



ACCESSING SERVICES IN THE CITY

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN REFUGEE-HOST RELATIONS
IN CAMEROON, INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN

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Executive Summary

This report considers how relationships between urban refugees and more established local communities affect refugee access to key services and resources. According to the estimates of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the majority of the world’s refugees now reside in cities or towns. In contrast to camps, where refugees are relatively isolated from local host communities and more dependent on assistance from humanitarian agencies to meet their basic needs, refugees in urban areas typically depend more on social networks, relationships and individual agency to re-establish their livelihoods. This study explores the conditions under which refugee-host relations may either promote or inhibit refugee access to local services and other resources. It also considers how positive impacts of these evolving relationships may be nurtured and developed to improve humanitarian outcomes for refugees.

In 2009, UNHCR updated its policy on refugees in urban areas, highlighting the challenges of providing protection and assistance in spatially and socially complex environments. This initiative has encouraged the broader humanitarian community to explore more innovative approaches to understanding and programming related to refugees in urban areas. One of the effects of this development has been to highlight the role of the host community and the importance of considering their needs and perspectives. The present report contributes to this broader evolving discussion by exploring the significance of what are termed “refugee-host relations” in determining access to a range of resources and entitlements in the city, referred to here collectively as “services”¹.

The report is drawn from a field study conducted in 2012, which compares the experiences of urban refugees in Yaoundé (Cameroon), Jakarta (Indonesia), and Karachi and Peshawar (Pakistan). The results of the study suggest that factors that improve refugee-host relationships may also enhance the capacity of urban refugees to access services in the city. Importantly, the results also suggest that the opposite may be true, namely that improved refugee access to services strengthens refugee-host relations. This dialogic suggests a relationship that is *mutually reinforcing* as represented in Figure 1 below:

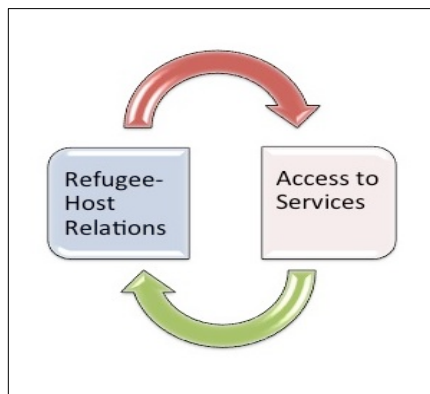


Figure 1: Refugee-Host Relations and Improved Access to Services are Mutually Reinforcing

¹ These terms are shorthand references to a range of practices and are clarified further in the main body of the report.

Case Studies and Research Methods

The major social and economic variables that informed the selection of the four cities are summarized in Figure 2 below:

	Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan	
	Yaoundé	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar
City Population	1,817,524	9,607,787	9 339,023	982,816
Refugee arrival period	Medium Term	Recent Arrivals	Long Term	Long Term
Signatory to 1951 Convention	Yes	No	No	
Strong UNHCR Presence	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Est. Refugees: National	100,373	1,006	1,702,700	
Est. Asylum-seekers: National	3,298	3,233	1,624	
Est. Refugees: City	10,000	2,000	130,000	N/A
Origin of Refugees	Neighbor/Region	Distant	Neighbor	Border
GDP per capita, 2011	\$1,271.30	\$3,494.60	\$1,194.30	
GDP Growth (an. %), 2011	3.8	6.5	2.4	

Figure 2: Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of the Four Cities

These largely demographic and economic variables enable the exploration of certain structural factors in shaping refugee-host relations. However, as explained in more detail below, representing these four sites as all uniformly “urban” in character risks concealing local social and cultural variation, including contextually specific historical traditions and institutionalized state practices for incorporating strangers. As outlined below, these play a potentially significant role in enabling and limiting relations between refugees and the local communities that they move into.

The study focuses primarily on field data that was generated using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. This included a survey of 1,218 refugee households, supported by a total of 91 semi-structured interviews conducted across all four cities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with refugees and members of host communities as well as other key-informants that included UNHCR, government officials and other agencies. In addition, 12 focus group discussions were held in total in Cameroon and Indonesia. Observations and insights were enhanced by ongoing observations and informal discussions with relevant stakeholders.

A “mixed methods” approach was adopted intentionally to enable site-based researchers to identify and focus on the most appropriate, effective and efficient techniques to operationalize the research questions. In pursuing this approach, however, the research team consciously sought to retain a reasonable degree of methodological overlap across sites, to allow for a meaningful comparison of data. The methodological approach was therefore refined through the ongoing exchange of information and insights across cities to reflect a balanced consideration of the more common or generic characteristics of refugee-host relations, on the one hand, and the contextually-specific historical, social, economic and cultural aspects of these relationships, on the other hand. This approach was therefore designed to engage directly with the important policy dilemma over the extent to which a “one-size-fits-all” approach to understanding and responding to urban refugees may take adequate account of important local variations and peculiarities.

Summary of Findings

The findings of this study highlighted two general observations related to urban refugee-host community relations. First, much of the data suggested that urban refugee access to resources and services tended to improve over time. Some improvements were associated with greater frequencies of interaction between refugees and hosts, suggesting a possible link. This observation broadens the perspective of much of the existing literature on urban refugees that highlights the hardships that refugees face in urban areas at particular moments in time, without considering the fate of individuals and households over the longer term. Importantly, it also revealed varying rates of improvement over time, implying increasing social and economic stratification within refugee communities over time. It does not suggest, therefore, that improved access to services over time would imply an inevitable closure of any socio-economic gap between all refugees and host communities.

This temporal dimension to refugee access to services supports the current international approach to urban environments as legitimate and potentially productive spaces for refugees to re-establish their lives and livelihoods. It suggests that urban refugee experiences of ongoing deprivation and suffering are likely to reflect either the effects of restrictive legal and policy regimes for refugee settlement or high levels of local mistrust of refugees, rather than any intrinsic qualities of refugee populations themselves. Refugee successes in overcoming these limitations were enabled partly by expanding social networks and strengthening refugee-host relationships. The possibilities for refugees to engage varied across individuals, households and communities and depended on a number of socio-economic characteristics, explored in more detail below.

A second general observation that underpinned the findings of the study was that the major problem that refugees experienced in accessing services arose from their inability to pay for the costs associated with such services. By expanding social networks and relationships into the local host community, refugee-host relations represented strategies for urban refugees to access the resources necessary to improve their levels of access to services. Critically, where refugees were particularly desperate, refugee-host relations were more likely to take shape around enduring forms of exploitation and abuse of refugees.

This observation also highlights a number of implications of current dominant approaches to refugees in urban areas. First, it stresses the importance of providing adequate protection for refugees in urban areas, to “level the playing field” for refugees to participate more fully in the social and economic aspects of urban life. Enhanced protection and respect for refugee rights reduces the risks of the emergence of refugee-host relations that are structured around exploitation and abuse. Second, it underscores the point that refugee-host relations are likely to improve in response to broader improvements to community infrastructure, income levels and social services. Broader improvements in community development are likely to reduce the intensity of competition over resources, which has a disproportionately negative effect on more vulnerable urban refugees.

In light of these broad observations, the study identified nine specific findings that included a range of recommendations that consider how refugee-host relations may be leveraged to improve outcomes for refugees in urban areas. These are summarized below and expanded in the main body of the report:

Finding 1: A strong protection framework promotes positive refugee-host relations

Refugees in urban areas were more able to interact productively with the host community if they were confident that their rights, as enshrined in the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention, were protected by the host state. The absence of formal status, or failure to protect international rights associated with such status, either leads to refugee isolation from the local host community or promotes negative relationships based on exploitation, discrimination and abuse.

Finding 2: The socio-economic stresses of arrival undermine refugee-host relations

Refugee journeys to cities are often harrowing, exhausting and impoverishing. Upon arrival, refugees face immediately the challenges of regularizing their status, and establishing their livelihoods in highly demanding environments. An overview of the socio-economic characteristics of refugee populations suggests that newly-arrived refugees² are at a particularly vulnerable point in their journey, where they establish relations with the host community that will influence their well-being and relative economic success in the city. In some instances, the absence of status means that new arrivals receive neither protection nor assistance from the international community.

Finding 3: Housing is a major potential source of tension between refugees and hosts

In contrast to many camp situations, where basic shelter may be provided, refugees that arrive in urban areas are typically faced with the urgent challenge of finding their own accommodation. The process of finding housing often propels urban refugees into new relationships with the host community, through tenant-landlord arrangements. More than two-thirds of refugee respondents to the household survey rented their accommodation, mostly from landlords from within poorer sections of local communities. The difficulties faced by both landlords and tenants in meeting their respective obligations to rental agreements emerged as a common source of tension between refugees and hosts. This had important implications for urban refugees, shaping the quality and cost of housing that they had access to.

Finding 4: Refugee marginalization from the formal economy limits refugee-host relations

Both qualitative and quantitative results of the study suggest that urban refugees are largely marginalized from the formal urban economy. This is reinforced, to some degree, by humanitarian interventions that sometimes promote refugee activities in the informal economy. Greater levels of refugee participation in formal employment and formal business activities would appear to contribute towards strengthening refugee-host relations.

Finding 5: Competition over access to livelihood opportunities enhances tension between refugees and hosts

As mentioned above, the intensity of competition over access to economic resources in the urban environment was one of the most significant factors that shaped refugee-host relations. Expanded possibilities for generating incomes enabled refugees to develop social and economic networks that generally reinforced positive refugee-host relations. On the other hand, refugee success in accessing livelihood opportunities also risked fostering resentment by the local host population.

Finding 6: Dependency on direct assistance inhibits refugee-host relations

The provision of direct assistance to vulnerable refugees is an important and necessary intervention that should remain as a critical option for assisting refugees in urban environments. Assistance may be especially critical in the

² This includes asylum seekers as well as persons fleeing the effects of conflict that may choose not to formally request asylum from the host state.

period immediately following arrival in the city. However, data from our sample suggests that direct assistance makes a relatively small contribution towards total household income of urban refugees, which diminishes over time.

Finding 7: Refugee vulnerability limits positive refugee-host relations

Vulnerable refugees in urban areas have reduced opportunities to engage productively with the host community in ways that lead to sustained benefits for refugees. They are also more likely to be forced to develop negative refugee-host relations that risk their well-being and economic security. The characteristics of refugee vulnerability in urban areas may be related to a broad range of factors, vary from context to context and change over time. Specific indicators of refugee vulnerability should therefore be revisited periodically.

Finding 8: Improved refugee access to education and health services strengthens refugee-host relations

Urban refugees' access to health and education services was most frequently limited by cost. The significance of cost, as a limiting factor, decreased over time. This suggests that longer-staying urban refugees are more able to accumulate the resources and knowledge necessary to access these services. Greater access to available education and health services led to enhanced opportunities for refugees and hosts to interact and strengthen relations. On the other hand, barriers to refugee education and access to health care reduce such opportunities to strengthen relations.

Finding 9: Refugee-host relations shape urban refugee attitudes to durable solutions

Refugee-host relations may impact on urban refugee attitudes and access to durable solutions. Results from the study suggests that voluntary repatriation from urban areas may be less viable as a "preferred solution" for refugees in urban areas, compared to camp-based situations. While interest in resettlement was notably high across all study locations, limited access to this solution prompted many urban refugees to accept *de-facto* local integration over time. The social profiles and backgrounds of some urban refugees suggest that increased access to opportunities for regularized migration may promote more durable solutions for them.

Summary of Recommendations

On the basis of the findings outlined above, the report makes the following recommendations to host governments, donors, UNHCR, and non-government organizations (NGOs):

To Host Governments:

The results of the study suggest that host governments can play a critical role in strengthening positive refugee-host relations, mainly by improving their commitments to protecting the rights of refugees. By ensuring that refugees receive adequate protection, host governments enable urban refugees to establish more assertive and equitable relations with the local host community. It also limits the development of relationships that are structured around refugee fear or concern over their situations, which increases the risks of exploitation and abuse of refugees by the local host population. The report highlights the important role that host states can play in enhancing the potential for urban refugee-host relations in the following areas:

- Improve protection of undocumented new-arrivals in urban areas by conducting outreach to local government agencies and law enforcement, and allowing external observation of the registration process.

- Operate on the presumption of validity of asylum claims to ensure non-discrimination in asylum-seekers' access to essential services and protection.
- Recognize the rights of urban refugees to work.
- Focus protection on the right to housing and adequate shelter in urban areas.
- Expand migration and travel options for urban refugees, including through the acquisition of legitimate travel documentation.

To Donors:

By supporting ongoing research and pilot humanitarian programming initiatives, donors can play an important role in developing the potential for targeted interventions for improving refugee-host relations to lead to improved outcomes for urban refugees. These interventions may not necessarily be limited to developing refugee-host relations exclusively and may be linked to broader initiatives to improve conditions for urban refugees. The results of the study suggest that the areas where donors could focus may include:

- Support for the improvement of reception facilities for urban refugees and provision of basic rights to refugees and asylum-seekers, particularly the right to work.
- Encourage innovative responses to urban refugee housing markets, such as providing landlords incentives to invest in housing infrastructure for refugees, and developing dispute resolution mechanisms for refugee tenants and host landlords.
- Promote urban refugee access to formal employment, such as through incentives for local industries to hire refugees or monitoring labor practices with regards to refugees.
- Support for more flexible and diverse approaches to durable solutions in urban areas, particularly by engaging urban refugees in planning around potential durable solutions and ensuring their perspectives are reflected in planning outputs.

To UNHCR:

As the principal organization with an international mandate to respond to refugee crises across the world, UNHCR plays a critical role in ensuring that refugees receive adequate protection and assistance in urban areas. By considering their impact on everyday refugee-host relations, as either promoting or undermining these, UNHCR may increase the effectiveness of its operations and limit the risks of unanticipated negative consequences that arise from refugee-host dynamics. Specifically, the results of the study suggest that UNHCR can leverage the potential of refugee-host relations by focusing on the following areas:

- Focus direct assistance on new arrivals and vulnerable refugees, so that they may access resources and services needed to become self-reliant.
- Promote the development of housing markets for refugees, such as by providing bridging support for refugees to meet rental obligations as they establish income sources, and developing minimum standards for urban refugee rental housing.

- Support local hiring of refugees in urban areas, such as through connecting employers with vocational training initiatives and providing information on the procedures for hiring refugees.
- Provide incentives for education and health care providers to be more inclusive of refugees.
- Develop a more nuanced understanding of *social vulnerability* in urban areas, including examination of arrival period, household size and dynamics, education levels, and urban versus rural origin.

To Non-Governmental Organizations:

Local and international non-governmental organizations are well-placed to advocate for many of the suggestions outlined above, particularly regarding the relationship between strengthened forms of protection and reductions in risks of negative relations between refugees and their hosts. NGOs are also well placed to foster direct links between refugee and local communities and the development of more locally institutionalized forms of community support for refugees. The study suggests several actions that NGOs can take in this regard:

- Advocate for the rights of urban refugees in reference to those enshrined in the 1951 Convention, with particular attention to non-discrimination toward refugees in accessing essential services, resources and protection.
- Identify ways that refugees and host-community members can both participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of project activities.
- Engage local civic associations (e.g., neighborhood associations, student groups), faith communities, business and labor associations, and philanthropic agencies to increase awareness of refugees' rights and foster mutually supportive actions between refugee and host-community institutions.

Foreword

The number of urban dwellers is increasing worldwide by some 60 million every year according to the World Health Organization. The number of people recognized as refugees living in urban centers is also on the rise, while the international community continues to struggle to offer adequate services to this elusive group. It is therefore vital for humanitarian agencies to reassess not only how they may provide assistance and protection to refugees living outside of camp settings, but also how “non-traditional” organizations and stakeholders can be encouraged to promote the safety, dignity and well-being of urban refugees.

While government policies towards urban refugees may be positive or negative, the day-to-day reality as lived by urban refugees is often characterized by their interactions with host community members and local institutions. These relations come into play when forcibly displaced men and women seek out such necessities as employment, housing, health services, or education for their children. The attitudes and practices of host communities, including local authorities, are increasingly central to whether and how refugees experience protection in urban areas.

Building links between refugees and host communities has long been an operational focus of Church World Service (CWS). For more than 60 years, CWS has emphasized the involvement of faith and other local community institutions in refugee resettlement, in an effort to ensure that integration processes are beneficial both to refugees entering the US and to the communities that are receiving them. And as anti-immigrant sentiment rises in certain parts of the US, like it unfortunately does in other parts of the world, the work of engaging local community members and encouraging positive interactions between refugees and their new neighbors becomes all the more important.

While the context of host-refugee relations will vary greatly across different countries and regions, CWS anticipates that the findings from this study may provide a point of comparison and a framework for analysis of integration processes and outcomes that can be applied more broadly. We would welcome feedback on the study’s findings and applications, as well as comments based on the experiences of urban refugees and their hosts in other locations, and invite you to share these with us by E-mail to: irp@churchworldservice.org.

Erol Kekic
Director, Immigration and Refugee Program
Church World Service

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List of Acronyms

ADRA	Adventist Development & Relief Organization
AGDM	Age, Gender and Diversity Mainstreaming
AREU	The Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit
AVLF	<i>Association de Lutte contre les Violences faites aux Femmes</i>
CAR	Central African Republic
CWS	Church World Service
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FHH	Female-Headed Household
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HoH	Head of Household
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Services
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MHH	Male-Headed Household
MSA	Monthly Subsistence Allowance
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIC	National Insurance Card (Pakistan)
NWFP	North West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
POC	Persons of Concern
PRM	United States Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration
PURE	Protecting Urban Refugees through Empowerment
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Introduction

According to the estimates of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the percentage of the world's refugees that live in cities has increased over recent decades to the point that, as of 2008, more than half of all refugees lived in cities. This observation suggests that refugees are responding to the pressures and opportunities that define the early 21st Century in much the same ways as the rest of world—by moving to more globally connected urban centers in increasing numbers. However, unlike many other people on the move, the urbanization of refugees does not necessarily signify an abandoning of the countryside in search of improved livelihood opportunities. As explored in greater detail below, urban refugee populations reflect significant levels of *urban-urban movement*, suggesting that many refugees choose to seek protection in familiar environments.

In countries where they are expected to live in camps—often sited intentionally in geographically isolated and economically marginal areas—refugees are also joining the march to the urban centers³. Frustrated over being subject to petty bureaucratic controls, unrealistic expectations of self-reliance in rural areas, insecurity, unreliable humanitarian support and uncertain futures, refugees appear to be increasingly opting for the risks of life in the city over the constraints of the camp.

Once they arrive in cities, the fate of the “urban refugee” is largely uncertain. Their experience is defined largely by their individual success in negotiating the complex challenges of everyday life. Often settling within the congested, competitive and contested spaces of the urban poor, the ability of refugees to access safety and protection, shelter, livelihoods, health care and education depends on broader networks and relationships. In short, if refugee camps are defined by the deprivation of social agency, creativity and entrepreneurship, life in the urban areas demands these qualities as essential to survival and successful adaptation.

Comparing the situations of urban refugees in four cities located across three countries, this report investigates the significance of refugee interactions and relationships with more established urban residents, often referred to as “host communities”.⁴ Specifically, it considers how these relationships affect refugee access to resources and services in the city. Unlike much of the humanitarian-inspired research that has been conducted on urban refugees to date, this report emphasizes what refugees *are able* to accomplish in complex urban environments, rather than to highlight barriers, restrictions and absences in their lives. This perspective is adopted for essentially analytical purposes, to address the questions under investigation. While it is certainly also intended as a celebration of human adaptation, achievement and creativity in the face of extreme adversity, it is not meant to deny or downplay the enduring forms of deprivation, loss and discrimination that define the experience of so many of the world's urban refugees. This project is therefore conducted with an explicit humanitarian agenda in mind. By exploring how refugees establish and manage everyday relationships with their “hosts” in three very different urban contexts, this report seeks to identify new opportunities for more effective refugee programming within complex environments that are defined by profound risk and uncertainty.

³ See Campbell 2006, for an example from Nairobi, Kenya.

⁴ The use of the term “host communities” is somewhat problematic and controversial and used purely for convenience in the context of this report. Neighboring non-refugee communities living in the poor urban areas that refugees typically move into may comprise a broad range of citizens and non-citizens, with varying residential status and historical claims to belonging. They do not necessarily “host” refugees in any direct sense and may themselves be living under highly unstable circumstances.

CWS and Urban Refugees

Over more than 60 years, Church World Service (CWS) has played a key role in the resettlement of more than 500 000 refugees to the United States. CWS has been on the frontline of resettlement, managing successful partnerships between government, civil society and host communities, and facilitating the complex adaptation process for refugees from across the world, to cities and towns across the US. As a key player in the largest and arguably most successful refugee resettlement program in the world, CWS has decades of institutionalized insight into the everyday problems, expectations and risks of refugee adaptation to new urban environments. Beyond refugee resettlement to the US, CWS confronts issues of displacement, poverty and social vulnerability more broadly in its global activities, including its humanitarian assistance to refugees in Indonesia and Pakistan, two locations included in this study. An important part of CWS' broader mission is to assist refugees and other displaced people to regain the stabilities of home and the security of belonging.

The emergence of the “urban refugee” as a figure of global humanitarian concern therefore raises two fundamental questions for CWS and other agencies working in these arenas. First, to what extent is it possible to compare and apply lessons learned from the adaptation process of resettled refugees in the United States to the struggles of urban refugees in other parts of the world? Second, to what extent can best practices associated with resettlement in the United States—and particularly the intentional engagement of host community institutions in the resettlement and integration processes—be considered, modified and leveraged to improve refugee programming in the global south? This report is developed with these questions in mind, to reflect critically on how more creative ways of understanding and representing urban refugees might inform more effective responses to their plight.

CWS is aware that framing *urban refugees* in terms of traditional resettlement concepts like “adaptation”, “self-sufficiency”, and “integration” may suggest a departure from established humanitarian approaches that highlight assistance to refugees. It certainly challenges some of the entrenched assumptions about refugees and approaches to protecting and assisting them. As UNHCR acknowledges⁵, these practices often derive from an outdated, unsuitable and yet enduring humanitarian mindset of refugees living in managed and socially isolated camps. Operational assumptions of refugee settlement defined by temporary shelter, lives “in limbo” and a future that is hinged mostly on a return to known and familiar environments does not necessarily reflect the experiences and aspirations of contemporary refugees in urban environments. The data presented below therefore builds on a growing body of evidence to suggest that when refugees enter the city, they take a first, courageous step towards re-orienting their life courses, re-calibrating their family and community relationships and re-defining their futures. Recognizing this dynamic potential, this report builds on CWS' long-established commitment to supporting the successful adaptation of urban refugees to the complexities of urban life and their productive integration into the communities that they become a part of, as an essential first step towards a truly durable solution.

Urban Refugee Policy and Refugee-Host Relations

The settlement of refugees in urban areas is not a new phenomenon⁶. However, the category of “urban refugee” has emerged in recent years, as a specific area of policy concern. This is motivated by observations that refugees are settling in urban areas in increasing numbers and surviving in ways that are frequently hidden from authorities,

⁵ See the discussion of UNHCR's 2009 Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas below, for example.

⁶ See, for example, Fabos and Kibreab 2007, Karadawi 1987, Kibreab 1996, Malkki 1995, Pantuliano et. al. 2012, Simon-Thomas 1979.

policy-makers and other actors (See UNHCR 2012 for example). As largely undocumented and unmanaged populations, many urban refugees survive outside of the institutions of state and beyond the reach of humanitarian organizations⁷. Unsurprisingly, there is a strong and growing body of evidence that suggests that urban refugees are highly vulnerable populations, with few options to establish livelihoods and lifestyles on the basis of safety, dignity and prosperity⁸. Gaps in the policy response to urban refugees are therefore recognized as having critical implications for the social and economic well-being of urban refugees. This section considers the extent to which recent policy responses consider the potential significance of the broader relationships and networks between urban refugees and more established urban residents.

UNHCR's 2009 Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas

Beginning from the 1970s onwards, UNHCR's operational activities focused predominantly on refugees in rural areas of developing countries, particularly those that ended up in refugee camps and settlements (Crisp 2009:76). Even though UNHCR acknowledged the presence of refugees in urban areas, "this was based on the assumption that such refugees were more the exception than the norm" (UNHCR 2009: para 6). Over time, and in response to a growing awareness of the plight of refugees in urban areas, UNHCR published a "Policy for Refugees in Urban Areas" in December 1997. This represented an important first step towards recognizing both the presence and plight of refugees in cities and towns. Responses to this policy from the advocacy community tended to be critical, suggesting that it was impractical to implement (Landau 2004:10) and characterized by a weak commitment to protection (Human Rights Watch 2002). In the early 2000s an extensive review process reflected a growing awareness of the limits of this policy within UNHCR (see Sperl 2001 and Obi and Crisp 2000, for example). In September 2009, after extensive consultation with a range of stakeholders and critical reflection on its own practice, UNHCR adopted a new policy on "Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas". The publication of this new policy was reinforced by a High Commissioner's "Dialogue on Protection Challenges" shortly afterwards that focused on displacement in urban areas. These developments contributed significantly towards energizing the discussion on displacement in urban areas and the challenge of developing an appropriate response. The 2009 policy is represented as a fundamental shift in UNHCR's prioritization of refugees in urban areas.

The 2009 policy highlights the need for more creative and innovative responses to what appears to be a growing humanitarian challenge. Importantly, it also re-states the central applicability of UNHCR's international mandate in urban areas and the organization's commitment to time-honored norms and standards of refugee protection. Much of the commentary on expanding "protection space" for refugees in urban areas, for example, reinforces the point that refugees are entitled to the same levels of protection, wherever they are located. Presence or residence in urban areas should not lead to diminished forms of protection for refugees, regardless of national policies or regulations related to refugee settlement. The challenge, as framed in the 2009 Policy, is for UNHCR and other stakeholders to meet their obligations to protect refugees within particularly complex settings that are significantly more difficult to manage than closed and isolated refugee camps.

The forms of protection that refugees can expect to enjoy are summarized in Paragraph 21 of the 2009 UNHCR policy and include:

⁷ The lives of urban refugees are frequently represented as "hidden". See Human Rights Watch 2002, Marfleet, 2007, Pavanello et.al. 2010, for example.

⁸ See Human Rights Watch 2002; Women's Refugee Commission 2011.

- Protection from the threat of *refoulement*, eviction, arbitrary detention, deportation, harassment and extortion by authorities.
- Freedom of movement, association and expression.
- Access to livelihoods, labor markets and protection from exploitation by employers, landlords and traders.
- Enjoyment of adequate shelter and living conditions.
- Security of rights of residence, including documentation.
- Access to public services, such as those related to health care and education.
- Enjoyment of harmonious relationships with the host population, other refugees and migrant communities.
- Access to durable solutions, including voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement.

The reference to “harmonious relationships” acknowledges UNHCR’s recognition of the importance of refugee-host relations. However, these relations may not necessarily be separate from the other forms of protection highlighted in the document and may indeed be integral to their effective realization in urban contexts. In contrast to life in isolated camps, the quality of everyday relations between refugees and their host communities is related directly to the levels of protection that refugees experience in urban areas. “Harmonious relationships” therefore serve as a general gauge for measuring the state of refugee protection, as well as potential site of intervention for enhancing such protection.

Operationally, the 2009 policy highlights a number of key principles to frame UNHCR activities in urban areas. Once again these are remarkable, mostly as a restatement and commitment to well-established principles and underpin UNHCR’s mandate. These include a commitment to the protection of refugee rights, highlighting of the responsibility of the host state, the importance of partnerships, needs assessments and the recognition of diversity through the organizations “age, gender and diversity mainstreaming” (AGDM). They also include a commitment to equity, interaction with refugees and the adoption of a “community-based” approach that promotes self-reliance wherever possible. Furthermore, the policy outlines more specific objectives related to reception, registration, documentation, refugee status determination, access to UNHCR, positive relations, security, livelihoods, access to services and material needs and durable solutions.

Hosted in December 2009, The UNHCR High Commissioner’s *Dialogue on Protection Challenges for People of Concern to the UNHCR in Urban Settings* builds on the new policy and raises further questions on the significance of refugee-host relations, specifically regarding their effect on refugee access to services in the city. Recognizing that many refugees are drawn to urban areas by the prospect of improved access to basic services, to what extent do refugee-host relations affect refugee capacity to successfully negotiate barriers to accessing resources and entitlements? To what extent do refugee-host relations impact on refugee vulnerability to exploitation and abuse in urban areas? And critically, how do refugee-host relations impact on urban refugee perceptions of their future, and the possibilities of durable solutions? For those that return to their countries of origin, to what extent do experiences of improved levels of service contribute towards the *urbanization of repatriation*?

UNHCR’s 2009 policy update has been recognized widely as an important step in addressing the specific predicament of refugees in urban areas. It has, however, also been criticized for achieving only a “partial dislodging

of the camp bias” (Edwards 2010:49) in the organizations’ commitments to protecting refugees in urban areas. One reason for the persistence of such bias may arise from a failure to fully appreciate the significance of refugee-host relations in shaping the social possibilities and outcomes for refugees in urban areas.

PRM Principles for Refugee Protection in Urban Areas

Building on UNHCR’s initiative the United States Department of State Bureau of Population, Refugee and Migration (PRM) published a short set of *Principles for Refugee Protection in Urban Areas* in March 2012. These principles develop some of the policy concerns outlined above. They derive from a few fundamental observations and assumptions: First, these include the recognition that while an increasing percentage of the world’s refugees that settle in urban (and other non-camp settings) face considerable challenges, urban environments also represent new opportunities and potentially viable resource-bases for refugees to become self-reliant. Second, donor governments, UNHCR and other key partners will need to expand activities in urban areas and participate in the development and sharing of best practices, to strengthen the effectiveness of the response to refugees in urban areas.

