

URBAN PROFILING OF REFUGEE SITUATIONS IN DELHI

SEPTEMBER 2013

REFUGEES FROM MYANMAR,
AFGHANISTAN AND SOMALIA AND
THEIR INDIAN NEIGHBOURS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY.



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The full report and the profiling tools, including a tool for further analysis, can also be found at: <http://www.jips.org/en/field-support/country-operations/india/india/delhi-urban-profiling>



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are particularly grateful to the following for their excellent work and contribution to the profiling process

This report is a collaborative effort between the Joint IDP Profiling Service, the Feinstein International Centre (Tufts University) and UNHCR. The study was fully funded by the US Department of State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.

The profiling exercise was conducted in close collaboration with our implementing partner in Delhi the Development and Justice initiative (DAJI).

We are particularly grateful to the following for their excellent work and contribution to the profiling process: UNHCR in Delhi and their implementing partners Bosco and SLIC; Ravi Hemadri, Ipshita Sengupta, Madhuri Sastry and Subodh Singh; the team of survey enumerators and focus groups facilitators; and all the survey respondents who generously contributed their thoughts and time.

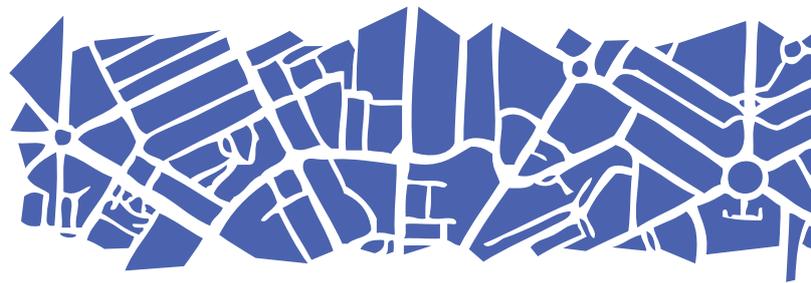
CartONG provided valuable support throughout the exercise on the mobile data collection process.

The profiling process, including methodology design, training, data collection, analysis and report drafting was led by a team consisting of: Karen Jacobsen, Margharita Lundkvist-Houndoumadi, Eric Levron and Ivan Cardona.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

UNHCR currently assists over 24,000 urban refugees and asylum-seekers in New Delhi originating from non-neighbouring countries and Myanmar.

This work has enabled UNHCR to build up a strong understanding of the challenges facing these groups.

This profiling exercise of Afghan, Somali and Myanmar refugee households alongside their local Indian neighbours was designed to supplement existing knowledge with a new base of empirical evidence.

This will contribute to effective programming and advocacy, in particular in relation to UNHCR's work on promoting self-reliance.

Conducted between January and June 2013, the profiling study examined the key components of refugee livelihoods, namely employment, housing, and financial security, as well as physical safety.

The study was based on mixed research methods, namely a survey of over one thousand households as well as a series of focus group discussions and key informant interviews. The analysis of the collected data has allowed us to build a valuable picture of the livelihood security of Afghan, Somali and Myanmar refugees vis-à-vis their local Indian neighbours.

Within the report we use our findings to examine the contributing and impeding factors to refugee groups securing a livelihood, looking at their legal status, social capital, human

capital, and length of stay in Delhi. A particular focus was given to access to education.

The study has been carried out through collaboration between UNHCR, the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) and the Feinstein International Centre (Tufts University), alongside our partner in Delhi, the Development and Justice Initiative (DAJI).

In June 2013 our preliminary findings were presented at a workshop in Delhi, where recommendations were developed in close collaboration with UNHCR and their implementing partners, Bosco and SLIC.

KEY FINDINGS AND RESULTING RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL SECURITY:

Myanmar refugees had a higher proportion of income earners in their households. However, they worked in a limited number of professions and often faced discrimination at the work place and unstable work conditions. Therefore, we recommend that BOSCO should engage in employer sensitisation, with the aim of improving work conditions and security for refugees, and act as a mediator between employees and employers to prevent misunderstandings arising.

Afghan household heads had high unemployment levels, but reported better working conditions and access to a greater variety of jobs. At the same time they had increased access to savings and remittances. Afghans reported the lack of valid work visas and non-recognition of their skills as important obstacles to accessing jobs. UNHCR and partners should aim to increase awareness of the significance of the UNHCR issued refugee card and foreign issued degrees and diplomas.

Somali household heads had high levels of unemployment and a significant proportion of work related to NGOs, suggesting restricted access to the job market. UNHCR provided allowances were an important source of non-earned income. Engagement with local communities by SLIC could improve the possibility of other forms of employment, and BOSCO could encourage Somali refugees to start small businesses as an alternative to agency-related work

Finally, other cross-community initiatives such as engagement with Indian industry and commerce associations, and exploring the possibility of small grants to set up businesses are recommended.

2. HOUSING SECURITY:

Myanmarese, Somali and Afghan refugees all reported varying degrees of housing insecurity due to restricted access to accommodation, discrimination by landlords, and evictions. Primarily it was Myanmarese and Somali households who had experienced evictions and had less housing space.

3. PHYSICAL SAFETY, HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION:

Refugees from Myanmar and Somalia reported facing the most discrimination and harassment – in the neighbourhood, by landlords, at work, in school, and by local authorities – and had the worst relations to the local communities. We found that they were counterbalancing this by strong intra-community support networks. Afghan refugee households experienced less discrimination and far fewer perceived their neighbourhood as unsafe. At the same time, they reported having less intra-community networks.

We recommend that UNHCR and its partners continue to bring together refugees and local Indian communities during cultural events to improve communication. On-going support of the formation of refugee community groups will support

4. EDUCATION:

Adequate access to all levels of education, including higher education, was a concern for all the refugee groups included in the profiling. Myanmarese children were, however, in greater numbers than Somali and Afghan children, not attending any type of school. Harassment and discrimination was identified as a problem in government schools primarily by Myanmarese and Somali children. We recommend that UNHCR and BOSCO should continue to identify government schools in areas where refugees live, to advocate for admission of refugee students, and to strengthen engagement with local government schools and local communities to raise awareness about refugees.

Distance learning opportunities should be combined with income generation activities for children unable to regularly study as a result of work commitments, a challenge reported primarily by the Myanmarese refugees. Furthermore, UNHCR advocacy with higher educational institutions could facilitate

As a result of these findings we believe that BOSCO and SLIC should conduct sensitisation sessions with landlords, neighbours and neighbourhood associations in areas where refugees live to minimise and prevent conflicts. Particular focus should be given to areas with high concentrations of Somali and Myanmarese refugees.

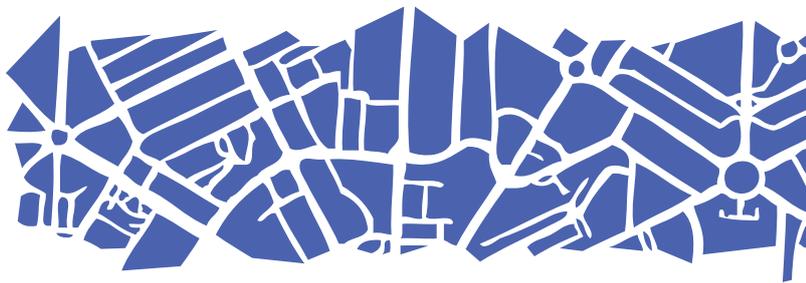
the strengthening of intra-community networks, as will the identification of key community members from the Indian community, who can facilitate relationship building with refugees.

Finally, initiatives by UNHCR and its partners to bring together Indian women with women from refugee groups, and the establishment of joint youth workshops with Indians and refugees will further help to bridge gaps and increase communication.

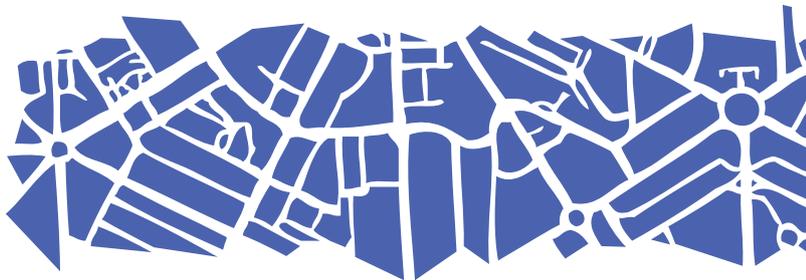
the admission of refugees at equal fees to Indian nationals, a topic which was brought up across all refugee communities.

Some refugees possess higher education but no job as their certificates are not recognised. Their knowledge could be used by engaging them in the classes provided by BOSCO, in order to expand the subjects offered and support knowledge transfer and network building between refugee communities.

Additional measures should include UNHCR and BOSCO offering vocational training and job placement based on the skills in high demand, such as car repair, IT repair and mobile repair, and continue to promote language courses in Hindi among refugee children, youth and adults.



I. INTRODUCTION





I. INTRODUCTION

In India, as of July 2013, UNHCR assists over 24,000 urban refugees and asylum-seekers from non-neighbouring countries and Myanmar¹.

In India, as of July 2013, UNHCR assists over 24,000 urban refugees and asylum-seekers from non-neighbouring countries and Myanmar. Most of these refugees live in the National Capital Territory of Delhi, and comprise 0.001 percent of Delhi's total population of about 23 million.

In 2012 we decided to conduct a profiling exercise in Delhi to analyse different aspects of these refugees' living situations, with the aim of drawing comparisons between the experiences of different refugee groups and those of Indian nationals living in the same neighbourhoods.

This profiling exercise set out to identify specific areas that could be targeted for programming and advocacy. The objective to inform UNHCR programming meant the profiling exercise focused only on those refugee groups that were of concern to UNHCR. The profiling exercise in Delhi was also intended to develop a more systematic approach to urban profiling for the benefit of the wider humanitarian and development communities.

The profiling exercise took place between January and June 2013 and was a collaborative project between UNHCR, the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) and the Feinstein International Centre (Tufts University). The data collection was conducted together with our implementing partner the Development and Justice initiative (DAJI). The project was funded by the US State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.

An important aspect of JIPS' profiling philosophy is to work through a collaborative process both with respect to the development of study objectives and the dissemination of the findings. Such a collaborative process meant engaging with all stakeholders at an early stage, in order to agree on objectives, target groups, dissemination strategy and final recommendations.

Through this collaborative process, we decided to focus on refugees from Myanmar, Afghanistan and Somalia. Among the Afghans, we decided to exclude Hindu-Sikh Afghans, most of who had come to Delhi more than twenty years earlier and were much better integrated into Delhi than non-Hindu Sikh Afghans.

Our primary aim was to explore the livelihoods of the different refugee groups, in order to inform UNHCR's work on promoting self-reliance. We therefore agreed to collect the following information from the targeted refugee groups, as well as from a subsample of their Indian neighbours:

- Demographic and household characteristics, such as age, sex, ethnicity and household composition.
- Migration patterns.
- Livelihood information related to employment security, financial security, housing security and physical safety.
- Human and social capital, such as education and skills, health, local networks and relations with other communities, particularly the Indian host population.
- In addition, we were interested in the access of refugee children and youth to education and schooling facilities in Delhi.

¹ Statistical Snapshot provided by UNHCR Delhi:
<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e4876d6.html>



I. INTRODUCTION

This information was gathered using mixed research methods (see chapter III on Methodology). The analysis of the collected information, which is presented in this report, focuses on answering the following questions:

- How do livelihood situations differ between the refugee populations and the Indian neighbours?
- What factors contribute to or impede the livelihood security of the different refugee populations? To answer this question we explored the role of the human and social capital in each community.
- What is the relationship between Indians and the refugees?
- What programming and advocacy recommendations can be derived from our findings?

The report is organized as follows:

After a presentation of the methodology, a background chapter sets out the refugee context in Delhi in terms of the legal framework of refugee rights in India and UNHCR's main programming priorities in Delhi.

The report is then organised around four thematic chapters:

Chapter IV outlines the demographic and household characteristics of the surveyed populations.

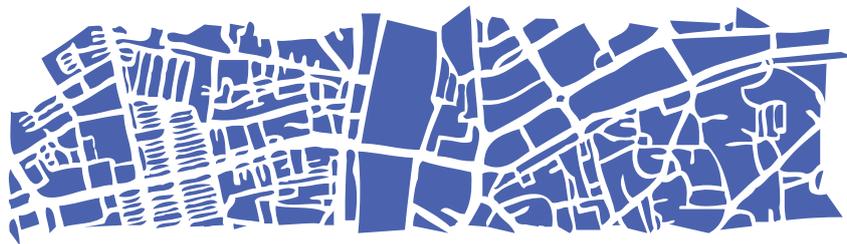
Chapter V compares livelihood situations across the targeted groups.

Chapter VI analyses the factors contributing to or impeding livelihood security.

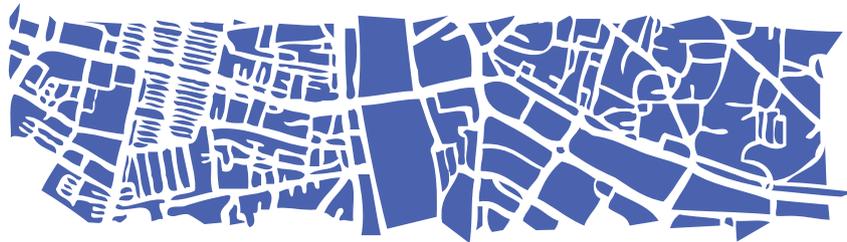
Chapter VII explores the education of refugee children and youth.

Chapter VIII summarises the main findings and provides recommendations.

Annex 1 includes all the data used throughout the report.



II. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT



REFUGEES IN INDIA

II. BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT REFUGEES IN INDIA

India registers and provides direct assistance to around 200,000 Tibetan and Sri Lankan refugees from neighbouring countries.

In the absence of a national legal framework for asylum, UNHCR registers, issues documentation to, determines the refugee status of, and assists over 24,000 urban refugees and asylum-seekers from non-neighbouring countries and Myanmar.

UNHCR's operation in India is based in New Delhi and has an office in Chennai supporting the voluntary repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees.

UNHCR assists refugees and asylum-seekers from Afghanistan, Myanmar and Somalia in addition to smaller percentages of people from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Sudan, Iran and other countries. As of January 2013, the main refugee populations registered by UNHCR, are as listed in below Table.

The refugee population that UNHCR assists has changed over the past years from a majority of Afghans to include a high proportion of Myanmarese refugees.

POPULATION	ASYLUM-SEEKERS	REFUGEES	TOTAL
Afghan	958	10,046	11,004
Myanmar	2,627	9,507	12,134
Somalia	19	715	734
Other	199	514	713
Total	3,803	20,782	24,585

Source: UNHCR New Delhi

INDIA'S LEGAL FRAMEWORK

India is not a signatory to the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol; neither does the country have a national legal framework for asylum.

Instead India has developed ad hoc policies to provide sanctuary to Tibetans and Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. As far as refugee status determination of asylum seekers from elsewhere is concerned, India is generally respectful of the decisions of UNHCR.

At the same time India is a signatory to a majority of the international instruments that have a direct bearing on refugee rights and protection. These include The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966, The Convention on Rights of the Child, 1989, The Convention to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1980, The Convention against Torture, and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984.

Adherence to international obligations enshrined in these standard-setting instruments has been accorded the necessary legal significance by the Indian judiciary. The courts have actively used international legal principles to protect human rights in India when there is no domestic legislation to do so. In fact, the Constitution of India has placed an obligation on the Government to observe international law². Several of the treaties mentioned above have been relied on by the Courts to bridge the gap between international and domestic law.

India allows refugees and asylum seekers access to healthcare, education and justice. The Right to Education Act 2012, for example, guarantees all children between the ages of 6-14 living on the territory of India, the right to free and compulsory primary education.

One important concern, from a humanitarian perspective, is that in the absence of a national framework for asylum, refugees come under the purview of the Foreigners Act (1946), the main legislation that deals with the entry, stay and exit of foreigners in India. This act does not recognise refugees as a special category of aliens with a special status and governed by special circumstances. Therefore the Act treats refugees in the same way as other migrants and aliens. A potentially

important development is that the Government of India recently decided that refugees registered with UNHCR may apply for long term visas and work permits. The modalities of this process are currently being developed³ and some refugees have already benefitted from this. This could result in improved access to the formal job market, especially for highly skilled refugees, and improved access to higher education for younger refugees.

The UNHCR had already built a strong understanding of the situation of refugees in Delhi prior to this profiling study by conducting meetings with refugee communities and their representatives, and through protection outreach facilities, and regular participatory assessments. Through this work, for example, it was known, that racial discrimination, especially against the Somali and Myanmarese communities, obstructs access to national health and education services to varying degrees⁴.

While India provides free access to education for all children regardless of nationality, issues like financial constraints, racial discrimination and security concerns lead to low enrolment and high dropout rates from government schools⁵. Our chapter on children's access to schools explores these issues further.

³ UNHCR India Fact sheet 2013: <http://www.unhcr.org/50001ec69.pdf>

⁴ Ibid

⁵ See also: Pittaway E. and Maloney M., *Protectors, Providers, Survivors: A Dialogue with Refugee Women and Girls*, New Delhi, India, November 2010.

² Article 51(c) provides that the state shall endeavour to "foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another."



UNHCR'S ASSISTANCE AND LIVELIHOOD PROGRAMMES

The Government of India has recently allowed UNHCR registered refugees to apply for long term visas and work permits, which will allow them to seek employment in the formal sector.

Before this refugees had access to employment in the informal economy without work permits.

In the present context, UNHCR seeks to promote refugees' self-reliance through skills' training and practice (e.g. in tailoring, knitting, block printing, jewellery making). Employment support is also provided in cooperation with UNHCR's partner, BOSCO, and through local institutions and civil society, including job placement support and limited work opportunities at production centres and home based production.

UNHCR also provides grants to small businesses of 20,000 Rupees (315 USD) each, and job placement incentive schemes. The latter initiative aims to help refugees secure employment on their own, and to earn a salary of up to 6,000 Rupees (95 USD) per month. Refugees in the scheme are also paid a monthly incentive of 1,000 Rupees (16 USD) for a period of nine months to encourage them to continue working.

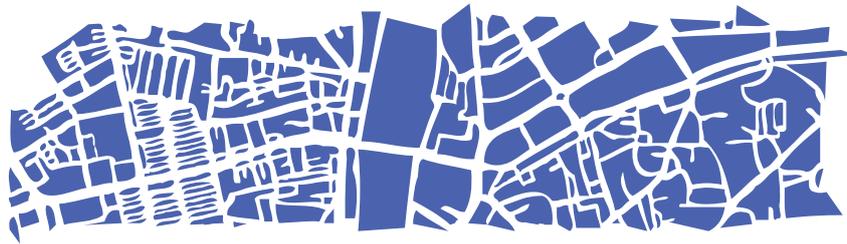
UNHCR also addresses the requirements of refugees with specific needs by collaborating with community service providers, community-based organisations and local NGOs. These schemes are focused on time bound employment/child-care, and income generation opportunities for refugees with mental/physical disabilities or protection needs.

Protection is provided through outreach centres in areas where urban refugees

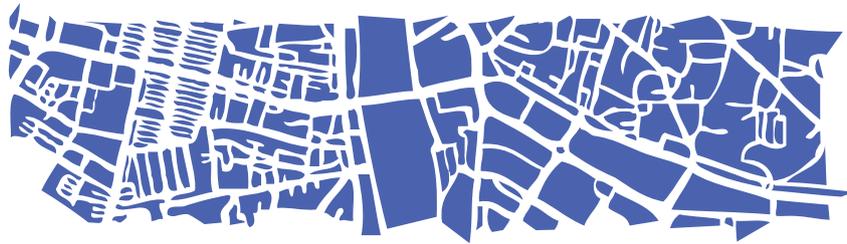
live. For this work the UNHCR's key implementing partners in Delhi are BOSCO, which provides support on job placement, education, health, psycho-social support and youth groups; and the Socio-Legal Information Centre (SLIC), which provides legal aid and counselling.

In 2012, a subsistence allowance was provided to refugees who were unable to work and had no other form of income or support. The monthly amount was 3,100 Rupees (49 USD) to the principal applicant and 950 Rupees (15 USD) per dependant (up to 7 persons)⁶. Refugees who receive subsistence allowance include the elderly, sick, persons with disabilities and unaccompanied minors. In 2012, approximately 1,700 vulnerable refugees received financial assistance.

⁶ As a comparison, the minimum wage in Delhi for unskilled work is approximately 4,000 Rupees (63 USD) per month (20 working days); see: http://labour.nic.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/Divisions/wage_cell/Delhi.pdf



III. METHODOLOGY



III. METHODOLOGY

OVERVIEW

Our methodology utilised both a household survey and focus group discussions, and had to be adapted to the particular context and challenges of the refugee populations in Delhi, the fourth largest city by population in the world.

The survey took place between March and April 2013, with a total of 1,063 households interviewed across the four target groups. The focus group discussions followed in April and May 2013⁷.

The profiling process entailed three main phases: preparation and planning, data collection, and finally data analysis and reporting. The preparatory phase included a scoping mission to Delhi to develop the profiling objectives and methodology. During the data collection phase, we trained staff, piloted and revised the survey tools prior to the data collection. The data analysis and reporting phase entailed tabulation and data processing in SPSS, systematisation of the qualitative data, and then merging the two types of data to produce a draft of the findings.

Once the draft was ready, a workshop was held in Delhi (June 2013) to review and discuss our findings and develop recommendations to inform the final report. JIPS

structured this workshop but could not attend. Instead, in keeping with our collaborative approach, the workshop was run by our local partners and UNHCR. Representatives from the following groups and organisations attended amongst others the workshop:

- UNHCR
- Implementing partner of the profiling exercise (DAJI)
- UNHCR's implementing partners (Bosco and SLIC)
- Members of the three refugee communities (Myanmar, Afghan, Somali), who had participated in the profiling exercise as enumerators and focus groups discussion facilitators
- Centre for Refugee Research from the New South Wales University
- Catholic Relief Services (CRS)
- BPRM/USAID

After the workshop, the discussion, comments and recommendations were compiled and incorporated into this final report.



The profiling process

⁷ For a detailed methodology description, see: <http://www.jips.org/en/field-support/countries/india/india/delhi-urban-profiling>

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Target populations

The profiling exercise aimed at collecting information about the three main refugee populations under the mandate of UNHCR in Delhi, namely refugees from Myanmar, Afghanistan and Somalia. Since refugees live in the same neighbourhoods and share similar conditions with the Indian urban poor, we included Indians in our survey. Accordingly, we collected information from both refugees and non-refugees in those neighbourhoods of Delhi where the concentration of refugees is high.

We selected survey respondents based on their country of origin, and only during the interview itself did we ask about their documentation, which allowed us to discover their refugee status.

Sampling strategy

We based our overall target survey sample of 1200 households on project resources and data analysis needs. We divided this roughly according to the proportions of Myanmar, Afghans and Somalis in UNHCR's data base, and included about a third Indians. We interviewed 1,115 households, but after elimination⁸ our final sample for data analysis comprised 1,063 households.

These households were then distributed across the four refugee subsamples and one Indian subsample as follows:

- All our respondents from Myanmar and Somalia had refugee status.
- Our respondents from Afghanistan included registered refugees, asylum seekers and some respondents who were not of concern to UNHCR, e.g. traders, students, tourists, patients seeking health care and not registered with UNHCR, or persons whose asylum claims had been finally rejected by UNHCR. For our purposes, we included only the registered Afghans and the asylum seekers in our analysis.

