enhanced by contextual analysis, which is one “that helps us to assess that text within the context” (Behrendt, 2008). All three modalities of analysis facilitated the researcher’s understanding of the socio-economic, political, and religious context of the migrants’ home country vs the host country in an effort to contribute to further study.

The researcher used the *missio-cultural* critique to analyze the EOTC’s intervention in helping to solve the migrant community’s adjustment problems. In this regard, Hewitt argues that: “the combination of mission and culture [that] brings together a *missio-cultural* perspective that speaks of the interfacing of God’s on-going action in the world with human accountabilities and context-specific responses” (2012: xxviii). This relativistic definition is further developed by Onwubiko, who maintains that “the ecclesiology [church] of building the community in [a specific] context...must reflect the ecclesiology of the local church” (2001:89). Thus, the church’s mission has to be contextualized.

4.7. Ethical Consideration

“If it is not right, do not do it; if it is not true do not say it” (Marcus Aurelius)

Concern about ethical matters meant that “the researcher [was] obliged to adhere to the guiding principle of objectivity and integrity in his/her pursuit of the truth” (Brynard, et al., 2014:95). This implies the maintenance of the highest possible standards in pursuit of and reporting the truth while “indicat[ing] the limitations and constraints of the research and the validity of their findings” (ibid.).

In line with the above, the study’s proposal was approved by the Higher Degrees Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal in January 2016. Its title was not altered in any

form. Therefore, the ethical considerations were not included solely for the purpose of getting the Committee's approval but rather, they were implemented with the full understanding that "[e]thics are an essential part of rigorous research...more than a state of principle or abstract rules that sit as an overarching entity guiding our research...Ethics exist in our actions and in our ways of doing and practicing our research" (Marshall and Rossman, 2011:47).

The study dealt with human subjects and used in-depth one-to-one interviews. Throughout the undertakings associated with this study, the researcher took assiduous care to ensure that the process was comfortable for both the interviewees and himself. This was to safeguard that there would be a smooth flow of communication and understanding in order to get appropriate data for the study without any distraction. The researcher sought the consent of the participants at all levels during this research including the use of an electronic recorder. Following the initial consent, a thorough explanation of the nature of the research and what was expected of the respondent(s) was clearly provided including the researcher's intended accomplishments. It was also explained to the respondents that they had the right to withdraw from the interview at any stage. Anonymity was assured, confidentiality guaranteed, and consent given. This was critical for interviewing most Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, who are mostly unaware of what research is all about and who are living in various stages of refugee status which is a rather sensitive matter. The researcher used all reasonable care to establish a comfortable environment during the interview.

4.8. Validity/Rigour, Reliability, and Triangulation

It has been rightly maintained that validity is [t]he extent to which a test, questionnaire or other operationalization is really measuring what the researcher intends to measure" (Hall and Hall, 1996:43). Validity cannot be proven conclusively but rather, all things being equal, the researcher must strive to ensure accuracy and replication of research findings based on the consistency of methods applied to a particular research project (ibid., p. 44). The triangulation method (Olsen, 2004:3) was used in order to ensure the study's reliability. This was done by way of the researcher's one-to-one in-depth interviews which were accompanied by the necessary probes and were further complemented by participant observation in both the secular and sacred lives of members of the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg. The researcher explained his

personal background and his motivation for garnering a clearer understanding of the community being studied qualitatively. This was complemented by his awareness to avoid bias while incorporating the sensitive aspects of the community's social, cultural, political, and religious life in Johannesburg.

The researcher was guided by the argument that

Qualitative research is a type of scientific investigation that aims to provide answers to a question without bias. It uses predetermined procedures such as interviewing participants to collect information and produce findings. Biases occur naturally in the design of your research, but you can minimize their impact by recognizing and dealing with them. An impartial qualitative research project respects the dignity of the research participants, observes fundamental principles of ethics and takes all of the variables into account (Finch, 2017).

With this idea in mind, ensuring reliability, the researcher crafted a questionnaire and discussed its contents with his supervisor who offered constructive criticisms. This instrument was also checked by the Higher Degree reviewer for its reliability. Furthermore, the use of methods of data collection (in-depth one-to-one interviews and case studies) enhanced the validity of the study's findings.

My Role as a Researcher

Ethiopian community in the diaspora including in Johannesburg is in a state of flux with many factions vying for political influence. Furthermore, the political balkanization that exists in the Ethiopian society also manifests itself in the EOTC. This being the case, the researcher was constantly aware of the necessity for him to be seen as not siding with one faction or the other, this was done not only with Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg but also in the society at large during his interviewing in Ethiopia.

Reflexivity

In addition to the above, the researcher's close relationship with the EOTC in which he served as a member of the clergy, rendered him constantly mindful of possible bias in influencing the outcome of the research. This concern with reflexivity kept him alert as to his ethical responsibilities to maintain his objectivity, a phenomenon that has been termed "rational structure" (Berger and Kellner in Augsburg, 1986:71).

4.9. Report Writing

The researcher was registered at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in order to conduct research on the challenges and experiences of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. In order to conduct such an undertaking, he embarked on a review of the literature in order to acquire a clear knowledge of what had been written in this area and the insights that it offered. The data was analyzed and further interpreted in light of the research method, and thematic and contextual analyses were generated to construct this paper.

In conclusion, explains the research locations and selected participants according to the methodology designed, provided the necessary equipment to collect the data. The respondents included Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, indigenous South Africans who are members of the EOTC who have close relationships with Ethiopian migrants, and some Ethiopians in Ethiopia who reside in migrant-sending communities. Conducted one-to-one in-depth semi-structured interviews, translated and analyzed the data, in order to write this research report.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation and Analysis

Chapter five presents the collected data from participants through one-to-one interviews with the necessary probing by the researcher. Two case studies are also a part of the data collection. Using a combination of published and unpublished materials as well as Internet sources, the data presented in this chapter is discussed by relying on social capital as a theoretical framework. The data was analyzed under various categories which are related to the everyday life interactions of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.

5.1. Emotional Issues

The emotional issues associated with migration start from thinking about and making preparation for the act to migrate. Adjusting to the uncertainties associated with leaving the security of family members, friends and other loved ones, coupled with fear, anxiety, and doubts regarding the unknown are emotional and stressful experiences (Scott, 2014:209) not only during the migratory process but also at their destination in Johannesburg.

“Their mind is not free. They bring a lot of problems to us for us to pray for them” (Respondent 27).

“Most marriages have problems here in Johannesburg. One of the problems is that they just meet here and get marry for only biological need but they do not know each other’s background well. They don’t trust each other, they don’t love each other” (Respondent 29).

“I tried different business. You gain and lose easily. Life is a roller-coaster here in Johannesburg. When you lose you stress and when you gain you stress because they will come and attack you and take what you have” (Case study 1).

The above introductory data indicates the range of emotionally charged issues that Ethiopian migrants experience. Their everyday interaction is compounded by the uncertainties associated with a number of precarious encounters including anxieties associated with their immigration status, uncertainties regarding their business, crime and robbery, having their goods confiscated by law enforcement agencies such as the police and SARS as a result of any number of perceived illegalities, and more specially, their concerns about family and relationship issues, and xenophobia. Lacking alternatives, they bring their painful emotional problems to the Church fathers in the belief that they get solutions. However, their main problems are discussed below.

5.1.1. Worry and Stress

The migratory process takes both a physical and mental toll on the Ethiopian migrant. It also adversely affects cherished institutions in Ethiopian society including marriage. Once the Ethiopian migrant arrives in South Africa, especially in Johannesburg, the stress level remains high.

“Once I went to the police station to complain about a problem I faced. I was told by the police officer I met: ‘If you want your rights, you have to go back to your country’” (Respondent 20).

“Crime is getting more and more” and, as a result, “life is full of stress and so I get relief only when I come to church” (Respondent 8).

“Whenever the renewal of my asylum papers is coming, I start worrying a month before. This is because we Ethiopians are robbed everywhere we go including by the taxi drivers and their organized crime friends. When we reach Home Affairs, there is many kinds of robbery” (Respondent 3).

“We see and greet each other in church. But when I meet them in town, I try to greet them but they don’t respond or they ignore you. Then I was shocked and confused. Later people told me that, ‘yes, they do these things, because of the stress’. They advised me just to accept it” (Respondent 15).

You can eat, drink and get money in South Africa, but living always in the stress. The more money you get your stress level is also equally increase. This is because they target you. This not from far your friend is getting jealous of you. The only place you get peace is the church, even in the church they bring their business issues and disturb (Respondent 12)

“They don’t like us, so we are afraid of xenophobia. We face different life challenges in Johannesburg and also, we have to support our family here and at home. All of these give us stress” (Respondent 5).

“Stress is bad. Some people get mentally sick” (Respondent 21).

The above data addresses the matter of social stress which “results from relationships with others and a person's social environment. Social stress is often exacerbated when people have less capability of changing their own circumstances” (www.reference.com, n.d). It originates from the concerns of Ethiopian migrants having to devise survival mechanisms and advance by learning how to manoeuvre one’s way around the numerous criminal elements in Johannesburg; interact successfully with the Department of Home Affairs in order to obtain legal documents;

be aware of and, if possible, avoid stereotypical manifestations of xenophobic attacks; be gainfully employed and/or establish and secure their business; support family members here in Johannesburg and back home in Ethiopia; keep funds at home or on one's person in the absence of banking services, a practice that attracts criminals; fulfil or at least try to fulfil one's traditional religious obligations; address inter- and intra-group hostility; face the challenges of a deteriorating business climate and its corresponding reduction of disposable income; and take certain security measures, such as locking one's self indoors at all times and being mindful of burglary, all of which contribute to a stressful life. Furthermore, the absence of family and friends support as well as lack of trust and its corresponding environment in Johannesburg have resulted in Ethiopian migrants emotional problems being exacerbated.

The above-mentioned challenges were not only articulated by the majority of respondents but were also deeply expressed by two case studies. These problems that emanate from life in Johannesburg and its accompanying stress are quite pronounced. The Ethiopians' relations with government institutions have not been particularly rewarding. In the case of the police, they do not expect protection and have therefore lost confidence in them as well.

The tenuous relationship between Ethiopians and the host society in general and government institutions, in particular, is currently characterized by distrust. Coupled with criminality and corruption, intergroup hostility and the negative form of bonding social capital which comes from it increases a climate of fear and can adversely affect their lives and their business. As a result, Ethiopians in Johannesburg have a relatively successful but precarious existence. In some cases, problems associated with relationships do exist.

5.1.2. Marital Discord, Gender Roles, and their Consequences

Marriage is a fundamental institution in all societies. It is associated with gender roles which are key aspects of societal functioning. According to Tesfaye

Gender is a socially constructed understanding of people through which to determine the role of male and female in a society.... as a concept [it] refers to the roles and responsibilities of women (girls) and men (boys) that are created in the families, societies, and cultures. [However] this classification is social, not biological (2011:2).

In this sense, gender roles determine how “men and women are expected to feel, think, and behave” (Fulcher and Scott, 2011:154).

Ethiopian society “remains under the grip of a patriarchal system based on cultural and traditional beliefs and practices” (Tesfaye, 2011:2). Due to this, the lack of socio-economic integration of women as well as the patriarchal tendencies in the society and the EOTC have had an adverse impact on women. With their coming to South Africa where there are fairly rigidly enforced women’s rights and opportunity legislation, changes in male-female relationships, including in the institution of marriage, are taking place among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. In this light, let us examine what the data expresses.

“In most cases, they meet here and get marry, they don’t know each other’s background well. They have no peace. That is why they face problems in their marriage” (Respondent 4).

“Both of them are here with the motivation to make money. They have no commitment to marriage. If she/he finds someone who is wealthy, either one can leave the other easily” (Respondent 7).

“Ethiopian women are not housewives here as is the case in Ethiopia. With the work stress, she is not sexually interested as is the case with the men who are mostly experienced with other women who can satisfy them. This is also a problem” (Respondent 11).

“Married life is not as stable here as it is in Ethiopia. If any problem or disagreement happens in the marriage, nobody helps them. They get no counseling experience from any side. Disagreements may easily result in separation (Respondent 22).

“Men are afraid. Women use their legal rights here and can do anything bad. The law favours them” (Respondent 8).

“Some of them don’t love and respect each other. They met here for biological need and got married. Both of them are here for money, no marriage commitment. So they face problems easily” (Respondent 2).

“They don’t know each other. She came after seeing his photo. Now his situation is different from what she expected from the photo” (Respondent 6).

“Most of them [Ethiopian migrants] are getting married to get their ID. This is a fake marriage” (Respondent 19).

“In most cases, marriage is not successful in this country among Ethiopians. She can marry you for the sake of money then she is supporting her relatives. After some time she is using her legal rights to divorce you and take half of your property” (Respondent 9).

In the Ethiopian society, there are three forms of marriages, religious, civil, and traditional. Irrespective of the form of marriage in which the couple engages, its manifest function is that of bonding the couple and its latent function, is bringing the bride's and the groom's families together. The compelling ethos of the marriage is binding two families and contributing to societal stability and sustainability (Kirst-Ashman, 2011: 272, Abadi, n.d.). Built into this institution is the expectation that the couple will also contribute to societal well-being by becoming role models that are worthy of emulation. With their parents and societal blessing in the form of sanctioning the wedding, they enjoy the approving company of family, friends, and well-wishers (Graaff, 2001:7). If problems were to arise there are various support systems that are available through family, friends, and community including religious leaders from which they may request assistance towards their resolution.

By virtue of the circumstances under which Ethiopian migrants arrive in South Africa, and particularly the financial demands made on them, in some cases, the adverse effects of socio-economic pressures on marriages among them are rather pronounced. Almost invariably, the anticipated positive outcome of migration, based on the culture of optimism associated with it, far supersedes the concern with and willingness to conform to the traditional marriage customs practiced in Ethiopia. Therefore, in many cases, optimism regarding the benefits of migration has led to a concern for financial expeditiousness, in contrast to a concern with tradition and/or lifetime devotion to each other. This sense of foreboding is pronounced among migrants as a whole, but especially married ones. Given this, the question has to be raised: To what extent are marriage responsibilities and marriage as an institution preserved in Johannesburg?

Paradoxically, for cultural as well as reasons of philosophy of life, Ethiopian migrants are generally geared to marrying other Ethiopians as both tend to be future-oriented and thrifty, if not parsimonious. Therefore, Ethiopian men tend to almost inevitably marry Ethiopian women who are already in South Africa, or else they bring an Ethiopian woman from Ethiopia for that purpose. However, because both partners have usually gained financial independence, the fidelity level among Ethiopians in Johannesburg tends to be rather low, which leads to separation

and divorce. Family life is disrupted in turn and the children become the victims of this situation. There are some other issues to be examined cursorily regarding marriage.

Among most Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, their refugee status prevents them from going to Ethiopia to find a spouse. Therefore, they communicate with a prospective partner through social media and through family and friends. After elaborate arrangements are made through people smugglers and their informal ring of assistants, the prospective spouse arrives in South Africa. In the case of those who arrive by air with legitimate visas, they usually hide their passports once they arrive and apply for asylum or refugee status (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015: 69).

In some cases, because communications between prospective spouses were conducted mainly telephonically and through facebook communications, they had no way of knowing each other prior to their meeting in Johannesburg. Quite often, mismatched expectations result in a breakdown in the relationship even before it is well established. Even after marriage, assuming it takes place, there are other related marital problems that develop. A great many of these problems have to do with changes in gender roles.

Given the nature of the entrepreneurial activities in which Ethiopians are engaged, a man who invests large sums of money to bring a woman here fully expects her to be a homemaker, as well as a partial breadwinner. The consequence of this dual burden is that she works twice as hard in South Africa as she did in Ethiopia where she was almost exclusively a home-maker. This is quite paradoxical for although women were housewives in traditional Ethiopian society in a less pronounced way in the twenty-first century than previously, they were imbued with dignity in a patriarchal society. In South Africa, however, it is largely economics that determines their roles, with the additional built-in marital problems this brings. Those who met and got married in South Africa and share the same level of pecuniary interest, marriage responsibility is of secondary importance.

In general, Ethiopian women are rather traditional and conservative with regard to sexual practices. This traditional sexuality becomes problematic as the data indicates that some Ethiopian men had been engaging in a range of sexual experimentation and dexterity prior to marrying Ethiopian women to South Africa. When a man fails to find a similar level and type of

sexual expressiveness in his wife, he tends to seek it elsewhere due to his prior sexual exposure to other women. Furthermore, under the guise of pursuing business interests, most husbands find time to socialise with whomever they choose, while their wives “assume responsibilities as shopkeepers, money managers, or trusted overseers of business become submerged in day to day functionalities and have little time to socialise with other Ethiopians” (Yimer, 2012:47). Yimer’s study, which was conducted in Johannesburg, clearly indicates that the business responsibilities with which women are saddled of necessity force them into a behaviour pattern that is distinct from what was a part of their lives in Ethiopian society. In addition, they are also expected to perform regular household chores as well as to function as wives. This adds to their burdensome lifestyle. The consequence of this development is that the marriage is quite often jeopardized.

The data indicates that infidelity exists in some cases as a result of which, some women realize that their husbands could leave them at any time or, she chooses to leave her husband. As the case studies indicate, this situation may be exacerbated by rumours at the hands of people with ulterior motives. The women may, in turn, begin hoarding money in preparation for such an eventuality. In turn, the marriage deteriorates into one of mutual convenience and uneasy accommodation. In some cases, in addition to being burdened by their workload, the women involved slowly lose their sexual appetite. By contrast, the men find satisfaction in making money and finding sexual outlets wherever they can. This can become even more complicated when extended family members are brought to South Africa and exacerbate marital problems.

Whenever one spouse sponsors a family member to come to South Africa, the other partner wants to do likewise. Furthermore, any relationship entered into between one spouse and her/his relative automatically generates jealousy from the other spouse. The data shows that, in many cases, marriage is further jeopardized by the man’s sexual promiscuity. In addition, some single Ethiopian women pretend that they are faithful to a particular man by engaging in unprotected pre-marital sex in anticipation of marriage. However, they may very well be simultaneously behaving in the same way with other men. Consequently, unprotected sex with its high-risk potential becomes generalized.

Such deceptive double standards contribute to the spread of HIV and AIDS within the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg. Unlike the case in Ethiopia, the fact is that there are basically two

strangers getting married, minus the blessings of their families. In effect, this means that whenever various types of problems develop, there is no structure to which they may turn for assistance. During an interview, one priest said that some of the problems associated with marriage are that:

“The couple when they come here, they don’t tell us the truth, and it is very difficult to assist them” (Respondent 29).

This response clearly confirms some of the problems noted above.

Another marital problem is that a couple who do not know each other’s background may become lovers due to financial and/or sexual interests but without any sense of marital responsibility. Unlike in Ethiopia, there is no extended family or close friends to whom they may turn for advice and support when problems arise. In the absence of such support, and with money as her chief motive for being in South Africa, the woman can easily take whatever action she deems necessary in order to maintain her financial interests and benefits. This does not preclude establishing a relationship with someone else. Such a situation is summarised as follows:

“In most cases, the woman marries for financial benefit. After that, she tends to support her family back home. Due to this, she rushes to divorce and it goes to conciliators. If it doesn’t get solved she uses her legal rights, which favour women here in South Africa” (Respondent 5).

In essence, coming from a patriarchal society, South Africa gives women more extensive rights than they would have experienced in Ethiopia. As a consequence, men are victimised in some cases.

In summary, the data reveals the existence of compounded problems between couples and in some cases, the children who are involved. Some Ethiopian women come from a patriarchal society with financial interests in mind. They take advantage of their business opportunities to secure their advancement and legal protection for their security in Johannesburg, regardless of their cultural values and marriage responsibilities. To the contrary, most Ethiopian men in Johannesburg, bring their masculinity and patriarchal tendencies with them without incorporating women’s legal rights into this social equation. They tend to treat women the way that they do in Ethiopia. Eventually, they end up the losers as women exercise their rights and their opportunities in Johannesburg. Furthermore, although there are faithful married partners in

stable marriages, because the ratio of men to women is unbalanced with more men than women, there is a tendency for unmarried men to pursue women irrespective of their marital status. In pursuit of wealth, some women do likewise in Johannesburg.

Obsession with becoming successful financially trumps all other concerns to the point where, in many instances, at best, marriage is an institution which may or may not be cemented depending on whether or not it complements the couple's financial interests and motivation. Furthermore, the researcher's observation is that even when children are involved in these unstable marriages or relationship mentioned above, they become victims in many ways and suffer psychologically as a result of the instability of such marriages in Johannesburg. While this marital dissonance does not characterize all marriages, it is pronounced enough to command attention.

5.1.3. Culture Conflict and Culture Shock

Following the initial trauma associated with the unpredictability of the challenges with which the migrants have to cope on their journey to South Africa as well as upon their arrival in Johannesburg, they immediately discover that the unfamiliar way of life requires significant adjustment.

“When you leave Ethiopia the first shock is the food. In Kenya, we were given a strange food to which we were not accustomed and that was my first shock. Again we don't speak their language, or English, in which to communicate, it was so difficult” (Respondent 23).

“When I left home and came to Kenya, I discovered that everything was strange and stressful as if I was going to another planet. If I knew this, I would not have left home” (Respondent 19).

“Ethiopia was never colonized. This made it keep its own dietary system, a celebration of religious feasts, its own calendar, preserve its own alphabet and language. Therefore it is not easy for Ethiopians to associate themselves with sub-Saharan Africans who have been colonized” (Case study 2).

“Abasha people stick with their own diet and use their own language and live within their own circle. This hinders their integration in South African society” (Respondent 24).

“Our problems are many we don't even rest on Sundays or visit friends and socialize. Here we open our shop. We don't celebrate Christmas, Easter, and Epiphany, etc., like in Ethiopia. Because of that, we go to our business rather than celebrating and losing our customers” (Respondent 3).

The above-mentioned data indicates that there are significant cultural differences that Ethiopian migrants face both on their way to South Africa as well as at their destination in Johannesburg (Hirschman, 2003:1210). As an example, the staple traditional food in Ethiopia is *injera bewot* (bread with stew) (Persoon, 2005:307). It is served on a circular platter and is eaten by hand with a spicy stew made of peas or beef. Neither of these staples is available on the migrants' journey from Ethiopia to South Africa. This experience underlines the fact that dietary habits are culturally determined. It is, therefore, understandable, that Ethiopians have been known to establish their own restaurants wherever they are domiciled (Akalu, 2009: 35).

The difficulties associated with their dietary intake are accompanied by communication problems between the smugglers and migrants. There is no communication problem when they are on the Ethiopian side, but upon crossing into Kenya their situation immediately changes drastically. According to the response in case study 2, in some instances, the best case scenario is that there is at least one Ethiopian in a group of migrants who tries to speak a smattering of English. However, this is not always the case. Interestingly enough, what case study 2 told the researcher is that the communication barrier may be further complicated if, for whatever reason, the group disintegrates.

In addition to the above-mentioned cultural dynamics, through his data collection and observation, the researcher discovered that, although the individual is almost invariably "sponsored" to South Africa and, therefore, rightly expects to be at least temporarily shepherded in her/his everyday routine, adapting to various requirements remains challenging. For a number of reasons, the migrant remains in effect beholden to her/his sponsor as she/he: does not know the "lay of the land" and is without legal documentation; as such, she/he must obey the sponsor, a situation that is shocking to the illegal migrant; the sponsor has a financial investment in the illegal migrant, and as such, expects to be repaid in the form of service, such as labour and/or sexual favours; and, it is the sponsor who has direct or indirect contacts with various agencies, such as Home Affairs, and can liaise with their personnel to the migrant's benefit or detriment.

However, there are also illegal migrants who are not sponsored to South Africa and who experience a different set of problems. Unlike those migrants who are sponsored by Ethiopians already in South Africa, unsponsored migrants must: find work, or even open a clothing or tuck

shop if they possess capital and luck is on their side; become a part of a religious and social Ethiopian network, which enables them to bond with members of existing social and/or business groups and become absorbed in an existing network activities, which may be positive or negative; become slowly absorbed into the fabric of the highly structured Ethiopian community, which may well become their surrogate family and facilitate their protection; establish primary relationships with this new “family”, which may be abusive and exploitative; and accumulate sufficient financial resources over time to enable them to launch out on their own, whether legally or illegally.

If the migrant is successful in establishing herself/himself in business, as indicated above, other problems sometimes also result from this. Exercising such option on the illegal migrant’s part may not be welcomed by her/his surrogate family members, and may sometimes lead to violent clashes, which is an inevitable part of the dialectic of being an Ethiopian migrant, whether legal or illegal. Despite the anomic nature of intra-group Ethiopian bonding and bridging network, the migrant still has a much more tightly structured life within the Ethiopian community and the church than she/he has within the wider non-Ethiopian society. Whether the Ethiopian migrant is sponsored or unsponsored, exclusion from the Ethiopian network results in marginalization, and, therefore, she/he finds life particularly difficult. Their problem is exacerbated by the constant encounter with criminal elements.

5.1.4. Robbery and Crime

Coming from a society with a relatively low and in some communities, non-existent crime rate to Johannesburg where the opposite pertains, Ethiopians are experiencing a great shock. Therefore, they find it difficult to adjust and acquire the peace of mind that usually accompanies a safe existence. In this regard, some interviewees remarked:

“Crime is getting more and more, that fears us” (Respondent 4)

You can make money in South Africa, but the problem is that you don’t have freedom. While you sleep, you even think that they might come, break the door, and kill me. We worry too much because there is no legal protection. Even if they are arrested after killing, they can easily be released with R5000 bail (Respondent 21).

“Even if they give me citizenship, I don’t want to stay in this country. If I get a chance for resettlement or to go to another country, it is fine. Otherwise, I prefer to go back home. This is because of the high level of crime” (Respondent 15).

“In most cases, the robbers are coming to rob us through the connection they have with other Ethiopians who are their partners” (Respondent 24).

“It is worrying living in this country; this is because the robbery is high. Whatever you have, they are going to take it from you one day. In our case, as Ethiopians, they regard us as making money and, therefore, we are easy targets. That is why many people want to go back home” (Respondent 16).

The above responses indicate the pervasive nature of crime in Johannesburg which has created a problematic situation that adds to the difficulties experienced by Ethiopian migrants in adjusting to their new environment. The multi-layered irrationality of its manifestations, coupled with the unpredictability of the circumstances in which the Ethiopian migrant lives and operates, make the situation untenable.

What is apparent is that in South Africa in general, both white collar and non-white collar criminal behaviour is a fact of everyday life in every province, city, and town and that all “races” and ethnic groups are involved in it and are potential victims of it. One of the most glaring manifestations of crime in South Africa is arguably the fact that approximately 18,000 people are murdered annually (www.toxinews.blogspot.co.za, 2012). In Gauteng Province, where this study was conducted, “between April 1, 2014 and March, 2015...3,671 people were killed” (ibid.), with Johannesburg being one of the leading cities in this regard (Gqirana, 2015).

Living in Johannesburg as most of them do, and having to cope with a situation in which gross income disparity fuels criminal behaviour (www.roughguides.com, n.d.), especially the street variety, Ethiopians are constantly fearful. This defensiveness arises because Ethiopians are victims of stereotypical perceptions, one of which holds that because the vast majority of them are entrepreneurs who do not have access to banking services, they are always in possession of cash. In addition, they are regarded as “soft targets” and largely powerless (Lawson and Heaton, 1999:5) by street criminals such as muggers, as well as by armed robbers who hold up their establishments. It matters little to the Ethiopian migrant whether or not the circumstances of criminality are created by society and the malfunctioning of its institutions. As constant victims

of crime, what causes the criminal to indulge in such behaviour is of little interest to Ethiopian migrants. The situation that makes criminality of which Ethiopian migrants are victims is made worse by the involvement of some fellow Ethiopians. Consequently, whether such behaviour is “called ‘mechanistic’, ‘situational’, or ‘dynamic’” (Gibbons, 1979: 129) is of precious little concern to them.

Although bonding social capital may work positively for societal benefit through its various networks, it may also work negatively to the benefit of criminal syndicates that generally prey on business people, including Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. They encounter additional difficulties from some personnel in the government bureaucracy.

5.1.5. Department of Home Affairs

The problems associated with Home Affairs are outlined in the following data indicate:

“I am here since 1997. I have lived almost half of my life here. However, I am still living with the status of an asylum seeker. It seems that this will also be rejected soon. So I don’t know what to do” (Respondent 18).

“If you don’t have money to pay at Home Affairs people, you don’t get papers” (Respondent 6).

“When you go to any government office as a foreigner, they ignore you. Everything you want needs money” (Respondent 1).

Another interviewee recounted the following:

Home Affairs is our main problem, they make us suffer, the police brutality, and the robbers challenge us when we go to Home Affairs to renew our documents. They even beat you at the entrance of the premises, you need to pay money at the entrance. Wednesday is Ethiopians’ day. You can’t go in if you don’t pay money. They... I wish you would write all the problems of Home Affairs (Respondent 25).

“Home Affairs, they don’t identify our situation when we apply for asylum” (Respondent 20).

“In order for us to have integration with South African society, Home Affairs should give us the right documents” (Respondent 8).

“Home Affairs is our common problem” (Respondent 19).

“There is a problem in Home Affairs. They don’t give us the papers according to the Immigration law... unless you pay money to the people who are gatekeepers” (Respondent 13).

Almost all the respondents complained of the problems associated with the Department of Home Affairs in obtaining the necessary documentation. In this regard, one study maintains that the Department of Home Affairs was “[o]ne of the most corrupt departments during the Apartheid periods, [and was characterized by] administrative incompetence and irregularities...between 1994 and 2004... [despite attempts at changing bureaucratic behaviour in the Department of Home Affairs]...considerable problems remain” (Landau, 2005:7). Regarding Ethiopian migrants, the data indicates that their arrival in South Africa coincided with the internal problems that adversely affected the execution of policy regarding their obtaining proper documentation in a timely fashion.

The specific immigration problems are further exacerbated by prolonged delays. When Ethiopians go to the Department of Home Affairs to renew their documents, they are usually told that they need to return on another day. Therefore, they are automatically on the defensive. If they are stopped by the police in the interim, and if their documents are not renewed or up to date, they then become prime victims of police irrationality, which may culminate in their arrest. Even when they do go to Home Affairs for above purpose, they are expected to pay for the services – contrary to the law, informally, and not necessarily by personnel from the Department of Home Affairs. Contrary to policy, most Ethiopian migrants remain in the category of asylum seekers, rather than obtaining refugee status and ultimately residence.

The data overwhelmingly indicates the extent of the problems that are associated with the Department of Home Affairs and with which the Ethiopian migrant has to deal on an on-going basis. This uncertainty adversely affects their business, their social integration in the society, and their overall wellbeing. Therefore, it ought to be improved.

5.1.6. South African Police Service

For Ethiopian migrants, interacting with the police brings its own set of problems. The following data explains the nature of these problems:

“I don’t expect police to help me. All they want is money” (Respondent 4).

“Once I went to Police Station, the policeman told me that if I need my rights I should go back to my country” (Respondent 20).

“Our common problem is your rights are not protected, they don’t see you as equals, police can stop you and ask you for your driver’s license only to get money” (Respondent 12).

“The police stop us anywhere, anytime, and it is common that they ask for money, and that we give it to them” (Respondent 23).

“You must give money to the police when they stop you and are checking your driving license or ID. If you try to argue with them for your rights, they can even tear up your documents” (Respondent 18).

“We should not pay tax because we always pay the police” (Respondent 9).

In addition to the data in which respondents talked about the precarious relationship between the police and Ethiopians migrants in Johannesburg, it has been maintained that “[t]hroughout the country, police officers are exploiting poor oversight, xenophobic discourses, and immigrants’ vulnerabilities to supplement their income and address what many incorrectly assume to be the root cause of crime” (Landau, 2005:11). This argument ought not to be regarded as a rationalization to justify what may be viewed as “acceptable” (ibid.) police abuse (Horwood, 2009:107) and extortion aimed at migrants in general and Ethiopians in particular for reasons mentioned above. In general, there are strong incentives for targeting foreigners as they represent a relatively easy and socially acceptable means of supplementing officers’ income. Denied access to almost all formal banking services, poor migrants are obliged to stash cash at their residence or carry it on their bodies. Combined with their tenuous legal status, (often) poor documentation, and tendency to trade on the street (hawking or informal business), some police officers have come to see foreigners, and especially Ethiopians, as “mobile-ATMs” (Landau, 2005:11).

