



**INCLUSION AND ISOLATION IN REFUGEE SOCIAL NETWORKS - A
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN, TURKEY AND KENYA**

by

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A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, School of Social
Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Johannesburg, 2017.

Declaration

I, Kabiri Bule, declare that this Research Report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

Signature of Candidate

_____ Day of _____ 20_____ at _____

Abstract

Migrant social networks and their effects have dominated international migration discourse over the past few decades. The importance of social networks and social capital in migration decision-making is underscored by large volumes of research across many disciplines. There are however few comparative analyses of the refugee experience across disparate geographical spaces particularly cities in the so-called global ‘South’. Drawing on original survey data collected from refugees in Pakistan, Turkey and Nairobi in mid-2016, this paper argues that access to social networks and the value of the social capital embedded in these networks, is strongly dependent on the pre-migration social, political, cultural and economic contexts of migrants and refugees. Social networks generate positive social capital in some contexts and negative social capital in others. Logistic regression and correlational tests of association were used to analyse the relationship between social networks, employment, and well-being of refugees in the three cities mentioned. The findings speak of the complex economic and social environments refugees often find themselves, and networks of personal relations either hamper or facilitate the ability of refugees to secure employment.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Loren Landau and Dr Jean-Pierre Misago of the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for their invaluable advice and guidance.

It has been a great privilege to work under Professor Landau's supervision, who also suggested the research topic. I would also like to thank the National Research Foundation of South Africa for the financial support I received to complete my Masters studies.

To my family, for their patience and unwavering support as always.

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Introduction

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates in its mid-year 2015 global trends report, that the total number of People of Concern (POCs) in Kenya was 613 881 with 2.7 million POCs in Pakistan and Turkey respectively (UNHCR., 2015). The actual numbers are probably greater as urban refugees are largely a hidden population (Bloch, 1999; D. Vigneswaran, 2009; Darshan Vigneswaran & Quirk, 2012). These are only three countries out of over a hundred where refugees, people in refugee-like situations, asylum seekers, returned refugees, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) or persons under UNHCR's statelessness mandate are hosted (UNHCR., 2016). A large proportion of the refugees living in major refugee hosting countries are in urban areas and are often self-settled and economically self-sufficient (Deumert, Inder, & Maitra, 2005; Macchiavello, 2003; Portes, 1994). There are urban refugees however, who are camp-based and require assistance and aid for basic survival from organisations such as the UNHCR. The refugees who are registered with the UNHCR receive basic assistance to cater for essential needs such as food, housing and healthcare (Bloch, 2002). In the absence of direct humanitarian assistance particularly outside of official camps, refugees rely on their social connections and informal resources for assistance with immediate survival needs.

Building on original quantitative survey data collected from three refugee-receiving cities—Nairobi (Kenya), Gaziantep (Turkey), and Peshawar (Pakistan) — this study explores the social networks of newly urbanised refugees and how these networks may or may not provide access to gainful employment. As employment is a long-term survival strategy particularly for people in refugee-like situations, a key benefit of this knowledge is that we will gain a deeper understanding of the immanent nature of network structures that could facilitate the self-reliance of displaced populations. In addition, humanitarian aid can be better utilised and targeted at recipients who need this assistance the most. The kinds of work refugees engage in and the spaces in which these activities are carried out is to a large extent determined by broader socio-economic, cultural as well as transnational processes (Tanaka, 2010). In other words, refugee social networks exist across time and space and the decision to migrate, whether forced or voluntary, is a product of larger global forces such as war, globalisation, outsourcing and environmental pressures. Social networks are not understood in isolation, as there are multiple layers and mutual dependencies inherent in untangling the process of network formation. In this study, I will focus the empirical analysis on the data collected, which allows for a modest contribution to our knowledge base on

social networks. In this report, I argue that access to social networks and the social capital embedded in these networks is strongly dependent on the political, social, cultural and economic contexts of migrants and refugees in both sending and receiving societies. Social networks generate positive social capital in some contexts and negative social capital in others.

This research report is organised as follows: A general overview of the literature on social networks and social capital is presented with a focus on theoretical and empirical research in migrant social networks generally. The research data and methodology will be presented with detailed information about the study sites selected, the development of the questionnaire and the statistical analysis performed to examine the benefits of refugee social networks in securing employment. This will be followed by a brief discussion of additional explanatory variables such as age, gender, language proficiency and length of stay in host country and the overall wellbeing of refugees in the selected cities. These additional variables are essential for a deeper understanding of the complexities and nuances of refugee social networks. Finally, the discussion and conclusion will highlight key findings as well as recommendations for future research.

Literature Review

1.1. Overview

Research carried out over the last four decades has established the importance of social networks for the process of migration (Kritz, Lin, & Zlotnik, 1992; Massey & España, 1987; P. N. Ritchey, 1976). Social networks exist through family and friendship ties as well as membership in community associations (Awumbila, Teye, & Yaro, 2016; Boyd, 1989). A large volume of academic literature has found that social capital accessed through social networks, can contribute to the socio-economic and emotional well-being of recently displaced individuals. Individuals can get information on available jobs, places of residence and general survival strategies from their kinship and friendship networks. Furthermore, research carried out in the last two decades has successfully demonstrated the explanatory power of network theory on migrants' chosen destination and their ability to survive once they arrive in the new host country (D. Massey & F. G. España, 1987).

Boyd (1989, p. 642) defines a network as a recurrent set of interpersonal ties that bind individuals in a web of reciprocal obligations that may be drawn upon to facilitate entry,

employment and adjustment at points of destination. In this report, a refugee is defined as anyone who has come from a conflict-affected country regardless of the specific motivations for migrating or whether they have been recognised by the United Nations or host state as a refugee.

A number of studies however, have shown that the same networks that are helpful to refugees could also constrain them. There is an ambiguity about the role of social networks in enabling urban refugees to find jobs. Further differences and experiences emerge when study populations are disaggregated by gender, religious orientation or ethnicity. There are also variations in terms of age and length of stay in the host country.

Forced migration studies as well as international migration discourse more generally, have adopted social network and social capital theory in migrant and refugee research, in order to examine key outcomes for refugees such as employment access, sustainable livelihood opportunities and economic self-sufficiency (Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Haug, 2008; Koser, 1997). Social networks are just one way in which we can understand the linkages between sending and receiving societies. Social capital is embedded in social networks and it is defined as ‘the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are lined to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – in other words, social capital is a social product accessed through membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital...’(Foley & Edwards, 1999, p. 143).

In the last few decades, there has been a notable shift in responses by states, humanitarian agencies, advocacy groups as well as local communities to the plight of forcibly displaced persons and refugees (Al-Ali et al., 2001; De Vries, 2006; Macchiavello, 2003; Massey & España, 1987; Vertovec, 2003). When refugee numbers were low, host nations were welcoming to refugees who sought refuge in these states. This changed however when refugee numbers began to rise rapidly (Campbell, 2006). The onset of economic globalisation, trade liberalisation and transnational corporations contributed to increasing mobility globally (Haug, 2008; Jacobsen, 2002; Kritz et al., 1992; Massey & España, 1987). With limited resources and already large local populations, perceptions began to change about welcoming too many refugees or asylum seekers particularly into the urban areas of major refugee hosting states (Collins, 1996). Additionally, the significance of kinship and friendship networks have underscored a large number of studies in

international migration and have provided a valuable conceptual lens through which to study human mobility and social connectedness (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964; Menjvar, 2000; Palloni et al., 2001; P. Neal Ritchey, 1976; Tilly & Brown, 1967). Network studies span a number of disciplines - migration studies, social anthropology, sociology, economics and political science, each focusing on many different outcomes.

1.2. Historical Overview

For almost a century, sociological approaches to migration have reflected the inadequacy of purely economic and anthropological explanations to the mobility phenomenon (Barnes, 1954; Mitchell, 1974; Moreno, 1934). The introduction of the quantitative method of studying social relationships by Moreno (1941), can be viewed as the starting point for the employment of quantitative methods in understanding social phenomena. Moreno used sociometry in his research to examine the relationship between social structure and psychological well-being. The rationale provided for this new method of studying individuals in society was that researchers cannot separate individuals and the study of the interrelations between them from any study of a social situation (p. 18).