With the above in mind, PRM advances nine preliminary principles to provide general guidance on humanitarian engagement with refugees in urban areas. These are summarized as follows:

1. Expansion of engagement in urban areas, through humanitarian diplomacy and modest targeted programming.
2. Pursuit of non-camp options wherever possible, in the wake of refugee influxes.
3. Recognition of how refugee settlement in urban areas may represent a step in the direction of a long-term or durable solution to their plight.
4. Focus on legal protection and access to services, limiting the provision of material assistance to the most vulnerable.
5. Development of targeted and more resource-efficient approaches to intervention.
6. Development of approaches to programming that promotes the self-reliance of refugees.
7. Contribution towards the positive development of existing institutions within urban environments
8. Fostering new partnerships between humanitarian actors and various “non-traditional” stakeholders that play a key role in shaping urban environments.
9. Pursuit of a “community-based” approach that also benefits the host community, particularly the urban poor, of whom many may be highly vulnerable.

The PRM principles recognize urban refugee settlement as more than a reflection of the failures of refugee camps. They highlight both the potential for urban environments to contribute towards improving refugee protection and self-reliance, as well as the potential for refugee settlement to enhance the overall quality of urban environments. With regard to refugee-host relations, these principles reinforce a number of important points. First, that cities represent both viable and legitimate sites for refugee settlement in the 21st century and that this reality should be addressed in a proactive manner. Second, that they highlight the need for more cost-effective and efficient interventions. Third,

that refugee-related interventions should lead to improvements—in infrastructure, institutions and governance practices—for all the communities that live within cities. By enhancing our understanding of refugee-host relations, this report highlights a critical site of potential interventions that could advance these ideals.

Conceptual Challenges

A systematic understanding of the relationships between urban refugees and the communities that they live within requires some reflection and conceptual clarification of what we mean by a “refugee-host relationship”. It also requires development of a clear practical method for investigating this phenomenon empirically. This requires greater conceptual clarity on the criteria for identifying “urban refugees” and what it means for them to be “hosted” by more established residents of the city. These questions are discussed below, with a view to developing a more rigorous research framework.

Who Counts as an “Urban Refugee”?

Prior to the recent policy-driven revival of interest in urban areas, many refugees simply lived “self-settled” or “undocumented” lives in the hidden⁹ margins of the city. Even though they were not recognized and recorded as refugees, the reasons for their leaving their countries of origin may have been identical to those who ended up in camps—and directly in the spotlight of the humanitarian gaze. Nowadays, depending on context, the term “urban refugee” may refer to a broad range of non-nationals that move to cities under conditions of adversity, caught-up in variety of complex legal and social predicaments. This may include persons that have been determined to be refugees as well as other “persons of concern”, such as asylum-seekers or groups that arrive *en masse* in response to acute experiences of loss (which may or may not be related to violence). For governments and UNHCR alike, refugees are, quite simply, persons that have *been recognized as refugees* by host states or some other competent authority acting on their behalf. Recent research suggests that the crisis of displacement in urban areas (however one describes this) may extend beyond state-centric forms of refugee recognition and humanitarian response shaped by UNHCR or other humanitarian practice (Landau and Duponchel 2011, Landau 2012). In effect, the term “urban refugees” is a label that, like the “refugee” label in general, no longer simply facilitates the imposition of bureaucratic control over a group of persons. In the globalized world, the concept has become highly “fractioned” (Zetter 2007) by a range of competing interest groups that seek to represent this phenomenon (and related forms of entitlement) in different ways. In the face of globalization, the notion of an “urban refugee” is neither conceptually self-evident nor empirically stable.

Samples from Cameroon and Indonesia included persons that were either recognized officially as refugees or who were, in a very conventional sense, “persons of concern” to the local UNHCR office. In principle, the recognition of refugees in urban areas was not highly contested. These contexts therefore enabled us to explore how social relationships have been formalized by the state and, importantly, how they have been *internationalized* by UNHCR. On the other hand, our consideration of Afghan refugees in Karachi and Peshawar revealed where a clear “urban refugee” identity was a highly unstable and undeveloped concept. Far from being recognized or provided with assistance, the refugees that formed the focus of our research had, over time, established lives that were largely beyond the attention and control of the international community and the Pakistan state. Though many had lived in refuge in cities for decades, they had not been represented extensively as “urban refugees”. While some asserted their status as refugees, others had redefined their identities in ways that effectively downplayed their refugee origins.

⁹ The representation of urban refugees as “hidden” is a common characterization in the literature, as highlighted below.

We included this population, however, for two main reasons. First, as a “control” to assess the impact of refugee recognition on the patterns of social relationships between refugees and more established local residents. Second, our sample from Pakistan enabled us to explore how social relationships and communities are forged in situations defined by chronic neglect of any reasonable consideration of a durable solution. In essence, our framing of “urban refugees” in Karachi and Peshawar enabled us to ask the question: What happens to refugees in urban areas when they are incorporated outside of a strong framework of refugee protection? To what extent do refugee-host relations shape their futures?

Keeping the above in mind, we found it necessary to disaggregate the broad category of “urban refugee” to reflect more specific legal predicaments. In order to enable a basis for comparison between different “urban refugees” that was both practical and which enabled a more meaningful comparison across our specific sites, we considered this category to include the following:

1. Asylum seeker: These included persons that had applied for protection as refugees but whose status had not yet been determined by the host state.
2. Refugee: These included persons that were recognized formally as refugees by the host state or UNHCR acting on their behalf. It also may have included persons that define their identities as international refugees, but who have not been recognized as such by the state¹⁰.
3. Migrant: A small percentage of our total sample in Pakistan described their status as “migrants”. This category includes persons who settled initially as refugees but who felt that, over time, that situation had changed to the point that they no longer regarded themselves as refugees. Their presence was essentially voluntary and undocumented, but rooted in the experience of seeking refuge in the city.
4. Citizen: This category included persons in Pakistan that settled in the city as refugees, but who, over time, managed to redefine their status as citizens. The legality or veracity of these claims were not investigated and were represented widely in the media and by government as fraudulent and unauthorized. The marks of citizenship in this context continued to reflect an unstable predicament that did not necessarily promote the security of settlement or the promise of integration. For this reason, we included this group of “citizens” within our population of urban refugees as distinct from refugees that had “integrated” in any meaningful sense.

Who “Hosts” Refugees in Urban Areas?

Like the concept of an “urban refugee” the idea of a “host community” is similarly problematic. In fact there is growing literature that suggests established host communities in urban areas neither *host* refugees in any direct sense, nor do they really constitute a recognizably coherent *community*. In many instances they are defined by high levels of social and economic instability. Their arrival in the city is often relatively recent and also the result of experiences of displacement, loss and upheaval. This phenomenon is particularly evident in poor, informal and marginalized social spaces on the urban landscape.¹¹

¹⁰ The latter was mainly observed in Pakistan, where refugee settlement was tolerated and sometimes encouraged by the state, but not determined through a rigorous group or individualized procedure.

¹¹ See Landau (2006), Landau and Duponchel (2011), Madhavan and Landau (2011) and Landau (2012) for a more detailed discussion on this, with specific reference to the urban areas in Africa.

The diversity of the city and range of possible points of contact between its multiplicities of residents further confounds any meaningful representation of a “host community” for urban refugees. For example, refugees may live amongst the poor, work for employers that reside in middle class areas or sit alongside a wealthy local businessperson in church or mosque. Each of these categories may reflect fundamentally different attitudes to urban refugees and engage with refugees in very different ways.

The difficulty in isolating a distinctive “host community” was particularly evident in Cameroon. Freedom of movement and a right to work meant that refugees lived, generated livelihoods, sought out services and interacted socially in ways that included engagement with a spatially and socially diverse population in Yaoundé, which did not constitute a coherent *community*. To isolate those within their residential neighborhood as the “host community” would dismiss the significance of a much broader social experience that was critical to refugee survival in Yaoundé. In Karachi and Peshawar, the refugee-host dynamic appeared to develop in slightly different ways. Pashto-speaking refugees were incorporated directly into local Pashto-speaking neighborhoods and social structures. The *locality of neighborhood* therefore played a more direct role in shaping the local ties between refugees and “hosts” and in defining their identity on the urban landscape¹². In Indonesia, on the other hand, low numbers of refugees meant that they were not highly visible to the local population. Legal constraints and significant levels of reliance on UNHCR for support meant that refugees did not appear in the workplace and compete for jobs or access to other resources. Relatively few refugees lived in Jakarta for more than a few years and the majority sought to be resettled elsewhere, limiting their engagement with the local population. In this context, refugee-host relations were shaped by social and cultural distance rather than proximity and familiarity.

Refugee-host relations were shaped further by specific urban histories and the links between urban development, migration and displacement. In all three country-sites, segments of the “host community” were the products of displacement, migration and instability. For many, their lives continued to be defined by the absence of a strong sense of emplacement, security or belonging in the city. However, in competing claims over access to resources, they were still able to assert strong claims through “nativist idioms”¹³ that reinforced a sense of transience amongst refugee and migrant communities. In context of instability, impermanence and rapid social change, the *politics of citizenship* emerged as a specific marker of distinction between refugees and others.

In the context of this report, the concept of a “host-community” is used with reference to the histories, social and cultural identities and other defining characteristics that people draw on to assert their status as citizens and the rights that they feel this entitles them to. In Indonesia, for example, physical appearance and the ability to speak Indonesian stood out as particularly prominent markers of citizenship and belonging, in the context of refugee-host interactions. In Cameroon, where many refugees and hosts shared a common language that was not “native” to either group, language was not an important differentiator. While poverty represented a mark of a refugee, it was not definitive. The possession of documentation, however, was highlighted as critical. In Pakistan, where the boundary between refugee and host was most blurred (by time and the absence of formalized recognition) national identity was seldom elaborated in everyday contexts over the more socially cohesive qualities of shared ethnicities. This should not be interpreted as suggesting that nationality was insignificant. A review of marriage patterns, suggested very low levels of intermarriage between refugees and nationals. Poorer refugees were limited to specific marginal sectors of the economy, like garbage collection. However, wealthier refugees made noticeable contributions to business development, as evident in the following comments from interviewees in Karachi:

¹² It was on the basis of this observation that we were able to conduct a “host community” survey in Pakistan.

¹³ Landau (2006:125).

“They are extremely hard working people and have a sharp business acumen. They established themselves in medium size businesses, real estate market, retail business and as middlemen (*aarhi*).”

“They are investing heavily on real estate business, plazas and hotels, in even land interior of Sindh. They are in transport business, in shoe making and carpet weaving.”

Despite being well integrated into the local economy, refugees remained as a noticeably distinct group, even after decades of settlement in the city. For example, when the question of identifying refugees for the purposes of the survey came up, the Pashto speaking enumerator team-leader in Karachi dismissed the concern, noting: “We can tell who is a refugee, even if they deny it.”

What are “Urban Refugee-Host Community Relationships”?

One of the main objectives of this research is to identify the major characteristics of relationships between refugees and host communities across the respective case studies. Following from this, the potential impact of these relationships on refugee access to services and other resources in the city is considered. The notion of a “relationship” is very broad and may encompass a wide range of behaviors, attitudes, obligations and experiences, incorporating numerous “metaphors of hospitality” (Landau 2012). These may range from formal interactions with state authority figures, which have significant direct consequences for refugees, to informal and relatively inconsequential exchanges between neighbors, colleagues, friends and passers-by. All of these bases of interaction have the potential to shape refugee-host relations and influence the extent to which refugees are able to access services and resources in appreciable ways. Intolerance, corruption and incompetence at the level of the state have tremendous implications for the well-being and security of refugees. However, hostility and xenophobia at the local level, even when it is not promoted officially by the state, may have debilitating effects on the lives of refugees.

An exploration into refugee-host community relations is tied directly to the question of access to services and resources. The basic hypothesis behind this enquiry assumes that positive refugee-host relations correlate with better access to services for refugees. While a positive relationship between refugee-host relations and access to services may appear to be evident, the direction of causality is not immediately obvious. In other words, do improvements in refugee-host relations lead to better refugee access to services or do improved rates of access to services for refugees lead to improved relations with the host community? Our results, outlined below, suggest that both may in fact be true, and each may reflect a measure of success of the other. In other words, direct efforts to improve refugee-host relations may result in better access to services, while improved access to services for refugees may increase opportunities for strengthening relations to host communities. Positive refugee-host relations are therefore defined as the range of interactions between refugees and hosts that lead to demonstrable improvements in the lives of refugees, or that reduce the negative impacts of displacement, or that enable refugees to find solutions to their predicaments.

Finally, it is worth noting a developing interest and literature in the relationship between urbanization and the internally displaced¹⁴. Recognizing that more than half of internally displaced persons (IDPs) live outside of camps,

¹⁴ See the Tufts-IDMC profiling study of internal displacement to urban areas, including case studies of Khartoum (Sudan), Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Santa Marta (Colombia). See also Metcalfe et. al. 2011 for a consideration of internally displaced persons in Nairobi, Kenya.

UNHCR has begun to consider different models of assistance, which recognize the presence of host communities and incorporate their interests. These include providing direct support communities that host IDPs, targeting assistance to vulnerable IDPs and hosts without discrimination, and the relative advantages and disadvantages of cash-based forms of assistance where IDPs are hosted by local communities (see Davies 2012). Beyond UNHCR, other humanitarian organizations have also begun to explore how more attention to host communities may lead to improved responses to displacement (See Haver 2008 and McDowell 2009, for examples from the DRC). These initiatives provide further insight into the question of appropriate interventions that are intended to strengthen refugee-host relations.

Research Sites: Context and Rationale

This section introduces the four cities that inform the detailed comparative analysis below. Though all are described as “urban”, each case study reflects a distinctive history, geography and political tradition of incorporating strangers. The four cities that form the focus of this research were selected on the basis of a number of characteristics. Some of the main characteristics are summarized in Figure 3 below:

	Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan	
	Yaoundé	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar
City Population	1,817,524	9,607,787	9,339,023	982,816
Refugee arrival period	Medium Term	Recent Arrivals	Long term	Long Term
Signatory to 1951 Convention	Yes	No	No	
Strong UNHCR Presence	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Est. Refugees: National	100,373	1,006	1,702,700	
Est. Asylum-seekers: National	3,298	3,233	1,624	
Est. Refugees: City	10,000	2,000	130,000	N/A
Origin of Refugees	Neighbor/Region	Distant	Neighbor	Border
GDP per capita, 2011	\$1,271.30	\$3,494.60	\$1,194.30	
GDP Growth (an. %), 2011	3.8	6.5	2.4	

Figure 3: Key Comparative Characteristics of Urban Environments in Cameroon, Indonesia, and Pakistan

Population Size and Density

The populations of the four research sites range from less than one million residents (Peshawar) to more than nine million, in the case of Jakarta and Karachi (both frequently described as “mega-cities”). The size of a city (in terms of population) may be a highly significant variable when assessing the experiences of urban refugees, settlement patterns and practices and the specific threats, opportunities and resources that each city is able to offer. Larger cities, for example, may enable a much more anonymous or hidden refugee presence than smaller cities, where refugee arrivals may be more noticeable and have a relatively greater social and economic impact.

The size of the refugee population in relation to the local population is another important variable that needs to be borne in mind. As illustrated in Figure 4 below, a rough calculation of the overall density of refugee settlement varies considerably across our research sites. Such variation is critical to keep in mind when considering the impact of refugees on local resources, local perceptions of refugee influx:

City	Refugees: Total Urban Population
Yaoundé	1 : 181
Jakarta	1 : 4,803
Karachi	1 : 72
Peshawar	N/A

Figure 4: Ratio of Refugees to Total City Population

Such stark variation in the density of refugee settlement across the four sites (especially between Jakarta and Karachi) raises important questions related to host community perceptions of refugees, frequencies of encounters between refugees and host communities, refugee settlement patterns and the relative political significance of refugee populations. As illustrated below, the scale of refugee settlement and the extent to which a refugee influx impacts on the host community plays a significant role in shaping refugee-host relations.

History of Refugee Settlement

In addition to highlighting the varying significance of scale and density of refugee settlement, our research sites also reflected very different histories of refugee settlement and both formal and informal practices of responding to refugee arrivals. Karachi and Peshawar, for example, have a long history of accepting and hosting large numbers of refugees from Afghanistan. Like Pakistan, the majority of refugees hosted by Cameroon originate from neighboring states (CAR and Chad). However, Cameroon's legal framework also accommodates refugees from further afield and includes a sizeable refugee population from a range of other non-neighboring countries, such as Rwanda and DRC. Jakarta on the other hand has a much shorter history of hosting refugees and tends to host refugees from conflict-affected countries from well beyond its region. In contrast to Pakistan and Cameroon, the majority of refugees are incorporated as cultural outsiders. The range of nationalities reflected in a refugee population as well as the proximity of their country all impact upon the response of local host authorities and communities to their arrival, the subsequent process of their social incorporation. These are discussed further in relation to the case studies below.

Legal Framework

As one might expect, the specific legal framework that is adopted by a host country impacts significantly on the relationships between refugees and the host community. In contrast to Indonesia and Pakistan, Cameroon is a signatory to the 1951 Convention and relies strongly on UNHCR for support in responding to urban refugees. The official approach to hosting refugees is overtly open and purposefully reflective of international norms and standards. As outlined below, the realization of this vision is sometimes difficult, especially where the lives of refugees as well as the communities they live within are defined by desperate struggles against poverty.

In Pakistan, the government appears to play a relatively minor role in shaping the integration of refugees into local communities. Instead, refugees rely strongly on social and ethnic ties to the host population to negotiate their access to the city and the resources necessary for survival. The central role of ethnicity or tribal identity in this context promotes segregated and closed communities, particularly in poorer neighborhoods where residents have options. Like Pakistan, Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention. It does however maintain a relatively rigorous state-level response to the relatively low (but increasing) numbers of refugee arrivals. While the government of Indonesia permits UNHCR to determine the status of asylum-seekers, there is still no provision for refugee settlement

in Indonesia. As detailed below, those that are accepted as refugees are compelled to remain dependent on UNHCR and prohibited from working or engaging in other income-generating activities. Refugee-host relations are therefore developed in a context where most refugees are effectively compelled to remain dependent on UNHCR for their basic needs.

Outline of the Report

The section that follows immediately below provides some background to the specific social and economic characteristics of each of the four city-sites, highlighting the evolving policy and popular response to the arrival of urban refugees at each site. The discussion is drawn from selected secondary sources as well as interviews with refugees, hosts and other stakeholders. This leads into a summary discussion of the major findings of the study and related recommendations. After a brief consideration of methods and the limitations of the data and a profile of the household survey sample, the final section provides an extensive summary of household survey data, supported by qualitatively derived insights and observations. This highlights the relationships between specific urban refugee household characteristics and selected areas of interaction with the local host community, with a view to identifying patterns of refugee-host interactions. Whilst some of the data suggests strong patterns and relationships, this was not reflected consistently across all the areas of enquiry. Appendices include: selected examples of research tools developed for the project; a checklist for funding agencies when preparing requests for proposals (RFPs); a checklist for incorporating the recognition of refugee-host relations into program design and proposal evaluation and a list of sample indicators related to refugee-host relationships for use in monitoring and evaluation.

Case Studies

This section provides some background to urban refugee settlement in Yaoundé, Jakarta, Karachi and Peshawar. Specifically it highlights a range of issues related to the history and patterns of refugee settlement, the organization of urban refugee communities and humanitarian responses to the plight of urban refugees.

Urban Refugees in Cameroon

The West African nation of Cameroon is a signatory to the 1951 Convention and has hosted refugees since the 1980s. The country is generally recognized as having a liberal policy towards refugees. Government officials explained this approach as a reflection of Cameroonians' cosmopolitan identity: the policies that the government promotes reflect a country defined by openness to refugees. In 2005, the country promulgated its first law to explicitly domesticate its legal commitments to the protection of refugees. However, this law was only brought into effect in November 2011 and its full implications are still evolving. At present refugee status determination (RSD) is undertaken by UNHCR. However, a consequence of implementing the law has been to shift responsibility for conducting RSDs from UNHCR to the Cameroonian government. This process is underway. At the time that field data was collected, both UNHCR and government officials were focused on the need to develop the requisite capacity within government to begin to take on this responsibility.

Refugees live in both rural and urban areas in Cameroon. In rural areas some 3,000 refugees are settled within a camp at Langui, near Garoua, situated in the north of the country¹⁵. Other refugees, mostly from Central African Republic (CAR), are self-settled in rural villages in the east, mainly around Bertoua and Maiganga and Nigerian refugees continue to live in Banyo, in the Adamaoua region in the northwest of Cameroon. The majority of refugees receive recognition on a *prima facie* basis, although some have individual recognition. Refugees that are settled in urban areas live mostly in Yaoundé and Douala and are settled mainly within poorer urban communities, referred to locally as "*les élobis*". There are reportedly very few refugees living in other towns within Cameroon.

Refugees in Cameroon enjoy the right to freedom of movement as well as the right to seek employment, amongst other basic refugee rights. Those who choose to settle in urban areas do so for a range of reasons. The majority of urban refugees that were interviewed and surveyed in Cameroon emphasized that they settled in Yaoundé to enhance their protection. Some refugees, particularly those that originated from rural parts of the neighboring countries of Chad and CAR, pointed out that low population densities in rural areas meant that they could be identified and found by their persecutors, who would have relatively easy access to them. For these refugees, seeking refuge in a more densely settled area led them to feel safer. For other refugees that arrived from further afield, life in the city was simply more familiar to them. They had no experience of life in the rural areas and lacked the requisite social and cultural capital (such as ethnic and kinship ties, language skills, etc.) to settle successfully in rural areas. In order to establish agriculturally based livelihoods, one needed to have more than just the skill and experience. One also needed to be known and accepted by the local villagers. Urban environments offered more diverse livelihood options, which also enhanced a sense of economic security amongst refugees. Proximity to the UNHCR office in Yaoundé was therefore important to enable refugees to register through the UNHCR's RSD program and ensure that their attestation papers could be kept updated. Living in Yaoundé enabled refugees to appeal to UNHCR if they confronted problems or if they were in dire need of financial support. Finally, proximity to UNHCR's

¹⁵ If a tripartite agreement signed recently between UNHCR and the respective government of Chad and Cameroon is implemented as planned, refugees will begin to be repatriated from January 2013.

office was also important for refugee that submitted applications for resettlement. Many refugees were invested strongly in these applications and were determined to be available to the UNHCR, if they were called.

Other factors that encouraged refugees to move to urban zones include the fear of witchcraft in rural areas and the difficulties of accessing land for cultivation. As noted above, many refugees in Yaoundé originate from urban areas and do not possess the skills or experience to reestablish their livelihoods on the basis of subsistence farming. Some refugees also recognize the services, resources and opportunities that cities offer, which are simply not available in rural areas. These include education, health care and relatively greater possibilities for employment. Even though refugees were largely dependent on menial labor, the wage levels in urban areas were higher than in rural areas, and regarded as slightly more acceptable by some refugees. Refugees that originated from rural areas were sometimes drawn to urban areas by the promise of new opportunities and lifestyles.

According to a UNHCR profiling study from 2010, more than 75% of refugees reported having positive relationships with local Cameroonians. A further 20.8% reported having very little to do with Cameroonians directly while 2.1% reported having serious problems in their relations with local Cameroonians. The major complaints of the latter group related to xenophobia. Other issues included neighborhood disputes, aggression and insecurity (UNHCR 2010:18-19). On the other hand, refugees also recognized the charitable attitudes of some Cameroonians, as well as the limits of such charity:

“I know that the times are hard; you can’t leave your family and children to share food elsewhere. I don’t blame Cameroonians if they don’t share because they themselves don’t have enough.”

In general, respondents suggested that while Cameroonians tolerated refugees living in Yaoundé, the two groups did not enjoy particularly close relationships. They expressed the view that when something went wrong in the community, Cameroonians were often quick to blame the refugees.

Interviews suggested that social interactions with Cameroonians tended to be limited to specific contexts. Where refugees and Cameroonians attended the same churches, they tended to interact with each other on a cordial basis, as acquaintances (*connaissance*) rather than as friends. Refugees and Cameroonians also tended to interact with one another in drinking groups, where alcohol was provided by a member of either group.

Interviews with Cameroonians suggested a relatively low level of awareness of the plight of refugees beyond their recognition as “foreigners”. Many had little or no personal interaction with the refugees that lived within their neighborhoods and consequently paid little attention to the issue. When approached about the question of refugees many expressed rather ambivalent and contradictory views. Some expressed suspicion over the fact that persons that had fled from warzones may be seeking to escape from crimes that they may have committed in their home countries. Some also argued that refugee settlement had an inflationary effect on local rents, because refugees were willing to meet the landlords’ demands for increased rent by sharing accommodation. Furthermore, refugees and other foreigners were blamed for depressing wage levels, by agreeing to work for much less than Cameroonians would expect. Perceived links between refugees (or “foreigners”) and crime were occasionally mentioned by local during interviews or in casual conversation.

Interviews conducted with Cameroonians that interacted with refugees suggested that attitudes to refugees ranged from indifference to strong sympathy for their plight. Some Cameroonians provided assistance to refugees that they

encountered, that they recognized as particularly desperate. They highlighted the limit of their charity as determined by their own economic struggles. Poorer Cameroonians mentioned that they faced the same everyday problems as refugees. One interviewee added that they were in a better position to respond to such challenges because they had family networks that they could draw on for support. They also had access to food that was produced in their home villages to supplement their urban livelihoods. These observations suggest that some social characteristics that are assumed to be important in rural areas, such as extended family networks and subsistence agricultural production, may also be important for the security of urban livelihoods.

Refugees reported that friendships between Cameroonians usually developed between members of the same church. In most everyday¹⁶ contexts, including work and public environments, refugees and Cameroonians interacted on a cordial basis, seldom interacting beyond a superficial greeting. Even where friendships developed that were ostensibly close, they were represented as less intimate than intra-group friendships. Only rarely did Cameroonians and refugees marry one other.

The relatively easy settlement of refugees and asylum-seekers and a broad level of public tolerance of refugees exist alongside a highly restrictive policy on citizenship. While it is relatively easy for refugees to settle in Cameroon, it is difficult for them to integrate to the point of obtaining Cameroonian citizenship. The process of acquiring citizenship through naturalization is very long in Cameroon and requires a presidential decree. At the time that research was conducted for this project, Rwandan refugees in Yaoundé were confronting the upcoming invocation of a cessation clause, which could potentially lead to the removal of their refugee status in Cameroon. This created considerable anxiety within the community, in which many were afraid of being forced to return to Rwanda, leading some to make enquiries over the possibility of remaining in Cameroon. In response to this, government officials pointed to the possibility for former refugees to remain in Cameroon by acquiring fixed period residential permits, enabling foreigners to remain in Cameroon more or less permanently.

The refugee community in Yaoundé was organized on the basis of national identity. Largely through the efforts of UNHCR, each national grouping held elections to identify an official representative (Matheisen 2012). From amongst these representatives an overall refugee “president” was selected to act as the main liaison between UNHCR and the refugee community at large. Following a visit to Yaoundé in 2010 by Mr. Antonio Guterres, the High Commissioner for Refugees, the refugee community was provided with a community center. The facility was operated by the refugee community structures and was intended to facilitate the organization of refugee-related activities.

The majority of refugees in Yaoundé were only able to establish very limited livelihoods that they described as “hand to mouth”. UNHCR’s recent AGDM exercise highlighted constraints on livelihoods as one of the most significant concerns for urban refugees in Cameroon (UNHCR 2011:10). The vast majority relied on sporadic employment in the informal sector which included activities like digging pit latrines and wells, domestic work, clothes washing, security guards, selling of peanuts on the street as well as the brewing and sale of “*bilibil*”, a popular millet-based alcoholic drink. The most common frustration expressed by refugees was a lack of employment opportunities for refugees. As one refugee noted:

“...there are no jobs in Cameroon. How do you expect us to have a job when Cameroonians themselves are jobless?”

¹⁶ This refers to routine activities that people reproduce on a daily basis without much conscious reflection.

As detailed below, formal employment levels for refugees appeared to be extremely low. Reflecting on their predicament, some refugees argued that refugees fail to find more stable employment because Cameroonian employers “favor their brothers”, even where refugees are more qualified. High unemployment levels amongst Cameroonians, particularly in poorer communities, meant that competition for available jobs was high and entitlement was organized on the basis of national identity.

Government representatives recognized that the levels of poverty experienced by refugees were exacerbated by additional difficulties in finding employment. However, they argued that this was not a consequence of discrimination (either officially or unofficially at the local levels) but rather the result of the extreme social and economic vulnerability experienced by the majority of refugees. In general, government officials expressed great pride in Cameroon’s historical record of accepting refugees and respect for international norms and standards related to the protection of refugees.

One of the consequences of establishing livelihoods around low and erratic forms of income was low nutritional status. Many refugees, especially in the context of focus groups, highlighted the fact that they often had to forfeit meals if they didn’t have the income to buy food. When they could afford it, they generally bought food of a low quality and low nutritional value, such as rice, cassava flour and cheap local vegetables. Very few had access to meat or high quality vegetables.

UNHCR has a well-established office and an active presence in Cameroon. The organization implements a range of protection and assistance-related programs, some of which are outlined below. Many of these programs are implemented through partnerships with other (local and international) humanitarian organizations that include Plan Cameroon, Catholic Relief Services, Hope Services Clinic, the Adventist Development Relief Association (ADRA) and *Association de Lutte contre les Violences faites aux Femmes (AVLF)*. The most common point that was made by those organizations consulted in the context of this research related to budgetary constraints. Almost every service that humanitarian organizations offered to refugees could not meet levels of demand from refugee communities. Some humanitarian workers highlighted a sense of helplessness that they experienced when they were unable to extend services to all refugees. Even though refugees expressed frustrations at these limitations, humanitarian workers highlighted a generally good working relationship between refugee communities and service organizations.

With assistance from its implementing partners, UNHCR provides various forms of humanitarian assistance to refugees. Many refugees expressed the view that they would not know how to survive in Cameroon without the support of UNHCR. As the scope of UNHCR activities is generally limited by budget, the level of support provided by UNHCR did not generally meet the full extent of refugee demand. In most instances, UNHCR assistance was only partially able to meet the needs of refugees, who were compelled to make up the shortfall. Where possible UNHCR provided *ad hoc* forms of assistance to refugees under exceptional circumstances, in specific cases that were regarded as particularly urgent.