According to the case studies, despite the above-mentioned problems that are related to the police, few Ethiopians use institutional sources to address their problems. This is despite the fact that lawyers of the Human Rights Commission (HRC) seek to ameliorate the problems faced by migrants and provide a legal counter-balance to their negative experiences at the Department of Home Affairs and elsewhere. In addition, the HRC’s work is supported by a number of NGOs, including the Africa Diaspora Forum (ADF) and the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), among others. In the absence of clarity on the relationship between government and migrants in general

and any integrative program geared to orienting them to their new society, the consequence is a generally negative perception of migrants, including Ethiopians.

5.1.7. Stereotype and Xenophobia

As migrants in a country that is increasingly hostile to their presence, Ethiopians are victims of stereotype and xenophobia to the point where they bitterly expressed their concerns in the data.

“They don’t have good views of us — foreigners. They hate us, and this is practically and clearly seen during xenophobic attacks” (Respondent 19).

“Instead of being burnt while you are alive, it is better to go back home. They also ask us: ‘Why don’t you go back to your country?’” (Respondent 5).

“Previously, they had a good view of us. They liked us and were happy with us. They were also asking about our country. But now, they see us as taking opportunities, their money, as well as their food away from them. So now, they don’t like us” (Respondent 23).

“‘Go back. Why did you come here?’ They feel that we are taking their opportunities” (Respondent 16).

“Once in 2010 I was in the hospital, sitting on the bench, a coloured woman said to me: “Go – this seat is prepared for us” (Case study 2).

“You ‘makwerekwere,’ when are you going to your home?” (Respondent 13).

“You are here until the world cup (2010), after that you leave our country” (Case study 1).

The data reveals the extent of Ethiopian migrants’ awareness of the anti-foreign sentiment that is focussed on them. Despite the initial warmth with which Ethiopians were greeted during the early stages of the new dispensation in South Africa, that welcoming mat of brotherhood has now been replaced by contempt and hostility (Gebre, 2007:18). As a consequence, the former positive attitude has been replaced by overt stereotypical and xenophobic behaviour from members of the host society (Patel and Essa, 2015).

Accordingly, the erroneous perception of a great many indigenous South Africans is that society’s social ills including “high unemployment and inequality are not being tackled” (www.news24.com, 2015) and are viewed as the responsibility of migrants, including Ethiopians. The wrongs for which migrants are held responsible include, but are not limited to, the scarcity of resources; poor service delivery; drug trafficking and other crimes; the acquisition

of assets such as housing by foreigners; depriving South Africans of jobs; working for lower wages as they were not involved in the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions; opening businesses that compete with local establishments; spreading HIV and AIDS; and, in the case of store owners, selling poor quality items, including clothing (www.sahistory.org.za, n.d). These are some of the major reasons given for xenophobic attacks.

To the contrary, studies show that foreigners ought not to be blamed for the problems cited above. “According to the IRR research, migrant businesses do not steal but create on average, three new jobs of which, despite their ethnocentric approach, is filled approximately by a third by South African citizens” (Wessels, 2017). In this, we can see that not only job creation, but the existence and utilization of bonding social capital which is evident through their ethnocentric network. Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg are particularly well known for this type of network. For other socio-economic problems

Braam Hanekom, Director of People against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty Organization, [argues that i]t's hard to fight for jobs. It's hard to fix the economy. It's hard to create opportunities. It's very easy to blame someone, but it's hard to blame the elected leadership who have the majority of support on the ground (www.news24.com, 2015).

Therefore, as this example clearly shows, foreigners ought not to be blamed for South Africa's many problems. Instead, they are boosting the economy through their entrepreneurship and transmitting business skills to South Africans (Henderson, 2017).

As with stereotypes in general, the inaccuracy (Pickering, 2001: 24-25) of how migrants are portrayed belies the facts of their status and their existence. One major characteristic of this “cultural universal” (ibid.) called stereotyping is that it “imparts a sense of fixedness to the homogenized images it disseminates” (ibid). Black migrants, including Ethiopians, are viewed as a special brand of “others”, which involves a dislike for and fear of foreigners, and is a classical definition of xenophobia. As such, xenophobia became a pathology (Harris, 2002:177) that is used to scapegoat African migrants, including Ethiopians.

As the data indicates, the range of negative stereotypical experiences by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg clearly shows the contempt in which they are held. For example, it has been erroneously argued that attacks against foreigners in general, and Ethiopians in particular, are due to poverty. Such an argument is baseless as, if that were the case, “Zimbabwe would have

the highest number of xenophobic-attack-deaths” (Ekwealor, 2017). Neither is the argument that some foreigners take jobs from indigenous South Africans a valid one as many of the foreign Africans in the country are self-employed in small businesses (ibid.). This state of affairs has been summarised as follows:

It is not unprecedented but it is certainly most unfortunate since South Africans can no longer appeal to sympathy against apartheid, especially if they increase the violence of xenophobia. This will disadvantage South Africa in African political and economic affairs. The claim that jobs are being taken from the South Africans by foreign nationals is laughable. Which jobs? The Spaza shop of the Somalian or Ethiopian which he built with his money? Or the medical doctors in South African hospitals? There are no demonstrations in any of the hospitals in this land (ibid.).

Ekwealor then goes on to outline some the salient features of South Africa’s economic relationship with the rest of the continent. This shows the extent to which South Africa’s economy is subsidized by other African countries, something that is not generally known especially among those who are inclined towards xenophobia.

Surely, there are South Africans who abhor the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and there are also foreign nationals who have become sincerely infuriated by the incidents of 2008, 2016, and 2017. And this explains why Nigeria’s response to the situation is increasingly firm. Without a doubt, South Africa has investments all over Africa. Shoprite, MTN, DSTV, and others generate and repatriate billions of rands into South Africa; these benefit the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), Scholarships and other grants within the education sector to give South African youth a better future. Majority of the monies spent on free education for South Africans are partly generated from Nigeria, Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and elsewhere on African soil, (ibid.).

The fundamental challenge that faces the society is overcoming the false perception that foreigners in South Africa are benefitting in a one-sided relationship with the country. It further implies that South Africa has a pronounced responsibility to educate its people about this socio-economic and political reality, as well as to take significant steps to rein in xenophobic attacks. This reality is also found in the data:

“Educating local South Africans about their economic problems and the life of foreigners is important. It can change everything. It can change crime and how people see each other. I think that South Africa should spend more on educating its people” (Respondent 2).

Although most respondents blame local South Africans for xenophobia, some respondents confirmed the existence of problems that come from among Ethiopian migrants which hinder social integration and generate hostility.

“We don’t do anything for the South Africans who are around us except taking money from them” (Respondent 13).

“We use our own language, eat our home food, have our own religious celebrations, our calendar is different, we stay among ourselves. How do you think that we can have unity with local South Africans?” (Respondent 7).

“They are good people but we are making ourselves superior. That is how the problem comes” (Respondent 6).

“The Abesha people social life doesn’t have anything to do with the local people” (Respondent 10).

In some cases, as the data shows, “othering” is not only from the host society aimed at Ethiopians. Ethiopian migrants themselves are “othering” members of the host society. For example, Ethiopians do not socialize with local people. They do so among themselves which adds to the gap between both groups. These are characteristics which come from shortcomings in social integration indicate why there is social distance between the Ethiopian migrant and the host society.

The above-mentioned phenomena under 5.1.1 to 5.1.7 are directly related to the negative emotional and ever-present demands – during their everyday social interaction, at home, and at work – that are placed on Ethiopian migrants in their struggle for survival in Johannesburg. These demands dictate that they be vigilant, extremely cautious, and leery of strangers as well as some of their fellow Ethiopians. This type of behaviour is contradictory to the culture from which they come and, in turn, places even greater stress on them than ordinarily would be the case.

In their daily interaction, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg face various challenges, the demanding response to which affects them emotionally. In turn, such an experience adds to their level of stress. From a sociological perspective, stress “has a precise meaning. It may refer to external situational pressures (stressors) or to the responses to them (stress reactions) – responses usually assume to have physical or psychological components, such as raised pulse-rate and adrenalin levels, and feelings of anxiety and discomfort” (Scott, 2014:732). This results from the “imbalance within a person elicited by an actual or perceived disparity between environmental demands and the person’s capacity to cope with these demands”(davidscottsociology.tripod.com, n.d.) which may produce a range of psycho-somatic responses. This stressful situation may be

overcome by minimizing the individual's angst by way of providing social support including meeting a "person's basic social needs – affection, esteem, approval, belonging, identity, security – [which] are satisfied through interaction with others" (Aneshensel 1992:17). Some of these qualities are lacking among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.

5.2. Social Issues Emanating from the Study

5.2.1. Political Instability and the Social Network (Pre-Migratory Socialisation) that Induces Migration

Primarily, migration is pushed by a number of factors such as the search for religious freedom, political instability, the pursuit of better economic opportunity, and environmental stress. The last three factors mentioned applying to Ethiopian migration to South Africa. As a result, the number of Ethiopian migrants has increased through various networks. In response to the study's question as to why the individual left Ethiopia, the answers were as follows:

"You know, there is no job opportunity in Ethiopia. That is why I came to South Africa" (Respondent 2).

Ethiopia is poor. What can I do in Ethiopia to help my family? Our father died when we were young and I am the oldest son, so I had to help the family. I tried to work as an Assistant Isuzu driver. The income was not sufficient. So I talked to my uncle in South Africa...who came five years ago and he sent me money to come (Respondent 12).

"You have to join the ruling party and know somebody in government to get work. If you are not their member, you can't get a job" (Respondent 24).

"Our political situation in Ethiopia is confusing. They change the rules and divide tribes but they don't give us jobs" (Respondent 8).

"I heard that we could do good business in South Africa. So I decided to get away from problems in Ethiopia and come to South Africa. There is no problem to come out from Ethiopia and reach Kenya. After Kenya, there was a lot of problems. But God helped me to reach South Africa" (Respondent 15).

"Compared to other African countries, South Africa is free, democratic, and has business opportunities. That is why I chose to come here. I heard about these things from people who lived here and went back home, and from what I experience, it is true" (Respondent 4).

"Instead of burning alive with people 'necklacing' you with tires, it is better to work here in Ethiopia. We see all this on Facebook and other social media (Respondent 40).

“Being a migrant is bad. If they hit you, you can’t hit them back and if they insult you, you can’t insult them back” (Respondent 39).

“The government is trying to make opportunities for us here. I advise people not to try and migrate and end up dying” (Respondent 42).

“Going to South Africa is not good. We see they kill and bodies are coming every time” (Respondent 45).

As the data indicated, there is a clear picture of the instability and uncertainties of the Ethiopian political system. With the 1991 overthrow of the Mengistu government (or the Derg), the illegal migration routes through several countries and into South Africa became increasingly pronounced and well established, if not institutionalized. The background to this development was that during the time of the Mengistu regime, Ethiopians needed an exit visa to leave the country (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015:5). With the current Ethiopian government, this is no longer the case. Therefore, they depart for Kenya where there is no visa requirement and then they cross several countries illegally on their way to South Africa, where they anticipate a better life. Such an expectation creates a pulling factor, which has given birth to a flood of economic migrants to South Africa. This development endorses “the theory of cumulative causation which states that migration sustains itself by creating more migration” (Thieme, 2006:38).

Since the new dispensation in South Africa but specifically, since 2000, a number of informal social structures have emerged in Ethiopian society with their own individual networks which envelop the individual in a tightly-knit web of pre-migratory relationships (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:11). The ethos of these relationships provides a steady flow of individuals who constitute the backbone of those who desire to migrate to South Africa. The political instability and the lack of economic opportunities propelled Ethiopian migration to South Africa. Although their numbers have increased through the usage of various networks and they have gained economic advancement, however, their migration is associated with a number of challenges in the migratory process as well as at their destination in Johannesburg.

Although a culture of migration has been established in Ethiopia, the interviews conducted in Ethiopia indicated that there is a changing perception of the migratory phenomenon in the society. Mass expulsion of Ethiopians from Saudi Arabia, xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Ethiopians drowning in the Mediterranean Sea, and being beheaded by Isis, have all had a

significant and discouraging effect on those Ethiopians who see migration as a viable alternative to life in Ethiopia. The development of this perception was honed by social media.

5.2.2. Educational Handicap and Language Problems

For the most part, despite the network that facilitates their coming to South Africa, Ethiopian migrants are unaware of the need for pre-migratory orientation and preparation. This is related to their low educational standard as the data indicated. Most Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg have, at best, a primary or a secondary education background as most of them are from rural areas. Due to this, except for their entrepreneurial interests, their global outlook, including their exposure and interest in the English language is limited. The following data indicates this reality:

“When I was in Ethiopia, I was running a small business. I then communicated with others relatives who had previously come to South Africa. They told me that business is good in South Africa, that is how I came here and business is good except for the crime” (Respondent 1).

We have no knowledge, we don't even ask for advice, and we don't want to listen to other people. As a result, the development of Abeshas (Ethiopians and Eritreans) has only reached to working with Chinese to get supplies. Only a very few Abeshas go to China to get supplies. Abesha neither co-operates with each other nor think on the corporate level (Respondent 8).

“We are uneducated and do not speak another language except our own. We left home; we relied on prayer to provide solutions to our problems. Among our group, one man could speak a little English. That helped to get us out of bad situations that we faced” (Respondent 14).

“Because of our language problems and lacking knowledge we pay money for everything that we want to do. This is why the police stop us and demand money for nothing” (Respondent 14).

“Let me tell you my experience. I was working in a location outside of Johannesburg delivering blankets and other materials. I was only communicating by the sign. And these people are very good people. They were taking goods from me and they were paying. We just came to South Africa only by what we heard about the work. The problem is the robbers. They were stopping us in the location and taking our money. We did not communicate with them because we do not know the language. We don't even go to the police” (Respondent 22).

The language problem is also perceptively expressed by a local (South African) respondent who observed that:

In Ethiopians' case, language is the first barrier... that is where the problem starts. Their own bonding is a problem. If they were making relationships with others, maybe the hostile situation could be better ... the invisible wall that the Ethiopians created should be broken down...it made

them not to see the outside world except their bonding. It must be torn down, there must be a relationship with local people.... Most of the time, Ethiopians socialize among themselves. This is because of the language barriers and background... The lifestyle here in Johannesburg is different from their lifestyle in Ethiopia. So you need to find something in common for you to have a friend ... there must be something in common. For instance, in our case, between you and me... it is the church. I have seen an Ethiopian man having a South African girlfriend, but I have never seen an Ethiopian woman marrying or dating a South African man. This may be because of cultural background, religion, and language barriers (Respondent 34).

The data indicates the importance of education, particularly mastery of the language in which one expects to operate. It is generally well established and universally accepted that in general, formal education is a precursor to just about anything that an individual or a nation-state desires to accomplish. This is because education is the engine that drives the development and advancement of ideas in “all spheres of human progress” (Marber, 2003:105). Furthermore, it is largely a preparatory tool for young people to excel professionally and an avenue through which values and skills are generationally transmitted (Rugunanan, 2015: 276) in both a manifest and a latent manner (ibid., p. 277).

This argument has been repeatedly presented by many scholars, including Freedman (2005). Given the generally accepted idea of the value of formal education and its relationship to development, one is inclined to think that it is counter-intuitive for a relatively uneducated individual to be successful in any society. However, most Ethiopians who have migrated to South Africa have been successful by relying on their informally garnered entrepreneurial skills (OECD 2010:9) and the use of various networks. This is in line with the argument that, “just as a screwdriver (physical capital) or a college education (human capital) can increase productivity (both individual and collective), so do social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups” (Imandoust, 2011:52).

For example, the business talent that is pronounced among Ethiopians, particularly members of the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups in Ethiopia, who came to Johannesburg from a rural background, is a case in point. Although they are successful entrepreneurs, their security concerns are in question. Therefore, they go blindly into various areas in Black South African townships and open tuck shops. As a result, they are easy targets for criminals and are sometimes murdered. As such, they become examples of the Ethiopian adage: “The ox sees the grass but not the cliff.” This is confirmed by the biblical text: “My people are destroyed for lack of

knowledge” (Hosea 4: 6 in Marks, 2012: 1561). In addition, apart from their business acumen, Ethiopian migrants are adversely affected by their relatively low level of education despite their business success. However, their lack of education and a reasonably sophisticated understanding of the workings of the political system explain why so many Ethiopians rely on paying money, for which they are known, to accomplish relatively simple civic and legal objectives.

Such behaviour manifests how the irrational sector of society undergirds the rational sector, despite the fact that those guilty of this type of activity are bureaucrats and/or law enforcement officers. Given this, the Ethiopians’ cocoon-like existence prevents them from developing significant level of coping mechanism in order to address even the slightest legal problem that emerges. Therefore, given their entrepreneurial nature, Ethiopians tend to cut their losses whenever such problems emerge. For example, if they are stopped by the police for whatever reason, Ethiopians are known to offer a small amount of money even before the police making such a request. This is because Ethiopians do not want to be stopped by the police for fear of losing business that was supposed to be conducted at that time. Even if there is no business involved, it has become customary for Ethiopians to subsidize the police, irrespective of whether one is in the right or in the wrong. This is yet another manifestation of the culture of “‘Mobile ATM’...we are not required to pay taxes to the government. But when we walk down these streets, we pay” (Landau, 2005:11).

Consequently, whenever a legal problem emerges, instead of addressing the matter appropriately, The adage “Make a plan” applies here. This is coded language and is understood to mean that Ethiopians are willing to pay for services that should be free. As a result, the general view of Ethiopians, particularly among law enforcement officers and Home Affairs personnel, is that they are easy sources of capital. This explains why Landau (2005:7) and Amit (2015:1) maintain that the Department of Home Affairs is a corrupt institution (Malan, 2017).

The data indicates that the small business experience described above becomes informally but substantially expanded upon their arrival in South Africa. Despite their demonstrated entrepreneurialism, Ethiopians tend to not co-operate much with each other, except for the groups to which they belong, whether ethnic, religious, business, and others. In these cases, their relationship is a primary one. If the opposite were true, and they were willing to meet and

function with others beyond the primary groups with which they bond, their business success would have been much greater than is currently the case. In other words, instead of expanding their small businesses into larger and co-operative enterprises among fellow business people, a lack of education and professional training means that Ethiopians in South Africa opt for various types of customary bonding, which manifests itself in their inability to make major business progress. Consequently, they remain small business operators. On this basis, the study posits that if Ethiopians had more formal professional education and/or training, which incorporated a much more significant level of trust than is currently the case, their business undertakings in South Africa would grow exponentially. This point of view has been reflected in the data by respondent number 8 above.

In this regard, it has been argued that co-operation develops among individuals when they “share values and norms and norm-confirming behaviour” (Diekmann and Lindenberg, 2001:1). Given the business success and entrepreneurialism that is so pronounced among Ethiopians, it follows that they do share basically the same business spirit, especially among the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups. However, there can be no doubt that what is lacking among them is a fundamental question of inter-ethnic group trust of bridging social capital.

To the Ethiopian migrant, developing social capital in order to establish working relationships outside of the Ethiopian community seems unnecessary, if not undesirable. This is because “[t]he Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church ... is a unique African church, deeply rooted in Ethiopian history, social life and ethics” (Abbink, 2003:1). One of the consequences of this is that it facilitates the fostering of the necessary network on which migrants rely for survival. This foundation was laid when the church was responsible for education, prior to the establishment of a Ministry of Education. Therefore, the fact that education bolsters social capital and that social capital bolsters education (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Discussion Paper, 2002:12) is irrelevant to the ethos of her/his financial survival and the accomplishment of the financial goals that are sought. In this context, at least a rudimentary understanding of the basic language required for effective functioning is essential in order to achieve some business success.

With respect to Ethiopian migrants to South Africa, the textured relationship that they have with their languages (Ge’ez and Amharic) sometimes and to some extent limits the business

relationships that they have with non-Ethiopians beyond the cursory or superficial. The only exception to this state of affairs is the business working relationships that they are able to forge with other ethnic groups, as shown in this study. This situation is further exacerbated by the fact that Ethiopians live among each other, eat their own food, socialize with each other, and generally live in a mini-Ethiopian world. To this extent, they are seen as “the other”, in the third person plural.

In the absence of a substantive understanding of the workings of the western socio-economic system, or even an interest in such an understanding except inasmuch as it affects their specific entrepreneurial undertakings, Ethiopians remain socially cloistered. Their generally non-existent language skills contribute to the maintenance of the social distance that exists between Ethiopians and South Africans at large. However, this is not true of their business partners with whom they are able to forge business relationships using only a few business-related words that they both understand. In this sense, the Ethiopian migrant is indeed “remote and close at hand, mobile and yet somehow settled, feared and yet desired” (Pickering, 2001:205). This dilemma was profoundly articulated by Nelson Mandela when he remarked: “If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head. If you talk to him in his language that goes to his heart” (www. bbc.co.uk, n. d). Language problems can also be seen in the relationship between parents and children.

“In the cultural realm, the couple with children doesn’t raise them in the Ethiopian way. Neither are they raised according to South African culture. The children are growing up in a confused manner. They do not even know their history” (Respondent 5).

The above observation presents a classic case of marginalization in which children find themselves caught between two cultures, neither of which they fully understand, but in one of which they are functional. This is due to the language gap between the parents and their children. Most parents do not speak English and are therefore unable to explain their background. At the same time, most children are unable to communicate with their parents as they barely speak Amharic and only marginally understand it. The parents grew up in an Ethiopian context, while the children are growing up in a South African one. This language barrier creates great social distance between parents and children and, as a result, the cultural, educational, and generational

gaps between parents and children become pronounced. This lack of communication which is compounded by survival necessities results in creative and borderline forms of behaviour.

5.2.3. The Emergence of Self-preservation Behaviour

Notwithstanding the relatively low level of inter-ethnic group trust that exists among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, their collective awareness of their need for self-preservation in the face of hostility and criminality dictates that they co-operate with each other out of necessity while living in fear. As the following respondents indicated:

There are good and bad things in South Africa. The bad things can make you lose your hope. The biggest job in South Africa is cheating. Everybody is cheating everybody else. So the cheating connection touches everyone. I do it also. If I don't confess and stop these things, they will continue to contradict my religious beliefs. This is why we need the Church to be with us (Respondent 17).

"Whichever government office you go to, they always expect money from you. This is because we are Ethiopians and it is a common expectation that you will give people money" (Respondent 26).

By being an Ethiopian, I would like to advise you that you yourself should always have fifty rands in your pocket because if the robbers stop you and if you don't have any money with you they will attack you... and will say to you, 'why are you not working and earning money like your brothers?' (Respondent 7).

You don't trust anybody in Johannesburg. You don't tell them what your plans are, what you do and where you go. You never know who is who. They can arrange any funny thing to destroy you. You might share with the person who is very honest and close to you. Even those people might bring a problem to you too. That is how many innocent Ethiopians are being hurt, by their close friends... There is one incident that happened among Hadiya people where a brother arranged with criminals to rob his own brother in his shop...but was shot and killed by the brother that he planned to rob... After the incident when the shooter saw the body, it was his own brother who came to rob him and was killed (Respondent 2).

"We Ethiopian migrants prefer to live among other Ethiopian migrants in one area where we are close to other Ethiopians. This is because we want to reduce becoming a victim of hostility and crime" (Respondent 10).

"I prefer not to live around other Ethiopians. They don't have a positive attitude towards you if you are more successful than them" (Respondent 21).

"Because of the fear of crime and the need to save money, you can't rent a house and stay alone. They will attack you. This is why we live in a group unless you can afford it and live in a rich area" (Respondent 6).

According to the data, life among Ethiopians in Johannesburg is difficult. The main reason for this is because the major motivating factor for Ethiopians coming to South Africa is an economic one. It follows that the undertakings that characterize almost all of their activities will be governed by this factor and take precedence over all others. This success is a two-edged sword as it then forces them to undertake certain self-preservation measures which would be unnecessary in Ethiopia. As a result of this, they have abandoned many of the traditional moral values that are the ethos of the Ethiopian culture from which they come. This is what the data explains in that Ethiopians behave differently and are lacking in trust towards each other except in their specific but conditional bonding and bridging network largely in their business undertakings. In Johannesburg, such “social relationships serve important functions in facilitating the action of individual actors [and, therefore], form the basis of social capital” (Lin, 2001:23), which they struggle to maintain and advance (ibid., p. 22).

The establishment and institutionalization of this new “self-preserving measures” among Ethiopians is contradictory to their cultural values and is something of a shock to those Ethiopian newcomers to South Africa who observe it. So pervasive is this behaviour pattern among some Ethiopians that they soon adopt the very values that they abhorred. This is because, with their limited educational and professional training, coupled with the impossibility of employment elsewhere, this is the only viable option available to them if they are to survive, otherwise, they are “ostracised by the group and, as such, confront extra cost from not co-operating” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:28). This social adjustment is coupled to an informal learning process in which one is irregularly and informally, but conscientiously, instructed in the do’s and don’ts of life in Johannesburg, and in how to avoid becoming a victim of crime.

The data indicates that Ethiopians prefer living together in order to minimize the probability of being a victim of crime. To the contrary, however, for fear of exposure of crime that is instigated by other Ethiopians who are in cahoots with criminal elements, those Ethiopians who can afford to pay their rent alone, shy away from group living and go to various extremes not to disclose their residential address. Such behaviour is because of the hostility that may stem from a variety of sources and results in a lack of trust. Negative social capital manifestations apply here in that those who know an individual may enter into coalitions with criminal elements to do one harm (Svendsen and Svendesen, 2009:5). These may include previous business partners, one’s old

friends who may have become enemies as a result of jealousy over another individual's success, and even people who may not have known you previously but who also become jealous due to the group's dynamics.

In most instances when there are heterogeneous inter-group Ethiopian gatherings or meeting with those beyond the groups with which they are bonded, such as at weddings and birthday parties, it is not unusual for disruptions to occur. In attempting to avoid this, many Ethiopians in Johannesburg, go to extreme measures to protect their families and themselves including not attending such gatherings and taking measures to allow only a few Ethiopians with whom they have a bonding relationship to visit their homes. This finding is an outgrowth of the researcher's participant observation.

5.2.4. Survival Mechanism

Survival mechanisms among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg are patently nonconventional.

"My religion, which I brought from Ethiopia, helps me a lot in my daily life and interactions. I behave responsibly, I respect people, and other moral elements are also helping me a lot" (Respondent 24).

"The fear of God that I brought from Ethiopia has helped me in my daily life" (Respondent 10).

"The shortcut that we take in our business and the lower prices affect the company shops, but people like it, especially the lower and middle classes, because they cannot afford to purchase from the chain stores in the malls or to go to the larger company shops" (Respondent 17).

"If you want to start business South Africa is good. You can start your business small and if you manage to pay equb, you will easily grow in business" (Respondent 23).

"If you have no money to start your own business, you can be employed for one year by other Ethiopians and then you can have your own business" (Respondent 1).

"In South Africa, you don't worry what to eat and drink. You should worry about what money to send home" (Respondent 20).

"Our business is connected to one another. The big bosses go to China and bring goods. Others take from them and sell to the smaller business people and they sell to others. Among us Ethiopians, this is how we survive. The best thing is that we don't pay tax" (Respondent 11).

SARS is our problem. Sometimes they come and take our stuff and the business fails. Funny enough, you will see your goods that were taken by SARS on the streets and in the hands of other

Ethiopians who are selling them. But we don't know how they got them. This makes us not to trust one another (Respondent 9).

“We are business people. For our survival, we work with other business people such as Chinese, Indians, Kenyans, Nigerians, and Senegalese and anybody else who wants to do business. Business is business” (Respondent 19).

The data shows that the manifestation of trust and networking in business among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg helps them in their survival. In the absence of financial support in particular from the host government, in this case, South Africa, arguably leaves Ethiopian migrants with no viable alternative but to rely on their various networks, *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* cultural institutions that they use as social capital and means of surviving. These three self-help groups are an endorsement of the idea that “social capital is the resources, real or potential, gained from relationships” (Lin, 2001:23).

The creativity applied to this undertaking is most pronounced in their spirit of entrepreneurialism, which manifests itself in diverse and unusual ways. Coming from a society in which there is no government subsidy of any kind, and coupled with their rich small business experience, Ethiopians see South Africa as a fertile soil for business development and expansion. In the course of this, Ethiopians are able to draw on a traditional business structure that they implement for their mutual benefit in South Africa. Complementing the complexity of their business structure within which Ethiopians work is facilitated by their cultural background, just as their religious expression is a continuation of their culture which “provide[s] an informal framework to organize information sharing, coordination of activities, and collective decision making (Dekker and Uslander, 2001:11). Stated differently, as was maintained in the spirit of capitalism, their motivation is a function of their religious beliefs and practices and their business undertakings dovetail with their religious expressions.

Arguably, one of the major reasons for the type of behaviour that characterizes Ethiopians' patterns of establishing viable alternative economic structures in order to accomplish their objectives is that the larger society, as a rule, provides them with no viable alternatives. For example, like other refugees, most Ethiopians are ineligible for public sector employment except for a few professionals, and only a few are employed in the private sector. As most Ethiopians are economic migrants, they mainly employ their creativity in the area of small business

entrepreneurialism, such as clothing stores, tuck shops, etc. The use of their social capital is most pronounced in these business enterprises in both conventional and non-conventional ways.

With regard to the former, Ethiopians go through the well-established governmental regulatory processes in order to secure licenses and permits and to ensure that they abide by all the legal requirements where possible, advisable, and necessary. With regard to non-conventionality, it has been claimed that some Ethiopian-owned clothing stores, for example, sell mislabelled clothing items, which constitutes a violation of both copyright laws and the South African Revenue Service (SARS) regulations. It was also observed by the researcher that the business improvisation of Ethiopians manifests in selling through street-vending entrepreneurs, providing clothing on credit, and giving favoured customer's huge discounts on bulk purchases. Therefore, in order to meet their customers' demands, their religious devotion sometimes comes a distant second to their motivation for business success. Although their nonconventional approach to business brings them some success, it has also generated some backlash from taxpaying business people. This is the major reason why the businesses of Ethiopian migrants are raided by the SARS and the South African Police Service (SAPS) at irregular intervals. Their goods are confiscated and the owners may or may not be prosecuted on any number of grounds, including copyright infringement. However, this matter is not that straightforward.

Although nobody seems to know the route that the seized merchandise takes through which it ends up in stores owned by other Ethiopian or in the hands of street peddlers, it is generally known that what is seized from one store finds its way into the general marketplace. It may be sold to the original owner or to anyone else at a reduced price, which results in animosity within the Ethiopian business community. This almost invariably leads to intra-group conflict, which sometimes degenerates into violence. If a store owner is a member of an existing mutual assistance system of co-operative social and financial support he may receive financial assistance in order to re-establish his business. However, if the original owner from whom the merchandise was taken has no financial resources to fall back on, he/she may be put out of business, forced into a range of illegalities, and/or end up mentally ill as has often occurred.

The data indicates that there is an internecine business warfare taking place among Ethiopians regarding the official seizure of merchandise from one establishment and it's being sold directly

or indirectly by another. This is a manifestation of the draconian world of untrustworthiness that is played out in Johannesburg at irregular intervals among Ethiopian businessmen. According to the data, it is plausible to argue that a secret network (or networks), or what is called the irrational or criminal sector, works with elements of the rational or law-abiding/enforcement sectors of society in order to facilitate such a development. This anomic behaviour is paradoxical in the sense that it results in intra-group distrust, which further weakens both the intra- and inter-group bonding social capital that exists among Ethiopians. Such an argument is based on the fact that whatever dissonance exists within the group as a whole further expands the social distance between and among Ethiopians and minimizes the feeling of *Ethiopianness* that is supposed to bind the members of the Ethiopian community together. In the final analysis, despite their intra- and inter-group animosity, Ethiopians find creative ways of accommodating each other's business interests, although this process may involve some trepidation if not dread.

Nevertheless, Ethiopians do reach out to other ethnic groups, such as Chinese, Indians, Kenyans, Nigerians, and Senegalese, among others, with whom they engage in business activities. This is an aspect of bridging social capital for mutual benefit, in which Ethiopians quintessentially engage from the perspective of participating in inter-group bonding social capital among like-minded business associates. Consequently, the bridging social capital that manifests itself between Ethiopians and other ethnic groups is one that is dictated by mutual business interests and benefits. In this sense, what has been referred to as “normative and identity-based goals” (Field, 2008:74) accommodate “access to new types of resources but rely less on strongly shared values” (ibid.) in order to accomplish desirable objectives.

Such an undertaking facilitates the subjective qualities of *Ethiopianness*, as psychologically diluted as it may be among some groups of Ethiopians, and keeps them somewhat intact. As we have learned from the data, together with their religiosity, *Ethiopianness* facilitates Ethiopians arriving at a consciousness of ultimate religious expression, which answers the question concerning “what it means to be human and the ultimate meaning and purpose of human life” (Zohar and Marshall, 2004:7). Herein lies a supreme paradox. While the business activities of some Ethiopians may be nefarious, their spiritual capital or religiosity provides them with solace.