Barnes (1954) has been credited with coining the phrase *network*, when he conducted a study of *Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish*. Barnes aimed to examine the social classes in a Norway Parish but interestingly realised that the interactions between people in that Norwegian community and the immediate communities around it, could be viewed as a network of interpersonal relations. Marx (1990) builds on this notion of social networks when he developed a conceptual framework for the sociological study of refugees and other migrants. He argued that refugee studies should be centred around migrants and the social world in which they are embedded, which include all of the migrants' relationships and the forces that impinge on them at any moment (p. 9). Without making any grand claims about the study of refugee social networks as the only valid method, Marx argues that social networks can nevertheless make a major contribution to our understanding of the social world of refugees and how they are disturbed or transformed. This research has contributed theoretically to our understanding of refugee social networks but it is limited in terms of providing empirical data to support propositions.

As time went on, the popularity of the network perspective was readily adopted by economists, physicists, mathematicians and others, and the models and methods applied in social network analysis have become more sophisticated and technical (Borgatti, Everett, &

Johnson, 2013; Freeman, 2004; Marsden, 1990; Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Boyd (1989) and D. S. Massey and F. G. España (1987) propose a new approach to the sociology of migration using network analysis. This new approach draws from the idea of embeddedness proposed by Granovetter (1985). Through a meso level of analysis - kinship and acquaintanceship networks, households and social networks - social structure is linked to the individual decision-maker and social networks make migration easier by easing the costs and risks of moving, enlarging potential streams of income and aiding information transfer (Haug, 2008; Palloni et al., 2001).

1.3. Migration Networks

The effects of networks in migration have a fairly recent history compared to sociological, structuralist and neoclassical economic theories that have a longer history (Choldin, 1973; MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964; Ritchey, 1976). Chain migration is a concept that shares similarity with the network perspective and the work by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) made a significant contribution in our understanding of migrant social networks. In this seminal article, the authors argued that migration occurs because prospective migrants learn of opportunities in a host country, are usually provided with financial assistance to cover transport costs as well as initial accommodation, and are assisted with employment by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants. There are a number of studies with similar findings (Aguilera & Massey, 2003; Al-Ali, Black, & Koser, 2001; Campbell, 2006; Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Heering, van der Erf, & van Wissen, 2004; Lyons & Snoxell, 2005; Macchiavello, 2003; Palloni et al., 2001; Palmgren, 2014; Wegge, 1998)

As Collyer (2005) argues, migration is as much social as it is economic and political. International conflict is a significant marker of the high numbers of refugees and displaced persons globally. In east Africa for example, the sporadic conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Burundi, among others, have created situations in which most people flee to particular countries around the region that are perhaps regarded as more stable such as Kenya, Tanzania and further south towards Southern Africa (Campbell, 2006; De Vries, 2006). For most people fleeing from conflict, choice of destination country is highly influenced by a refugee's social network (Jacobsen, 2002).

Jacobsen (2002) adopts a livelihood framework to analyse the livelihood options of refugees in conflict situations. Social ties are strongly associated with the chosen livelihood activities of newly urbanised migrants. Livelihood comprises the abilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers & Conway, 1992).

In examining the access to opportunities between refugees and host communities, the author observed that refugees often do not have access to resources that host communities have such as land, legal employment or housing. This creates incentives for refugees to strengthen their transnational resources in the form of their social networks living in host communities. Such linkages consist not only of financial resources in the form of remittances, but also the social capital inherent in these networks that increase the flow of information, enable trade and perhaps relocation (Jacobsen, 2002). Although the author makes important recommendations to host governments and local authorities, the work is lacking in providing details on the data used to formulate conclusions. Similarly Horst (2006) illustrates the importance of networks for refugees using a combination of the livelihoods framework and social capital theory. Horst argues that social networks are an important strategy in refugee situations with high degrees of mobility. Horst further claims that refugees, like anybody else have a strong desire to gain self-sufficiency and this is achieved with the help of the local refugee community.

The importance on social networks in the country of origin and destination have been covered extensively (Boyd, 1989; Haug, 2008; Kritz, Lin, & Zlotnik, 1992). D. S. Massey and F. G. España (1987) have however been credited as one of the first to apply the theory or social networks and social capital in their study of Mexican migrants in America (Palloni et al., 2001). Considerable work remains to be done to confirm the validity and utility of social networks and social capital as useful theoretical concepts in refugee and migration studies. More specifically, the mechanisms through which these networks are used by refugees to obtain work.

1.4. Refugee Livelihoods

The livelihood theme introduced by Chambers and Conway (1992) is centred around the actions and strategies that people in adverse circumstances evoke to make a living. Horst

(2006) asserts that social capital is a key factor in any model adopted to understanding refugee livelihoods, and networks are seen as a vital conduit for social capital as well as other forms of capital. Chambers and Conway (1992, p. 7) define a livelihood as comprising of all the assets (stores, resources, claims and access), capabilities and activities required to make a living. The livelihood strategies employed by refugees are often based on the dominant activities in refugee communities in the new host countries, as refugees find ways to become self-sufficient. The livelihood activities that refugees engage in are dependent on their skills and qualities, and there is often a tendency for new refugees to engage in quite similar economic activities as those within their social networks for example, small scale trading (Berrou & Combarous, 2012; Horst, 2006). Furthermore, Horst (2006) raises important points about the changes a refugee's social network often undergoes in the course of becoming a refugee. (Horst, 2006) concedes that there is often an assumption that in war or conflict situations, social networks become unreliable due to the fact that friends and family may have died or are displaced during flight. The contestation arises when the author claims that although this may be true, the consequences of forced migration does not lead to a breakdown of assistance from friends or kin. In certain contexts, however, there is concrete evidence of the erosion and breakdown of social networks (Menjvar, 2000).

Jacobsen (2002) conducted a study of the livelihoods of refugees in conflict situations. The author addresses how humanitarian organisations can work with local and national governments to increase economic security and protect the rights of not just refugees but their host communities. Drawing on data from previous work the author had done on refugees in various communities around central Africa, Jacobsen (2002) argues that refugees are often unable to access basic resources that are available to local communities such as land, healthcare, formal employment, housing, among others. The author acknowledges that refugees may however have access to resources that host communities do not have, for example, transnational resources provided by family or contacts living abroad consisting of financial resources (remittances); refugee networks that increase the flow of information regarding trade opportunities and relocation; human capital such as education and vocational skills experience, all of which may not be present in host communities. These resources are sometimes referred to as social capital and are generally understood as emanating from social networks. Further studies have drawn similar conclusions regarding refugee livelihood strategies and the link to refugee social networks (Al-Sharmani, 2004; Galooba-Mutebi, 2004; Lo, 2005). De Vries (2006) illustrates this link by focusing on the strategies

that refugee households deploy in order to survive during difficult times. These coping mechanisms include seeking humanitarian assistance and international protection, adopting new gender roles, engaging in trade and services provision and also relying on social networks and solidarity within refugee communities. From this perspective, social networks become part of the arsenal of refugee survival strategies particularly on arrival in a new host country. Maintaining ties with friends and family in the host country as well as abroad can ease the harsh conditions of displacement when such assistance includes remittances as well as social capital which increase the flow of vital information through the network. Such survival strategies complement the help that humanitarian organisations and host governments provide (De Vries, 2006; Galooba-Mutebi, 2004).

In summary, refugee livelihood strategies are closely linked to their social networks, and social capital flows from social networks (Burt, 1997). According to the various accounts presented thus far in the literature, we expect to find a strong association between refugees' social networks and their economic resilience and overall well-being. The current study however, raises more questions about the actual benefit of social networks for refugees with similar migration histories albeit in different socio-cultural and economic contexts.

1.5. Social Networks and Social Capital of Refugees

Although not the first theoretical study of refugees proposing a framework for future studies in the field, the work of Marx (1990) provides a good starting point for understanding the refugee experience systematically and providing enduring solutions to the often volatile and precarious environments in which refugees often find themselves.