- Registered refugees (n=112) and asylum seekers (n=64) from Afghanistan: 15.8% (n=176)
- Refugees from Myanmar: 39% (n=435)
- Refugees from Somalia: 5.7% (n=64)
- Indians: 34.8% (=388)

Defining the most appropriate sampling approach for the household survey posed some challenges. Firstly, the settlement patterns of the three target groups were highly heterogeneous. Myanmar refugees were clustered

Household survey

Our survey began by identifying the main areas of Delhi where the refugee populations were living. We did this by working with key informants from UNHCR and its partner Bosco, our implementing partner DAJI and from the refugee communities. In addition, we used the data from UNHCR's registration database (known as proGRES). We then stratified the identified areas (wards) according to high, medium and low densities of refugee populations. Fourteen high-density areas were selected for the survey: Burari, Tilak Nagar, Viaspuri East, Janakpuri West, Sitapuri, Hastal, Bindapur, Nizamuddin, Lajpat Nagar, Bhogal, HauzKhaz, Madangir, East of Kailash and Laxmi Nagar.

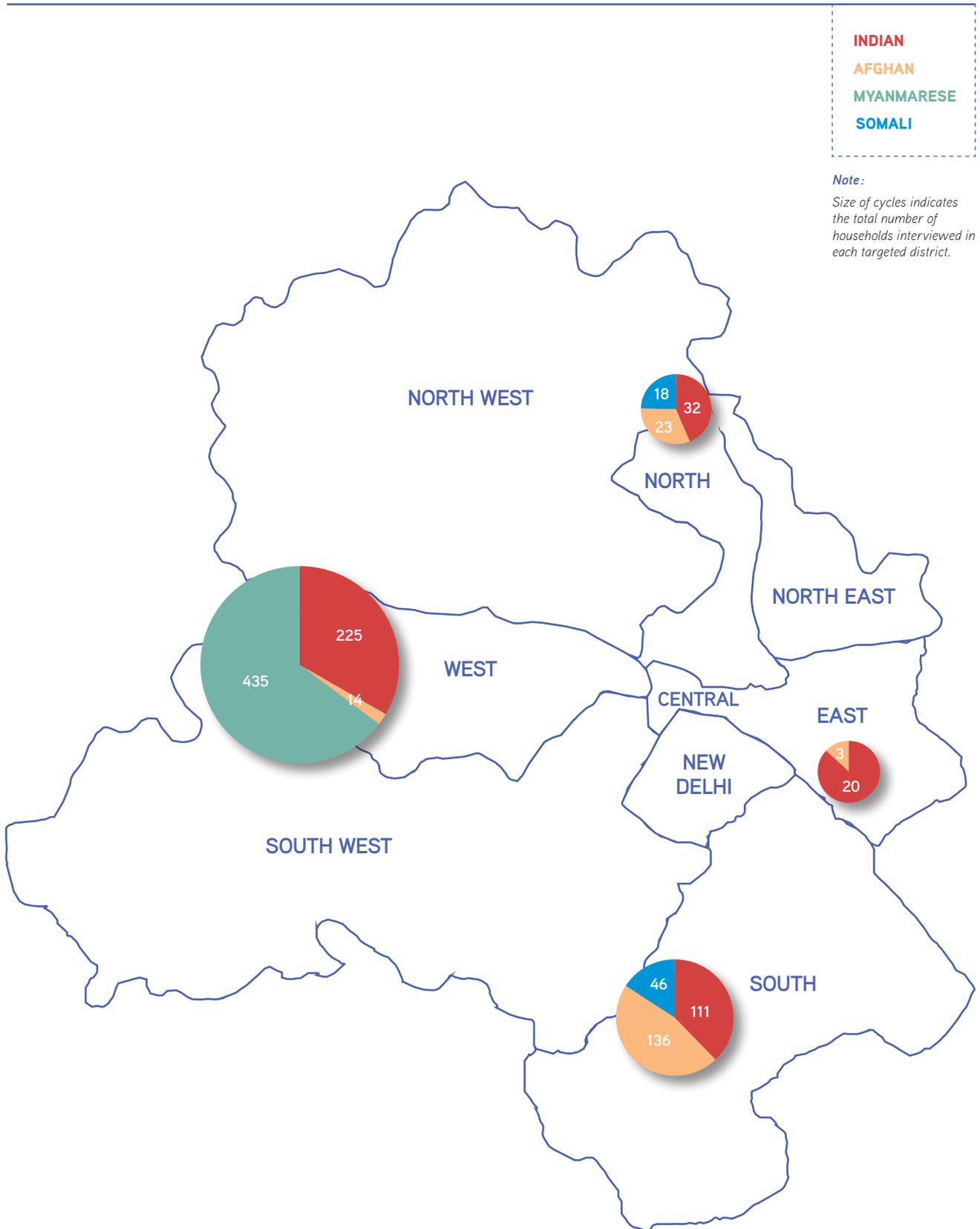
primarily in specific neighbourhoods of West Delhi, while Somalis were highly clustered in South Delhi and in Wazirabad, North Delhi. Afghans were more dispersed in South Delhi and in Wazirabad, North Delhi. Secondly, the size of the refugee populations varied a lot (from about 200 Somalis to more than 9,000 Myanmar).

A simple random sampling in each ward would therefore not yield enough refugee respondents. Moreover, a single sampling strategy was not appropriate for all the groups, so three different sampling approaches were devised, each one tailored to the three surveyed populations.

⁸ We had to eliminate 12 households from the original sample of 1,115, who were from other countries, as well as 41 Afghan households, who were not registered refugees.



Map Distribution of interviewed households in each district of Delhi





The sampling approach for Myanmar refugees entailed two steps. Firstly, we used UNHCR's registration database (proGRES) and a population proportional to size (PPS) strategy to randomly select 20 enumeration areas out of the 30 mapped Sample Sites⁹. PPS is useful when sampling units vary in size because it assures that households in denser enumeration areas have the same probability of getting into the sample as those in smaller sites, and vice versa. Secondly, we randomly selected 20 households in each of the 20 Sample Sites, for a total sample of 400. This selection occurred by randomly selecting 6-7 apartment buildings in each enumeration area, then going to these locations and randomly selecting the nearest 3-4 dwellings with refugees from Myanmar plus 2-3 Indian/non-refugee dwellings for interviews. Our final sample of Myanmar refugees totalled 434 households.

The sampling approach for Somali refugees entailed enumeration. In view of the very limited number of Somali refugees living in Delhi (around 200 individuals in total) we targeted all of them. We identified their addresses

using UNHCR's registration database, beneficiaries' lists of implementing partners and field visits with key informants. We ended up with a total of 64 Somali households.

The sampling strategy for the Afghan communities had to address the very low densities in Delhi's wards. We randomly identified addresses from UNHCR's registration database (using a random number generator). During the field visits, if no Afghan nationals were living in the selected apartment building, the enumerators selected up to two replacements from neighbouring blocks or buildings.

Once an Afghan household was identified, enumerators used a 'snowball' technique (often used in hidden populations which are difficult to access) by asking the identified Afghan respondent to point us to other Afghans in the neighbourhood. In order to limit bias we only selected up to four households through snowballing to complete the desired sample. Indian households were then randomly interviewed in the same neighbourhood. After that, enumerators moved to the next

randomly identified address and proceeded again with the interview and snowballing. We ended up with a total of 217 Afghan households (of which 176 households were registered as refugees with UNHCR.

Indian households were randomly interviewed in the same neighbourhoods as our targeted refugees. Specifically, Indian households were selected either from within the buildings where refugee households were interviewed, or from neighbouring buildings¹⁰.

Mobile devices were used for the data collection, allowing a faster data processing and higher data quality¹¹.

⁹ The Sample Site refers to the block, which was chosen as the statistical unit for this survey and identified through landmarks.

¹⁰ The questionnaire used can be found at: <http://www.jips.org/en/field-support/country-operations/india/india/>

¹¹ The software Open Data Kit was used to code the questionnaire on the smart phones and store the collected data



Focus Group Discussions and key informant interviews

After concluding the survey, 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with men and women and with young girls and boys from each refugee community¹². The FGD participants were selected randomly from the surveyed households. We asked all survey respondents if they would be willing to participate in focus groups discussions and if they agreed, we noted their contact number. For the FGDs held with young refugees the participants were identified through the youth clubs of UNHCR's implementing partner, Bosco.

The youth focus groups used a story board technique¹³, in which the participants were asked to make a series of drawings as part of a situational analysis approach. Some of the drawings from these sessions are included in this report.

In addition, in order to focus the objectives of the study and to refine the questionnaires we conducted key informant semi-structured interviews with thematic experts from UNHCR and their implementing partners. During the qualitative data collection we interviewed individuals from the refugee communities to provide additional in depth information.

Limitations

In addition to the sampling challenges mentioned above, following limitations are relevant to mention:

While the analysis in this report provides a comparison of four target groups these groups have been sampled according to different strategies. This is often the case in urban settings, as target populations are usually diverse in terms of settlement patterns and numbers. Moreover the Indian sub sample was included for comparative purposes, meaning it was not composed with the aim of representing the Indian population in Delhi.

Additionally, the sampling approach was not designed to estimate the total number of the three targeted refugee communities across Delhi, and the results cannot be used to validate the total number of refugees in UNHCR's refugee registration database.

The focus group discussions and to some extent the survey responses may have been constrained or biased because the FGD facilitators and the survey enumerators were to varying degrees linked with UNHCR. This made it likely that some participants sought to use the discussion in a strategic way to communicate messages to UNHCR. Facilitators sought to reduce this by stressing their independence and that they were not in any way involved in UNHCR programming.

Furthermore, as is the case with household surveys, we had to rely on self-reporting, and could not verify answers.

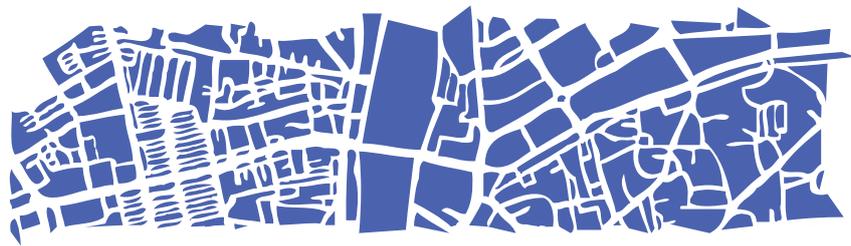
Feedback to communities

An important aspect of how we communicate the findings from the report is through feedback to the refugee populations we have profiled. This is important for ethical reasons - informing the refugees about the findings contributes to building trust and two way communication with the humanitarian community - and also enables the validation of our findings through cross-checks.

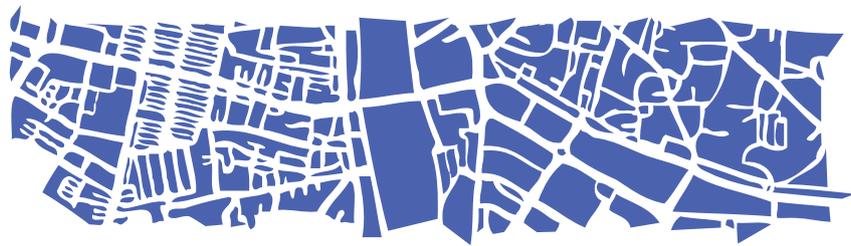
A summarised version of the profiling report will be distributed to all refugee centres, which are run by UNHCR and their implementing partners across Delhi. Disseminating these findings to the communities will also help challenge some misconceptions the different refugee groups had about each other that were encountered during the research process.

¹² The FGD question guides used can be found at: <http://www.jips.org/en/field-support/country-operations/india/india/delhi-urban-profiling>

¹³ This methodology was developed by Eileen Pittaway and Linda Bartolomei from the Centre for Refugee Research (CRR) in the University of New South Wales; See: <http://www.crr.unsw.edu.au/research-projects/reciprocal-research/>



IV. DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS



IV. DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Sex, age and ethnicity of household heads

Most of our respondents were heads of household: just under 70% of Afghans, 82% of Myanmarese and 94% of Somalis, but only half of Indians (49%). When the respondent was not the head of household, we asked for sex and age information about the head, as well as other details. Most non-head of household respondents across our sample were the spouse of the head.

Our overall survey sample included a majority of male headed households, with a higher presence of female-headed households among refugee populations compared to Indians. Particularly Somali refugees showed a high percentage of female-headed households (43%), compared to Myanmarese (3%), Afghans (32%) and Indians, where only 14% had a female head.

Somalis tended to have the youngest household heads, with a median age of 29, compared with 36 for Myanmarese refugees, 39 for Afghans and 48 for Indians. Indian and Somali male household heads were approximately 10 years older compared to female household heads. There was no significant age difference between male and female headed households in the other groups.

Almost all (99%) Myanmarese household heads were of Chin ethnicity. The Afghan head of households were of a much more diverse ethnic background: 64% were Tajik, 18% were Hazara and 18% were Pashtun. When looking at the Indian subsample, 42% were from Delhi, and 58% were migrants from other states in India. Most Indian migrants came to find work (87%), while 8% came for educational purposes (their own or their children's).

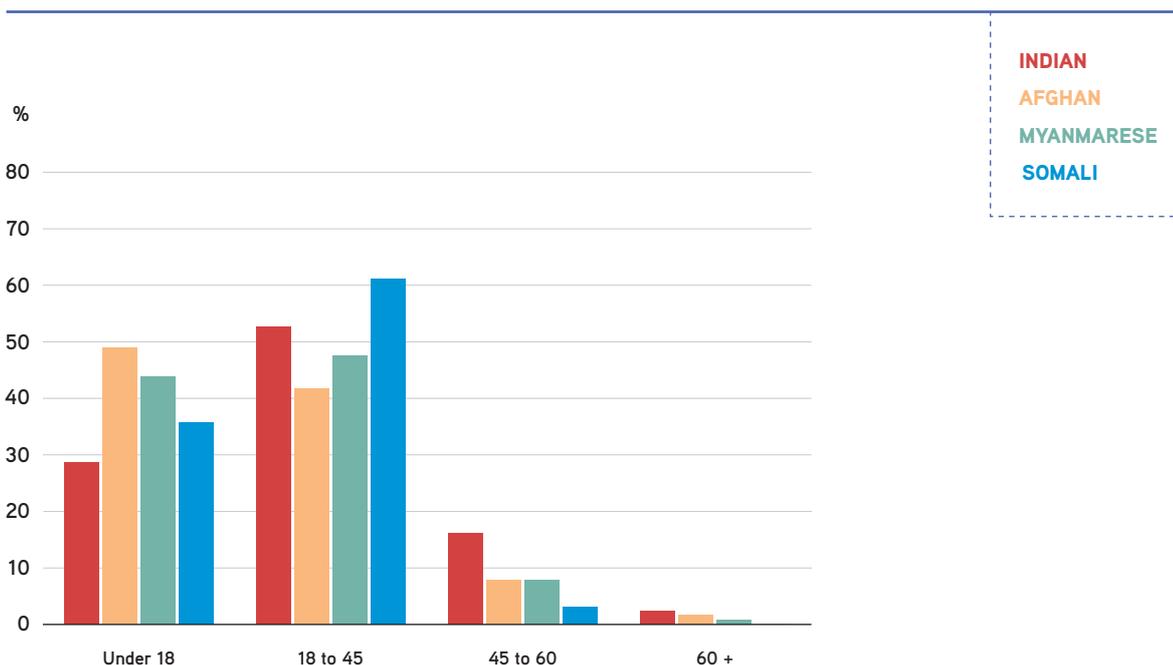
Household size and composition

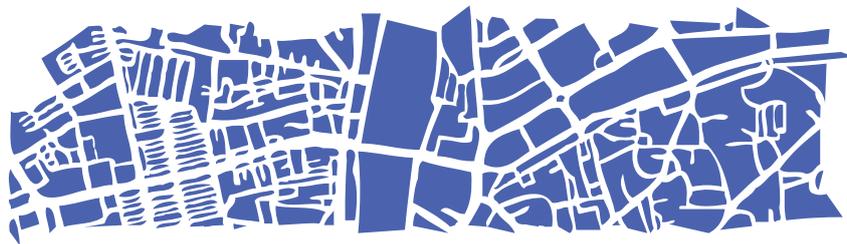
On average, Afghan refugees and Indians had the largest household sizes, with a median of 5 members¹⁴. Myanmarese refugees had smaller households (median 4), and Somali refugees had the smallest households with a median of 2 members.

Somali households had the lowest number of members under 18, with a median of 1.1, compared with Indians (1.5) and Myanmarese refugees (2). Afghan households had higher numbers of children under 18, with 2.6 members.

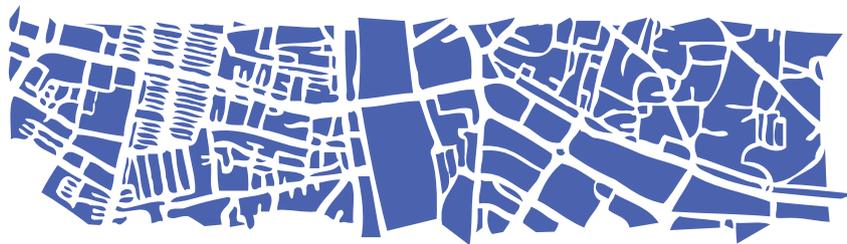
¹⁴ This compares with 4.48 for all Delhi, as estimated by the Delhi state survey. See p.i of "Employment And Unemployment Situation In Delhi", Based On Nss 66th Round Survey (State Sample) (July 2009 - June 2010). Directorate Of Economics & Statistics, Delhi - 110054. May 2012 [Http://Des.Delhi.Gov.In](http://Des.Delhi.Gov.In)

Figure 1 Distribution of household members by age cohorts





V. LIVELIHOODS OF REFUGEES IN DELHI





Paying rent is a priority. Sometimes we don't eat at all. We save the money for paying rent.

- Myanmar man

We can't get a job, only in Income Generation activities offered by UNHCR and Bosco, and the salary is not enough.

- Somali woman



Understanding the living and working conditions of refugee populations in Delhi was a primary objective of this profiling exercise, and is crucial in helping identify effective responses and programming opportunities.

In the following chapter we draw on the urban profiling research of the Feinstein International Centre¹⁵ to identify four different aspects of refugee livelihood vulnerability and resilience – employment, housing and financial security as well as physical safety – and examine how these differed amongst our surveyed groups, and between households headed by men and women.

Using this framework we analyse the factors that lead to greater or lesser livelihood security among refugee groups. In addition, we provide a better understanding of the survival strategies refugees use to cope with difficulties, such as evictions and lack of income, with a view to supporting the design of program interventions that can support these strategies.

¹⁵ Karen Jacobsen and Rebecca Furst Nichols, 2011. *Developing and Urban Profiling Methodology: Final Report*. Feinstein International Centre Tufts University. (<http://sites.tufts.edu/feinstein/files/2012/01/Developing-a-Profiling-Methodology-final.pdf>)

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Employment security:

- Myanmar refugees had a higher proportion of income earners. However, they worked in a limited number of professions and often faced discrimination at the work place and unstable work conditions.
- Afghan household heads had high unemployment levels, but reported better working conditions and access to a greater variety of jobs.
- Somali household heads had high levels of unemployment and a significant proportion of work related to NGOs, suggesting restricted access to the job market.

2. Housing security:

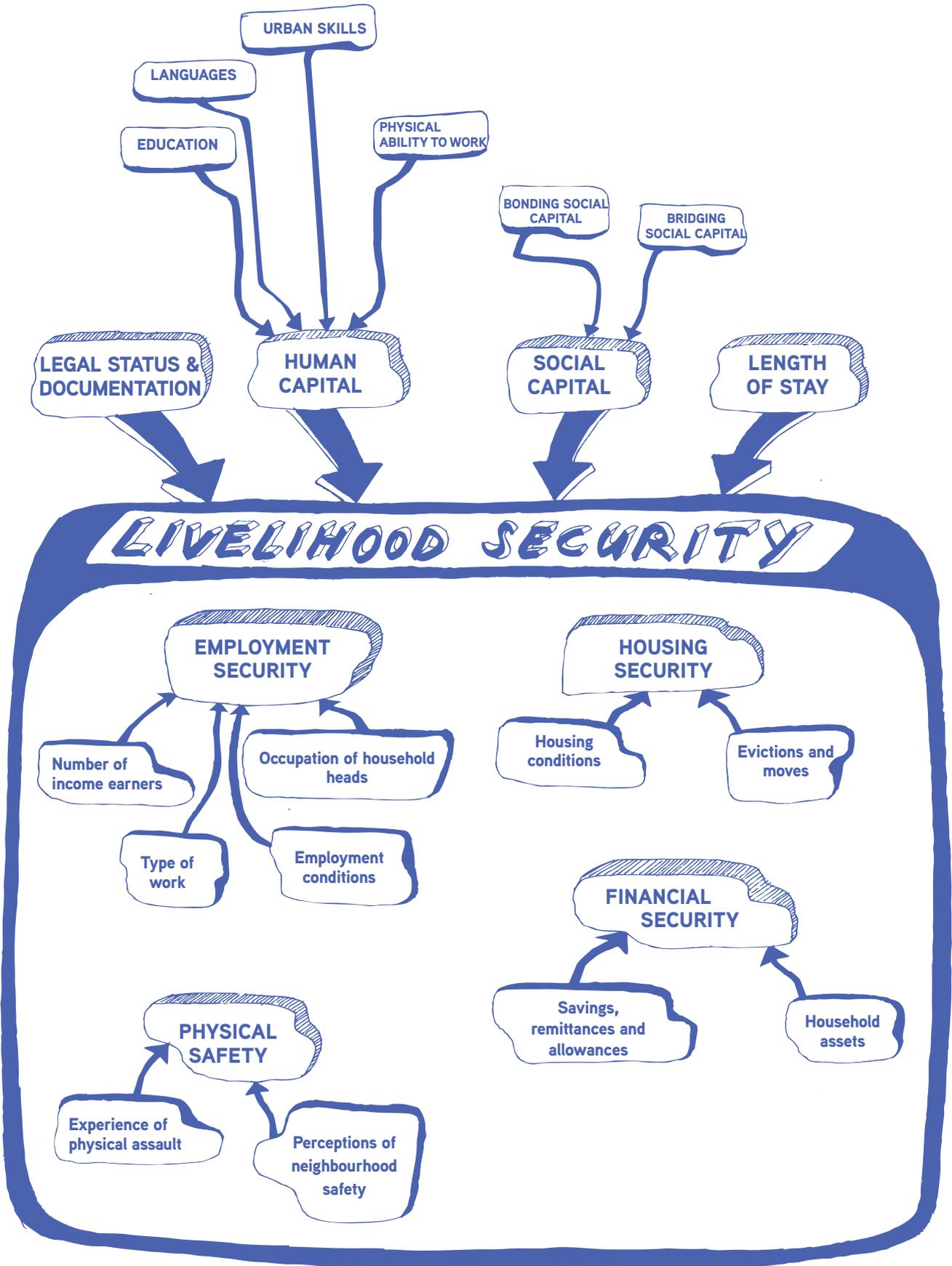
- Refugees from Myanmar and Somalia reported more crowded living conditions than Afghans or local Indians, and higher levels of evictions.

3. Financial security:

- Afghan and Somali households tended to have fewer income earners than their Myanmar equivalents, but displayed greater access to unearned income sources such as savings, remittances, and UNHCR subsistence allowances..

4. Physical safety:

- The proportion of refugees who had experienced theft, robbery or physical assault was much higher than that of Indians, with Myanmar and Somali respondents reporting far higher levels of assault and lack of neighbourhood safety than Afghans.