5.2.5. Psychotherapeutic Services and the Role of Religion

There are multiple pressures and cross-pressures under which Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg operate. There are also various corresponding protocols that the South African government has signed with international organizations (Ghebreyohannes, 2014:34). One of the outgrowths of having signed these protocols is that the South African government has made psychotherapeutic services readily available to migrants. However, their reticence in using such services has been analyzed as follows:

Whenever there are problems, the only place to go is the church, because you don't have a trustworthy person with whom to share. Here, everybody is running after money, and it is not good to tell your problems to people. They don't have time to listen to your problems as it would cause them more headaches. So I prefer to go to church and tell my problems to God. After getting peace, you can readjust yourself and think how to solve your problems (Respondent 1).

“Abesha doesn't go anywhere else for his problems except the church” (Respondent 11).

“No, we don't know about these services to help us in our stressful situation. We are only accustomed to our church and there is no other place can give us peace except the church” (Respondent 18).

Most respondents who responded to the question of how they deal with stress provided answers that, in many ways, paralleled those indicated above. The fact that Ethiopian migrants interact within a mutually reinforcing circle of fellow migrants results in an in-group system of socialization through which they acquire and reinforce their multi-faceted values. Moreover, given the social reality (or realities) in Ethiopian migrant community and the coping mechanisms that are devised to address certain mental problems, it is natural that migrants feel comfortable approaching religious leaders, relying on religious symbols, and engagement in rituals as avenues of therapeutic modality. Such behaviour is quite consistent with people in traditional societies. Hajizadeh quotes Emile Durkheim's analysis of this phenomenon as follows:

It is inadmissible that systems of ideas like religions, which have held so considerable a place in history, and to which, in all times, men have come to receive the energy which they must have to live, should be made up of a tissue of illusions. Today we are beginning to realize that law, morals and even scientific thought itself were born of religion, were for a long time confounded with it, and have remained penetrated with its spirit. How could a vain fantasy have been able to fashion the human consciousness so strongly and so durably? (2013:49).

This durability is found in the individual's religion, which provides her/him with the most reliable institutional structure and practices on which she/he can depend to enhance her/his coping mechanism as it provides answers to social problems (ibid., p. 53), and by extension, personal problems as well. Therefore, the postulate advanced by Zaaïman that religion is "a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life" (2015:305) explains why "many immigrant groups join religious congregations to cultivate social networks with a community which preserves their ethic and cultural identity" (Bonifacio and Angeles, 2010:240). This is one of the reasons why Ethiopian migrants who are members of the EOTC find their religion so appealing as, in the final analysis, it provides definitive answers to whatever challenges the individual faces (Arivia and Adian, 2009:44). In this regard, it plays a key role by functioning as a coping mechanism among Ethiopian migrants and so becomes an element of bonding social capital.

One of the many characteristics of migration is that those who engage in this phenomenon do so with their identity and their religion, both of which are honed by their culture. Migration necessitates the individual connecting with a range of institutions that are indispensable to the migrant's hope that she/he will experience a better future than would ordinarily have been the case. Religion provides coping mechanisms in the sense that it provides "general social functionality" (Berger, 1967:176). However, the migrant may still experience adjustment problems as religion does not necessarily offer all the answers required to all problems in all circumstances. Because the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg is really a closed system, there is no community association among this population and, likewise, neither is there a system of communication between government and the Ethiopian community. With such non-existent interaction between the two, there is very little information on the type of government services that may be available to them. Indeed, where such a relationship exists, linking social capital is established and the integration of the migrant into the civic and wider society is a foregone conclusion (Elliott and Yusuf, 2014:101-110).

Ethiopians experience a number of social issues in their act of migration. The dynamics of pulling and pushing factors expose them to various social problems that are beyond their control. In their response, their limited knowledge and language deficiency increase their dependency on others and limit their survival options including usage of professional services that may be

available to them. Therefore, they rely almost exclusively on their religiosity and its values to which they are accustomed.

5.3. Cultural Issues Reflected in the Study

5.3.1. Entrepreneurship

Because the vast majority of Ethiopians who migrate to South Africa do so to improve their economic lot, it follows that their interests are almost exclusively entrepreneurial. Such a spirit of entrepreneurialism is an outgrowth of their cultural background, limited viable job opportunities, the existence of a cohesive social network, seeing other Ethiopians who are successful, and the ability to generate their own capital (OECD, 2010:7-10). The following data reflect these facts as well as sheds light on the problems that are attendant to their undertakings.

Ethiopians here in South Africa have inspired people who look at them. When they opened Holy Saviour Church in Berea in 2001, there were only two Ethiopian cars parked there. Look, there are now thousands of cars parked in the church. These are the people with a strong work ethic, "I lived in Ethiopia, and they don't like corruption... Ethiopian police, they don't take bribes... I traveled to Ethiopia by road via Kenya. The Kenyan police, they demand bribes, but not the Ethiopians. It is a different scenario altogether. You feel like you are not in Africa (Respondent 35).

Our people (largely among the Hadiya and the Kembata ethnic groups), sometimes, kill each other, they kill their brothers. This is only for money. They have no fear of God here in South Africa, they became like beasts. Money is the only reason. They killed my wife's brother, and we managed to have the killer arrested, but now he is out on bail. Now he is threatening of killing me. I am so scared (Respondent 3).

In Johannesburg, the economic hub, Ethiopians are one of the many employers too... If you go to Jeppe Street, a number of shops... Ethiopians are owners and managers, and South Africans, Zimbabweans, Malawians are employed, and they work in those shops. So they are contributing to the economic, socio-economic life of the people in terms of employment. They are helping the government as part of the private sector in terms of creating employment. Economically, they are contributing positively in the sense that they are generating work, they are providing markets for a greater outlet. Johannesburg people love clothes and Ethiopians sell nice clothes... they are very convenient for Jozy people... Ethiopians make nice things available to them (Respondent 33).

Johannesburg is CBD. I admire people who are business-minded. One thing that I found out about Ethiopians is that they are business-minded people. They are always looking forward to developing themselves economically. Ethiopians are united, they have a strong bond. More especially, when they are here in South Africa, their bonding becomes even stronger because they need each other more. You are not like when you were in Ethiopia (Respondent 35).

“It is Abasha who started to supply goods at a cheap price to the local people. They sell at a low price in order to have quick sales and make small profit” (Respondent 18).

“I don’t have educational and professional background. My only choice is to run a small business” (Respondent 24).

Few Hadiya and Kembata the people who came at initial stage, they undertook hard work at the locations, they experienced various challenges, they were killed, they were rapped. Despite all these challenges, they work and able to send money home. They were able to date Eritrean and other Ethiopian ladies who came from cities, and they themselves accustomed to the city life. Those who see the money they send and see their wedding photos... mass came and still are coming (Case study 1).

Ethiopian migrants embody the enterprise creed and the work ethic, both of which are key elements of the so-called Protestant Ethic constructed by John Calvin (Schaefer, 2014:226). Weber refined this argument by maintaining that “religion is not solely a matter of intimate personal belief. Rather, the collective nature of religion has social consequences for society as a whole” (ibid.). One of the “social consequences” of Protestantism, for example, has been the emergence of capitalism. In this regard, social capital “is an aspect of a social structure, and it facilitates certain action of individuals within the structure” (Lin, 2001:23). This explanation is consistent with the values that characterize Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.

In general, the ethos of Ethiopian society is characterized by the spirit of entrepreneurialism, which migrants have brought with them to South Africa as an expression of what Bourdieu refers to as “cultural capital” (Field, 2008:17) because it gives them high status in the Ethiopian business world in Johannesburg. From Bourdieu’s perspective, “cultural capital” “is a value in itself to participate and invest time, energy and money in ‘the economic game’, which thereby – precisely as a culturally embedded game with written and unwritten rules – obtain a legitimacy in itself” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:21). This was explained by a South African who has had an on-going exposure to the Ethiopian lifestyle and understands their values, respondent 35, above.

Their pursuit of such economic interests in no way makes them what has been called *homo oeconomicus* (or economic men) (ibid., p. 19). The inextricable link to their culture and their religion facilitates such an orientation. Both of these elements are of primary importance to them and, in addition, are buttressed by their unique identity, ethnicity, and extended family

relationships and obligations both in Johannesburg and in Ethiopia. These “social networks have been known to enhance business relationships and encourage trade” (OECD, 2010:9). It also manifests itself in their entrepreneurialism which is

perceived to mean risk-taking, innovation, market stabilizing force and starting up, managing and owning a business venture. The concept denotes the act of business creation and ownership. This, therefore, means that entrepreneurs are individuals who construct novel combinations of the factors of production like new products, innovative methods of construction. They also find fresh organizational forms and sources of supply and are eager to take the risk, operate a business, reduce the imbalances between aggregate demand and aggregate supply, as well as explore new market prospects (Fomunyam, 2014:193).

While among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, entrepreneurial bonding is strong within ethnic groups, it is not necessarily so between and among ethnic groups. Neither does such bonding facilitate integration with the host society. To the extent that Ethiopians extricate themselves from the entrepreneurial bonding relationships that exist among them, it is in order to establish bonding-based working relationships with members of other ethnic groups for the specific purpose of advancing mutual business interests. The resulting bridging social capital is evident. Consequently, in the case of Ethiopians in Johannesburg, one can say with much justification that “while an economic calculation lies behind every action, every action cannot be reduced to [an] economic calculation” (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004: 21). Nevertheless, in the absence of any viable alternatives, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg use their cultural traits, network relationships, and their drive for success, all of which are incorporated in their religiosity, as vehicles for their economic survival.

5.3.2. Reciprocity and Other-Worldly Rewards

Among Ethiopian migrants, the act of giving is charitable (Vandeveldt, 2000:130) with the giver fundamentally believing that her/his reward will be in the afterlife. (Stark and Finke, 2000:88). The following respondents make these points tellingly:

“When I do good things for others, I don’t expect a return, I do it for the sake of God” (Respondent 16).

“I believe that what I do for others, God will return to me. You don’t expect the return from people. God can provide good things in return” (Respondent 23).

“People don’t fear God. That is why they get money and lose it. If you fear God, live according to His words, you will be successful not only here in South Africa but also in your entire life. Do good things for others God will give you more. That is what we lack here in South Africa” (Respondent 4).

“When I come to Church, I feel that I am in the community and when I give alms, it connects me to God” (Respondent 2).

It has been maintained that the classic case of reciprocity was analyzed by M. Mauss and later by K. Polanyi (in Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:38-40). The works of both Mauss and Polanyi were analyses of the meaning of gift giving and the anticipated reciprocity associated with it. In both cases, it is a culture that determines the elements of the giving and receiving of gifts, together with their societal roles. However, for Ethiopians, reciprocity is not so much a function of anticipated rewards from the beneficiary of one’s generosity. Rather, the giver ultimately will be the beneficiary of God’s blessings which, in all likelihood, will come from someone else on earth, as well as from God at a later date, including in the hereafter.

The mechanistic manifestation of the generosity displayed by Ethiopians in this regard takes a specific form in the business world, in which one is sometimes financially assisted in becoming established. An acknowledgment of this spiritual essence was captured by most respondents who were quoted above and finds credence in the biblical statement that “whoever is kind to the poor is lending to the Lord. The benefit of his gift will return to him in abundance” (Proverbs, 19:17 in Marks, 2012: 1136). This analysis indicates the dual characteristics of reciprocity in that it is both this-worldly and other-worldly. Ethiopian society is enveloped largely by the EOTC tradition and its religious practice. One of the cardinal virtues of the EOTC’s religiosity is almsgiving to the poor and needy.

This practice helps to establish and maintain social stability in the society. In this regard, the act of giving to the less fortunate in a consistent manner establishes a form of bonding with her/his religiosity existentially in the sense that the individual is living up her/his sense of overt conformity to what he/she believes, and eschatologically in the hereafter. Another dimension of this principle of giving is in line with the Marxist argument that such giving is merely a form of redistribution of that which belonged to the poor in the first place and echoes the teachings of the Early Church Fathers that: “You are not making a gift of your possession to the poor person. You

are handing over to him what is his” (Kangas, 2012) in the first place. This argument is endorsed by Graaff, who maintains that “some people’s wealth is connected to other people’s poverty” (2001:1). The sociology of giving is fundamentally consistent with the morality and religiosity of Ethiopians and dovetails with their sense of other-worldliness. Such a manifestation of generosity is fundamentally consistent with Berger’s idea of a sacred canopy that ameliorates the chaos that is ordinarily endemic to the human experience of dialectic in the form of anomie (1967: 53-59). Furthermore, this system extends to Ethiopians in the Diaspora through its structure and function.

5.3.3. Linear or Mobile Social Capital as an Element of Adjustments in the Migration Process

In the process of moving illegally from Ethiopia to South Africa via whatever route is taken, after leaving home, migrants are forced to adopt a number of relational and cultural techniques for their survival.

While traveling we sometimes handed ourselves over to the police and were taken to the United Nations camp in Malawi. This was just to survive and communicate with friends and family members back home and abroad in order to raise money to continue on our journey. After this, we had to deal with the people smugglers again to continue to the next point (Respondent 6).

“When we arrived in 1997 there were no smugglers. As a result, we used all our talents for communication and survival – in general, our common sense, until we reached South Africa” (Respondent 16).

After Kenya, the Smugglers brought us to the Tanzania border at night and we were placed in an abandoned house, hiding and the smuggler left us there and he went (I was the only lady in that dark night with three guys, I was crying much and praying as if I was in serious danger). Then after a few hours, he (the smuggler) came and knocked the door. This time, I was in a great shock as I thought people were coming to rape me and kill me. Instead, he said: “It is me, it is me, don’t worry. Open”. He took us to the street through the bush to catch a bus. In the process, we were caught by the police before we went into the bus. The smuggler dealt with them asked us to pay some money. We paid the police. They just let us continue on our journey (Case study 1).

In a bus in Tanzania, a Christian woman who was sitting beside me on the bus, saw the police harassing us while checking our documents. She comforted me. She also protected us from the opportunistic guys in Dare Salam. She slept with us in a rented room instead of going home. The next morning, she took us to the bus station to catch our bus to Zambia (Respondent 3).

In Zambia, we were arrested. The police officer came and asked us whether we are Christians and have a Bible. I replied ‘yes’. He asked me to read from my Amharic bible and tell him in English: ‘John 8:32— The truth shall set you free’. I read and tried to tell him in English. Then he asked us to tell him the truth about why we were found in Zambia. We told him the truth that we

were coming to South Africa... He helped us... We were not sent to court but were released and were given papers to stay in the country for 15 days. We were now legal in Zambia. In the meantime, we arranged to continue our trip to South Africa through the guidance of smugglers (Case study 1).

The data shows that willingly or unwillingly, Ethiopian migrants are forced to use whatever mechanisms are available to the smuggler and themselves in order to respond to the situation at hand. Through the smugglers' efforts, they hope to reach their intended destination or, whenever circumstances dictate, use their own devices to accomplish this objective. For instance, coming from a background of *Gemeinschaft* (Schaefer, 2014: 87-88) in rural Ethiopia, in which a bonding relationships exist in the community to the journey's anonymity represents a drastic change in social relationships and increases one's stress level. This is particularly the case with members of the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups who constitute the majority of illegal migrants to South Africa. Those illegal migrants with sufficient funds to subsidize their movements are prioritized by the people smugglers to continue to the next station on this precarious journey. Those less fortunate and lacking in funds may simply be left behind until the people smugglers are paid and in rare situations, are abandoned to their fate.

It is generally maintained that Ethiopian society is characterized by a highly textured cultural and historical background that has forged its identity (Levine, 1974: 26-39); Akalu, 2009:30-35). One of the salient features of this identity is its bonding social capital which, in the case of illegal migrants, is "not entirely a matter of choice" (Field, 2003:89). However, their total but temporary dependence on strangers who facilitate the realization of their objective of getting to South Africa results in the establishment of a form of bridging social capital, with its weak ties that are characterized by "friends [and] acquaintances" (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:35). Such ties "may be better at serving instrumental goals, as they can provide access to new types of resources but rely less on strongly shared values" (Field, 2008: 44). Although the weak ties are temporary, the anticipation is that they will serve their intended purpose of helping the migrants to reach their destination. This method of survival falls under the heading of "thin trust" (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2008: 7-8).

In this undertaking, a type of linear or mobile social capital, which constitutes all three types of (Abercrombie, 2004:41), which serves as a survival mechanism, precarious though it may be. Given the diversity and complexity of social phenomena, our argument is not to advance a

unitary sociological theory of social capital (Maynard, 1989:12) as it relates to illegal migration. Rather, it is a way of examining how social adjustments necessarily, and particularly during the illegal migratory process, lend themselves to an amalgam of sometimes undifferentiated survival techniques, contrary to Maynard's position cited above.

Armed with their accompanying culture, Ethiopian migrants have honed a strong work ethic which is largely responsible for their success. This work ethic is tied to their religiosity in which they are kind to others, including strangers, in the belief that they will be the recipients of other-worldly rewards. In their adjustment undertakings, Ethiopian migrants engage in whatever they think, within reason, is required to assist them in accomplishing their objective. This is the main reason for the study's usage of the term "linear social capital" as an element of adjustment and survival in the migratory process.

5.4. Institutional Issues Discussed in the Study

The data indicate that there are various institutions which are related to the migrants' plans to migrate, in the migratory journey, and at their destination. Once Ethiopian migrants arrive in South Africa, this necessitates their interacting with a number of governmental and non-governmental institutions that are indispensable to their survival and well-being. The following analysis discusses some of these institutions that are associated with Ethiopian migrants' life in their migration to South Africa as well as in their coping at their destination in Johannesburg.

5.4.1. Religious Legitimation and Migration

Africans have been described as being "notoriously religious" (Makgoba, 1999:138). However, they are not necessarily more religious than people elsewhere (Berger, 2011). Therefore, what Durkheim calls a "*normative consensus*" (O'Dea, 1966:73) or implicit expected behaviour also has its "*cultural universal*" expectations in the realm of religious beliefs (Zaaiman, 2015:315) which have been integral aspects of African and indeed, Ethiopian society for millennia. Understandably, therefore, matters relating to migration are discussed with religious leaders and as such, are endorsed, as is maintained by Hagan and Ebaugh. They argue that religion may be used to facilitate the migration process in a number of ways (2003:1145), including "decision-

making; preparing for the trip; the journey; the arrival...and the development of transnational linkages” (ibid., p. 1146). However, let us see what the data says:

“I was praying much during the journey. After arriving here in Johannesburg they took me to the Holy Saviour Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and that is when my mind got some peace” (Respondent 4).

Before I left my country, I prayed and fasted and then God told me to go ahead with my decision to migrate. And also, in Kenya, we were hiding in order not to be arrested by the police. The next step was to deal with the smugglers and continue our journey to South Africa. Before I dealt with the smugglers also in Kenya, I also prayed and fasted for four months. Then God told me to go ahead as there would be no problems. This was how I continued my journey with the smugglers (Case study 2).

“If you are religious, you will learn morality, you respect people, you help your family, and you live in a disciplined manner. We also use this in our migration” (Respondent 7)

“When you are religious, everything you do is related to it including your migration” (Respondent 22).

“I discussed my plans to come to South Africa with my spiritual father. He prayed for me and blessed me before I left” (Case study 1).

The data, as well as the studies mentioned above, confirm that religion reinforces the individual’s will to migrate and provides solace that facilitates her/his enduring the hardships that are associated with migration. There is an unstated but intrinsic “covenant, [between God and the individual] and as a result, they expect a dramatic divine blessing” (Karbo, 2013:51). The omnipresence of the Divine constitutes an accompaniment to their being living hosts of the mobile representatives of their religious institutions. “The fact that people take their religion seriously indicates that [human] is not only rational, social, and political animal but also a religious animal...[as] religion has a tremendous hold on [human]” (Arivia and Adian, 2009:44). Therefore, religiosity and the spiritual armour in which the individual is clothed constitute both her/his home experience as well as on the journey, and also facilitates her/his finding pockets of assistance along the way and at her/his destination.

The data further shows that the honing of “spiritual capital” which is associated with the prospective migrant being blessed by Church leaders represent a manifestation of bonding social capital among the institution, the spiritual doctrine that it represents, and the membership. As

such, “spiritual capital” is “a resource for an uncertain future” (O’Sullivan and Flanagan, 2012). Therefore, the individual’s sojourn is reinforced by this “spiritual capital” which, not only accompanies her/him on the journey but, by its very nature, coupled with the network and other comparable institutions that are at the destination, provide the atmosphere and the setting (Baker, and Smith, 2010: 8) in which such a relationship with God may be continued.

Ethiopian migrants wear their spiritual armour while on their sojourn. Beyond this, however, their journey is also accompanied by the “importance of transnational religious ties, both at the organizational and individual levels” (Hagan and Ebaugh, 2003:1147). Historically, in the case of Ethiopian migrant, the Church provided members not only with support during the migratory process, but it also helped in facilitating “the settlement and the incorporation process of new immigrants” (ibid.). Although this is no longer the case, on-going migration has become a built-in revolving system for the encouragement of other migrants.

The foregoing confirms religion’s mobility, its institutional impact, and, as such, its consistency with the Durkheimian notions mentioned above. Furthermore, when coupled with “weak ties [for] the purpose of temporary mutual cooperation” (Field, 2008:73-74), as is the case with linear social capital with its *ad hoc* characteristics, weak ties assume primary importance. In effect, the illegal migrant depends on these relationships and, in turn, cloaked by her/his religiosity, is shaped by them in both a subjective and an objective reality (Tajfel, 1982:113). This is a function of the vagaries that encompass the illegal migrants’ perilous journey and which, in turn, determine the elements of linear social capital that must be incorporated in their adjustment and survival, an undertaking in which people smugglers are involved.

5.4.2. The Role of People Smugglers

Although not originally a part of the illegal migration structure, the human participation in the migratory process in the form of people smugglers has now become an indispensable one. This undertaking is problematic in most cases. The following data confirms this reality.

The Kenyan smuggler facilitated our travel to Tanzania. His people who were in Tanzania received us. He (the smuggler) initially was giving us some food once every three days. After some time he (the smuggler) told us that he was going to the border area to organize our trip...he left us in one small house and went. He didn’t return within the time frame he had told us and nobody gave us any food, so we didn’t eat for eleven days. We were only drinking water without any food.

So, if you ask me whether one can stay without food for some time, my answer would be yes (Respondent 16).

Sometimes the smugglers gave us food, but sometimes they also disappeared for unpredictable periods while trying to find a way to facilitate our trip. Our stress level was high during this interval due to our illegal status...and our fear of being arrested, plus our lack of food and the uncertainty of things (Respondent 22).

“I was robbed between Mozambique and South Africa. They took my passport and some dollars I had” (Respondent 8).

“Because of the problems associated with the journey, some people periodically face stressful situations, including the possibility of being raped and/or infected by HIV, plus untreated mental illness whenever this develops, and sometimes death” (Respondent 17).

There are incidents where the smuggler disappeared, and the illegal migrants were stranded for about six to seven months. They had to survive by relying on their own improvisations by bribing their way out of arrests, and dealing with multiple smugglers in anticipation of success if they have a network that will finance them (Respondent 24).

It was night and we were walking through the bush with the smuggler. We came to a fence. Then he said: ‘Jump! Jump! Now you are in South Africa’. This was how we entered South Africa and handed over ourselves to the police at Musina. While we were jumping the fence, some of our belongings were left behind and the smuggler took them (Respondent 5).

Sometimes called “conductors”, people smugglers are an integral part of the illegal Ethiopian migrants’ journeys to South Africa. The overland routes taken by Ethiopians to get to South Africa may take them through any combination of the following countries: Ethiopia (the source country), Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and into South Africa. These countries may or may not have signed the U.N. Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, also known as the Smuggling Protocol. This journey is highly problematic due to its illegality.

The data and other studies indicate that the illegal migrant may face even more hardships including taking several circuitous routes across many borders in the hope of avoiding the authorities; being bitten by poisonous snakes and dangerous insects such as scorpions; being exposed to dangerous wild animals; and taking water routes which include sea crossings in the case of the Tanzanian in order to avoid hardships including being arrested; serving prison time, and then being deported back to Ethiopia (Kefale and Mohammed, 2015: 58 and 65, webcahe.googleusercontent.com, 2011:2). In addition, migrants risk contracting life-threatening

diseases such as infections from contaminated foods and water; losing their possessions; and having no opportunity to contact their loved ones (Horwood, 2009:8).

The illegal migrant is mostly dependent on the people smugglers to protect her/him from any undesirable eventuality. These smugglers make spontaneous changes in their plans as a result of the intelligence available to them. All things being equal, the illegal migrant does nothing without the knowledge and approval of the smuggler. Although the migrant's experience with the people smuggler and his organization is a temporary and indeterminate one, it requires continuing socialization (Mead, n.d., p. 1), which sometimes degenerates into a manifestation of Stockholm Syndrome (Carver, n.d., p. 1).

However, it is not unusual for situations to develop quite unexpectedly, which result in the smuggler totally disappearing from the scene. Therefore, in order to survive, the illegal migrant has no viable option but to turn herself/himself over to law enforcement personnel. This option is available to those who are aware of it and are mentally stable enough to make use of this option. Those less fortunate may hide from the authorities and, as a result, with a combination of a shortage of food, drinking water, and medical aid, may simply die while in hiding. Whenever such an eventuality occurs, the body is simply buried in a haphazard manner.

The various organized smuggling bodies have bosses who are responsible for running the organization in an efficient, effective, and successful manner without jeopardizing themselves as their self-preservation is a top priority. Despite all the challenges that the illegal immigrant faces, the smuggling chain from one country to the next is well organized. Its members must sometimes make spontaneous and unexpected decisions in order to try and secure the safe arrival at their destinations of those being smuggled. Such an undertaking also necessitates the involvement and compulsory co-operation of those being smuggled (Horwood, 2009: 8), and necessitates adjustments. This is the point at which linear or mobile social capital enters the picture.

Both the data and the foregoing analysis indicate the rationale for using the term "linear social capital" to describe the perilous nature of the migratory journey and its unpredictability; the bonding social capital that is needed to ensure solidarity within the group; the bridging social capital that links the illegal migrants to various groups of individuals who, sometimes, are total

strangers; the unreliability of the people smugglers; and the need to shift from one form of social capital to the other quite spontaneously and unpredictably. This amalgam of adjustments in effect means that the illegal migrant cannot rest on her/his laurels thinking that whatever condition that exists at a particular moment will pertain the next. Therefore, one must be forever prepared to change from one form or social capital to another at short notice and as the exigencies and the vicissitudes of the situation demand.

5.4.3. Intra and Inter-Group Anomie

The term intra-group refers to “that *part* of the individual’s self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1982: 2). One consequence of this identification is that many Ethiopians in the Diaspora are inclined to identify themselves by their ethnicity rather than by their nationality. Although the following assessment may overstate the case, it does represent the prevailing sentiment:

Now there is no support among Ethiopians here unless you are a member of a particular ethnic or religious group. Previously, this was not the case as we would see and enjoy each other as Ethiopians. Now members of one ethnic group only make purchases from shops owned by members of their own ethnic group and also hire people to work for them who are from their own ethnic group (Respondent 8).

“Those who are coming from Southern Ethiopia, the Hadiya and Kembata in particular, compete and want their reputation as wealthy to be known at home. As a result, they kill each other in order to eliminate the competition” (Respondent 24).

“Now there is only limited support in Johannesburg among Ethiopians for each other. This is because people are divided by ethnicity, by religion, etc. If you are a shop owner, apart from local people, mainly only Ethiopians from your own ethnic group will buy from you. This is sad. It was not this way before” (Respondent 20).

“Most Ethiopians are grouped with people from their own ethnic group. The Addis Ababa and people from other cities are the exceptions. Their grouping is based on the willingness to socialize and the common interests that they have” (Respondent 3).

“Imagine, killing his brother, taking his place, and running a business in that same location. How can this give him peace? How do you think that there will be peace?” (Respondent 13).

“Everybody has a network of friends that help them to run their business” (Respondent 9)

Sometimes, the reason behind killing each other is that the newcomer works for someone else who owns a business. He anticipates that he will become a part of the business after serving in it for several years. However, if any disagreement or dispute happens, the newcomer can be kicked out. He took no salary for his service; he will not become a partner and has no contract and no future. He has nothing. He knows the killers and arranges the killing (Case study 2).

Previously those of us who came early... we were okay... there was no division...if you find any Ethiopian we see as one brother eat, drink and socialize together and help each other. There was no such division among us—like Islam, Amhara, Oromo, and so on. But now each has her/his own group. It can be religious, or ethnic, or regional. That is too bad. (Case study 1).

Hadiya and the Kembata people are hard workers and successful. Later, they started robbing each other, employing other African criminals to kill each other. The majority, about 70%, are successful in their business and the rest of them who are not successful or who are not hard workers, associate themselves with other African criminals and commit crime (Respondent 17).

The data shows that the anomic inter-group behaviour that exists among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg emerges from ethnic, regional, and religiously based group diversity. One of the consequences of this balkanized cultural reference is that it encourages inter-ethnic group competition in order to be successful business people. In addition to this inter-group competition, there is also a similar pattern of behaviour, namely intra-group competition which sometimes manifests itself in intra-group hostility among Ethiopians particularly among Hadiya and Kembata. The motivational engine that generates this pressure for success is home-grown as it comes from family and friends, as well as from colleagues in South Africa.

Therefore, given the strong push for financial success in Johannesburg, pecuniary interests trump moral values. As such, the situation endorses the biblical idea that “those who want to get rich are falling into temptation and a trap and into many foolish and harmful desires, which plunge them into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all evils” (1 Timothy 6: 9-10 in Chen et al., 2014:197; Hammond and Busch, 2012: 461). The anomic behaviour described above is engaged in by tightly knit and/or well-organised groups with their negative social capital bonds (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Discussion Paper, 2002:15). To the extent that this is the case, it has also permeated the global society. In effect, and contrary to biblical admonition, some Ethiopians have allowed themselves to be led into temptation, which includes periodic physical confrontations between and among their fellow Ethiopians in order to preserve their small business enclaves or, in some cases, to take over a successful business from another Ethiopian.

This type of behaviour also explains the rationale for the biblical petition: “And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil” (Matthew 6:13, in Chen et al., 2014:197; Hammond and Busch, 2012: 28). This includes the trappings of conspicuous consumption (Frazier, 1957) and as means of their survival for those who are excluded from different group bonding. Such a state of affairs subsists despite the existence of various self-help groups from which a great many Ethiopian migrants gain a range of benefits.

This form of negative social capital with its intra- and inter-group thin and thick trust, depending on how the groups are aligned, are hallmarks of the Ethiopian community in Johannesburg. This forces us to visit the following argument entitled: “*The Strength-of-Strong-Tie Proposition.*” This argument holds that:

The stronger the tie, the more likely that the social capital will positively affect the success of expressive action. The structural principle is straightforward: accessible resources are positively related to social ties to those alters with whom ego shares stronger sentiment. We may call this principle the *strength-of-strong-tie proposition*. The strength of a relationship among those with social ties reflects their degree of intensity, frequency of intimacy (trustworthiness), reciprocity, and acknowledged obligation. The stronger the relationship the more likely the sharing and exchange of resources (Lin, 2001:65-66).

Among Ethiopians migrants in Johannesburg, this argument is, at best, problematic. Although there is bonding among them in their various inter-group relations, it is generally weak except when it relates to the Church as an institution. Beyond this, there is much emphasis on ethnicity to the point where among certain ethnic groups, it is virtually impossible to penetrate even their business activities with their assistance unless one is as member thereof. Furthermore, as was pointed out above, within those diverse group relations, so intense is the business competition that it sometimes leads to hostility between and among groups. One may argue that there is a high “degree of intensity, frequency of intimacy (trustworthiness), reciprocity, and acknowledged obligation” (ibid.) but it is highly Balkanized and issue specific. In this sense, the existing “strong ties lead closed groups to operate in ways that work against the greater social good” (Patlly, 2009: 407).

5.4.4. Ethiopian Cultural Institutions and their form of Social Capital:

Equb, Iddir, and Mahbär

Key elements of *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* (these cultural institutions) are trust and reciprocity, both of which are indispensable and contribute immeasurably to economic and social well-being by re-enforcing a mutuality of common values and benefit. This takes the form of a voluntary association which is ultimately encased by a set of morally binding obligations. This behaviour endorses the idea that “social capital networks are guided by *norms*, and are the site and guidelines for actions and *practices*” (Patulny, 2009:404).