A UNHCR profiling study conducted amongst urban refugees in Cameroon in 2010 suggests that approximately 28.7% of refugees in urban areas of Cameroon had no formal education. A further 32.6% had primary school education whereas 29.7% had completed high school. 7.7% of refugees profiled had tertiary or some form of vocational training. The majority of the group that had no formal education originated from CAR—a group that also reflects a high percentage of refugees that originate from rural areas (UNHCR 2010: 11).

With regard to children of school-going age, 82.3% of the household survey sample from the present study was attending school at the time of our survey. A UNHCR urban refugee profiling study conducted in 2010 reported that only 67.1% of urban refugee children of school-going age were enrolled in school (UNHCR 2010:15). The household survey confirmed UNHCR's finding that the primary reason for not attending school was economic (83.8% and 79.1%¹⁷ respectively).

At the time of this research, UNHCR provided limited assistance to some refugee children. Eligibility for assistance was primarily age-dependent. Refugee children between the ages of 6 and 14 years were permitted to apply for grants to support their attendance at primary school whereas children between 12 and 18 years of age were supported to attend high school. UNHCR also offered a limited number of scholarships for deserving refugee candidates to attend tertiary educational institutions, including university.

In effect, due to budgetary limitations, some children in refugee households did not receive UNHCR support and relied on the availability of resources from within the household to attend school. This applied particularly to those children that were beyond the age limit stipulated by UNHCR for each level of education. The results of UNHCR's recent AGDM exercise highlighted the importance of scholarships in determining refugee access to education and also highlighted the link between poverty and difficulties in accessing education (UNHCR 2011: 10).

UNHCR support for health care is based on a system of reimbursing designated local health facilities for the cost of providing care to refugees. Refugees were referred to selected hospitals and clinics including Hope Service Clinic, Djongolo Hospital and *Hopital Centrale*, which worked in collaboration with Catholic Relief Services. They were only required to pay a symbolic sum of 300 Francs (approx. \$0.50) per consultation. In order to receive this benefit, refugees needed to obtain authorization from UNHCR in advance, to cover the cost of the treatment. Refugees sometimes failed to do this, making it difficult for them to receive reimbursement. Furthermore, some refugees complained that not all of their health needs were covered by UNHCR. Health issues related to eye care and dental, for example, had to be paid out of pocket. In addition, some refugees felt that the health centers that they had access to did not always provide them with appropriate care. As one refugee commented:

“...they give us generic medications. Each time, whatever be the illness we have, they give us aspirin, paracetamol and Ibuprophène.”

Consequently, refugees sometimes supplement the health care that they receive by purchasing drugs privately or resort to traditional medicines. In general, however, information obtained through interviews and focus groups suggested that UNHCR's health program enjoyed a high degree of support within the refugee community.

In partnership with the Adventist Development and Relief Association (ADRA), UNHCR implemented a micro-credit program to support and develop refugee livelihoods. At the time of this research the project comprised 46 beneficiaries, 28 in Yaoundé and 18 in Douala. A significant percentage of the beneficiaries included refugee women that had managed to establish successful small businesses such convenience stores that served various neighborhoods within Yaoundé. Staff working for ADRA acknowledged a relatively high failure rate of supported business, attributing this to refugees using the loan capital to support urgent demands from household and family

¹⁷ See UNHCR (2010:16).

members. But despite the risks of failure, the micro-credit enjoyed popular support amongst refugee communities. At the time of research there were approximately 500 applications from refugees seeking to participate in the program. The primary challenge faced by those administering the project was meeting demand for participation and improving the repayment rate, in order to underscore the sustainability of the program.

According to representatives of AVLF, a local organization in Yaoundé with which UNHCR partnered to address gender issues, there were high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (GBV) within refugee communities. On the basis of more than 20 years of experience in Yaoundé, representatives from this organization argued that gender-based violence in this context was linked strongly to the failure of men and women to meet gender-based expectations in contexts of extreme poverty. When men, who were generally regarded as providers, were unable to meet this expectation, they frequently became aggressive, particularly where they felt their value within the household context was being eroded or they had somehow lost the respect of other household members. In many cases, GBV took place in contexts where women became more successful in providing for the household and taking on more *de facto* responsibility for household survival, leading to a situation where, as one member of AVLF commented:

“when [a man] does not feed the family, he is no longer the chief ... women earn money, but men want to control it”.

Importantly, AVLF highlighted the fact that there were no institutionalized forms of protection for refugee women that are vulnerable to violence. Refugee households in urban areas were often isolated from extended family networks that may have provided some protection to women from GBV as well as extending social pressure onto men to control such behavior. Women felt under considerable pressure to refrain from reporting such instances to the police or other authorities. Reasons included the fear that resettlement application would be rejected. Women were also often afraid to raise the alarm in communities where local perceptions of refugees were already negative. As one AVLF member noted, women might be nervous that local Cameroonians might respond by saying: “Don’t bring the trouble that you have in your country here.” Finally, women caught up in abusive relations were also afraid of their partners being arrested by the police, if they reported them for GBV because, as AVLF noted, “living with a man [who may be abusive] is also a form of protection for some women ...”

Another gender-related issue arose from a broadly recognized vulnerability of young refugee women to sexual abuse. In these instances women from poor refugee families were lured by the promise of some material gain to establish relations, mostly with relatively wealthier Cameroonian men but also by other refugees. In cases where women became pregnant, the men or boys involved were often reluctant to recognize or take responsibility for paternity. The work of AVLF is therefore based on the understanding of a close link between physical violence and what they termed the “economic violence” of everyday. The organization also, however, highlighted the significance of the trauma that refugees experience prior to being displaced. For some refugees, they noticed, “Conflict destroys something deep inside of them.”

Urban Refugees in Indonesia

Compared to other countries Indonesia hosts a relatively small number of refugees and asylum-seekers. Of the 2 882 persons of concern in Indonesia (as of January 2011) 811 were refugees and 2 071 were asylum-seekers. The rate of arrival of asylum-seekers has increased markedly over the last three years and many observers expect that this

will continue in the future. Refugees originate from a range of countries of origin including Afghanistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Iran and China, amongst other countries. Many refugees that arrive in Indonesia, often with assistance from people smugglers, are unaccompanied minors.

Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and the country's response to the influx of asylum-seekers is primarily in terms of legislation related to immigration. In terms of Article 8 (2) of Indonesia's Immigration Act, all non-nationals that enter Indonesia's territory are required to hold a valid passport and visa. Persons that do not meet these criteria are assumed to be in contravention of the act and in the country illegally. If such persons are identified, they may be detained, under article 83 (1) of the act. In 2012 there were almost 1,000 non-nationals held in detention by Indonesian Authorities (JRS 2012: 16).

In response to a growing number of arrivals of asylum-seekers in Indonesia, the government issued a "Directive of the Director General of Immigration" on 17 December 2010, which acknowledged a role for UNHCR in identifying, protecting and assisting refugees in Indonesia (JRS 2012: 16). The directive provided for undocumented migrants to indicate an intention to apply for asylum and to register this with UNHCR. UNHCR would then assess the merits of the claim and determine the status of the asylum seeker. Importantly, the directive stipulated that it was not mandatory for undocumented migrants to be held in detention, provided they had been registered with UNHCR or another competent international organization that conformed to a number of other official requirements (JRS 2012: 16).

UNHCR is obliged to report to the Indonesian government on the outcome of the status determination procedure of each applicant. Asylum claims that are found to be without merit and which are rejected by UNHCR, are referred to the relevant authorities and treated as illegal. As Indonesia does not maintain a deportation regime, illegal migrants may be detained for extended periods, with no effective resolution to their plight. Human rights groups have regularly highlighted the plight of persons held in detention in Indonesia (JRS 2012).

Successful claimants are granted refugee status by UNHCR and are permitted to stay in Indonesia temporarily, until they can be resettled to a third country. While in Indonesia, asylum-seekers and refugees have no right to work or establish permanent residence. They are obliged to remain dependent on UNHCR for their care and maintenance.

Some senior humanitarian workers in Indonesia expressed the view that the Indonesian government was "moving in the direction" of acceding to the 1951 Refugee Convention, including granting the right to work to refugees. Indeed, Indonesia has placed accession to the 1951 Refugee Convention on the agenda for its National Human Rights Action Plan (JRS 2012:25).

Indonesia is often represented as a "transit country" for refugees and undocumented migrants, whose final intended destination is usually Australia. As outlined above, there are no legal options for refugees to settle in Indonesia permanently. The settlement of refugees in Indonesia, including urban refugees in Jakarta, is premised on the assumption of a temporary stay.

Many refugees were quite explicit about their intention to move on from Indonesia, ideally to Australia. Most expressed a strong desire to do this through a resettlement program but others expressed impatience with the length of time and uncertainty of being selected. This was particularly the case for those who were not from national backgrounds that appeared to be in favor with governments.

Refugees living in Indonesia, including unaccompanied minors, sought to make their way to Australia by boat, with the assistance of smugglers. Humanitarian workers report that refugees would simply disappear, without any notice. As has been reported widely in the media, the vessels were often not sea-worthy, sometimes leading to tragic consequences for the asylum-seekers. In some more fortunate instances, damaged boats that were adrift or in the process of sinking were intercepted and the passengers were returned to Indonesia. In partnership with Australia and Indonesia, IOM manages a large regional migration management initiative which seeks to reduce irregular migration in the region.

The UNHCR office in Indonesia is located in central Jakarta. The major function of UNHCR is to conduct RSD, make recommendations for resettlement and provide assistance and protection to refugees and asylum-seekers. By 30 June 2012, 1,219 refugees and 4,766 asylum-seekers were registered with UNHCR.¹⁸ One of the main roles of UNHCR in Jakarta is to conduct RSD for asylum applications and register and submit applications for resettlement to various countries that accept refugees for resettlement. These include Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Sweden and other Scandinavian countries. In situations where applications are rejected, UNHCR makes an effort to resubmit them to other countries. In common with other resettlement programs, UNHCR is not involved in decision-making regarding resettlement. Very few refugees in Indonesia have requested assistance from UNHCR to return to their own country of origin.

All recognized refugees in Jakarta that UNHCR determines to be in need are provided with a Monthly Subsistence Allowance (MSA). These are delivered through one of the three implementing partners to which refugees are assigned. The dependents of principal applicants are only provided with 50% of the MSA rate since it is assumed that they would share certain costs, such as housing, with the principal applicant. UNHCR acknowledges that MSA is generally not sufficient for refugees to meet their basic needs but also emphasized that the organization was not in a position to increase it.

The benchmark for MSA was set against the minimum wage proposed by government. UNHCR stressed that this rate could not vary significantly from local income levels. MSA is intended as a form of support for vulnerable refugees and as a UNHCR official emphasized, "MSA is not an entitlement." The relative vulnerability of refugees was determined on a basis of a socio-economic assessment of new arrivals, usually conducted by one of UNHCR's partners on their behalf. In general, asylum-seekers were not provided with MSA until their status had been determined. In rare cases, exceptions were made for asylum-seekers that were especially vulnerable. UNHCR acknowledged that without any right to work in Indonesia, it was a challenge for refugees and asylum-seekers to survive without MSA.

In order to make up the reduction in income generating capacity, many refugees relied on their savings, if they had any, or loans from relatives abroad, which would be delivered through agencies like Western Union. Our research did not come across evidence of significant levels of unauthorized employment. Refugees that did not have access to external sources of income simply make do with less, by living frugally. This included sharing major costs, like housing and careful use of resources. For example, refugee participants in focus groups were all provided with lunch. Some, however, did not eat their lunch and took it away with them. When asked, they explained that would keep it for their children.

¹⁸ UNHCR Indonesia, Fact Sheet and Statistical Information, June 2012.

Interviews with refugees and their Indonesian neighbors suggested there was very little everyday interaction between refugees and Indonesians. Most respondents explained this as a consequence of language difficulties. In contrast to Cameroon and Pakistan, language represented a very significant barrier between refugees and local Indonesians. Consequently, most refugees and Indonesians described their interactions with the other as superficial, fleeting and polite. Many Indonesians were not aware of the specific status of refugees and tended to simply represent refugees as “foreigners”. Focus group discussion with Somali students suggest that some refugees prefer to be represented simply as “foreigners” rather than “refugees”, because of the level of suspicion that refugee status raises in Indonesia. As one Somali refugee student noted:

“Only a few lecturers know that I am a refugee. Most of my friends do not know. All they know is that I’m a student from Africa. I just let them because if I explain it to them, they will get confused and ask me a lot of questions. Now I have graduated but I’m still here. They begin to wonder why I haven’t gone home yet to Africa, so I just tell them that I have no money yet to go home.”

In rare instances conflicts have developed between refugees and local Indonesians. These included, for example, local concerns over suggestions that refugee men had sexually harassed or behaved inappropriately towards local Indonesian women or girls. While refugees generally felt safe in Jakarta, they were vulnerable to the actions of criminals that posed as officials for the purpose of extorting money.

It is worth noting that in the months following the collection of data for this project, refugee-host relations have deteriorated somewhat in the Bogor-Cipayung area, south of Jakarta. This appears to be linked to a case of suspected rape of a local Indonesian teenage girl by an unaccompanied minor. While the facts of the case were not clear, the issue received attention in both the local and national press. In light of this case, local attitudes towards foreigners in general appear to be hardening, leading to a number of worrying responses. These have included active initiatives to prevent foreigners from living in the local area by putting pressure on local landlords that rent housing to foreigners to refrain from doing so in future. In response, some refugees have moved from the area to Jakarta. This development appears to confirm that while refugee-host relations were cordial at the time of our research, these were somewhat fragile.

In theory, refugees are able to attend local Indonesian schools once they receive recognition from UNHCR. As one school director pointed out, all they need to do is register and present the documentation from UNHCR. He pointed out that just as other children need to prove they are citizens, so refugees have to prove their status. He had not, however, heard of any cases where children were refused access to school on grounds that they could not prove their status. Like Indonesian children, refugee children were not required to pay school fees for basic education. They were, however, required to meet other costs associated with attending school, such as books, stationery and uniforms. Although school teaching staff emphasized that refugee children generally performed well in school, after a period of adjustment, school attendance rates in Jakarta were extremely low (see below). Conversations with parents did not suggest that cost was a major barrier, but rather highlighted language as the main reason why children’s education remains disrupted. It expected that children would be proficient in Indonesian as a requisite for entering school. Many newly-arrived children took time to become proficient. This process was frustrated by the fact that parents often assumed their stay in Indonesia would be short-term and did not encourage their children to learn Indonesian.

Refugees have access to health care facilities in Indonesia. A hospital in Bogor, near Jakarta, had developed an arrangement with UNHCR to receive refugees as patients. The precise arrangements for getting access to the hospital vary, depending on the procedural requirements of the implementing partner organization that the refugee is associated with. For example, refugees associated with CWS that require treatment in advance need to obtain a “guarantee letter” from CWS in order to be admitted. If refugees are brought to the hospital in an emergency situation and do not have a guarantee letter, the hospital will attempt to contact UNHCR, or a relevant implementing partner, to confirm a guarantee of payment. If such confirmation could not be obtained, refugees had to pay out of pocket. If they cannot afford the fees, they are transferred to an appropriate government health center. Unlike poorer citizens, refugees are not able to join or benefit from *JAMKESMAS*¹⁹, Indonesia’s mandatory public health insurance scheme.

According to Indonesian health care professionals, the major problem that refugees have in accessing health care is language. Very few speak Indonesian and translators are often not available—especially in emergency situations—to communicate with patients. One hospital administrator also felt that there was a low level of awareness amongst staff, of the specific health challenges faced by refugees.

Urban Refugees in Pakistan

The border region between Afghanistan and Pakistan has been defined historically by high levels of migration and social and economic exchange between the two countries. This has fostered long-standing social and economic ties across this vast border landscape, which have shaped interconnected livelihoods and shared identities. When violent conflict engulfed Afghanistan from the late 1970s onwards, Afghans entered Pakistan in unprecedented numbers, leading to one of the largest refugee crises in modern history.

The majority of refugees settled in refugee camps, towns and villages close the border region, including in and around the city of Peshawar. Others moved on further, at various times, settling in major economic centers like Karachi. These included tribal leaders that moved entire populations, re-establishing traditional social structures in new urban environments (AREU 2005:42). Many of those that moved to Karachi were Pashtuns, able to access the city through strong social ties with established Pashtun communities. From the late 1980s, following the end of the Soviet occupation, declining levels of humanitarian assistance to refugees in camps prompted many to move on the Karachi (AREU 2005:41).

Tribal and ethnic identity therefore played a critical role in determining who could settle in the city, where they could settle, what livelihood opportunities they had access to and what political parties they were associated with (AREU 2005: 42-44). At the local level, Afghans tended to be represented as “*mohajir*”. This is a general term for “migrant” and used in urban contexts to refer to a broad range of culturally defined outsiders. Relations between refugees and local host communities were also shaped, to some extent, by the concept of “*baradar*” or “brother communities”, which fostered relationships of support and specific obligations of social recognition. Refugee communities, in economic centers like Karachi were strengthened further by ongoing relationships of remittance exchanges (most of the time through the “*hawala*” method) with relatives in Afghanistan, or indeed in other parts of world.

As a non-signatory to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, the government of Pakistan did not recognize Afghans as refugees, in the international sense of the term. Over the more than three decades of settlement, Afghan refugees have been subject to a changing policy environment that has largely reflected shifting international and national

¹⁹ Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat (Community Health Insurance).

political developments and priorities. According the AREU (2005:1-2), the Pakistan government response to the presence of Afghan refugees and migrants has gone through three distinct phases, as summarized below:

1. From the late 1970s to the late 1980s the Government of Pakistan reflected a policy of open acceptance and active facilitation of Afghan refugee settlement in Pakistan.
2. From the late 1980s until 2001, this policy changed to one of tolerance of Afghan refugee settlement.
3. Following the United States-led military occupation of Afghanistan, the Pakistan policy towards refugee settlement shifted towards increased attempts at regulation and a stronger focus on repatriation. A dual focus on registration and return appears to continue to guide the government of Pakistan's response.

A relatively unstable and inconsistent policy response over an extensive time period has led to high levels of uncertainty over their official status and future of Afghans in Pakistan. As one Afghan refugee in Karachi noted:

“There is no concept of nationality here, as we have spent more than twenty years here but we are not given Pakistani nationality. [In] UK or Canada we are given nationality after five to ten years.”

The frustrations of living under such conditions of profound uncertainty of status contributed significantly towards shaping the livelihoods and lifestyles of urban refugees.

UNHCR first established a presence in Pakistan in 1980, in response to an increasing refugee influx. This initiated what eventually developed into the largest program undertaken by UNHCR at the time (Schoch 2008:7).

Humanitarian activities included the supply of immediate relief goods (food, shelter, clothing), supply of building materials, provision of potable water, veterinary services to livestock, as well as education and training. UNHCR worked in partnership with national authorities that had direct control over refugees. These authorities included the Chief Commissioner for Afghan Refugees, attached to the States and Frontier Regions Division. This ministry had a work force of 6 000 to 7 000 staff, while UNHCR only typically had a few dozen staff. By 2000, UNHCR operated through three offices, in Islamabad, Peshawar and Quetta respectively. These offices included 91 staff, of whom 23 were expatriate and 68 were national (UNHCR Global Report 2000:284).

Beyond the challenges associated with the scale of the refugee crisis, the provision of international humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan was complicated by the fact that the armed resistance to Soviet occupation, or “*Jihad*”, was largely organized from within the refugee camps (see Schoch 2008). Attempts to promote the large-scale repatriation of refugees, particularly in the late 1990s and early 2000s, were also highly challenging, raising questions over the extent to which these initiatives served the best interests of the refugees (see Turton & Marsden 2002).

Since the establishment of the current regime in Afghanistan, the humanitarian emphasis has shifted strongly towards repatriation and reintegration assistance. In March 2003, a Tripartite Agreement was signed between the governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan and the UNHCR. In terms of this agreement, Afghan refugees were encouraged and assisted to voluntarily repatriate. Since March 2002, more than 3.7 million Afghan refugees have repatriated voluntarily, from both camp and non-camp settings. In 2005, a further 400 000 returned. This process has

been accompanied by the formal closure of a number of camps, in Balochistan and KPK. This suggests that approximately 1.7 million refugees remain in Pakistan²⁰.

Registration of the remaining population of refugees is considered of prime importance. At the time that this study was conducted in Pakistan, an agreement was anticipated between the Government of Pakistan and the UNHCR to implement a new registration process, which could begin to address the needs of the remaining Afghan refugee population in Pakistan.²¹

By early 2012, UNHCR estimated that approximately 40% of registered Afghan refugees lived in 79 refugee villages located along the borders with Afghanistan in KPK and Balochistan, while 60 percent lives in rural and urban areas²². Presently UNHCR is working with the authorities in Pakistan to provide durable solution for 1.7 million Afghan refugees. A “quadripartite consultation” between Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and UNHCR, at the time of this study, was expected to develop a multi-year solution strategy (2012-2014) for Afghan refugees and focus on repatriation and reintegration into Afghanistan.

Despite living in Pakistan over many decades and sharing the same tribal identity with some members of the local community, refugees did not appear to be well integrated. As mentioned above, rates of intermarriage were low, despite both communities practicing the same religious traditions. Afghan refugees appeared to express less reluctance to allow their children to intermarry, compared to their Pakistani counterparts, suggesting that there may be a strong class dimension to this distinction. As one refugee from Peshawar noted: “I will allow my boy to marry outside but have to think if my girl wants to do so.”

In summary, the major issues confronting Afghan refugees that have been living in urban areas of Pakistan over almost four decades include the following:

1. *Absence of Legal Identification Documents*: The inability of some Afghan refugees to regularize their status in Pakistan, regardless of their specific circumstances makes Afghan refugees highly vulnerable to arrest and harassment by law enforcement agencies. This leads to constraints on free movement, both within the city and beyond, and enhanced vulnerability to exploitative relationships. In contrast to earlier periods, when Afghan refugee settlement was tolerated and even encouraged by authorities in Pakistan, many urban refugees now face the risk of deportation. The Nation on June 30, 2012 reports that Mian Iftikhar Hussain, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's Information Minister, stated that law enforcement agencies have been told to compile lists of illegal Afghans who were expected to leave by 30 June 2012. After then, orders would be issued for their arrest, appearance in court and subsequent deportation to Afghanistan. As Minister Hussain noted:

"No country allows illegal immigrants; how it is possible to legalize something which is illegal?"²³ (Afghans face mass deportation by: AFP, dated June 30, 2012, The Nation).

²⁰ See “2012 UNHCR country operations profile – Pakistan” (<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e487016.html>)

²¹ A six-month extension of existing Proof of Registration cards, for those refugees who possess them, was announced in December 2012.

²² UNHCR Pakistan, Fact Sheet I, February 2012, Asia Pacific Update.

²³ “Afghans face mass deportation from Pakistan,” The Express Tribune, 29 June 2012. <http://tribune.com.pk/story/401072/afghans-face-mass-deportation-from-pakistan/>

2. *Discrimination by Law Enforcement Agencies:* Many urban refugees suggested that law enforcement agencies have a discriminatory attitude towards them. For example, a refugee from Peshawar identified that:

“We have problems with police, as they ask unnecessary question even when we are having our card with us; when they take bribe then they let us go. I didn’t find any problem as now I have a Pakistan ID card, but refugees face problem with police. Afghan refugees are not involved in any crime as such. There may be few who are involved in robbery and selling of drugs, otherwise mostly want to live in peace and want to work.”

3. *Local intolerance of refugees:* Some refugees commented that local Pashtuns regard themselves as superior to Afghan Pashtuns. As an academic observer in Peshawar noted: “Culture of intolerance is detrimental to everybody and is at the root of local refugee issue. Over the years this culture of intolerance is deliberately cultivated.” Refugees believe that even after years in Pakistan they are not fully accepted by the local population and they are referred to as outsiders, as “*mohajirs*”.
4. *Poverty in refugee settlements:* Semi-structured interviews and observations suggest that poor refugees are vulnerable to economic exploitation and deprivation of access to services. As one respondent suggested: “Employers have a hey-day, as capitalists have an insatiable desire for cheap labor.” With regard to access to education, another respondent highlighted the link between wealth and opportunity: “Since education is on sale, so poor refugees are deprived of that, but rich [refugees] do get the opportunities.”

Refugee Settlement in Karachi

With more than eighteen million residents spread out over an area of more than 1 300 square miles, the urban expanse of Karachi is often spoken of as “mega city”. The population of the city has grown significantly over recent decades, at a rate of greater than 3% between 1980 and 1998 (Hasan 2006). In common with many other cities, the social landscape of Karachi has been shaped by various influxes of migrants and refugees. This included, for example, approximately 600 000 refugees from India following partition in 1947, still referred to as “*mohajirs*”. Between 1978 and 1998 approximately 600 000 Afghan refugees were registered in Karachi by the National Alien Registration Authority²⁴. This number was increased by a third wave of Afghan refugees that relocated to Karachi after initially settling in refugee camps or local villages in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. According to UNHCR, there were 71 000 registered Afghan refugees in Karachi as of 2012²⁵.

Over time many urban refugees were able to obtain valid National Identity Cards and passports. It appears as though some of these may have been obtained as a result of local corruption of administrative procedure, raising questions over the veracity of the documentation possessed by Afghan refugees. The process of obtaining Pakistani documentation is reputedly easier for Pashto speaking Afghans, relative to Tajiks and Uzbeks, for example, because of their similar appearance to local Pakistani Pashtuns.

Afghan refugees in Karachi are involved in a broad range of livelihood activities. Over time they have become particularly closely associated with three specific sectors, including construction work, wholesale and retail trade and

²⁴ “Migration: Afghans in Karachi’s Economy,” The International News. 7 January 2013.

http://www.thenews.com.pk/newsmag/mag/detail_article.asp?magId=10&id=3534

²⁵ “Karachi is home to 71 000 registered Afghan refugees, says UNHCR,” The News, 21 June 2012.

<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-4-115673-Karachi-home-to-71000-registered-Afghan-refugees-says-UNHCR>

transport. Researchers estimate that Afghan refugees contribute about 10 percent of the estimated labor force in these sectors. Anecdotal evidence suggests that urban refugees have also become increasingly involved in the transport of goods between the Karachi port and Afghanistan, a trade route that has developed significantly since 2001²⁶.

While a few wealthier Afghan families were able to move into established local neighborhoods, the majority settled either in formally-established refugee camps or "*katchi abadis*"—informal settlements established largely on the basis of squatting. The development of poor Afghan neighborhoods within and on the peripheries of cities like Karachi and Peshawar reinforced an important class dimension to refugee-host relations.

Poverty is endemic in migrant areas of Karachi, also characterized by low levels of access to education and health facilities. As one refugee noted:

"We have low literacy rates in our areas, poverty is prevalent, law and order situation is not good. Majority of the houses are *Pacca*²⁷ and have tin roof tops."

Under such conditions, it is not surprising that refugees and migrants in Karachi are highly vulnerable to labor exploitation. Strong competition for employment opportunities lowers the cost of labor and contributes to increased tension between groups that claim competing entitlements to work opportunities. The lines of conflict are often drawn between well-established residents and those that have arrived more recently. This has the effect of reinforcing highly localized identities and communities, structured strongly around ethnicity and arrival period.

Due to their ethnic proximity with Pashtun migrants from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, many urban refugees are associated with political parties and movements that seek to represent the interest of Pashtuns in general. Refugees therefore represent an important political resource in the volatile political culture of Karachi. At certain times, there have been violent conflicts between Pashtun refugees and local Pashtuns. More commonly, however, conflict erupts over tensions between Pashtuns and Urdu-speaking *mohajirs*. Reflecting on this tension, a refugee from Islamia Colony in Karachi noted:

"The business got destroyed during Pathan-Mohajir riots a couple of times. We were forced to shift to Dubai in 2005 and we moved five or six times between Dubai and Karachi. We were forced to sell the earlier maintained shop that was worth thirty million rupees for a mere one million."

In principle, children from Afghan families have access to the same broad range of education opportunities as local Pakistani children, with instruction generally offered in either Urdu or English. In practice, however, as noted by one refugee, "education is on sale". Like the local population, the quality of education that refugees have access to is dependent on financial means. This reduces levels of access for many refugees. Furthermore, many neighborhoods that refugees live within do not have schools, making access even more challenging. There have been various attempts to address this situation. For example, in 2005, there were six schools in Karachi that taught Afghan curriculum, in the Dari Persian language, and which were administered under the authority of the Afghanistan

²⁶ "The Political Economy of NATO Trucks", Ali. K, Chisti, The Friday Times, December 9-15, 2011. <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/beta2/tft/article.php?issue=20111209&page=7.2>

²⁷ "Pacca" refers to houses that are built from steel and cement and have concrete roof-tops. This is often in contrast to "katchka", which refers to housing made of mud bricks and other soft material like reeds and bamboo.

education authorities (AREI 2005: 29). In general, however, poorer refugees are effectively deprived of access to education. Like education, residents of Karachi have a wide range of options to choose from with regard to health care, the quality of which is largely dependent on cost.

Refugee Settlement in Peshawar

Peshawar is the capital of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, also known as North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Regarded as one of the oldest cities in Asia, the city has functioned for centuries as a vital trade hub, linking present-day Afghanistan, the South Asian region, Central Asia and the Middle East. The population in and around Peshawar is predominantly Pashtun. However, the presence of many other ethnic groups speaking a broad range of languages contributes a more cosmopolitan dimension to the city. Peshawar district has a relatively high population growth rate of 3.29% per year. More than half of the broader Peshawar district is urbanized.