Livelihood security components, factors and their indicators



1. EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

We define household employment security as a sufficient number of adult income earners (to ensure adequate income for the household), who are employed in decent work¹⁶ which means not being exposed to capricious employers, physical risks or verbal abuse, and having time off to rest. Measures of employment security used in this study include:

- Number of income earners – households with one income earner can be more prone to shocks, and having a second earner is a measure of employment security.
- Occupational status of household heads – we looked at whether the household heads were working, looking for a job, or were inactive (i.e. not looking for a job, disabled or retired).
- Type of occupation – we looked at whether income earners were self-employed or employees, which may indicate different degrees of entrepreneurship.

- Length of time income earners spent working over the past six months and reasons for not working – to assess underemployment and overwork.
- Work stability, including possession of a work contract.
- Work conditions – we looked at harassment at work as well as unstable working conditions illustrated by experiences of being fired or not paid.

The information presented in this chapter refers to income earners and household heads. We defined income earners as “people who contribute income to the household through a job”. We collected information about up to two main income earners per household. At the same time we also enquired into the occupational status of the household heads, who most often were one of the two income earners.

In this chapter we describe our findings, disaggregated by population group and sex of the household head, when relevant.

Number of income earners

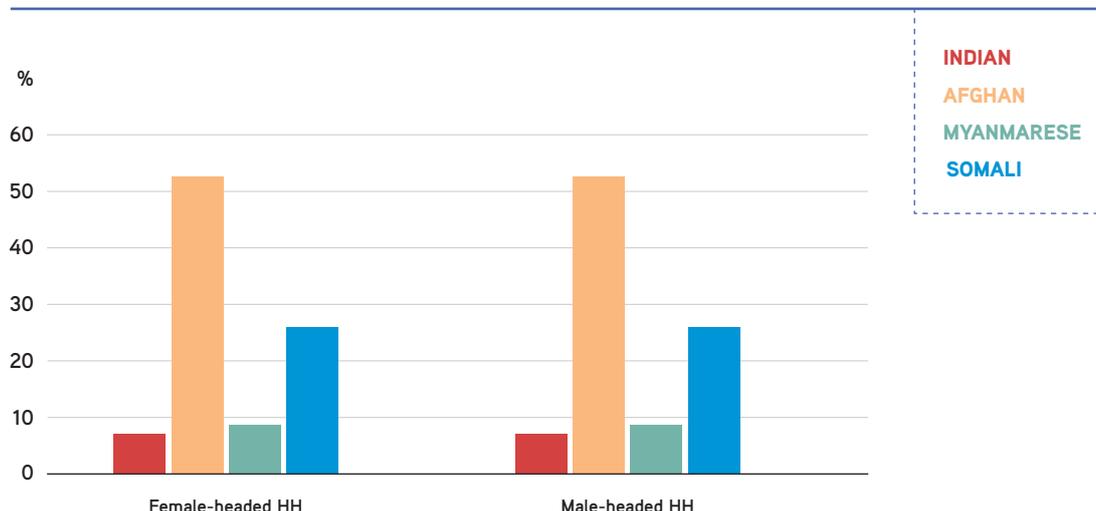
The number of household income earners varied by group and sex. Indian and Myanmar households had on the average the highest number of income earners: more than half the surveyed households had one income earner, and more than 30% had two income earners. There was no difference between male and female headed households.

Afghan and Somali households had fewer income earners: 40% of Afghan households and 28% of Somali households had no income earners, whereas that was the case for less than 5% of Myanmar and Indian households. About half of Somali households though had one earner, also with no difference between female and male headed households.

In all groups with the exception of Somalis, female headed households were more likely not to have any income earners.

¹⁶ See ILO’s ‘Decent Work Agenda’ found at: <http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm>

Figure 2 Distribution of households according to number of income earners



Occupation of household heads

In the Indian sub-sample of 386, 77% of household heads were working, with about one third self-employed and 44% with salaried employment. Only 2% of Indian household heads were looking for jobs, and another 9% were retired.

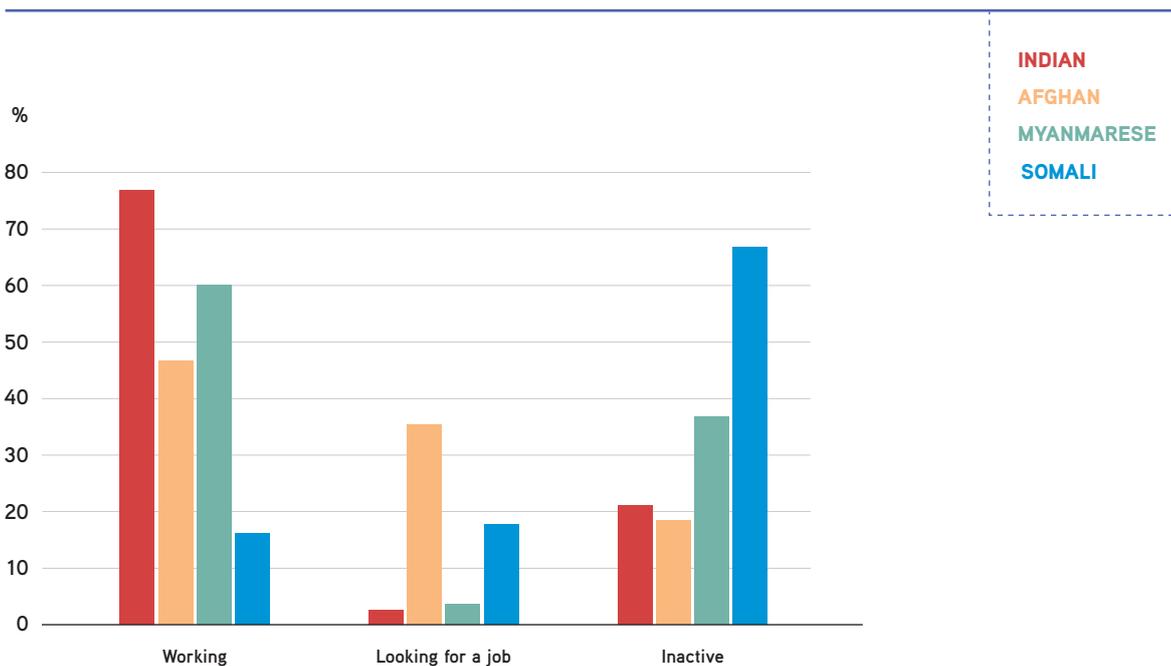
In the Myanmar sample, more than half (54%) of the household heads were in salaried employment and only 3% were looking for jobs. Of the employed household heads, very few were self-employed (6%).

Afghan household heads were in higher numbers unemployed and looking for a job (35%), while 47% were working. In focus groups, Afghans said a common obstacle to employment was lack of documentation, in the form of valid visas. This could indicate that Afghan refugees were applying for more formal sector jobs compared to those the Myanmar refugees were pursuing. For example, one Afghan informant said he had applied for a

job at a call centre and was invited for an interview but then rejected when he could not show a valid visa.

Somali household heads had the lowest levels of employment (16%), with 14% in salaried work. Seventeen per cent of the household heads were unemployed and looking for a job.

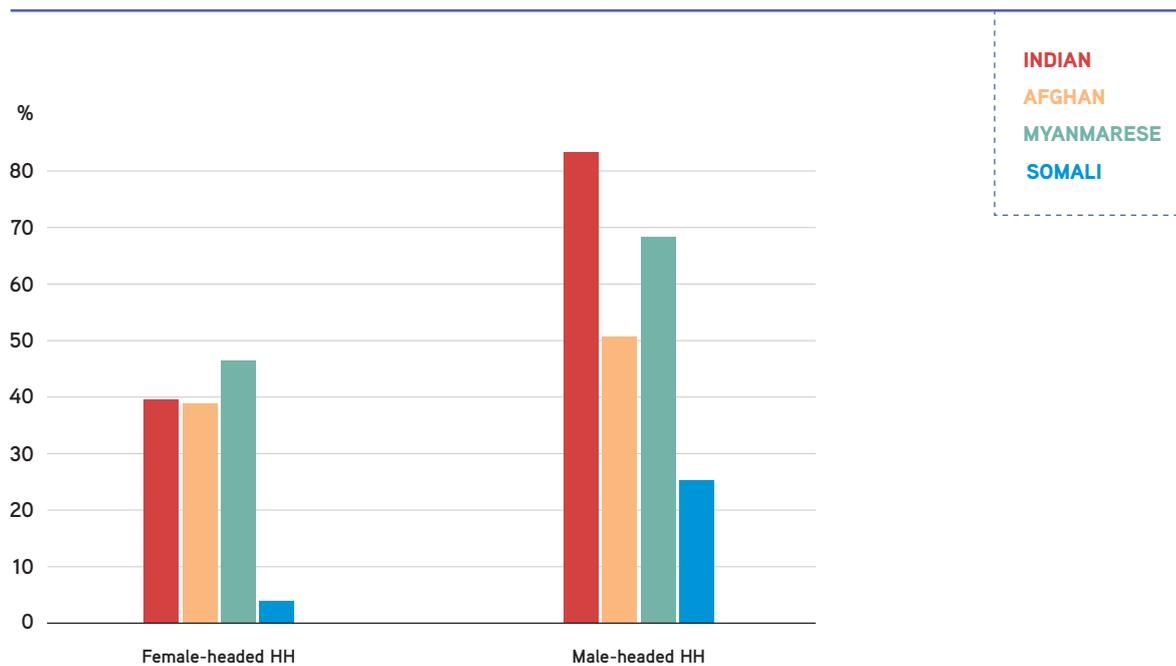
Figure 4 Distribution of households heads by occupation categories





In all groups, male household heads were more likely to be employed than female household heads, as shown in the Figure below.

Figure 3 Proportion of household heads working, by sex





Type of work

The occupation of the primary two income earners varied by group. Indians' occupations were diverse: about 25% run a small business whereas a majority of the others worked as employees (salaried/ work for an organisation, clerk, teacher, driver, IT specialists, etc.).

Refugee employment was less diverse. About a third of Myanmarese income earners (33%) worked in factories and another quarter in shops/ restaurants /beauty salons / call centres/ night parties (26%). Our focus groups with Myanmarese described factory work as washing and cutting clothes from 9:30 to 19:30 (including a 30 minute break), which earned them 100 Rupees (1.5 USD) per day. The advantage of this work was that no Hindi was necessary. Work in restaurants was paid more, 4,000 Rupees (63 USD) a month, but no holidays were given, not even Sundays, which posed a challenge for church attendance.

In these jobs, however, Hindi and English skills were a prerequisite. Very few Myanmarese refugees (7%) were self-employed or had started their own business. Micro-entrepreneurs started a business after getting a grant from UNHCR and others after getting a loan from their Church, or a ROSCA (Rotating Savings and Credit Association). These small businesses were likely not to be secure livelihoods, as less than half (45%) were full-time activities.

Afghans' salaried occupations consisted of three main types: translation/interpretation, employment in shops/restaurants and income generating activities in the UNHCR refugee centres. Other employment included work as drivers, tailors and in clerk/office jobs. Entrepreneurship was more widespread: 40% of Afghan earners were self-employed, usually as interpreters and in activities that did not require initial capital (like service professions).

Notably, half of the Somali earners were employed in income generation activities provided by UNHCR's implementing partners, primarily Bosco, and a few worked as interpreters (often in UNHCR or their implementing partners). That Somalis had not entered the local job market, indicates employment vulnerability and reduced self-reliance. One Somali woman reported during a focus group: "we can't get a job, only in Income Generation activities offered by UNHCR and Bosco [...] and the salary is not enough. Some women are working there, the rest can't work due to security problems [referring to discrimination experience in other jobs]".



Employment conditions

When asked about work history within the past 6 months, more than half of all groups except Somalis had income earners who had worked on average between 5 and 6 months. Of Myanmarse income earners, 68% had worked most of the time compared to 94% of Indians.

Those who had work contracts tended to have skilled jobs (IT workers, engineer, accountants), or work for government/organisations. Very few employed refugees had work contracts. This included interpreters, office workers/clerks, social workers and teachers (most of them were likely to work with a UNHCR implementing partner).

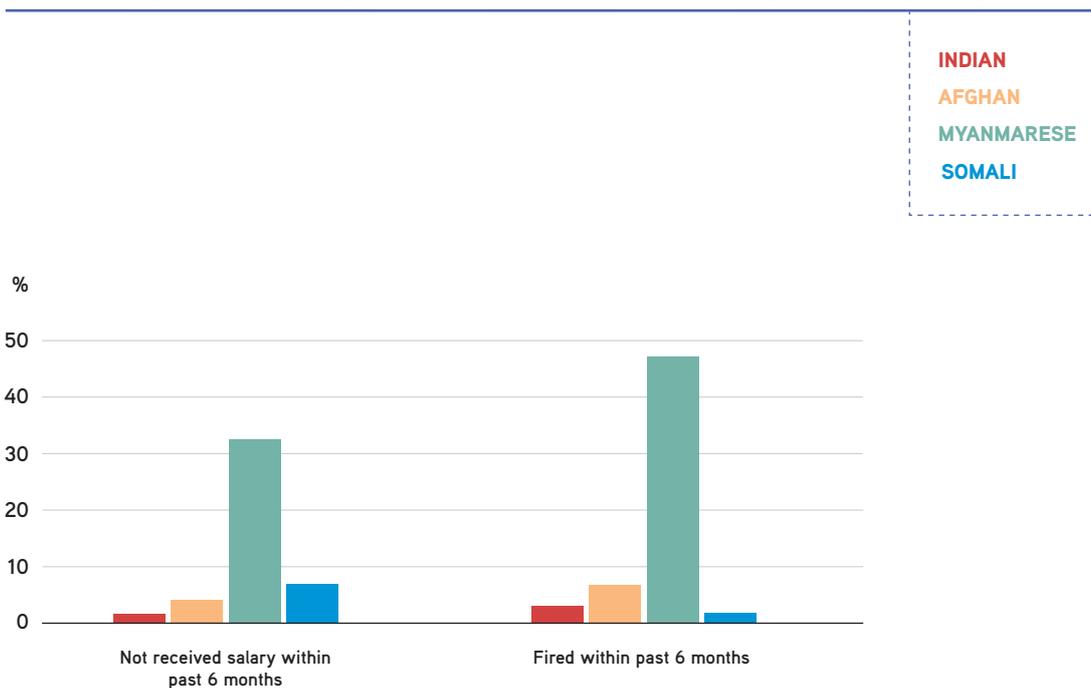
When asked about conditions of employment, working Myanmarse and Somali refugees reported the most unsafe conditions: 32% of Myanmarse and 22% of Somali income earners felt physically unsafe at work; whereas 50% of Myanmarse and 46% of Somalis felt unsafe going to or returning from work. The equivalent figures for Afghans were less than 10% for both questions, and for Indians less than 4%.

Myanmarse income earners also reported in higher numbers experiences of not having been paid or having been fired within the past 6 months.

Discrimination and harassment at the work place was a recurrent topic in all focus groups with Myanmarse refugees, for adults and youth of both sexes. They reported that Indians were paid more than refugees for the same work -- in some cases Indians received 6,000 Rupees(95 USD) for work Myanmarse refugees would be doing for 4,000 Rupees (63 USD).

In focus groups, Myanmarse women, both adult and youth, stressed their experience of harassment at work, which often forced them to stay at home with a resulting loss of salary. They said they could not afford to quit their jobs. The FGDs revealed general concern that little could be done to address the discrimination and harassment because discussants reported that nothing happened, even if the incident were reported to the police and SLIC.

Figure 5 Proportion of employed income earners with negative experiences





Conclusion

In sum, employment reflected mixed patterns. Myanmarse refugees had more income earners in the household and had spent more time working, similar to that of Indians. However, they faced more discrimination and harassment in the workplace and more tenuous job security (no work contracts). Myanmarse income earners faced more unstable and more hazardous employment conditions: they had a higher likelihood of being fired, increased likelihood of not being paid, and insecurity at or on the way to work.

Afghan and Somali households had fewer income earners and more household heads not being

employed. Entrepreneurship was more widespread among Afghan income earners when compared to Myanmarse. Afghan income earners also reported better working conditions with fewer incidents of being unsafe at work, or not receiving salary and/or being fired.

Myanmarse refugees had the least diverse types of jobs – indicating more restricted access to the job market-- whereas Afghans had almost as much diversity as Indians. Half of the Somali income earners were involved in subsidised Income Generation Activities at NGOs, suggesting restricted access to the job market and reduced self-reliance.



2. HOUSING SECURITY

Housing is a source of physical shelter and stability and a significant productive asset in urban settings because it underpins income and employment. Housing can generate income through home-based production activities, rental of a room, or it can provide secure storage of goods for vending or trade. ‘Housing vulnerability’ could be defined as a situation where one is at risk of losing one’s home, or where the household’s living situation is potentially risky for some members. An example of the latter is shared housing – when households are obliged to share kitchen or latrine facilities with non-family members.

In Delhi we measured tenancy and housing conditions, rent and

frequency of evictions. In this chapter we first show differences between groups, disaggregated by sex of household head.

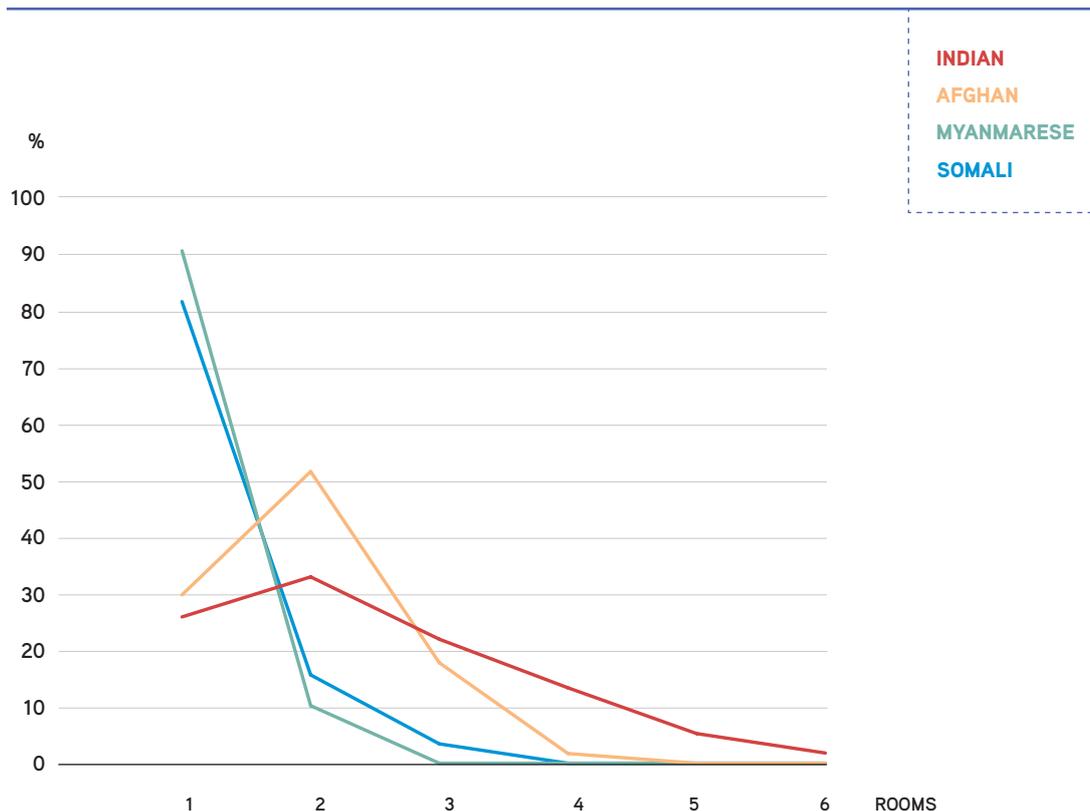
Housing conditions

Households from Myanmar (90%) and Somalia (81%) tended to live in only one room, whereas half of the Afghans occupied 2 rooms, as did about a third of the Indians. According to information shared in the focus groups, rent for one room was about 3,000 Rupees (47 USD) in West Delhi, where most Myanmar people live. The average rent for Afghans in the Afghan residential areas was 10,000 Rupees (158 USD) for two rooms.

Refugees were much more likely than Indians to share their dwellings: almost half (42%) of Somalis and 13% of Myanmar people said they shared their dwelling with non-family members, whereas only one Indian respondent did.

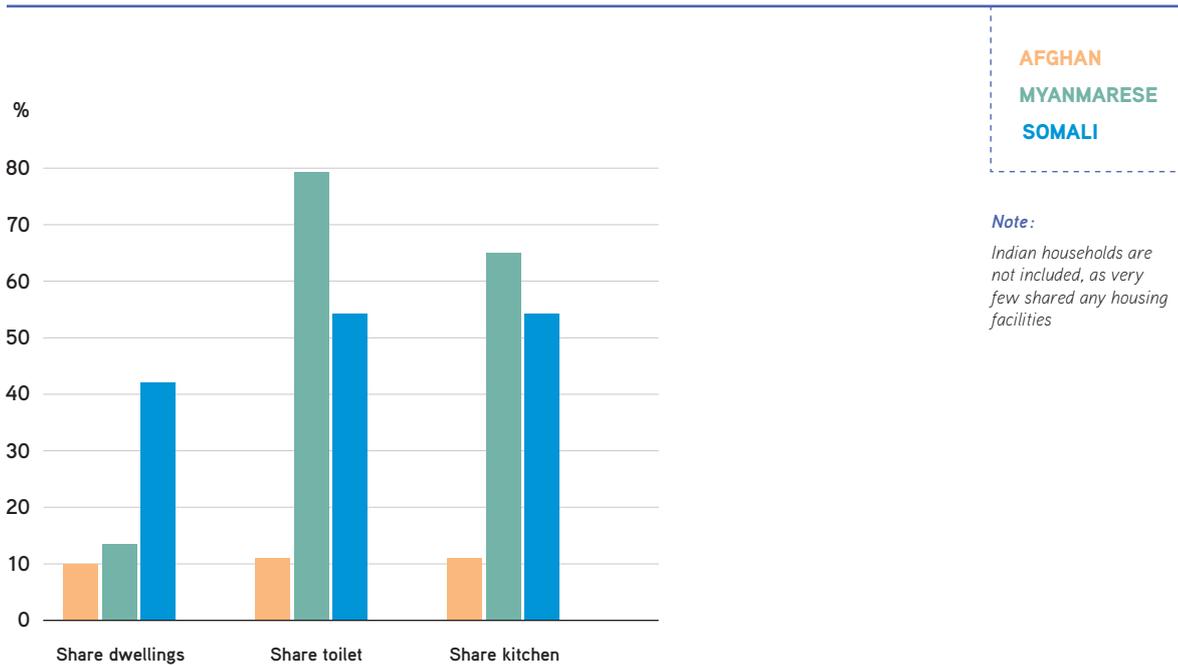
More than two thirds of the Myanmar people and more than half the Somali respondents said they shared toilets and/or kitchens with non-family members, reflecting a pattern of these two groups clustering in the same buildings. The Afghans lived in less clustered patterns; only 10% shared their dwelling with non-family members and 11% shared toilet and/or kitchen.

Figure 6 Distribution of households according to number of rooms occupied



More than half (51%) of Indian respondents owned their dwelling, but no refugees did. Almost all the refugees rented, with the exception of a few who lived in dwellings without paying rent.

Figure 7 Proportion of households sharing housing facilities



Evictions & moves

Our focus groups reported that landlords seldom gave written rent agreements. This meant that many households had to move because the rent increased by 10-20 % once or twice a year.

Evictions were faced in very different degrees by the refugee populations. 80% of Myanmar households and 62% of Somali households had experienced evictions. Reported reasons for evictions were mostly related to inability to pay the rent, the presence of their children, visitors, or big families, and in general discrimination by the landlord.