A number of studies that particularly pertain to refugee social networks have made the case for social capital as a vital concept for understanding refugee livelihoods (Cheung & Phillimore, 2014; Granovetter, 1983; Kalter, 2011; Koser, 1997; Lin, 2001; Myroniuk & Veary, 2014). There are also voices that challenge the utility of the concept of social capital (Foley & Edwards, 1999). The contention here is that although social networks can easily be studied, the differential access to capital fundamentally shapes the economic and social world of refugees. The basic premise of social networks and social capital theory is *access*; access to other forms of capital such as financial resources, information, employment and human capital (Foley & Edwards, 1999; Lin, 2001). As argued by Foley & Edwards (1999),

generalised social trust is often used as an indicator of social capital including membership in organisations, as well as norms and values such as cooperation and tolerance. Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1993), argued along similar lines. More specifically, social capital is understood as action facilitated by social structure (network), and the features of social capital according to this definition include trust, norms and networks that provide certain individuals or groups with a competitive advantage in pursuing their ends. A recurring critique of this particular conceptualisation of social capital is that it overlooks the ‘dark side’ of social capital and fails to logically present the mechanism through which social capital is extracted from social networks (Foley & Edwards, 1999).

Prior work has documented the advantages of social networks as a structure that produces advantage through the social capital and information exchanges that flow through such networks. Drawing on the social structural approach, where social capital is conceived as access to networks plus the resources in that network (Foley & Edwards, 1999), the aim of the current study is to assess the association between refugee social networks and employment outcomes in the chosen host countries (Pakistan, Turkey and Kenya).

2.1. Data and Methods

As outlined in the introduction, the objective of this study is to assess the relationship between refugee social networks and employment outcomes in the new host country. I utilised survey data collected from a project with the Urban Institute in Washington DC, USA, in collaboration with the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The survey was built on initiatives by the African Centre for Migration and Society, which has developed a methodology for assessing social capital and networks and linking it to broader socio-economic outcomes among urban-based refugees.

The questionnaire includes a range of questions on consumption, spending, access to services, the importance of aid and – most critically – the importance of social networks and connections at various stages of the journey and settlement process. The survey team used cluster sampling to survey approximately 3,000 households in Peshawar, Gaziantep and Nairobi, with quotas that included a range of urban refugees, economic migrants and long-term residents.

The questionnaire contains a series of coded questions covering basic demographic, experiential, and attitudinal variables to identify the relationship between social networks, social capital, economic resilience and employment. The questionnaire was initially written in English and pilot-tested in Nairobi, Gaziantep, and Peshawar. It was then revised, re-tested in English, and translated into the respective languages by native speakers who participated in the pilot testing. It was then back-translated into English by native speakers who had not previously been involved with the project. The team leader in each city modified specific elements of the survey to reference local neighbourhoods, policies, and to calibrate figures to the local currencies.

I have analysed the data as follows: First, I conducted descriptive analysis to review the profiles of the refugees in each city. I conducted further correlation analysis between pre-migration social network size, economic resilience and well-being. Furthermore, I carried out binary logistic regression analysis to model the likelihood of a refugee being employed or not using the following predictors: gender, age, education level, duration of stay in host country, knowledge of local languages, social network size and any vocational training/skills. I selected these variables as control variables that are likely to affect employment outcomes.

2.2. Research Locations

The three research locations in which the survey was conducted are Nairobi, Kenya; Gaziantep, Turkey; and Peshawar, Pakistan. These locations were selected based on similarities and differences between them. In terms of similarities, as major urban centres they are all critical transit points, as well as final destinations for international refugees entering these countries. They are all impacted directly by major international conflicts across strategically vital regions of the world, such as the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and South-Central Asia. The refugees in the three research locations are socio-culturally heterogeneous to varying degrees. This heterogeneity provides a way through which we can understand how group differences impact social capital and networks within similar political and economic contexts.

Despite these fundamental similarities across locations, there are salient differences that impact structures of social capital and social networks across the three sites. There are differences in the level of human development across the three contexts, including varying levels of education attainment and host country per capital income levels (World Bank, 2017). Rather than being a liability, these variations in social, economic and political characteristics provides the opportunity to make modest generalisations about displacement experiences and the role of social networks in refugees' employment, economic resilience and overall wellbeing.

Site selection criteria included several factors: first, the significance and scale of the conflict that triggered the mass movement of refugee populations; second, the size of the humanitarian crises, including the scale of the humanitarian response; and third, the need for having three comparable yet diverse refugee populations enabling rigorous comparative analyses both within and across locations. Further information about each of the selected cities are discussed below.

2.2.1. *Peshawar*

From the late 1970s, Peshawar has hosted Afghan Refugees in large-scale camps around peri-urban areas as well as urban neighbourhoods. According to UNHCR (2016) reports, most Afghan refugees are based in and around Peshawar. At the end of 2015, the UNHCR listed Pakistan as number two on the list of major refugee-hosting countries after Turkey. The issue

of displacement in Afghanistan dates back to the late 1970s (Novak, 2007). Following the Saur Revolution of 1978 and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army, decades of war and unrest ensued leading to a mass exodus of Afghans primarily into Pakistan (Novak, 2007). The UNHCR (2016) estimates that there are about 1,34 million registered and an estimated 1 million unregistered Afghan refugees that reside in Pakistan. Peshawar is located at the gateway to Afghanistan and it is uniquely positioned as a transit and settlement location for migrants and refugees.

Pakistan's New National Refugee Policy in recent years has been the voluntary return of Afghan refugees to their country of origin (UNHCR., 2016). Host communities play a significant role in sharing resources with Afghan refugees, however resources are limited and this has often led to some friction between the host and refugee communities (UNHCR., 2016). A positive development to this situation is the assistance provided to these hosting areas through the UNHCR's initiative – the Solutions Strategy for Afghan Refugees – with a budget of \$490 million that will benefit host communities as well as refugees.

2.2.2. *Gaziantep*

The Syrian civil war has triggered the mass movement of refugees into Gaziantep, Turkey. Gaziantep hosts the largest proportion of urban refugees due to its status as a large employment centre. Due the large numbers of Syrians and other refugees from around the middle east region, Turkey is listed as number one on the list of major refugee-hosting countries. The Syrian civil war, a conflict that is estimated to have cost 470,000 lives in the country as of 2015, caused the dislodging of 45 percent of Syria's population who fled their homes within the country (6.7 million) and outside of it (4.2 million) (UNHCR., 2016).

According to the UNHCR, currently 90 percent of all registered Syrian refugees in Turkey live out of camps in urban and peri-urban settings (UNHCR 2016). Turkey implemented a temporary protection for registered Syrian refugees, granting them the right to legally stay in the country and access to basic rights and services (Ahmadoun, 2014). Gaziantep has become one of the cities most affected by the Syrian civil war with the influx of more than 350,000 registered Syrian refugees. Gaziantep is the eighth most populous city in Turkey with a population of 1.9 million and a 7 percent unemployment rate (World Bank, 2017).

2.2.3. Nairobi

Political unrest around the horn of Africa including Sudan, Burundi, Rwanda, Congo and Uganda, has led to a rather high number of refugees and asylum seekers fleeing to Kenya. The government's policy with regards to refugees is largely focused on relocation of refugees to camps, however there are still large numbers of refugees who reside in major urban areas such as Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru. The current study focuses on neighbourhoods around Nairobi that host refugee populations from Eritrea, Burundi, Congo, Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. Refugees in urban areas face a number of challenges including few income generating opportunities, low and irregular remittance transfers, leading to an inability to meet basic needs such as clean drinking water or sanitation (Campbell, 2006).

Terrorist attacks in Kenya have prompted the Kenyan government to make drastic changes to its policy on asylum seekers and refugees. The Cabinet Secretary for Interior and Coordination of National Government on Refugees and National Security Issues made an announcement regarding the government's new encampment policy in 2014 (DRA, 2014). The announcement essentially directs all refugees living outside the designated refugee camps of Kakuma and Dadaab to return to these camps. Kenyan citizens were urged to report all refugees they encountered outside of these designated camps and a large number of the Police force were deployed to enforce the new regulation. This has led to the harassment of refugees by Police in major urban centres particularly Nairobi, and has fuelled anti-refugee sentiments around various communities (Campbell, 2006).