Although it is unclear as to how and when *equb* developed, it is “an association [that was] established by a small group of people in order to provide substantial rotating funding for members in order to improve their lives and living conditions” (Bekerie, 2003:1). However, evidence suggests that *iddir*, and *mahbär* both have a clear historical background. According to Pankhurst and Haile Marian “*iddirs* were developed by migrants to Addis Ababa in the early part of the twentieth century” (2000:1). The counter-argument that was presented by Dejene is that *iddir* is associated “with the Italian occupation when social life was disrupted” (2009:535). Irrespective of which claim is accurate, what is clear is that *iddir* started out of necessity among migrants to the city “spread rapidly [as a result of] increasing use of currency, formalization, diffusion, and transformation from mono-to polyethnic voluntary organization” (Pankhurst and Haile Marian, 2000:1). *Mahbär* emerged out of the first Christian group who were followers of Jesus Christ and shared their lives and their means in a spirit of brotherhood (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016:10). As one of the earliest Christian community, this legacy has been institutionalized in Ethiopian society and, understandably, includes those who migrate to South Africa.

One of the members’ obligations to these three cultural institutions is to contribute to their perpetuation through a range of participatory activities in the group. In the case of *equb*, and *iddir*, financial contributions are compulsory. With *mahbär*, however, it is one’s spiritual commitment to the group that is primary. There is a strong network within all three institutions which enables the members of each respective body to interact effectively with each other in

order to accomplish their daily objectives. This practice is effectively pronounced among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.

In the case of *equb*, funds may be generated and used by an individual or group for entrepreneurial undertakings on a round-robin basis. Under *iddir*, funds may be used as a social security system that is associated with funeral expenses and related matters. However, *mahbär* serves a different and more profound sociological function. It is an integral arm of the EOTC and is a part of people's daily lives as through their rituals, they complement the Church's "deep religiosity" (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016: 4-16). Although all three practices are linked to different aspects of Ethiopians' daily life, their commonality is that they foster bonding, bridging and linking social capital among the members of each of these three groups for what has been described as "mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1995:67) and societal stability. Such a phenomenon emerges from "features of social life — networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Dekker and Uslaner, 2001:45).

While "bonding social capital appears to be characterized by dense, multi-functional ties and strong but localized trust" (ibid.), the bridging characteristics of these cultural institutions *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, can go beyond ethnic and religious groupings in their accommodative process. In the case of linking social capital in Ethiopia, the relationship among these three cultural institutions and other public and civic organizations is intact. They maintain relatively close ties with government by functioning as conduits between it, non-governmental institutions, and the society at large. This is not the case in Johannesburg where linking social capital is non-existent. Each of these three institutions is discussed below.

5.4.4.1. *Equb*

The indispensability of *equb* to the migrant Ethiopian community in Johannesburg is revealed by the following data.

"We have equb here. However, the trustworthiness level is low. But since they form such a group within the family members and other affiliations it has no problem" (Respondent 6).

"There is equb here and it helps us much to keep our business going. Even if you are being robbed... if you join equb you will raise your business again. There is no problem to generate money in South Africa" (Respondent 12).

“If you manage to pay your equb properly that would be enough” (Respondent 19).

“If you are able to join and pay equb you are fine” (Respondent 25).

“We pool our money in equb, which is the backbone of our system of saving and building our business” (Respondent 32).

Equb is a practice through which a relatively small group of like-minded people commit themselves to generating capital in a compulsory and reciprocal system of financial obligation based on trust. The essence of this system is capital accumulation which occurs through its members making voluntary but obligatory financial contributions determined by the members to a fund at regular intervals. Largely, Ethiopian business people are not in the habit of using basic bookkeeping principles such as a Cash Flow Sheet or a Balance Sheet in order to understand what is taking place in the financial aspects of their establishment. Rather, they extract from their business establishment, the amount of money required for them to meet their periodic financial obligation to their *equb*. This system is their insurance policy geared to keeping their business afloat.

In a circuitous manner, each individual receives a lump sum in the expectation that she or he will continue to meet her/his financial obligation to the group until each person has received her/his just financial due. At this point, the process may start all over again among those who agree to be involved. This system helps members to generate capital irrespective of the absence of a proper bookkeeping system. Even if the individual is running her/his business at a loss, she/he can ultimately start another business by relying on the system of *equb* as long as the individual has proven her/his trustworthiness to the group.

This system facilitates capital accumulation and may be used by its members to make major purchases, such as acquiring a house, car, or furniture, or financing their children’s education or addressing family or personal crises. In the case of Johannesburg, it may also be used to establish businesses and/or expand their operations.

The idea expressed immediately above was articulated in different ways by the vast majority of the interviewees. Although pay-outs usually take place in a predetermined order, in certain situations this order may be modified to accommodate the immediate needs of some members. Stated differently, this self-help philanthropic custom is intrinsic to Ethiopian economic life.

Using *equb* to establish businesses is so institutionalized that among the *Gurage* ethnic group, with its pronounced business acumen and values, this method is so appreciated that they have formulated a commonly used adage: “*Equb* makes an individual a person.” The sociological principle that is related to this statement is that the individual has a primary relationship with the *equb* in the sense that it is a reflection on his financial and social status in the community.

The fundamental principle of trust undergirding this practice is common among like-minded people in other communities. For example, among Asians in the United States, who are increasingly dominating the fruit and vegetable business, it is common to pool their funds in order to establish small businesses and assist other Asians to get established on the basis of trust (Portes, 1998:13). This rotating credit assistance (RCAs), as it is called among Koreans, is a principle that is also practiced globally, including among West Indians – both on various islands in the Caribbean and among those who have migrated to England. Called a *susu*, it is simply a way of pooling capital to be used by a recipient as she/he sees fit, with the understanding that the individual has the moral obligation to live up to her/his financial responsibilities and continue contributions on a prescribed basis (Cervera, 2015:1).

What the RCAs, the *susu*, and the *equb* systems have in common is that they operate on the basis of trust, reciprocity, and responsibility. These three variables are indispensable aspects of social capital. However, although the *equb* system exists among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, it is strewn with difficulties.

While the *equb* system functions effectively in Ethiopia in an efficient and largely crime-free way, by far the most serious challenge the system’s functioning faces in South Africa is its infiltration by criminal elements at the behest of some Ethiopians. Ethiopian criminals use surrogates who they school in the approaches to use in targeting individuals in order to rob other Ethiopians of *equb* funds. This criminal association between some Ethiopians and criminals of other African countries often morphs into other areas of criminality. Therefore, in Johannesburg, *equb* membership currently operates in semi-secrecy due to the fear of crime, and is based on a high level of trust and confidentiality. In effect, this criminal network provides a classic example of bonding and bridging negative social capital among them.

5.4.4.2. *Iddir*

The non-discriminatory nature, unpredictability, and inevitability of death initially gave impetus to *iddir*'s establishment (Menkir, 2013). This self-help cultural institution with its "social insurance" (Pankhurst and Haile Marian, 2000:1) has now morphed into one that encompasses co-operative efforts to provide disaster relief, "community development, conflict resolution, conflict prevention and peace building [within] the society" (Menkir, 2013). However, its main function is to provide mutual assistance through its accumulated resources to help alleviate the effects its member's tragedy. The essence of *iddir* and its philanthropic qualities are explained by the following data.

"We don't recognize each other when we are alive but when there is a death there is no problem. Everybody comes to help" (Respondent 2).

"We send bodies home to Ethiopia when death occurs, Iddir money covers the expense" (Respondent 15).

"If death occurs in any family, iddir is our guarantee to take care of everything. It is always there for its members" (Respondent 23).

"Even if you are not an iddir member, in South Africa, they voluntarily contribute money and send your body home. This shows that we do not abandon each other in a foreign country" (Case study 1).

"Sending the body home is important as it has to reach the family so that the person is buried in home soil. For this, iddir is very important" (Respondent 17).

Iddir is an institutionalized community-based social service system within Ethiopian society which has been transplanted to Johannesburg by Ethiopian migrants. It is geared to providing collective financial and social assistance to its members when death occurs within the family. This is not simply giving financial contribution but a member is expected to give her/his time, energy, expressions of sympathy but more-so empathy, and in general, whatever type of support that can be given to the affected family. Therefore, the *iddir* meeting a member's family's obligation is mandatory on the basis of anticipated reciprocity. In a non-member's case, such assistance is voluntary. The bonding element of *iddir* is in its mandatory characteristics. This practice among Ethiopians parallels the case in archaic societies and as such, bears a close relationship to the "*potlatch*", or "a total system of giving...that is found in every region of the world" (Mauss, 1990: viii)]. Such acts of generosity constitute "giving *oneself*, and if one gives

oneself, it is because one ‘owes’ *oneself* – one’s person and one’s goods – to others” (ibid., p. 46).

The structure of the *iddir* system facilitates the voluntary comforting of the family. The funds raised relieve the family of the financial burdens associated with funeral expenses. In the case of Johannesburg, some of the funds are used to send the bodies of deceased Ethiopians to their families in Ethiopia for burial. Furthermore, if a family member in Ethiopia dies, financial support is provided to the family member in South Africa as an expression of sympathy, empathy, and condolence. In the case of Ethiopians in Johannesburg who are not members of an *iddir*, Ethiopians also assume the responsibility of collecting funds for the same purpose. Both *equb* and *iddir* are philosophically and operationally different from *mahbär*.

5.4.4.3. Mahbär

The social capital manifestation of *mahbär* and its spiritual significance are bound to EOTC membership. It facilitates the maintenance of the member’s spirituality and involves mutuality of assistance in Ethiopian society in the sense of reciprocity. *Mahbär* national ethos is grounded in the fact that:

In many parts of Ethiopia, especially among EOTC Christians, it is customary to have spiritual gatherings. The most important association organised by [laity] is referred to as *mahbär* ... in which members honour the saints or [angels] by gathering at member’s house on a saint’s [or angel’s] day each month, with a rotating host providing food and drinks for the guests (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016: 4).

This also helps the Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg by bonding them with their home society as well as with their religious institution in Johannesburg.

“We have various mahbär of St. Emmanuel, Holy Saviour, St. Mary, St. Michael, and St. Gabriel, in Johannesburg” (Respondent 9).

“Our mahbär reminds us of home and who we are. It also comforts us. You can feel that you are among the people who will take care of you” (Respondent 11).

“Mahbär is good but the life system here in South Africa is full of cheating that is why you only see a few mahbärs” (Respondent 14).

“Mahbär strengthens our unity and integrity. We see each other as family members” (Respondent 5).

“In mahbär, we pray together, helping each other... It is really good. You don’t see problems... even if you face problems and face issues the members solve them (Respondent 30).

Mahbär needs trustworthiness and faithfulness... Most of us are part of iddir and equb then mahbär (Respondent 8).

Mahbär has a sound biblical foundation. Its legacy emanated from the first Christians who were called “The 120 family”. This group consisted of the twelve disciples, the 36 women (*kidusan anist*)¹ and 72 others (*ardits*)². Gathering as a community, the meal they partook is called the “food of love” or “Agape” (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016:10). In turn, their commonality enhances the practicality of their faith. This bonding relationship assumes the proportion of a mutuality of dependence and reciprocity of responsibility based on the biblical teaching in the Acts of the Apostles (4: 32-35 in Hammond and Busch, 2012: 250). In these verses, St. Luke argues that the individual should fulfill her/his religious obligations by surrendering her/his assets to a communal system in which they share according to their needs. The philosophy underlying this undertaking is that individuals have a religious and moral obligation to each other, in keeping with the biblical teaching on the unity of humanity found in Romans (12: 4-5 in Hammond and Busch, 2012: 336) and 1 Corinthians (12: 12 in Hammond and Busch, 2012: 363). The manifestation of this commonality is constituted among like-minded individuals who are members of the EOTC.

In the EOTC, each day of a month is dedicated to a particular saint or angel (including the Holy Saviour and St. Mary). Each *mahbär* then chooses a saint or an angel as its patron and gathers every month on their patron’s day to celebrate their Christian unity and strengthen their spirituality. For most Ethiopians, the ritual and the social interaction that are associated with *mahbär* is intrinsic to their everyday life.

Members of a *mahbär* gather “at members house on a saint’s [or angel’s day] each month with a rotating host providing food and drinks for the guests” (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016: 4). A covered pot called *tsiwwa* and the icon of their patron saint or angel is placed in a conspicuous place. Prior to the guests’ arrival, grass is strewn on the living room floor, the prepared food and drinks are placed on a table. Before entering, members remove their shoes as a sign of veneration

¹ The 36 holy women of the 120 family. *Kidusan anist* (Holy woman) is originally from Ethiopic Geez language.

² The 72 people who were members of the 120 family that followed Jesus Christ and his teachings while he was living on earth. The *Ardits* are subordinate to the twelve apostles.

for the occasion. Once they enter, they salute the icon of their patron and *tsiwwa* and greet each other

by kissing shoulder to shoulder before sitting down to chat. When the priest, [the host's] father confessor, arrives he is ceremonially greeted while each member bows and kisses the four corners of his [priestly hand] cross. He invites them to sit down. They exchange greetings. Everybody rises and the priest leads the prayer and cuts the small bread, the *salnaq* [or snack]. The rest of the bread is distributed for the members by the leader, the *Muse* [facilitator]³, and served with *qolo* (snack made of roasted grain) and a small cup of *t'ela* (local home-brewed beer).

Facing the picture of Saint Mary, they bow their heads and pray for the best for their country, their children, and their health. All present wear their *nat'ala* (white, woven cotton shawl) as is customary in church, covering themselves from head to toe. After singing psalms about [their patron saint or angel], each member rises, faces the other members, and says, 'Please forgive me if I offended you, knowingly or unknowingly'. The *Muse* calls the attention of the members by saying: 'I've been informed that two of our members had a disagreement. Drinking the same *tsiwwa*⁴ we should not have disagreement between us, so I ask you to forgive each other'. The two members stand up and hug each other while the priest blesses them. The main meal is put on the table, a whole *inğara* (round, large pancake) on a tray. In this setting it is of importance that the *inğara* is unbroken to symbolize the unity of their *mahbar*, the *Muse* explains to us. The priest stands up and preaches the gospel. After eating the main meal, the members socialize while drinking the local beer, *t'alla*, and eating the roasted grain, *qolo*. [The host] goes outside to the compound to serve food, drinks, and snacks to waiting beggars [or the poor]. In return, the beggars give their blessing [to the host].

To mark the end of the meeting, the *Muse* brings in the large bread, an important part of the ceremony. The central part of the large bread is cut by the priest to fit into a container, known as a *masob* (basket). The *Muse* asks '*Manaš Bala Samint?*' Who is next? and calls forward the member hosting the next *mahbar* meeting. [The person] comes forward, kneels down, and receives blessings from the priest for her willingness to host the next meeting. The *masob* is carefully handed over to her [or him] (ibid., p. 8-9).

The social responsibility of conflict resolution and helping the poor are integral aspects of the *mahbar* ritual. A range of social outreach philanthropic undertakings such as helping the poor and needy regardless of reciprocity and ethnicity, helping their church, teaching the need for good character and tolerance, responding to various crises in their area, and creating awareness on HIV and AIDS, and organizing and going on pilgrimages, are all associated with *mahbar*.

³ The name and his function's legacy relate to Moses' who led the exodus of the Children of Israel out of Egypt.

⁴ A pot containing a drink from which every member takes a sip in a believe that it is a sign of unity.

Regardless of nationality, ethnicity, “race”, educational background, social status, or wealth, *mahbär* serves the purpose of linking the individual with God vertically and with the rest of the community horizontally (Chan et al., 2006:290). Even those who are not members of a particular *mahbär* may be blessed as a consequence of her/his assisting the host with preparation for an impending *mahbär*. It serves the purpose of worshipping God, social networking, information exchange, conflict resolution and reconciliation, entertainment, and providing social insurance (Flemmen and Zenebe, 2016: 12-18). *Mahbär* is, therefore, “a symbol of Ethiopian culture, and a symbol of Ethiopian society itself. He [the interviewee] seems to feel that to be Ethiopian is to help others coupled with a strong devotion to the Orthodox *Tawahido* Church” (Ibid., p. 11). Its existence in both rural and urban areas of Ethiopian society is a testament to both its ubiquity and its importance.

Accompanying this sense of solidarity is a code of behaviour that maintains that members should not offend each other or lie to each other. The strong bond that exists among members of the *mahbär* is so pronounced that it is regarded as a family. In this sense, the essence of its social bond quality is that it results in a “relationship...that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates” (Portes, 1998: 6). Historically, the anthropological/sociological intensity of the relationship among *mahbär* members has been rather strong. They see each other as family members. Therefore, the taboo against incest applies and marriage between members of the *mahbär* is forbidden. This experience continues in both twenty-first century Ethiopia and in the Diaspora. However, due to urbanization, a classic case of *Gesellschaft*, this practice is less emphasized now than was the case previously.

Nowhere in the literature are we aware of a comparable situation in which a heterogeneous group composed of members from different families, communities, regions, ethnicities, and colours, find themselves so closely related spiritually that they regard themselves as a family. The basis of this taboo is their religious obligation, and their fear that failure to uphold this taboo will have dire consequences, as was the case with Ananias and his wife Sapphira (Acts of the Apostles 5 in Hammond and Busch, 2012: 251) who died because of their failure to share their worldly possessions. As such, the fear of retribution does determine behaviour in the realm of spirituality.

This development provides the basis for questioning Sigmund Freud's argument that taboos are "externally imposed on a generation of primitive men" (Freud, 1950:31), although one does concede that they are "the oldest human unwritten code of laws", (Freud, 1985:71-72). In this case, the origin of one taboo is most certainly not "unknown" (ibid., p. 71), and testifies to the power of religious beliefs and obligations. Nowadays, in addition to its religious role, the name *mahbär* is also used on the basis of ethnicity and people's professional affiliations for the purpose of advancing their economic, political, and social interests without religious rituals and obligations. It must be noted that changes in the Diasporic social climate affect *iddir* and *mahbär*. While in the case of the former, gatherings usually occur in a designated location, in the case of the latter, such gatherings occur in the two EOTC churches, namely, the Holy Saviour and the Holy Trinity in Johannesburg (Yimer, 2012: 48).

The bonding norms that control behaviour in these groups fulfill the principle of that which is "appropriable by all members of the community" (Portes, 1998: 6). The fear of ostracism and its negative consequences are the key characteristics that result in expected and appropriate behaviour. All three cultural institutions, *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, are classical cases of social capital at work as defined by Bourdieu when he maintained it is "the aggregate of real or potential resources that are associated to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual recognition" (Herreros, 2004: 6) and assistance. These traditional systems help individuals in their coping by participating in them through various networks among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. Individuals participate in these systems and play their part in the groups' survival, her/his wellbeing, as well as to ensure the Ethiopian migrant community stability in Johannesburg.

In addition to *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär*, the researcher observed the usage of other cultural traits that have been brought to South Africa from Ethiopia and are being actively used by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg as part and parcel of their everyday life. They are conciliation services; the coffee ceremony; and *enibla enteta* (an occasion for the display of spontaneous hospitality and etiquette when someone happens to arrive while they are eating and drinking).

- a) **Conciliation Services (*Shimglina*)** – It is generally accepted in legal circles that a conciliation is one element in the pacific settlement of disputes. However, in Ethiopian society, this institution has been expanded to include an ombudsperson who represents both sides in such issues as the initiation of marriage, together with other social and economic undertakings that require a neutral party's intervention in order to facilitate a resolution between and among those involved.

- b) **The coffee Ceremony** – There is no secular event in Ethiopian society that is as steeped in rituals as this ceremony. These include roasting the beans and inhaling the aroma; burning incense; the quality of the coffee that is served and the knick-knacks that accompany it; the setting in which it is served; and the discussion, which may be political, social, and economic, together with the conviviality that such a discussion engenders (Adair, 2011).

- c) ***Enibla Enteta*** - One of the major and customary elements of Ethiopian society is the unstated politeness associated with inviting a guest or guests to partake of whatever food and drink that one is enjoying.

All three social aspects of Ethiopian society work together to form a collage of social solidarity that is both customary and value-laden. Conciliation is geared to generating social justice; the coffee ceremony addresses the human need for socializing and expressing ideas and discussing various socio-economic and political issues that concern them and other opportunities that are available or could be generated for the common good of the group and for national solidarity. While *enibla enteta* does likewise, it is also an expression of the giving of one's self through the sharing of food and drink, a being together in a philosophical sense. It also is a form of politeness and generosity in the sense that those who may be short of food should be voluntarily subsidized.

Equb, *iddir*, and *mahbär* as well as conciliation services; the coffee ceremony; and *enibla enteta* are important social gatherings during which time, people discuss various social issues that are related to their everyday life. This cultural trait also applies in Johannesburg where people meet to discuss various issues such as currency exchange rate; xenophobia; problems associated with Home Affairs; South African Revenue Service (SARS); issues relating to Ethiopian society; how

to expand their business; challenges affecting their relationship with the police; how to deal with crime; etc. The places in which such discussions occur include coffee shops, restaurants, churches (after and before the service), and at their business place.

Among Ethiopians, all the social gatherings mentioned above have an element of free discussion either in small or large groups except for intervening short periods earmarked for the observance of members' ritualistic objectives such as collecting money in the case of *equb* and *iddir*. In *mahbär's* case, it is for a short prayer. However, the discussions that unfold in the coffee ceremony and *enibla enteta* are totally freewheeling and no membership is required. With *enibla enteta*, among Ethiopian migrants who don't have food can survive by joining others while they are eating. The researcher used these events to function as a participant observer in order to glean information on the dynamics of Ethiopian migrants' social life in Johannesburg. He also used this opportunity to socialize and schedule interviews. The Ethiopian migrants' attachment to the Church is also a part of their everyday life.

5.4.5. The Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church (EOTC)

The EOTC is steeped in tradition which has fostered its resistance to both Islam and Western missionary influence. This has enabled it to maintain its original identity. The extent to which Ethiopians have internalized the sacred cosmos that is endemic to the EOTC is objectivated in the latent and manifest expression of Ethiopians' religious and moral identity wherever they may be. The EOTC is so revered that the laity considers itself unworthy to enter the church building and/or its premises in an unholy state, irrespective of their *loci*. This behaviour represents the sanctity and the awe in which the Church is held. Wherever Ethiopians go in the world, the EOTC's pastoral care accompanies them. It is ultimately expressed through its iconographic and symbolic representations which, in the case of immigrants, provide "spiritual mentorship and [helps] the immigrants in their adjustments" (Lipsky, 1962:31). This state of affairs is clearly expressed in the following data:

The church is the place where we cry, get comfort for all our stresses, express our joy and our sadness. That is our shield. There is no other place to go and cry. I have faced many problems, for all these, I didn't go to anyone for solutions, but only came to the church, cried, prayed, and told my problems to the Holy Saviour and gained comfort. So it is beyond words to try and express my feelings about the Holy Saviour (Respondent 7).

“When I found the Ethiopian Orthodox Church here, I was very happy, more than anything else. This is because I grew up in it, I studied my basic religious creed and got my early schooling in it, and it is where I live and it is my everything” (Respondent 21).

“If you attend church or attach yourself to the church, you learn moral values, you respect people, you help/support your family and you live in a disciplined manner” (Respondent 4).

“When you hear the word of God, it takes the stress away and you can think and plan clearly” (Respondent 6).

“If I didn’t find the church here, I don’t think I could stay this long. I would go back home” (Respondent 14).

“When I come to church, wooh! The holy water, the smell of incense, the presence of the cross, and seeing the icons, I can’t tell you in words how spiritually satisfied I am” (Respondent 8).

“The church is shelter for the newcomers, they come and get comfort, and sometimes even the members contribute to assist the newcomer financially to start a business” (Respondent 4).

The data indicates that to a great many Ethiopians, the EOTC has been a vital part of their formative years and has continued to have a significant impact on their lives. In this sense, they live the Church as it is their home away from home. The church constitutes the sacred world of their being in the sense that it provides them with spiritual solace. This is a testament to the EOTC’s pastoral care and, therefore, its importance to its members in the Diaspora as it reinforces their bonding with the Church and links them to the larger society at home. Such is a manifestation of the fact that “religious teaching may contribute to a more civil and caring society” (Smidt, 2003:29) as it manifests the bonding nature of social capital which is “something that is socially embedded in *particular* relationships” (ibid., p. 8). According to responses from the EOTC clergy in Johannesburg, the church has demonstrated both its ability and its authenticity by means of the following undertakings:

“We conduct liturgy in the Ge’ez and Amharic languages in order to convey a sense of belonging to members and encourage them to partake in Holy Communion. It is the flesh and the blood of Jesus Christ, which is to be taken by every baptized member” (Respondent 29).

“Arranging baptism for children and new converts and conducting marriage services” (Respondent 28).

“Comforting members with the word of God by bringing preachers from its headquarters in Ethiopia to conduct sermons” (Respondent 31).

“We priests dispense holy water, hear confessions, and engage in reconciliation among its members and commemorating monthly and annual religious celebrations in the existing parish churches and monasteries” (Respondent 26).

“The Bishop brings the Ark of the Covenant (replica) to the opening of new parish churches in the places where Ethiopians provide the necessary requirements” (Respondent 32).

“Our church administration here in Johannesburg is bad as a result of poor management. We are only traditional priests, we don’t give service in English, and we are not trained. Because of the language problems we don’t expand our service to indigenous South Africans” (Respondent 30).

The EOTC provides the above services for its Diasporic members. Additionally, the researcher observed that although the EOTC has many problems in its missiological approach in Johannesburg, there is some flexibility in its functionality in its pastoral care as it relates to Ethiopians. For example, in order to conduct a liturgy in Ethiopia, there must be two priests and two or three deacons. But because of the shortage of trained personnel in the Johannesburg area, one priest and one deacon are allowed to conduct the liturgy. Another factor is that in Ethiopia, in order to conduct a liturgy, there must be a permanent structure with its complete array of relics. However, the church in South Africa became flexible and, as a result, it accommodates the social realities of migrant life. Consequently, mobile liturgy is undertaken in a temporary but suitable setting. In other words, a priest takes relics from an existing parish church to the migrants’ location outside Johannesburg, conducts the liturgy and, at the end of the service, he returns the relics. This is a testament to the Church’s context-specific approach as it seeks to be faithful to its kerygma as a Church with both an apostolic tradition and a missiological calling.

As the data has indicated, language limitations, a lack of professional training among priests, and a poor administrative system have combined to restrict the EOTC’s apostolic mission in Johannesburg. This has resulted in the EOTC’s inability to reach non-Ethiopians who are yearning to become a part of it. An equally substantive issue is that “the Church that will help to integrate a developing nation cannot identify itself with a particular social class” (Shorter, 1978:97) but rather with an inclusive humanistic outlook (ibid.). For example, services are conducted in the Ge’ez and Amharic languages, both of which exclude non-Ethiopians in Johannesburg. Moreover, there is no outreach programme that is designed by the EOTC church

and is geared to the larger non-Ethiopian community. Such efforts, if they were to unfold, would fulfill the Church's aim "to make of the individual a member of Christ and an heir of the Kingdom of God" (ibid.). By contrast, the internal shortcomings of the EOTC's missiological approach (missio-cultural contextualization), does not "represent the process by which a local church [may] integrate the gospel message with the local culture" (Hewitt, 2012: xxix).

The following data shows that some of these shortcomings were expressed by a number of South Africans who have observed the Church up close:

They lack knowledge and don't want to spread the church to other people apart from among Ethiopians. They were not professionally trained, all the priests who are here have never been trained... they have never been to the seminary or theological college that is why they have a lack of broader understanding (Respondent 37).

"Ethiopians must speak English in order to spread the EOTC, which our forefathers gave us. They must share Ethiopianness with the local people" (Respondent 35).

The data also clearly indicates that except for prayer and liturgical services, the church does not engage in other activities such as counseling the youth; marriage counseling for couples so that they may keep their marriage intact, or teaching children to follow their parents' religion and culture. The EOTC in Johannesburg also does not engage itself with its members' physical needs. This idea is the fulfilment of the biblical admonition: "If a brother or sister is naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you says to them, 'Depart in peace, be warmed and filled,' but you do not give them the things which are needed for the body, what does it profit? (James 2:15-16 in Hammond and Busch, 2012:520). Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu calls "pie in the sky" religiosity an "insult to God" (2011:125). This may be attributable to a lack of appropriately imaginative leadership in Johannesburg. If the opposite were true, the Church in Johannesburg would be functioning more effectively than is currently the case. If this were so, the Church would be instrumental in fostering social integration of Ethiopian migrants with the host society:

"The problem is that Ethiopians are not here only for business, they are missionaries to spread the EOTC" (Respondent 34).

"I was happy when I saw a South African Orthodox priest coming to our Church with his family. The Church made us close" (Respondent 21).

In addition to the above, the spiritual and historical ties that have bound South Africans and Ethiopians are expressed in the following data:

The anti-apartheid role played by Ethiopia, its assistance in the establishment of the African Union, and the examples set by the EOTC inspired the establishment of African independent churches. All of these are branches of the EOTC. Haile Selassie is very important to me. The Ethiopian church is very important to me. The relationship with Ethiopia is very good and very positive. Ethiopians have influenced South African society on different levels. If you go to the apartheid museum, there is the gun, the pair of boots, and the passport that Haile Selassie gave to Mandela. What he said in the book Long Walk to Freedom about Ethiopia and its importance going back in history is very important (Respondent 36).

The oldest Christian church in Africa is the EOTC. Ethiopia is mentioned more than forty-three times in the bible. They don't mention Britain or America even once. Ethiopians possess the oldest form of Christianity, which is Orthodox. The EOTC is not only a spiritual institution but is also a cultural institution. It is also an educational institution as the EOTC is the only place where the Geez language is used and preserved. The EOTC is not only a religious institution as Ethiopian Christianity is a way of life. When I was in Ethiopia, I experienced that Ethiopians go to Church every day – every day there is a Saint or Angel whose memory or feast day is celebrated. Every day is a peculiar day, is a holiday – the whole thirty days. The EOTC is the most influential religion, which made Orthodoxy a way of life, which makes Christianity a way of life, not as here only a religion. Ethiopians... not only go to Church every day but behave accordingly. Social greetings, beggars on the street, even the police when arresting you (ere begziabher)⁵ will all call in the name of God. It is a way of life; it encompasses all social activities in human existence. All social configurations in Ethiopia are impacted by the EOTC (Respondent 35).

“We Rasta’s, our spirituality is based on Ethiopian tradition. The EOTC is the original church where I can go and associate myself with God” (Respondent 38).

Ethiopia’s history and the EOTC are our Black pride. Look at the history of Adwa. Haile Selassie is very important to me. The Ethiopian Church is very important to me. The people are important to me. It is many relationships. It is spiritual, it is political, social, and cultural. I am aware of the role Ethiopia played against apartheid. I know the role that Ethiopia played in the independence of African countries. So I blend theory and practice (Respondent 33).

Based on the above data, in order to come to a clear understanding of the importance of the Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church (EOTC), one must come to grips with the historical relationship that has existed between the Church and the state and the positive impact that they have had on the African continent. This is because these two bodies have historically been both practically and ideologically intertwined in a symbiotic and mutually reinforcing relationship.

⁵ This is an idiomatic expression that admonishes the individual in the name of God, instructing them not to cheat or lie..

This has been expressed metaphorically as follows: “The Church is like a sword, and the Government is like an arm; therefore the sword cannot cut by itself without the use of the arm” (Lipsky, 1962:101). As such, the commanding heights of Ethiopian civil society have been characterized by compatibility between state and Church. To date, the most significant manifestation of this relationship was demonstrated at the Battle of Adwa in 1896 when the Ark of the Covenant, carried by Orthodox priests, preceded soldiers into battle (Hancock, 1992:196; Tolossa, 1992). In this regard, Zewde maintained that:

[Ethiopia’s] symbolic weight of the victory of Adwa was greater in areas where white domination of blacks was most extreme and marked by overt racism, that is, in southern Africa and the United States of America. To the blacks of these countries, victorious Ethiopia became a beacon of independence and dignity. The biblical Ethiopia, which had already inspired a widespread movement of religious separatism known as Ethiopianism, now assumed a more cogent and palpable reality (2002:81-82).

Ethiopia’s victory also became a bellwether for other African countries’ liberation from colonial rule. Adwa is still revered among Africans, continental and Diasporic as an indication of what can be accomplished against fearful odds. For this reason more-so than any other, Adwa is one of the chief cornerstones of Ethiopianism movement which emerged in other African countries. It is the “Africans desire to be free from foreign domination first of all in the church, [and] later in [the] political and sociological spheres” (Pretorius, 1993:2). It is this movement that has witnessed the effective intertwining of nationalism, patriotism, and religion enveloped by the philosophy of Ethiopianism among Africans, continental and Diasporic with its accompanying Black pride (Hewitt, 2012:30). This phenomenon assumed concreteness in the “two fundamental tenets of the Rastafarian religion [in its] and is call for the salvation of African-Jamaicans through repatriation to Ethiopia and acceptance of the divinity of Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, the Conquering Lion of Judah and Emperor of Ethiopia” (ibid., p. 143).