The city has functioned as the leading center for Afghan refugee settlement over the prolonged period of conflict in Afghanistan. By 2000, it was estimated that there were 1 226 981 refugees located in 214 refugee villages and 48 managed camps²⁸. Afghans tend to be settled in close proximity to Peshawar city and it is estimated that one in every five residents of Peshawar city is of Afghan origin against one in 12 persons for the Peshawar region (AREU 2006: 5). When Afghans began to seek refuge in Peshawar in significant numbers from the late 1970s onwards, their settlement was largely determined by their socio-economic status. Afghan families that had the resources tended to move into established developing neighborhoods that were characterized by relatively good infrastructure and services. Poorer refugees tended to live in camps on the margin of the city. An NGO activist in Peshawar described the phenomenon as follows:

“Lower classes are living on the periphery of the city; the middle class that thrives on remittance have Nowshehra, Charsadda and Arbab road of Peshawar city as their abode. They run video centers, learn English language and run such centers, and run gymnasiums. Rich people live in University Town, and its youth aspire to go to England, Dublin, Canada and Islamabad. The lower class aspires to migrate to Karachi.”

Property laws in Pakistan made it difficult for many to purchase their homes and many were tenants in houses and apartments owned by Pakistani residents.

Refugees in Peshawar had relatively free access to the labor market. Consequently, livelihood opportunities were determined primarily by socio-economic and educational status prior to seeking refuge. Some of the poorest Afghan refugee families in Peshawar relied on begging or garbage collecting for survival. Casual labor has been observed to constitute one of the most important livelihood practices for Afghans in Peshawar (AREU 2006:30-31).

Others, however, were in salaried jobs, such as wage labor in the carpet weaving and the timber trade. Wealthier Afghans were also in skilled professions such as education, health and engineering. Many others established businesses, ranging from petty street trading to retail and wholesale marketing. Assessing the livelihood profile of the Afghans in Peshawar, the AREU observed that it appeared that livelihood activities were being transformed, “away from agricultural and rural activities and towards non-agricultural sectors including construction, transport, trade and other service sectors” (AREU 2006: 30).

²⁸ Commissionerate Afghan Refugees Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 2011. http://www.carkpk.org/projects.php?project_id=2

Poorer Afghans tended to move into squatter areas or one of the many refugee camps that were established and which sometimes evolved out of these neighborhoods. While the size, location, legal status, administrative frameworks and socio-economic profiles of settlements that were termed collectively as “camps” differed significantly from one another, they shared a number of characteristics. In the early years of conflict, the camps in and around Peshawar served as important bases from which, according to some sources, resistance to Soviet occupation was organized. Peshawar also became an important site for the distribution of aid to refugee camps. From the mid 1990s, levels of aid to Afghan refugees were reduced significantly and many camps were closed officially, with refugees being evicted in some instances. In response to these changes many refugees moved to rural and urban areas around Peshawar. By 2005, approximately 60% of the estimated Afghan population in Pakistan was living outside of camps (AREU 2006: 12-22).

Findings

This section presents a summary of the major findings of the study that relate to urban refugee-host relationships and access to services. Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative results (presented in Section 6) it considers how refugees in four very different urban contexts confront common challenges of everyday life in ways that shape relationships with the broader communities that they live within. The specific findings that we focus on below are outlined in Figure 5 below.

Theme	Findings
Arrival and Reception	1. A strong protection framework promotes refugee-host relations
	2. The socio-economic stresses of arrival undermine refugee-host relations
Shelter and Housing	3. Housing is a site of tension between urban refugees and hosts
Livelihood	4. Refugee marginalization from the formal economy reflects weak refugee-host relations
	5. Competition over access to livelihood opportunities fosters tension between refugees and hosts
	6. Dependency on direct assistance inhibits positive refugee-host relations
	7. Refugee vulnerability limits refugee-host relations
Education and Health care	8. Improved refugee access to education and health services is linked to strong refugee-host relations
Durable Solutions	9. Refugee-host relations impact on refugee attitudes to durable solutions

Figure 5: List of Major Findings

Consistent with UNHCR's 2009 policy on refugees in urban areas, the research findings support the view that the 1951 Convention remains highly relevant to the diverse predicaments of urban refugees living under a broad range of social, economic and political conditions. Many of the challenges associated with refugee-host relations and their links to refugee access to services arise from the failures to protect the basic rights of refugees enshrined in the Convention. These links are discussed in more detail below.

Finding 1: A strong protection framework promotes positive refugee-host relations

A strong state-led commitment to recognizing the legitimacy of refugee settlement in urban areas, based on the protection of refugee rights, underpins the development of positive refugee-host relations. The absence of formal status, or failure to protect the rights associated with such status, promotes either refugee isolation from the local host community or negative relationships based on exploitation and discrimination. A lack of broader community awareness of the rights of refugees in urban areas reduces urban refugee access to potential resources and opportunities.

- For asylum-seekers in Jakarta and Yaoundé, the absence of formal status promotes fear and anxiety over arrest and police harassment, encouraging social isolation or social interaction that is confined to small, closed refugee groups (such as family members or co-nationals).

- In Yaoundé, refugees moved to Yaoundé explicitly on the basis that they would receive better levels of protection than in other areas. Almost 80% of refugees surveyed in Yaoundé indicated that their primary motivation for moving to the city was either to find better safety and protection (56%) or find better access to UNHCR (23.9%).
- In Yaoundé, poor enforcement of refugee rights leads to increased risks of sexual exploitation and sexual predation of young girls and women by local men. While refugees may enjoy formal rights, such as to health services and employment, a number of respondents noted that young women were vulnerable to unscrupulous men that took advantage of their desperate circumstances, sometimes leaving them with unwanted pregnancies and infecting them with sexually transmitted diseases.
- In Jakarta, strong UNHCR support for refugees, primarily through local implementing partners that were highly accessible to refugees, contributed towards local acceptance of refugees.
- While refugees in Jakarta received strong levels of support from UNHCR, the absence of the right to work reduced significantly the opportunities for refugee-host relations to develop.
- In Jakarta, the absence of a strong framework of refugee rights has promoted a sense of refugee residence being short-term—even if, in reality, they end up spending a significant amount of time in the country. This discourages refugees from making efforts to overcome language barriers and interact with the local host community.
- In Yaoundé, low levels of community awareness of the rights of refugees discourage local businesses from employing refugees.
- In Karachi and Peshawar, the absence of recognition of refugee rights over a protracted period has reinforced class divisions between refugees and host communities and the leading to normalization and acceptance of poverty for some Afghan communities. Refugees with highly limited access to resources have a reduced potential to develop relationships beyond refugee neighborhoods and communities that lead to improved access to services.

Finding 2: The socio-economic stresses of arrival undermine positive refugee-host relations

The cost of seeking refuge in urban areas is usually significant for households. These include the loss of property and capital left behind, as well as the cost of travel and the various forms of extortion and corruption that may be encountered on the way to the city. Unlike typical camp situations, arrival to urban areas is usually not facilitated or supported and some refugees report a strong sense of disorientation and social alienation. The ability of refugee to confront this situation is often hampered by the fact that household resources may be severely depleted.

- In Jakarta, some refugees declared that they arrived unexpectedly after being abandoned by traffickers that had agreed to take them to Australia. In these cases, refugees had no networks or resources to begin to respond to their predicament.
- In Yaoundé, journeys to the city were sometimes more costly than refugees anticipated due to corruption and extortion by authority figures encountered on the way.

- In Yaoundé and Jakarta, newly-arrived urban refugees tended to identify co-nationals and appeal to them for support.
- In Yaoundé and Jakarta, refugee assistance fostered relationships based on patronage between new arrivals and more established refugees. This increases the vulnerability of new arrivals to exploitation and abuse, through ongoing social obligations.
- In Yaoundé, newly-arrived refugees were desperate to establish a source of income and therefore vulnerable to establish highly negative relations, either with the host community or other refugees. In some instances refugees were drawn into highly unequal and exploitative relationships that limited their abilities to re-establish their livelihoods.

Finding 3: Housing is a major potential source of tension between urban refugees and hosts

Article 21 of the 1951 Convention expresses a basic right of refugees to adequate housing.²⁹ In contrast to many camp situations, where basic shelter may be provided, refugees that arrive in urban areas are typically faced with the urgent challenge of finding their own accommodation. The process of finding housing often propels urban refugees into new relationships with the host community, through tenant-landlord arrangements. The rental markets to which refugees have access are often informal, limited to poor quality housing and defined by significant risk for both refugee tenants and local landlords.

- The majority (76.3%) of refugee participants in this study accessed housing through renting rooms, apartments, shacks and other structures from the local host communities.
- Of the 180 refugee households that declared they owned title to their house, 174 were located in Karachi. The majority of these households were long-established residents, having moved to the city decades earlier.
- In Pakistan, Cameroon and Indonesia urban refugee tenancy was typically informal and largely unregulated by authorities.
- In Pakistan, refugees that did not have Pakistani citizenship papers were unable to rent accommodation without a local proxy acting on their behalf.
- In Yaoundé and Jakarta, refugee tenant-host landlord relationships were characterized by a high degree of mutual distrust, reducing the ability of refugees to access housing.
- In Yaoundé, many newly-arrived refugees typically did not have the financial resources to find access housing. They typically relied on support from within the refugee community while they struggled to establish the means to access independent housing.
- In Yaoundé, high levels of refugee desperation to access housing compelled refugees to accept highly exploitative and unfair rental arrangements.

²⁹ There are, of course, many other bases of the international right to adequate shelter, which apply equally to refugees.

- In Yaoundé, high levels of poverty and livelihood insecurity meant that refugees were sometimes unable to meet their rental obligations.
- In Yaoundé, refugees that could not afford to pay their rent became highly indebted to their landlords, increasing the risk of exploitation or abuse.
- In Yaoundé, landlords sometimes failed to provide agreed levels of services to refugee tenants. These tenants had very little recourse against landlords that failed to provide basic agreed services.
- In Jakarta, the provision of monthly subsistence allowances enabled many refugees to access basic housing that were in line with local markets. The ability of refugees to meet their rental obligations promoted cordial relations between refugees and their hosts.
- In Jakarta, close monitoring of refugees and their housing conditions by UNHCR’s implementing partners alerted UNHCR relatively quickly to any issues related to housing.
- Observations in Yaoundé and Jakarta suggest that while challenges related to housing limit the development of refugee-host relations, they may contribute towards strengthening relations within specific (nationally or ethnically defined) refugee communities. This may contribute towards further marginalizing refugee communities in urban areas.

Finding 4: Refugee marginalization from the formal urban economy limits refugee-host relations

One of the major reasons behind the architecture and rationale of refugees being accommodated in “camps” was to maintain a sense of temporary settlement and to discourage refugees from establishing any economic “roots” in their countries of asylum, which might discourage them from repatriating at some point. Responsibility for meeting the enormous costs of “care and maintenance” of large refugee populations, whose potential productivity was severely restricted, fell onto the shoulders of the international community, represented by UNHCR. UNHCR frequently faces serious challenges to meet funding requirements for what often become protracted situations.

The increased urbanization of refuge represents a (refugee-led) rupture of this increasingly unsustainable model of refugee management. By moving to the cities, refugees effectively take on much of the responsibility for their own “care and maintenance” (see Jacobsen 2005). However, even though cities represent vastly different environments from camps, refugees still appear to face considerable barriers accessing economic opportunities. In particular, as our data suggests, refugees have very limited access to the formal economies of urban environments.

Programs designed to improve refugee livelihoods also tend to reinforce, rather than challenge, this bias against refugees. Rather than seeking to promote access to employment of refugees, they tend to promote small business development—highlighting independence, entrepreneurialism and flexibility. In some instances these initiatives to promote refugees as entrepreneurs have produced remarkable successes, but many also fail. While it is not unusual for new business to fail, even under optimal social and economic conditions, the desperate situation of many refugees makes it difficult to sustain the necessary levels of capital investment into their small business ventures. Many refugee-led business therefore remain marginal and essentially informal. Those refugees that have jobs tend to be in highly insecure and poorly paid sectors, which are also largely outside of the formal economy.

For refugees that are resettled to the United States, formal employment by at least one member of a household is often regarded by caseworkers as an essential step towards self-sufficiency and integration. Resettlement agencies invest considerably in assisting resettled refugees to get onto the employment ladder as soon as possible after resettlement. This emphasis on formal employment is not generally applied to refugees settled in urban areas, even where they have the right to work. With regard to refugee-host community relations, “getting a job” is about more than the level of income that it produces. It propels refugees into a new field of social relations organized around work.

Finding 5: Competition over access to livelihood opportunities enhances tension between refugees and hosts.

Access to livelihoods comprised one of the most significant factors in determining refugee-host relations. Expanded possibilities for generating an income enabled refugees to develop social and economic networks that reinforced positive refugee-host relations. On the other hand, refugee success in accessing livelihood opportunities also risked fostering local resentment. The following findings highlight potential refugee-host tensions related to livelihood.

- In Yaoundé, high levels of general unemployment led to strong competition for jobs. Refugees perceived that employers were more likely to employ local Cameroonians, despite having the right to work.
- In Yaoundé, refugees attributed a low level of awareness of the rights of refugees to seek work to employer reluctance to hire refugees.
- In Karachi and Peshawar, long traditions of association between specific groups and specific economic activities limit the potential livelihood activities for refugees, and restrict the development of new networks that can lead to improvements of livelihood.
- In Yaoundé and Karachi, a chronic failure to protect refugees from exploitative working conditions makes it difficult for refugees to demand fair treatment.
- In Yaoundé, intensive support for micro-credit promoted successful refugee-led small business that fostered productive refugee-host relations. The limited success of these initiatives suggests that they are only likely to provide direct benefit to a relatively low percentage of an urban refugee population.
- In Jakarta, the absence of a right to work contributes to very low frequencies of interaction between refugees and the local host community. This contributes to generally low levels of tension between refugees and the host community.
- In Cameroon and Pakistan, a broad range of livelihood indicators were observed to improve over time, suggesting that refugees gradually overcame obstacles and restrictions and developed successful networks and relationships to improve their livelihood.

Finding 6: Dependency on direct assistance limits refugee-host relations

The provision of direct assistance to vulnerable refugees is an important and necessary intervention that should remain as a critical option for assisting refugees in urban environments. As mentioned above, it may be especially

critical in the period immediately following arrival in the city. However, data from our sample suggests that direct assistance makes a relatively small contribution towards meeting the total household expenses for urban refugees. The following observations suggest that while direct humanitarian assistance may be important to the economic survival of vulnerable households, it reduces refugee-host interactions and contributes towards the marginalization of refugees.

- Refugees in Indonesia do not enjoy the right to employment or to engage in any business activity. This effectively compels the majority of refugees to depend on direct assistance from UNHCR, through monthly subsistence allowances (MSA). Dependency on such assistance limits the opportunity for refugees to interact with the host community. Few refugees are motivated to invest in overcoming language barriers to increase interaction with the host community.
- In Yaoundé, Karachi and Peshawar, where direct assistance from UNHCR and other organizations made a decreasing contribution to household income for most refugees, refugees were compelled to expand networks and linkages with host communities.

Finding 7: Refugee vulnerability limits positive refugee-host relations

The UNHCR's 2009 policy on refugees in urban areas explicitly recognizes the need to identify more nuanced patterns of refugee vulnerability in urban areas (UNHCR 2009, para. 4 & 5). The findings of this study suggest that social and economic vulnerability is exacerbated by weak or dysfunctional refugee-host relations. Factors that contribute to urban refugee vulnerability include:

- Gender of the head of household
- Household
- The urban/rural origin of the household
- Age of the head of household
- Date of arrival of household

Finding 8: Improved refugee access to education and health services is linked to strong refugee-host relations

Urban refugees in all three country-sites struggled to access education and health services. In Yaoundé and Jakarta, access has been improved through determined efforts on the part of UNHCR and its partner organizations. These initiatives succeed largely because UNHCR agrees to cover the costs of services to refugees. While they make an important contribution to refugee well-being, they do not necessarily expand the capacity of refugees to access these services independently:

- In Yaoundé, UNHCR support to cover education costs has increased the level of school attendance for refugees.

- In Jakarta, asylum-seekers are not permitted to attend public schools, extending the disruptive effect of refuge on children's education.
- In Jakarta, low levels of attendance at schools for recognized refugees are attributed partly to the inability of refugees to speak Indonesian. However, a strong perception amongst refugees that they would be resettled in the near future further discouraged a strong commitment to education in Indonesian schools.
- In Pakistan, refugee access to education was directly dependent on financial means, limiting access for poorer refugees.

Finding 9: Refugee-host relations shape urban refugee attitudes to durable solutions

Urban refugees may become effectively “stuck” between the pressure to repatriate and the promise of resettlement (See Minnick 2009, for example). This may be particularly concerning when refugees have no option for local resettlement. Refugee attitudes and expectations related to durable solutions were shaped by their experiences of life in the city, their relationships to the host community and their associated levels of access to services.

- Few urban refugees in our sample declared a strong interest in returning to their countries of origin.
- Expectations of resettlement to third countries appeared to decline over time.
- In general, indicators of refugee-host relations suggest that these improve over time, increasing the viability of local integration.
- Refugee-host relations are impacted by the inability of refugees to regularize or stabilize their status.

Recommendations

The findings of this project support a now well-established understanding that social relationships and networks play a vital role in the successful adaptation to new urban environments. Improved refugee-host relations, as conceptualized in the study, offer enhanced access to a range of benefits associated with expanded urban networks. Refugee-host relations may therefore play a potentially important role in both signifying and enabling the re-establishment of productive and meaningful lives for refugees in urban areas. This section offers broad recommendations to host governments, donors, UNHCR and NGOs on ways for responding to urban refugee predicament *by leveraging the potential benefits of positive refugee-host relations*. Although these are aimed explicitly at benefitting refugees, they inevitably consider how such benefit may be derived through improvements for the broader communities that refugees live within, including the local host population. Detailed recommendations are offered below in line with the following general assumptions:

- a) Urban refugees should be provided the same opportunities to develop social and economic relationships and networks as other legitimate residents in the city.
- b) Urban refugees should be protected from situations that compel them to develop negative social relationships with the host community, which may increase their vulnerability to exploitation, deprivation and abuse.
- c) The legitimacy, effectiveness and sustainability of policies related to refugee livelihoods and access to services are likely to increase, if these are based on strengthened refugee-host relations.

Recommendations for Host Governments

Host governments play a critical role in determining the conditions of everyday life for refugees in urban areas. The effects of government policy were, however, experienced very differently across the three country case studies. In Cameroon, the government worked closely with UNHCR to enable the development of diverse refugee communities within Yaoundé. Geographic proximity and cultural affinity between refugees and host communities in Pakistan enabled intensive and more intimate forms of inter-relatedness that evolved largely outside of the formal policy environment over a long period of time. In Indonesia, language barriers, a relatively small refugee population that had mostly arrived relatively recently and a highly restrictive government approach to hosting refugees limit the scope for refugee-host relations. Bearing these differences in mind, CWS makes the following recommendations to host governments with a specific view to developing positive refugee-host relations:

1. Improve protection for undocumented new-arrivals in urban areas

In general, the findings of this project suggest that government commitment to recognizing and protecting the rights of refugees in urban areas establishes an important framework for refugees to develop positive and beneficial relationships with the local host community. The absence of such recognition and protection is associated with increased social isolation of refugees and a stronger reliance on “closed”, often ethnically or nationally based communities.

More specifically, findings also suggested that many refugees were particularly vulnerable or susceptible to establishing damaging and debilitating relationships in the period following their arrival, when many were socially and spatially disoriented and hadn't yet had an opportunity to establish supportive networks and familiarity with the local environment. This contributes to the risk for abuse of refugee rights as well increases the potential for economic and

sexual exploitation. In some instances, this vulnerability is exacerbated by the fact that many refugees may be in a highly traumatized state, may not yet have had an opportunity to register claims for asylum, and may be economically isolated and desperate. All of these factors may contribute towards the increased likelihood that refugees may be drawn into relationships on the basis of desperation, establishing refugee-host relationships that have lasting negative impacts on urban refugee well-being. Host governments (especially local authorities) should place strong focus on the protection of newly-arrived asylum seekers in cities, to reduce the risks that they face of being exploited and abused. In addition, host governments, particularly in Cameroon and Indonesia, should make additional efforts to ensure that the basic rights of all newly-arrived asylum-seekers are protected while they are *en route* to the city.

In Cameroon: The government of Cameroon should build on its efforts to train and raise awareness amongst police and authorities across the country to properly assist asylum-seekers that intend to seek protection in urban areas. The government should take specific steps to address the risks that newly -arrived asylum-seekers face (e.g., extortion or bribery by corrupt officials, or illegal exploitation by local landlords and employers). This could include outreach with local government units, law enforcement and local business associations on Cameroon's national refugee protection commitments, and the rights of refugees and asylum seekers under those commitments.

In Indonesia: The Indonesian government's practice of holding undocumented migrants (including asylum-seekers) in detention, over lengthy periods of time in some cases, limits the potential for refugees to develop the skills, networks and relationships to find solutions to their predicaments. This is reinforced amongst refugees and asylum-seekers that are released from detention, and remain under the care of UNHCR and its partners. Such institutional dependency limits opportunities for urban refugees to engage with the local community and generate the forms of social and economic capital that is necessary to find solutions to their plight.

In Pakistan: Given the protracted nature of Afghan displacement, protection efforts in Pakistan would be best served by addressing the needs of long-staying refugees who lack documentation. This may include providing forms of documentation that facilitate both economic and social activity within Pakistan and legal cross-border movement in the context of potential voluntary return. This would allow Afghan refugees to maintain long-standing family, social and economic ties that they have established in Karachi, Peshawar and other urban areas in Pakistan.

2. Ensure adequate and timely refugee status determination procedures in urban areas

Self-settled refugees that reside in remote rural areas of developing countries may not typically encounter authorities on a daily basis. Consequently, their unresolved status may not have immediate detrimental effects. In urban areas, however, the absence of refugee recognition may represent significant limitations on a broad range of entitlements. The most immediate of these entitlements include access to government health care and education services. A comparative overview of data from all three sites suggests that legal status has a significant impact on the potential for urban refugees to foster positive refugee-host relations. In general, the absence of reasonable opportunity to make a claim for asylum or be recognized as a refugee on some other basis reduces the capacity for refugees to develop positive refugee-host relations.

In Indonesia and Cameroon: For new arrivals to Yaoundé and Jakarta, UNHCR conducts refugee status determination on an individual basis. This process can often take time, leaving refugees in a state of legal and social liminality for up to eighteen months or more, in some cases. Some refugees experienced the absence of formal

refugee status as highly frustrating and debilitating. In Cameroon, local suspicions over persons whose status had not been determined limited their possibilities of finding housing, work and accessing services. For many foreigners, formal status as a refugee was an important marker of legitimate presence in the urban context, enabling them to manage local suspicions more effectively. In Indonesia, lengthy status determination procedures effectively deprive children of access to government schools and entrench refugee dependency on the limited forms of support that UNHCR is able to provide.

In order for urban refugees to develop positive refugee host relations that enable them to play a more active role in addressing their predicaments the government of Cameroon and Indonesia should operate on the presumption of the validity of asylum claims and not discriminate against asylum-seekers. The impoverishing and isolating effects of such discrimination impede the development of refugee-host relations, deprive refugees of rights to education and possibly health care and limit their potential to develop the necessary relationships to ensure that are able to realize such rights.

In Pakistan: Afghan refugees that have settled in urban areas of Pakistan over many decades have largely negotiated refugee-host relations through shared ethnic ties with local Pashtuns. While some have acquired Pakistani nationality over time and others depend to some extent on being formally registered, the majority appears to depend on protection from the ethnic enclaves that they live within. National debate over the legitimacy of an ongoing Afghan refugee presence in Pakistan contributes to suspicion and tension between refugees and locals. By providing strong and unambiguous status to Afghans in Karachi and Peshawar, the government of Pakistan would expand the potential for this population to interact more assertively with the local host population.

3. Recognize the right of refugees to work

Urban refugees in all three contexts relied strongly on informal business ventures and employment in the informal sector to generate their income. To some degree, this reflects the size and importance of the informal economy in cities in the developing world. However, qualitative data suggests that refugees found it especially difficult to access regular employment, even where they were entitled to be employed. The reasons for this are attributed to legal restrictions on refugee employment (Indonesia), culturally-based restrictions of persons of specific ethnic groups to particular sectors (Pakistan) and community suspicion and competition over employment (Yaoundé). Work environments represent important sites for refugee and host communities to interact and develop closer relationships. Greater levels of employment of refugees in the formal sector would strengthen refugee-host relations and enhance the broader benefits associated with these.

In Indonesia: The government of Indonesia should grant the right of refugees to work and facilitate their entry into the local workforce.

In Pakistan: By recognizing the right of Afghan refugees to work, the government of Pakistan would expand the potential for refugees to work outside of specific industries and low-paying informal activities, such as garbage collecting.

In Cameroon: The government of Cameroon should build on its recognition of the right of refugees to work by actively encouraging and facilitating the employment of refugees, especially in the formal sector. This may include providing

information to the business community on the procedures for employing refugees, as well highlighting the potential contribution that a more diverse workforce can represent to employers.

The recommendations outlined above are not necessarily easy to implement and may require ongoing efforts over extended periods. Data from Cameroon suggests that while the elimination of legal restrictions is a necessary condition for refugees to develop positive refugee-host relations, it is not, by itself, sufficient to ensure that refugees participate equitably in the formal employment market. Similarly, data from Pakistan suggests that employment patterns and practices are shaped directly by local cultural norms and expectations and cannot always be easily “engineered” by authorities.

4. Protect the right to housing for urban refugees

Data from Pakistan and Cameroon suggests that urban refugees are particularly vulnerable to being drawn into exploitative relationships around housing, which represents a particular site of tension between refugees and hosts. In Cameroon, such tension was exacerbated by poor quality of housing provided and refugee difficulties in meeting housing costs. On the other hand, data from Indonesia suggests that successful forms of refugee access to housing may contribute to reducing such tension and enabling more cordial relations. This, however, was largely dependent on considerable UNHCR support, which would not be sustainable in contexts that had large populations of urban refugees.

In Cameroon and Pakistan: The respective governments should ensure that landlords offering housing to refugees meet local minimum standards of safety and comfort, to enable refugees to live with dignity. This involves more than simply enforcing housing regulations and slum clearance, which typically worsen the housing situation for refugees. Instead, it would involve investigating the complexity of the housing market and working with all stakeholders to create more economically sustainable forms of housing for the urban poor among whom refugees typically live.

In Indonesia: Housing was not highlighted as a critical area in Indonesia, primarily because UNHCR supported refugee access to reasonable housing through regular rental agreements. However, increasing urban refugee settlement may challenge the sustainability of this approach, reducing levels of assistance and prompting more refugees to seek housing in poorer sections of the market. The government of Indonesia should ensure that refugees are not exploited unfairly in their attempts to find housing.

5. Expand migration and travel options for urban refugees

Well-intended attempts to remind governments “refugees are not migrants” (see Feller 2005) have increasingly been interpreted as “refugees *cannot be* migrants”. This is not the case. Enhancing the possibilities for international travel for refugees is neither novel nor inconsistent with international refugee law³⁰. Recent statements by UNHCR (see UNHCR 2012: Chapt. 3, for example) suggest that the organization has started to consider the mobility of refugees more seriously as an important factor in identifying durable solutions. Urban refugees in Jakarta and Yaoundé

³⁰ The 1951 Convention explicitly emphasizes a refugee’s capacity to travel as integral to finding a solution to their plight (see Article 28 of the Convention in Particular).

highlighted resettlement as their most preferred durable solution. Many, however, are unlikely to benefit from resettlement as a solution.

In Cameroon and Indonesia: The respective governments of Cameroon and Indonesia should support the capabilities of urban refugees to migrate through regularized means, by supporting their acquisition of legitimate travel documentation. Expanding the capacity of refugees to travel enhances refugee options for finding more durable solutions more quickly and reduces the vulnerabilities associated with being caught up in protracted-like situations.

In Pakistan: Although this was not highlighted in the data from this study, many Afghan refugees are incorporated into transnational relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. By recognizing the legitimacy of this practice and regularizing it, the government of Pakistan would enhance the potential for refugees to begin the complex process of re-establishing ties to their home areas in ways that promote their livelihoods and expand their options.

Recommendations for Donors

Donors can play a critical role in recognizing the importance of refugee-host relations by focusing programming in areas that enhance the broader benefits associated with improved refugee-host relations. Data from this study points to four areas where more creative programming may build on the benefits of improved refugee-host relations. These include:

- Reception
- Housing
- Employment
- Durable Solutions

More specific recommendations are outlined below:

6. Promote more supportive and effective reception facilities for urban refugees

The provision of more supportive reception facilities will enable urban refugees to develop stronger relationships with the local host community as well as more successful social networks. Structuring support for refugee reception facilities around strong incentives and reasonable opportunities for refugees to become self-reliant will reduce the risks of negative refugee-host relations, dependency on aid and chronic poverty amongst refugees. Investing in productive refugee-host relations from the start will lead to more efficient use of resources and improved outcomes for refugees and hosts alike

In Cameroon: Donors should support programs that reduce the vulnerabilities of newly-arrived refugees in urban areas. This may include the provision of direct financial assistance over the short term, alongside intensive practical assistance to become self-reliant.

In Indonesia: Donors should support advocacy initiatives that offer alternatives to the current government policy of holding many undocumented migrants (including minors) in detention for prolonged periods. Even though they may be recognized as refugees and released into the care of UNHCR, the experience of detention may have a highly debilitating effect on refugee-host relations and their potential benefits to refugees as well as hosts. The improvement

of reception facilities will be most effective if they are linked to the expansion of basic refugee rights in Indonesia, such as the right to work.

7. Encourage innovation in urban refugee housing markets

Observations of relationships structured around rental agreements, or between neighbors, suggest that housing represents an important arena upon which refugee-host relations are negotiated. Intense competition over access to limited residential space, particularly in poorer neighborhoods, makes refugees especially vulnerable to accepting housing of poor quality, inflated costs, unreasonable terms and other requirements that undermine positive refugee-host relations.