2.3. Profile of the Refugees in the survey

Figure 1 shows the countries of origin of the respondents in the survey. A majority of participants in Turkey are from Syria and the majority in Nairobi are from Somalia. The majority of refugees in Pakistan are from Afghanistan.

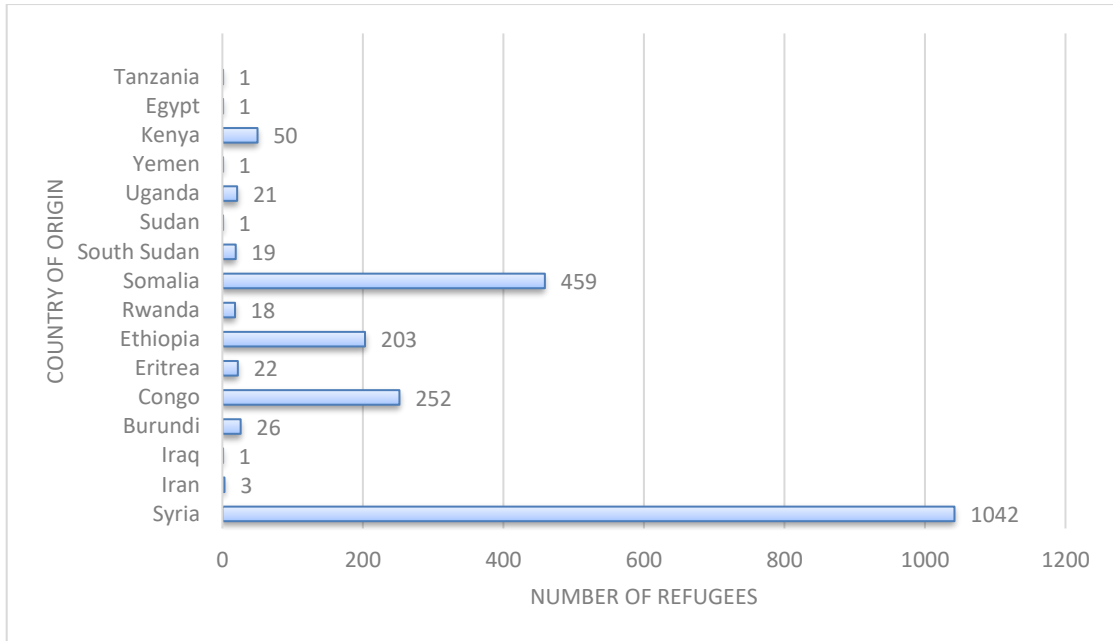


Figure 1: Refugees' Country of Origin

Table 1: Age Profile of Refugees

	Peshawar		Gaziantep		Nairobi	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Mean	42.87	37.55	40.04	35.70	33.41	31.98
Standard Deviation	11.86	13.09	12.46	11.10	9.08	9.51
No. of Respondents	877	127	476	570	426	649

Figure 1 shows the country where most refugees spent most of their lives. The missing data particularly from the respondents in Peshawar accounts for the moderate number of responses to this particular question ($N = 2121$). The refugees in this survey are from over 15 countries with the greatest proportions from Syria (49%), Congo (12%) and Somalia (22%). From subsequent questions posed to the respondents in Peshawar, it became apparent that the majority of refugees in Pakistan are from Afghanistan which is consistent with previous research as well as UNHCR (2016) reports.

99% and 98.7% of the refugees in Peshawar and Gaziantep are Sunni Muslim respectively. In Nairobi, 63.1% of the respondents declared themselves Sunni Muslim and about 36% Christian.

Households are the unit of analysis in this study. In this survey household refers to a refugee, his or her spouse, children and parents. Each household was selected using a systematic random selection method. The survey team aimed to survey one respondent from 25 households in each neighbourhood, however, in certain neighbourhoods when the survey team could not reach 25 refugee households, they completed additional surveys in the subsequent neighbourhoods. The surveyors selected one household within each adjacent eight households. When there was no response from the first selected household, the surveyor moved to the next household until they completed the first survey.

Following the completion of the first interview, the surveyor completed the next survey in the eighth household or the first household with a respondent after the eighth household. However, if any new street was noticed before reaching the eighth household, the surveyor would turn into this new street and the second interview was completed at the new street. Using this selection method ensured that the distribution of the selected household is as uniform as possible in each neighbourhood.

While the survey provides ample information about employment, income and wellbeing outcome of refugees, it suffers from the usual missing data problem which substantially lowers the final sample used in the statistical analyses. There is also the issue regarding the inconsistency in question wording in all three research locations. This was done in order to extract information unique to each location.

2.4. Descriptive Profile of Survey Respondents

Table 1 and 2 presents the sample demographics by city and gender. The average age of male respondents is higher than the females across each study site. Average incomes in Gaziantep far exceed income levels in Peshawar and Nairobi. In order to further assess the differences in the average income across the three cities, I performed a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine if the differences in income was statistically significant. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was tested and not satisfied via Levene's F-test, $F(2, 1855) = 358.7, p < .001$. The ANOVA test is robust with regards to the violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance (Field, 2013). Despite this limitation the differences in means is statistically significant between groups. The mean difference between groups were significant for Gaziantep and Peshawar as well as Gaziantep and Nairobi. There was no statistically significant difference between the average incomes in Peshawar and Nairobi.

Table 2: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

City	No. of female Respondents	No. of male respondents
Peshawar	127	877
Gaziantep	570	476
Nairobi	649	426

Table 3: Respondents' Age, Education, Employment and Legal Status by Gender

	Peshawar (1004)		Gaziantep (1046)		Nairobi (1075)	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Sex	87.4%	12.6%	45.5%	54.5%	39.6%	60.4%
Age (Mean)	42.82	37.5	40	36	33.41	31.98
Income (Avg. USD)	164.27	145.53	1239.95	1150.17	212.30	159.90
Legal Status (UNHCR REGISTERED)	59%	96%	77%	72%	89%	84%
Education (%)						
Less than primary /no education	30.5	51.2	12.5	14.2	8.7	40
Finished primary	67.1	48.8	49	55.2	23.6	34.1
Finished secondary	1.3	-	23.3	20.5	47.2	18.1
Employment (%)						
Yes	8.6	94.5	59.7	24.4	67.4	48.1
No	18.4	5.5	40.3	75.3	31.7	51.4
Nature of Work (%)						
Work for someone	9.2	8.3	9.9	92.8	44.3	22.8
Self-employed	88.7	88.3	90.1	7.2	54.0	75.6

2.5. Employment, Economic Resilience and Well-being Index

I measured the effects of social networks on employment, economic resilience and well-being while controlling for the effects of age, gender, length of stay, local language proficiency, level of education and vocational skills. I developed a model to examine these

relationships by employing the estimation strategy in binary logistic regression. This strategy involves regressing employment – as the dependent variable - on the selected predictor variables. Refugee social networks were measured by counting the number of family and friends each respondent had before arriving in the host country. Employment in this study includes those refugees who are self-employed and those working for someone else. Survey responses to the question of employment are coded as “1” if the respondent is employed and coded as “0” if not.

Two economic well-being indices were developed using a number of items in the questionnaire. These items were developed to examine the relationship between social network size and the likelihood of being employed or not. Each index was comprised of 5 binary indicators that were designed to measure several conceptual dimensions of economic well-being among the refugee samples.