In the thinking of a great many Africans, Ethiopia, specifically the EOTC, provides the “all-embracing universe of meaning” (Berger, 1967: 176-177, Appendix 1) and as such “is a repository of Africanism” (Persoon, 2005:333). This resulted in EOTC members feeling that their religious faith provides answers to their questions of spirituality and was more profound than was the case with any other Christian faith. This is why many non-Ethiopian Africans, including South Africans, gravitate towards the EOTC as their home of human and spiritual identity. It also explains why some South Africans are interested in and have committed

themselves to, participating in and experiencing the EOTC's spiritual life (Respondent 3). In this case, the bonding that exists between Ethiopia and other Africans, continental, and Diasporic, could be metaphoric to enhance their unity and a greater sense of nationality.

In effect, this shows that there is a yearning among South Africans to know about and associate themselves with the Ethiopian church. In this manner, the church can be instrumental in effecting social integration as religion transcends ethnicity and nationality and so has the capacity to be globalized (Vertovec, 2000:10). This confirms the Durkheimian idea that "religion is the primary source of social cohesion in society" (Stewart, 2015:24). This point of view is further enhanced by

Luckmann's conception of religion is the capacity of the human organism to transcend its biological nature through the construction of objective, morally binding, all-embracing universe of meaning. Consequently, religion becomes not only the social phenomenon (as in Durkheim), but indeed the anthropological phenomenon *par excellence*. Specifically, religion is equated with symbolic self-transcendence. Thus everything genuinely human is *ipso facto* religious and the only nonreligious phenomena in the human sphere are those that are grounded in man's animal nature, or more precisely, that part of his biological constitution that he has in common with other animal (Berger, 1967: 176-177, Appendix 1).

As was implied above, the EOTC's importance is not only providing pastoral care for Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg but it is also for indigenous South Africans who are interested both in the Church as well as Ethiopian political history (Adwa). The bonding nature of social capital is clearly seen in the Ethiopian migrants' affiliation with the EOTC and the interest of South Africans in the EOTC. This bonding social capital is a social pathway to the establishment of bridging social capital to the larger South African society. As the EOTC is an institution, the possibility of linking social capital is enhanced. In this manner, the EOTC is becoming instrumental in fostering social integration and social cohesion between these two constituencies, namely, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and the larger South African society.

The larger question is this: Is the EOTC responding adequately to the needs of the Ethiopian migrants as well as that of the South African society? This question is raised because: "The Church should be the place where barriers of race, nationality, class, sex, and education, are done away; where the unprivileged, the down-trodden, the outcast, and the despised find a welcome and feel themselves at home" (Visser 'T Hooft and Oldham, 1938:161). Stated differently, given

its common values, the Church should be a protective pillar on which all people can lean and find succour.

Ethiopian migrants' experience engagement with various institutions in their adjustment. They rely on their religion for guidance, use people smugglers for their trip, and join various ethnic and other networks for their survival. In their coping, their traditional cultural institutions become vital as they provide them with economic, social, and religious reinforcement to address the challenges that they face and to become successful. As "religion is a major generator of social capital" (Smidt, 2003:33), the EOTC's role in the Ethiopian migrant's coping with the challenges that are faced in Johannesburg is vital.

5.5. Common Values that can foster social integration, and social cohesion between Ethiopian migrants and host society in Johannesburg

Values are culture-specific. Despite this sociological fact, there are common cultural traits that are a part of African societies that may constitute bases for co-operative action and shared understanding. Furthermore, "cultural experience enables social life, allowing us to navigate through our everyday lives" (Burton, 2015:119). Such a navigational process may be facilitated by that which various African societies have in common, can garner, and effectively utilize. This postulate is as worthwhile with respect to intra-societal integration with its bonding social capital potentials as it is to inter-societal relations with their bridging and linking potentials in order to foster a shared understanding, (ibid., p. 120). The following data makes this point.

"God is our creator. We need to forget our differences and focus on our common spirituality" (Respondent 33).

"Some South Africans are coming to our church, they like our church much, but the problem is the service is not in English. Religion is good, it can bind us together" (Respondent 25).

"Being Africans and black, learning each other's culture, language, and trying to understand each other, is very important" (Respondent 34).

We Rastas follow and keep the ancient traditions of Ethiopia. Our King Haile Selassie is from Ethiopia. We are interested in the EOTC, because of most of our traditions: the cross, baptism, the clothes we use, all are from the Ethiopian tradition. The EOTC is the oldest Christian church, the original cross, the Ark of the Covenant; it is rich in the biblical history and Christianity. Ethiopia is mentioned in the Bible more than 44 times. For us, we are always interested ... the EOTC is our

church that we look up to... This interest starts with King Haile Selassie, he was born, baptised, grew up, and anointed in the EOTC (Respondent 36).

However, according to the data, elements of the practical implementation of these common values are highly questionable.

Researcher: *“How does your Africanness help you during xenophobic attacks?”*

Respondent: *“This is said by the politicians. The people don’t know this; there is a need to educate the public” (Respondent 26).*

“We need to create a club like sport, which can bring us together. The World Cup that was held in South Africa was the best... school is another place to socialise. Generally, Ethiopians and Somalians are business people and it is easy to interact with them” (Respondent 35).

The data indicates that there are certain common values that, if capitalised on, may constitute the basis for social cohesion between the Ethiopian migrant and the host society. Firstly, there is a deep sense of religiosity which has been an integral part of all Africans’ culture from ancient times. This is as true today as it was then. Secondly, although it may be vaguely expressed, there is equally a sense of *Africanness* that has permeated all African societies. Thirdly, and related to this, the knowledge that there has been a historical greatness with which Africans are identified gives a true sense of pride. Fourthly, the historical and functional sense of *ubuntu*, or the sense of brotherhood that has served African societies well from the time of antiquity, may certainly be utilised effectively. Fifthly, the unifying characteristic of sports may always be used as a way of fostering friendship and a positive collective outlook as it encourages the formation of bridging social capital (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2004:86-87).

The two most pronounced institutions that can foster social integration are the state and the church. Although the Church’s functionality for the Ethiopian Diaspora is identical, apart from providing migrants with legal documentation, an undertaking that is rather ponderous and characterised by corruption, state’s negligence in fostering social integration is pronounced in South Africa. To the contrary, the researcher’s observations in the Netherlands and in Germany revealed that their governments play an active role in establishing well-structured programmes aimed at integrating the individual into society’s mainstream. Both states offer a range of services, including courses/training in citizenship which, in turn, advances Ethiopian migrants’ integration in the society. This is done through a protracted programme of language instruction

and an exposure to the society's values, norms, and general civic culture before the migrant is expected to become a fully-fledged and functioning member of the society.

With regard to the Church, the EOTC's historic significance in the realm of Afro-centricity has the potential to animate disparate elements of the South African society under its sacred canopy. This may be done by way of an effective missiological approach. Nevertheless, the practicality of this possibility being realised to its optimum is negated by the EOTC's administrative weaknesses in responding appropriately to the missionary demands, and its limited understanding of the signs of the times theologically or the spirit of the *age/zeitgeist*, sociologically. In this sense, the EOTC's focus is limited to the Ethiopian migrant community, rather than realising that:

Religion works differently than ethnicity or nationality. Its message of transcendence, codification and ensuing portability, and socialization of subsequent generations, to name a few, makes religion a fertile arena for multiple memberships. If transnational belonging is the wave of the future, religion is likely to be its principal stage (Ammerman, 2007:114).

Had this not been so, the social distance between elements of the Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg would be minimised through the EOTC and social integration between both groups would be advanced. In turn, this would probably have led to greater social cohesion between both groups.

In conclusion, it may be stated that by using social capital as the method of analysis this chapter has critically discussed and analysed the collected data under various categories. Through this undertaking, the study has provided a clearer understanding of the social challenges and experiences that Ethiopian migrants face in Johannesburg and their responses to them. The dynamics of their dealing with emotional, social, cultural and institutional patterns related to their everyday interaction in Johannesburg are analysed. In this undertaking, the EOTC's importance in their coping and its relevance to other Africans continental and Diasporic is outlined. The common values that exist between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society which have the potential to foster social integration and social cohesion in Johannesburg are also discussed.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Key Findings

This chapter embraces the study's findings that emerged from the data analysis in Chapter Five. In the course of this analysis, prevailing issues that affect Ethiopian migrants and their success in Johannesburg are identified under various categories such as their emotional state, institutional adjustment, survival strategy, cultural dynamics, and patterns associated with integration. This chapter further outlines common values that may foster greater integration and cohesion between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society.

6.1 Institutional Adjustment

6.1.1. The Challenges of the Migratory Journey and the Role of Religion

Compounded by challenges, migration by its very nature is problematic. Quite apart from the anxieties associated with the experience, it forces the individual to adopt spontaneously a new set of norms under circumstances in which she/he is constantly interacting with strangers.

A large proportion of the illegal migrants to South Africa come from the Horn of Africa, including such countries as Somalia, Kenya, and Ethiopia. Of these, the men alone are estimated at "17,000 to 20,000 male, irregular migrants per year" (Horwood, 2009:7), who move towards the South via Kenya. "Not all of these men will successfully enter RSA, but all will make part or the entire journey south" (ibid.). When we particularise the case of Ethiopians, the challenges they face on their overland journey to South Africa are formidable. Almost exclusively, they are at the mercy of the people smugglers who man these overland routes, and who may take them through any combination of the following countries: Ethiopia (the source country), Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and into South Africa.

According to Horwood, of the countries that are transient points for migrants, all of them, except Zimbabwe, have "signed the U.N. Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime, also known as The Smuggling Protocol" (2009:10). However, this does not mean that they abide by its regulations. Despite the route taken, the dangers are real and omnipresent in multiple ways. The data indicates that, although the challenges may differ from one country to another, they always necessitate spontaneous social and physical adjustments.

These illegal migrants are forever in a state of limbo, not knowing whether they will arrive at their destination alive, be arrested, raped, get ill, be abandoned, or any combination of these negative experiences. After having faced all these challenges, once they arrive in South Africa, they are exposed to a range of criminal activities that seem “to be the price many accept to pay for new lives of opportunity in RSA or, if their ultimate dreams are realized, in a third country in the West” (ibid.).

The varying problems faced by Ethiopian migrants in their precarious journey from that country to South Africa are so daunting that their deep religiosity becomes their major source of solace. This is because religion provides the individual with the means to address the dialectic of human life (Zaaiman, 2015:305) and its problematic nature. In this sense, religion is not only other-worldly, but it has a positive and functional practicality. Indeed, with its multiple hardships, the very migratory experience forces the individual to live her/his religion beyond the congregation (Ammerman, 2007:142). As such, religion transcends national and even ethnic boundaries (ibid.), and also induces the individual to incorporate her/his experiences into a greater understanding of the religiosity with which she/he is identified. In this fashion, the ethos – “unchanging core identity” (ibid., p. 140) – of a particular religion may remain intact, including its “symbols, rituals and narratives that allow them to imagine themselves in sacred landscapes” (ibid., p. 110), and the effectiveness of their beliefs remain. Nevertheless, a person is always changing as is society. Therefore, the content of any body of religious doctrine must change with the times in order to maintain its existence in the world of spirituality and, if necessary, become manifest outside of institutional structures.

In this regard, “Thomas [Luckmann’s insistence] that sociologists must be attentive to religious phenomena that are ‘institutionally diffused’” (ibid., p. v) is appropriate. It is not that the individual overtly manifests her/his religiosity during such an experience as taking the overland route from Ethiopia to South Africa. Rather, it is that the experience itself induces reflections and introspections that may well result in a reappraisal of her/his religiosity, including the meaning of the Bible’s content in the Christian context, or that of the Koran in a Moslem context. The challenges continue at their destination.

6.1.2. Department of Home Affairs: Daunting Social Capital

All things being equal, a major institution with which Ethiopian migrants need to interact in a primary manner as a manifestation of basic bureaucratic effectiveness is the Department of Home Affairs, “the government branch responsible for registering residents and issuing documents to both citizens and non-nationals” (Landau, 2005:7). However, as has been vociferously indicated by another study and confirmed by the data, it is the bane of their existence. One of the main reasons why this situation pertains is because it was

[o]ne of the most corrupt departments during the Apartheid period, [characterized by] administrative incompetence and irregularities [which] flourished between 1994 and 2004. Recent efforts to counter corruption within the department are laudable...but considerable problems remain. While South Africans regularly (and justifiably) express frustration with the department, its immigrant-related activities go beyond mere administrative incompetence and often operate outside official mandates and regulations. One of the most obvious examples is that even would-be asylum seekers—who have rights to be in South Africa under international and domestic law—must often pay a series of unofficial ‘fees’ simply to file an asylum claim. Those who refuse to pay may not get access to the buildings or may suffer beatings and other violent means intended to keep people in line (both figuratively and literally). Without legal status in the country, those subject to such tactics are effectively unable to lodge formal complaints. Not surprisingly given their general hostility to foreigners, few South Africans object to such treatment (ibid.).

This state of affairs has to be juxtaposed against the fact that there are close to one million, one hundred thousand applications for asylum status pending (Stupart, 2016:1). It may also be posited that the generalized xenophobic attitude in South Africa is being played out at regular intervals in the Department of Home Affairs. Yet the migrant has two equally troubling choices and is immersed in a classic Catch 22 situation: (a) either subject herself/himself on the constant humiliation meted out by Department personnel, or (b) subject herself/himself to police harassment and possible arrest for being in the country illegally, a state of affairs that may result in the individual being imprisoned (in the Lindela Deportation Centre) preparatory to being deported. This places the migrant in a dilemma and leads to the willingness of Ethiopian migrants to pay bribes, either to personnel in the Department of Home Affairs, or to the police, or to both. The former is to expedite their legitimate stay in the country, and the latter is to overlook their illegal status if this is indeed the case. In this regard, we exercise the option of elucidating on the quotation cited immediately above.

According to the data, Wednesdays are generally known as “Ethiopian” days at the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, Gauteng. One must join a queue in order to gain entrance to the building. There are usually personnel who are either directly or indirectly affiliated with the Department whose function it is to keep order in the queue. They do so overzealously to the point where, given a large number of individuals who are usually in line and the fact that the queue intermittently becomes disorderly due to its member’s anxiety, it is not unusual for an order to be restored and maintained by force.

Although the Department of Home Affairs has recently streamlined its service delivery so that some anonymity is maintained, there are loopholes that ensure that those who pay for services that are supposed to be free of charge receive the benefits that are due them are made (Landau, 2005:7). By contrast, those who do not pay are summarily dismissed. Almost invariably, the former situation is the case. Their negative experiences in the Department of Home Affairs are an offshoot of the stereotypical attitude that they constantly face. Nevertheless, most of them continue to survive and in some instances excel, especially in business.

6.2. Survival Strategy

6.2.1. Entrepreneurialism Revisited – Ethiopian Style

Although the topic of entrepreneurship was introduced above, it requires further elaboration. Ethiopians view entrepreneurialism as “a purposeful activity to initiate, maintain, and aggrandise a profit-oriented business” (Peverelli and Song, 2012:11) with its necessary risks (Carland et al., 1988:33-39) and for the purpose of economic advancement. This is their primary reason for undertaking the perilous migratory journey to South Africa. However, although the terms “small business” and “entrepreneur” are used interchangeably, one must distinguish between them.

Small business involves undertakings that are “independently owned and operated... not dominant in their field and usually do not engage in many new or innovative practices” (Kuratko, 2015:3). They rarely grow beyond what is euphemistically referred to as the “mom and pop” stage, and their owners are usually content with this situation. By contrast, entrepreneurialism is characterized by such qualities as “innovation, profitability, and growth” (ibid.). Ethiopian business people fit these characteristics. Their innovation is to be found in their business flexibility and their dexterity in meeting their customers’ needs. This is done by being what may

be described as “business nimble” in the sense that they specialise in selling brand-name products that may not necessarily be authentic. Their businesses are characterised by the following practices:

- They sell to those who can ill afford to pay shopping mall prices, but who find obtaining brand name items is appealing and satisfying.
- Their trademark is a quick turnover of merchandise and a small profit. This practice is referred to as “quick sale, small profit” in the commercial world and is another characteristic of being “business nimble”.
- A system that raises the price of an item but offers the customer an affordable monthly lay-by arrangement. This is a win-win practice in the sense that the customer gets what she/he wants, and the shop/storekeeper gets a better price for his merchandise.
- Unlike the practices in shopping malls, Ethiopian shop/store owners maintain a flexible pricing system, which involves negotiating prices with prospective customers in order to realize sales.
- In the case of a good business relationship between an Ethiopian shop/store owner and a retail vendor, the former provides the latter with bulk merchandise at half price on the understanding that the vendor will pay the balance in a timely fashion. This is fundamentally a matter of trust in the classical sense of its usage as the cornerstone of social capital.
- Some Ethiopian shop/store owners provide trustworthy individuals with merchandise that they are expected to sell and the proceeds are returned to the shop/store owner on a daily basis, minus the seller’s commission.
- In the case of long-standing business relationships between a shop/store owner and a customer that are characterised by mutual trustworthiness, another aspect of Ethiopian business culture is that such a customer becomes eligible for credit. However, when it comes to growth, the distinction between a shop/store owner and an entrepreneur becomes blurred.
- Ethiopians prefer to open retail shops/stores in multiple locations rather than expand in one location.

During times of xenophobic attacks, the argument is advanced that foreigners are to be blamed for depriving locals of jobs and engaging in criminal behaviour. Nevertheless, it is also maintained that foreigners “improve the country by bringing new ideas and culture. They are, generally, good for the country’s economy” (Cronje et al., 2016:775). Ekwealor (2017:1) makes the identical argument in this regard. Therefore, their spirit of entrepreneurialism makes Ethiopians essential contributors to South Africa’s development. However, Ethiopians prefer to remain small time shop operators rather than become entrepreneurs as they are defined above. This is due to the following reasons.

Firstly, they are loathe to attract robbers or to become victimised by other Ethiopians, including less successful business people who may have their own network of criminals with whom they work. Secondly, many of them do not have access to banking services and therefore keep their proceeds at home, finding innovative ways to expatriate their profits to Ethiopia. Thirdly, because many small business owners are long-time asylum seekers, their tenuous relationship with the Department of Home Affairs makes them uncertain of their final status. Fourthly, the more successful they become, the more vulnerable they feel regarding being robbed and possibly killed. For these reasons, they prefer the “mom and pop” status as self-employed shop owners and managers.

However, those Ethiopian businesses that fall under the classical heading of the entrepreneurial, abide by the rules, develop sophisticated strategies for survival, and become quite successful. A few of these are business people who may or may not be South African citizens but are registered with the South African Revenue Service (SARS) and are on the same legal footing as is the case with any ordinary business. These are the people who are enveloped by organic solidarity, which characterises those who are functioning on a similar if not comparable business level. This success is an outcome of their various networks.

6.2.2. Social Capital as a Coping Mechanism

The essence of social capital is trust (Dasgupta and Serageldin, 1999:329), key corollaries of which are confidence, interdependence, and reciprocity (ibid., pp. 31-32). To the extent that social capital plays a role in Ethiopians’ survival in Johannesburg, it is interwoven with their business interests and activities; the Ethiopian community in which they reside; their business

relationships with others, irrespective of ethnicity, nationality, religion (Adair, 2011); and for the most part, the EOTC, which is an indispensable part of their lives. It is largely within this envelope of a highly textured social network that bonding, bridging, and linking social capital manifest themselves.

Despite its increasingly limited application to their daily survival in Johannesburg, their “*Ethiopianness*” is the unique basis of identity that provides the social and economic reinforcement that enhances their coping mechanisms. In addition, their religiosity plays a vital role in their adjustment in Johannesburg. By coping is meant “a form of adaptation where people respond to stress by expending effort to change” (Kirst-Ashman, 2011:23), their behaviour and, their emotional reaction, environmental condition, and their interaction with the environment (ibid). According to the data that emerged from this study, the EOTC gives Ethiopian migrants a sense of belonging that helps them to maintain their identity. It also affords them a place for their socialisation and enables them to obtain psychological relief from stress by providing a setting that is conducive to the conducting of their religious rituals. The church, therefore, provides the social security, through which they seek divine intervention in their lives.

Although social capital has a generalised familiar tone to it given people’s formal and informal social relationships, it also consists of dynamic networks that are a “thing in themselves” (Anderson and Jack 2002:194). The “thingness” associated with conducting business in Johannesburg, with its multiplicity of ethnic groups, the problematic nature of obtaining hard currency in which to conduct trade, a system of using valuable commodities as a basis of collateral for moving commodities both intra- and inter-nationally, as well as bartering, is geared to an extraordinary level of trust. This undertaking consists of a chain with many links, all of which must be functional, kept intact, and be in the hands of dependable individuals. This explains why, in some transactions, “family members are placed in different locations to handle the acquisition and transfer of goods” (Nuttall and Michael, 2000:435). In this type of business undertaking, the functionality of bonding and bridging social capital is indispensable.

The main reason for their indispensability is because the social fabric of Johannesburg necessitates the type of arrangement described above. Despite the built-in anonymity associated with any large metropolitan area, a city such as Johannesburg does lend itself to pockets of

textured relationships based on mutual economic interests, which bridge many variables, including ethnicity, nationality, “race”, religion, and, in some cases, socio-economic status. As such, they constitute a key element of the macroeconomic undertakings associated with immigrants, who are playing an increasingly key role in largely urban economic life (Pieterse, 2003:30). As is the case with immigrant groups elsewhere, economic interests trump nationality, ethnic, religious, and other differences in this undertaking (ibid.). This enhances both bonding and bridging social capital. In this sense, these types of social capital may facilitate co-operation between Ethiopians and other ethnic groups.

The trust inherent in *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* are key self-help elements found in Ethiopian society and were discussed in some detail in chapter five. They are fundamental expressions of the trust that some Ethiopians have in each other, to the point where these three manifestations of mutual reliance reinforce the anticipation of reciprocity. This occurs in a manner that triggers an almost automatic response based on an unstated and unwritten sense of responsibility to one’s brother/sister. These three self-help schemes in Ethiopian society have a “morally binding...universe of meaning” (Berger, 1967:176-177) and reciprocal expectation. Ethiopians take these schemes with them wherever they go and implement them in their new settings as a means of enhancing each other’s welfare.

6.2.3. Social Change — Success in the Midst of Challenges

Social change is a societal phenomenon. Defined “as significant alteration over time in behaviour patterns and culture” (Schaefer, 2014:300), it is a hallmark of all social and non-social systems. In the case of Ethiopian migrants, their movement from their home society to South Africa illustrates some of the major theoretical postulates found in elements of classical sociology associated with change. Given the major areas from which they come and the social structure of their communities, with their limited amenities such as very sparse if any electricity, no labour-saving devices to speak of, and the generally rustic nature of their lives, they are somewhat restricted by tradition, despite the fact that it ensures their primary relationships. Therefore, their movement could be classified as one “from Mechanic to Organic Solidarity (Durkheim); from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* (Tonnies); and from tradition to modernity (Simmel; Spencer)” (Portes, 2008:3).

This is already triggered by most migrants' initial rural-to-urban movement in Ethiopia. While on their way out of Ethiopia, they are already exposed to the positive aspects of urban life, including the amenities that make life more comfortable in urban areas. This positive impact has a lasting effect on the individual as the exposure constitutes a basis for reflection. Another dimension to the journey from Ethiopia is that the migrants are exposed to another way of life, even if rudimentarily. This is due to the social forces they encounter that contribute to their perception of their new and different world. This experience in Ethiopia becomes a part of their consciousness, to the point where they are motivated to contribute significantly to positive changes, such as moving their family into urban areas with more amenities and greater opportunities and the development of a globalised worldview.

Having overcome several challenges, most Ethiopian migrants do experience some business success. Nevertheless, there is generally always fierce competition among Ethiopians for greater and greater economic advancement. This insatiable appetite for wealth plays itself out in their desire to live up to the expectations of their families in Ethiopia and to enable them to move from rural to urban areas as well as facilitating the movement of some family members to South Africa by way of people smugglers. With respect to the first objective, purchasing a house in an urban area is extremely gratifying and prestigious. This enables their children to have access to better education, healthcare, and, in all likelihood, a better future. Moreover, those who manage to reach South Africa are expected to join family and friends who are already here and expand the circle of prosperity. This is a classic case of the networking phenomenon that Thieme (2006) analysed, as discussed under 5.2.1.earlier in this work. Although this is true of Ethiopians in general, it is most pronounced among the Hadiya and the Kembata.

6.3. Cultural Dynamics

6.3.1. *Abesha* or *Habesha* – Self-perception and its Challenges

The ambivalence and ethnic group designation of Amhara and Tigre (including the current Eritreans) is that they are identified as *Abesha* (or *Habesha*) by Arabians and as Abyssinians by Europeans. What we do know about its meaning is that approximately 1000 years before the Christian era, “some Hamitic-Semitic people (Sabaean traders) from South Arabia came” (Nyang, 2009:1) and established a toe-hold in the area. Over time, “they developed first a

number of city-states and then a kingdom centered on Axum, they must have intermarried with the aboriginal population. From this mixture of peoples evolved the *Amhara* and *Tigreans*” (Hess, 1970: 8-9). Therefore, the word “‘*Abesha*’ or ‘*Habesha*’, means ‘people of mixed blood’” (Nyang, 2009:1). Traditionally, the *Amhara* and the *Tigrean* peoples have resided in what is currently northern Ethiopia. This Northern area included what are today *Tigri*, *Gonder*, *Gojam*, northern *Shewa*, and *Wollo* provinces as well as the independent country of Eritrea. However, in the older European literature the word Abyssinia was used to refer to the landmass called Ethiopia (Hess, 1970:9).

Generally speaking, “Abyssinia” is a term that derives from the Arabic *habesha* and is also the historical term used to refer to the Northern populations in Ethiopia. It is currently used in a broader way to include all Ethiopians and Eritreans. The name “Ethiopia” is derived from the Greek *itoopis* (which may either be interpreted as “burnt face”. It also refers to how the people are seen by the Greeks, or maybe the unproven name of the founder of the *Axumite* kingdom). Although Ethiopia was called “Abyssinia” for a long time (and is still designated as such in some languages), it was renamed Ethiopia by King Ezana around the fourth century as the new “Christian” name for the kingdom he was governing. The term “*Itoopis*” was believed to refer to the founder of the *Axum* kingdom as it was also claimed that he descended from Noah’s grandson Cush, whose father was Ham (Seleshie, 2014). Given the protracted political dominance of the *Amhara* and *Tigre* ethnic groups over other Ethiopians, and its accompanying transmission of cultural traits, it is now customary for all Ethiopians as well as Eritreans to refer to themselves as *Abesha/Habesha* (Levine, 1974:18).

As a consequence of these developments, Ethiopians not only looked across to the Arabian Peninsula for their identity, but they also refer to themselves as *Abesha/Habesha*. Despite Haile Selassie’s role in various major Pan-African undertakings, including his pivotal role in establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Ethiopians generally continue to view themselves simply as “Ethiopians”. This group identity is further explained by the following respondent: “*Abesha* know and care nothing about globalisation” (Respondent 12). Or, as another respondent stated: “*Abesha* does not want to go beyond his language and his culture” (Respondent 3).

Stated differently, Ethiopians are culturally relativistic and, as such, they are quite comfortable in simply being who they are without being ethnocentric, i.e., Ethiopians. As one South African respondent stated: “Ethiopians are very independent people, they use all of their cultural traits. They do not force themselves on the society” (Respondent 38). Although some Ethiopians may be very black in skin colour, it is their culture that determines their identity rather than their skin colour. This in no way suggests that Ethiopians are unaware of their African roots. Nevertheless, while they seek to maintain their own identity, such behaviour severely hinders their social integration into South African society.

Another social factor is that Ethiopia’s long isolation from the rest of the world has resulted in a collective introversion that is quite often misunderstood. Traditional Ethiopian culture, particularly its patriarchal and nuclear family structure (Fulcher and Scott, 2011:156), has resulted in parents and especially fathers being revered and obeyed, children being tightly disciplined, and elders generally being regarded with respect. Parental needs supersede and are more important than those of siblings. This is partially an aspect a phenomenon called “*yilugnta*”.

In Amharic, behaving in a scrupulously compulsive manner in terms of Ethiopian culture is referred to as “*yilugnta*”. Conversely, failure to do so is referred to as “*n’ewr*”, which indicates indecent or impolite behaviour by an individual. The range of behaviour that falls under both these categories is extensive, subtle, and pervasive. It is therefore understandable that what may seem normal in other societies is regarded as “*n’ewr*” in Ethiopian and Eritrean societies, which makes them shy and reserved. For example, when juxtaposed with the rap culture portrayed in the American or South African media, with its overt sexuality coupled with the criminal behaviour identified with some of its artists, “anyone can imagine the culture shock that Ethiopians must face when thrown right in the middle of one of these cultures. This shock, in turn, makes an Ethiopian want to seek and find the norms he or she was used to” (www.deepethiopian, 2009). The data clearly indicates that cultural differences between Ethiopians and South Africans have contributed to the existing social distance. Another major difference between Ethiopians and South Africans can be seen in their philosophy of life.

Ethiopians are quintessentially thrifty. As such, they strongly believe in the admonishment in the Book of Proverbs (13:22 in Marks, 2012: 1128), that says: “A good man leaves an inheritance to his children’s children”. As such, they are obsessed with the future and with assisting their children to get a good start in life. By contrast, South Africans largely live for today. The data indicates that this philosophy presents a challenge in most cases of marriage between an Ethiopian man and a South African woman. These conflicting values impede both the realization of social integration and the fostering of inter-group social cohesion in Johannesburg between Ethiopian migrants and the host society.

6.3.2. Culture Conflict: Calendar Difference and Religious Celebrations

Culture consists of our thoughts, words, and actions within a societal context. We shape its contents and are, in turn, shaped by it. Therefore, its impact is both a conscious and an unconscious process, which results in our internalising its signals, manifestations and expectations. In contrast to pronounced developments in other parts of the African continent over thousands of years, Ethiopian culture was never strongly influenced by European-centred colonial rule. Hence, Ethiopia did not develop a significant identity crisis. Because of this singularity, Ethiopian culture differs in many aspects from other African cultures. Consequently, there are a number of institutional differences that Ethiopians encounter in South Africa that cause adjustment difficulties.

Ethiopians differ from South Africans in terms of language, the celebration of religious festivals, the use of the calendar, male-female relationships, entrepreneurial relationships, religious practices, etc. By way of elaboration, Ethiopia uses the Julian calendar in which all the months have thirty days, with five additional days each year, and six days added once every four years. Stated differently, “the Ethiopian calendar consists of thirteen months, where the first 12 months have 30 days each. The 13th month has 5 days in an ordinary year and 6 days in a leap year” (www.timeanddate, n.d.).

For example, 23 November 2016 in South Africa and elsewhere in the world is actually 14 November 2009 in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia, the New Year starts on 1 September each year. Ethiopia has its own language and uses different alphabet symbols and numbers in its communications, both verbal and written. When Ethiopians migrate to a South African environment, the Ethiopian

and the local calendars do not match. This causes great complications for them due to the conflict between their religious convictions and their business interests. Such conflict does not exist in Ethiopia. Moreover, business demands in South Africa mean that they cannot observe Sunday as the day of Sabbath and socializing, as is customary in their home country. In addition, the time difference causes some confusion.

Apart from the difference in longitude, the time expression in Ethiopia is different. The reason for this is because Ethiopians use two twelve-hour systems as opposed to one twenty-four hour system. Therefore, 7:00 o'clock in the morning in South Africa is 1:00 o'clock in the morning in Ethiopia. Again, 2:00 o'clock in the afternoon in South Africa, is 8:00 o'clock in the afternoon in Ethiopia. Stated differently, Ethiopia does not use the Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) twenty-four-hour system. This involves a major adjustment problem for many Ethiopians. For example, the researcher himself, by virtue of being an Ethiopian, has periodically had difficulty in translating the twenty-four-hour system into his daily schedule.