In comparison, less than 5% of Indians and Afghans reported having been evicted from their homes.

One focus group said refugees who got rejected by UNHCR kept it secret, fearing that if the landlord heard of it, he would raise the rent, and they would be forced to pay more, since finding a new apartment with no valid identity documents is very difficult.

Payment of the rent was a recurrent problem for all refugee communities and one of the more challenging expenses as it had to be paid regularly; paying late or not at all often led to eviction. During focus group discussion, average reported amounts for rent were: Myanmar refugees 2,000 – 3,000 Rupees (31-47 USD) for one room, while for Afghans 10,000 Rupees (158 USD) for two rooms.

Somali refugees reported in the focus groups that they were dependent on UNHCR subsistence allowances for covering the rent. Somalis mentioned that some evicted individuals, often single men, ended up homeless for a few months, living in parks and the mosque until they found a new room. During a FGD, a Myanmar man said: "Paying rent is a priority because if it is not paid the house owners throw us out. Picking up vegetable garbage from the markets at night is a common practice to save money. Sometimes we don't eat at all. We save the money for paying rent". Across communities, refugees agreed that they were charged more rent than their Indian neighbours.



Conclusion

In sum, refugees from Myanmar and Somalia appeared to be more vulnerable when it came to housing than Afghans or Indians. They had less living space, with most households occupying only one room and were more likely to share toilets and kitchens with non-family members. This reflects the pattern we observed of the two refugee groups to cluster in the

same buildings. By contrast, the vast majority of Afghans did not share any facilities. Refugee households from Somalia and Myanmar also had higher rates of evictions when compared to Afghan households.



3. FINANCIAL SECURITY

We define financial security as having enough financial resources to adequately fulfil the needs and some wants of a household. We assessed the financial security by looking at the following proxy indicators: number of income earners (analysed previously), access to unearned income sources such as savings, remittances, allowances and aid, as well as household assets. We also asked our respondents about their expenditures, specifically in relation to rent and medical bills. However, our results showed a high dispersion of values, indicating that these were not very reliable indicators; we therefore decided to omit them from the analysis.

Savings, remittances & allowances

Income includes household members' earnings through employment and 'unearned income' from external sources such as remittances or financial assistance. Household income is often difficult to ascertain and we did not directly ask about income amounts, as this is a notoriously unreliable measure of income. We asked instead about different sources of income, including 'unearned' income, such as, subsistence allowance provided by UNHCR, government transfers or benefits, savings and remittances.

Somali households reported most frequently access to unearned income sources. Almost 60% of Somali households received UNHCR's subsistence allowances, compared with only 2% of Afghan and Myanmar households. Humanitarian aid was received primarily by Somali households (80%)

and to a lower extent by Myanmar (46%). The aid received by Somalis was in 80% of the cases from UNHCR, whereas for Myanmar, the aid was from UNHCR half of the times.

Remittances were received by more than a third of Afghans, more than 40% of Indians, and 22% of the surveyed Somali households. The likelihood of receiving remittances was comparatively the lowest amongst Myanmar; only 14.5% of the interviewed households.

A difference was observed here between female and male headed households' access to remittances, with the former having more access than the latter (18% vs. 12.5%) For all other unearned income sources there seemed to be no difference between male and female headed households across the population groups.

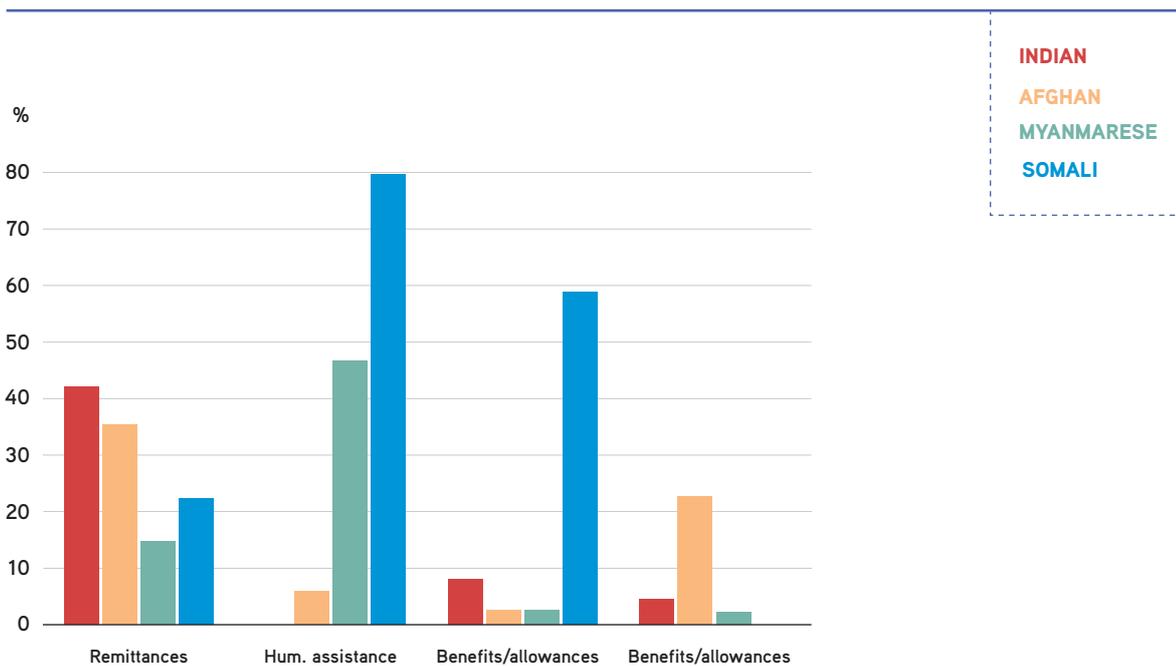


Savings were mentioned primarily by the Afghan households (22%). One Afghan housewife described during an interview, how her family had arrived in Delhi with 15,000 dollars in savings. After two years the savings were coming to an end, as only one person in the household was employed, while the rent amounted to 10,000 Rupees (158 USD).

Unearned income is an indicator of household dependency on external sources and thereby of lower self-reliance. Whether allowances, as amongst Somali households, or savings and remittances, as amongst Afghan households, these sources provide only temporary financial security, and may not be permanent.

Very few Indian households reported receiving government transfers. About 8% of Indians received a social protection programme benefit (or allowance), such as Old Age Pension Scheme (IGNOAPS) and Widow Pension Schemes (IGNWPS).

Figure 8 Proportion of households with access to unearned income



Household assets

Household assets can be divided into productive assets, which increase household productivity - such as a computer or electricity - and which the household either owns or has access to; and transferable assets, which can be sold to increase cash flow (the household must own these in order to utilise their value).

Assets are potentially an indicator of wealth or poverty, but it is important to understand the cultural and social context. The items found in refugee homes need not necessarily mean the household can afford to purchase them. They could be inherited from other refugees, who return to their countries or depart on resettlement. Cultural factors should also be taken into consideration.

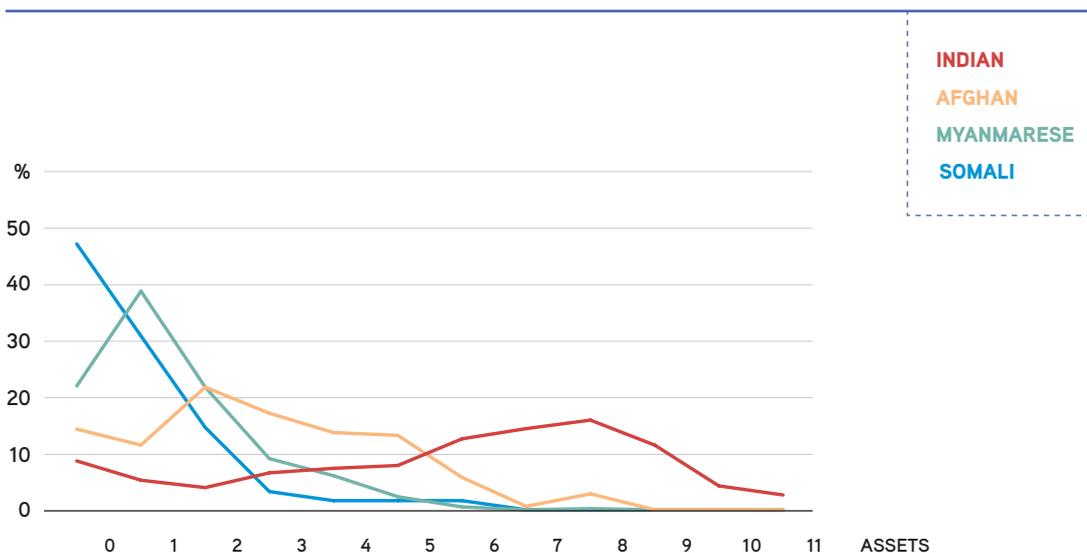
For example, Afghan homes could have carpets and no beds, but this could simply be a cultural preference. What has value in one setting may have less or none in another.

In Delhi we asked about eleven types of assets: television, smartphone¹⁷, table/chairs, computer, access to internet, car, motorcycle/scooter, DVD/VCD player, refrigerator and/or washing machine, cooler, and air condition. We calculated an asset score for each household by assigning each type of asset one point. Thus, scores ranged from zero to 11.

Almost half our Somali respondents (46%) had a score of zero, compared to only 9% of Indians. About two thirds of Myanmarese refugees (60%) had scores of 1-2 (indicating access to only one or two of the listed assets). More than half of the Afghan refugees scored between three and five. Indians had the highest scores with 42% having scores of 6-8, and 18% having scores of 9-11. These scores suggest that Somali and Myanmarese refugees are poorer in terms of assets than Afghans and Indians.

¹⁷ We did not ask about mobile phones, which most households possess. Asking about smartphones gave us more variation: 11% of Afghans owned a smartphone, compared with 41% of Indians, 1% of Myanmarese and 5% of Somalis..

Figure 9 Distribution of households by number of assets owned





Conclusion

When looking at unearned income sources, Somali households had the highest access to subsistence allowances and aid. Amongst the refugee groups, Afghan households received the most remittances, overtaken only by Indians, and had most often access to savings. Relatively few Myanmar households reported having savings, receiving allowances, or remittances; though slightly fewer than half received aid (either from UNHCR or other sources- which could be their own community).

Unearned income, whether in the form of subsistence allowances, savings or remittances is an indicator of household reliance on external sources and thereby of lower self-reliance. However, less self-reliance, as observed among Somali and Afghan households, is not equal to less financial security. As we saw in the previous chapter on employment security, Myanmar households have more income earners, but they face insecure job stability and salaries. Therefore, relying on subsistence allowance and remittances or savings, as Somali and Afghan households respectively do, may offer more stability.

4. PHYSICAL SAFETY AND EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSMENT

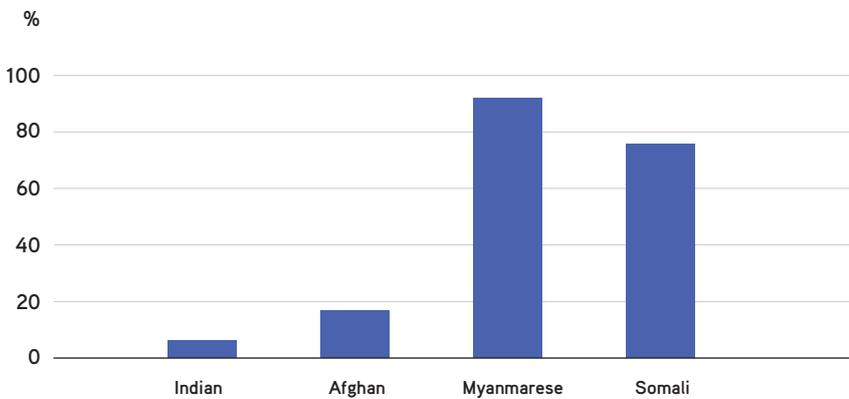
We asked survey respondents what they thought about the safety of their neighbourhoods compared to other neighbourhoods in the city, and about their experience of crime (robbery and assault) in the past year. It was observed that the perceptions of safety were closely linked to the relations between refugees and the Indian host population, which particularly for the Myanmar and Somali communities were characterised by discrimination based on their different physical appearance.

Experience of physical assault

Asked whether anyone in their household had experienced theft, robbery, or physical assault in the past year, less than 1% of Indians said they had, indicating very low levels of crime. The Afghans also experienced relatively low levels: 6% said they had experienced theft or robbery, and 13% said they had experienced physical assault.

By contrast, more than half of the Myanmar (54%) had experienced theft or robbery, and 80% said they had experienced physical assault. The Somalis also had experienced relatively high levels of crime: 19% had experienced theft or robbery, and 37% said they had experienced physical assault.

Figure 10 Proportion of households finding their neighborhood « unsafe »





Perceptions of neighbourhood safety

Most (92%) of the Myanmar and 76% of Somalis thought their neighbourhood was “unsafe”, compared to 6% of Indians and about 17% of Afghans. We also controlled across the surveyed neighbourhoods (i.e. we compared responses within each different neighbourhood to account for differences in the location across the city). We found that the refugee populations in each neighbourhood tended to find it more unsafe than did the Indians living there.

We also compared the reported perceptions of safety between female and male household heads. Here we found almost no differences with the exception that among Afghan household heads 26% of the female household

heads described their neighbourhood as unsafe, compared to only 12% of the male household heads.

These stark differences in perceptions of safety were also reflected in the way the different refugee groups described their relationships to the local population during the focus group discussions.

Myanmar experienced harassment and discrimination due to their physical appearance as part of their daily lives: “in the companies where we work, sometimes we get salary, sometimes we don’t”; “the boss often hugs and kisses the Burmese ladies”. It was reported that children were beaten by local children at school and therefore were often kept home by the parents.

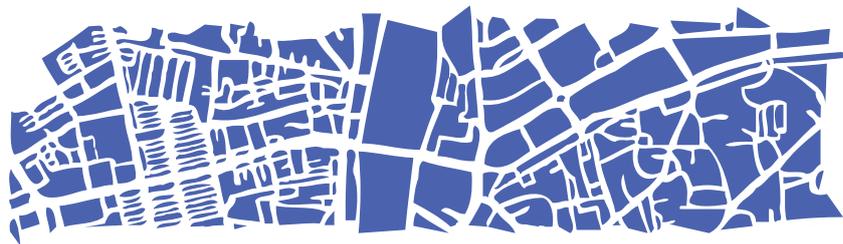
Focus group participants reported that their landlords overcharged the bills and did not allow visitors, which according to the focus group participants “is part of our culture”; the landlords often threw belongings out of the room and told the Myanmar to vacate the place within two days.

According to FGDs with Myanmar, some of the evictions reported during the survey resulted from discrimination or intolerance of some social practices. Experiences of discrimination and harassment are further analysed in the following chapter, when discussing social capital and relations to the local host community.

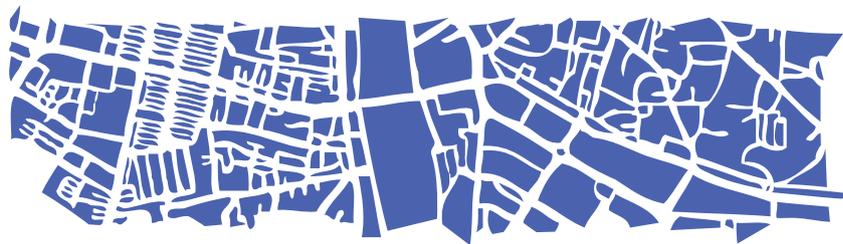
Conclusion

The perceptions of physical safety in the different neighbourhoods, as reported by the refugee household heads, were closely linked to the relations between each refugee community and the Indian host population. The relations between Myanmar and Somali refugees and their local neighbours were characterised by discrimination and harassment:

Myanmar and Somalis had for example experienced many more incidents of physical assault, theft or robbery, when compared to Afghans and Indians. Consequently, a great majority of Myanmar and Somalis perceived their neighbourhoods as being “unsafe”, as opposed to far fewer Afghans.



VI. EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN LIVELIHOOD SECURITY



VI. EXPLAINING DIFFERENCES IN LIVELIHOOD SECURITY



No one from the community can help us. This is because everyone is in need. If one can't pay the rent, all they can do is pray.

– Afghan woman

Everything around us [in Delhi] is changing to the better; new buildings ... but we don't change. In 10 years they [Indians] will be in heaven and we in hell.

– Myanmar woman

No one goes to the police, neither locals nor Somalis. After a fight, everyone just dusts off their boots and goes home.

– Somali young man



The previous chapter explored differences in livelihood security of the surveyed groups, by looking at employment, finances, housing and physical safety. We will now attempt to explain these observed differences.

Three distinctive features of urban settings determine access to livelihood assets and security:

- **Firstly**, the policy/institutional level - where the state and other institutions determine access to resources such as housing and employment;
- **Secondly**, at the level of civil society - where policy is implemented, and where wider social processes including what we call a 'culture of harassment' influence refugees' ability to move around freely, compete in markets and send their children to school, and

- **Thirdly**, at the household/individual level - where specific characteristics, resources and experiences, including human and social capital, documentation and length of stay, influence livelihood security.

Earlier in this report we outlined the refugee policy context in India, and the harassment suffered by refugees was briefly described above (in the section on Physical Safety). We now focus on the third set of household level factors. These factors, diagrammed below, play out both prior to migration and on arrival, and change over time, suggesting that length of stay may also be an important intervening variable.

THROUGH OUR ANALYSIS WE FOUND THAT :

- Not all forms of human capital lead to greater employment security. While Afghan refugees displayed good levels of education, they had the lowest employment levels.
- Social capital in the form of intra community networks did not necessarily lead to greater employment security, but it has helped Myanmar refugees to be more secure by offering strong safety nets. Afghan households have to rely much more on their own households, and remittances from abroad, whereas the relatively small size of the Somali community meant that networks were less effective than those of the Myanmar.
- Relations to the Indian host population were weakest amongst Myanmar and Somalis, with both groups of refugees experiencing high degrees of discrimination that affected their access to employment.

1. LEGAL STATUS AND DOCUMENTATION

A potentially important determinant of livelihood security is an individual's legal status and whether s/he has the documentation to support this status. Documentation includes refugee certification, birth certificates, and legal residence cards, depending on the urban context. Having formal refugee status (i.e. where refugees have undergone individual or group status determination) can mean refugees are less likely to be arrested or deported and, in most host countries, it allows refugees to pursue livelihoods with less risk of being stopped by authorities.

Refugees must pursue economic activities in order to survive, regardless of their status, and if they are not officially permitted to do so it becomes a matter of whether authorities enforce the law or not. Legal status makes less of a difference when work and self-employment opportunities are largely in the informal sector, where law enforcement is more lax, and where refugees find employment through networks, community-based organisations and local institutions, rather than through formal mechanisms.

The Government of India has recently decided to allow refugees registered with UNHCR to apply for long term visas and work permits. This will be an important improvement in term of accessing the job market, primarily for the more highly skilled refugees aiming at entering the formal job market.

In Delhi, all of but 6% (45) of the 722 non-Indian residents surveyed had either UNHCR refugee ID cards or the asylum seeker certificate. All but one or two of the Myanmar and Somalis had UNHCR ID cards. Of the Afghans, 112 had UNHCR ID cards, while 64 had asylum seeker certificates.

Effective protection from legal status not only requires that refugees have the documentation to prove it, but also that state authorities (such as immigration officers and police) are trained to recognise the documents and accord refugees their rights. In Delhi, during the focus groups, refugees often mentioned that their UNHCR ID cards were often not recognised as valid documentation by the police, their landlords, or employers.

Both male and female Afghan refugees, for example, mentioned during FGDs that lack of valid visas was an obstacle to accessing housing, jobs or buying a SIM card for mobile phones. The UNHCR refugee card seemed not to be a replacement for a valid visa, and Afghans highlighted in several focus groups that an expired visa was often more valuable than a refugee card. During FGDs, Myanmar refugees did not mention documentation as a concern to the same degree. They tended to live clustered in areas where landlords are used to the UNHCR refugee cards. Documentation was not an issue for employment either, as employers in the informal sector did not require such documents.

Lack of needed documentation for accessing schools, including college, was a concern in many FGDs, although more for Afghan refugees and to a lower degree for Somali and Myanmar refugees (this will be further discussed in Chapter VIII on education).



2. HUMAN CAPITAL

Household human capital refers to the education, skills, knowledge, health and other productive capacities (such as the number of working age members) that contribute to a household's livelihood security. Higher levels of human capital are likely to decrease vulnerability and poverty.

Language abilities are particularly important in urban settings that are characterised by a mix of people of different origins. Speaking an international language can be useful for securing employment in international agencies, or in negotiating onward migration. Speaking the local or most widely spoken language increases access to employment and ability to engage in business. It also helps to enhance protection (for example, if a person is stopped by a

police officer), and enables migrants/refugees to join local organisations and networks. We therefore expect households to be more livelihood secure if an adult member of the household speaks the local languages¹⁸.

In Delhi we measured education of household heads, skills of income earners (including languages and urban skills), and physical ability of household members to work, we compared differences between households headed by men and women and explored whether these variables influenced employment, housing situation and financial security.

Our survey focused primarily on household heads rather than all household members in order to save time and resources. This meant we

missed other household members, whose human capital could have contributed to livelihood security. However, household heads can serve as proxies for the human capital of the household. Households that are headed by children, elderly, physically disabled or sick will be less secure. Similarly, households with large numbers of dependents, or those who cannot earn income, are less secure. Gender is a more complicated factor. Conventional wisdom portrays female headed households as more economically disadvantaged, but this is not always the case, particularly in urban areas where the risks of arrest and detention are faced disproportionately by young men. Race or ethnicity also influences access to livelihood assets when certain groups are subject to discrimination.

¹⁸ Often, children speak the local language if they are enrolled in school or more locally integrated than their adult family members. Children's language skills can be an important asset to the household if they assist adults with translation; however, for the purposes of assessing livelihood security we consider adult household members' language ability because of its relationship specifically to employment and protection.

Education

Our survey found that the education level of household heads varied by group. The lowest education levels of household heads were encountered among Somalis, where 35% had no education. The majority of Myanmarese (69%) had some primary education, whereas 21% had no education. Afghans had the highest proportion of household heads having completed secondary education (41%) and the most household heads, when compared to the other refugee groups, having completed a university degree (17%).

We looked at whether there was a difference between female and male household heads and as expected, a larger proportion of female household heads had no education (over 30% vs. less than 15% of male heads). The situation was particularly uneven for Somali households, where 64% of female heads of households had no education compared to only 12% of male heads.