Index 1: “Financial Resilience” included the below indicators (minimum=0, maximum=5):

Employment (coded as “1” if the respondent is employed and coded as “0” if not)

- *Savings* (coded as “1” if the respondent has savings to cover for expenses at least for a month and coded as “0” if not)
- *Remittances* (coded as “1” if the respondent receives remittances from others and coded as “0” if not)
- *Debt* (coded as “1” if the respondent has no debt due to journey to the country and coded as “0” if the respondent has debt due to the journey)
- *Income* (coded as “1” if the respondent makes a monthly income above the minimum wage and coded as “0” if not)

Index 2: “Basic Needs Fulfilment” included the below indicators (minimum score=0, maximum score=5):

- *Homelessness* (coded as “1” if the respondent and their family has not been homeless in the past 6 months and coded as “0” if the respondent and their family has been homeless in the past six months)

- *Access to food* (coded as “1” if the respondent did not have days when he/she slept hungry and coded as “0” if the respondent had days when he/she slept hungry)
- *Access to clothing* (coded as “1” if the respondent had adequate clothing for the weather each season and coded as “0” if not)
- *Access to healthcare* (coded as “1” if the respondent and their family had their healthcare needs addressed when in need and coded as “0” if not)
- *Access to basic utilities* (coded as “1” if the respondent has access to at least 4 utilities among five: gas /electrical burner, electricity connection, heating, indoor toilet or improved pit latrine, piped water connection otherwise coded as “0”).

2.5.1. Model

As mentioned previously, binary logistic regression analysis was used to test the association between social networks, employment and well-being, while controlling for factors such as gender age, education level. Logistic regression allows for the analysis of categorical variables that are measured at the nominal or ordinal scales of measurement. Ordinary least-squares regression is used on logit-transformed values of the dependent and independent variables. The aim of logistic regression is to estimate the effects of predictor variables on an outcome variable by taking the log of the odds-ratio. The odds ratio represents the probability that an event will occur divided by the probability that the event will not occur (Field, 2013). In this study, the odds ratio relates to the probability or likelihood of a refugee being unemployed or employed. The selected predictor variables include Social network size (on arrival in host country), nature of initial interaction with contacts in the host country (financial or information exchange), language fluency, age, gender, length of stay in host country, level of education as well as vocational skills. The Wald statistic is also reported in with the results and this test is used to check if the odds ratio is statistically significant (Huck, 2014).

2.6. Logistic Regression Results

In Tables three, four and five, I present the Beta estimates, standard error of the beta estimates, significance test results (p-value), the odds ratio and the 95% confidence intervals

for each predictor variable. The results are shown separately for each of the sites for ease of comparison.

2.6.1. Peshawar

None of the variables selected in the model seem to be good predictors of the likelihood of employment in Peshawar. The predictor that falls right at the 0.05 level of significance is vocational skills. The log odds (Beta) of being employed tend to be higher for refugees with business and service oriented skills (Odds Ratio = 2.919). The final logistic regression model was not significant. The model explained 14.6% (Nagelkerke's R^2) of the variance in employment status (i.e. employed or unemployed) and correctly classified 87.9% of all cases included in the model. The cases with a .50 or greater probability were classified as employed and all cases below that threshold were classified as unemployed.

Table 4: Results of Binary Logistic Regression Analysis: Predictors of likelihood of Employment - Peshawar

	Beta	S. E	P value	Odds Ratio	95% C. I
Variables in equation					
Length of Stay in months	-.009	.009	.314	.991	.974 - 1.008
Gender	18.221	8840.95	.998	-	-
Pre-migration Social Network size	.214	.133	.109	1.239	.954 – 1.609
Education	-	-	-	-	-
Vocational Skills	1.071	.560	0.056	2.919	.974-8.747
Nature of Initial Interaction (financial or information)	.786	.570	.167	2.195	.719 – 6.704
Age	-.009	0.19	.637	.991	.995 – 1.028
Language (Pushtun or Urdu)	.418	.452	.355	1.519	.626 – 3.688

2.6.2. Gaziantep

In Gaziantep, gender, vocational skills, age, and local language proficiency were all found to be statistically significant and good predictors of the likelihood of being employed. The model explained 57.5% (Nagelkerke's R^2) of the variance in employment status (i.e. employed or unemployed) and correctly classified 84.6% of cases. The cases with a .50 or greater probability were classified as employed and all cases below that threshold were

classified as unemployed. Gender, vocational skills, age and local language proficiency are all significant predictors of likelihood of employment. In this sample the likelihood of female respondents falling into the ‘employed’ category was 20% lower than their male counterparts.

Table 5: Results of Binary Logistic Regression Analysis: Predictors of likelihood of Employment – Gaziantep

	Beta	S. E	P value	Odds Ratio	95% C. I
Variables in equation					
Length of Stay in months	-.003	0.13	.822	.997	.971 – 1.024
Gender	-1.597	.441	.000	.202	.085 - .481
Pre-migration Social Network size	.055	.030	0.71	1.056	.995 – 1.121
Education	-	-	-	-	-
Vocational Skills	1.570	.662	0.018	4.806	1.313 – 17.587
Nature of Initial Interaction (financial or information)	.083	.686	.903	1.087	.283 – 4.168
Age	-.070	0.021	.001	.932	.895 - .971
Native language Kurdish or Turcic	-.938	.269	.000	.391	.231 - .663
Secondary language Kurdish of Turcic – Intermediate and Proficient level	1.158	.221	.000	3.182	2.063 – 4.909

2.6.3. Nairobi

The final logistic regression model for Nairobi was significant, $\chi^2 (8, N = 801) = 66.62$, $p < .001$, indicating that gender, number of languages spoken fluently (English, Swahili and Somali), distinguished those employed from those not employed. The model explained 43.8% (Nagelkerke’s R^2) of the variance in employment status (i.e. employed or unemployed) and correctly classified 78.1% of cases. The cases with a .50 or greater probability were classified as employed and all cases below that threshold were classified as unemployed.

Table 6: Results of Binary Logistic Regression Analysis: Predictors of likelihood of Employment – Nairobi

	Beta	S. E	P value	Odds Ratio	95% C. I
Variables in equation					
Length of Stay in months	-.004	.003	.180	.996	.989 – 1.002
Gender	-1.368	.386	.000	.255	.119 - .543
Pre-migration Social Network size	.070	.051	.172	1.073	.970 – 1.187
Education					-
Vocational Skills	2.492	.399	.000	12.091	5.531 – 26.435
Nature of Initial Interaction (financial or information)	-.397	.306	.194	.673	.369 – 1.224
Age	.048	.019	.012	1.049	1.011 – 1.089
Language Index – Swahili, Somali and English	.731	.304	0.16	2.078	1.144 – 3.733

Each individual predictor included in the binary logistic regression was examined to determine which variable(s) contributed the most in terms of accounting for the overall variance in the likelihood of being employed. Classification accuracy of the model as well as overall model fit were closely assessed. The Beta coefficients in the tables are interpreted as a change in log-odds or logits for every one-unit change in the predictor variables (Field, 2013). Positive Beta values mean that as scores increase on the predictor, the probability of falling into the target group coded “1” for “employed” is increasing. Conversely, negative coefficients mean that as scores are increasing on the predictor variables, there is a decreasing likelihood of a case falling into the target group. Finally, the odd ratios reflect the amount of change in odds as a function of a one-unit change on the predictor variable. This change in odds is multiplicative and is simply a transformation of the Beta coefficients to exponential form. The predictors that contributed the most to explaining the variations in employment outcome will be discussed in the following sections.

2.6.4. Pre-Migration Social Network Size and Employment

In this study, refugee social networks were measured by counting the number of family and friends each respondent had before arriving in the host country. Questions were asked

about how frequently friends, family and a range of organisations were contacted. These organisations included advocacy/refugee associations, business/professional associations, credit associations, neighbourhood associations, recreational/cultural as well as religious organisations. All the statistical models reported in the previous section control for language fluency and literacy, age, education and vocation skills, nature of initial interaction with family and friends in host country as well as gender.

Table 7: Pre-Migration Social Network Size

Family Social Network Size	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Peshawar	0	0	0	0
Gaziantep	5	4	0	23
Nairobi	1	2	0	12
Friends/Acquaintances	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Peshawar	2	4	0	13
Gaziantep	3	4	0	25
Nairobi	1	3	0	50

2.6.5. *Social networks, economic resilience and well-being*

Tables 6 and 7 I present the analysis of the relationship between refugees' social network size, economic resilience and well-being. Spearman's correlation is used to assess this relationship as the measurement scale of the economic resilience and well-being indices are measured on the ordinal level (Field, 2013).