The celebration of major religious festivals in South Africa is also highly problematic. For example, Epiphany, or the commemoration of Christ's baptism, and the Feast of the Finding of True Cross, are the two most significant religious and national festivals in Ethiopia and are internationally recognized as such. However, these are not publicly recognised holidays in South Africa. Furthermore, as entrepreneurs, Ethiopians are conflicted between opening their places of business and celebrating these religious festivals as their religion and their tradition demand. This duality of conflicting interests leaves them with much ambivalence. Nevertheless, they balance both obligations with much difficulty in an effort to maintain their cultural identity. The nationalistic significance of these commemorations cannot be underestimated even among the migrant community here in South Africa. Therefore, the experience among Ethiopian immigrants endorses the idea that: "...the power of religion in shaping an individual's identity ...is an issue of family, culture, ethnicity, and nationality" (Nzayabino, 2010:52).

From a sociological perspective, it is evident that the foregoing is functional for the Ethiopian community in the Johannesburg area. To the extent that this is so, it also contributes to the maintenance of social distance between Ethiopians and South Africans.

6.3.3. Perception of “Others”: Stereotypes and Xenophobia

The new dispensation in South Africa that was ushered in after 1994 had what may be described as a largely “open door” policy towards Black Africans from other countries. Prior to then, they had been barred from entering the country under the apartheid system, unlike Whites who largely came from Europe (www.overcomingapartheid.msu.edu, n.d.). A number of initiatives on South Africa’s part made this change possible. They were initially regarded as somewhat exotic, especially in the case of Ethiopians and Eritreans, but this perception soon experienced an evolutionary change. Both of these groups, among others from non-White areas of the world, began relying on their entrepreneurial skills to open small retail stores called “spaza shops”, which were largely situated in Black areas, including townships, throughout South Africa.

Black South Africans were never allowed to engage in such endeavours under the apartheid system, and they therefore never developed the requisite entrepreneurial skills (www.american.edu, 2011). The business success of these migrant Africans has been one of the chief triggers in the manifestations of xenophobia with which South Africa has become identified. Arguably, one of the reasons for this phenomenon becoming as pronounced as it has been is the small business success that migrants have generally had and are having. From a sociological perspective, this has resulted in them being stereotypically regarded not as “brothers and sisters”, but rather as the “other” (Pickering, 2001), which “is a fixed mental picture of a member of some specified group based on some attribute or attributes that reflect an overly simplified view of that group, without consideration or appreciation of individual differences” (Kirst-Ashman 2011: 62).

This development is a consequence of migrants filling an economic void that had largely been filled previously by Whites of European background, and particularly Portuguese, who, under apartheid laws, were regarded as “White” and, as such, were protected by those laws. However, the “othering” of Black migrants is also the consequence of stereotypical thinking that manifests certain “beliefs about the characteristics of groups of individuals... [largely] on the basis of gender, nationality, race, and ethnicity” (Stangor, 2000:8). This “collective process of judgment...feeds upon and reinforces powerful social myths” (Pickering, 2001: 48) and is an attempt to keep “the Other in its place at the periphery” (ibid.), in this case, of South African society. Once migrants have been “othered”, stereotypical perceptions of them either accompany

their out-group status or parallel it (ibid., p. 50). The process of “othering” is itself quite instructive and ought to be examined at least cursorily.

Studies have shown that there is a distinct correlation between the powerful and the powerless when it comes to “othering”. One of the major characteristics of this phenomenon is that the powerful are largely responsible for “othering”, while the powerless are usually its victim. The power structure is maintained in the process of stereotyping as the powerful are exempted from being victimized in this fashion (Stangor and Crandall, 2013:165), despite the fact that there is usually a “kernel of truth” (Breckler et al., 2006:349) in stereotypes. For example, although they have been successful in establishing small businesses in the Johannesburg area, some Nigerians are involved in the drug business (Mulamu, 2016). Consequently, Nigerians as a whole have been stereotypically viewed as “drug dealers”. Ethiopians are almost exclusively known as business people and this stereotype has more than a “kernel of truth” to it as their undertakings are almost exclusively entrepreneurial, except for those few Ethiopians engaged in various professional undertakings.

The stereotypical perception of “others” leads inexorably to xenophobia, despite the “kernel of truth” argument mentioned above. Defined as an “extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.” (McIntosh, 2013), this irrationality leads to foreigners becoming the scapegoats for the government’s inability to deliver services, particularly in the townships, including those in and around Johannesburg. In effect, because the migrant is a stranger, he/she is a classic representation of Simmel’s observation that Pickering presents as follows:

by being both remote and close at hand, mobile and yet somehow settled, feared and yet desired, [f]or the stranger’s part, being ‘here’ does not betoken any sense of belonging, for that which is germane to this sense is generative of their loss, their unbelonging, their dislocation from what gives cohesion and solidarity to in-groups, even though this dislocation may bring new opportunities in its wake that were not previously in some anterior time or experience. The stranger stands incongruously within those patterns of sociation based upon collusive antagonisms, the inter-dependent divisions between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (2001: 205)

With respect to the Ethiopian migrant, he/she has been “othered” and is perceived by the wider South African society as “the stranger [who] makes his appearance everywhere as a trader, and the trader makes his as a stranger” (Simmel, 1971:144). The end result is that they are “not really perceived as individuals, but as strangers of a certain type” (ibid., p. 148), a classic stereotypical

perception. In this regard, both Simmel and Pickering's analyses are profound statements on the nature of stereotypes and stereotyping, which, by their very nature, erect mental and social walls of separation. Such a mental barrier negates the possibility of building comparable bridging and, to the extent that social institutions may be involved, linking social capital between and among peoples of diverse backgrounds and the institutions that they represent. It is not particularly difficult to understand just how the phenomenon of "othering", in this case of Ethiopians, contributes to and is expressed in xenophobia.

A somewhat nuanced definition of xenophobia is that it is a "fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign" (www.dictionary, n.d.). This phenomenon has been periodically manifested in South Africa. Now that perceptions of African migrants as exotic have worn thin, they have given way to a climate of intolerance. As a result, foreigners in general and other Africans, in particular, are stereotypically and erroneously viewed as the cause of the country's myriad social problems and as responsible for the absence of service delivery. The social problems for which foreigners have been blamed and viewed stereotypically include: (a) unemployment and underemployment, with the assumption that foreigners are taking jobs that ordinarily would have gone to South Africans; (b) drug trafficking and usage; (c) contributing to corruption by bribing certain government officials; and (d) the success of *petit bourgeoisie* tuck shop and clothing store owners is regarded with envy in lower class communities and is seen as being at the expense of local residents, despite providing a badly needed service to the community.

Attempts are made to rationalise these problems and argue that there is no xenophobia in South Africa. By contrast, this line of thinking posits that:

South Africans have done nothing to foreigners that they have not done to each other... on several occasions. Under the apartheid system, South Africans maimed or killed each other as a result of some workers taking jobs at sub-standard wages. It mattered little whether or not the wage scale was sanctioned by a labour union (Respondent 35).

The key issue is that those who accept lower-paying jobs contravene unwritten rules that prescribe minimum salary requirements.

It is true that migrants from countries with lower economic standards than those in South Africa are willing to accept jobs at salary scales that South Africans will not accept. In this sense, the

“kernel of truth” in the stereotyping argument is valid. However, it is also maintained that South African employers are generally more inclined to hire “foreigners” on the grounds that they “have a higher level of work ethic than South Africans” (Respondent 20). Moreover, it is also true that, as entrepreneurs, Ethiopians create rather than compete for jobs and, as such, they employ both South Africans and non-South Africans alike. This argument also holds that for example:

In Johannesburg, the economic hub, Ethiopians are one of the many employers...if you go to Jeppe Street, Ethiopians are owners of a great many shops. In turn, they hire South Africans as well as migrants from a great many other African countries, such as Zimbabweans, Malawians, among others. So Ethiopians are contributing to the economy by providing markets for additional outlets, as well as people's socio-economic life as a result of such employment. In this case, by virtue of being employers, Ethiopians are helping the government. In addition, Johannesburg people love clothing and Ethiopians meet this demand (Respondent 35).

This consequence of entrepreneurialism and job creation is precisely what the South African government has consistently been advocating. The reason government so doing is because such outcomes are a key aspect of economic development. However, it does not necessarily reduce the social distance between Ethiopians and the host society.

6.3.4. Ethnic Bonding and its Impact on Social Distance

Like *Abesha/Habesha*, *Ethiopianness* is a well-established phenomenon among Ethiopians. While the former term emerged from the protracted political domination of other ethnic groups in Ethiopia by the *Amhara* and the *Tigre*, the latter term, namely “*Ethiopianness*”, is an outgrowth of Ethiopia’s illustrious history and the culture that emerged from it. Although a subjective feeling related to this term still exists, the current constitution has led to sociological fault lines both inside and outside Ethiopia. Instead of “*Ethiopianness*” holding sway and facilitating bonding social capital in an inter-ethnic group manner as it did previously, the society is now Balkanized along ethnic lines. This situation also exists outside of Ethiopia and, as a result, there is a growing manifestation of social distance, not only between Ethiopians and the host society but also among Ethiopians themselves. Such an outgrowth contributes to hostility among Ethiopians of diverse ethnic groups, and to the marginalisation of some groups.

The new political order in Ethiopia has resulted in the existing heterogeneity becoming rather pronounced. This is due to the current constitutionalism and the constitution itself. This

heterogeneity now manifests itself in both Ethiopia and South Africa, as well as other places. Previously, such heterogeneity was subordinate to a sense of what may be labeled “*Ethiopianness*”, in which being Ethiopian transcended every other criterion. However, since the advent of the current political system in Ethiopia in 1991, this Balkanization has spread to Ethiopians in the Diaspora and is also being played out in Johannesburg. As a result, the sense of group identity has been extremely pronounced at the expense of a national identity. A set of stereotypical perceptions has emerged among Ethiopians. Moreover, the characteristics of such behaviour are overwhelmingly negative and ultimately counter-productive. One of the outcomes of this Balkanization is that the *Oromo* ethnic group has developed a rather strong sense of nationality, which is being displayed in Johannesburg and elsewhere in the Diaspora and is cloaked in their ethnic armour.

As a consequence of these political and ideological orientations, ethnic and religious differences have emerged and are becoming increasingly pronounced. What was previously disquiet, with some muted inter-group dissatisfaction, is now being manifested in open hostility. This inter-group hostility results in very little co-operation among Ethiopians of different backgrounds. Even in business, for example, *Oromo* do not support *Amhara* and *vice versa*, and *Tigre* do not support *Oromo* and *vice versa*. In other words, in-group members are supported while out-group members are not, and most business and economic activities are therefore based on these bonded groups.

Ethnic diversity sometimes dovetails with geographical location. As a result, members of one ethnic group, depending on their location, may not be supported by members of their own ethnic group in Johannesburg. Briefly stated, there are three bases for discrimination, namely, ethnicity, geography, and religion. The sum total of this phenomenon is that the sociological veneer of “*Ethiopianness*” is slowly being eroded, with predictable negative consequences. For example, the absence of strong national bonds is being increasingly exploited by criminals, who rob Ethiopians with a sense of impunity due to this Balkanization that has created “soft targets” within the Ethiopian community. However, Ethiopians’ indomitable entrepreneurial spirit has given them the psychological strength to prevail in business.

6.3.5. Bonding Social Capital and Spirituality

The world of spirituality and the occult manifests itself in the nature of bonding social capital, which helps to mould the behaviour of Ethiopians in both that country and in the South African Diaspora. The textured nature of this social relationship is probably most pronounced among the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups. The belief that spirits may be invoked to wreak revenge on those who engage in evil deeds is deeply entrenched in Ethiopian society. This belief functions as a behaviour control mechanism in society and, as such, it minimises deviance. Furthermore, it is a fundamental part of the belief system in the Ethiopian Diaspora, particularly among the Hadiya and the Kembata.

The manner in which this manifests itself is that if a member of one of these two ethnic groups engages in something untoward in South Africa, the person who is victimized reports the matter to the elders of their ethnic group. The elders of the two above-mentioned groups then call a meeting with the plaintiff and the defendant (the accuser and the accused) to settle the matter. Both are expected to be present and they deliberate on the matter. If the defendant admits guilt, they decide on a just punishment, which includes reparations. Conversely, if the defendant denies the charge and there is no tangible or intangible evidence to indicate that he is guilty as charged, the elders then ask him to swear as to whether or not he is guilty. If he lies, then he may be asked to swear that he will be destroyed by bullets in South Africa or come to another brutal end. He may then leave this informal hearing. However, there is a very strong belief among these two ethnic groups that anyone who comes to this hearing and lies will meet a horrible end.

If the accused does not attend this hearing, the matter is then referred to his community elders in Ethiopia. His family in Ethiopia are then held responsible for whatever he might have been accused of having done in South Africa. When the family is summoned by the elders, they respond obediently and fulfill their obligations as they fear that the elders' curse will result in both the accused and the other family members experiencing whatever retribution the elders wish for them. Fearing such an eventuality, both the family and the accused meet whatever demands the elders make of them.

In order to circumvent such an accusation, members of both the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups almost invariably hire non-Ethiopian criminals in South Africa as surrogates, to engage in

whatever evil deeds they would like to have performed on other members of these two ethnic groups. In this way, they seek to absolve themselves of any involvement. However, the fierce financial competition within and between these two ethnic groups makes the continuation of violence almost inevitable. More often than not, their intra- and inter-group negative behaviour is a manifestation of bonding and bridging social capital. As a result of this behaviour, there is a negative perception of some Ethiopians in the eyes of the host society.

Such behaviour may be reduced by the emergence of “civic norms and associational life” (Buonanno et al., 2006:11). This argument in favour first of “civic culture” fits within Almond and Verba’s in that it consists of attitudes and values that are key to the effective functioning of democracy particularly in pluralistic societies (1963:31). The definition of “associational life” and its potential impact on society falls under the general heading of “self-interest [which has to be] sustainable” (Green and Haines, 2008:203) in order to accomplish specific objectives. This explanation is offered to indicate that the possibility does exist of honing a rational approach to addressing such criminal behaviour on the part of some members of the Ethiopian migrant community.

6.3.6. Ethiopian Migrants and their Religious Identity in Johannesburg

One of the many characteristics of migration is that those who engage in this phenomenon do so together with their identity and their religion, both of which are honed by their culture. Therefore, concomitant with migration is the sociological phenomenon of religion, which, by its very nature, becomes transnational. As such, migration necessitates the individual connecting with a range of institutions that are indispensable to the migrant’s anticipation that she/he will experience a better future than would otherwise have been the case. Despite the coping mechanism that religion provides, the migrant may still experience adjustment problems as religion does not necessarily always offer all the required answers to problems. The Ethiopian Orthodox *Tewahedo* Church’s (EOTC) presence in South Africa is pivotal in the life of Ethiopian migrants. The spiritual bases for the EOTC’s obligatory significance in the Ethiopian migrants’ life are to be found mainly in the objectivated representation of (a) the *Tabot* (the Ark of the Covenant), (b) the True Cross, and (c) icons, among other religious symbols. This is the case because they provide affirmation of “some reality [that is] presumed to exist in the ‘depths’ of [their] consciousness” (Berger, 1967:167).

a) The *Tabot* (the Ark of the Covenant): One absolutely indispensable relic of EOTC members' religiosity is the presence of the *tabot* in each church. This relic is a replica of "the Ark [of the Covenant], which orthodox Ethiopians believe is in Aksum at the Church of St. Mary of Zion" (Salamone, 2004:128). It is arguably the most sacred relic in Christianity as the claim is that it houses the Ten Commandments (www.crystalinks, n.d.). Because of its Judeo-Christian origin, the *Tabot* is such a significant relic in the life of the EOTC that it is the central spiritual object in all church celebrations, including the "great festival [of] Epiphany (*Timkat*)" (Chaillot, 2002:117). This ceremony commemorates Christ's baptism in the Jordan River by John the Baptist. It is also the central object in the annual celebrations of the many saints and angels, which are pivotal to the *kerygma* and the manifestation of beliefs that constitute the ethos of EOTC Christology.

The Feast of the Epiphany is the annual commemoration, which all the churches of the EOTC celebrate throughout the world. The symbolic and substantive importance of this feast is such that "on the eve of the feast (*Ketera*), several *tabots* are carried in majestic processions from each church to a special field or place with a water point such as a river bank, in memory of Jesus going from Galilee to the Lake of Tiberias/Jordan river" (Chaillot, 2002:118). The *Tabots* are placed in a tent overnight, which forms their sanctuary (*maqdas*) for that night. In an adjacent tent, *debteras* (trained clergymen) sing religious songs and chant during the night, and the liturgy takes place early in the morning on the following day.

The clergy and the congregants then proceed to the water source. The water is blessed and the clergy read selected parts of four gospels, which relate the significance of baptism. This is followed by the generous sprinkling of the congregants with the water that was blessed at that location. At the end of the ceremony, the *Tabots* are returned to the church from which they came in a correspondingly joyous procession (Tadesse, 2010: 83). In this celebration, the overt manifestation of religiosity is that of joy. This joy is based on the anticipation and the belief that the participants will be blessed for the remainder of the year.

b) Another annual Ethiopian celebration is *Meskal* (or the Cross), which is also accompanied by a feast. This celebratory occasion is to commemorate the discovery of what the EOTC and its members believe the original Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified in Jerusalem and which

was found in the 4th century by Empress Helena (Helen), the mother of Emperor Constantine (Genene, 2014).

The actual Meskel holiday occurs on September 27 GC or September 28 in leap years. The Ge'ez word Meskel literally means Cross [which marks the celebration day]. Although there are many factors that make Meskel celebration one of the most anticipated Ethiopian Holidays, the...fact that [it] is the first Ethiopian religious holiday to be celebrated right after the [New Year or] *Enkutatash Celebration* during the first Month of Ethiopian New Year which is [in September of] *Meskerem* – a brightly colorful month of transition from winter to spring – makes it even more awaited (ibid.).

In Ethiopia, what makes [this] ceremony unique is that bonfire, Demera, is lit to commemorate the event that happened centuries ago. Why Bonfire? [The] Church teaches [that] Queen Helena was told in a dream to make a bonfire whose smoke would show her where the True Cross was buried. After the revelation, the Queen asked her people in Jerusalem to make the bonfire as told, which led her to the exact location of the Cross (Melese, 2016).

This significant event has been a national holiday in Ethiopia for more than 1,600 years (www.awazetours, n.d.). On the eve of this feast, ordinary individuals but primarily EOTC members bring twigs (*tshibo*) and put them together to make a bonfire at a permanently selected location. During this celebration which takes place in every EOTC church, religious and traditional songs are performed by the crowd. The clergy chants and Sunday school youth perform spiritual songs that are specially prepared for the feast. After this, designated prayers are offered and a sermon about the crucifixion and the symbolic value of the cross is offered by the clergy. After the priestly blessing of the gathered twigs, women ululate and men sing about the cross and its spiritual meaning as their expression of joy and the perceived blessing that they get from it (www.youtube, 2006). Paralleling this public celebration, “people also light little fires in front of their houses” (Chaillot, 2002:117) as a part of the commemoration and the expectation of being blessed.

In spite of the religious aspect of Meskel celebration, it is also celebrated culturally with many distinctive and eloquent details in most of the south and southwestern Ethiopian villages... It is during Meskel celebration that these diligent people usually go back to their village to enjoy their yearlong fruit of [their] labor with family, relatives, friends, and neighbors the best way they know how. Since receiving the priceless blessings from the elders of the household or village is something that the Gurage people value the most... (Genene, 2014).

In most of South and Southwestern Ethiopia, various ethnic groups such as Gurage, Hadiya, Kembata, Dorze, Wolita among others, the *meskel* feast is intertwined with a number of traditional undertakings such as socializing among peer groups, and family groups including

youngsters choosing their life partners. Tigrayans, Oromos, and Amharas also celebrate *meskel* which is seen as a seasonal holiday that is a celebration of “the coming of the sun and the end of rain, which means work for farmers” (Melese, 2016).

The euphoria that accompanies this celebration also includes people visiting friends and relatives, irrespective of their location, and expressing their sense of joy and optimism for the future; the expression of a sense of spiritual invincibility; and finding reinforcement in a “spiritual strength” (Hewitt, 2012:25) that enables them to face what seems to be an increasingly demanding world. The transnational aspect of the *Timkat* and *Masqal* feasts is of such magnitude that they attract a substantial number of international visitors to Ethiopia and, as such, contribute to Ethiopia’s economy. In addition to this economic boost from tourism, the Ethiopian economy is also boosted more-so than at any other time by the remittances sent home by South and Southwestern ethnic group members mentioned above who are abroad, including those who are living in South Africa.

These feasts and the rituals associated with them also reinforce Ethiopians’ sense of nationality irrespective of their religious affiliation. So intense is their psychological hold on Ethiopians that both the *Timkat* and *Masqal* festivals are causes for a joyous national celebration. The use of the Cross constitutes one of the two spiritual bedrocks of the EOTC members as they both play key roles in people’s everyday lives of veneration. The annual celebrations of these two feasts (*Timkat* and *Masqal* or Cross) were originally EOTC phenomena and are unique to Ethiopian society.

The colourful *Meskal* feast also signifies the physical presence of part of what is believed to be a part of the True Cross which is housed at the Church of *Egziabher Ab* (www.ethio.nl, n.d.). This Church is located at the remote mountain monastery of Gishen Mariam, located 483 km north of Addis Ababa in the *Wello* administrative region in Ethiopia. Complementing *Meskal* is the fact that in the monastery of Gishen Marian “there is a massive volume of the book called the *Tefut*, written during the reign of Emperor Zara Yaqob (1434 – 1468). This text records the story of how the fragment of the cross was acquired” (Guilhem, 2014). From the reality of Jesus’ crucifixion and the legacy of Empress Helena (Helen) and her son Emperor Constantine the

Great, Ethiopians have learned to use the cross as a powerful weapon against evil or negative distress.

In Oriental Orthodox Christianity, and particularly in the EOTC, bishops, and priests always hold a cross in their hand so that it is available to bless the EOTC members. Church members eagerly seek this blessing whenever they see a bishop or a priest, whether in the church or elsewhere (Coleman, 1998:23; Molvaer, 1995:102) in the belief that two of the three categories of sin, namely thinking an impure act and saying it, are forgiven by this blessing. However, the third category of sin, namely committing the act, requires confession. EOTC members place the sign of the cross on their houses and their clothes, wear it around their necks or, in some cases, have it tattooed on their bodies as a sign of victory over evil and their enemies. This is yet another significant use to which the cross is put. The symbiotic relationship among church, state, and society is so textured that the entire nation participates enthusiastically in these feasts. In all likelihood, this is because *timkat* and *masqal* celebrations which are national holidays, take place outdoors and everyone may automatically participate freely, regardless of denominational affiliation.

During state visits, Ethiopian emperors were in the habit of giving Christian crosses to people in situations of political oppression, racial domination, as it is perceived as a symbol of liberation. An example is the case of Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to Jamaica in 1966 (Paul, 2011:1). Immediately thereafter, the emperor sent EOTC Bishop Yesehaq to Jamaica with a priestly cross, believing that its inherent power would bless the people of that nation-state. An outgrowth of this development is that there are now EOTC in Jamaica. In keeping with this sense of inherent blessing, a processional cross was presented to the Abyssinia Baptist Church in Harlem, New York in the United States in 1954. This was done in anticipation that, as the Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, then Minister of the church said "... one day the entire continent of Africa shall be as free as the country of Ethiopia" (Vestal, 2011:60-61). Given Ethiopia's historical background, the practice of giving this cross is an expression of solidarity that is "a source of strength and resistance, and by implication, for its single-minded unity of purpose" (Scott, 2014:718).

A similar cross, inscribed in the Ethopic Ge'ez language and with an Ethiopian king's name on it, can be found in the Cecil Renaud (main) Library of the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Pietermaritzburg campus, South Africa. This iconic object is housed in a glass box in a conspicuous location in the library. However, it is a mystery as to just how this iconic object arrived at this location from Ethiopia and who was responsible for having so done.

c) The iconic representation of the Virgin Mary, her son Jesus Christ, the apostles, saints, and angels are intended to pay homage to what these symbols represent. The practice of relying on the veneration of saints and angels has long been an important part of the devotional life of Oriental Orthodoxy, including that of Ethiopians. This is because they provide a direct, visual expression of the stories and theological mysteries taught by the church. Through the icons, worshipers also pray to their patron saints and angels for their intercession in their everyday lives. These icons are an integral part of what Peter Berger calls objectivation (1967:4).

Objectivation occurs when the religious objects created by human are imbued with such spiritual significance that their impact holds the individual in awe in the sense that the values that are ascribed to them shape her/his religious life. The internalisation of the meaning of these iconic symbols has a fundamental spiritual impact on EOTC members so that the values ascribed to what they represent manifest themselves in their expressed religiosity. This explains why the socialization of EOTC members that results from their religious practices serves to build and reinforce their sense of group solidarity and provides solace within the group (Cornwall, 1987:44-56).

The Virgin Mary is the most venerated figure in Orthodox Christendom in that she is "recognised as [the Mother of Jesus Christ] *Theotokos*, in Ge'ez *Weladite Amlak*, literally the one who gives birth to God" (Chaillot, 2002:131). She is acknowledged as having supreme grace, "a glorified human soul, more perfect and more loveable than any other" (Wondmagegnehu and Motovu, 1970:106). In the Orthodox Christian world, it is believed that the Virgin Mary has the "Covenant of Mercy...that is [a] mediator through her intercession for those who invoke Christ through her name" (Chaillot, 2002:131). Her monthly commemoration is manifested in the sharing of blessed food and drink in her name. It is believed that participation in this ritual

enhances social welfare among EOTC members by encouraging a dialectic of mutual reinforcement and togetherness, if not one-ness.

Given the profound level of religiosity with which EOTC members manifest their beliefs, very little distinction can be drawn between covert beliefs and their overt manifestation in the Weberian sense. To the extent that this is the case, it belies Meštrović (in Beckford, 2003:205) who maintained that in what he called “post emotional society” there is an absence of “genuine collective experience... [with its corresponding] collective effervescence” (ibid.). This is precisely the rationale for the argument that such manifestations facilitate “a sense of belonging to a universe of shared meaning and feelings that transcended the mundane world” (ibid., p. 67). In this sense, the practices of EOTC members are “constitutive of humanness and central to the allegedly anthropological necessity for human beings to keep chaos at bay” (ibid., p. 199).

Among members of the EOTC, the intrinsic religious value of the *Tabot*, together with the True Cross, and the *icons* of St. Mary, the angels, and the saints, represent such a high level of spiritual significance that their absence results in spiritual emptiness. Among other relics, with the Ark of the Covenant in place, the EOTC provides solace and accompanying psycho-social relief by allowing the individual to experience a sense of well-being devoid of the stress of daily life as she/he practices familiar religious rituals. These further belie Meštrović’s postulate.

The ordinary EOTC member believes strongly that for these relics to have optimum religious significance and value, there must be the presence of a traditionally trained priest who is able to perform the sanctification prayers and administer the sacraments. Through their iconographic representations, the veneration of the angels, St. Mary, and the Saints, provides the believers with the ultimate level of contact through which their concerns will be addressed in order to receive a positive response from God. Such an emphasis on religiosity in the EOTC is another way of indicating that the Church’s beliefs, traditions, and rituals – its sacred canopy, as Peter Berger calls it – are fundamentally grounded in practices that have crystallised over three millennia and are therefore not to be trifled with. The intensity of the EOTC’s members’ belief in the spiritual value of these relics is manifested in their willingness to travel far and to make significant sacrifices to be in their presence. This partially explains why EOTC members engage in trans-border communication and travel in order to commune spiritually with other EOTC

members, as well as to be a part of an EOTC congregation. From their perspective, the primary fulfillment of their yearning for spirituality is to be found in the socialization that results from congregational life and expressions. The communication involved also serves another purpose. Through such exchanges, EOTC members are or may be encouraged to relocate elsewhere as a manifestation of trans-national mobility.

In the absence of these relics with their iconic symbolism, the EOTC members feel devoid of their sacred canopy. Some of the consequences of this feeling of spiritual emptiness are: the refusal of EOTC members to participate in religious services in a non-EOTC setting; their eagerness to establish EOT churches wherever they are; their willingness to meet and socialise with other Ethiopians in an effort to share their mutual feelings, and their yearning for greater spirituality, which is consistent with the aura and sense of *Timkat*, *Meskel*, and *icons*, particularly of St. Mary. Such meetings ameliorate the stresses that are ordinarily migration by enhancing the individual's "coping mechanism... [and providing] them with a sense of belonging and security as well as social and emotional support" (Bonifacio and Angeles, 2010: 191-193). So intense is this feeling of spiritual belonging that EOTC members customarily manifest their religiosity overtly by attending church twice daily, both in the morning (before going to work) and in the late afternoon (for evening prayer).

The rhythmic manifestation of the religiosity of the EOTC members is to be found in the symbiotic spiritual relationship between the *Tabot*, the *cross*, and the *icons*, particularly of St. Mary, the *holy water*, the priest, and the individual. Although the church building is a mere physical object, the fact that it houses the indispensable relics of the EOTC members' sacred canopy automatically ascribes to it the status of a sacred institution, and it is regarded as such. Therefore, the church fosters the EOTC members' willingness to be supplicants in their devotion to the awe-inspiring thought of being in the presence of the transcendent God, as their religiosity is enveloped by the totality of the intrinsic meaning of these icons.

As stated above, EOTC members experience intense psychological identification with this panoply of icons. According to Ammerman (2007:140), this identification and its accompanying internalization constitute the fundamental basis for the devotion that provides the foundation for a transnational search for the fulfillment of their spiritual yearning wherever they are. This is a

logical outgrowth of the fact that “religion does not obey political or ethnic boundaries” (ibid., p. 110). Consequently, such intensity is buttressed by the development of what has been termed a “sacred landscape, marked by holy sites and places of worship” (ibid.). This is indicative of the fundamental role that religion plays in the Ethiopian’s life.

From a sociological perspective, the rituals associated with these festivals are manifestations of what Durkheim referred to as the “collective consciousness” (Sternheimer, 2015). They also constitute “a form of communication with profound social consequences” (George, 1956). This is so because the periodic reaffirmation of rituals serves the purpose of cementing the individual’s tie to the group, symbolizes group membership, is a form of “group transcendence” in the sense that the group is larger than the sum of its individual parts, and ascribes a sacred status to an object whose existence is fundamental to the individuals’ body of beliefs. In this case, “repeated veneration of sacred objects [symbolic commemoration of Jesus Christ’s baptism, crucifixion and the usage of iconic representation] creates stable social relations” (www.wiki.thearda.com, n. d.) in the sense that the rituals themselves produce solidarity.

Within the context of the EOTC’s religiosity, the data confirms Thomas Luckmann’s argument that “religion is equated with symbolic self-transcendence” (Berger 1967:176-177). This is so because religion as a whole, “succeeds in providing the appropriate serenity to encounter the mundane” (Mol, 1976:207), in the course of our dialectic (Hart, 2000:17), especially as members of a group which is geared to the same spiritual objective (Roberts, 1995:121). Such an undertaking is consistent with Durkheim’s idea that religion binds people together who would ordinarily have had “diverse self-interests” (ibid., p. 59) and helps them to devise a direction and focus. With respect to the EOTC in Johannesburg, where Ethiopian migrants face an everyday struggle against significant odds, its rituals assume even greater significance as they strive to “comprehend the incomprehensible” (Krüger et al., 2009:163).

This “self-transcendence” is an indispensable aspect of the EOTC’s calling in the sense that it forms a crucial aspect of the individual’s socialization, to the point where she/he does not distinguish between it and her/his everyday life. As such, it assumes an “overpowering experience...which cannot be expressed in words or concepts...because it has no place in our normal scheme of reality” (Armstrong, 1993:53). Consequently, the protracted fasting, praying,

and night vigils; the love of and emersion in the holy water; the attachment to and veneration of the icons of St. Mary, the patron saints, and angels (with chanting, drumming, singing, and the celebration of their annual feasts); the procession of the Ark of the Covenant; the interest in the sacraments (being baptized and partaking of the Eucharist, oil, holy water, laying on of hands by the priests and bishops, and being blessed by them, and being married in the Church); the prayers for the sick and the dead on the part of the living, and the belief that the departed intercede to God on the part of the living; the confession of one's sins; the wearing the cross on one's person; the use of candles for lighting the church and incense for conveying their prayers to God; the construction and beautification of churches; the building of churches and monasteries in the mountains; and dressing in bright clothes, are all a part of their religious world.

The sacred nature of the musical accompaniment, particularly during the procession of the Ark of the Covenant is significant in that it “bypasses words and concepts” (Armstrong, 1993:264) and touches on the ineffable. This is why John de Gruchy states: “the fact is, monks and priests, to say nothing of lay people, expect miracles to happen in a way which not only reflects the world of the Bible, but also the world of Africa” (1997:35; Tesfaye, 2016:271-272).