Housing markets in areas that accommodate urban refugees are complex and include multiple stakeholders that recognize the *value of refugees as tenants*. In order for these markets to function in ways that benefit refugees, they need to consider the legitimate interests of other parties, such as landlords and providers of basic services (such as water and electricity). Programs would therefore need to be highly participatory and tailored to local conditions. Bearing the findings from this research project in mind, examples of the strategies that may be pursued in order to improve housing markets for refugees include:

- Provide incentives for landlords to invest in housing infrastructure and improve housing services for refugees.
- Provide “bridging support” for refugees to meet their rental obligations before they have re-established their livelihoods.
- Develop standards for preferred suppliers of refugee housing.
- In consultation with local authorities, develop grievance or dispute resolution mechanisms for refugee tenants and host landlords to resolve disputes.

8. Promote urban refugee access to formal employment

Our results suggest that urban refugees often generate their livelihoods within rather narrowly defined sectors of the urban economy and are often limited to activities within the informal economy. The refugee-host relations that develop within these rather constrained arrangements are more likely to be exploitative or disadvantageous towards refugees. Donors should encourage programming that expands the scope of refugee economic activities, rather than foster niche labor markets for refugees. This would include creative initiatives to *increase urban refugee employment in the regular workforce*. This may include offering incentives to local industries to hire refugees and the monitoring of fair labor practice with regard to refugees. Greater levels of normalized interactions between refugees and hosts in the workplace would contribute significantly towards strengthening refugee networks, access to information and access to opportunities in the urban context.

9. Support urban refugee pursuits of long-term solutions

One of the legacies of the “camp bias” that has defined humanitarian assumptions and practices to date includes the assumption that refugee settlement is temporary and that the majority of refugees will return to their countries of origin. While this may hold true for some refugee populations, data from this project supports the view that it cannot be assumed for refugees in urban contexts. Urban refugees define their futures in more diverse ways and have

significant capacity to shape these. The aims and aspirations of urban refugees over the longer term have significant implications for the everyday relationships that they establish in urban contexts and the “value” of their investing in these. By encouraging initiatives that explicitly explore and clarify the role of refugee-host relations in shaping durable solutions, donors will foster programming around durable solutions that is more refugee-centric and cognizant of the complexities of this process.

Recommendations for UNHCR

UNHCR plays a critical operational role in providing protection and assistance to refugees in urban areas. This was evident in the activities of the organization in Yaoundé and Jakarta as well as the absence of UNHCR amongst the Afghan population that we considered in Pakistan. The following recommendations are offered to UNHCR:

10. Focus direct assistance on new arrivals and vulnerable refugees

In line with recommendations outlined above for host governments and donors, UNHCR should focus the provision of direct assistance for urban refugees on new arrivals and vulnerable individuals and families. The provision of strong forms of support upon arrival will increase the potential for refugees to develop more productive and beneficial relations with the local host community, limiting negative relationships that are based on desperate choices by refugees. Strong practical and financial support upon arrival should motivate refugees to establish more productive relationships with the host community, increasing the probability of their becoming self-reliant. This recommendation assumes a broader policy environment that provides refugees with opportunities to achieve self-sufficiency. Where these do not exist, such as in Indonesia, UNHCR should work with host governments to advocate for the broader benefits of expanding the recognition of refugee rights.

Data from this study supports the view that the majority of refugees in urban areas have both the capacity and the intention to achieve self-sufficiency and improve their lives and livelihoods. However some are likely to remain vulnerable for extended periods and require ongoing support. Such assistance upon arrival should therefore not be “time-bound” but rather linked to positive outcomes or markers in the integration process. These would be context-specific but may include the securing of acceptable housing, establishing regular forms of income, enrolling children in school and access to health care facilities.

11. Promote the development of housing markets for urban refugees

UNHCR support for urban refugee access to housing in Cameroon and Indonesia is usually comprised of limited direct contributions to rents. These are often partial and temporary forms of assistance the scale of which is dependent on the availability of resources. While these contributions are highly valued by refugees themselves, they do not necessarily contribute towards strengthening refugee-host relations and enhancing the benefits associated with this. In fact, despite receiving support, housing remains a site of tension between refugees and hosts. A shift in focus by UNHCR, from meeting refugee housing costs to developing local housing markets with potential broader benefits would contribute significantly to strengthening refugee-host relations. Housing markets differ significantly across contexts and the following general suggestions are offered, which consider the links between refugee housing and refugee-host relations:

- Preferred landlords that meet basic standards of adequate shelter could be supported to improve quality of the services that they provide to refugees.
- UNHCR could actively promote the value of the refugee housing market to the local economy.
- UNHCR could provide bridging support to refugees, to ensure that they don't default on their rent.
- UNHCR could underwrite rental agreements or pay deposits on behalf of refugees, to ensure that refugees get access to housing.
- UNHCR could invest in upgrading public infrastructure within neighborhoods that refugees live within
- UNHCR could develop and support common property management systems for infrastructure that is shared between refugee and host households, such as latrines and water points.

12. Support local hiring of refugee employees

Where refugees have the right to work UNHCR should engage the private sector directly and promote the hiring of refugee labor. This may include building awareness within local businesses around the legality of hiring refugee employees, as well as providing incentives for business to hire suitably qualified refugees. Other specific interventions may include:

- Supporting the salaries of refugees over a fixed period in order to “seed” refugee experiences in local industries.
- Establishing an inventory of refugee skills and qualifications that could be marketed to relevant local industries.
- Expanding legal support to refugees in the workplace, to ensure that they have adequate protection in the workplace

13. Offer incentives for education and health care providers to expand services to urban refugees

In Cameroon and Jakarta, UNHCR supports refugee access to health care and education primarily by *assisting refugees to meet the costs of these services*. This approach has a limited impact on beneficiaries, which is determined primarily by the availability of resources. However, the same resources could be used, not to reimburse service providers on behalf of refugees, but rather to offer incentives to health care services to extend their services to refugees. This shift in approach would be structured differently in different contexts, but would essentially involve a mechanism for rewarding service providers for finding ways of enabling refugees to use their services. These “rewards” may range from symbolic forms of recognition to more substantial institutional or infrastructural investments.

14. Reconsider definitions of social vulnerability in urban areas

UNHCR notions of refugee vulnerability have been forged over many decades, mostly with reference to camp and rural-settings. The recognition and measurement of refugee vulnerability is an evolving discussion in UNHCR. A consideration of refugee-host relations suggests that multiple factors may shape refugee vulnerability in urban areas. To recognize this, UNHCR should develop a standardized tool that is specifically suited to assessing vulnerability in urban contexts. This could consider a broader range of factors, such as:

- Gender
- Age
- Education
- Household size
- Household income
- Legal status
- Arrival period
- Urban or rural origin
- Country of origin

Recommendations for (International and Local) Non-Government Organizations

International and local non-government organizations (NGOs) may contribute towards strengthening refugee-host relations in ways that improve refugee access to services in a number of ways.

15. Advocate for the rights of refugees in urban areas

Observations from across four very diverse urban refugee contexts suggest that urban refugee-host relations develop most productively in contexts where the basic rights of refugees, as enshrined in the 1951 Convention, are protected. Such protection is essential for refugees and hosts to develop social relations on the basis of equality and non-discrimination. Policy approaches that limit refugee rights and entitlements to resources or opportunities that other residents of the city have privileged access to foster relations of patronage and potential exploitation of urban refugees by the host community. By advocating strongly for the rights of refugees in urban areas, NGOs may contribute towards establishing a more equitable basis for refugees and hosts to interact and develop in ways that are mutually beneficial.

16. Support local institutional capacity to address vulnerable refugees in urban areas

In contrast to camp or rural areas, urban environments present a range of institutions that could potentially be mobilized to support refugees. These include religious communities, such as churches and mosques, for example, but may include other civil society organizations, such as student groups, activist groups and local philanthropic organizations. Mobilizing local community organizations to engage with refugee communities around particular issues or struggles increases positive or supportive forms of interaction between refugees and local communities. It also enables urban residents to forge identities in ways that are not dependent on nationality or legal status. The mobilization of local support for urban refugees should not be limited to charitable forms of assistance to refugees but also focus on empowerment of refugee communities through refugee-host relations.

Research Methods and Sample Characteristics

This report was developed on the basis of primary field data research that included the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. Data collection techniques included surveys, semi-structured interviews with refugees and members of host communities, key-informant interviews with UNHCR, government officials and other agencies as well as informal discussions with a broad range of stakeholders. A “mixed methods” approach was adopted intentionally to enable site-based researchers to identify and focus on the most appropriate, effective and efficient techniques to operationalize the research questions. In pursuing this approach, however, the research team consciously sought to retain a reasonable degree of methodological overlap across sites, to allow for a meaningful comparison of data. The methodological approach was therefore refined through the ongoing exchange of information and insights between the research locations to reflect a balanced consideration of the more common or generic characteristics of refugee-host relations, on the one hand, and the contextually-specific historical, social, economic and cultural aspects of these relationships on the other. This approach was therefore designed to engage directly with the important policy dilemma over the extent to which a “one-size-fits-all” approach to understanding and responding to urban refugees may take account of important variations in local context.

Qualitative Data: Interviews and Focus Groups

Qualitative data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews were conducted with selected refugees, members of the host community and key informants, including government officials, UNHCR staff, humanitarian workers and other service providers, such as health workers. In order to maintain some degree of comparative potential between data, researchers conducted interviews with reference to common “guidance notes” (see Appendix 1). These notes were developed to ensure the data collected remained relevant to the central research question. Researchers were, however, encouraged to either depart from these guidelines or to focus on specific aspects, whichever was more appropriate to the specific interview situation. Figure 6, below, lists the spread of semi-structured interviews conducted in Cameroon and Indonesia.

Country	City	Refugees & Other POC	Host Communities	Authorities	UNHCR	NGOs & Service Providers	TOTAL
Cameroon	Yaoundé	19	14	3	4	5	45
Indonesia	Jakarta	17	16	1	3	3	40

Figure 6: Semi-Structured Interviews in Cameroon and Indonesia

Due to high levels of political insecurity and pre-election tension at research sites, only a very small number (6) of semi-structured interviews were conducted in Pakistan. Poor urban communities were highly suspicious of the motives of persons making enquiries from defined ethnic or neighborhood communities, making access very difficult and dangerous. The Pakistan research team adapted to this constraint by devoting more resources to the collection of additional quantitative data (see below) including a structured survey of host communities. This was a more feasible approach, because collection of data through the use of local teams of enumerators from within the tightly knit urban refugee communities was possible.

Focus group discussions were conducted in Cameroon and Indonesia. For the same reasons outlined above, no focus group discussions were organized in Pakistan. In Cameroon, groups were organized around specific categories of persons that emerged as of particular interest in the preliminary data collection phase. These included:

1. Rejected asylum-seekers (over 30 years of age)
2. Rejected asylum-seekers (under 30 years of age)
3. Unaccompanied minors
4. Refugee youth
5. Unemployed men
6. Employed men
7. Unemployed women
8. Employed women

In Indonesia, practical constraints related to language and translation meant that focus groups were organized based on their language, sometimes separated by gender. Focus groups conducted in and around Jakarta included:

1. Somali language: Men
2. Somali language: Women
3. Farsi language: Men and women
4. Somali language: Students

Quantitative Data: Household Survey

Quantitative data on urban refugees and their relations to the broader communities that they lived within was collected through standardized household surveys in all four cities.

Survey Design

The household survey was designed to record the frequencies and perceptions of urban refugee experiences of their relations to host communities. We also sought to collect much of the data in a form that could be compared across the four city-sites. The survey form was designed in consultation with country-based researchers and comprised two parts. “Part A” included relatively generic biographical information and basic questions related to refugee-host interactions and access to services. This section of the questionnaire was structured identically across all four city-sites, as reflected in Appendix 2. “Part B” of each questionnaire enabled country-based researchers to quantify more site-specific variables that were relevant to the local context. In some cases, questions in “Part B” of the survey form explored the basic enquiries from “Part A” in greater depth while other questions enquired after site-specific dynamics related to refugee-host relations. As the development of “Part B” was done in a highly collaborative manner, there are some areas of overlap. However, these were not intentional or by design and simply reflected shared areas of interest.

The household survey form was designed to be as clear and as simple as possible. This was necessary in the context of a project where we knew data would be collected in multiple languages, in vastly different social, economic and political environments and among refugees that reflect a broad range of cultural backgrounds. As the skill and experience of a significant number of enumerators varied considerably across the four city-sites, a survey form that was simple to complete reduced the likelihood of enumerator error.

“Part A” of the survey was designed around a matrix of relationships between selected basic household biographical data and access to specific resources and services. This framework is shown in Figure 7 below.

	Housing	Livelihoods	Education	Health care	Family and Community	Safety and Security	Durable Solutions
Gender of Head of household							
Age Category of Head of Household							
Household Size							
Household Income							
Legal Status of Household							
Arrival Period							
Area of Origin							
Country of Origin							

Figure 7: Matrix of Relationships between Selected Household Characteristics and Selected Resources/Services

Sampling

A systematic approach to sampling is critical for understanding the extent to which data may be representative of broader populations. Ideally, samples should be generated to ensure a high degree of representivity and a low incidence of sampling error or bias. In situations of displacement, however, it is often difficult to generate perfect samples, because affected populations are highly mobile, of ambiguous identity and deliberately hidden from instruments of surveillance, like surveys. In these situations, in which sampling is conducted under less than ideal conditions, it important to understand the limitations and potential biases of the samples.

Household survey sampling techniques comprised a combination of convenience and “snowball” sampling, as well as stratification on the basis of neighborhood, perceived income level and national identity. Our sample should there be regarded as non-random.

In Cameroon, sampling was conducted beforehand by a member of the research team with extensive experience of the refugee community in Yaoundé and a background in demography and quantitative research methodology. The sample was initially stratified on the basis of neighborhoods in Yaoundé that refugees were known to live. With assistance from refugee leaders, individual refugees were identified through a snowball technique to identify specific households that would be included. These households agreed to be contacted by cell phone over the survey implementation period. In the same instance, it was not possible to find the selected households on the day of the survey and alternatives were selected at short notice on the basis of convenience.

In Indonesia, where the urban refugee population is relatively small, the household sample was drawn from urban refugees and asylum-seekers that were directly under the care of CWS-Indonesia³¹. All respondents to the household survey therefore had strong pre-existing relationships with CWS and were requested to participate on that basis. The sample was therefore biased towards refugees under CWS care and did not consider refugees under the care of other agencies, or those that lived independently of UNHCR assistance. Furthermore, the household survey did not include a significant and growing population of unaccompanied minors living in shelters administered by a range of organizations.

In Pakistan, sampling for a household survey of urban refugees was largely conducted on a convenience basis, and included Pashto-speaking Afghans almost exclusively. This resulted from the fact that enumerator teams comprised of Pashto-speakers and were able to access refugee (and host) on the basis of a shared identity. Debriefing workshops conducted with enumerator teams revealed that there was a high degree of suspicion over the research process and considerable reluctance on the part of some households to participate. Participation was complicated further by the expectation on the part of some households that they would receive payment for survey interviews, even when it was made clear that this would not be done. In this challenging research environment, sampling was therefore strongly biased, haphazard and driven largely by factors of convenience.

Enumerator Training

Once teams were assembled at each respective site, enumerators were taken through a short and rigorous training process to ensure that data was collected accurately, correctly and ethically. The training workshops were organized and run by researchers at each of the four city-sites and took between one and two days. Training comprised an initial familiarization with the survey form, including a detailed explanation of the purpose of each question and discussion on the best way to translate each question into the languages that enumerators would be working in.

Once enumerators had become familiar with the survey form, they were then taken through numerous mock survey encounters. These were done with each other and with researchers, under observation of their peers. Enumerators were assessed on how they interpreted answers as well as how accurately and comprehensively they recorded the answers they were given. On the basis of the training workshops, survey forms were revised slightly to reflect site-specific characteristics.

Finally, these training workshops also provided a clear expectation of the ethical standards that enumerators were expected to respect. This included meeting acceptable standards of informed consent, emphasizing that participation in the survey was voluntary (with an option to cease the interview at any time) and assurance of anonymity and confidentiality of the data that was collected. The research team in Jakarta felt that it would be necessary, in that particular context, to obtain independent ethical clearance of the survey form, which is an established local expectation for research involving human subjects.

³¹ CWS has been operating in Indonesia for over 40 years. As an implementing partner of UNHCR, CWS has run an urban refugee program entitled "Protecting Urban Refugees through Empowerment" (PURE) since 2008. Using a community participation approach, this program provides protection from violence and exploitation and supports access to basic needs, essential services and psychosocial services for UNHCR-referred "persons of concern," including both refugees and asylum-seekers.

The enumerator training workshops made a critical contribution towards ensuring the overall quality of data collected as well as minimal disruption or anxiety to the urban refugee communities that we worked within.

Data Collection

In general, the collection of household survey data went off smoothly. Enumerator teams either met or exceeded planned objectives. As indicated in Figure 8 below, we collected household survey data on a total of 1,218 urban refugee households and 474 host community households in Pakistan.

In Yaoundé, CWS does not have an operational presence. Consequently, some refugees initially expressed suspicion over the purpose of the survey. Close engagement with UNHCR, refugee leaders, the inclusion of refugees in the enumerator team and clear means of identifying enumerators (through the wearing of named badges and shirts with the CWS logo on them) ensured that data could be collected.

Data Capture

Survey data was collected on paper forms and captured electronically on site, under the supervision of each country researcher. In Pakistan, data was captured using SPSS and then exported into a spreadsheet that could be read by Excel. In Cameroon and Indonesia, data was captured using a modified version of Survey Monkey—an internet-based survey tool that we adapted to function as an online data-capturing instrument.

There were a number of clear advantages to using Survey Monkey. First, the form could be designed in a manner that facilitated the rapid capture of data, using drop-down menus and simple “click” options. Unlike SPSS, Survey Monkey was HTML-based and was accessible through an Internet connection, without any specific hardware or software requirements, expensive user licenses or specialized training³². Using Survey Monkey, more than one person could capture at the same time. This enabled data to be captured more quickly. The ability to define strict parameters for data collections and conduct “real-time” oversight of captured data from a distance also reduced the incidence of errors in data collection.

Using Survey Monkey, the option to define the parameters of a data-entry field when designing the survey capture form, and required that a field be completed prior to moving on and completing the form, ensured that data was not missed or mis-captured. Second, data captured could be accessed instantly over the internet, from a distance, as each form was completed. This enabled a high level of remote-based quality control as data was being captured. Mistakes could be caught early, reducing the risk of their being repeated and large amounts of data having to be re-captured. To some extent, problems with the design of the Survey Monkey data collection form could be rectified locally³³. Data captured through Survey Monkey was of a noticeably higher quality, with far fewer mistakes or null entries.

³² In Pakistan the project was able to use the services of a data capturer with specialist knowledge in SPSS. This was not easily available at the other two sites

³³ Some aspects of the form, however, could not be changed once data collection began.

Data Analysis

Once data was captured, the “Part A” of each of the four city-site databases was welded into a single database, to enable analysis. Data was analyzed descriptively, to identify key characteristics of the respective samples. A summary of the main characteristics of the sample is presented below.

Household Survey: Sample Profile

As a non-random sample, the household surveys from each respective site do not necessarily represent the broader populations from which they were drawn. Nevertheless, they enable valuable insight into the dynamics between refugee-host relations and refugee access to services. This section summarizes the major social, economic and demographic characteristics of our samples of urban refugee households from each of the four city-sites.

Sample Size and Distribution

The project conducted a survey of 1 692 households in total. As illustrated in Figure 8 below, the survey focused on refugees and other persons of concern to UNHCR across four urban centers in Cameroon, Indonesia and Pakistan respectively (n=1,218). In addition, we also conducted a survey of 474 “host community” households within Pakistan.

Country	City	Refugee Households	"Host" Households	TOTAL
Cameroon	Yaoundé	501	N/A	501
Indonesia	Jakarta	168	N/A	168
Pakistan	Karachi	250	250	500
	Peshawar	299	224	523
TOTAL		1,218	474	1,692

Figure 8: Survey Sample Size, by Country and City, for Refugees and Host Communities

Variations in samples size across the four city-sites suggest that consideration of characteristics and data trends across the entire sample were biased towards Yaoundé, which comprised 41.1% of the total sample, compared to Jakarta (13.8%), Karachi (20.5) and Peshawar (24.6%).

Legal Status

As discussed above, the concept of an “urban refugee” was not immediately clear and included a relatively broad range of formal or semi-formal means of recognition, either by UNHCR or the host state. Figure 9 below summarizes spread of our sample on the basis of legal categories outlined above.

Country	City	Refugee		Asylum seeker		Migrant		Citizen		TOTAL
Cameroon	Yaoundé	492	(98.2%)	9	(1.8%)		(0.0%)		(0.0%)	501
Indonesia	Jakarta	84	(50.0%)	84	(50.0%)		(0.0%)		(0.0%)	168
Pakistan	Karachi	94	(38.7%)	1	(0.4%)	33	(13.6%)	115	(47.3%)	243
	Peshawar	273	(93.5%)	2	(0.7%)	6	(2.1%)	11	(3.8%)	292
TOTAL		943	(78.3%)	96	(8.0%)	39	(3.2%)	126	(10.5%)	1,204

Figure 9: Legal Status of Refugee Survey Respondents

Overall, more than three quarters of our sample self-identified as refugees, with less than 10% declaring they were asylum-seekers. In Cameroon and Indonesia, refugees were generally persons or households that had formally been granted refugee status by UNHCR, acting on behalf of the respective governments, while asylum-seekers were those that had formally applied for asylum. In Pakistan, the neglect of the international status of many refugees in urban areas meant that their status was less clear. Less than 1% identified as asylum-seekers, whereas a sizeable percentage of our sample from Karachi identified as “migrants” or “citizens”, which really set this population apart from our sample in Peshawar, as well as Yaoundé and Jakarta.

Gender of Respondent and Head of Household

One of the main aims of our sampling approach was to purposefully include both male and female respondents and include households that were defined around both male- and female-headed households. Bearing the limits of a non-random sample in mind, this was done to explore the significance of gender in shaping urban refugee relations and household access to services. The gender of respondents to our household survey and the number/ratio of these that were also heads of household are reflected in Figure 10 and Figure 11 respectively.

Country	City	Female		Male		TOTAL
Cameroon	Yaoundé	202	(40.3%)	299	(59.7%)	501
Indonesia	Jakarta	64	(38.1%)	104	(61.9%)	168
Pakistan	Karachi	25	(10.2%)	220	(89.8%)	245
	Peshawar	89	(30.1%)	207	(69.9%)	296
TOTAL		380	(31.4%)	830	(68.6%)	1,210

Figure 10: Refugee Household Survey, Showing Gender of Respondents

As illustrated in Figure 10, despite a deliberate effort to include as many female participants as possible, more than twice as many of respondents to the household survey were male. The high rate of male responses was particularly noticeable in Karachi, and to a lesser extent in Peshawar. This is unsurprising, given established gender roles and gendered practices within the Afghan refugee community in Pakistan. In both Yaoundé and Jakarta, roughly 40% of respondents to our household survey were female.

Country	City	Female Headed		Male Headed		Total
		Count	(%)	Count	(%)	
Cameroon	Yaoundé	158	(36.2%)	278	(63.8%)	436
Indonesia	Jakarta	64	(38.1%)	104	(61.9%)	168
Pakistan	Karachi	4	(3.1%)	127	(96.9%)	131
	Peshawar	37	(22.6%)	127	(77.3%)	164
TOTAL		263	(29.3%)	636	(70.7%)	899

Figure 11: Gender of Respondents that Affirmed their Status as “Head of Household”

With regard to respondents that stated they were “head of household”, more than two thirds were male-headed. As in Figure 10 above, the majority of female-headed households that we included were located in Yaoundé and Jakarta. This suggests that data that considers female respondents or the female heads of household will be more biased towards Cameroon and Indonesia.

Age of Respondent and Head of Household

Data on the age category of respondents was also used to examine the significance of the age category of declared heads of household.

Country	City	Child (-18)		Youth (18-25)		Mid (26-50)		Senior (51-70)		Elder (+70)		Total
		Count	(%)	Count	(%)	Count	(%)	Count	(%)	Count	(%)	
Cameroon	Yaoundé	4	(0.9%)	70	(16.1%)	305	(70.0%)	56	(12.8%)	1	(0.2%)	436
Indonesia	Jakarta	3	(2.0%)	40	(26.7%)	94	(62.7%)	13	(8.7%)	0	(0.0%)	150
Pakistan	Karachi	1	(0.8%)	14	(10.5%)	91	(68.4%)	26	(19.5%)	1	(0.8%)	133
	Peshawar	6	(3.7%)	14	(8.6%)	101	(62.0%)	41	(25.2%)	1	(0.6%)	163
TOTAL		14	(1.6%)	138	(15.6%)	591	(67.0%)	136	(15.4%)	3	(0.3%)	882

Figure 12: Age Categories of Respondents that Affirmed their Status as “Head of Household”

Figure 12 above shows how the majority of respondents that declared themselves as “head of household” ranged between 26 and 50 years of age. There is relative consistency in the age range of the heads of household across all research sites. Notable exceptions include Jakarta, which has a slightly higher percentage of heads of household between 18 and 25 years of age. Peshawar and Karachi suggested a slightly higher percentage of heads of household within the age range of 51 to 70 years of age. Across all four sites the survey encountered very few heads of household that were either younger than 18 or older than 70 years of age. This concentration of data within the mid-range reduced the potential of our sample to provide insight the dynamics of child- or elder-headed households.

Country of Origin of Respondent

With regard to country of origin the survey sample included refugee households from 26 countries of origin in total. These are listed in Figure 13, below, for each of the four refugee household survey sites.

Countries of Origin	Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan		TOTAL
	Yaoundé	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar	
Afghanistan		42	247	295	584
Angola	1				1
Burma		2			2
Burundi	7				7
Central African Republic (CAR)	264				264
Chad	77				77
China		16			16
Republic of Congo (Brazzaville)	3				3
Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast)	8				8
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	43	1			44
Equatorial Guinea	1				1
Eritrea	1				1
Gabon	1				1
Guinea	4				4
Iran		12	1	1	14
Iraq		4			4
Kuwait		2			2
Mauritania	3				3
Nigeria	2				2
Pakistan		2			2
Rwanda	67				67
Somalia		72			72
Sri Lanka		14			14
Sudan	18				18
Togo	1				1
Yemen		1			1
TOTAL	501	168	248	296	1,213

Figure 13: Country of Origin of Refugee Survey Respondents

Figure 13 reveals how household data from Cameroon and Indonesia included refugees from a fairly diverse range of national backgrounds, whereas data in Pakistan only included Pashto-speakers from Afghanistan (except for a single Iranian refugee household at both city-sites). Afghan refugees therefore comprised the largest single population of refugees in the sample. However, most of the 42 Afghan refugee households surveyed in Jakarta were recently-arrived Hazara.

In Cameroon, our sample included refugees from 16 nationalities. Refugees from CAR comprised the largest group, followed by Chad, Rwanda and DRC. With regard to presentation of nationality, our data was relatively consistent with the trends reflected in a UNHCR profiling exercise undertaken in 2010 (UNHCR 2010: 10), as summarized below:

Nationality	UNHCR Profile (2010)	CWS Survey (2012)
CAR	55.4%	52.7%
Chad	21.5%	15.4%
Rwanda	11.3%	13.4%
DRC	6.6%	8.6%
Others	5.2%	9.9%

Figure 14: Yaoundé Sample by National Origin, Compared to UNHCR Profile

Rural-Urban Origin of Household

Urban refugees originate from diverse backgrounds. These differences may impact on the relationships that refugees develop with the host community and shape their access to services. To explore the significance of this, the household survey recorded whether refugee households originated from either urban or rural backgrounds. The definition of “urban” and “rural” was not fixed and largely left up to respondents to answer in an open-ended manner. Even if we assume that notions of “urban” and “rural” are consistent across regions, comparisons of these data across regions of origin need to be drawn with caution.

Country	City	Rural		Urban		Total
Cameroon	Yaoundé	327	(65.3%)	174	(34.7%)	501
Indonesia	Jakarta	60	(35.7%)	108	(64.3%)	168
Pakistan	Karachi	94	(38.2%)	152	(61.8%)	246
	Peshawar	89	(30.6%)	202	(69.4%)	291
TOTAL		570	(47.3%)	636	(52.7%)	1206

Figure 15: Urban/Rural Origins of Refugee Survey Respondents

As illustrated in Figure 15 above, our sample was divided more or less evenly between refugees that described their home areas, or areas of origin, as either “rural” or “urban”. There was some significant variation across the sites, with 64.3% and 69.4% of refugees surveyed in Jakarta and Peshawar respectively originating from urban areas, while only 34.7% of respondents in Yaoundé originated from urban areas.

Occupation Prior to Refuge

Household survey respondents participated in a broad range of occupations prior to seeking refuge. The majority in Cameroon and Pakistan were farmers, whereas the majority of refugees in Jakarta were attending school. A relatively high number of respondents across all sites listed business or trading as their occupation prior to seeking refuge. This data is reflected in Figure 16 and Chart 1.