Table 8: Relationship between Social Network size and Economic Resilience

	Peshawar	Gaziantep	Nairobi
Spearman's rho	.111	.144	.277
<i>N</i>	874	1046	1074
<i>P - value</i>	.001	.001	.001

Table 9: Relationship between Social Network Size and Well-being

	Peshawar	Gaziantep	Nairobi
Spearman's rho	.143	.210	.304
N	832	1046	1074
P - value	.001	.001	.001

The relationships between social networks and economic resilience across all three study locations are statistically significant (at the .01 level of significance). The results suggest that the larger a refugees' social network size, the higher their level of economic resilience. The strength of this relationship is however moderate.

With regards to the relationship between social networks and economic resilience, the results are also statistically significant. This suggests that the larger a refugees' social network size in the host country, the higher their levels of well-being.

2.6.6. Limitations

The results presented in the previous section only highlight an association between social networks, economic resilience and well-being. No causal claims can be made and these results are not generalisable to the entire refugee population in each of the three cities. The sampling is not representative of the countries and the data from Pakistan is overly skewed for male respondents. These are all case studies that provide us with some idea of the use of social networks to improve livelihood and well-being outcomes in refugees.

The empirical applicability of social networks as a predictor of outcomes such as employment, economic resilience or well-being remains unconvincing. Despite all of these challenges, the survey provides insight that can inform future research in refugee social networks. Furthermore, despite the high number of missing data, the unequal sample sizes across countries and also within each country, the data used in this research is important as it provides broad descriptive characteristics of a group that are often hard to reach (Bloch, 1999). Despite these limitations, the current research project provides rich descriptive information on the population of interest which can always be built upon and extended in future research.

Discussion and Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine the relationship between urban refugees' social networks and employment outcomes, and evaluate the influence of these networks on employment, overall economic resilience and well-being. The influence of network characteristics on employment outcomes for refugees is negligible. The reason for this is that it is difficult to isolate any systematic effect of refugee and migrant social networks on employment outcomes. In the empirical literature, a principal problem is that the refugees' use of social networks to gain particular outcomes such as employment, is not directly observable. These findings give us cause to question the taken for granted assumptions that social networks play a key role in refugee employment, economic resilience and well-being, particularly because it is commonly held that those who have just arrived in a new host country lack country specific skills such as language skills, and are more likely to settle and gain valuable information from their kinship or friendship networks.

The findings provide some support for the importance of transnational migrant networks but only in the Gaziantep case. In Kenya and Peshawar, the results are inconclusive. The additional analyses carried out to examine the relationships between initial social networks and economic resilience and well-being showed a small to moderate albeit statistically significant correlation between these variables. Statistical significance cannot however be translated into practical applicability. Questions remain about the practical significance of these findings to the livelihood activities and day to day survival of refugees. There is a need to systematically examine the local context and direct future research efforts towards understanding what factors directly relate to urban refugee livelihoods, economic resilience and well-being.

The results more generally reflect a high degree of context dependency of refugee social network structures and how such networks are used to achieve desired outcomes. Specifically, migration researchers need to carefully consider the assumptions that migrant or refugee social networks are defined by ethnicity, region or country of origin; whether refugees actually use the networks and the resources that emanate from them; and finally whether the outcome of interest, in this case, employment and well-being, are attributable to the use of networks. These concerns need to be thoroughly considered and more rigorous methods need to be developed to select the most appropriate potential predictors of an event, as well

as overcome methodological difficulties that are often encountered in refugee network research.

Theoretically, these findings highlight the need to carefully consider multiple perspectives when researching refugee populations. There are clear limitations in focusing solely on the network perspective which Foley and Edwards (1999) aptly describe as the 'over-networked' conceptualisation of social capital.

The explanatory power inherent in social network theory has made it a very popular conceptual framework in a multitude of academic disciplines as well as with policy makers, who also apply it in various contexts. With regards to migration, whether voluntary or forced, it has now been established that migration is as much a social process as it is a political or economic one. However, findings need to be interpreted with caution as the study design does not lend itself to any causal claims. As Jacobsen (2002) argues, livelihood activities help to create and maintain both social and economic interdependence in refugee and host communities which can in turn restore functioning social networks that are based on reciprocity and mutual exchange of resources, assets and food. Such proposals are prudent however they need to be assessed by considering the social, political, cultural and economic context of a study location. A thorough understanding of the pre-migration conditions is vital to understanding the composition of social networks. In some parts of the African continent for example, continuing ethnic conflicts have long been a key factor in the civil wars that lead subsequently to mass displacements (Jacobsen, 2002). Some people flee their homes with little or no assets or resources save for the need to seek refuge where available and start their lives over. As demonstrated already, social networks have been put forward as that vital and necessary link that refugees will need to be able to cope and survive their precarious situations particularly new arrivals in host countries. However, not all refugees have these networks and alternative forms of assistance such as humanitarian aid are generally sought.

In summary, this research report focused on refugee social networks in three cities – Peshawar, Pakistan; Gaziantep, Turkey; and Nairobi, Kenya, and explored the role of social networks in the employment, economic resilience and overall well-being of refugees in these cities. Refugees are not only affected by macro-level issues such as war, ethnic or regional conflict, globalisation or immigration policies, but micro-level issues such as ethnicity, gender, language and age, also play an important role in the creation and sustainability of migrant networks (Al-Sharmani, 2004; Berrou & Combarous, 2012; Deumert et al., 2005). High levels of mistrust and the spill-over effects of ethnic tensions which manifest in the new

host country are possible explanations for such low ethnic and co-national ties in the host country (Menjvar, 2000).

The implications of this research are discussed in relation to policies that target refugees as well as future research efforts. Policy makers as well as humanitarian organisations could benefit from these findings by prioritising local language acquisition, creating micro-credit facilities accessible to refugees to start small businesses particularly those with fragmented kinship or friendship networks. Gender plays an important role in likelihood of employment as reported in the results of this study. Creating programmes that could assist women would go a long way in easing the stresses of forced migration as women are compelled to take on new gender roles in such circumstances (Myroniuk, 2016).

It is imperative to consider the utility of social networks in the prevailing social, economic and political context of the mass movement of people (for instance, Syrian refugees fleeing the conflict in their home country and the civil unrest around the horn of Africa and central Africa). This knowledge is essential particularly for policy makers, humanitarian agencies as well as national and local governments, to enable them to develop effective refugee and migration policies.

Although not a flawless way through which the challenges facing refugees can be viewed, social networks are a good starting point as they enable researchers to frame and visualise the structure of social relations. This perspective potentially provides valuable insight into the way a particular society works and it one of the advantages of social network analysis. For most people in vulnerable situations who have recently fled conflict, survival and basic needs such as housing, feeling safe, access to basic needs such as food or heating are paramount. In situations that precarious and unpredictable, connectedness, social ties, kinship and friendship networks become important.

In summary, studying a network by itself or simply studying social ties and the resources that flow from these is insufficient. Careful consideration must be given to the general context in which social networks are embedded as there is sufficient evidence in a number of studies that highlight the benefits certain networks, such as refugee trade networks. This knowledge can be applied by policy makers to facilitate potential partnerships between successful businesses run by refugees and migrants and the business community in the host cities. Such initiatives will have implications beyond short term economic benefits or employment, but also facilitate integration efforts.

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Appendix A.