The foregoing explains the EOTC's member's religiosity and her/his willingness to be a supplicant in God's eyes by collectively participating in religious rituals that “integrate personal identity... [with the larger group] and *vice versa*” (Mol, 1976:233), in the spirit of the communion of the community. This ritual is an elaboration on the supplication which is extended even to God's service. It encourages those who may simply be passers-by to partake of the after-service meal (*agape*) as an aspect of their manifestation of the love and blessings that the participants will receive from the Almighty. It is for these reasons that the Ethiopian Orthodox migrant takes her/his religion with her/him wherever they go. It is one of the chief elements that make Ethiopian migrants who they are.

6.3.7. The Role of Social Media as a Change Agent

Social media is inextricably linked to everyday life in the contemporary world (www.scribd.com, n.d.) to the extent that it has become an “agent of change” (ibid.), whether positive or negative, with the potential for worldwide impact (Sheedy, 2011:4). As such, it has “facilitated [the] creation and exchange of ideas...quickly and widely” (Greer, 2013:156). As a result of social

media's facilitation of communication, the planet earth has never been smaller (Seargeant and Tagg, 2014:1). Social media has unintentionally but inevitably shed light on the phenomenon of immigration in Ethiopian society. Migration has been ingrained in Ethiopian society since the political and social instability of the 1970s and has become a part of its culture (with its attendant norms and values). These experiences have triggered economic problems, and in turn, they have induced family members and friends to encourage migration.

The romance of migration, coupled with the anticipation of its financial rewards, created great excitement among Ethiopians. However, since the initial outburst of enthusiasm, there has been a paradigm shift in the opposite direction. This has largely been generated by social media, and mainly by television, the Internet, Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp, and cellular telephones. The reason for this change in perception is because available "technologies [now] allow us to stay in touch even when we are scattered across distant parts of the globe.... [Consequently], distance is no longer an issue of such importance as it was in the pre-internet age" (Seargeant and Tagg, 2014:2-11). The social distance that almost totally paralleled the spatial distance between migrating Ethiopians and their homeland has been eliminated by social media with its real-time system of communication. What has emerged is a picture of the unvarnished realism associated with the migratory process.

Some of these realistic manifestations include images of following incidents, which were portrayed by social media: (a) 30 Ethiopians who were traveling to Europe through Libya were beheaded by Islamic extremists (ISIS) in 2015; and (b) there was a series of xenophobic attacks in both 2008 and 2015 in South Africa, which are some of the highlights reported. Two Ethiopians were burnt alive at their places of business in the attacks of 2015. These incidents were further exacerbated by a pre-2015 incident in South Africa that resulted in someone's death by necklacing (that involved placing a motor vehicle's tyre around someone's neck, fastening it there, pouring petrol in, and setting it alight). When images of these incidents seen on social media around the world, Ethiopian society experienced a great and protracted shock. Moreover, Africa's continued socio-economic and political problems have contributed to the migratory phenomenon, which continues to play itself out in dramatic rescues in the treacherous North African and European waters.

The continual portrayal of such incidents on social media has resulted in a change in societal perception regarding the virtues of migration. As a result, people have begun to encourage the younger generation to work in the country rather than migrate. Such a societal attitudinal change towards migration, coupled with the Ethiopian government's small business initiatives, has enhanced bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, which may be used domestically.

6.4. Integration patterns

6.4.1. Social Capital and Solidarity in Johannesburg

Durkheim distinguishes between mechanical and organic solidarity. The former is identified with “a system of social ties based on uniform thinking and behaviour” (Ferrante, 2014:15), the latter is characterized by “a system of social ties such that for the most part people relate to others in terms of their specialized roles in the division of labour and as customers” (ibid., p. 16). Among Ethiopians, the emergence of organic solidarity is a function of a comparable level of business success, irrespective of the ethnic group to which they belong and the educational level that they have attained. For example, it is not unusual for x ethnic group and y ethnic group to work together for a common purpose that affects their business interest. In such cases, the conventional bonds of mechanical solidarity, which may imply the existence of socio-cultural lines of demarcation, become rather loose when cross-ethnic group cooperation is a prerequisite for business success.

Consequently, what emerges are two distinct cross-ethnic group cultures. In one, customers support businesses that are identified with individuals within their own ethnic and religious group. This is a manifestation of intra-group organic solidarity. In this sense, this type of solidarity manifests cross-ethnic, cross-religious as well as solidarity with like-minded business people. Stated differently, ethnic group and business interests trump all other forms of group affiliation as a means of securing their common interests. The primarily economic overlapping interests among Ethiopians in Johannesburg result in the blurring of what would ordinarily be social lines of demarcation. Moreover, relationships may sometimes fluctuate between bridging and bonding social capital, depending on the exigencies and the vicissitudes of the situation. This is precisely the reality that dictates the necessity for flexibility between and among groups of

Ethiopians in Johannesburg. In advocating this position, one cannot overestimate the EOTC's value.

6.4.2. The Importance of the EOTC and Ethiopianism in the African Renaissance

In the Durkheimian sense of a "social fact" (Berger, 1967: 176), the EOTC's function as a religious institution is that it has played a crucial role in the maintenance of certain aspects of Africa's multi-faceted culture. Its ancient panoply of such cultures and other historical facts and ideas have captured the imagination of the vast majority non-Ethiopian Africans, many of whom have become affiliated with the EOTC and have come to view it as their "church home". However, Ethiopia's impact on the African continent is just as telling and has given rise to a phenomenon that many writers have chosen to call "Ethiopianism".

This term acknowledges the historical fact that Ethiopia "was one of the oldest continuous civilizations in the world" (N'Guessan, 2011:101) from whose existence came notable expressions "of organised religious festivals, solemn assemblies and other forms of worship" (ibid.) as practiced in Ethiopia. As such, its link to the ancient classical world is unquestionable and it serves to refute the idea that Africa had no civilization prior to the arrival of Europeans on the continent (ibid.).

In order to understand Ethiopia's importance in the world's psyche, and, more importantly, in that of Ethiopians, one must grasp the extent to which what may be described as *Ethiopianness* is ingrained into non-Ethiopian Africans consciousness as a set of "common values" (Abercrombie, 2004: 98). This is an outgrowth of the

Indisputable [fact] that Ethiopia is to be included in the future extension of God's rule. Ethiopia's turning to the Lord is, in fact, a prediction of the universality of Old Testament salvation. This prophecy already finds its fulfillment in the New Testament. Modern Ethiopians (Abyssinians) appropriated the biblical reference to Ethiopia and consider the Ethiopian eunuch's conversion to be a fulfillment of Ps. 68:31 (Pretorius, 1993: 1-2).

Ethiopia's continuity and its historiography found authentic expression in the writings of such intellectual luminaries as Greek the historians Homer and Herodotus (Hess, 1970:1; Akalu, 2009:31). Ethiopia's illustrious history dates from biblical times to the present (www.eotc.faithweb, n.d.). Nothing more clearly demonstrates this fact than its indomitable spirit of resistance to oppression, which was gallantly demonstrated in fighting off Italian

invasions at Adwa in 1896 and again from 1936 to 1941 (Zewde, 2002:150). As such, Ethiopia has set the tone for translating the metaphysics of resistance into glorious victories. Consequently, it has become a symbolic and substantive representation of indomitability, and an inspiration for both continental and Diasporic Africans in confronting injustice. In summary, “[t]he nation and its culture make Ethiopians proud and, as a result, Ethiopians identify themselves with the name ‘Ethiopia’” (ibid., p. 31), which “is an ancient poly religious African country that boasts of rich traditions, and affinities of religious habits and culture” (Tamene, 1998:89).

Moreover, Price points out that:

Ethiopianism has provided a racial, religious, and moral framework for comprehending and criticizing history, the social world, and especially racial and economic inequalities. It originated under the slavery regime in pre-revolutionary America and subsequently spread into the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa. It is in Jamaica, however, where Ethiopianism grew its deepest roots, as the isle has given birth to many pro-Black and pro-African groups (2003:1).

Ethiopia’s illustrious position in world history has inspired resistance to slavery, nineteenth and twentieth-century anti-colonialism and nationalism, and has given rise to a number of African independent churches and this-worldly socio-political and religious movements called Ethiopianism and Ras Tafarianism (Zewde, 2005:315). In South Africa’s case, Ethiopianism gave impetus to the birth of the African National Congress (ANC). This is clearly manifested in Former Presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki’s assessment of Ethiopia and Ethiopianism. For example, on the occasion of his stay in Ethiopia in 1963, while he was underground and had left South Africa illegally for the purpose of garnering continent-wide support for the ANC, Nelson Mandela had occasion to meet “the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah” (Mandela, 1994:283). In his assessment of Ethiopia and the emperor, he stated that:

Formerly known as Abyssinia, Ethiopia, according to tradition, was founded long before the birth of Christ, supposedly by the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Although it had been conquered dozens of times, Ethiopia was the birthplace of African nationalism. Unlike so many other African states, it had fought colonialism at every turn. Menelik [II] had rebuffed the Italians in the last century, though Ethiopia failed to halt them in this one [namely WW-2] (ibid.).

Nelson Mandela further maintained that:

Ethiopia has always held a special place in my own imagination and the prospect of visiting Ethiopia attracted me more strongly than a trip to France, England and America combined. I felt I would be visiting my own genesis, unearthing the roots of what made me an African. Meeting the emperor himself would be like shaking hands with history (1994: 283).

Furthermore, on the occasion of his accepting an honorary degree from Addis Ababa University in 2010, former South African President Thabo Mbeki reminded his audience that Ethiopia's 1896 victory over Italy at the Battle of Adwa was of great inspiration to Africans in general in that it propelled many, and especially South Africans, into forming the ANC in 1912 (Mbeki, 2010:1). Indeed, the then South Africa regime was so wary of Mr. Dube, the first ANC president that it maintained that he ought to be watched as he "came out of the EOTC" (ibid). The sum total of the foregoing is that both former Presidents Mandela and Mbeki saw Ethiopia and "Ethiopianism" as having given rise to African nationalism, which swept through the continent most markedly in the years immediately following World War II.

With respect to Ras Tafarianism and its fundamental Afrocentrism, it has been argued that: "It would be impossible to understand the Ras Tafari connection to Ethiopianism without first exploring at least a brief history of this ancient civilization" (O'Neill, n.d.) named Ethiopia with its links to Cush, the land of the Blacks, and its inhabitants the Cushites, as discussed in Chapter 2. Given the intertwining relationship between the state and the EOTC, the latter has been quite instrumental in much of the continent's socio-political and religious life in that "[t]he long history of indigenization of the [EOTC] church has enabled her to develop unique features which show that she is more African" (Tamene, 1998:90). Therefore, although the EOTC does not proselytise, by its example and precept, coupled with its long and impressive history, it

occupies a unique position among the Oriental churches. Not only because it has the largest membership, but also because it is the only Christian church in Africa, south of the Sahara, that claims an uninterrupted tradition from God's revelation to the Hebrew people of the Old Testament times, through the Apostolic age of the New Testament and the Patristic times of the ancient Christian Church, to the present (Yesehaq, 1989: xii).

This explains why the EOTC has been recognized as a rational change agent on the African continent and beyond. It has therefore understandably been "a source of emotional and cognitive

support, a form of social and political expression and mobilization, and a vehicle of community building and group identity” (Gozdiak and Shandy, 2002).

The EOTC has been a beacon of Afrocentricity, which has given rise to Ethiopianism. This was

regarded as a nationalistic movement which is [still] spreading among African churches....The biblical source of Ethiopianism comes from Psalms 68:31 ‘Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God’. [This] prophecy nurtured the hope of all Africans, of future glory for [the Black] race, and of a Christian theocracy embracing the entire continent (Tamene, 1998:90).

Ethiopianism is a complex, multi-faceted, socio-political and religious philosophy that addresses the history of African civilisation, self-rule, and Black pride. With its victory over the Italians at Adwa in 1896, Ethiopians manifested their pride and a burning desire for self-rule. In this regard, the

Ethiopian Orthodox Church which has been thoroughly indigenized in the course of a nearly two-thousand-year long history of Christianity, attained the status known as Ethiopianism, which is almost accepted as a contribution to African cultural nationalism and particularism based on a self-conscious cultivation of African indigenous values and attitudes (ibid.).

Therefore, the EOTC’s preservation of religious and socio-political tradition, heritage, and self-pride is a beacon for the restoration of the African’s self and being.

Another offshoot of Ethiopianism was the birth of independent churches in Africa, African National Congress (ANC), and the Rastafarian Movement, one of the fastest growing “nativistic movements” (Linton, 1943:230) in the world. Linton used this term to refer specifically to the efforts of a group of people to restore certain aspects of their culture, which had usually been destroyed at the hands of foreign forces. In the case of Rastafarians, this meant the institutions of slavocracy and colonialism, both of which were at the heart of what they referred to as a Babylonian society. Therefore, those who contributed to their functioning, irrespective of “race”, were a part of Babylonian society, a society that Africans must leave in order to fulfill their destiny. This undertaking is captured in the following quotation:

Following the 1930 crowning of RasTafari (1892–1975) as Haile Selassie (“Power of the Trinity”), Emperor of Ethiopia, several street-corner preachers in Jamaica (among them, Joseph Hibbert, Leonard P. Howell, Robert Hinds, Archibald Dunkley, and Paul Earlington) began asserting that Selassie was a divine personage or the reincarnated Christ. For these Jamaicans, Selassie embodied Marcus Garvey’s vision of black pride, self-reliance, and repatriation to Africa; signaled the restoration of Ethiopia’s ancient glory; and fulfilled the Bible’s prophecies of a messianic deliverer. In proclaiming Selassie a messianic figure, they pinned on him their longing

for liberation from the legacy of slavery and colonialism. From the activities of these founding personalities there emerged a set of religious, social, and political beliefs known as *Rastafari* (or *Rastafarianism*), the adherents of which are termed *Rastas* (or *Rastafarians*) (Gale, 2008).

As an Afrocentric movement connected with Ethiopia as its spiritual home, Rastafarianism is geared to identifying with and working towards the restoration of Africans' physical, cultural, economic, and spiritual identity with Africa. Such a multi-faceted working relationship must embrace both continental and Diasporic Africans, contribute to their Afrocentric rebirth, and, in the process, extract themselves from what Ras Tafarians call Babylonian society. Correspondingly, it has striven to preserve certain aspects of African identity and ethos, an undertaking consistent with Linton's thinking.

From its inception, the Rastafarian founders and leaders were widely critical of various Western institutions, particularly slavery and colonialism, and the extent to which they led to the oppression of Africans and destroyed their social reality. Therefore, Rastafarianism considers that Africa and its peoples have accomplished great things in the past, are continuing in this direction, and will indeed accomplish much more in the future. Sociologically, the ethos of Ethiopianism is its contribution to bonding, bridging, and linking social capital that is currently being manifested by Ras Tafarians. In the case of bonding social capital, Ras Tafarians largely share a commonality of thinking with other Ras Tafarians worldwide.

Moreover, the most salient feature of social capital is displayed through Rastafarianism. Bonding social capital is by way of their belief system; bridging social capital is with the Ethiopian society; and linking social capital is through their institutional relationship with government as witnessed by the establishment of *Shashamane* (south Ethiopia) in the West Arsi Province in the *Oromo* region of Ethiopia (Chaillot, 2002:56). This has resulted in Ras Tafarians finding a physical "home" and establishing their affiliation with the EOTC. In this regard, to Ras Tafarians "[r]epatriation is one of the corner-stones [of their] belief. They insist that they and all Africans in the Diaspora are but exiles in Babylon, destined to be delivered out of captivity by a return to Zion, that is Ethiopia, the seat of Jah, or Africa, the land of our ancestors" (Tamene, 1998:91). Linking social capital was clearly manifested in the visit of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie to Jamaica in 1966, which largely cemented the ties between both countries. How then should one view Ras Tafarianism doctrinally. In this regard, we opt to return to Ralph Linton's idea.

The crowning of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia in 1930 noted above marked, in Ras Tafari thinking, a prophecy of Marcus Garvey, which maintained “that African-Jamaicans should ‘Look to Africa when a black king shall be crowned, for deliverance is near’” (Hewitt, 2012:30-31). To Ras Tafarians, Haile Selassie was a replacement for Jesus Christ and represented the personage with whom Africans, both continental and Diasporic, should identify themselves – at least as a symbol of their liberation if not as a god. As such, he became the cornerstone of the Afrocentric outlook that characterised their religiosity. By contrast, Jesus Christ was identified with the Christianity that had been used as an instrument of Africans oppression, largely by Western or Babylonian society. With its historical imperatives, the EOTC can be instrumental in fostering social integration and cohesion.

6.4.3. The Need for Social Integration and Social Cohesion

Robert E. Park’s terminology of the “instinctual consciousness of difference” that characterizes people’s behaviour is rather pronounced among Ethiopians. This is due to its: (a) unique culture with its ancient religiosity; (b) history that predates biblical times; (c) preserved Afrocentricity that has influenced other Africans, both continental and Diasporic, and the related emergence of *Ethiopianness*; (d) inward-looking perspective to the point where, together with contemporary Eritria, people refer to themselves as *Abesha/Habesha* (which is derived from the Arabic word meaning “mixture”) (Ješman, 1963:11); (e) sense that, although “Ethiopia is the oldest African country, yet in many respects, it is in Africa, rather than of Africa” (ibid., p. 10); (f) possession of its own alphabet, numeral system, and calendar; (g) two glorious military victories over Italy in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, resulting in it being the only African country that was never colonised; (h) use of the ancient *Ge’ez* language in the EOTC’s liturgy, thereby preserving its continuity; and (i) having a highly pronounced entrepreneurial culture and spirit. Understandably, therefore, Ethiopians regard themselves as a unique people. This perception has dual consequences. One such consequence is that Ethiopia and its people are highly admired. However, in the South African context, this uniqueness also has its negative side.

While Ethiopia as a country and Ethiopians as a people are highly admired and respected for the above reasons, Ethiopians are also criticized for being aloof from the communities in which they conduct business. They are accused of not interacting with other community members and their cultures outside of business activities. Furthermore, they are also blamed for contributing nothing

to the people or the community in which they conduct their business. This is further exacerbated by the fact that Ethiopian business people usually display the trappings of success (such as a new car, clothing, or jewelry) quite conspicuously, while the community members see themselves as trapped in their misery. The most pronounced and negative consequence of the lack of social integration between Ethiopian business people and most of the communities in which they operate their businesses, with its parallel phenomenon of a social distance, is that when latent xenophobic feelings become manifest, Ethiopians get no assistance from members of the broader community.

One Ethiopian respondent who has lived in South Africa for about 18 years assessed the relationship between Ethiopian migrants and the communities in which they conduct their businesses as follows:

If Ethiopians are doing well and start making money, they should help the community around them, they must lift up the community. The problems start when they lift up themselves. They come to the country and after one year, they start driving a 4x4 and the locals feel inferior as they are trapped in the same social conditions. So how are they going to lift up the locals around them? They must help the locals and show them that their presence among them is for good (Respondent 2).

Although these problems exist, there are also avenues through which social integration may be realised between the Ethiopian migrants and the indigenous community with whom they conduct business. For example, as is the case with Ethiopian migrants, studies have shown that migrant groups continue to have substantive links with their countries of origin while “at the same time attempt[ing] to become part of the new society” (Menjivar, 1999:592).

This is not to equate Ethiopian migrants with the migrants discussed in the above study, which included the behaviour of Koreans and Salvadorans. Rather, it is to suggest that Ethiopian migrants, as a whole, do have some affinity for South Africa. However, this affinity has yet to trickle down to the level where it is manifested in large-scale integration into the society and in expressions of philanthropic contributions to local communities. Such integration between Ethiopian migrants and the indigenous communities with whom they conduct business could at least be incrementally facilitated by extending the system of *equb* and *iddir*, both of which serve the Ethiopian community well.

From a longitudinal perspective, it is distinctly possible that the system called *mahbär*, through which this church-related activity addresses the spiritual and social needs of its members, could well extend into the South African community and become a viable aspect of linking social capital. We postulate this because “[r]eligion has a unique role in traditional society and rules over both individual and collective life” (Hajizadeh, 2013:2). As such, given the generally accepted view that “religious institutions create broad trans-ethnic and trans-national communities” (Marber, 2003:94), it is distinctly possible that the philanthropic undertakings mentioned above enable Ethiopians to gradually become more integrated with South Africans and *vice versa*.

This reinforces the idea that these undertakings can help to shape a shared worldview between Ethiopian migrants and South African society and establish a framework that “provides answers to ultimate concerns, gives direction regarding the shape and goal of life, guides in moral values and provides meaning in life that can be applied to both religious and non-religious positions” (Fleming and Lovat, 2014:380). Various authors, including, for example, Georg Simmel, maintain that religion’s multi-dimensionality (Dekker and Uslaner, 2001: 96), allows it to play a crucial role in this regard. This observation was echoed by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu who stated: “We have enough that conspire to separate us; let us celebrate that which unites us, that which we share in common” (Tutu, 2011:7). This is also the prayer of Jesus Christ who said: “That they all may be one” (John 17:21 in Hammond and Busch, 2012:232).

6.5. Common Values, Social Integration, and Social Cohesion

6.5.1. Religiosity

Thomas Luckmann’s view of religion, which transcends the Durkheimian structural-functional perspective as mentioned above, is one in which profound doctrinal internalization becomes a manifestation “of the human organism to transcend its biological nature through the construction of objective, morally binding, all-embracing universe of meaning” (Berger, 1967:176-177). This is why the individual “not just reacts with outrage [but would be] profoundly shocked and disorientated, [as her/his] everyday world would have [been] turned upside down” (Abercrombie, 2004:98) if she/he is deprived of her/his religion. Relying on the Luckmann postulate, one may argue that religion’s subjectivity and its ontological impact on the human

psyche are such that it transcends the thingness of mundane practices that characterize everyday life.

The essence of this argument is to be found in the data provided below:

“God is our creator. We need to forget our differences and focus on our common spirituality” (Respondent 33).

“Some South Africans are coming to our church, they like our church very much, but the problem is the service is not in English. Religion is good as it can bind us together” (Respondent 25).

6.5.2. *Africanness* (Afrocentrism)

Ernest Renan maintains that it would be intellectually indefensible at best and fascistic at worst to equate or base *Africanness* on skin colour (Renan, 1882). A nation is not based on geography, location, language, economic interests, religion, “race”, or any other objective criterion. Rather, Renan argues that a nation is comprised of people who have a very strong desire to bond together as one. By so doing, he equates a nation with a plebiscitarianism in which one participates in one’s everyday life and, as such, approximates the characteristic of what he calls a “soul”. In this sense, the nation assumes something of a pseudo-religious characteristic. Indeed, there is very little that separates nationalism from religion as they both have the same emotional appeal and fierce sense of loyalty. However, the nation is a secular phenomenon and religion a sacred one. What the nation seeks from the individual is her/his primary loyalty, irrespective of any of the objective variables mentioned above.

To the extent that this is the case, it follows that providing the individual’s primary loyalty is to Africa, such an individual is an African and is expected to endorse *Africanness*. However, there is a caveat here. The question becomes a simple one, i.e., to which Africa is the individual loyal? This is not a question that can or ought to be equated with citizenship. While the former implies the existence of loyalty to an Africa that demands total loyalty to it, the latter is merely a legal status that says absolutely nothing about loyalty. For example, the Afrikaner in South Africa is an African and has a distinct loyalty to the continent. The question, of course, is the kind of Africa that she/he has in mind, for the Africa of the apartheid system had a pronounced anti-Black tone and content. The Chinese who are coming into Africa may very well become citizens of particular countries. This makes them citizens but not Africans in the psychological sense,

even if they did not have dual citizenship, whether on the basis of *jus soli* (place of birth) and *jus sanguinis* (bloodline).

Given the above, one of the most salient definitions of *Africanness* is that provided by Kwesi Kwaa Prah who maintains that: “It is culture, history, attachment to these and consciousness of such identity, and not skin colour, which primarily define the African” (Makgoba, 1999:41), a statement that endorses that of Renan. In this sense, therefore, Ethiopian identity as a part of *Africanness* can be traced back at least 4,188 years to the land of Cush (Walker, 2011:78-79). However, another scholar who has made a detailed study of Ethiopia maintains that the country, in its formative years can be traced back to 9,000 years B.C., or the late Stone Age (Levine, 1974:27). Although Ethiopia’s psychological frame of reference is a schizophrenic one in that it is both Black and Eastern oriented and looks in both directions for its frame of reference, the data indicates that, with some reservations, it has maintained enough of a Black African identity to manifest a significant level of Afrocentrism.

“Being Africans and Black, learning each other’s culture, language, and trying to understand each other is very important” (Respondent 37).

In this sense, the need for education is critical as the following comment indicates:

Researcher: *“How does your Africanness help you during xenophobic attacks?”*

Respondent: *“This is said by the politicians. The people don’t know this; there is a need to educate the public” (Respondent 12).*

6.5.3. History (Teaching or Telling)

History is the clock that people use to tell them their time of day. It is also a compass that people use to find themselves on the map of human geography. The role of history is to tell a people what they have been, where they have been, what they are, and where they are. The most important role that history plays is that it functions to tell a people where they must still go and what they must still be (Walker, 2006:7).

The historical record clearly indicates a commonality of background among all African people, one that goes back to the land of Cush. This historical fact is reflected in the data.

We Rastas follow and keep the ancient traditions of Ethiopia. Our King Haile Selassie is from Ethiopia. We are interested in the EOTC because of most of our traditions – the cross, baptism, the clothes we use – all are from the Ethiopian tradition. The EOTC is the oldest Christian church, the original cross, the Ark of the Covenant, it is rich in biblical history and Christianity. Ethiopia is mentioned in the Bible more than 44 times. For us, we are always interested ... the EOTC is our church that we look up to... This interest starts with King Haile Selassie, he was born, baptized, grew up, and anointed in the EOTC (Respondent 36).

This clearly indicates a strong tie in the fertile socio-spiritual ground between Ethiopia and the EOTC. However, Ethiopia also has strong links to other African countries, including South Africa. In this regard, the EOTC does not “seek to disguise the untidiness of actual human lives [but] emphasizes the subjective realities of individual existence” (Kierkegaard and Sartre, n.d.). This classic existentialist view is manifested in the great number of South Africans who have become members of the EOTC, and who are attracted to the church both by spirituality and by its African practicality. There are currently more than 25 parish churches affiliated with the EOTC in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape of South Africa, and many of its followers are native South Africans (Tesfaye, 2016:273).

Similarly, the EOTC has a fair number of members who are Ras Tafarians and who are zealously interested in and enthusiastic about learning the EOTC’s religiosity. In addition, other Christian denominations are also interested in the EOTC’s ethos of Afrocentricity, with its ancient apostolic tradition.

In addition to this, other Christian denominations are also interested in the EOTC’s Afrocentricity ethos with its ancient apostolic tradition. This is a manifestation of the possibilities for ecumenical and inter-religious dialogue to unfold. Through these undertakings, bonding and bridging social capital will be quite pronounced. Currently, bonding social capital exists among South Africans who are affiliated with the EOTC. Bridging social capital can emerge through ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue for social justice and prophetic voice (against injustice or becoming the voice for the voiceless), Proverbs (31:8-10 in Marks, 2012: 1154).

Given this historical, anthropological, spiritual, socio-political, and ecumenical prestige of the EOTC, one needs to ask whether it is fulfilling the legitimate expectations that people in South Africa have of it. By engaging in ecumenical, inter-faith, and inter-religious dialogue in South

Africa, the EOTC, with its apostolic tradition, spirituality, and Afrocentricity, ought to be able to facilitate the emergence of a spirit that ameliorates xenophobia and contributes to a greater sense of brotherhood. Such an eclectic church would be one that “embraces all the people; a church in dialogue with all people, without boundaries and prejudice” (Volos Academy for Theological Studies, 2017).

This type of church-coordinated education must include children by exposing them to the EOTC’s illustrious history by way of regular storytelling. This could make a significant contribution to learning, the transformation of thinking, and ultimately the transformation of behaviour between and among the most impressionable groups in society. By encouraging transformational thinking and action, such undertakings could facilitate the emergence of social cohesion among disparate groups of people. As such, such an undertaking could contribute to reducing the level of hostility between Ethiopians and South Africans. However, this study indicates that such undertakings are not occurring due to the present tenor of disquiet within the EOTC South African diocese.

6.5.4. *Ubuntu*

Both social capital and *Ubuntu* are based on social interconnectedness, for

networks, co-operation, collaboration and mutuality [are] essential elements that define social capital in the West, on the other hand, the African concept and way of life of *Ubuntu* stresses interdependency, communality as is manifested in the spirit of ‘brotherhood’ and ‘brotherliness’. Similarly, just as *Ubuntu* entails a web of relationships in which African hospitality and mutual support characterize African life, so social capital rests on interconnectedness, trust, the elements that drive corporate organizations of the West (Mbaya, 2011:1).

While “social capital has been proven to be essential in promoting both social and economic development” (Migheli, 2017:1), *Ubuntu*, despite its reduced effectiveness because of modernization (Stewart, 2015:23), focuses on mutual support, brotherliness and commonality, as represented in the idea that “one is a person through others” (Makgoba, 1999: 163.). “The moral philosophy [is that] *Ubuntu* shaped the relationship between an individual and her/his community because it was rooted in the spirit of mutual support and the principle of caring for each other’s well-being” (Nyaumwe and Mkabela, 2007:153). Intrinsic to the idea of *Ubuntu* is a sense of family-hood, with its anticipated mutual dependence and reciprocity. However, *Ubuntu* also has some rather serious drawbacks.

Apart from the pressures of modernization on Ubuntu, there are additional negative forces that impact this philosophy of life. Some noteworthy examples include the following: Many of those who are charged with managing community resources on everyone's behalf according to tradition has been implicated in fraudulent behaviour or imprisoned because of it; unfaithfulness and polygamy have exposed people to HIV and AIDS, as has the practice of a brother inheriting his deceased brother's wife, irrespective of what caused the brother's death; apart from its barbarity, female circumcision has caused massive infection and sometimes death among young women; unsupervised male circumcision practiced by unlicensed individuals and schools has likewise led to infection and death; and, in the final analysis, older people tend to be dictatorial, particularly with regard to how young girls should manage their sexual and reproductive rights and responsibilities (Khomba, 2011:146-156).

In traditional and rural societies where bonding social capital holds is dominant and something akin to mechanical solidarity exists, *ubuntu* would be a primary and normative pattern of behaviour. In principle, according to the scholars and the data, *ubuntu*'s content "speaks of the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours" (Jarvis, 2009:5). The data reveals that, in a practical sense, *ubuntu* addresses such matters as the differential relationships between, for example, a chief or village headman and his subjects; it protects each person's household and guards their children; enables the sharing of one's possessions and food with the needy; encourages appropriate sexual behaviour; and generally fosters a sense of mutual interdependence. Given this normative African pattern of behaviour called *ubuntu*, its positive qualities should serve to foster greater social cohesion between Ethiopians and the larger South African society.

Nevertheless, scholars have raised questions about the effectiveness of *ubuntu* in contemporary African societies due to the emergence of industrialization (Stewart, 2015:23) and globalization (Nicolson, 2008:8). Furthermore, *ubuntu* has also been criticised in the current African *milieu* for its association with and perpetuation of "sexism, gerontocracy, authoritarianism, [and] nepotism" (Nicolson, 2008:8). Despite this argument, there is general agreement among scholars, which is supported by the data, that the essence of *ubuntu* is manifested in its humanism and potential for solidarity, although its practicality is currently highly questionable.

6.5.5. Sports Clubs

Sport has the power to change the world...it has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than government in breaking down racial barriers (Nelson Mandela) (Bond, 2013:1).

Sports is one of the cultural universals through which people socialize and express their feeling of togetherness, regardless of their differences (Schaefer, 2014:40). Although cathartic by their very nature, sports, like the theatre, are uniting undertakings on the local, regional, and national levels. Given their power to inspire, communicate, give hope, and break down racial barriers, they can function as rational change agents in ways that no other set of activities can. In addition, their positive emotional appeal can serve to foster national solidarity in the form of patriotism and can inspire a nation. The appeal of sports means that the establishment of clubs through which people can engage in friendly competition may be useful in breaking down barriers. This can enable competition to be characterised by mutual sportsmanship rather than mutual hostility.

“We need to create a club like sport, which can bring us together, the World Cup that was held in South Africa was the best... school is another place to socialize. Generally, Ethiopians and Somalis are business people and it is easy to interact with them” (Respondent 34).