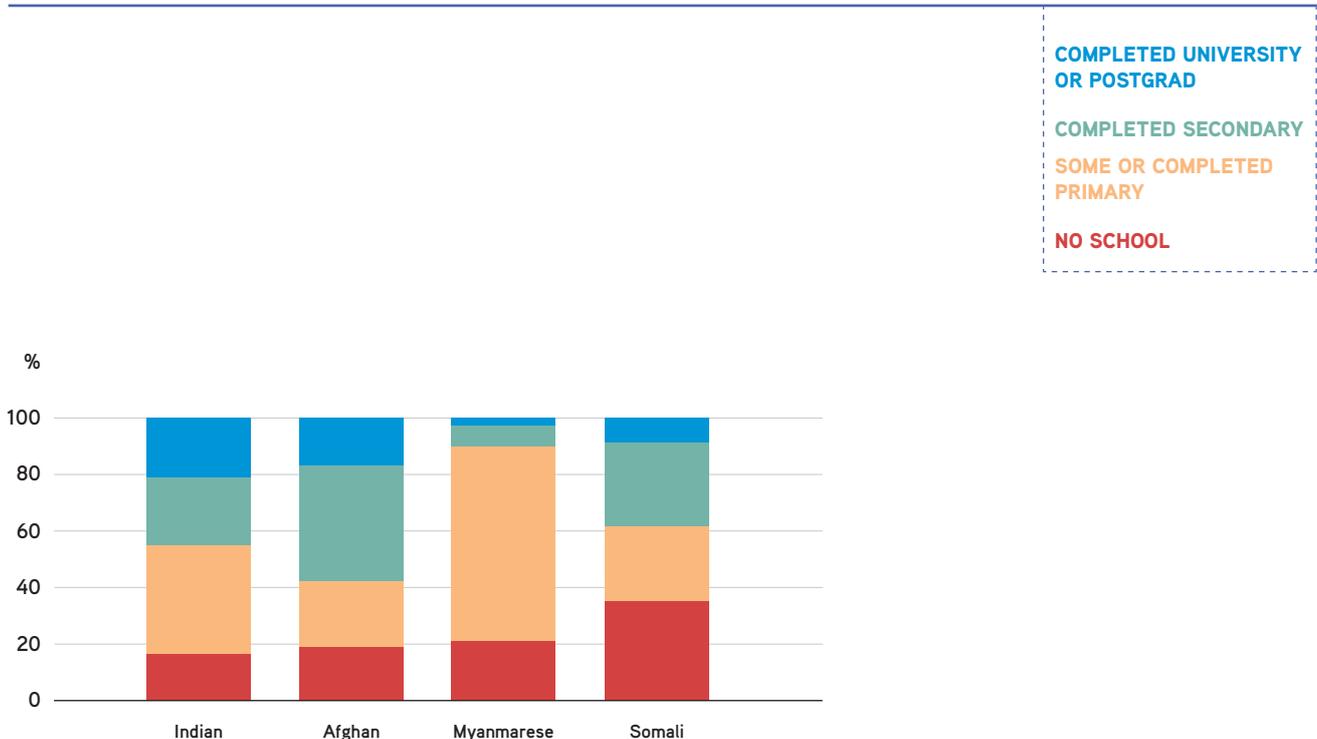
In order to better understand how education is a factor of livelihood security, we cross correlated the education levels of household heads with different indicators of livelihood security, such as

employment status, working conditions and experience of evictions.

We found no relation between the education level of household heads and the likelihood for having experienced evictions. Evictions were primarily reported by Myanmarese and Somalis regardless of the education level of their household heads.

We then explored whether the education level affected the employment conditions of household heads as expressed by two variables: experiences of being fired and of not being regularly paid. Again we found no strong correlations.

Figure 11 Distribution of households according to education level of household head



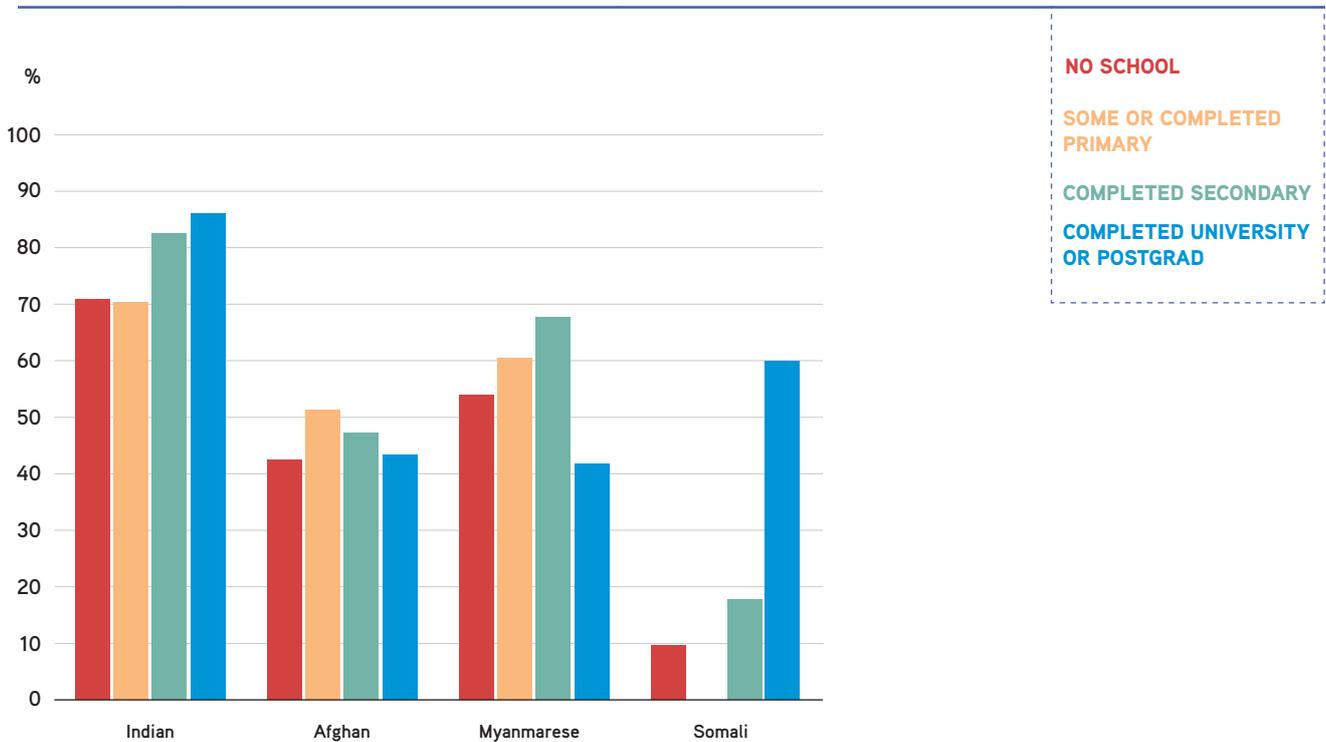


Finally, we looked at the links between education level and employment of household heads. As the figure shows, higher education levels among refugees were not linked to higher likelihood of having work. Somali refugees were the exception, as the majority of employed household heads had a university degree. Afghans, for example, during the focus groups lamented the fact of not being able to use their education and certificates.

On the contrary, language skills, as we will see next, are closely linked to the ability to find work and access better paid work.

The general lack of links between education levels and livelihood security, be it employment or housing security, imply that previous education has limited significance.

Figure 12 Proportion of household heads working, by education level

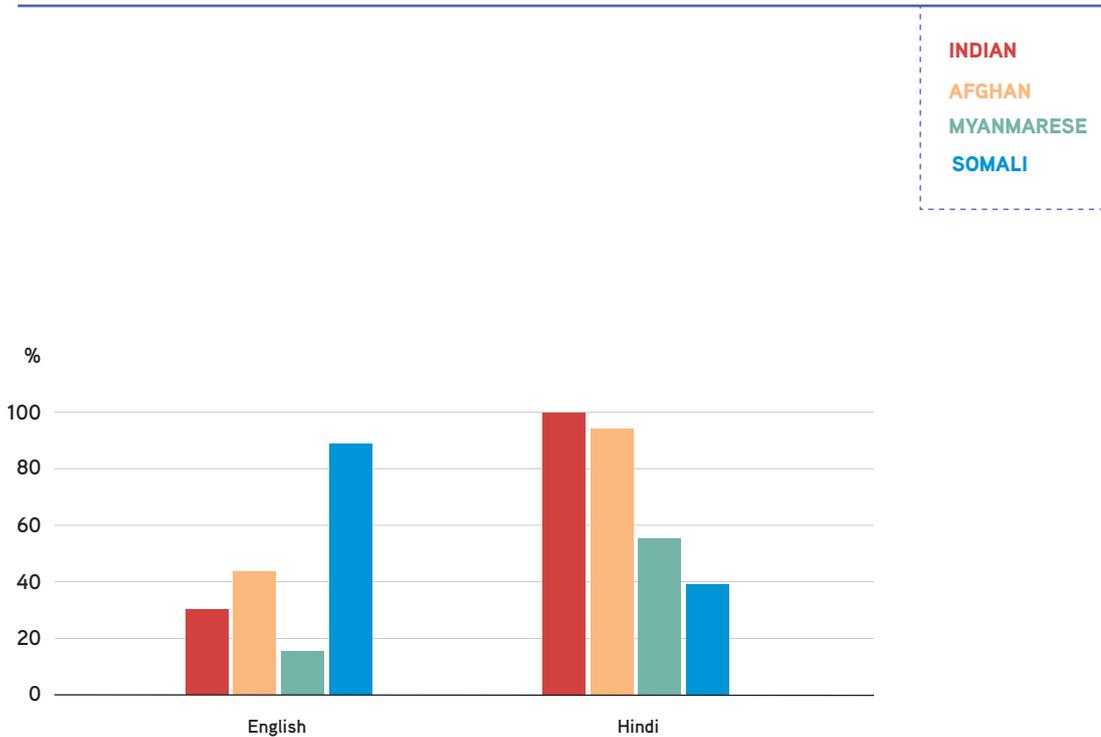


Languages

One possibility for refugees' difficulty with finding employment could be lack of language skills. In Delhi the key working languages are Hindi and English. We asked our survey respondents whether any income earners in the household spoke these languages. Somalis had the highest proportion (89%) of English-speakers, but only 39% of them spoke Hindi. Myanmarese had the lowest proportion of English speakers (15%), but more than half spoke Hindi. About 94% of Afghan income earners had Hindi skills and 44% English skills. Afghan refugees told us that many learned Hindi in Afghanistan, often thanks to Bollywood movies.

The focus groups discussed the link between language skills and salary levels, and agreed that better paid jobs required both Hindi and English skills. Similarly, refugees from Myanmar reported in the FGDs how limited Hindi skills often led to misunderstandings with the employer and at times resulted in receiving less in salary.

Figure 13 Proportion of households by language spoken by income earners





Urban skills

In addition to languages, urban life requires specific skills. In a commoditised urban economy, households coming from rural areas are likely to lack skills that are easily transferable to the urban setting. Such ‘transferable skills’ include business, trade, a profession, office or factory work, or services.

Of our respondents, 80% of Indians and 85% of those from Myanmar were from rural backgrounds compared to about a third of Afghans (38%) and fewer than 2% of Somalis. Nevertheless, as the graph below illustrates, very few Myanmar people reported having farming

skills, which contradicts the usual assumption that a rural background implies farming skills. More than half of the Myanmar people reported that no-one in their household had any job skills. A small proportion of Somalis reported having computer skills and translation skills. The Afghan population had a wider range of skills: IT, teacher, driver, tailor, interpreter, cook.

Table 1 Proportion of households by skills of their members (%)

SKILL	NATIONALITY			
	Indian	Afghan	Myanmar	Somali
No Skill	7	28	55	52
Computer	19	23	6	19
Cook	22	10	4	5
Small Business	24	1	5	2
Tailor	3	20	13	3
Driver	12	8	2	0
Farming	8	1	8	0
Office job/clerck	12	5	0	2
Teacher	4	8	3	5
Interpreter	0	12	2	27

Note:
Only the skills most frequently reported are presented here. Multiple answers were possible.

Physical ability to work

Human capital also refers to the physical capacities to work; these depend on age and health.

To explore the age factor in households, we used a measure called the age dependency ratio. This is a ratio of the number of dependents, i.e. people younger than 15 years or older than 64 years, to the working-age population, i.e. those between 15 and 64 years of age. The higher the ratio, the greater the burden is on the productive part of the population to maintain the economic security of the economically dependent¹⁹. For example, a dependency ratio of 100% could represent a household with two adults in working age and two non-working age persons, e.g. a child and an elder.

The age dependency ratio in India was last reported to be at 54% in

2011, according to a 2012 World Bank report²⁰. We found that the average age dependency ratio for our surveyed Indian sub-group was 57% (close to that of India), while that of the refugee groups was higher, with the exception of the Somalis. The score was highest for refugees from Afghanistan (127%) and Myanmar (96%).

Health is another decisive factor for the physical ability to work, as health problems can be an obstacle in getting and keeping a job. Compared to Indians, refugee groups were more than twice as likely to have household members unable to work because of health reasons. About a

quarter of Afghans, more than 61% of Myanmarese and 41% of Somalis said they had sick household members, compared with 12% of Indians.

In the survey we also asked the working-age unemployed household members, what the main reasons were for not working. The answers validated the above figures, as health problems were cited by Somalis and especially the Myanmarese.

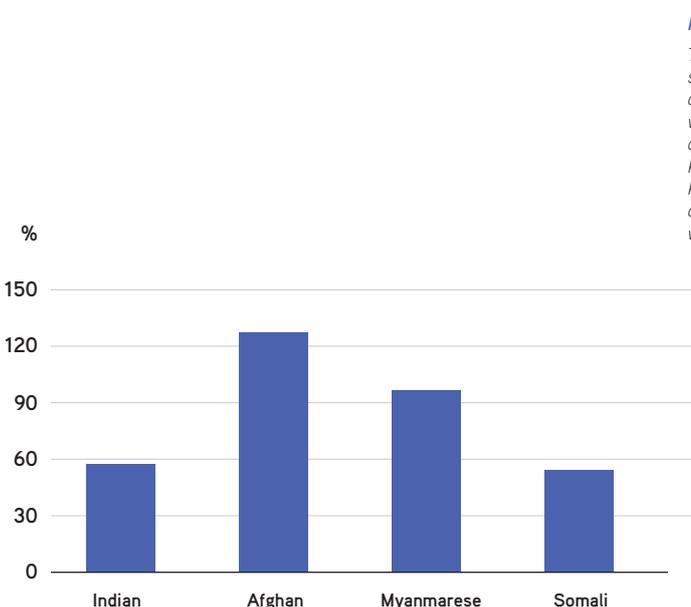
Interestingly, the communities with lower dependency ratios had the highest proportions of household members unable to work due to health reasons. This could indicate that Myanmarese and Somali households, despite the high numbers of members not being able to work due to their health, still had enough able members to counterbalance this tendency, and even obtain a low dependency ratio.

19 The dependency ratio is often expressed as a percentage:

$$\text{(Total) Dependency ratio} = \frac{\text{(nr. of people aged 0-14 \& over 65)}}{\text{nr. of people aged 15-64}} \times 100$$

20 <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/india/age-dependency-ratio-percent-of-working-age-population-wb-data.html> and <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.DPND>

Figure 14 Average age dependency ratio per household

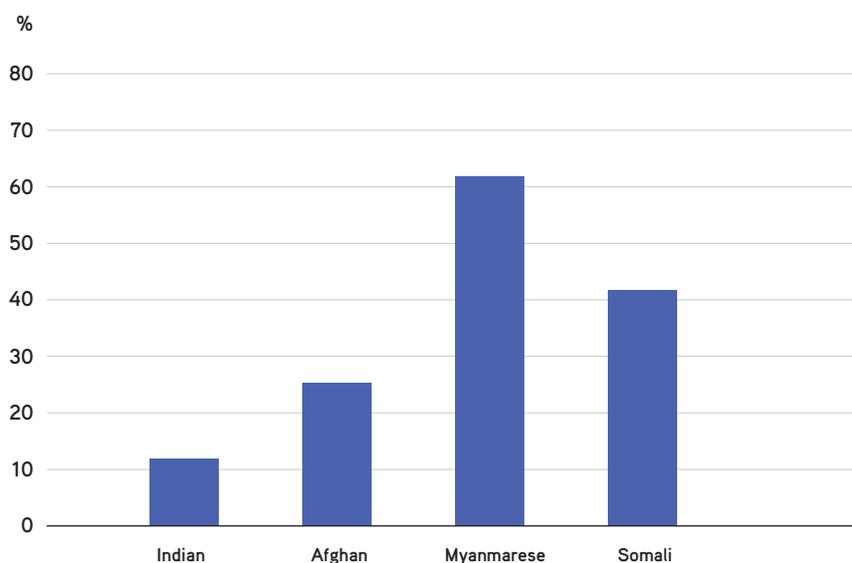


Note:

The dependency ratio shows the number of dependents vs. the working age members of a household. The higher the ratio, the higher the proportion of dependents over working age members.



Figure 15 Proportion of households with members unable to work due to health



Conclusion

Among the refugee groups we surveyed, Myanmarese and Somali households had the highest proportions of income earners and the lowest dependency ratios but they also had the lowest education levels and fewest skills. One explanation for this apparent contradiction could be that households with little human capital require more members to work. However, lack of education and skills mean they must accept insecure employment. We found that many Myanmarese and Somali refugees do not get paid regularly or have been fired (primarily Myanmarese). In addition, both Myanmarese and Somali refugees

appear to experience harassment and discrimination at the work place as well as on their way to and from work.

Afghans appear to have the most human capital, with the highest education levels, wider range of skills, better Hindi skills and few health issues preventing household members from working. At the same time, Afghan households had the lowest number of income earners. One explanation is that higher human capital allows more selective approaches to employment. For example, one Afghan respondent who was trained as a doctor reported that he would not accept to work as a cleaner.

3. SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital is the store of support, knowledge and experience held by a community that is known to and trusted by each other as a result of networks of kinship, nationality, ethnicity or religion. Having access to social capital can assist with securing employment and housing, providing access to financing (both during household emergencies and for investment), and protecting against harassment or other forms of abuse.

For new arrivals, having a community in the destination city can assist with livelihood resources, and over time, social networks improve integration and self-reliance. Social capital and networks must be built and maintained and this occurs as a result of participation in community groups and organisations such as religious organisations, savings groups, unions or associations. Participation in such groups increases involvement in the daily social life of the city or neighborhood and increases access to local networks.

There are two types of social capital, bonding and bridging: Bonding capital or intra-community networks refers to the capital that exists within single communities of family and friends, co-ethnics, or co-nationals. Bridging capital refers to the social relations built across different communities, i.e. inter-community networks. In Delhi, bridging capital is built amongst refugee groups and with the Indian community. Bonding social capital provides safety nets for newcomers, and can help with finding a job²¹.

Bonding social capital

In our survey we measured bonding capital by asking if any household member belonged to community groups, and where people would go if they had economic difficulties and needed help, for example if they couldn't pay the rent, medicine or food. Responses varied strongly by group. Myanmarese refugees were most likely to belong to groups (especially religious and community-based organisations) and Afghans were least likely to belong to any group.

Religious groups were most frequently mentioned, especially by the Myanmarese, of whom 72% said they belonged to one, compared to 5% of Indians, one percent of Afghans, and no Somalis. Myanmarese were also more likely than other groups to belong to community – based organisations. Of the Myanmarese, almost 60% said they belonged to such groups, compared to 11% of Somalis, less than 3% of Indians and no Afghans. Other groups, such as women's groups, youth organisations, savings groups, neighbourhood committees and migrant organisations, were mentioned by fewer than 3% of respondents,

The discussion of community networks during the focus groups reflected the diverse experiences of refugees. Myanmarese refugees valued their community networks highly, particularly the churches. A Myanmarese woman compared the community support to what they get from outside:

“Direct assistance is only provided from the community and the church. From Bosco and UNHCR it can take time, you ask for an appointment. Through the church, it is direct; 2-3 days until the pastor convenes with the elders and grants money”.

The money provided by the community and churches was sometimes a loan and sometimes a gift. Most Myanmarese contribute to these safety nets by paying 10% of their income to the church. One Myanmarese female informant said: “if you are Christian you will pay, if you don't do it, it is like stealing money from God”.

Somalis also showed high levels of social capital, but although there was willingness to support each other, lack of resources prevented such support from being effective. One woman's response captured the general view:

“Refugees try between themselves to donate to each other; but it is difficult to get the required amount together. If one household can't pay their rent they have to vacate the house. Then they have to stay with other refugees”.

²¹ See: Nakagawa and Shaw, 2004; Pelling and High, 2005

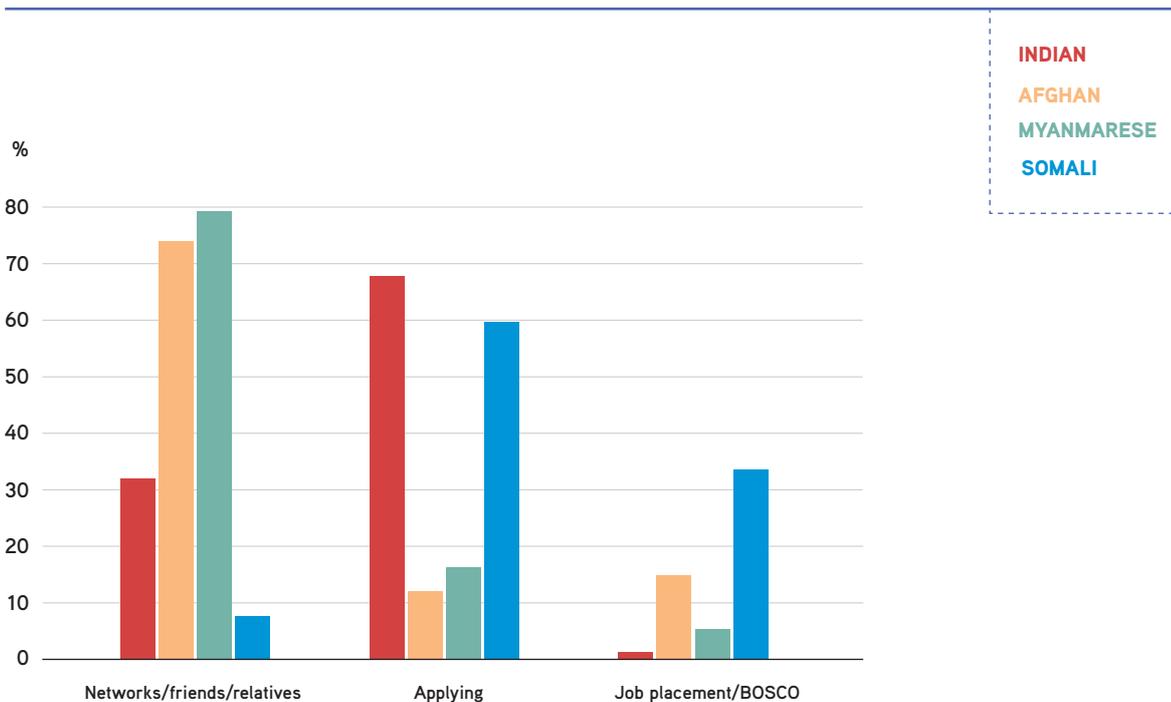


The Afghan community demonstrated a relatively high degree of distrust, and most Afghan survey respondents said there would be no one to turn to in sudden need. Some Afghans during the FGDs said they would be unwilling to start a business with another Afghan as they would not trust them not to run off with the start-up capital. Others said they would keep it secret if not granted refugee status, as some Afghans could approach their employer to let them take over the job if they had the required documentation.

Afghans similarly reported not telling others if they got evicted as sharing such information might make them more vulnerable. However, it is interesting to note, that this lack of trust did not prevent Afghans from using their community when looking for a job (see below). Similarly, distrust seemed not as the only reason for lack of intra community safety nets, as one woman during an FGD said: “No one from the community can help us. This is because everyone is in need. If one can’t pay the rent, all they can do is pray”.

We asked all income earners how they got their job. More than 70% of Afghan and Myanmarese employees said they found their job through the community, friends or relatives.

Figure 16 Distribution of employed income earners by way of accessing their job



In response to the question of where household heads would go for help, Afghans demonstrated the least confidence in their communities, and Myanmarese and Indians showed the highest levels.

Of the Afghan respondents, almost a third said they would ask relatives abroad and half said they would have no options available to them for such help. Over half (56%) of our Myanmarese respondents said they would turn to their church or community association for assistance and 21% said they would ask neighbours or friends from the same ethnic group. About a third (34%) of Somali respondents said they would ask aid agencies for help. More than a quarter (28%) of Somalis said they would have no options

available to them for such help. About a third of Indian respondents said they would ask relatives in Delhi and another third (32%) said they would ask neighbours or friends.