Table 10: Questionnaire

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND RESILIENCE (NON-NATIONALS – Nairobi)

Module I Pre-Survey data collection

<i>Date</i>	<i>Auto-record</i>			
<i>Start Time</i>	<i>Auto-record</i>			
<i>GPS coordinate (Lat)</i>	<i>Auto-record</i>			
<i>GPS coordinate (Long)</i>	<i>Auto-record</i>			
<i>EB ID (e.g. postal codes, neighborhoods)</i>				
<i>HH ID</i>	<i>Auto-record</i>			
<i>Enumerator Name and ID</i>	<i>Option List or Auto-record</i>			
Housing Type [Enumerator's observation]	Free Standing House	1	Hostel /Dormitory / Boarding House	5
	Semi-Detached House	2	Self-Built/Informal Housing	6
	Apartment (Single Family)	3	Servants Quarters	7
	Apartment (Multi Family)	4	Other (Specify)	8
End Time	<i>Auto-record (instruction for coder: remember to code this into the questionnaire)</i>			

[Knock on the door]

Module II Basic Demographic Information

To be read to all before beginning interview:

[If a child answers, ask to speak to an adult] Good <morning / afternoon / evening>. My name is <Insert name here> and I am working on a project that seeks to understand the experiences of non-nationals living in various parts of Nairobi. Our research project will help humanitarian agencies to better target assistance to refugees.

If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about your life and also get to hear your experiences about your life. This information will help support humanitarian agencies in designing more useful interventions benefiting refugee populations around the world. Your participation in this interview is purely voluntary and please note we are unable to compensate you for participation.

Please tell me what you honestly think and remember that you are free not to answer any questions or to stop the interview at any time. What you say will be kept confidential and will be used only for research purposes.

All together this survey should take just 20 minutes to complete. Do I have your permission to begin?

Yes	1
No	2
Yes, but at another time	3

[If no, thank the respondent politely and leave]

[If "yes, but at another time" note available times and revisit]

[What is the respondent's sex]

Male	1
Female	2

203. Are you a citizen/national of Kenya?

[If yes, thank the respondent politely and leave]

[If no, move forward]

Where have you spent most of your lifetime?

Need to add in drop down menu with list of countries and codes

COUNTRY NAME	STATE/PROVINCE	CITY/TOWN

204. How old are you?

Age (whole number)

205. I am going to read you a list. Please tell me which of the following best describes your current marital status.

Single (never married)	1
Married and living together	2
Married but temporarily living apart	3
Divorced or Permanently Separated	4
Widowed	5
DK/ RA	98

206. What tribe or clan or ethnic group do you usually say you belong to when you are speaking with people from Kenya.

Ethnic group/Tribe	Code
Somalian	1
Congolese	2
Ethiopian	3
Burundian	4
Eritrean	5
South Sudanese	6
Rwandan	7
Ugandan	8
Sudanese	9
Other [Please specify]	10

207. What is your religion?

Muslim	Sunni	1
	Shiite	2
	Other (specify)	5

Christian	Catholic/Orthodox	6
	Protestant (any denomination other than Pentecostal) (i.e., Christian non-Catholic):	7
	Pentecostal	8
	Other (specify)	9
Non Religious	12	
DK/RA	98	

“Now, let's talk about your education”

208. Have you ever attended school?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/ RA	98

[If no, move to Q211]

209. What type of school did you attend?

Religious (e.g. Madaressah or Church School)	1
Secular	2
Both	3
DK/RA	98

210. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Less than Primary or No Education	1
Finished Primary Education	2
Finished Secondary Education	3
Finished Tertiary Education (BA, BS, Diploma, etc.)	4
Post-grad degree (Masters, doctorate, post-graduate diploma)	5
DK/RA	98

211. I'm going to read you a list of options, please choose the ones that apply to you. What vocational skills or past experiences do you have?

[Check all that apply]

	Check all that apply
Mason / Carpenter	1
Machinery operations	2
Entrepreneurship	3
Medical care / nursing	5
Mechanical / auto repair	6
Other (specify)	7
No Skills	8

“Now, let's talk about language skills and dependents”

212. What is your native/first language?

Native language

213. Which languages do you speak and understand? Start with your first language and indicate levels of proficiency.

[First Language – Name]	Native	
[Language 1]	Fluent Intermediate Beginner	
[Language 2]	Fluent Intermediate Beginner	
[Language 3]	Fluent Intermediate Beginner	

214. Are there any family members/relatives or friends you provide daily care for?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

[If yes, move to Q215]

[If not, skip to Q300]

215. What is the reason for them needing daily care?

They are children	1
Old age	2
Chronic Illness	3
Disability	4
Others (specify) _____	5

Module III Pre-Moving Condition

“Now, let's talk about your journey to Kenya.

When was the last time you lived in your community of origin?

Write Month (mm)	Year (yyyy)
------------------	-------------

When did you first enter into Kenya as refugee?

Write Month (mm)	Year (yyyy)
------------------	-------------

Are you currently in debt as a result of this journey?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

Module IV - Host Country Conditions and Well-Being

“Now, let's talk about your life currently”

401. In the last six months, have you or your family ever been unable to find housing for the night?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

[If no, skip to Q403]

In the last six months, how many times have you had to move involuntarily (for example, because you could not pay for housing, or were asked to move)?

Number of times

Can you stay in your current housing as long as you like?

Yes	1
No	2

Who are you currently living with?
[Check all that apply]

	Yes	No
Spouse/partner, Children or Parents (defined as Nuclear Family) ¹	1	2
Other relatives	1	2
Friends or acquaintances	1	2
Strangers	1	2
Others (specify)	1	

How much rent does your nuclear family (living in this house) pay each month?

[The idea is to get rent information about spouse/partner, children or parents as nuclear family only and thus to differentiate it with rent being paid by other relatives such as cousins]

Rent (Ksh)
DK/RA 98

Have there been any periods of time this year you have been unable to pay your rent on time ?

Number of times

“Now, let's talk about security and amenities”

In general, how physically secure or safe do you feel in your home?

Safe	1
Somewhat Safe	2
Somewhat Unsafe	3

¹ In this survey, nuclear family is defined to include the following: spouse, children, and parents. Thus blood relatives like brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts etc. are NOT included.

Unsafe	4
--------	---

I am going to read you a list. Which of these do you have regular access to in your accommodation or compound?

	Yes	No
Gas/electrical burner for cooking	1	2
Electricity connection	1	2
Piped water connection	1	2
Heating	1	2
Indoor toilet or attached ventilated improved pit latrine	1	2
DK/RA	98	

Do you currently earn money, goods or services?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

[If no, skip to Q414]

Do you earn this through working for yourself, or for someone else?

I work for myself	1
I work for someone else	2
DK/RA	98

What do you do to earn money, goods or services in an average week? If you earn in more than one way, please list the top three ways.

[If they list multiple occupations, take note of all.]

[Job 1]
[Job 2]
[Job 3]

How safe do you feel at your workplace?

Safe	1
Somewhat Safe	2
Somewhat Unsafe	3
Unsafe	4

In an average week, how much value in cash terms do you generate altogether from your work?

Amount (Ksh)

For how many weeks could you cover living expenses from savings without earning an income?

Less than 1 week	1
1 to 2 weeks	2
2 to 4 weeks	3
More than 4 weeks	4
DK/RA	98

Do you receive regular monthly remittances from friends, family, or other acquaintances outside of Nairobi?

Yes – within Kenya	1
Yes – from Europe/America	2
Yes – from country of origin	3
Yes – from other location not listed	4
No	5
DK/RA	98

“Now, let's talk about personal needs”

Are there days when you have to sleep hungry?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

In the last year, did you have adequate clothing for the weather each season?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

Which of the following do you have access to:

	Yes	No
Smart phone	1	2
Computer/laptop/tablet	1	2
TV	1	2
Radio	1	2

Which of the following does your family currently own:

	Yes	No
Car/motorcycle	1	2
Livestock	1	2
Useable Land	1	2

In the last six months, has there been a situation when someone in your family had to see a healthcare professional but could not do so?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

[If no, skip to Q422]

If yes, what was the primary reason for not seeing a healthcare professional?

	Yes	No
Could not afford it	1	2
Access was denied	1	2
Lack of information	1	2
Other (specify)		

What is your primary mode of transportation within the city for work/commuting?

Public transportation – bus, matatu/rail/bodaboda	1
Private car	2
Private motorbike	3
Shared taxicab or carpool	4
Walking	5
Bicycle	6
DK/RA	98

Module VI - Social Networks

“Now, let's talk about your social relationships”

400. Who did you stay with during your first week in Nairobi?

[Prompt if necessary. Circle one answer only.]