Occupation	Cameroon	Indonesia	Pakistan		TOTAL
	Yaoundé	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar	
Auditor	0	1	0	0	1
Business/trade	87	24	99	88	298
Beauty/Hair	1	1	0	0	2
Cobbler	1	0	0	0	1

Contractor	4	1	1	1	7
Domestic Worker	0	9	0	0	9
Driver/Mechanic	7	7	0	4	18
Farmer	231	11	118	26	386
Footballer	1	0	0	0	1
Gardener	0	1	0	0	1
Government worker	46	0	0	3	49
Hotel/Restaurant	3	2	0	0	5
Housewife	1	23	3	27	53
Journalist	0	2	0	0	2
Koochi	0	0	2	0	2
Laborer	1	4	0	0	5
Medical	0	2	0	0	2
NGO	3	1	0	0	4
Office Worker	1	2	0	0	3
Photographer	1	0	0	0	1
Pilot	0	1	0	0	1
Religious Institution	2	0	0	0	2
School	81	33	9	72	195
Student	0	0	10	0	10
Tailor	6	1	0	0	7
Teacher	7	6	2	6	21
Technician/Engineer	6	1	0	0	7
Welder	1	0	0	0	1
Not Applicable	7	11	1	32	51
Unemployed	3	24	0	3	30
TOTAL	501	167	245	262	1,175

Figure 16: Refugee Respondents' Occupation Prior to Refuge

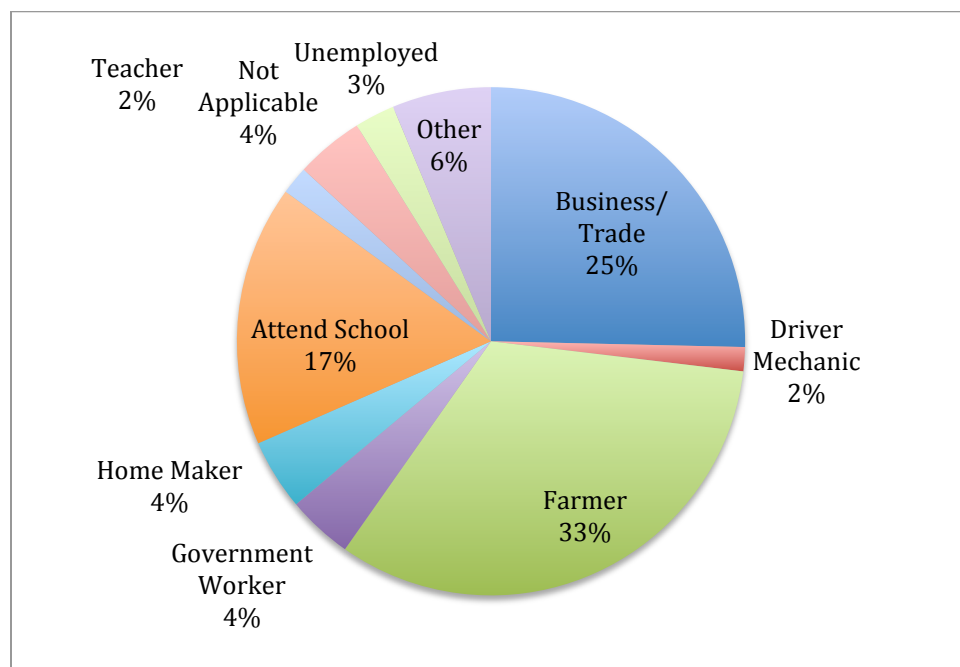


Chart 1: Main Refugee Occupations Prior to Refuge

Household Size

Overall, the majority of households in our sample comprised six persons or fewer. Urban refugee households were notably smaller in Cameroon and Indonesia, which both reflected a high percentage of households comprised of between one and three persons. Households in Pakistan were larger, on average, with the majority comprised of between four and nine persons.

Country	City	1-3 Persons		4-6 Persons		7-9 Persons		10-15 Persons		16+ Persons		TOTAL
Cameroon	Yaoundé	205	(40.9%)	176	(35.1%)	101	(20.2%)	14	(2.8%)	5	(1.0%)	501
Indonesia	Jakarta	111	(66.1%)	35	(20.8%)	18	(10.7%)	4	(2.4%)	0	(0.0%)	168
Pakistan	Karachi	9	(3.6%)	27	(10.8%)	137	(54.8%)	69	(27.6%)	8	(3.2%)	250
	Peshawar	18	(6.2%)	112	(38.5%)	105	(36.1%)	40	(13.7%)	16	(5.5%)	291
TOTAL		343	(28.3%)	350	(28.9%)	361	(29.8%)	127	(10.5%)	29	(2.4%)	1,210

Figure 17: Household Size for Refugee Survey

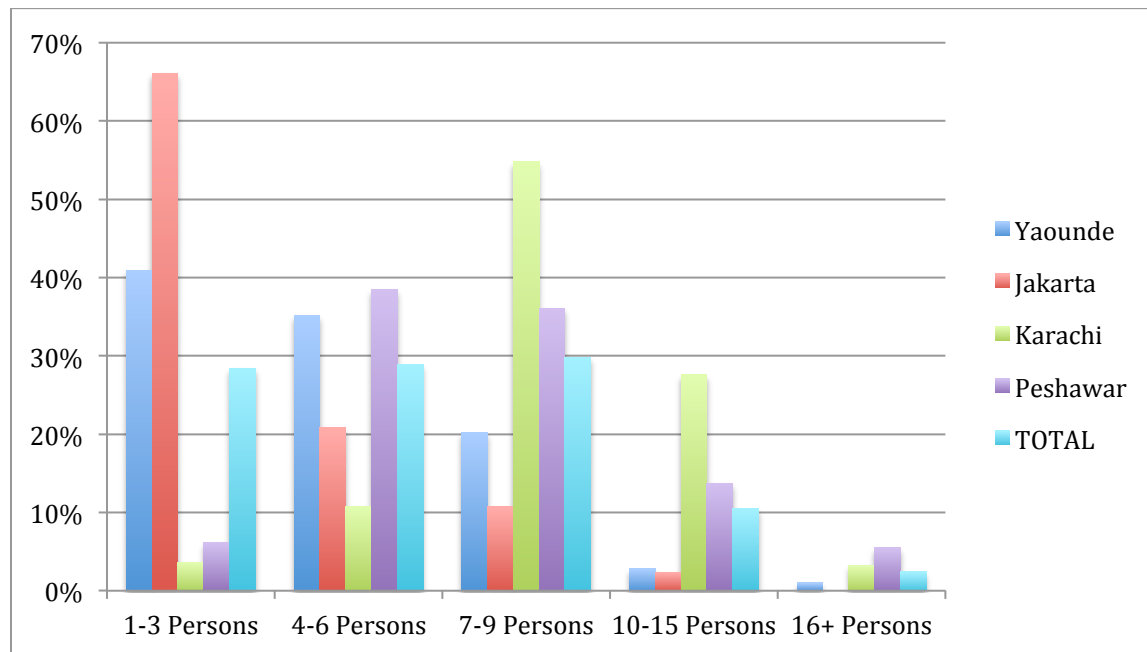


Chart 2: Household Size, Expressed as a Percentage of Total

The data summarized above suggests that household size may vary considerably across different urban contexts. By comparing data across sites, we consider some of the significant factors related to household size as well as the dynamics of the size of urban refugee households.

Period of Arrival

The household survey considered the period of arrival of urban refugee households. In particular, we sought to differentiate newly-arrived refugees (households that arrived less than a year previously), and urban refugees that may potentially be regarded as living in a protracted situation (households that arrived more than five years previously).

	<1 year ago	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	15+ Years	N=
Jakarta	47.6%	45.8%	4.2%	1.8%	0.6%	168
Karachi	0.0%	1.7%	3.0%	10.1%	85.2%	237
Peshawar	0.0%	2.2%	7.2%	17.0%	73.6%	277
Yaoundé	5.6%	38.1%	37.3%	11.2%	7.8%	501
TOTAL	9.1%	23.5%	18.7%	11.0%	37.7%	1,183

Figure 18: Arrival Period, by City

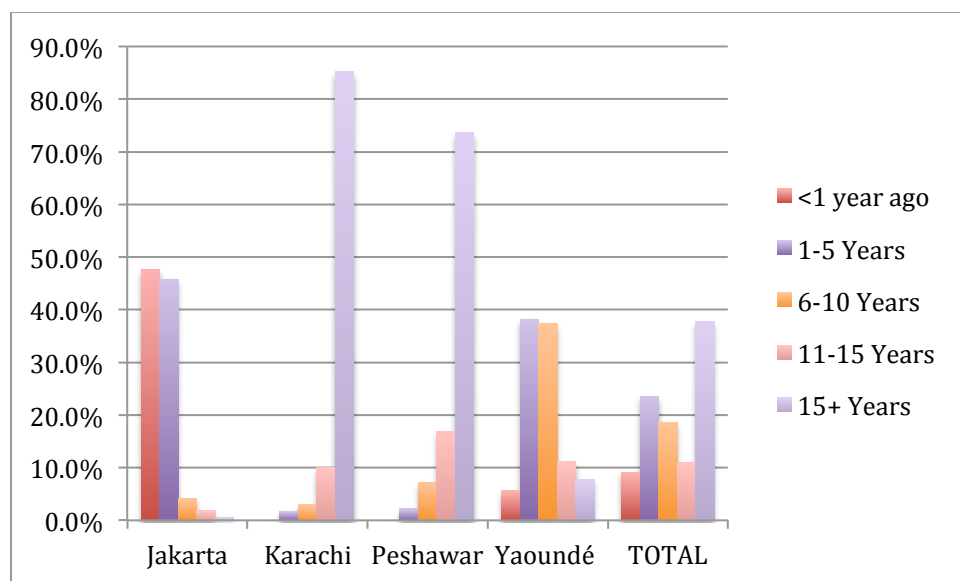


Chart 3: Arrival Period, by City

In Pakistan, the majority of households in our sample took refuge more than fifteen years previously. More than 90% of our samples in both Karachi and Peshawar had lived in refuge for more than ten years. In contrast, more than 90% of our sample from Jakarta had arrived within the previous five years, with more than 47% arriving within the previous year. The sample from Yaoundé, on the other hand reflected a significant number of refugees that either took refuge between one and five years previously, or between six and ten years previously.

Summary of Results

This section presents a summary of the results that were drawn on to inform the findings and recommendations above. Structured primarily around selected household survey data, results are interpreted with reference to qualitative data derived through interviews and focus group discussions. By comparing data across four city-sites that exhibit highly diverse policy approaches, histories of refugee settlement and socio-economic profiles of refugee and host communities, this section considers how refugee access to services may be revealed through a consideration of refugee-host relations. The analysis also considers the extent to which a “one-size-fits-all” approach to humanitarian programming in this area may be effective, and where “context-specific” responses may be more appropriate. Results are organized with reference to specific themes that relate to key areas of refugee-host interaction. Figure 19 lists these along with the major variables that were considered, both qualitatively and quantitatively as well the specific rationale for focusing on these areas.

Theme	Variable	Rationale
Arrival and Reception	Refugee Experiences of Arrival and Reception	Experiences of reception shape initial refugee attitudes to host communities, and impact the forms of social and economic capital that refugees are able to draw on to begin to engage in refugee-host relations.
Housing	Monthly Cost of housing	A housing market based overwhelmingly on rental suggests that monthly cost of housing represents a strong indicator of access to and quality of housing.
	Status of Housing	Differentiating between housing as either “unpaid”, “rented” and “owned” considered housing on either side of the rental market – including those who could either not access the rental market, or who had moved into housing ownership.
Livelihood	Sources of Income and Expenditure	The monthly average of selected sources of income provides insight into patterns of economic differentiation and the relative significance of specific income potentials
Education and Health care	School Attendance Rate	Comparing the number of children of school-going age in the household that are attending school, against those who are not, provides a “snapshot” into variation related to determinants of household access to education.
	School attendance patterns	Examining which children attend school provides insight into the factors that affect the integration of education
	Use of Government & Private Health Services	Increased use of private health services is often associated with greater level of disposable income and personal choice in urban areas
	Health care Access Patterns	Patterns of health-seeking behavior may reveal process of refugee integration
	Main Problems Accessing Health care	Changing patterns of prioritizing “main problems” with health care may reveal trends related to success in accessing health care
Family and Community Integration	Patterns of Leisure-Based interactions	Increased levels of leisure time spent with non-refugees may indicate greater levels of integration
	Patterns of Participation in Religious Activities	Varying patterns of participation in religious activities may reflect trends related to integration and belonging
Access to Safety and Protection	Confidence in Local Police Services	Variations in expressions of confidence in police may reflect trends and patterns of differentiation related to refugee protection.

Theme	Variable	Rationale
	Perception of Refugee Vulnerability to Crime	Variations in perceptions of refugee vulnerability to crime may reflect patterns of differences in experiences of refugee safety and protection.
	Sources of Assistance	Variations in priorities in seeking assistance may reflect trends related to integration, the structure of refugee communities and perceptions of safety and security.
	Possession of Documentation	The possession and non-possession of key forms of documentation may relate to refugee perceptions of the state, belonging and the future.
Durable Solutions	Preference for Durable Solution	Stated preference for a durable solution may indicate levels of integration, emplacement and perceptions of the future.

Figure 19: Analytical Framework for Qualitative and Quantitative Results

Refugee Arrival and Reception

The circumstances under which refugees arrive in the city may play a significant role in structuring subsequent refugee-host relations. Urban refugees in Yaoundé and Jakarta were asked to recollect their journeys to the city and reflect on the consequences of these experiences³⁴. As reflected in Figure 20 below, the majority of refugees in Yaoundé stated that they were motivated to move to the city to intentionally, either to enhance their safety and security (56%) or to gain access to UNHCR (23.9%). Only 10.7% of refugee households were motivated to move to the city to improve their employment prospects.

Reasons for Moving to Yaoundé	Major Reason
Safety and Protection	56%
Access to UNHCR	24%
Employment Prospects	11%
Comforts of City Life	3%
Humanitarian Organizations	2%
Access to Education	2%
Access to Health care	1%
Access to Resettlement	1%
TOTAL	100%

Figure 20: Stated “Major Reasons” for Moving to Yaoundé, Expressed as a Percentage of Total

Chart 4, below, reveals the spread of significance attached to each potential motive to move to the city.

³⁴ Since the majority of our sample in Pakistan arrived decades earlier, memories of arrival did not feature prominently in their narratives.

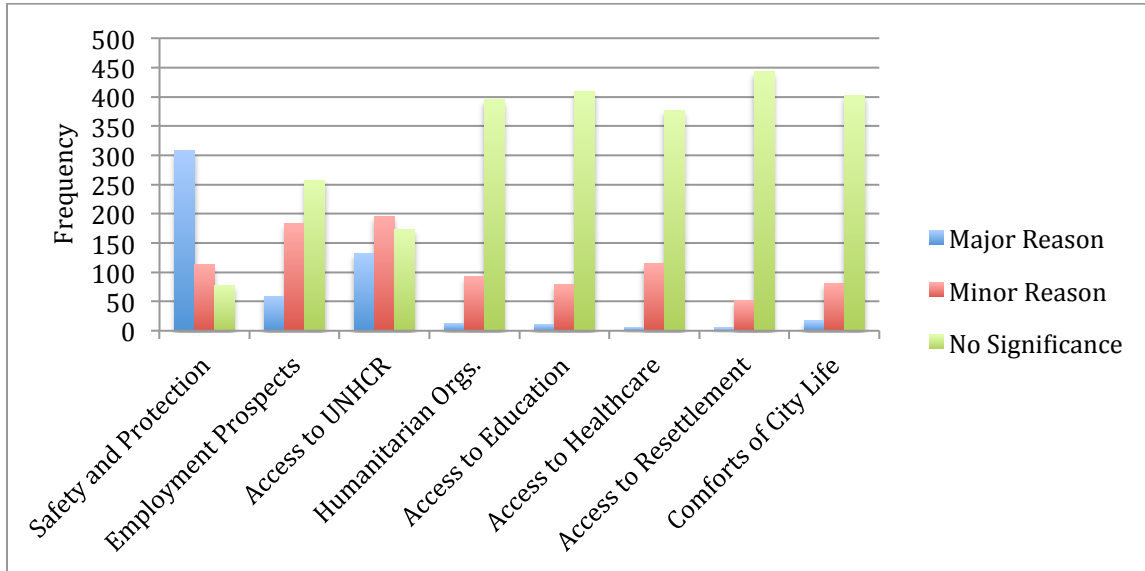


Chart 4: Relative Emphasis on Reasons for Moving to Yaoundé

The information summarized above illustrates that the search for protection represented the most significant “major” reason for moving to Yaoundé specifically. Recalling his travel from Benin to Douala, en route to his applying for refugee status, a male refugee highlighted the following:

“On our way to Douala, we, the Guineans in the bus, were asked [by the police] to disembark. The police detained us and the bus left with our things. When the police realized that we had no money, they stopped another bus, which they instructed to take us to Douala. Further down the road, another group of police stopped our bus and we were again asked to get off the bus, since we had no papers. After being detained again for a long time and having no money to give them, as they requested, they allowed us to go, putting us in another bus which was on its way to Douala. We reached Douala with nothing because our belongings had disappeared from the bus that first took us.”³⁵

Once in Douala, the same person summarized their experiences in Douala:

There [in Douala], the immigration [authorities] troubling us and we couldn’t even move from the house... Since I wanted to be independent I had to leave Douala. That is why I came to Yaoundé, where I went to the UNHCR for registration. In Yaoundé I could earn my living from the job I started with and which went on well.”³⁶

In another case a refugee family comprised of a single 42-year-old woman and her daughter travelled from Togo to the port city of Douala by ship. She left Togo after her husband was killed and she was raped and had her arm broken. In her desperation to leave, she left four of her children behind in Togo. After arriving in Douala, she spent one night in the city before travelling by bus to Yaoundé. When asked why she chose to move to Yaoundé, she replied:

³⁵ Interview, Refugee, no date.

³⁶ Interview, Refugee, no date.

“When I reached Douala, I inquired to know in which town the UNHCR was located so that I can seek protection there. I was in need of a refugee camp thinking there is one in Yaoundé when I was told the UNHCR is in Yaoundé. I then decided to come to Yaoundé and find protection beside the HCR.... What pushed me to stay in Yaoundé was that I was well-received at the HCR and was advised to stay in the capital and look for something to do. They told me Yaoundé is the capital and Cameroonians are welcoming. I then decided to stay in Yaoundé to guarantee this security.”³⁷

To illustrate what she meant by this, she gave an example of her 16-year-old daughter who, three years previously, absconded with an older man. Reflecting on this incident, which left her daughter pregnant and highly distraught, she highlighted her reliance on the local police and UNHCR in her struggle to get her daughter back:

“I then understood that everywhere there is risk, but it is better you are close to the source of help so that if any risk come your way, you can easily run to either the police who did an excellent job during this incident or the UNHCR. This is just to explain why I don’t desire to leave Yaoundé for any reason whatsoever.”

Beyond the presence of UNHCR and confidence in the local police, other refugees highlighted the presence of other refugees from their country of origin as influencing their decision to move to the city. On this point, the representative of the Ivorian community in Yaoundé noted that many refugees from Ivory Coast lived in urban areas before fleeing their country and settling in Cameroon. He also cited relative safety and potential access to employment, education and health care as additional reasons why refugees chose to move to Yaoundé specifically. Reinforcing his point about the benefits of living in close proximity to one another:

“... here in Yaoundé, if an Ivorian has a problem with the authorities, it is easy for me as the president of their community to help them out. But if the Ivorian is found in a rural zone, it will be difficult for me to intervene because I will need to pay transport to the place where the refugee is found, which I do not have. More so, if it is a security issue that I cannot work out, the UNHCR is close enough for me to quickly get assistance to help the Ivorian in problems.”³⁸

In another case, a single male 30-year-old refugee from Ivory Coast travelled through Ghana, Togo, Benin and Nigeria in order to reach Yaoundé. He, similarly, highlighted the presence of UNHCR in Yaoundé and the primary reason for living in the city:

“My staying in Yaoundé is because of the UNHCR central office that is close. If I have any security problem, I can easily run to the UNHCR for help. If I was in a town where there was no HCR office, what would I do in case I get into any trouble?”³⁹

In Jakarta, urban refugees represented their respective presence in the city as temporary and transitional. In some instances, refugees narrated their arrival as an accidental or unplanned stopover on their way to Australia. In one case, a young Somali woman who fled Mogadishu was promised by the smuggler that she relied on, that she would be taken to Australia. Upon arriving in Jakarta she was abandoned by the smuggler at the airport and forced to apply for asylum in Indonesia. Unable to speak Indonesian, her unplanned arrival in Jakarta was characterized by profound

³⁷ Interview, Yaoundé, 05/08/2012.

³⁸ Interview, Yaoundé, 02/26/2012.

³⁹ Interview, Yaoundé, 07/05/2012.

disorientation and vulnerability. Initially, she slept on the steps of a mosque. After some time another Somali refugee family (that had arrived from Yemen) became aware of her predicament, made contact with her and allowed her to share their home in Jakarta.

Shelter and Housing

In refugee camps, basic shelter is typically provided by external agencies on sites that are often isolated from local communities. Refugees that self-settle in rural areas are usually able to access the same forms of housing as the local population. In urban areas, however, where poorer neighborhoods are crowded and competition for housing is high, refugees are inevitably drawn into broader relationships in their struggles to access housing, often with the host community. Housing was an enduring concern for urban refugees at all four city-sites. As one might expect in an urban environment, housing represented one of the highest monthly cost items for urban refugee households. The struggle to identify and retain access to reasonable and affordable housing motivated urban refugees to engage the local community through tenant-landlord arrangements.

Access to Housing

More than three-quarters (76.3%) of urban refugees sampled across all four city-sites secured their housing through renting accommodation from private landlords. A further 14.9% of our urban refugee sample declared that they owned their housing. However, of these 180 households, 174 were in Karachi (and three in Peshawar and three in Yaoundé). As illustrated below, many of these households took refuge decades earlier. The remaining 8.8% of the sample lived in housing that they did not pay for. This included recent arrivals that lived as guests in the houses of other refugees. Even though they were often strangers, observations from Cameroon and Indonesia suggested that they tended to be either co-nationals and socially connected in some other way (through ethnicity, kinship or home area). These relationships were often configured on the basis of compassion and in some instances forms of patronage that emerged from debts of gratitude. In some instances refugees lived as non-paying guests of locals, especially where they did not yet have the means to secure their own housing. These arrangements were sometimes structured around a combination of compassion and exploitation. For example, refugees in Yaoundé were sometimes permitted to live in an unoccupied dwelling, such as a shed or building under construction, in return for providing basic security or maintenance services on an unpaid basis.

Survey data suggests that urban refugee access to housing improves over time. The primary driver of this is likely to be improved income levels. As refugees become more successful in re-establishing their livelihoods, they are also able to negotiate access to better housing more effectively.

Settlement patterns

In general, refugee settlement tended to be more concentrated in specific urban neighborhoods. These patterns are sometimes determined by historical processes of settlement, such as in Karachi. They could also, however, be shaped strongly by the availability of services. In Jakarta, many refugees from our sample were concentrated within Bogor—a popular holiday town located in the mountainous region outside of central Jakarta. Refugees stated that they preferred to live in Bogor due to the lower cost of living than Jakarta and a slightly cooler environment. The presence a UNHCR-sponsored Refugee Center, which was operated by CWS, played a major role in concentrating refugee settlement in the area. In contrast, refugees that lived in the center of Jakarta were scattered across the city. Some lived in neighborhoods where there were very few other refugees living nearby.

Patterns of refugee settlement in Yaoundé varied considerably. As noted above, proximity to UNHCR was a primary consideration for refugees and many sought to live in the neighborhood of Omnisport, where the UNHCR compound is located. Many others, however, lived across the city where concentrations of refugee residents varied considerably. Survey-based estimates of the ratio of refugee neighbors to non-refugee neighbors ranged from 0.006 to 0.77.

Quality of Housing

The quality of housing ranged from informal shacks, to apartments and freestanding formal houses. Refugee/tenant and host/landlord relationships appeared to be defined by significant tensions. These arose from a number of factors, including:

- Suspicion by landlords over the *bona fides* of prospective tenants that were refugees prompted landlords to ask for higher deposits and payments in advance, which refugees often could not afford.
- Many refugees struggled to pay their rent, heightening tensions with landlords.
- Refugees tended to rent at the low end of the housing market, where landlords failed to provide agreed levels of basic services.

Housing in urban areas also drew refugees into a range of issues that were of concern to authorities, such as the legality and safety of the housing structures, for example. This was particularly evident in Yaoundé where many refugees lived in shacks that were vulnerable to being demolished by local authorities, through slum clearance programs.

At the level of everyday life, housing incorporated refugees into neighborhoods, which included other refugees as well as locals. Everyday interactions with neighbors also emerged as important sites for the development of refugee-host relations. These relations were enabled by a number of factors, such as the density of refugee settlement, compared to the local population. This ratio of refugees to locals was calculated⁴⁰ in relation to urban refugees sampled in three of the four city-sites⁴¹. The average for these varied from 0.31 for Yaoundé, 0.34 for Jakarta and 0.79 for Peshawar. To the extent that this data is representative, the average density of refugee settlement for Yaoundé and Jakarta was significantly lower than for Peshawar. Based on qualitative observations in Karachi of dense refugee settlement within specific neighborhoods, this ratio is likely to be high.

Housing and common or shared property

Refugee-host relations also developed around the shared use of certain basic services that were not provided directly or exclusively to the household. These included basic services such as water, sanitation and electricity. The shared use of services emerged as a potential source of tension between refugees and the host community. For example, a Congolese refugee in Yaoundé pointed to the poor state of a communal latrine that her family shared with

⁴⁰ This calculation was based on household identification of the number of immediate neighbors that were refugees and nationals respectively. It should be regarded as a rough estimate of neighborhood identity.

⁴¹ Reliable data for Karachi was not available.

some of their neighbors. She noted that refugees were often blamed unfairly when such communal resources were not looked after or cleaned properly.

In Jakarta, many refugees rented rooms or portions of houses owned by local Indonesians. In general, participants in these arrangements noted that there was relatively little interaction between the two groups. This was attributed mainly to language difficulties but also, in some instances, to cultural difference. A number of Indonesian respondents noted that Somali refugees tend to engage in conversation late into the night, when Indonesians tended to be asleep. The noise generated by these conversations was experienced as disturbing to some locals that lived in close proximity. Others also questioned why social activities were occurring so late into the night.

Gender of Head of Household and Access to Housing

The results of this study did not highlight a strong relationship between access to housing and the gender of the head of household. Survey data on the relationship between housing expenditure and the gender of the head of household is reflected in Figure 21 and Chart 5 below.

	Female Headed Households		Male-Headed Households	
	N=	Average Cost (USD)	N=	Average Cost (USD)
Yaoundé	158	27	278	29
Jakarta	54	65	96	61
Karachi	1	26	31	28
Peshawar	37	87	126	51

Figure 21: Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, by City and Gender of Head of Household

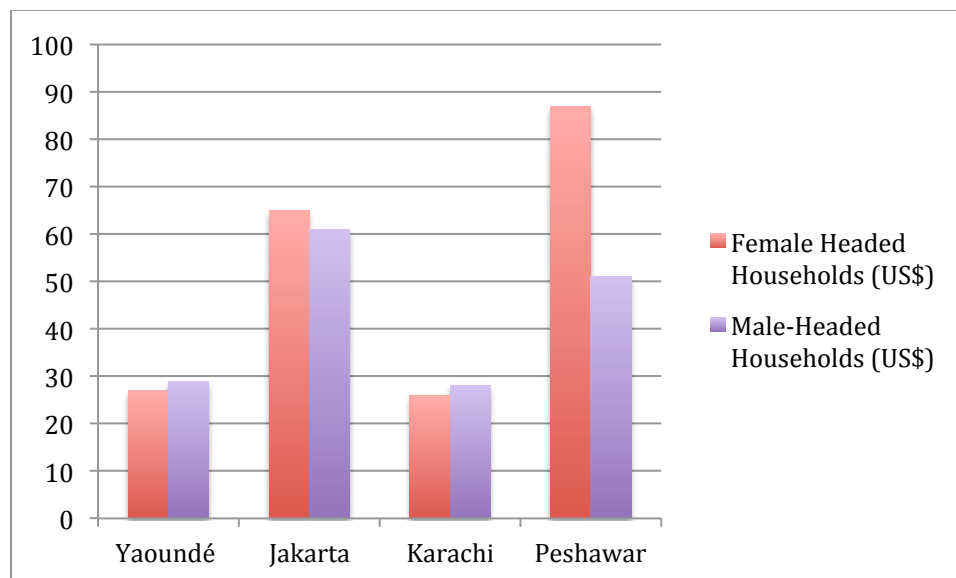


Chart 5: Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, by City and Gender of Head of Household

While male-headed households in Yaoundé and Karachi spent slightly more on housing, on average, than female-headed households, this trend was reversed for Jakarta and Peshawar. The only notable variation relates to

Peshawar, where female-headed households reported much higher expenditures on housing, relative to male-headed households. Given the low numbers of female-headed households identified in Pakistan in general, this is likely to reflect a bias in our sample. Furthermore, it is likely that a strong selection bias of relatively successful female-headed households distorted data further. It is also possible that this data aberration may reflect a gender-related difference in the accuracy of reporting household expenditure on housing in this instance. There was, however, no indication from other data sources to suggest that female-headed households were more successful in accessing housing in Peshawar.