Given the importance of existing networks for new arrivals, we asked whether respondents had friends or relatives already in Delhi before they arrived. A much greater proportion of Indians, almost 64%, said they had relatives in Delhi before arriving, compared with less than 20% of all other groups,

The focus groups shared diverse experiences of arriving in Delhi. Some Somali refugees said they were brought to Delhi by agencies that were not transparent about the destination they offered.

A Somali informant was not aware that she had been flown to Delhi until a local confronted her with a map. Several Afghan informants told us that on arriving at the Delhi airport, they took a taxi to the area with many private hospitals, where Afghans were known to work as interpreters for wealthy “health tourists” from Afghanistan. In those areas they expected to find other Afghans that could advise them on where to find an apartment and how to navigate in the first days.

Table 2 Distribution of households according to source of support in case of difficulty (%)

SOURCE OF SUPPORT	NATIONALITY			
	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Community association -Church	0	1	56	3
None of the options would be available	17	51	10	30
Relatives here in Delhi	37	2	2	0
Neighbors-friends in general	24	6	6	17
Neighbors/friends of same ethnic group	9	2	20	0
Relatives abroad or other part of India	13	32	1	15
Aid/humanitarian organization	0	6	5	35



Bridging social capital

Urban refugees often live mixed with local and other populations in the same neighbourhoods and usually face similar challenges. The types of relationship that develop between these communities affects many aspects of everyday life, including perceptions of safety, conditions in the work place, and the environment at schools for refugee children. Good relationships with other communities sharing the same neighbourhoods create 'bridging' social capital that contributes to better livelihoods.

Bridging social capital is reflected in the extent to which refugee groups have contact with locals, often indicated by whether refugees speak the local language. In Delhi, speaking Hindi, and the desire to learn Hindi, can be a proxy for bridging social capital. Furthermore, we explored bridging social capital by asking about refugees' perceptions of safety, and their experiences of discrimination and harassment, which was a salient topic in focus group discussions.

Our Myanmar focus groups participants said their community had little contact with locals. A few who spoke Hindi had better relationships with Indians, however, one informant said: "it might be better not to understand what the Indians say about us". A Myanmar woman, reflecting

upon the reason for such widespread discrimination, told us:

"If we were more rich and could pay rent on time and were more educated and worked in better jobs, the problems would be fewer. We are no benefit for them; they [the locals] think, they are very poor, they are nothing, we are not afraid of them".

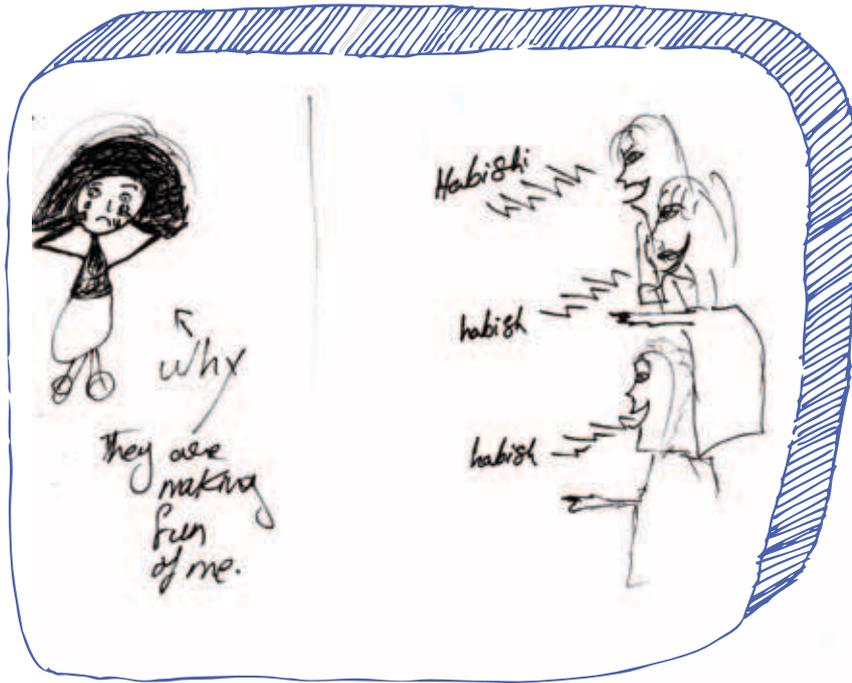
This feeling of inferiority may be another reason for avoiding engagement with locals. Some Myanmar expressed a sense of stagnation in their community when compared to the developing Indian society:

"Everything around us [in Delhi] is changing to the better; new buildings ... but we don't change. In 10 years they [Indians] will be in heaven and we in hell".

Afghan refugees said they felt discriminated against mainly because of their religion; landlords would refuse to rent apartments to Afghans for that reason. Some mentioned the physical harassment

that primarily their daughters and single women faced and incidents were recounted of fights between Afghan boys and locals, as well as assaults on Afghan shop owners by Sikh Indians. However, overall the Afghans described their relationship to Indians as decent.

When we asked Somali refugees during the focus groups about their relations to the local populations, the usual answer was that there was no relationship, as they tried to keep a distance to avoid conflicts. This attitude was based on daily experiences of discrimination and harassment taking place in the neighbourhood, at school, in the shops, at the hospital and the local authorities. Mediation by UNHCR and their implementing partner SLIC in such conflicts was seen as being in vain, since the informant reported that justice was seldom served.



This drawing shows a Somali girl discriminated at school.

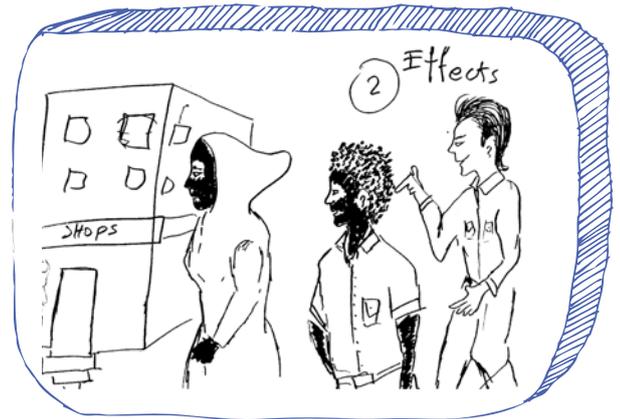
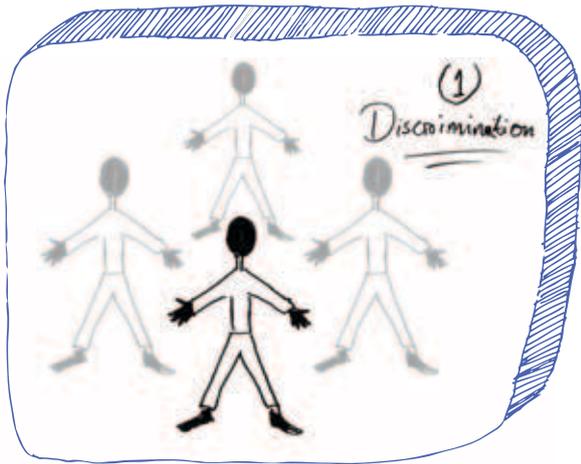
Drawing by
Somali girls

*Aged
 15 - 18
 years old*

Even though many fights took place during daytime, no bystanders interfered, and the Somalis being always in a minority were subjected to assaults. "No one goes to the police, neither locals nor Somalis. After a fight, everyone just dusts off their boots and goes home". Most preferred not to report incidents to the police as this could lead to further discord and enmity with neighbours and landlords. Somalis were aware of Indians' view of them:

"Locals claim we are thieves. The media has been blaming Nigerians for a lot of criminality and locals can't tell the difference between Nigerians and Somalis, so they also blame us".

As a result, several Somalis expressed an unwillingness to learn Hindi. Like the Myanmar, some older women said not speaking the language is an advantage, as then they don't understand what Indians say about them. A young man who had lived five years in Delhi, stated he didn't want to learn Hindi "I hate the language, without any reason".



Drawings by
Somali
 Aged 20-25 years old
 young men

This group highlighted discrimination as a major challenge in the community (first drawing). This manifests itself, when locals comment on and make fun of their different dresses and touch their hair (second drawing). Somalis are often assaulted by locals; the other Somalis can't do anything but look and call UNHCR, SLIC and the police for help (third drawing). The boys

said that if they had the power to change things, they would ensure a just judiciary (fourth drawing). Their response to what they think could be done to address the discrimination and harassment was recommending more meetings between the local community, Somali refugees, UNHCR and the police (fifth drawing).



This drawing shows a Myanmar young woman harassed at her workplace by colleagues.

Drawing by

Myanmar young women Aged 15-25 years old

The degree of harassment and discrimination experienced by the different refugee populations was quite varied. For Myanmar and Somalis the issue came up in most of the topics we discussed during the focus groups, whereas it came up to a much lower extent for the Afghan refugees. These different relations with the local community reflected different degrees of bridging social capital.

Somali refugees reported having almost no contact to the local community in order to avoid harassment, which was a daily experience for them. A Somali woman reported in a focus group that the reason for the very high clustering of Somali families in the same areas and even buildings was

an attempt to delimit their neighbours and surrounding environment so as to ensure greater safety. The suggestions, made by the focus group participants in order to address discrimination, were either to provide separate neighbourhoods and schools for refugees only, or, in a more optimistic vein, to conduct additional community mediation.

The high degree of discrimination faced by Somalis could explain why most preferred to avoid the job market. Instead, over 50% of the Somali income earners were employed in the income generation activities of UNHCR's implementing partner and 23% were working as interpreters; again primarily for UNHCR and their implementing partners.

The Myanmar refugees also experienced a high degree of discrimination and harassment in their daily lives; at work, in school, by landlords and neighbours. However, this did not prevent them from accessing the informal local job market – though under very unequal conditions and with recurring experiences of being fired, not paid, and sexually harassed in case of women. A general perception in the focus groups was that there was little that could be done in order to improve the situation. Many felt that it was futile to report harassment and discrimination to UNHCR, SLIC or the police. The Myanmar community networks were not capable of addressing this issue either, as they themselves had no voice in the local community.



Afghan refugees experienced less discrimination and were not stigmatised, perhaps because of their physical appearance and because they were better educated and spoke the local language. They were able to access apartments in better neighbourhoods among Indians without clustering in refugee neighbourhoods as Myanmarese and Somalis did. They were able to apply for better jobs, though lack of work permit and documentation was most often a barrier to actually getting those jobs. Some Indians told us that the discrimination that Afghans faced was similar to what Muslim Indians face in certain neighbourhoods.

Conclusion

Having access to social capital can increase the likelihood of securing employment, housing and financing. Social capital can potentially also protect against harassment or other forms of abuse. We looked at the social capital of the refugee groups in terms of bonding and bridging capital.

Myanmarese refugees had more bonding capital in the form of strong safety nets. For example, they could access money from the church when in need, and they were hosted by neighbours if evicted. Afghans appeared to have much less social capital, with more than half reporting they would have nowhere to go if in need, other than turning to relatives abroad. During

FGDs, many described how secretive Afghans were about problems such as eviction or not getting refugee status. Somali refugees did report higher levels of intra-community support. However, the community was small and had few resources, which made the support offered less effective.

Bridging capital was weakened by the discrimination and harassment experienced by the refugee communities. Somali and Myanmarese refugees reported the highest degrees of discrimination and harassment in their daily lives – in the neighbourhood, by landlords, in the school, by local authorities, at the workplace etc.

4. LENGTH OF STAY IN DELHI

Length of stay is potentially an important factor in urban livelihood security. The longer a refugee household lives in a city, the better they understand how to survive (by developing or strengthening urban skills such as language, urban business practices etc.).

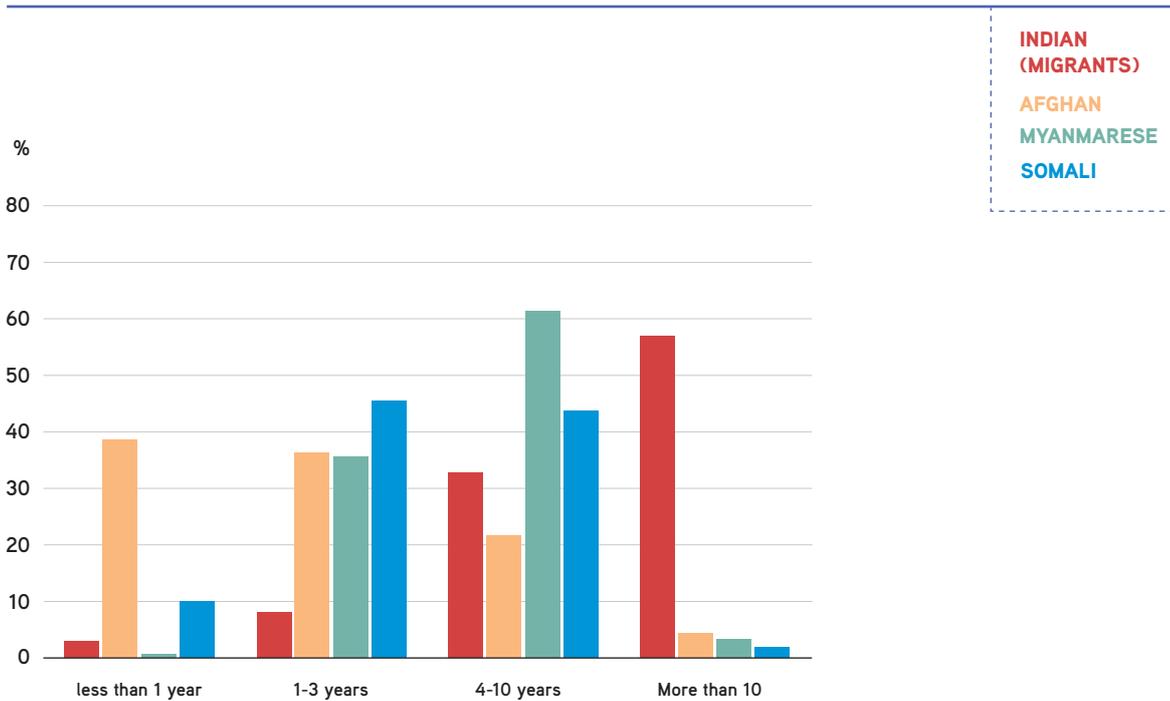
With length of time, people’s social capital and networks become stronger, which also helps with livelihoods

and integration. We therefore explored whether length of stay affected such livelihood indicators as employment of the household head.

Of our surveyed sample, all the refugee groups were migrants, and of our 388 Indian household heads, 54% had been born in Delhi or had come before the age of 16, and 26% had lived there more than ten years.

The majority of the surveyed Afghan refugees had been in Delhi for either less than a year (38%) or between 1 and 3 years (36%). Of the Myanmarse refugees, 60% had been in Delhi between 4 and 10 years, whereas another 35% between 1 and 3 years. Most Somali refugees had been in Delhi for either 1-3 years (45%) or between 4 and 10 years (44%).

Figure 17 Distribution of households according to length of stay in Delhi

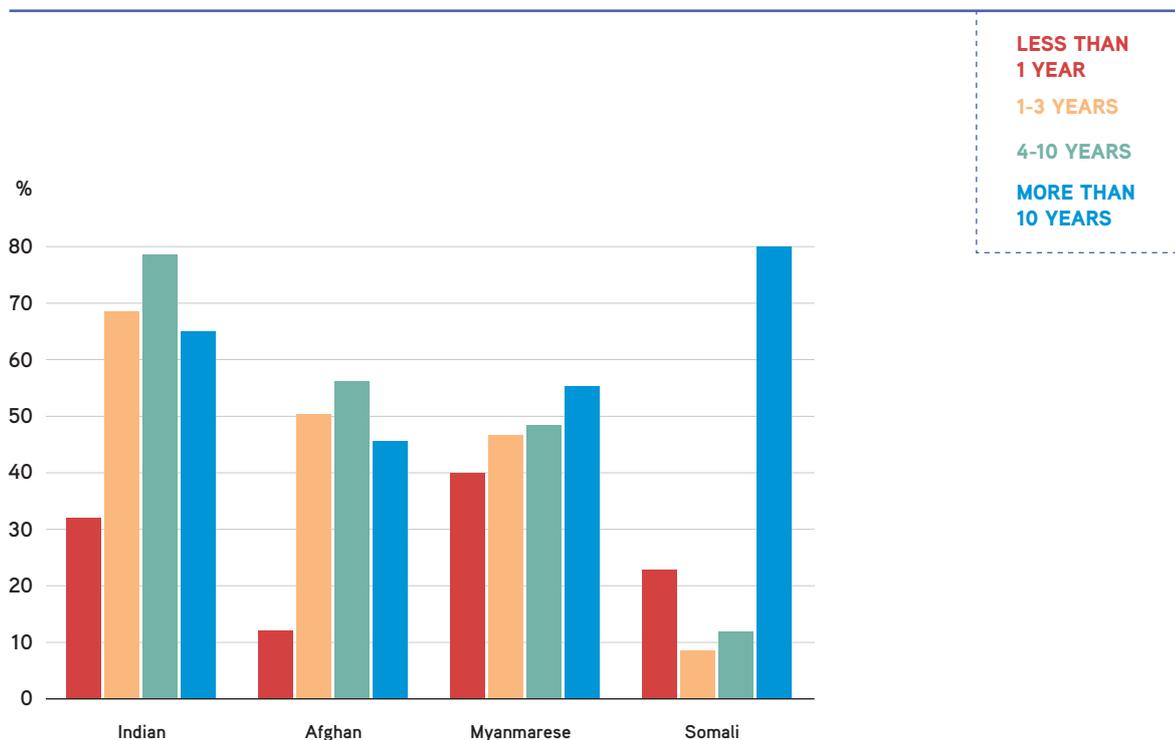


To explore the impact of length of stay, we chose to look at the employment status of household heads in correlation to the duration of their stay in Delhi. Among the Indian migrants and the Afghan refugees and asylum seekers there is a similar pattern of increase in

the employment of household heads according to their stay in Delhi. However, a decrease is then noticed for those having been in Delhi the longest (this could be related to older age as well). Among Myanmarse and Somalis an increase is also clear, though to different degrees.



Figure 18 Proportion of heads of household working, by length of stay in Delhi



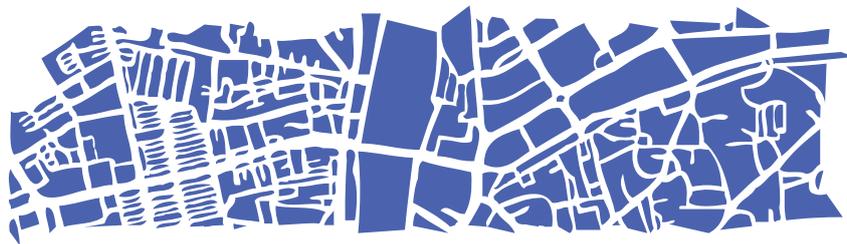
5. CONCLUSION

Not all forms of human capital lead to greater employment security. Despite good education levels among the Afghans, they had the lowest employment levels. One explanation is that high education leads to high expectations for employment. However, accessible urban jobs are low skilled, while better paid, high skilled jobs require Hindi language skills and documentation beyond the refugee identity card.

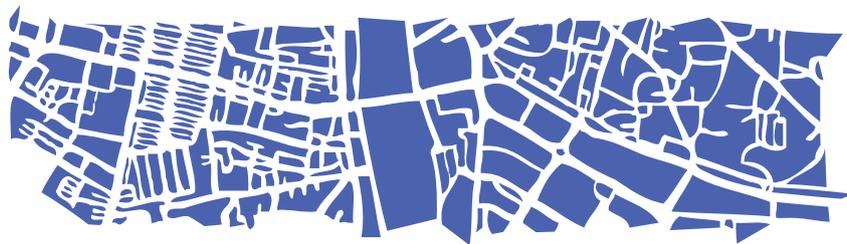
Similarly, social capital in the form of intra community networks did

not necessarily lead to greater employment security, but it did make the Myanmarese refugees more secure by offering strong safety nets, whereas Afghan households had to rely to a much higher degree only upon their own household and support from abroad in form of remittances. Thus, both Myanmarese and Somali households had to counterbalance their low human capital with stronger safety nets within the community. Myanmarese had effective safety networks whereas the much smaller community of Somalis had fewer resources to share.

Relations to the Indian host population, so-called bridging social capital, were weakest amongst Myanmarese and Somalis. High degrees of discrimination and harassment affected their access to work and housing as well as their general physical safety. Only certain types of employment (e.g. badly paid jobs in factories) were accessible to Myanmarese; they experienced the highest degrees of evictions and were often harassed at the workplace, in the neighbourhood or at school.



VII. EDUCATION



CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR
CHILDREN AND YOUTH



VII. EDUCATION CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH

“

... the problem is the verbal abuse and being a minority, kids are being beaten, we worry about their security, not talent.

— Somali woman

If we don't study or go to college, our future will be to become a waiter or a driver.

— Afghan boy

”

Through collecting information on all children in each household between 5 and 18 years our survey explored the types of education refugee children are receiving, the level of school attendance, and the reasons for low attendance.

In addition, we held focus group discussion with the youth based on the storyboard technique (see methodology chapter III). Girls and boys between 15 and 24 years attended separate groups according to sex and origin.

THROUGH OUR ANALYSIS WE FOUND THAT:

- Almost half of Myanmar children (41%) are not enrolled in any type of school, a significantly higher number than Afghan refugee children (14%) and Somalis (13%).
- Reasons for non-attendance differed across these groups. While significant numbers of responses across all groups mentioned financial constraint as a factor limiting their school attendance, more Myanmar children reported the need to work as a constraint, while Somali children reported language difficulties as a more prevalent factor.
- Discrimination at school was a problem, with Somali and Myanmar girls and boys reporting that they were often verbally and physically abused by their classmates and teachers.
- Across the target groups we saw a continuity of human capital levels. For example, Afghan households with the highest education levels amongst household heads had the lowest percentage of children not attending school.

1. EDUCATION CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TO REFUGEES IN DELHI

In India all refugee and asylum seeker children have access to government primary schools, where the medium of instruction usually is Hindi, with refugee children placed in a class grade depending on their proficiency in the language. As a result of often limited Hindi skills, many children are placed in grades that do not correspond to their age or the level of education they completed in their home country.

Currently the UNHCR and their implementing partner, Bosco, offer

various education options in Delhi: bridge classes, which aim at getting students admitted in government schools, and tuition classes, which help the enrolled children to keep pace with school classes. Children can also enrol in the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS), which is a distance learning programme. The study material can be in English, which makes it a preferred option for refugees. The Government of India has vested NIOS with the authority to examine and certify students registered with it.

Lack of required documentation limits refugees in accessing higher education, as either enrolment is prevented, or it necessitates the payment of higher overseas student fees rather than domestic fees. The only option available is the DAFI Scholarship (offered by the German Government to refugee students); as of June 2013, UNHCR supported 52 DAFI scholars, which included graduating, continuing and new students.

2. CHILDREN'S SCHOOLING PATTERNS: ACCESS AND EXPERIENCE

In the survey school access patterns observed across the different population groups were shown to be highly diverse, and revealed the different challenges faced by refugee children.

Table 3 Proportion of children by access to education (%)

EDUCATION TYPE	NATIONALITY			
	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Not enrolled anywhere	7	16	41	13
Governmental school	51	17	8	24
Private school	39	24	4	29
English class	1	38	5	19
Church school	0	1	24	0
Vocational training	0	13	6	13
Bridge school	0	10	3	17
National Open School	0	13	0	0

Note:
Children of the age 5 - 18 are included.
Multiple answers were possible.