Friends/acquaintances from <i>host country</i>	1
Friends/acquaintances from <i>country of origin</i>	2
People I didn't know from <i>country of origin</i>	3
People I didn't know from <i>host country</i>	4
Family/kin already in host country	5
I stayed at a shelter/camp (free of cost)	6
I stayed at a hotel or paid guest house / lodge (paid)	7
Other (specify)	8

How many family members did you have in Kenya at the time of arrival?

Number of family members

How many friends or acquaintances did you have in Kenya at the time of arrival?

Number of friends/ acquaintances

[If answers to Q500 and Q501 are both 0, skip to Q505]

Before arriving in Kenya did you have contact with these individuals?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

[If yes, move to Q503]

[If no, move to Q504]

What was the nature of your contact or interaction with them?

Information exchange	1
Financial exchange	2
Other (specify)	3
DK/RA	98

Since you arrived in Nairobi in what ways did your family, friends, and acquaintances (not including organizations) assist you at the time of arrival?

	Yes	No
Gave me information about the city	1	2
Helped me financially	1	2
Helped me find a house/residence	1	2
Provided emotional support	1	2
Helped me find a job	1	2
Other (specify)		
They did not help me		

I am going to read you a list. I would like you to tell me if any humanitarian organizations or host country governments provided assistance to you in one of the below areas?

[If answer is yes, please inquire if the assistance was from a humanitarian organization or directly from the local government humanitarian organization, or both.]

	Yes	No
Shelter/food/clothing assistance	1	2
Cash assistance	1	2
Legal counseling	1	2
Educational /Vocational Training	1	2
Health services	1	2
Cultural Integration/ Language Classes	1	2

In the last 3 months, have you attended meetings of any or participated in the activities of any of the following groups?

	Yes	No
Religious organizations	1	2
Credit associations	1	2
Business/professional associations	1	2
Recreational/Cultural/Social associations	1	2
Advocacy/Refugee Associations	1	1
Other (specify)		

[If the answer to Question "506" is "No" for all, skip to Question 510]

Did anyone in these groups help you in the following ways?

[Check all that apply for support types and please inquire about which organization/or member of which organization helped the respondent.]

	Finding a Job	Finding a House	Other Material Assistance	Emotional /Spiritual Support
Religious				

organizations				
Credit associations				
Business/ professional associations				
Recreational/Cultural /Social associations				
Neighborhood association				
Advocacy/Refugee- Associations				
Other (specify)				

Thinking about the members of the groups you belong to or participate in, are most of them:

	Yes	No	DK/RA
The same religion?			
The same sex?			
The same Ethnicity/Tribe/Linguistic group			
In the same neighborhood?			
The same nationality?			
Composed of members with the same occupation?			

Which of the following helped you find the first place you stayed in?

People I knew before coming to the host country	1
People I met after coming to the host country	2
Humanitarian Agency or Local Government	3
Nobody	6
DK/RA	98

[Beginning of Roster]

If you do not mind me asking, who would be the first two people you would go to if you needed help finding a new house? It is enough if you only tell me the first name or initial of these people?

First Name of person 1

First Name of person 2

What about if you needed help finding a new job, who would be the first two people you would go to?

First Name of person 1

First Name of person 2

[ROSTER: Ask the following questions for each unique alter named in Question 510- 511]

How did you meet _____?

Relative	1
Friend/acquaintance I knew before coming to the host country	2
Friend/acquaintance I met after coming to the host country in an organization I am a member of	3
Friend/acquaintance I met at work	6
Friend/acquaintance I met at a refugee camp	7
Government Worker	8
Humanitarian worker/volunteer	9
UNHCR worker	10
Other	11
DK/RA	98

[If the answer to Question 512 is not “Friend/acquaintance I met after coming to the host country in an organization I am a member of,” skip to Q514.]

Which organization, did you meet _____ at?

Religious organization	1
Cooperative credit association	2
Business/professional association	3
Recreational/Cultural/Social association	4
Advocacy/Refugee Association	5
Other	6
RA	98

What is _____’s nationality?

Home Country	1
Host Country	2
Other	3
DK/RA	98

What is _____’s sex?

Male	1
Female	2
DK/RA	98

What is _____’s ethnicity?

[Insert answer based on country here]	1
[Insert answer based on country here]	2
[Insert answer based on country here]	3
DK/RA	98

What is _____’s religion?

Muslim	Sunni	1
	Shiite	2
	Alevi	3

	Alewite	4
	Other	5
Christian	Catholic/Orthodox	6
	Protestant (any denomination other than Pentecostal) (i.e., Christian non-Catholic):	7
	Pentecostal	8
	Other (specify)	9
Hindu	10	
No Religion	11	
Non Religious	12	
DK/RA	98	

Other religion

How often do you talk (including over the phone) or meet with _____?

Daily	1
Every other day	2
Weekly	3
Monthly or less often	4
RA	98

How helpful do you think you are to _____?

Not helpful	1
Somewhat helpful	2
Very helpful	3
DK/RA	98

What is _____'s primary occupation?

Legislators or senior officer or manager	1
Professional	2
Technician and associate professional	3
Clerk	4
Service or Sale Worker	5
Skilled agri. or fishery worker	6
Craft and related trade worker	7
Plant or machine operator and assembler	8
Elementary Occupation (unskilled labor)	9
Other (specify)	10
DK/RA	

[After repeating questions 512-520 for up to 3 more alters, the software (if applicable) will automatically populate one-to-one alter name combinations for each unique alter name provided in questions 510-511]

Please think about the relationship between the people you just mentioned. Some of them may be total strangers in the sense that they wouldn't recognize each other if they bumped into each other on the street. Others may be especially close, as close or closer to each other as they are to you. What is the relationship between _____ and _____?

They are Strangers	1
They are not strangers but they are not close either	2
They are close to one another	3
DK/RA	98

[End of Roster]

In general, do you feel constrained or disadvantages by the people who have helped you?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

How do you acquire information about?

	Radio	Web Surfing	Social Media	TV	Newspapers
Job search					
Staying up to-date with news					
DK/RA					

Which online communication platforms do you use?

	Yes	No
Facebook/Messenger	1	2
Skype	1	2
WhatsApp	1	2
Viber	1	2
Others	1	2
DK/RA	98	

Module VI Future Expectations

“We are almost done. Before we finish, I would like to ask you a few more questions about what you think your life will be like in the next few years.”

Do you have any plans to move out of your current residence in the near future, say within the next 6 months?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	3

[If no, skip to Q603]

Where do you think you will go?

Another city within Kenya specify	1
Back to home country	2
Europe	3
Non-European foreign country	5
Other (specify)	6
DK/RA	7

What Will be the primary reasons for your potential move?

	Yes	No
Access to work	1	2
Quality of life	1	2
Cultural reasons (language, to be close to other countrymen)	1	2
Discrimination/Xenophobia or fear of crime	1	2

Legal/Immigration Difficulties (need to escape officials' attention)	1	2
Other (specify)	1	2
DK/RA	98	

What type of intervention will be most helpful to you in improving your life? [Choose 1]

[Instruction for tablet coder (when applicable): please randomize options]

Work permit	1
Cash assistance	2
Skills or language training	3
Better healthcare services	4
Care/help for children	5
Other (specify)	6
DK/RA	98

How hopeful are you for the future?

Very hopeful	1
Somewhat hopeful	2
Neutral	3
Not very hopeful	4
Downright pessimistic	5
DK/RA	98

Lastly, would you be willing to speak with us again within the next six months?

Yes (see note at end of page)	1
No	2

[If yes to Q605 ask the following question and record survey number and contact details in separate piece of paper. If no, read final line.]

Module VII Closing

What is your first name, or, do you have an alias we could identify you by?

Are you a registered with UNHCR or local government as refugee?

Yes	1
No	2
DK/RA	98

“How should we get in touch with you and when is the best time to reach you?”

“Thank you for your time and your cooperation. If you have any further questions about this surveyor its results, you should feel free to ask me now.”