6.6. The Outcome of this Study

This study has assessed the extent of migration in contemporary society, with a particular emphasis on Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. It focussed on the socio-economic and cultural challenges that they face, including the legal and social issues with which they must contend on a daily basis for their survival. In the absence of any kind of government assistance and/or an ombudsman on whom they can call for assistance, the study indicates that the Ethiopian migrant relies on her/his traditional and institutionalized self-help schemes as survival mechanisms in a manifestation of social capital. Given this state of affairs, Ethiopians have created their own world, a mini-Ethiopia in Johannesburg.

These ingrained methods of mutual assistance border both on philanthropy and involve a giving of one's self in a sympathetic and emphatic display of solidarity. Coupled with their informally gained entrepreneurial abilities, most Ethiopian migrants have managed to survive and, indeed, become successful in Johannesburg. However, because they are viewed as “other” by the

stereotypical perceptions of the host society, they become the scapegoats for society's ills. Such an erroneous perception feeds into continuous but latent xenophobia. This continuous hostility has resulted in a distorted view of foreigners in general and Ethiopians in particular on the part of the host society.

The study revealed the existence of social distance between Ethiopian migrants and the host society in Johannesburg. It also revealed that the EOTC has the potential to bridge the social distance gap that exists between these two groups. However, given the inward-looking nature of the EOTC's pastoral care, which is geared almost exclusively to Ethiopians, the likelihood of this occurring is somewhat remote. This is due to the nature of the current EOTC leadership in Johannesburg. Such behaviour is uncharacteristic of the EOTC as it is the "One Holy Universal Apostolic Church of Christ" (Mekarios et al., 1996:124), which "embraces all the people; a church in dialogue with all people, without boundaries and prejudice" (Volos Academy for Theological Studies, 2017).

This study has also revealed the negative impact of these challenges and experiences on both the Ethiopian migrants and the host society, particularly regarding their social integration and social cohesion. However, the study has indicated that there are existing structures and normative patterns of behaviour that have the potential to enhance and expand social interaction between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society. These could be used to promote greater social cohesion.

6.7. The Existing Social Distance between Ethiopian Migrants and the Host Society

Diversity is a fact of life, irrespective of the society in question. However, tolerance is in everyone's interests and is an acknowledgment that one can accomplish much more through co-operative efforts than one can alone. Fleming and Lovat argue that the demonstration of such a spirit applies because "the quality of interaction between persons and groups of different [cultural] worldviews – whether peaceful or in conflict – is of concern on moral, civic, and religious grounds" (2014:378). Implicit in these scholars' argument is the well-founded sociological idea that the group is greater than the sum of its individual parts, an aspect of which is the acceptance of each other in the process of "navigating the cultural ecology" (ibid. p. 381), "and move beyond immediate self-interest" (ibid., p. 384). In order to come to grips with these

possibilities in relation to the Ethiopian migrant and the host society, one must examine the problems as viewed by each other.

6.7.1. Problems for Social Integration and Cohesion from the Ethiopian Migrants' Side

There are a number of problems that adversely affect social integration and cohesion between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society. One of them is the self-perception of Ethiopians as *Abesha/Habesha* which grew out of miscegenation. This view of self is endemic to the consciousness of most Ethiopians. When coupled with their non-involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and their non-colonial history, Ethiopians feel a sense of uniqueness that is manifested in their behaviour towards other people, irrespective of their nationality, “race”, religion, colour, or any other variable. Having been largely isolated, they have had to depend on themselves for self-sustenance and self-esteem, and one manifestation of this is the development of an entrepreneurial spirit. Furthermore, this self-perception also makes them inclined to judge other cultures according to their own in a manifestation of cultural pluralism, if not ethnocentrism. Their generalized outlook is one that exudes a sense of superiority.

Secondly, the use of the Julian calendar to celebrate Ethiopians' religious festivals in their Diasporic life causes much confusion in a context in which the host society uses the Gregorian calendar. This neither coheres with nor fosters social integration between both groups. This is compounded by the Ethiopian migrants' reluctance to study a local or international language (such as English) and by the use of their home language in their everyday lives, whether in their religious practices or in business, which further limits their social integration. The sense of social isolation is further enhanced by the fact that the Ethiopian migrant continues to consume her/his home diet, the foundation of which is *injera bewote* (bread with stew). Ethiopians make no attempt to learn and understand the socio-economic and cultural realities of the host society, irrespective of where they are domicile.

Thirdly is the generally-held view among members of host society that Ethiopians do not contribute to the communities in which they live, apart from conducting their businesses. As a consequence, the social distance between the community and themselves continues, which means that when problems emerge they get no assistance from anyone in the local community in

which they conduct their business and that Ethiopians do not share their business skills with the host society.

Finally, despite the sense of *Ethiopianness* discussed in this study, there is also a pronounced disunity that is characterized by ethnic diversity among Ethiopians. As a result, no common sense of direction can be honed among Ethiopians that represents a majority view.

6.7.2. Problems for Social Integration and Cohesion from the Host Society's Side

There are also problems from the associated with the host society regarding Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. Firstly, there is the stereotypical and xenophobic attitude among members of the host society result in the scapegoating of foreigners. This is most pronounced against Ethiopians as they are seen as being sources of easy cash and targets for street criminals (muggers), as well as for some government officials (Landau, 2005:11; and Kefale and Mohammed, 2015:81-82). In essence, what may be poor service delivery on the government's part is blamed on migrants, including Ethiopians, and they are constantly targeted as a consequence.

Secondly, the Department of Home Affairs habitually procrastinates regarding the timely delivery or processing of documents. Ethiopians are so obsessed with maintaining their status in the country that they do not make the necessary plans required to settle as long-term investors, nor do they formulate plans to integrate with the society as a whole. Because they are worried about their status, they fail to reinvest in South Africa including being mentors for those who are interested in becoming entrepreneurs (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010:388). Their residential insecurity results in their squirreling away of their money, which has an adverse effect on the social integration and cohesion between the Ethiopian migrant community and the host society.

Thirdly, in general, there is unwillingness on the part of South Africans to learn about other Africans' background, history, and culture.

6.7.3. The EOTC's Non-Functionality in Social Integration and Cohesion in Johannesburg

Additionally, there are problems that stem from the EOTC's relative non-functionality in Johannesburg. Given its historical and prestigious position, the EOTC could be quite instrumental in facilitating social integration and cohesion between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society in Johannesburg. Its highly venerated institutions, together with its historical, spiritual, and socio-cultural position, and in concert with its apostolic mission and responsibility, could enable it to speak with authority on matters relating to the social and physical needs of Ethiopian migrants. Likewise, it could promote a spirit of brotherhood through inter-religious and inter-faith dialogue in a spirit of ecumenism.

This could be done in a number of ways, including the EOTC becoming a member of the South African Council of Churches and other such religious bodies. It is incomprehensible that this is not currently the case in Johannesburg and is a testament to the paucity of effective leadership that currently characterizes the EOTC. Based on the analysis of the collected data, the overwhelming sentiment of the interviewees is that the EOTC in South Africa is currently in a state of unpardonable limbo, a situation that cries out for alleviation.

Secondly, by extension, the problematic leadership of the EOTC in Johannesburg diocese extends to its affiliated churches with many native South Africans members. This results in great confusion, coupled with a lack of direction in the EOTC in South Africa. The current behaviour of the EOTC's leadership in Johannesburg is characterized by its failure to link "the immigrants [community] of origin and the new [community] they enter" (Menjivar, 1999: 593).

This is in sharp contrast to the fact that:

the church can become an arena where shared values and interests can be expressed and aggregated, and, for the most part, such values or interests involve—although not exclusively—religious morals and beliefs, or any other principles associated with faith. So, when religious issues are debated and decisions are made based on these values and interests, the process in the end may come as close to politics as it is practiced in the conventional way (Engedayehu, 2014:129).

The overall study indicates that parallels can be drawn between the host society and the migrant community. For example, there are common values that may be instrumental in fostering social integration and cohesion. These include educational values, Afrocentrism, religiosity, and the

historical and significant links between Ethiopia and South Africa. These could contribute to overcoming the social lines of demarcation between the Ethiopian and South African communities, which are largely the consequence of two quite different cultural backgrounds, frames of reference, interests, and motivations.

Similarly, the study indicates that, in order to decrease the emigration flow, the migrant-sending community needs to readjust its priorities in order to become more inclusive in several areas of its undertakings. This is especially true of its economic and democratic life as it needs to provide a sense of security and an opportunity for upward vertical mobility in an atmosphere of freedom (Bereketeab, 2013:17).

In conclusion, the findings revealed the existence of two different and conflicting cultural identities that distinguish Ethiopian migrants from members of the host society. This has resulted in the continuation of social distance between these two constituencies. The hostility towards Ethiopian migrants that emanates from the Department of Home Affairs is reflected as the main problem affecting Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. Another finding is that there is a need for government to facilitate a move towards social integration between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society is crucial. The chapter also outlined the existence of common values, which have the potential for fostering social integration and cohesion between the two communities for societal well-being.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion, Contributions of the Study and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the study's general content of the positive and the negative experiences and their impact on both Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and members of the host society. Chapter One has the background, motivation, significance and limitations of the study. The study's objectives and research problems with key research questions are included in this chapter. The study's critical literature review is presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Three dealt with the study's theoretical framework which is social capital with its various dimensions. Chapter Four presents the study's methodology and method. Chapter Five presents the collected data and its analysis and Chapter Six discusses the study's key findings. This last chapter has provided some recommendations that may be useful to Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, as well as to members of the host society and its government, and the EOTC towards the realization of social integration, greater cohesion, and societal stability.

7.1. Conclusion

This study has discussed the phenomenon of migration, with a special focus on the challenges and experiences of Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg and the multi-faceted problems that are associated with their migration. The emotional, social and cultural problems that emanate from both the host society and the migrants themselves have resulted in the development of social distance between both groups. Nevertheless, Ethiopian migrants' cultural traits, as well as their religiosity, play a significant role in their adjustment and survival.

For various reasons, many Ethiopians have migrated to South Africa. Great many are staying in Johannesburg as both refugees and asylum seekers among whom, the Hadiya and Kembata ethnic groups are in the majority. Either status means that they face inevitable and various problems, including culture shock; interacting with the Department of Home Affairs to legalise their stay; similarly with the police to cope with both a range of irregularities and criminal behaviour in Johannesburg; a wide range of obligations that they are expected to fulfil, including family responsibilities; and the need to address matters of stereotyping and xenophobia. Largely, their limited exposure and education result in taxing experiences which traumatize the Ethiopian migrants. For these stressful experiences and the absence of family and close friends is also

traumatic. Due to these problems, they use their faith or religion as a secure heaven. Such behaviour parallels the argument “people will return to religion not necessarily because they accept the truth of revelation but precisely because the absence of [family and close friends and] of social ties in the secular world make them hungry for ritual and cultural tradition” (Fukuyama, n.d.).

For Ethiopians in general, and members in particular, the EOTC is a spiritual bastion to which they resort for social and spiritual sustenance and which, by its very *kerygma*, reinforces and enhances their body of beliefs and practices. The church is invaluable in the context of migration as it is the refuge on which migrants lean for social and psychological relief from a confusing and alien environment. This symbolic spiritual significance forms an indispensable aspect of their everyday lives and “their structuring of religious consciousness” (Berger, 1967:21), aspects which they had taken for granted in their homeland. In effect, the individual’s involvement in the church fulfills her/his religious beliefs, gives her/him the psychological strength and support for dealing with the practicalities of daily survival, and also facilitates her/his cultural identity. In addition, the EOTC has been an educational institution in the history of Ethiopian society and currently, it is the only place where the ancient Ge’ez language is preserved. Therefore,

Ethiopian Christianity is a way of life. When I was in Ethiopia, I experienced that Ethiopians go to Church every day – every day there is a Saint or Angel whose memory or feast day is celebrated. Every day is a peculiar day, is a holiday – the whole thirty days. The EOTC is the most influential religion, which made Orthodoxy a way of life, which makes Christianity a way of life, not as here only a religion. Ethiopians... not only go to Church every day but behave accordingly. Social greetings, beggars on the street, even the police when arresting you (ere begziabher), will all call in the name of God. It is a way of life; it encompasses all social activities in human existence (Respondent 35).

This partly explains why Ethiopian migrants rely on the institutions with which they are familiar to provide them with a venue where they can find support and familiarity for their survival in Johannesburg. In addition to this, the social capital which emanates from *equb*, *iddir*, and *mahbär* helps them in their survival and business activities. There are no greater manifestations of trust and reciprocity in Ethiopian society than that found in the operation of these three largely philanthropic systems. Their workings are a classical manifestation of Fukuyama’s observation that the development of such trust emerges over time and involves what he called “inherited ethical habits” (Huesmann, 2010:43), becoming a part of the culture and, therefore, of expected

behaviour. As such, trust fosters the kind of mutuality of intertwining relationships that are inherent in the three components of the Ethiopian migrant's survival mechanism mentioned above. The entrepreneurial values that they transmitted have ensured their business success in Johannesburg. This success is largely based on bridging, bonding, and linking social capital, elements of which are used as the exigencies which the social and economic situation demand.

Ethiopians generally have created a microcosm of Ethiopian society in Johannesburg. The extent to which their culture is preserved is manifested in the reinforcement of their behaviour through their interaction with other Ethiopians in a self-contained manner. This cultural identity is displayed to the extent that Ethiopians are able to fulfill their needs by means of bonding social capital as they work with other Ethiopians who have a range of businesses, and through which they meet their requirements for daily sustenance. A manifestation of bridging social capital can be seen in the way their businesses transcend the Ethiopian community and accommodate others, including Chinese, Senegalese, and Nigerians. However, bonding among Ethiopians and bridging with other non-South African business associates negates their integration in the wider host society. This is further coupled with the sentiment expressed by the term *Abesha/Habesha*, which forms their primary or secondary identity. Furthermore, except for their EOTC affiliation and their cultural traits, which they use for their social and economic survival, Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg do not have strong community associations that can deal with public and civic associations on the various issues that affect them in their daily encounters and survival in Johannesburg. In this, the linking social capital is non-existent. The absence of linking social capital also contributes toward factionalism among various groups, and sometimes leads to intergroup hostility among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.

The findings indicate that there are elements that can foster social integration between Ethiopian migrants and the host society. Ethiopia's history can be traced back to antiquity and is identified with the land of Cush, the ancient civilization of that name. Recognized in as significant in biblical times and praised in song as in Psalm (68:31 in Marks, 2012: 1023), Ethiopia's uniqueness has been acknowledged by both the world and its own people from then until now. Having developed a set of unquestionable cultural traits, coupled with remarkable military and political victories over Italy in both the late-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, Ethiopia's accomplishments explain why Ethiopians proudly identify themselves not only with their

country but also with their church, the EOTC. This is due to the historically textured nature of the relationship between the church and the state in Ethiopian society. This pride has become the logo for many Africans in their struggle against slavery and colonialism. Ethiopianism and Ras Tafarianism, with its “nativistic elements”, are both outgrowths of this sense of identity and pride.

Although Ethiopia’s socio-political and religious history is admired by many Africans, it must be acknowledged that ordinary South Africans seriously lack an understanding of and appreciation for other people’s culture and history, including that of Ethiopians. This generalised ignorance, together with the tendency of Ethiopians to identify themselves separately as *Abesha/Habesha*, has contributed to stereotypical thinking and behaviour on the part of both groups. The major consequence of this state of affairs is the lack of social integration and the existing social distance between both groups has its roots in quite different but related social phenomena.

In summary, the study shows that there are significant problems that contribute to the social distance between Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society. Conversely, there are reasonable grounds for believing that if the common values that are outlined in the findings and the EOTC’s effective functionality are used creatively, intelligently, and conscientiously in Johannesburg, they may contribute significantly to ensuring security, dignity, and wellbeing between Ethiopian migrants and the host society.

7.2. Contributions of the Study

This empirical study has critically analysed and explored the major variables associated with Ethiopians’ migration to Johannesburg and their quest for survival while facing and having to address multiple problems by way of their various networks, norms, and values. Data was collected, critically analysed. The findings revealed a clear understanding of the subject matter by virtue of which the following contributions are made to the discipline.

“Whenever people migrate, this inevitably involves complex human and social issues such as the meeting of people of a different culture on unfamiliar territory, and the experience of being alone and far from familiar people and things that give meaning and stability to life” (Blume, 2002). As a corollary to this observation, the study revealed that Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg do

not speak the local language; have no support from anyone; face daily hostility from bureaucrats and criminal elements. As a coping mechanism, they use their social networks and cultural traits including their religiosity and the social capital therein to survive. These made them able to cope and be widely known as entrepreneurs in Johannesburg. Such undertakings are based on trust and reciprocity also include savings, collective and mutual support, and norms and values which are combined to make them successful. If these norms, values, and networks are emulated by others, for example, including indigenous South Africans, it would significantly contribute to their socio-economic development and reduce unemployment. This, in turn, could reduce xenophobia which arises from issues that are associated with socio-economic problems in South Africa.

The second contribution is that the existence of common values between Ethiopian migrants and the host society is another of the study's findings. These values are religiosity, Africanness, *ubuntu*, and virtues of sports clubs. If these are creatively and appropriately used, they may foster social integration between the two constituencies, reduce hostility, and foster social integration. Whenever social integration exists on a plane of mutuality of understanding and acceptance, social distance is reduced as mutuality of understanding develops. This can be farther enhanced by a more pronounced use of Ethiopianism as its having given rise to African nationalism, can now be used to foster greater African unity. The use of these common values with their normative pattern ... [of] acceptance can be instrumental in fostering societal unity, stability, and social cohesion (Chan et al., 2006:287-292).

The study disclosed that the impact of public policies and changes in them alter group dynamics, values, societal structure, and sometimes force people to change their lifestyle. Various groups of people will respond differently depending on how these changes affect them, some positively and others negatively. Those who are adversely affected will seek alternative ways of surviving and take drastic steps in this direction. This is clearly manifested in this study of Ethiopian migration elsewhere, including to South Africa. This migration of Ethiopians elsewhere strongly suggests that there is a need for alternative policies which must include social justice, inclusivity, and sustainability. In this regard, the utilization of social capital geared to fostering inclusive development as well as good governance in an effort to reduce migration flow is necessary.

Another major contribution that emerged from this study is the necessity to revisit the Charles Cooley idea of the “looking glass self”. Cooley maintained that an individual assesses herself/himself on the basis of others’ perception (Scott, 2014:425). However, Ethiopians rely on their history, their culture, their religion, their language, dietary habits, and other cultural traits in order to determine just who they are, irrespective of what anyone else thinks or says. Therefore, among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg, “the existential question of ‘Who am I?’” (Vhumani, 2017) is answered by them, among them. Under certain circumstances, cultural relativism is a functional sociological concept which plays a significant and effective role in the individual’s life, wherever she/he may be.

Addressing the matter of intra- and inter-group bonding was another of the study’s findings. It has been revealed that “we” versus “they” or “in group” versus “out-group” dichotomy is not only between and among ethnic, religious, geographical, “racial”, class, and the rest as has been displayed by Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg. Rather, it may be manifested in the intra-group relationship between and among ethnic and/or religious groups. To the extent that this is the case, the balkanized bonding that results may have a negative bearing on society’s overall well-being. Its significance to the world of knowledge is that stereotypical perceptions may be as destructive an intra-group phenomenon as it is inter-group one.

The study indicated that the EOTC’s quintessential religiosity has embraced an African ethos and became a prototype for Africa in general and South Africa in particular in its drive towards its new dispensation. It is in this sense that the EOTC’s attractiveness has the potential to unify the African continent. Such unity could conceivably foster social integration and cohesion within African societies, which could, in turn, lead to greater political stability and economic advancement. In all likelihood, this would lead to reduced migration, both intra- and inter-continently. It is conceivable that these forces would usher in rational and desirable social change. The significance for the world of knowledge is that religion may be used as a unifying force in society’s wellbeing.

7.3. Recommendations

7.3.1. Recommendations to the South African government and society

- South Africa has signed various protocols to receive and protect migrants and their rights. Nevertheless, studies have shown that significant and concrete steps need to be undertaken by the South African government to integrate migrants into the social fabric of South African life. By so doing, South Africa, at least implicitly, would be advocating for reciprocal behaviour by other states, preserve the country's positive image, and simultaneously, minimize manifestations of xenophobia as is demanded by globalization.
- Xenophobia needs to be condemned by government officials on an on-going basis rather than be denied and/or addressed only when attacks occur.
- The study has indicated that Ethiopian migrants face various social and institutional challenges in Johannesburg which have left some of them traumatized. In turn, this has contributed to the social distance that exists between members of the host society and Ethiopian migrants. The common values that are possessed by both Ethiopian migrants and members of the host society should be utilized and the South African government should be a facilitator in this regard.
- The South African government ought to assume the responsibility of educating its population by indicating to it the reason why migrants are coming to South Africa as well as about globalization in order to avoid the manifestation of xenophobic tendencies.
- The provision of legal documentation to migrants in a timely fashion would serve the purpose of giving them a sense of stability, security, and a greater willingness to share their entrepreneurial skills with members of the host society. Such a policy shift would also help to enhance the integration of migrants in general and Ethiopian migrants in particular into the host society.
- By virtue of the high regard in which they are held, their close attachment to migrants, and the significant role that they can play in migrants' lives, religious institutions ought to be incorporated in whatever policies government and/or non-governmental institutions formulate and execute that are aimed at assisting migrants and by extension, fostering social integration in society as a whole. There is a possibility of migrants working together with government in order to promote the migrants cultural values.

7.3.2. Recommendations to the Ethiopian migrants themselves

- The Ethiopian migrant community in Johannesburg needs to be more unified. This may be accomplished through an emphasis on a greater spirit of brotherhood, unity, nationality, and solidarity as opposed to ethnic, regional, and other forms of balkanized group bonding.
- Migrants in general but Ethiopian migrants, in particular, do need to shed their cultural baggage of presumed superiority in favour of a much more brotherly attitude towards other Africans in general, and South Africans in particular.
- In a systemic manner and quite informally, successful Ethiopian business people ought to mentor some carefully chosen young South Africans in the art of running a successful business and, where feasible, assist them into being established as young business people in a timely fashion.

7.3.3. Recommendations to the EOTC

The EOTC should:

- use its good office to assist the Ethiopian migrants in obtaining relevant documents in order that they may function effectively in the society with a minimum amount of stress.
- devise mechanisms to foster a greater spirit of brotherhood, love, unity, and solidarity among Ethiopian migrants in Johannesburg.
- teach its members how to behave and make whatever contribution that it can to indigenous South Africans in order to foster social integration.
- devise an approach to its congregation which ameliorates what may be underlying tensions among its members without having it become a platform for people's social and/or political agenda.
- provide personnel who have the skills to allow it to accommodate non-Ethiopians who are interested in the EOTC. This would help to foster social integration between the EOTC and the host society.
- undertake a number of pro-active programs such as offering language training (preferably in English); educate its members in the society's history, values, political system, and how it

works; instruct Ethiopian business people in the various ways that they could help the communities in which they function such as “adopting” local sports clubs; or providing small scholarship assistance; and in general, make itself a good religious citizen.

- do its best to accommodate their physical needs such as providing housing, transportation, and food in cases of emergency, and establish religious education classes for both adults and children.
- interact more with other churches in a spirit of ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue; become a part of established religious bodies such as the South African Council of Churches; consider “sponsoring” a student or some students who are particularly excellent academically and religiously; publish a monthly bulletin on the Church’s activities; retain the services of someone who has the necessary qualifications to intervene with Home Affairs on its members’ behalf.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of research ethics committee approval for this thesis proposal



25 January 2016

Mr Ayaikibet Berhanu Tesfaye 209530141
School of Social Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Miss Mkhize

Protocol reference number: HSS/1820/015M

Project title: Migration: Challenges and experiences of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the city of Johannesburg (2000 - 2015) and the role of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church's Ministry

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 15 December 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc Supervisor: Prof Simon Burton
Cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Sabine Marchall
Cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

Appendix 2: Interview questions

I. Demographic profile/Factual

1. Where were you living in Ethiopia? (urban/rural)
2. How old are you?
3. What is your current religious affiliation?
4. Have you ever been married? If yes, how many children do you have?
5. How long have you been in South Africa?
6. Are you currently a recognized refugee or an asylum seeker?
7. What level of education did you achieve in Ethiopia?
8. What is your current level of education?
9. What was your occupation before leaving Ethiopia?
10. Did you make contact with anyone in South Africa before coming here? If so, who and why? If not, why not?
11. What is your current occupation?
12. Can you briefly tell me how you left Ethiopia and how you established yourself here in South Africa?
13. Could you please tell me the main reason for leaving Ethiopia?
14. Would you please tell me the reason you chose South Africa?
15. What is your current monthly income?

II. Understanding the role of the church

16. Where did you go when you first arrived in South Africa?
17. Would you like to tell me from whom you received your first assistance?
 - What was the nature of that assistance?
18. Would you like to tell me what made you join the EOTC here in South Africa?
19. Apart from the church's teaching/ preaching, what else attracted you to the church?
20. Would you please tell me what you do not like about the church?
21. What social, economic, and cultural challenges do you face in Johannesburg and how do they affect your settling or your attempt at making a sustainable livelihood in Johannesburg?
22. Are you a part of a support system or network (family, friends, workmates, etc.) here in South Africa? If so, please state. If not, why not?
23. Do you get any assistance from the EOTC? If yes, would you like to tell me what kind of assistance you receive?
24. Do you sometimes attend services at other churches? If yes, do you receive any assistance from that (those) church(es)?
25. In your opinion, why is religion/the church so important to you?
26. When you compare your present spiritual/ Christian life with the one you lived before leaving Ethiopia, would you say that you are now:
 - More active than before? Why?

- Less active than before? Why?
 - The same as before? Why?
27. Apart from ordinary Sunday services, what other church-related activities are you involved in during the week?
28. Can you please tell me in what area(s) of your daily life the involvement in these activities remain important and helpful to you?

III. Level of migrant's integration

29. Which language(s) can you speak and understand?
30. Could you please tell me whether you consider yourself as part of the South African community or Ethiopian community? Please give reasons.
31. Would you please tell me about your future plans - Are you planning to stay permanently in South Africa, to remain until it is safe to return to Ethiopia, or to resettle in a third country if you had the opportunity? Please elaborate.
32. What are the main challenges that you think hinder your integration with the host society?
33. Do you feel that you are a victim of stereotypes? If so, how? What are they?
34. Do you think that government agencies are doing enough to accommodate your stay in South Africa? If so, how? If not, why not?
35. According to you, what do you think the government of South Africa should do in order for you to feel that you are being welcomed and attempts are being made to have you become fully integrated into the South African community?
36. Are Ethiopians primarily entrepreneurs in South Africa? If so, how?
37. According to you, what do you think the South African community should do in order for you to feel that you are fully integrated into the South African community?
38. According to you, do you think South African churches (local churches) are doing enough to help migrants to integrate into South African society? Please give reasons.
39. What role, if any, does your church play in helping you to become a part of the local community?
40. According to you, is it important to attend in the EOTC, rather than any other local church? Why?
41. Would you please tell me what makes you like the EOTC?
42. Can you please briefly tell me what makes you not attend other local churches?
43. In your view, is it better for a migrant to stay in cities or in townships? Why?
44. According to you, is it safer for migrants to stay in a place with more migrants than South African citizens? Why?
45. If you do not mind, how would you describe South Africans' attitude towards foreigners in general?
46. What common values do you think can facilitate social cohesion and integration between the migrant community and the host society?

IV. Sense of belongings

47. Would you please tell me to whom you would go when you have problems in your family or with your partner? Why?
48. Have you ever felt stress, traumatized, rejected or abused in your family or neighbourhood? If yes, where did you go for help and why?
49. Would you please tell me to whom you would go if you had a financial problem or no food in the house? Why?
50. With whom do you feel comfortable to share your personal matters or to express your needs? Why?
51. Whom do you contact when you need a job? Why?
52. Do you think it is important to marry a person from your own tribe? Why?
53. Do you think it is important to marry a person from your own country? Why?
54. Do you think it is important to marry a person from your own religion? Why?
55. According to you, is it better for migrants to maintain their customs or to adopt South African customs? Why?
56. Would you please tell me where and at what occasion you often meet with other Ethiopian compatriots? Could you please briefly describe what you do or discuss during those occasions?
57. Would you please tell me why it is important for the Ethiopian migrant community to meet?
58. If for one reason or another, it happens that your church closes, would you seek membership in other local church or would you look for another orthodox church within the Ethiopian community? Why?

V. The role of the church in transnational networks

59. How often are you in contact with your family or friends
 - Back home? (1) Never; (2) occasionally; (3) once a week; (4) a few times a month; (5) other
 - Abroad? (1) Never; (2) occasionally; (3) once a week; (4) a few times a month; (5) other
60. What means do you use to contact them?
61. Does the church help you in any way to make contact with family or friends? If yes, in which way?
62. Have you ever sent money or goods to your home country or abroad? If yes, how does the church help you in this transaction if at all?
63. In your view, why is it important for your church to invite other preachers and clergy men particularly from Ethiopia to come and preach to your congregation? In which way are these preachers particularly helpful to you?

VI. Questions for EOT Church leadership

64. When were you officially ordained to be a priest?
65. What was your occupation in Ethiopia?
66. Which language(s) can you speak and understand?
67. Which of these languages do you often use when conducting service and preaching?
68. In which of these languages do you feel the most comfortable when conducting service or preaching/ praying? Why?
69. Do you think that the congregants should pray and worship in their vernacular languages rather than English? Why?
70. Does the church provide special consideration either in personnel or liturgical content in order to cater to the special needs that members of the migrant community may have? If so, how?
71. Would you please tell me what was the vision in the establishment of the EOTC here in South Africa?
72. Would you encourage migrants to attend other local churches in an effort to integrate into local communities? Please give some reasons.
73. Could you please tell me how often you conduct marriage ceremonies between:
 - a) Ethiopians themselves
 - b) An Ethiopian and a South African
 - c) An Ethiopian and a member of any other nationality

Could you please give your opinion for each case?

74. What common values do you think can facilitate the social cohesion and integration between the migrant community and host society?
75. Does your church have any program to meet physical needs of the members? Tell me more about it?
76. What social, economic and cultural challenges do you think the migrants face in Johannesburg and how do they affect their settling or their attempt to have sustainable livelihoods in Johannesburg?
77. What kind of spiritual and social struggle do you think affect your church members?
78. Would you please tell me more about the main concerns people bring to your attention during your counselling sessions?
79. What is your main target group(s) of population or community in your pastoral outreaches? Why do you target this/ these particular group(s)?
80. Apart from purely spiritual benefits, in what other areas do you think the church remains important for migrants?

VII. The role of the church in transnational networks


81. Does your church have a headquarters or a mother church? If yes, where?
82. Could you please explain how coordination/collaboration is done between your church and headquarters, if any?
83. Does your church have any ecumenical relations with other churches? If yes, how do you collaborate?
84. In what ways do you think your congregation benefits from visiting clergies?
85. Have you ever been invited by another church within your denomination or from other denominations to function in any official capacity? If yes, where and what do you benefit from these visits?

VIII. For Native South Africans


86. What is your relationship with the Ethiopian community and the Ethiopian Church?
87. Why are you interested in the EOTC?
88. What problems have you discovered in the Ethiopian community in their social integration with the host society?
89. What is your view of foreigners being in South Africa?
90. What common values do you think can facilitate the social cohesion and integration between the migrant community and host society?
91. In your view, is there any difference among the foreign population in South Africa?

Case study individuals: Similar questions with much probing.

Appendix 3: Informed consent form



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South Africa Diocese Office



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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN


This letter serves to confirm that Ayalkibet B. Tesfaye a PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, has asked our assistance for having the access to his data collection under his research title: **"Migration: Challenges and Experiences garnered by the Ethiopian Diaspora in the city of Johannesburg (2000-2015) and the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church's Ministry"**.

Ayalkibet is an Ethiopian and a deacon in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, who has been involved in our church's service for the Ethiopian Diaspora at Durban and Johannesburg in South Africa. His research will help on migration studies, to contribute to filling this academic/intellectual gap by exploring the relationship between Ethiopian migrants in the South Africa and the host society in relation to our church, (the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church).

We therefore, welcoming Ayalkibet's research to interview our church leaders and our Ethiopian community and native South Africans who are members of our church in Gauteng province.

Should in case there is a vexing issue that requires clarification, please feel free to contact our office during normal working hours or at: 061 378 9803.

Yours sincerely,



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Abba Gebremelase Mersha Tadege
Administrator
ገዢ ጳጳስ ለግብፅ ተዋሕዶ ቤተክርስቲያን
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Appendix 4: Proof of Turnitin report

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