The survey responses showed that almost half (41%) of Myanmar children were not enrolled in any type of school, compared with, 16% of Afghan refugee children and 13% of Somali children (only 7% of Indian children were not enrolled).

More than half of the Indian children attended Government schools.

Among refugees, Somalis attended Government schools in higher numbers (24%). Private schools were attended primarily by Indian children (39%), followed by Somali (27%) and Afghan (24%) children. Very few Myanmar children attended private school, whereas a significant number (24%) attended Church schools.

In general, there were no significant differences between male and female children in any population group, though there was a tendency for more male children in all population groups to be enrolled in private school.

Of those children attending school, most did so, on a daily basis,

3. LIMITATIONS TO SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The reasons why children were not enrolled in school differed by population group. Indian, Afghan and Myanmar children did not attend school mostly because of financial constraints. Language was a limiting factor for a majority of Somali children not attending school (63%).

Child work was significant among Myanmar children (38%); this was also confirmed during the focus groups; Myanmar girls reported that most children less than 18 years were needed to work. All the girls in the Myanmar female youth focus group were working, and only a few were attending any type of school.

Table 4 Proportion of children not attending school according to reasons (%)

REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL	NATIONALITY			
	Indian	Afghan	Myanmar	Somali
financial constraints	56	49	63	38
child is working	3	2	38	13
medical reasons	12	5	10	0
Language issues	0	21	1	63
discrimination/hostility	0	0	6	13
distance/no school	9	13	1	0
drop out/failure	18	0	0	0
security – not safe	0	2	2	13
lack of documentation	0	6	1	0

Note:
Children of the age 5 - 18 are included.
Multiple answers were possible.



When looking at the differences in access to education across the refugee communities interesting patterns arise. The Afghan and Somali community invested in the human capital of the future generation and sent their children to school in much higher numbers than the Myanmar community.

The relatively high attendance of Somali children in Government schools, despite the discrimination and harassment reported by all youth, is worthy of notice. At the same time, the disparity between age and grade, the reported exclusion by the teachers, and the difficulties in understanding the class due to challenges with the Hindi language, all pose questions about the actual learning outcomes enjoyed by the Somali children attending Government schools.

The Myanmar community had the highest number of children not going to school. In the survey the main reasons reported for not attending school were financial constraints and the need to work. The focus groups reported discrimination and harassment by local children and teachers as an important factor as well. Although many Myanmar children attended Church school, this would not provide them with a certificate recognised in India.

Some very interesting points emerged during the focus group discussion held with the youth from the three refugee communities. Afghan boys and girls expressed strong motivation to pursue higher education and lack of access to colleges was raised as a challenge by almost all Afghan youth in the focus groups. Several said they had not been able to enter college because they lacked the required documentation (often a valid visa was requested by the university).

Many Afghan girls and boys explained that the Hindi language, particularly written, was too difficult and they preferred to attend the tuition classes in English at Bosco, which serve as a preparation for the Open School exams. Some Afghan boys expressed worries that the few hours of classes would not make them competitive enough in the final national exams, and that this would be a setback to being able to proceed with college education. There was little to no awareness among the Afghan students about the DAFI Scholarship and in general the youth seemed not to have any ideas as to how to enter college. The alternative though seemed clear, as an Afghan boy said: "If we don't study or go to college, our future will be to become a waiter or a driver".

Afghan girls said a main challenge faced by youth was lack of awareness about the programs and courses available in India. They felt that there was no one to advise them about possible future career plans, and the tuition classes at Bosco, offered only limited subjects, such as economics, business, English, cooking etc. If students wanted to pursue a different direction they had to find the relevant books and teach themselves. In addition, some curricula were only partly taught, placing a great responsibility on the students for fully preparing for the exams. The Afghan girls stressed that Open School tuition classes were attended only by strong students or those with educated parents who could support their children. The weaker students would not be able to get through the curriculum with so little teaching.

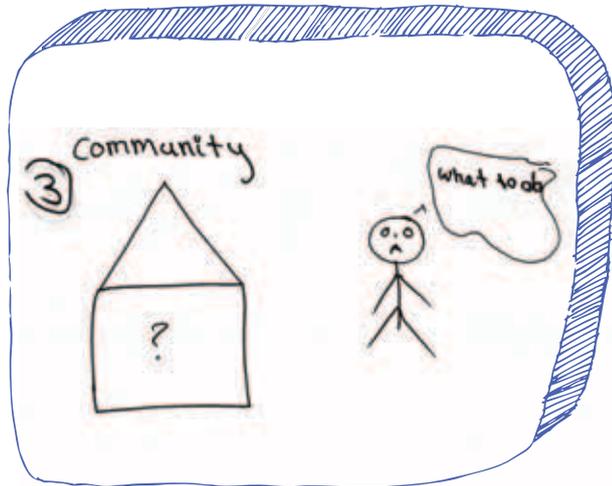
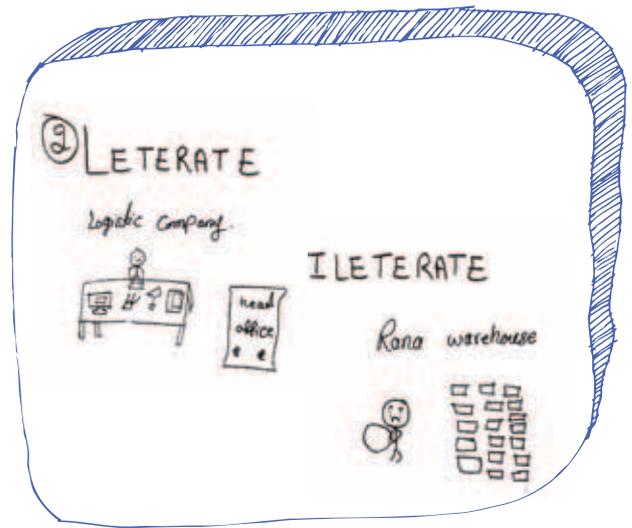
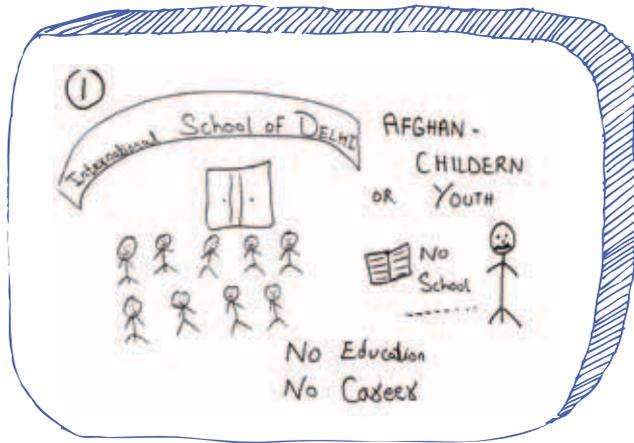


Discrimination in the Government schools was reported most often by the Somali and Myanmarese youth during the focus groups. The Somali girls reported that they were made to sit at the back of the classroom or sometimes in a class without chairs, where they often did not receive instruction. Girls of 16 and 17 years in the focus group explained that they were placed in classes with children of 6-7 years of age due to their inadequate Hindi skills. It is interesting to note that Somali youth did not attend the Open school, which is in English. One explanation is that many Somali women were illiterate and therefore not able to support their children attending the more demanding Open School process (as indicated by Afghan girls previously).

Somali and Myanmarese girls and boys reported that they were often verbally and physically abused by their classmates and teachers. A Somali boy reported that the local Indian students told Somali children that they would never be like them, no matter how they dressed or how much they studied. A Somali woman expressed her concerns very succinctly: "... the problem is the verbal abuse and being a minority, kids are being beaten, we worry about their security, not talent".

Women reported that their kids often came home from school with injuries. Both women and youth in the focus groups said "UNHCR should maintain a school just for refugees".

Despite the reported discrimination against Somali and Myanmarese children and youth, many, primarily Somalis (24%), kept attending Government schools. The frustration and sadness caused by these daily experiences though were clearly communicated by the youth in the focus groups.



Drawing by
Afghan girls

Aged
16-18
years old

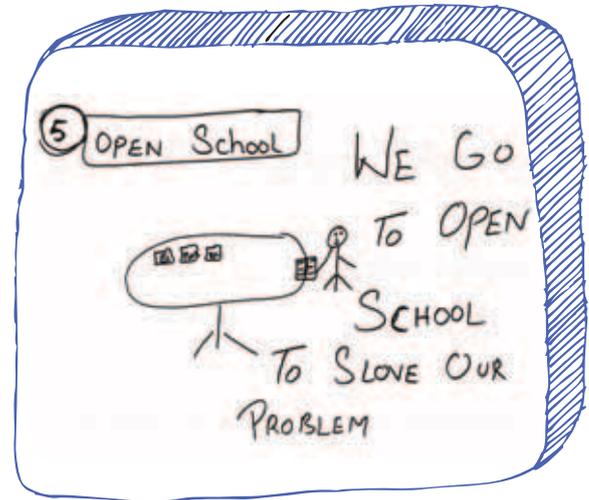
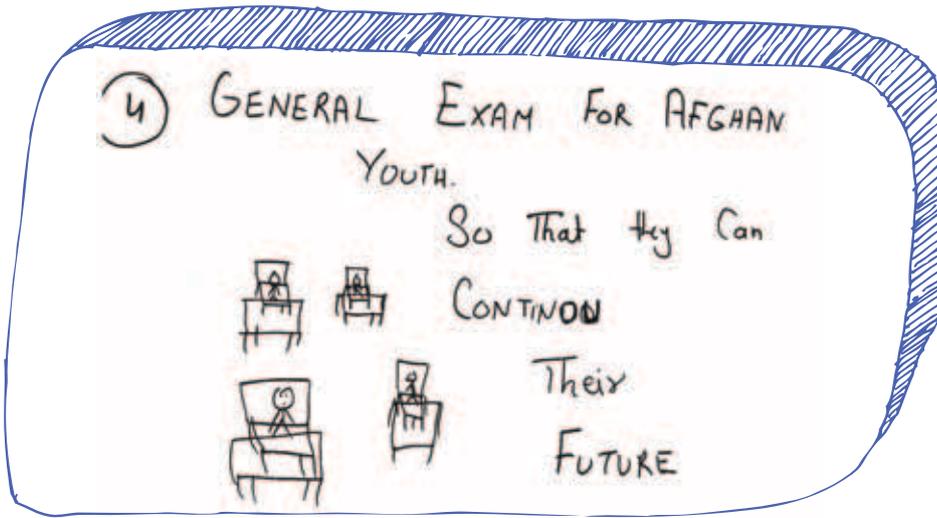
The girls identified lack of access to higher education as an important concern they had (*first drawing*).

The results of lacking access for refugees are illustrated in the difference between literate and illiterate persons, who accordingly either get a good job in an office or need to work in a warehouse (*second drawing*).

As the girls said:

“Women will then [when illiterate] stay at home, work in warehouses or not even get a job”.

The Afghan refugee community was not able to respond to this challenge (*third drawing*).



The girls suggested that a one good idea would be to introduce some exams that could place the students at the right level and thereby recognise their previous education (*fourth drawing*).

What the community can do, in order to better respond to the challenge of not being able to access college, is to attend the Open School classes; nevertheless, this does not address the challenge of not accessing college (*fifth drawing*).

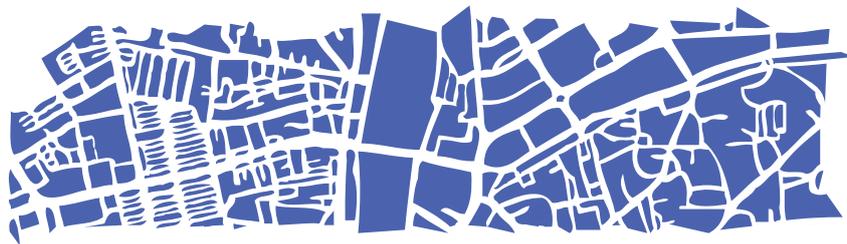


4. CONCLUSIONS

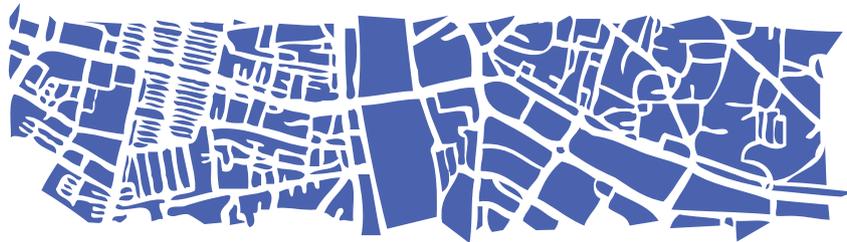
All communities showed a tendency to transfer the existing either high or low human capital levels to the next generation (even if Afghan parents in the focus groups expressed worries about their children being less educated than themselves).

In general, we see a continuity of human capital levels in the different target groups (sometimes a decrease). Thus the Afghans, with the highest education levels amongst household heads, had the lowest percentage of children not attending school, and the Afghan youth expressed very strong motivation to enter college, considering it decisive for their future.

The Myanmar community, with the lowest education levels of household heads, also showed the largest percentage of children not attending school. The Myanmar youth in FGDs mentioned only once the lack of access to college as a serious concern. The Somali community was somewhere in between: the adults had low levels of education; however, the children did attend school in relatively high percentages. However, it is important to add, that the Somali youth in the focus groups did mention that their attending school often brought few actual learning outcomes and that their primary concern was discrimination in school and not future plans for entering college.



IIX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS





IIX. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The principle objective of this profiling report has been to build an empirical base to help design and improve programming and advocacy. While we have found that some of our findings reflected existing UNHCR understanding of the challenges facing refugees in Delhi, this knowledge can now be reinforced with data about the lives of refugees from Myanmar, Somalia and Afghanistan from over 1,000 households and many in depth focus group discussions.

This profiling exercise focused on how refugee livelihoods compare vis-à-vis the living conditions of local Indians. For this we broke down livelihood security into the component parts of employment, housing and financial security, as well as physical safety. Subsequently, we explored the factors that affect livelihoods, such as documentation and legal status, human and social capital, as well as length of stay. This helped us to then identify impeding and conducive factors to improved livelihood security. An additional focus was then given to education of youth and children.

During the exercise it became evident that each refugee community faced different challenges in terms of access to employment, housing and finances as well as in relation to physical safety. It is therefore recommended that different livelihood strategies are developed to target each of the refugee groups. Accordingly the below programming and advocacy recommendations are outlined separately for each refugee community.

Our recommendations, listed here, are addressed to UNHCR in Delhi and their implementing partners, Bosco and SLIC, and were developed in close collaboration with them.



1. EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL SECURITY

Refugees from Myanmar:

A high degree of discrimination and harassment at the work place as well as job instability were reported as key challenges.

- BOSCO should strengthen their engagement in sensitisation of employers with the aim of improving the working conditions and job security. Mediation between employees and employers could also prevent misunderstandings over work and salary arrangements. This should be targeted specifically at work places where many refugees from Myanmar are employed.
- BOSCO should explore work placement of groups, as this could potentially decrease the risks to personal safety faced on the way to and from work, as well as in the work place.

Refugees from Afghanistan:

Afghan refugees often attempt to access the more formal job market. Possessing accepted documentation is therefore often a challenge. Employers often require a valid visa, not recognising the UNHCR issued refugee certificate. In addition, the certificates and diplomas of refugees are not acknowledged.

- BOSCO should sensitise employers on the significance of the UNHCR issued refugee card.
- UNHCR should advocate with the Government to recognise certain diplomas or opportunities for recertification.

Refugees from Somalia:

Somali refugees face serious difficulties in entering the labour market in Delhi, often the main reason for this being discrimination and the lack of valid visas. Most Somali refugees are therefore engaged in income generation activities offered by UNHCR and partners.

- SLIC should sensitise local communities with the aim of increasing local employment options.
- BOSCO should encourage Somali refugees to start small businesses and apply for small grants. This could possibly provide a longer term path to entering the local labour market.

CROSS-COMMUNITY RECOMMENDATIONS:

- To establish community focal points for livelihood issues in order to enable a continuous dialogue between refugee communities and UNHCR and partners.
- BOSCO should continue to educate employers on refugee rights and the value of UNHCR documentation, in order to improve work conditions and stability.
- UNHCR and BOSCO should explore the option of linking refugees with public and private sector initiatives to build their skills.
- UNHCR should directly engage with industry and commerce associations such as Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and Confederation of Indian Industry (CII).
- BOSCO should explore revolving funds for groups of refugees for small businesses such as tea shops and restaurants or other vending enterprises.



2. HOUSING SECURITY

All three refugee groups reported varying degrees of housing insecurity due to restricted access to housing, discrimination by landlords, and evictions. Primarily it was Myanmarese and Somali households who had experienced evictions.

3. PHYSICAL SAFETY – HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION

Refugees from Myanmar and Somalia reported facing the most discrimination and harassment – in the neighbourhood, by landlords, at work, in school, and by local authorities - and had the worst relations to their local communities. Myanmarese were counterbalancing this by strong intra-community support networks.

Afghans experienced less discrimination from the local community, however they reported having less community networks to access and had to rely more on support from abroad. Somali refugees had few established community networks to provide a safety net, and faced a high degree of racial discrimination and harassment.

Somali men during a focus groups discussion mentioned the difficulties faced by Somali refugees upon arriving to Delhi, and they wished for some support in organising a receiving and introducing mechanism within their community.

- BOSCO and SLIC should conduct sensitisation sessions with landlords, neighbours and neighbourhood associations in areas where refugees live to minimise and prevent conflicts. This is particularly needed in the areas where refugees from Somalia and Myanmar are residing.
- UNHCR should provide information to newly arrived asylum-seekers about available services in Delhi. This can be done partly by supporting community groups/initiatives to aid newly arrived refugees.
- UNHCR and partners should continue bringing together refugee and local communities during cultural events and festivals, in order to lessen misunderstandings and improve communication.
- UNHCR should continue to support the formation of committees/community groups with good communication structures that can discuss and promote refugee interests.
- UNHCR should identify leaders and/or key community members of the local Indian community, who can facilitate relationship building with refugees and mobilise local communities to reduce harassment and discrimination against refugees.
- UNHCR and partners should bring together Indian and refugee women on a common platform to bridge gaps, and to build communication to address gender based violence.
- UNHCR and partners should organise joint youth workshops with Indians and refugees.
- BOSCO should explore facilitation of basic skills training facilities in the refugee neighbourhoods, also open to Indian youth.



4. EDUCATION

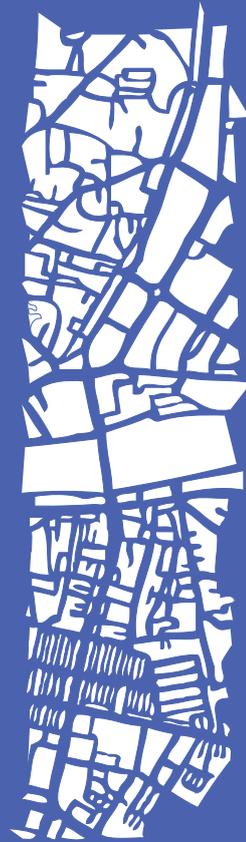
Access to education - primary, secondary as well as higher- and education quality was a concern cutting across the three refugee communities. Myanmar children were, however, in greater numbers than Somali and Afghan children, not attending any type of school.

Harassment and discrimination was identified as a problem in government schools primarily by Myanmar and Somali children. Work commitments were reported by Myanmar as the primary explanation for not attending school, while among Somalis the main reason was the language barrier. The alternative to Government Schools, the Open School classes provided by UNHCR's partner, seemed to cover only a restricted array of subjects and target primarily stronger students.

- UNHCR and BOSCO should continue to identify government schools in areas where refugees live and to advocate for admission of refugee students.
- UNHCR and BOSCO should strengthen engagement with local government schools and local communities to raise awareness about refugees, address issues of discrimination and harassment and enhance parents-teachers associations.
- UNHCR and partners should organise joint events for refugee and Indian children.
- BOSCO should offer more frequent classes and a greater variety of subjects for Open School students.
- Some refugees possess higher education but no job as their certificates are not recognised. Their knowledge could be used by engaging them in the classes offered by the Open School, in order to expand the subjects offered and support knowledge transfer and network building between refugee communities.
- UNHCR and BOSCO should combine open schooling opportunities and income generation activities for refugee children and youth, who are unable to attend regular schools due to financial problems and engagement in paid work (primarily a concern among Myanmar youth).
- UNHCR should continue to advocate with tertiary educational institutions to facilitate admission of refugees and charge fees at par with Indian nationals.
- BOSCO should organise information campaigns to increase awareness and knowledge of the DAFI scholarship.
- UNHCR and BOSCO should offer vocational training courses and job placement based on the skills in high demand such as car repair, IT repair and mobile repair.
- UNHCR and BOSCO should continue to promote language courses in Hindi among refugee children, youth and adults.