Survey data on the relationship between the gender of the head of household and the status of housing, supports a similar impression – that there were no clear differences between male and female-headed households respectively. These data are summarized below:

City		Guest	Rented	Owned	TOTAL
Yaoundé	Female	17	141		158
	Male	48	227	2	277
Jakarta	Female	5	47	0	52
	Male	6	86	0	92
Karachi	Female	0	1	3	4
	Male	0	33	93	126
Peshawar	Female	0	37	0	37
	Male	0	126	0	126
TOTAL		76	698	98	872

Figure 22: Status of Housing, by City and Gender of Head of Household

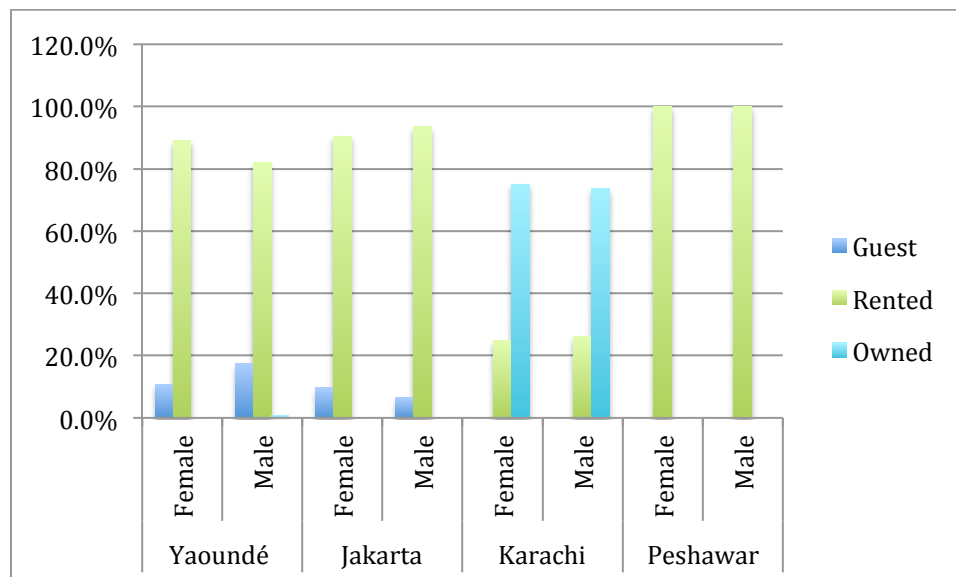


Chart 6: Status of Housing, by City and Gender of Head of Household

While the data noted a slightly higher percentage of female-headed households that had secured tenancy agreements in Yaoundé, this trend was reversed in Jakarta. There were no strong variations in gendered patterns of access to housing in Karachi and Peshawar.

Like the results of the household survey, our qualitative data did not support the view that there were significant gender-related challenges with regard to urban refugee access to housing. This suggests that gender-based vulnerabilities do not have significant implications for refugee-host relations that develop around housing. Both male and female-headed households appear to be similarly successful in the extent to which they are able to negotiate access to housing, as reflected in cost and status of housing. The absence of consistent patterns across sites suggests that this dynamic is likely to be highly context specific.

Age Category of Head of Household and Access to Housing

Examination of the relationship between the age of the head of household and access to housing did not reveal a strong or consistent trend. Survey data on the age of head of household and access to housing is summarized below:

	Yaoundé		Jakarta		Karachi		Peshawar	
Child (-18 Years)	1	\$13.08	3	\$66.42	0	N/A	6	\$38.71
Youth (18-25)	18	\$22.16	40	\$54.01	0	N/A	12	\$27.10
Mid (25-50)	98	\$32.44	93	\$67.30	9	\$24.63	95	\$55.48
Senior (50-70)	20	\$27.84	13	\$90.02	5	\$24.28	40	\$72.85
Elder (70 +)	1	\$22.42	0	N/A	0	N/A	1	\$25.33

Figure 23: Age of Head of Household and Average Monthly Cost of Housing

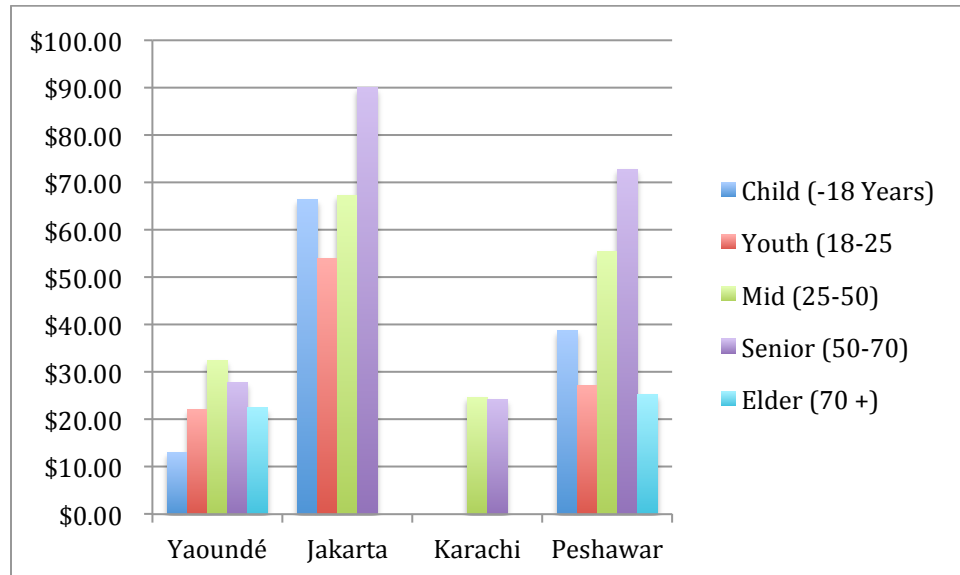


Chart 7: Age of Head of Household and Average Monthly Cost of Housing

A careful review of this data suggests that, as far as Yaoundé and Peshawar are concerned, refugee households that are headed by either younger or older persons appear to spend less on housing than those in the “mid” range. Jakarta does not appear to conform to this trend. This may arise from the fact that in Jakarta, a relatively high percentage of asylum-seekers are either unaccompanied minors or young adults. This has promoted an awareness of the vulnerabilities of households headed by younger persons and a strong humanitarian effort on the part of

UNHCR and its partners to ensure that their housing needs are supported. Secondly, refugees are unable work in Jakarta, and many depend on the assistance from UNHCR to cover housing, which is not provided in a manner that discriminates on the basis of age of head of household. The vulnerabilities of elder- and child-headed households that are related to housing may be most evident where urban refugees rely on the development of strong refugee-host relations to access reasonable housing.

Household Size and Access to Housing

In some rural economies, larger households may have an economic advantage because they can make a greater collective contribution towards subsistence-based livelihoods. In urban areas, however, household size may be a relative disadvantage, requiring greater expenditure to house relatively larger numbers of dependents. Congestion in inner-cities may also make it challenging practically for larger households to find housing. Data on the relationship between household size and status of housing is summarized below in Chart 8:

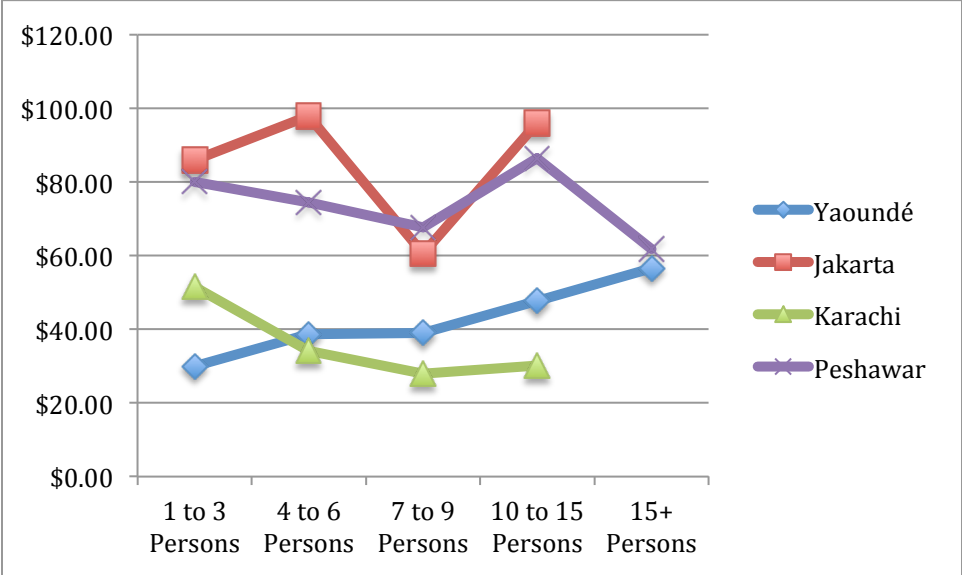


Chart 8: Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, and Household Size

The data summarized above does not reflect a consistent trend across all city-sites. In Yaoundé, the data suggests that larger households pay more for their housing as they increase in size. In Karachi and to some extent Peshawar, households appear to pay less for housing, on average, as they increase in size. It is not clear why this may be the case, but it is likely that larger households may have lived in the city for longer than smaller households. A more inconsistent pattern for Jakarta may reflect a tendency for small or single-person households to share accommodation in order to reduce their monthly housing costs.

Overall, survey data on the relationship between household size and household status suggest that the possibility of more secure forms of housing tenure increase with household size.

	1 to 3 Persons	4 to 6 Persons	7 to 9 Persons	10 to 15 Persons	15+ Persons	Grand Total
Owned	6	21	88	56	9	180
Rented	281	293	250	69	20	913
Unpaid	55	34	15	2	0	106
Grand Total	342	348	353	127	29	1,199

Figure 24: Housing Status and Household Size

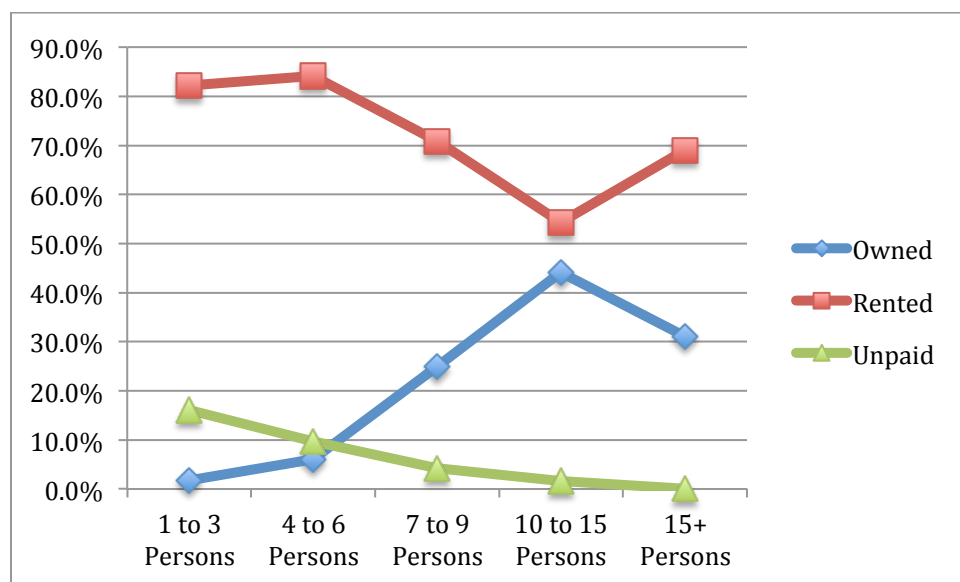


Chart 9: Housing Status and Household Size

The suggestion that smaller households have less secure housing arrangements is a potentially significant finding that may suggest two possible processes. First, to the extent that an increase in household size correlates positively with time in refuge, improved access to housing may reflect the impact of time spent in refuge. Based on observations, this is likely to be particularly relevant in Pakistan. This interpretation is supported by a decreasing reliance on unpaid housing in relation to household size. Second, it may also suggest that larger households have greater capacity to negotiate improved access to better housing. Both interpretations suggest that larger households have greater capacity to generate productive refugee-host relations that enable better access to housing, compared to smaller households.

Household Income and Access to Housing

Data on the relationship between household income sources and housing status suggests that households that had greater access to income from either *formal employment* or *formal business activities* were more likely to own their homes than households that did not. On the other hand, households that did not pay for their housing relied more on “non-productive” forms of income, such as humanitarian assistance and charity. This data is summarized in Chart 10 below.

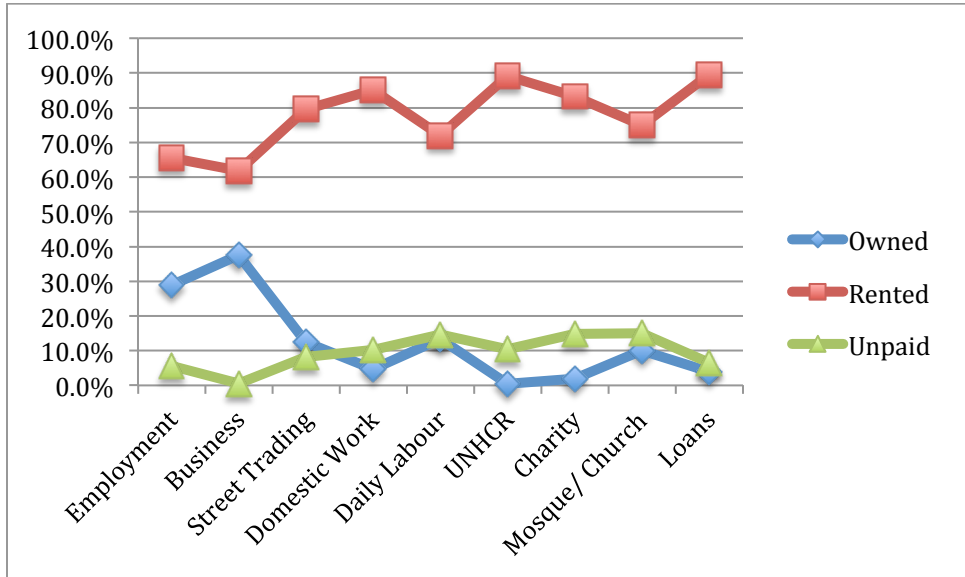


Chart 10: Selected Household Income Sources and Status of Housing⁴²

These findings point to the central role that livelihood security plays in determining access to housing. From the perspective of refugee-host relations it also points to the role of formal economic activities in enabling refugees to regularize and improve their access to housing.

Legal Status and Access to Housing

Reflected below, survey data indicated a direct relationship between legal status and housing status:

	Asylum Seeker	Refugee	Migrant	Citizen	TOTAL
Owned	0	64	15	98	180
Rented	79	780	24	27	921
Unpaid	17	89			106
Grand Total	96	933	39	125	1,207

Figure 25: Legal Status and Access to Housing

⁴² This chart measures incidence of reporting of income from the various sources, and does not consider the amounts reported.

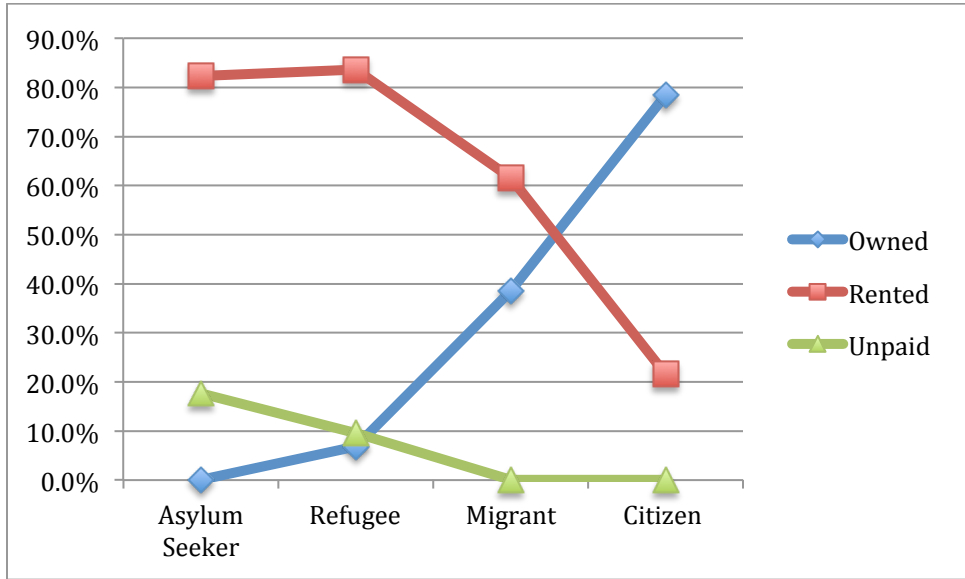


Chart 11: Legal Status and Housing Status

Data on the relationship between average household income and legal status (reflected in Figure 26 below) is broadly consistent with the finding that more regularized status enables increased urban refugee investment in housing.

City	Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing
Jakarta	\$85.98
Asylum Seeker	\$81.44
Refugee	\$90.11
Karachi	\$29.95
Asylum Seeker	\$33.11
Refugee	\$28.32
Migrant	\$33.84
Citizen	\$28.27
Peshawar	\$73.41
Asylum Seeker	\$52.43
Refugee	\$73.17
Migrant	\$84.62
Citizen	\$76.96
Yaoundé	\$35.74
Asylum Seeker	\$29.77
Refugee	\$35.84
Average (Total)	\$55.16

Figure 26: Legal Status and Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, by City-Site

These results suggest that, firstly, asylum-seekers and refugees depend strongly on the rental market to access their accommodation. Secondly, it also suggests that urban refugees that either acquire citizenship or reconfigure their presence as migrants are more likely to invest in home ownership. Insofar as home ownership is an indicator of positive and productive refugee-host relations, the regularization of status through local integration appears to both promote and reflect improved refugee-host relations.

Arrival Period and Access to Housing

In general, survey data suggested that expenditure on housing increased the longer refugees remained settled in the city. As indicated in Chart 12 below, this was not observed consistently across all four city-sites.

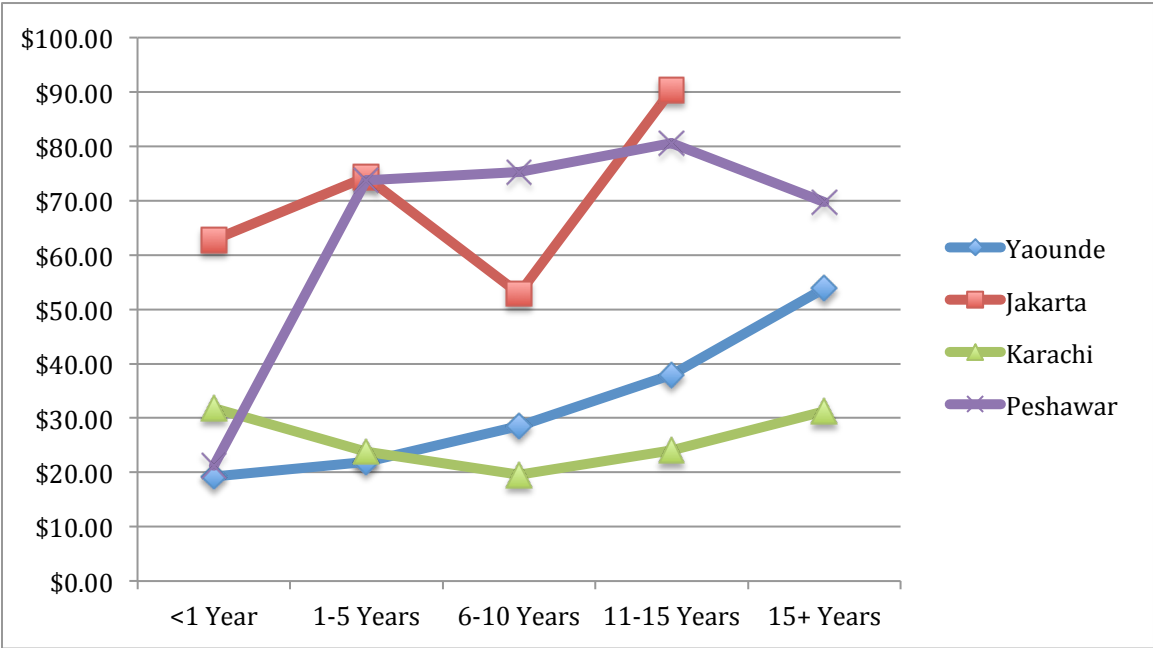


Chart 12: Graphic Representation of Average Monthly Cost of Housing, by Period of Arrival

Data from Yaoundé reflected a fairly consistent positive relationship between expenditure on housing and duration in refuge. The data for Jakarta was skewed by the relatively recent arrival of the vast majority of respondents, but may also point to the same trend. The data for Peshawar and Karachi suggests that the expenditure on housing relationship is more complex and dependent on variables that are not necessarily related to duration of refuge. It is possible that different waves of refugees arrived under different social and political conditions, which affected their ability to access housing in different ways.

With regard to the relationship between housing status and period of arrival, survey data suggests strongly that the potential for home-ownership increases over time. This suggests that after five years, less than 10% of refugees rely on unpaid housing, while levels of home ownership only begin to increase notably after approximately 15 years of living in refuge.

Housing	<1 Year Ago	1-5 Years	6-10 years	11-15 years	15+ years	Total
Owned	0	1	6	15	153	175
Rented	87	218	194	107	286	892
Unpaid	23	57	19	4	3	106
Total	110	276	219	126	442	1,173

Figure 27: Status of Housing and Period of Arrival

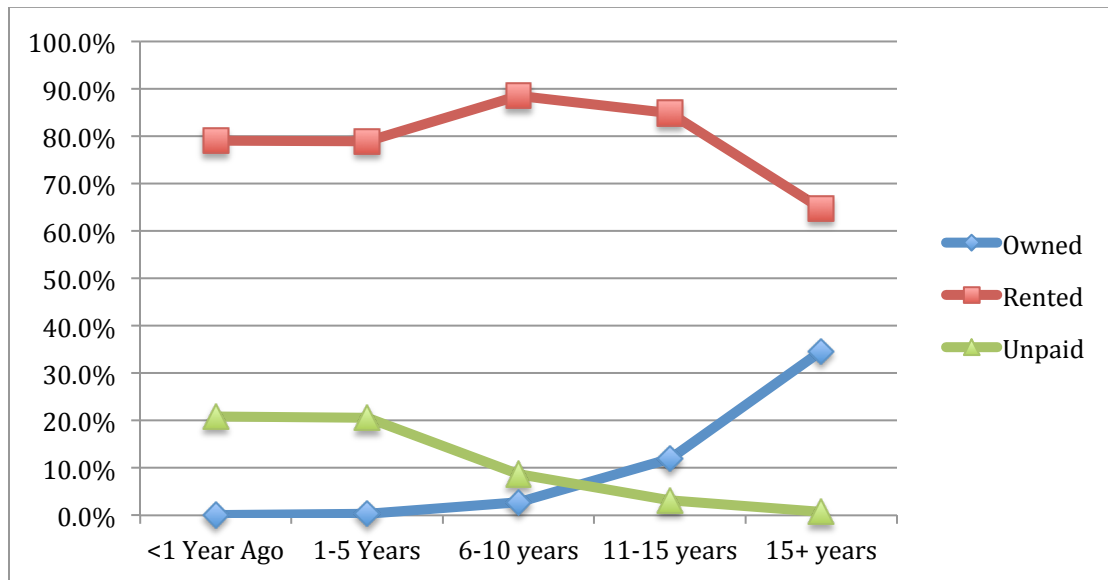


Chart 13: Housing Status and Period of Arrival

The data summarized above suggests that urban refugee relations with the host community develop in ways that enable stronger refugee investments in housing over time. It also shows, however, that the process of improving access to housing is relatively slow. The majority of refugees rely on the rental market for more than a decade before being able to invest in home ownership.

Area of Origin and Access to Housing

As summarized in Chart 14, below the background of a household as either “urban” or “rural” impacted household expenditure on housing.

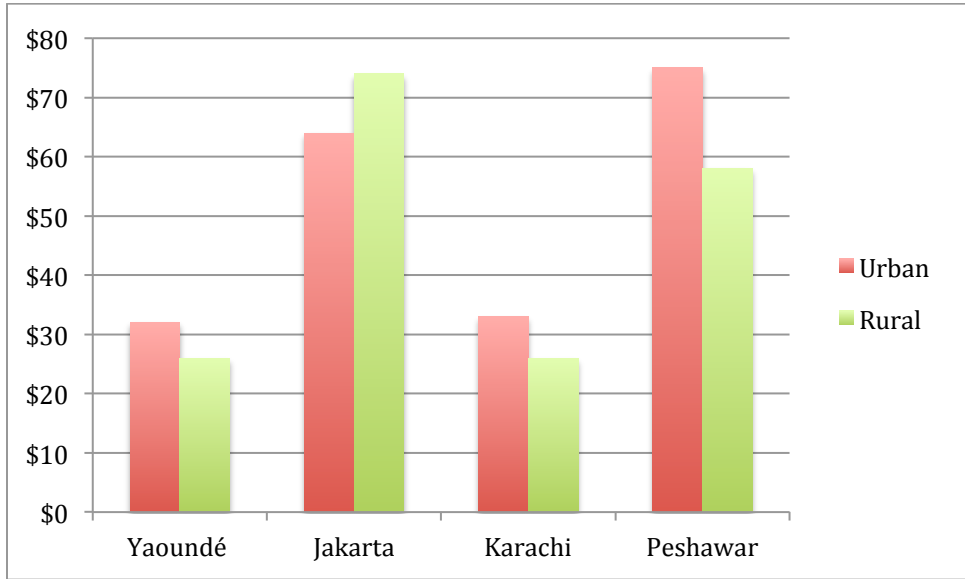


Chart 14: Graphic Representation of Expenditure on Housing and Area of Origin

Urban refugee households that originated from rural areas spent slightly less, on average, on housing per month in Yaoundé, Karachi and Peshawar, compared to households that originated from urban areas. In Jakarta, the picture was reversed. Qualitative data suggests that some refugees and asylum-seekers in Jakarta that originated from Afghanistan were, in fact, relatively wealthy farmers that fled after being targeted and persecuted by the Taliban. They relied on their relatively extensive capital to support their expensive journeys to Jakarta. In Cameroon and Pakistan, on the other hand, many refugees that originated from rural areas were much poorer.

These observations suggest that there is no intrinsic characteristic of being from a background that is either “urban” or “rural”, which would affect the ability of refugees in urban areas to generate the networks and relationships to increase their access to housing. However, the urban/rural distinction may point to differences in wealth or income generating potential that have a more decisive impact on urban refugee access to housing.

Country of Origin and Access to Housing

In both Yaoundé and Jakarta, where urban refugees originate from a number of different countries, refugee expenditure on housing varied considerably by country of origin. This variation is summarized in Chart 15 and Chart 16 below, for both city-sites respectively.

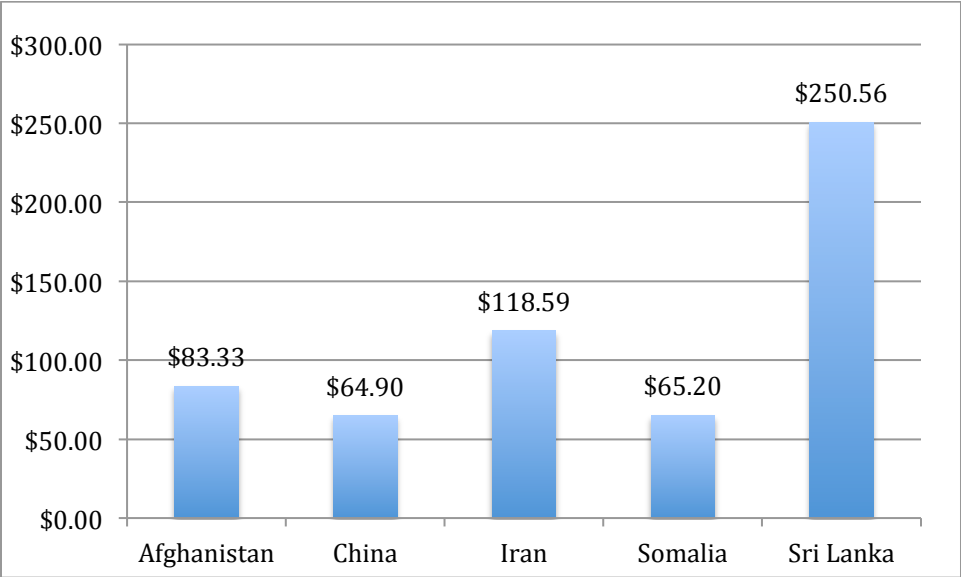


Chart 15: Selected Countries of Origin and Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, Jakarta

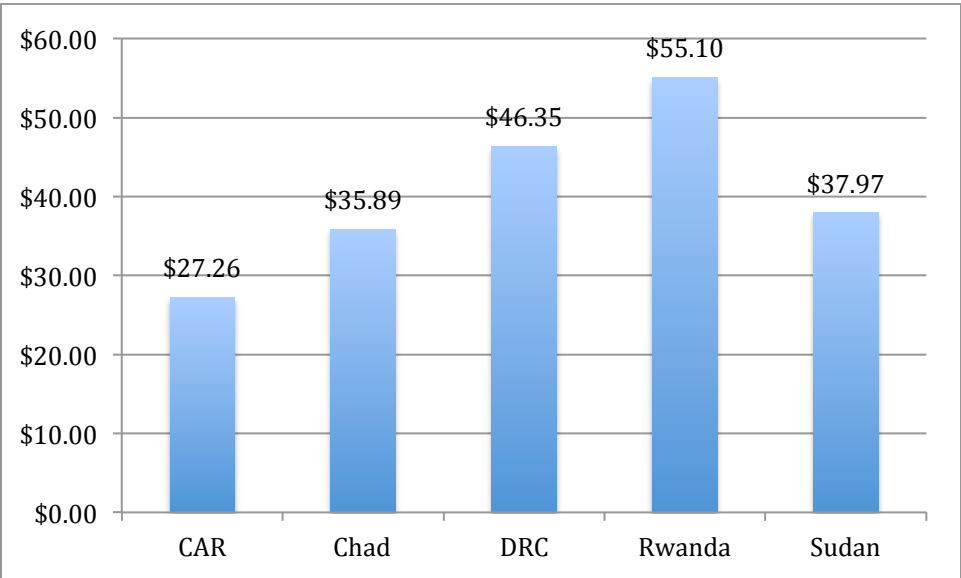


Chart 16: Selected Countries of Origin and Average Monthly Expenditure on Housing, Yaoundé

These variations suggest that refugees from different countries have different capacities to participate in local urban housing markets. These differences in capacity are likely to impact on the kinds of relationships that refugees are able to establish around housing. In contexts where refugees originate from different countries, local perceptions and national stereotypes of refugees are likely to impact on refugee-host relations around housing.

Household Income and Livelihood

Even under ideal conditions, the measurement of household income is problematic. Many important sources of income are not necessarily recognized as such, either because they are not regular or because they are not institutionalized. Furthermore, households are not necessarily discrete and stable social and economic units, which

further complicates attempts to measure household income. Refugee households are in general highly unstable and reliant on multiple and sometimes irregular sources of income, making the systematic assessment of household income even more difficult to do accurately.