VIII. ANNEX: DATA OVERVIEW



INDICATOR / DISAGGREGATION	Unit	NATIONALITY			
		Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
A. SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION					
Sample size, by district	#	111	136	0	46
South Delhi	#	225	14	435	0
West Delhi	#	32	23	0	18
North Delhi	#	20	3	0	0
East Delhi	#	388	176	435	64
All districts	%	36.5	16.6	40.9	6.0
B. DEMOGRAPHICS					
INDICATOR / DISAGGREGATION	Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Distribution of respondents according to relationship status					
head of household	%	491	70.5	81.6	93.8
husband-wife of head	%	27.9	23.3	14.7	0.0
son-daughter of head	%	15.2	5.1	1.4	0.0
brother-sister of head	%	2.1	0.6	0.7	1.6
father-mother of head	%	0.0	0.6	0.2	0.0
grandfather-grandmother of head	%	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
grandson-granddaughter of head	%	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
other relation head	%	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Friend-not related	%	1.3	0.0	0.9	1.6
son-in-law- daughter-in-law	%	2.3	0.0	0.2	0.0
other	%	0.3	0.0	0.0	3.1
Distribution of household heads according to sex					
Female	%	14.5	32.4	37.2	42.9
Male	%	85.5	67.6	62.8	57.1
Age of household heads, by sex					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
Mean	Yrs	55.3	40.5	37.3	37.1
Median	Yrs	58.0	38.5	36.5	36.0
<i>Male HoH</i>					
Mean	Yrs	46.8	40.9	37.4	29.3
Median	Yrs	47.0	39.0	36.0	27.0
All household heads					
Mean	Yrs	48.0	40.7	37.4	32.6
Median	Yrs	48.0	39.0	36.0	29.0

(B. DEMOGRAPHICS)		Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Distribution of household heads according to ethnicity, by nationality						
<i>Somali</i>						
Hawiya	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.6
Bantu	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.6
Darad	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.6
Ashraf	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	14.1
Madiban	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	15.6
Tuni	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10.9
Other	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	54.7
<i>Afghan</i>						
Tajik	%	n.a.	64.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Hazara	%	n.a.	17.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Pashoun	%	n.a.	18.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>Myanmarese</i>						
Burmans	%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.2	n.a.
Chin	%	n.a.	n.a.	98.6	n.a.	n.a.
Kachin	%	n.a.	n.a.	0.2	n.a.	n.a.
Distribution of Indian household heads according to State of original residence						
Assam	%	0.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Bihar	%	14.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Delhi	%	42.4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Haryana	%	7.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Jammu and Kashmir	%	0.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Jharkhand	%	0.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Madhya Pradesh	%	1.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Maharashtra	%	0.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Mizoram	%	0.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Punjab	%	1.6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Rajasthan	%	0.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Sikkim	%	0.3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Uttar Pradesh	%	27.9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Uttarakhand	%	1.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
West Bengal	%	0.8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

VIII. ANNEX: DATA OVERVIEW

(B. DEMOGRAPHICS)	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
Household size, by sex of household head				
<i>Female HoH</i>				
<i>Mean</i>	5.3	4.5	4.2	4.6
<i>Median</i>	5.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
<i>Male HoH</i>				
<i>Mean</i>	5.3	5.7	5.0	2.0
<i>Median</i>	5.0	6.0	5.0	1.5
All HoH				
<i>Mean</i>	5.3	5.4	4.7	3.1
<i>Median</i>	5.0	5.0	4.0	2.0
Household size disaggregated by age groups, by sex of household head				
<i>Female HoH</i>				
Under 18 years	1.5	2.5	1.9	2.2
18 to 45 years	2.8	1.7	2.0	2.1
45 to 60 years	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.2
More than 60 years	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
<i>Male HoH</i>				
Under 18 years	1.5	2.7	2.1	0.3
18 to 45 years	2.8	2.5	2.4	1.7
45 to 60 years	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.0
More than 60 years	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
All HoH				
Under 18 years	1.5	2.6	2.0	1.1
18 to 45 years	2.8	2.2	2.2	1.9
45 to 60 years	0.9	0.4	0.4	0.1
More than 60 years	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Distribution of household size according to age groups, by sex of household head				
<i>Female HoH</i>				
Under 18 years	28.6	55.2	44.6	48.8
18 to 45 years	51.9	37.5	47.1	47.2
45 to 60 years	14.8	5.0	7.4	4.1
More than 60 years	4.7	2.3	1.0	0.0
<i>Male HoH</i>				
Under 18 years	28.8	46.5	43.3	13.9
18 to 45 years	52.8	43.3	47.9	84.7

(B. DEMOGRAPHICS)	Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
45 to 60 years	%	16.4	8.9	8.0	1.4
More than 60 years	%	2.1	1.3	0.7	0.0
All HoH					
Under 18 years	%	28.7	48.9	43.8	35.7
18 to 45 years	%	52.7	41.7	47.6	61.2
45 to 60 years	%	16.2	7.8	7.8	3.1
More than 60 years	%	2.4	1.6	0.8	0.0
C. EMPLOYMENT SECURITY	Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
Distribution of households according to number of income earners, by sex of HoH					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
0	%	7.1	52.6	8.6	25.9
1	%	53.6	36.8	56.8	51.9
2	%	30.4	10.5	30.2	22.2
3+	%	8.9	0.0	4.3	0.0
<i>Male HoH</i>					
0	%	2.1	34.5	3.3	27.8
1	%	54.4	52.1	54.6	58.3
2	%	34.4	8.4	34.4	11.1
3+	%	9.1	5.0	7.7	2.8
All HoH					
0	%	2.8	40.3	5.3	27.0
1	%	54.3	47.2	55.4	55.6
2	%	33.9	9.1	32.9	15.9
3+	%	9.0	3.4	6.4	1.6
Distribution of households heads (HoH) according to occupational status, by sex of HoH					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
Self-employed – Own business	%	7.1	14.0	6.8	0.0
Employed-Salaried	%	32.1	24.6	39.5	3.7
Unemployed but looking for job	%	5.4	42.1	4.9	11.1
Unemployed but not looking for job	%	21.4	15.8	5.6	44.4
Working for relatives (unpaid)	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Domestic work	%	14.3	1.8	0.6	40.7
Student	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Retired	%	14.3	0.0	1.2	0.0
Disabled	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

C. EMPLOYMENT SECURITY					Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
Dont know- Refused to answer	%	5.4	1.8	41.4	0.0			
Male HoH								
Self-employed - Own business	%	36.9	24.4	5.1	2.8			
Employed-Salaried	%	46.2	26.1	63.0	22.2			
Unemployed but looking for job	%	1.8	3.19	2.6	22.2			
Unemployed but not looking for job	%	4.2	9.2	0.0	13.9			
Working for relatives (unpaid)	%	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0			
Domestic work	%	0.0	7.6	0.4	36.1			
Student	%	1.2	0.0	0.7	0.0			
Retired	%	8.2	0.0	0.4	0.0			
Disabled	%	1.2	0.8	2.71	2.8			
Dont know- Refused to answer	%	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0			
All HoH								
Self-employed - Own business	%	32.6	21.0	5.7	1.6			
Employed-Salaried	%	44.2	25.6	54.3	14.3			
Unemployed but looking for job	%	2.3	35.2	3.4	17.5			
Unemployed but not looking for job	%	6.7	11.4	2.1	27.0			
Working for relatives (unpaid)	%	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0			
Domestic work	%	2.1	5.7	0.5	38.1			
Student	%	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0			
Retired	%	9.0	0.0	0.7	0.0			
Disabled	%	1.8	1.1	32.4	1.6			
Dont know- Refused to answer	%	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0			
Distribution of households heads (HoH) according to occupational status, by sex of HoH								
petty trade (food selling, produce, street selling)	%	5.3	4.0	5.4	0.0			
computers, IT, software, hardware etc	%	5.9	0.7	1.2	0.0			
artist, design, architecture	%	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0			
small business	%	24.9	0.7	3.4	3.1			
teacher	%	3.7	3.4	0.8	0.0			
medical profession incl psychotherapy	%	0.7	1.3	0.2	0.0			
mechanic, bicycle repair	%	1.5	0.0	1.0	0.0			
engineer	%	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
craftsman	%	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0			

C. EMPLOYMENT SECURITY					Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
creative arts (musician, dancer, theater, film)	%	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.0				
driver	%	4.8	0.7	1.4	0.0				
tailor	%	3.1	6.7	2.4	0.0				
religious cleric	%	0.0	0.7	2.7	0.0				
government admin	%	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0				
office job, clerk	%	5.7	4.7	0.3	0.0				
interpreters	%	0.0	19.5	1.2	23.1				
social worker	%	0.0	2.0	0.3	4.6				
human right activist	%	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0				
worker in factory (thread cutters)	%	1.3	0.7	32.8	0.0				
Office boys, in canteens or in tea shops	%	0.5	1.3	3.4	0.0				
Salaried-work for the government	%	5.9	0.0	0.2	0.0				
Salaried-work for an organization	%	7.7	0.0	0.3	1.5				
Employees (shop, restaurant, beauty parlors, call center)	%	3.3	10.1	14.9	0.0				
Catering, Waitress, night parties	%	0.5	0.0	9.8	0.0				
IGA Production Center	%	0.0	12.1	2.4	50.8				
Lawyer	%	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Accountant	%	2.2	0.7	0.0	0.0				
Media-journalist	%	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0				
Construction (mason, etc.)	%	2.7	0.0	0.2	0.0				
Domestic worker	%	0.7	7.4	3.4	0.0				
Electrician	%	2.2	0.0	0.3	0.0				
Cook	%	0.5	6.0	0.7	0.0				
Company	%	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0				
No job/retired	%	0.7	16.1	0.3	4.6				
other	%	6.9	1.3	4.9	12.3				
Distribution of income earners according to type of job									
self-employed	%	36.0	40.2	7.1	4.8				
employee	%	64.0	59.8	92.9	95.2				
Proportion of income earners that have felt physically unsafe (multiple answers)									
At work	%	3.5	9.0	31.5	21.5				
On the way to/from work	%	2.2	7.5	50.2	46.2				
Proportion of employed income earners with negative experiences (multiple answers)									
No contract	%	54.1	16.0	0.4	17.2				
Not received salary the past 6 months	%	1.5	4.0	32.4	6.8				
Been fired in the past 6 months	%	2.9	6.6	47.0	1.7				

VIII. ANNEX : DATA OVERVIEW

D. HOUSING SECURITY		Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Distribution of households according to number of rooms occupied, by sex of HoH						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
1	%	19.6	33.3	93.2	77.8	
2	%	35.7	50.9	6.8	14.8	
3	%	30.4	14.0	0.0	7.4	
4+	%	14.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
1	%	26.6	27.7	87.9	83.9	
2	%	32.0	51.3	12.1	16.1	
3	%	20.2	19.3	0.0	0.0	
4+	%	21.1	1.7	0.0	0.0	
All HoH						
1	%	25.6	29.5	89.9	81.0	
2	%	32.6	51.1	10.1	15.5	
3	%	21.7	17.6	0.0	3.4	
4+	%	20.2	1.7	0.0	0.0	
Number of rooms occupied by household						
<i>Mean</i>	#	2.5	1.9	1.1	1.1	
<i>Median</i>	#	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	
Number of rooms occupied by household						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
Sharing dwellings	%	0.0	3.5	16.0	63.0	
Sharing toilet	%	7.1	8.8	82.1	51.9	
Sharing kitchen	%	0.0	10.5	6.9	55.6	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
Sharing dwellings	%	0.3	12.6	11.7	24.2	
Sharing toilet	%	16.3	11.8	76.9	55.6	
Sharing kitchen	%	1.5	10.9	6.9	52.8	
All HoH						
Sharing dwellings	%	0.3	9.7	13.3	41.7	
Sharing toilet	%	15.0	10.8	78.9	54.0	
Sharing kitchen	%	1.3	10.8	64.6	54.0	
Proportion of households sharing dwelling according to economic relationship (multiple answers)						
<i>share rent</i>	%	0.0	64.7	91.4	84.0	
<i>share food</i>	%	100.0	35.3	81.0	4.0	
<i>share income</i>	%	0.0	23.5	10.3	0.0	
<i>share bills other than food</i>	%	0.0	52.9	37.9	88.0	
<i>hosted for free by other household</i>	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	

D. HOUSING SECURITY		Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
no relationship						
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	
other						
	%	0.0	0.0	1.7	8.0	
don't know						
	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Distribution of households according to dwelling ownership status, by sex of HoH						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
own	%	69.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	
rented	%	30.4	98.2	100.0	100.0	
other	%	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
own	%	48.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
rented	%	50.8	99.2	100.0	88.2	
other	%	0.9	0.8	0.0	11.8	
All HoH						
own	%	51.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	
rented	%	47.8	98.9	100.0	93.4	
other	%	0.8	1.1	0.0	6.6	
Proportion of households that have been evicted, by sex of HoH						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
	%	5.4	5.3	80.2	66.7	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
	%	3.3	0.8	80.2	58.3	
All HoH						
	%	3.6	2.3	80.2	61.9	
Proportion of households that have been evicted according to reasons for eviction (multiple answers)						
<i>Could not pay rent any longer</i>	%	7.1	50.0	35.9	47.4	
<i>Could not pay rent on time</i>	%	28.6	0.0	50.0	65.8	
<i>Owner did not want us here</i>	%	57.1	50.0	18.7	52.6	
<i>Development projects in the area</i>	%	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	
<i>Because of discrimination/harassment</i>	%	0.0	0.0	11.8	2.6	
<i>Because of children/visitors/big family</i>	%	0.0	0.0	10.1	0.0	
<i>Increased rent/overcharged by owner</i>	%	0.0	0.0	5.2	7.9	
<i>Other describe</i>	%	7.1	25.0	6.6	5.3	

E. FINANCIAL SECURITY		Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Proportion of households receiving/with access to unearned income (multiple answers)						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
Remittances	%	48.2	38.6	17.9	22.2	
Assistance	%	0.0	10.5	44.7	92.6	
Social benefits, scholarship, allowances	%	19.6	3.5	3.1	88.9	
Savings	%	3.6	22.4	3.1	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
Remittances	%	40.8	33.6	12.5	22.2	
Assistance	%	0.0	3.4	47.4	69.4	
Social benefits, scholarship, allowances	%	5.8	1.7	1.8	36.1	
Savings	%	4.4	22.5	1.5	0.0	
All HoH						
Remittances	%	41.9	35.2	14.5	22.2	
Assistance	%	0.0	5.7	46.4	79.4	
Benefits/allowances	%	7.8	2.3	2.3	58.7	
Savings	%	4.3	22.5	2.1	0.0	
Proportion of households sharing dwelling according to economic relationship (multiple answers)						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
0	%	7.1	17.5	23.3	53.8	
1 to 3	%	14.3	54.4	70.4	46.2	
4 to 6	%	26.8	28.1	6.3	0.0	
7 to 11	%	51.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
0	%	8.8	12.6	21.0	41.7	
1 to 3	%	15.8	47.9	68.4	50.0	
4 to 6	%	27.7	34.5	10.3	8.3	
7 to 11	%	47.7	5.0	0.4	0.0	
All HoH						
0	%	8.5	14.2	21.8	47.6	
1 to 3	%	15.5	50.0	69.1	47.6	
4 to 6	%	27.5	32.4	8.8	4.8	
7 to 11	%	48.4	3.4	0.2	0.0	
Number of assets owned by households						
<i>Mean</i>	#	5.8	2.9	1.5	0.9	
<i>Median</i>	#	6.0	3.0	1.0	1.0	

F. PHYSICAL SAFETY		Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali
Proportion of households that have experienced insecurity events, by sex of HoH (multiple answers)						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
theft or robbery	%	3.6	5.3	53.7	14.8	
physical assault	%	1.8	19.3	76.5	44.4	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
theft or robbery	%	2.7	5.9	54.2	22.2	
physical assault	%	0.6	10.1	81.7	30.6	
All HoH						
theft or robbery	%	2.8	5.7	54.0	19.0	
physical assault	%	0.8	13.1	79.8	36.5	
Proportion of households finding their neighborhood «unsafe», by sex of HoH						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
	%	7.1	26.3	91.4	70.4	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
	%	6.0	11.9	92.3	80.0	
All HoH						
	%	6.2	16.6	92.0	75.8	
G. HUMAN CAPITAL						
Distribution of households according to education level of household heads, by sex of HoH						
<i>Female HoH</i>						
no school	%	35.2	36.8	31.1	64.0	
some or completed primary	%	42.6	22.8	62.7	20.0	
completed secondary	%	5.6	28.1	3.1	12.0	
completed university or postgrad	%	16.7	12.3	3.1	4.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>						
no school	%	13.2	10.1	14.7	12.5	
some or completed primary	%	37.5	23.5	72.8	31.3	
completed secondary	%	27.4	47.1	9.8	43.8	
completed university or postgrad	%	21.8	19.3	2.6	12.5	
All HoH						
no school	%	16.4	18.8	20.9	35.1	
some or completed primary	%	38.3	23.3	69.0	26.3	
completed secondary	%	24.3	40.9	7.3	29.8	
completed university or postgrad	%	21.1	17.0	2.8	8.8	

VIII. ANNEX : DATA OVERVIEW

(G. HUMAN CAPITAL)	Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
Proportion of head of households working, by education level					
<i>no school</i>	%	71.0	42.4	539	9.5
<i>some or completed primary</i>	%	70.5	51.2	60.5	0.0
<i>completed secondary</i>	%	82.6	47.2	67.7	17.6
<i>completed university or postgrad</i>	%	86.3	43.3	41.7	60.0
Proportion of households according to language spoken by income earners (multiple answers)					
<i>English</i>	%	30.3	43.7	15.4	88.9
<i>Hindi</i>	%	99.5	94.1	55.2	38.9
Proportion of households with rural background, by sex of HoH					
<i>Female HoH</i>	%	64.7	36.4	82.7	0.0
<i>Male HoH</i>	%	82.2	38.8	86.4	2.9
All HoH	%	80.5	38.2	85.1	1.6
Proportion of households according to skills of its members (multiple answers)					
<i>No Skill</i>	%	7.0	28.3	54.5	51.6
<i>Computer</i>	%	19.1	22.5	5.8	18.8
<i>Cook</i>	%	21.7	9.8	3.7	4.7
<i>Small Business</i>	%	23.8	0.6	5.3	1.6
<i>Tailor</i>	%	3.4	19.7	13.2	3.1
<i>Driver</i>	%	12.4	7.5	2.1	0.0
<i>Farming</i>	%	8.3	1.2	7.6	0.0
<i>Office job/clerk</i>	%	12.4	4.6	0.5	1.6
<i>Teacher</i>	%	4.4	8.1	3.5	4.7
<i>Interpreter</i>	%	0.0	11.6	1.8	26.6
Proportion of head of households evicted, by education level					
<i>no school</i>	%	3.2	6.1	84.3	57.1
<i>some or completed primary</i>	%	5.5	2.4	79.6	60.0
<i>completed secondary</i>	%	4.3	1.4	74.2	76.5
<i>completed university or postgrad</i>	%	1.3	0.0	75.0	60.0
Age dependency ratio per household					
<i>Mean</i>	#	0.57	1.27	0.96	0.54
<i>Median</i>	#	0.40	1.00	1.00	0.00
Proportion of households with members unable to work due to health, by sex of HoH					
<i>Female HoH</i>	%	25.0	31.6	56.2	55.6
<i>Male HoH</i>	%	9.4	21.8	64.5	30.6
All HoH	%	11.6	25.0	61.4	41.3

H. SOCIAL CAPITAL	Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarase	Somali
Distribution of households according to education level of household heads, by sex of HoH					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
<i>no school</i>	%	35.2	36.8	31.1	64.0
<i>some or completed primary</i>	%	42.6	22.8	62.7	20.0
<i>completed secondary</i>	%	5.6	28.1	3.1	12.0
<i>completed university or postgrad</i>	%	16.7	12.3	3.1	4.0
<i>Male HoH</i>					
<i>no school</i>	%	13.2	10.1	14.7	12.5
<i>some or completed primary</i>	%	37.5	23.5	72.8	31.3
<i>completed secondary</i>	%	27.4	47.1	9.8	43.8
<i>completed university or postgrad</i>	%	21.8	19.3	2.6	12.5
All HoH	%	16.4	18.8	20.9	35.1
some or completed primary	%	38.3	23.3	69.0	26.3
completed secondary	%	24.3	40.9	7.3	29.8
completed university or postgrad	%	21.1	17.0	2.8	8.8
Proportion of households according to community groups participation of its members (multiple answers)					
<i>Youth organization</i>	%	0.8	11.5	3.5	3.1
<i>Women's group</i>	%	0.5	6.3	3.5	6.3
<i>Neighborhood committee</i>	%	1.3	0.6	0.2	3.1
<i>Savings/ Credit/Self-help group</i>	%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Refugees/migrants association</i>	%	1.0	1.1	0.9	4.7
<i>Religious group</i>	%	4.9	1.1	71.9	0.0
<i>Community based organization</i>	%	2.8	0.0	59.2	10.9
<i>None</i>	%	88.7	84.5	19.1	81.3
<i>Other</i>	%	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.0
Distribution of employed income earners according to how they got their job					
<i>Networks/friends/relatives</i>	%	31.7	73.7	78.9	7.4
<i>Applying</i>	%	67.4	11.8	15.9	59.3
<i>Job placement/BOSCO</i>	%	0.9	14.5	5.1	33.3
Distribution of households according where they would go for help in case of difficulty (multiple answers)					
<i>Community association - Church</i>	%	0.3	1.1	55.6	3.3
<i>None of the options would be available to me</i>	%	16.6	51.4	9.5	30.0
<i>Relatives here in Delhi</i>	%	37.2	1.7	2.4	0.0
<i>Neighbors-friends in general</i>	%	24.1	5.7	6.4	16.7
<i>Neighbors/friends of same ethnic group-origin</i>	%	9.4	1.7	20.4	0.0
<i>Relatives abroad or other part of India</i>	%	12.6	32.0	0.7	15.0
<i>Aid/humanitarian organization</i>	%	0.0	6.3	5.0	35.0

Proportion of households with friends or relatives already in Delhi before they arrived					
	%	58.8	12.1	11.1	11.5
<i>Female HoH</i>					
<i>Male HoH</i>		65.0	18.4	17.6	8.6
<i>All HoH</i>		64.4	16.9	15.2	9.8
I. LENGTH OF STAY					
Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali	
Distribution of households according to length of stay in Delhi					
<i>less than 1 year</i>	2.8	38.4	0.5	9.7	
<i>1-3 years</i>	7.9	36.0	35.4	45.2	
<i>4-10 years</i>	32.6	21.5	61.1	43.5	
<i>More than 10 yrs</i>	56.7	4.1	3.0	1.6	
Proportion of heads of households working by length of stay in Delhi					
<i>less than 1 year</i>	40.0	15.2	50.0	28.6	
<i>1-3 years</i>	85.7	62.9	58.4	10.7	
<i>4-10 years</i>	98.3	70.3	60.5	14.8	
<i>More than 10 yrs</i>	81.2	57.1	69.2	100.0	
J. CHILDREN EDUCATION					
Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali	
Proportion of children (5 -18 years) according to access to education (multiple answers)					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
Not enrolled anywhere	5.6	16.4	42.0	13.5	
Governmental school	56.3	19.9	9.4	29.7	
Private school	34.0	22.9	4.5	24.3	
English class	0.5	38.8	4.8	16.2	
Church school	0.5	0.5	22.2	0.0	
Vocational training	0.0	11.9	5.7	13.5	
Bridge school	0.0	9.0	2.8	18.9	
National Open School	0.0	12.4	0.0	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>					
Not enrolled anywhere	8.2	16.1	39.5	11.5	
Governmental school	46.1	14.5	7.4	15.4	
Private school	42.8	25.9	3.9	34.6	
English class	1.1	36.3	5.3	23.1	
Church school	0.0	1.0	25.8	0.0	
Vocational training	0.4	13.5	6.5	11.5	
Bridge school	0.0	10.9	3.6	15.4	
National Open School	0.0	13.0	0.9	0.0	
<i>All HoH</i>					
Not enrolled anywhere	7.0	16.2	40.8	12.7	
Governmental school	50.6	17.3	8.4	23.8	
Private school	38.8	24.4	4.2	28.6	
English class	0.8	37.6	5.1	19.0	

C.J. CHILDREN EDUCATION)					
Unit	Indian	Afghan	Myanmarese	Somali	
Church school	0.2	0.8	23.9	0.0	
Vocational training	0.2	12.7	6.1	12.7	
Bridge school	0.0	9.9	3.2	17.5	
National Open School	0.0	12.7	0.4	0.0	
Proportion of children (5 -18 years) not attending school according to reasons (multiple answers)					
<i>Female HoH</i>					
financial constraints	58.3	50.0	64.6	20.0	
child is working	0.0	0.0	36.1	0.0	
medical reasons	25.0	6.3	11.6	0.0	
Language issues	0.0	18.8	0.0	80.0	
discrimination/hostility	0.0	0.0	5.4	20.0	
distance/no school	0.0	15.6	2.0	0.0	
drop out/failure	8.3	0.0	0.7	0.0	
security – not safe	0.0	0.0	2.0	20.0	
lack of documentation	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>					
financial constraints	54.5	48.4	62.0	66.7	
child is working	4.5	3.2	41.1	33.3	
medical reasons	4.5	3.2	8.5	0.0	
Language issues	0.0	22.6	1.6	33.3	
discrimination/hostility	0.0	0.0	6.2	0.0	
distance/no school	13.6	9.7	0.0	0.0	
drop out/failure	22.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	
security – not safe	0.0	3.2	1.6	0.0	
lack of documentation	0.0	12.9	0.8	0.0	
<i>Male HoH</i>					
financial constraints	55.9	49.2	63.4	37.5	
child is working	2.9	1.6	38.4	12.5	
medical reasons	11.8	4.8	10.1	0.0	
Language issues	0.0	20.6	0.7	62.5	
discrimination/hostility	0.0	0.0	5.8	12.5	
distance/no school	8.8	12.7	1.1	0.0	
drop out/failure	17.6	0.0	0.4	0.0	
security – not safe	0.0	1.6	1.8	12.5	
lack of documentation	0.0	6.3	0.7	0.0	