Recognizing the limitations of using “household income” as an approach to understanding the complexity of urban refugee livelihoods, we collected data on regular sources of income and compared the presence and extent of reliance for households across our research sites. Figure 28 summarizes the frequency of reporting of selected sources of household income alongside the average monthly income derived for each source. This average figure for each income category only included households that reported deriving income from that category.

Income Source	Yaoundé		Jakarta		Karachi		Peshawar	
Formal Employment	55	\$111.30			56	\$133.01	32	\$199.27
Own Business	80	\$26.39			186	\$203.94	102	\$487.56
Informal Street Trading	182	\$86.39			49	\$92.65	3	\$109.09
Domestic Worker	160	\$68.14			21	\$68.37	74	\$299.36
Daily laborer	271	\$90.59			79	\$90.87	25	\$154.56
UNHCR	105	\$46.10	149	\$132.65			1	\$126.69
Charity Organizations	54	\$51.74						
Mosque or Church	17	\$53.39			3	\$87.98		
Loans from Neighbors	22	\$43.97	79	\$122.53	6	\$56.31	44	\$1,745.93
Support from Relatives Abroad			88	\$42.90				
Other Sources	141	\$130.40						

Figure 28: Selected Sources of Household Income, Highlighting Frequency and Average Monthly Income

A brief overview of the table above suggests that urban refugees in Yaoundé appear to have the widest range of sources of household income, compared to the other city sites. Refugees in Karachi and Peshawar also reported income from a range of sources, except there was a noticeable absence of humanitarian sources (such as UNHCR, mosques and charity organizations). Jakarta was significant for the degree to which urban refugees were dependent on UNHCR for their monthly incomes.

Based on reported figures, the majority of our sample from Yaoundé appears to rely on income from informal activities, such as street trading, domestic work and daily labor. In Karachi and Peshawar, urban refugees rely predominantly on business. The businesses run by refugees generated the largest average monthly income in both Karachi and Peshawar.

In Yaoundé, formal employment generated the largest average monthly income of any stated activity. However, only approximately 11% of the total sample reported receiving income through this source. Formal employment also appeared to make a significant contribution to household income in Karachi and Peshawar but, again, only for a very small percentage of the total sample of each. Approximately 22% of households in Karachi reported receiving income from formal employment, whereas 11% reported the same from Peshawar.

A surprisingly large percentage of the households sampled in Jakarta reported deriving income through loans from neighbors and from family members abroad. Apart from UNHCR support, these were the only reported significant other sources of income for refugees in Jakarta.

Gender of Head of Household and Household Income

An overview of the differences in average income levels for reported sources of income for male- and female-headed households respectively reveals that income makes a disproportionately high contribution towards the household income levels of male-headed households.

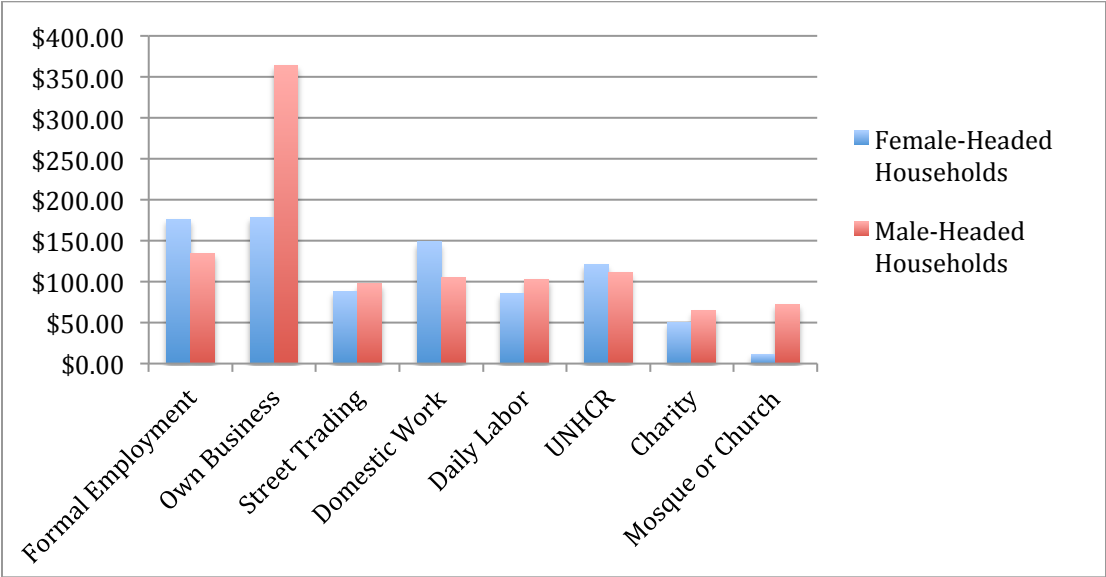


Chart 17: Household Income and Gender of Head of Household

Data reflected in Chart 17 above is presented in more detail Figure 29, below, to show variations across city and relevant details related to the data sources.

Gender of Head of Household	N=	Formal Employment	Own Business	Informal Street Trading	Domestic Work	Daily Labor	UNHCR	Charity Organizations	Mosque or Church	Loan from Neighbors
Jakarta	150		\$34.48		\$129.17	\$2.19	\$166.43			\$3,320.56
Female-Headed	54				\$129.17		\$194.83			
Male-Headed	96		\$34.48			\$2.19	\$149.99			\$3,320.56
Karachi	131	\$132.81	\$211.05	\$96.83	\$75.19	\$86.32			\$55.19	\$88.30
Female	4		\$201.43			\$66.23				
Male	127	\$132.81	\$211.46	\$96.83	\$75.19	\$86.85			\$55.19	\$88.30
Peshawar	164	\$263.98	\$602.45	\$121.41	\$287.47	\$175.91				\$1,870.50
Female	37	\$283.30	\$211.09		\$330.55	\$286.98				\$523.18
Male	127	\$257.54	\$625.14	\$121.41	\$229.19	\$168.51				\$2,129.61
Yaoundé	436	\$118.23	\$236.17	\$92.63	\$75.05	\$96.11	\$48.69	\$56.54	\$60.72	\$35.59
Female	158	\$149.59	\$171.14	\$88.28	\$63.42	\$82.45	\$40.07	\$49.93	\$11.47	\$15.70
Male	278	\$109.27	\$286.56	\$96.92	\$82.01	\$101.19	\$55.32	\$64.47	\$75.49	\$53.67
Total	881	\$140.92	\$334.73	\$93.46	\$122.56	\$98.85	\$115.33	\$56.54	\$59.98	\$1,228.27

Figure 29: Average Household Income and Gender of Head of Household

A closer consideration of site-specific data summarized in Figure 29 suggests that high gender-related disparities in income levels from business activities reflected trends in Yaoundé and Peshawar. Data from Karachi was limited by low numbers of female-headed households in the sample and therefore limited variation in income sources. Data from Jakarta also revealed limited variation in income sources but did suggest that female-headed households derived more income, on average, than male-headed households.

Overall the data suggests that access to income generating activities is impacted by the gender of the head of household. This suggests that men and women have different levels of opportunity to develop the relationships and networks required to generate income. While men clearly appear to have an advantage in accessing the forms of social and economic capital to generate businesses, women are more able to negotiate access to other activities, such as domestic work.

Age Category of Head of Household and Household Income

The analysis of household data from all four city-sites suggests that households headed by younger persons (children and youth) derive less income, on average, and from fewer sources of income⁴³. This data is summarized in Chart 18 on the next page.

⁴³ Our sample did not include sufficient numbers of elder-headed households to report in this instance. Data on child-headed households may also be skewed by a relatively small number of child-headed households (n=14 of 882).

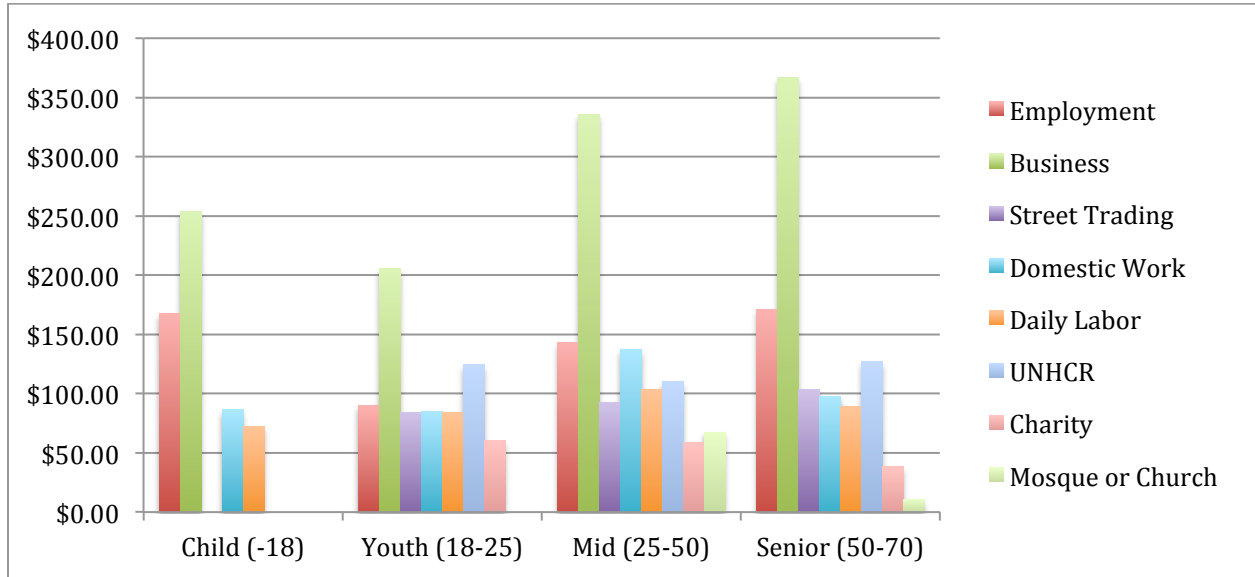


Chart 18: Average Income from Selected Sources, by Age Category of Head of Household (excluding loans)

This data suggests that child and youth-headed households may be less able to develop the relationships effective in accessing the social networks and resources necessary to access certain potential forms of income. The age category of a head of household also suggests that households headed by younger persons may be less successful in accessing business opportunities. Once again, this points to important age-based factors in determining access to networks and relationships that enable the regeneration of refugee livelihoods.

Household Size and Household Income

Data on the relationship between household size and household income did not reveal any significant notable differences in average levels of income that are derived from various income sources.

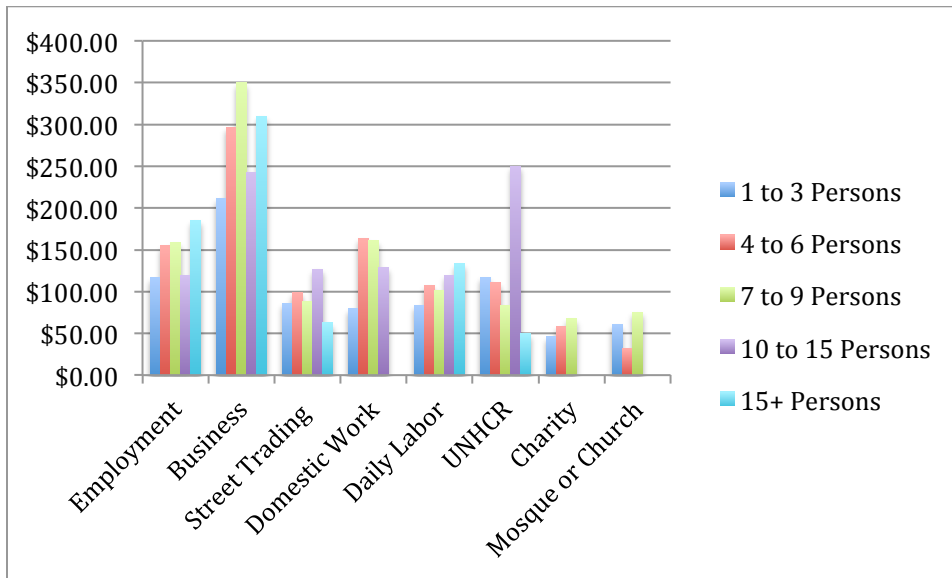


Chart 19: Household Size and Household Income Sources

A review of the data summarized above suggests that larger households may be more likely to derive higher average income through employment and business activities. On the other hand, they may be less likely to derive income from charitable sources, including Mosques and Churches. While this data can be regarded as indicative, it suggests that larger households may have greater opportunity to develop refugee-host relations that improve prospects for accessing local employment and establishing business within urban areas.

Legal Status and Household Income

Data on the relationship between legal status and household income sources suggest that persons with refugee status derived higher average incomes from employment and business-related activities, compared to persons with other legal statuses. These trends are reflected in Chart 20 on the next page.

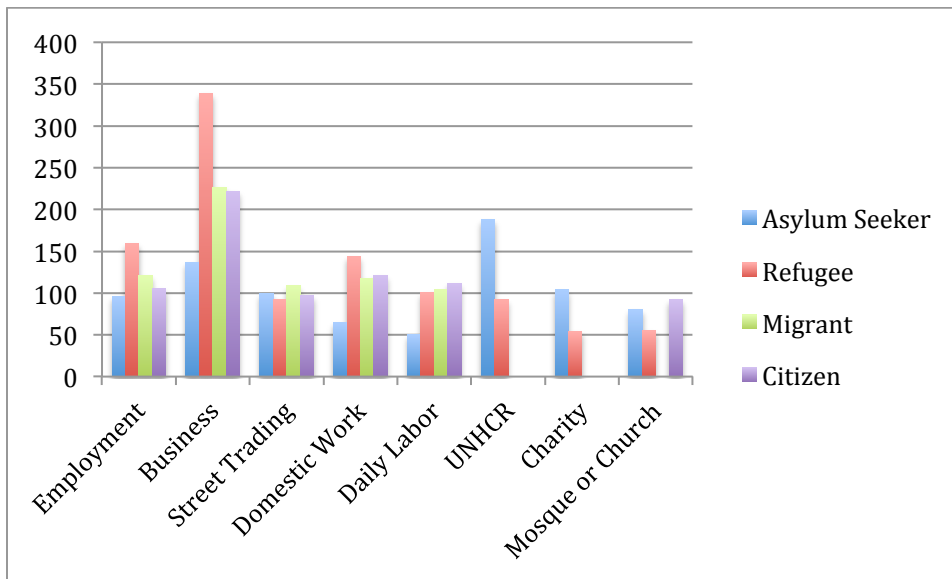


Chart 20: Legal Status and Household Income Sources (excluding loans)

Chart 20 also suggests that asylum-seekers rely most strongly on UNHCR and other forms of humanitarian support, compared to other categories. While one might expect migrants and “citizens” to enjoy greater levels of income, compared to refugees, persons that identified their status with reference to these categories were almost exclusively in Pakistan. Claims to citizenship were highly contested under constant suspicion and may have therefore generated the networks and opportunities for developing business that one might have expected.

Arrival Period and Household Income

Data on the relationship between arrival period and income sources support the observation that household income levels improve over time. It also reveals that income from different sources may either increase, on average, or decrease the longer that refugees remain living in the city.

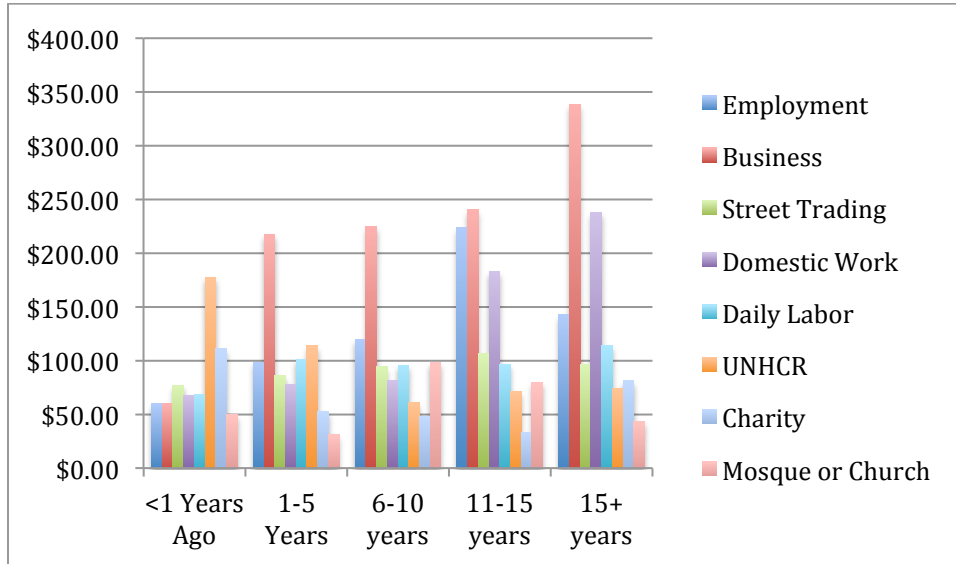


Chart 21: Arrival Period and Household Income Sources

This chart suggests that income from employment and business activities increase more notably than other sources, the longer refugees remain settled in the city⁴⁴. On the other hand, reliance on income from UNHCR decreased over time. This suggests that urban refugees are able to develop social relationships that lead to higher average levels of income.

Area of Origin and Household Income

Data from across the household sample suggests that urban refugees that originate from rural areas derive less income, on average, from measured sources of income than refugees that originate from urban areas. This is particularly noticeable with regard to income derived from business and domestic work respectively.

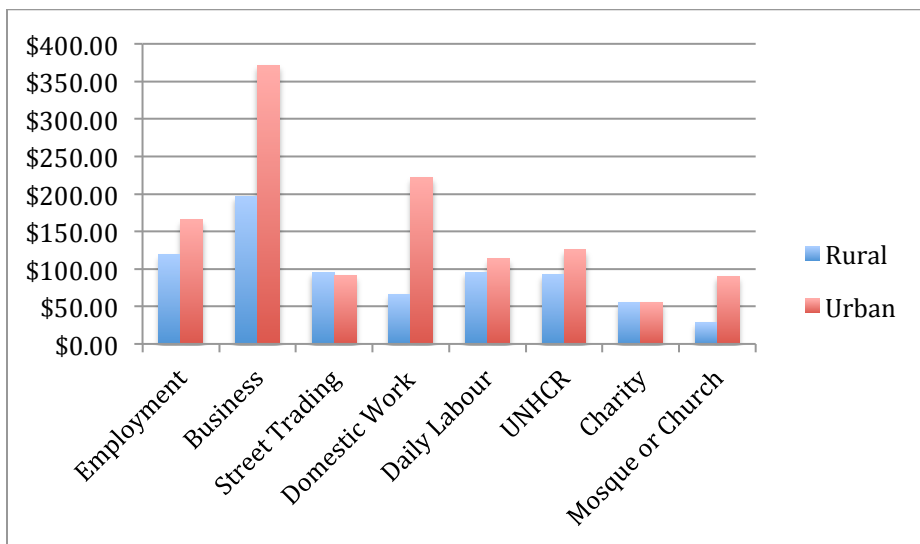


Chart 22: Area of Origin and Income Sources

⁴⁴ An apparent decrease after 15 years can be explained by the high percentage of households from Pakistan that had lived in refuge for more than 15 years and derived their income primarily through business activities.

This data suggests that urban refugees that originate from rural areas may have fewer social and economic resources to generate livelihoods in urban areas. Qualitative observations suggest refugees from rural areas may be more reliant on kin or national-based social networks and less experienced and less familiar with cosmopolitan forms of identity and interaction.

Country of Origin and Household Income

Survey data revealed considerable variation in the sources and levels of household income on the basis of the nationality of refugee households. This data is summarized in Chart 23 on the next page.

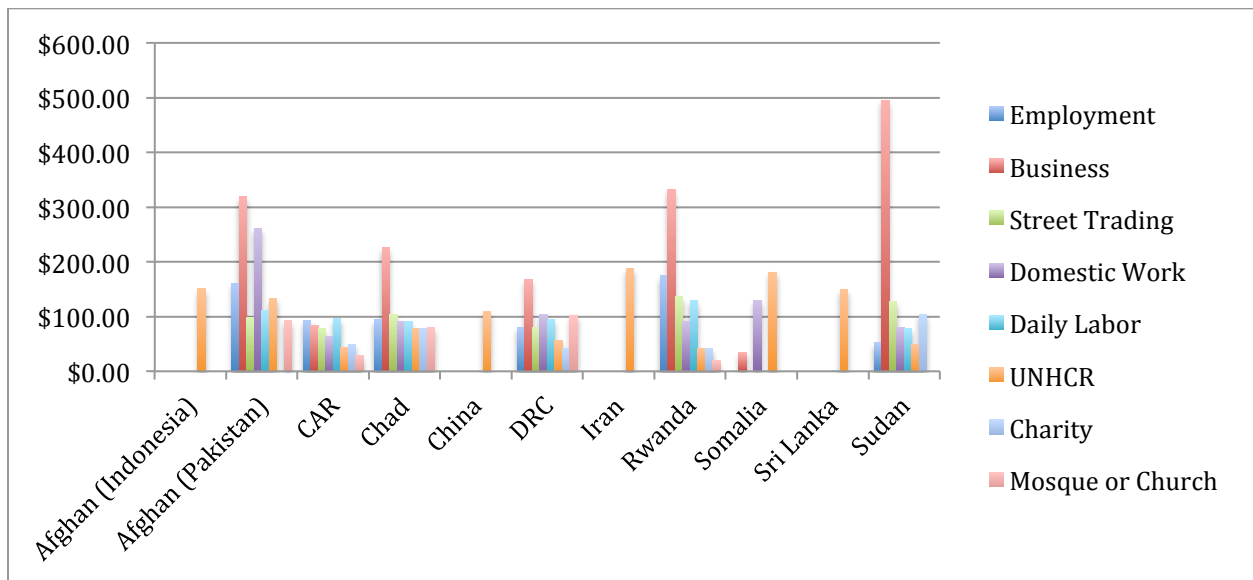


Chart 23: Country of Origin and Income Sources

While there were differences in patterns of income generation for selected countries of origin, there were no notable differences in trends across the cities. This suggests that some national groups may be more successful than others at accessing specific forms of income. There may be numerous socio-economic, cultural and historical reasons that underpin these differences, which impact on the capacity to develop or strengthen refugee-host relations.

Refugee Access to Education

The upheavals of refuge play a role in disrupting access to education. Conditions of life in exile may perpetuate this disruption having a far more lasting and damaging impact. Interview data suggested that access to education was primary concern for many urban refugees, including parents and young people. Urban refugee attempts to access basic education represent an important site of refugee-host interaction, which can have important long-term outcomes for refugees and their families. Successful instances of urban refugee access to education reflect positive refugee-host relations as well as create new opportunities for enhancing such relationships.

The household survey considered school attendance rates as a basic measure of refugee access to education. The significance of varying rates of attendance was then explored through more open-ended qualitative techniques. For the purposes of this report, school attendance rates are described as the *percentage of members of the household that are of school-going age that were attending either primary or high school at the time of enquiry.*

Overall, our sample revealed that 65.3% of children of school-going age were currently attending school. More significantly, the rate of attendance ranged from 11.9% in Jakarta to 82.3% in Yaoundé, as summarized in Figure 30.

City	Attending	Not Attending	Refugee school Attendance Rate	General School Attendance Rate
Jakarta	7	52	11.9%	95% (2010)
Karachi	350	347	50.2%	78%(2005)
Peshawar	548	423	56.4%	64%(2005)
Yaoundé	716	154	82.3%	94.0%(2010)
Grand Total	1,621	976	62.4%	

Figure 30: School Attendance Rates, by City-Site, Compared to General Rates per City

The majority of refugees (65.4%) attended school along with nationals. However, as illustrated in Chart 24, there were differences in patterns of interaction across city-sites.

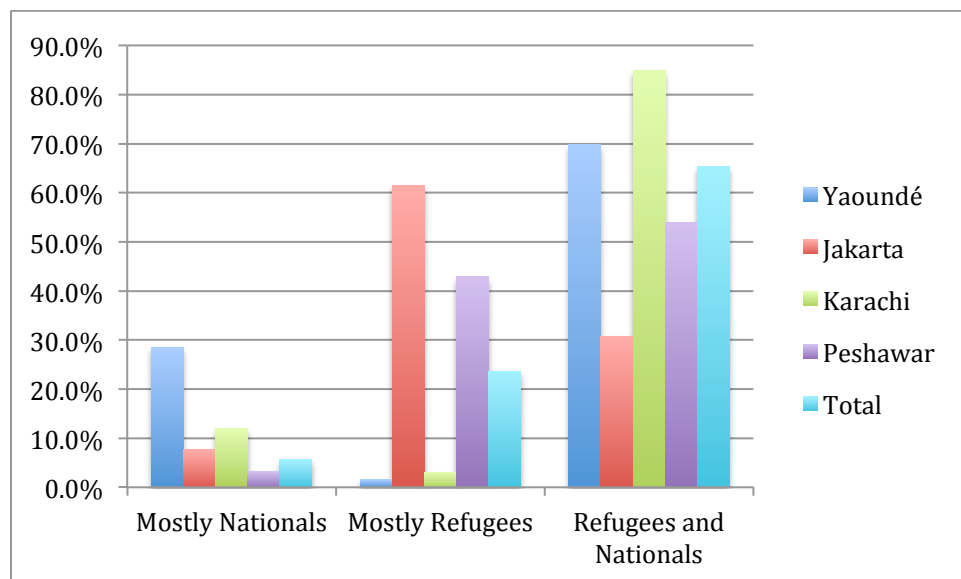


Chart 24: Attendance at Educational Institutions, with Refugees and Nationals

Data from Jakarta reflected the lowest rate of attendance at school with refugees (30.8%). However, respondents to this question did not only consider formal primary and secondary schooling, but also included various refugee-specific courses that were offered. These included language training in English and Indonesian, basic computer literacy courses and practical physical training courses such as swimming lessons.

A relatively high percentage (28.6%) of respondents in Yaoundé indicated attendance at schools that included “mostly nationals.” This finding is probably a consequence of refugees settling in a more dispersed pattern across the city. It also indicates that refugees may be relatively successful in accessing educational opportunities in areas that have not been the focus of refugee assistance. In Jakarta, Karachi and Peshawar, low levels of school attendance with the local host community suggests that refugee access to education infrastructure is relatively limited.

Across the sample, the vast majority (81.9%) of respondents indicated that the major reason for non-attendance at school was cost. This trend was consistent across Yaoundé, Peshawar and Karachi, while cost was only highlighted

as the major barrier by 43.8% of respondents in Jakarta. More than half of respondents in Jakarta (56.3%) indicated legal status as the most significant barrier to accessing education. This data is reflected in Chart 25 below.

Reasons for Non-School Attendance	Jakarta	Karachi	Peshawar	Yaoundé	TOTAL	
Cost	7	113	190	62	372	81.9%
Legal Status	9	5	32	11	57	12.6%
Work		2	11	1	14	3.1%
Gender		6			6	1.3%
Discrimination		2	1		3	0.7%
Location		1	1		2	0.4%
TOTAL	16	129	235	74	454	100.0%

Figure 31: Reasons for Children of School-Going Age Not Attending School

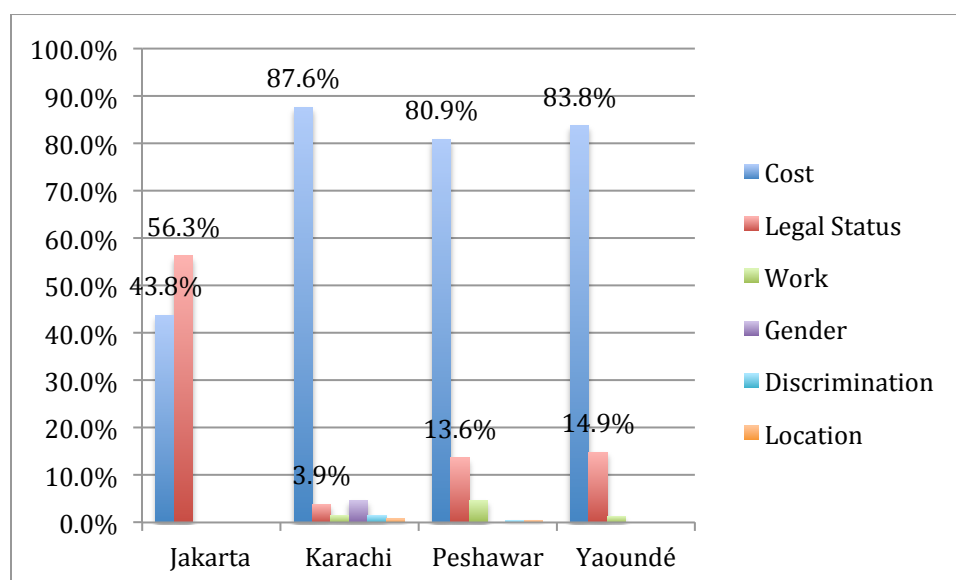


Chart 25: Reasons for Children of School-Going Age Not Attending School

Apart from cost and legal status, relatively few households highlighted other barriers to education. The third most common reason for not attending school was the need to work. This was highlighted by 3.1% of the sample, of which more than two-thirds were in Peshawar. In Karachi, six out of 129 respondents (4.7%) indicated that they prevented girls from attending school for cultural reasons.

In sum, poverty and to some extent legal constraints limit the potential for schools to function as sites for the development of refugee-host relations. The failure to enroll children into school contributes further to the marginalization of refugee populations and further impoverishment within the urban environment. The summary of results presented below considers relationships between access to education and specific household-based variables.

Gender of Head of Household and Access to Education

Data on the relationship between the gender of the head of household and school attendance rates revealed that across the sample, female-headed households reflect a higher rate of school attendance than male-headed households.

City	Male-Headed Households	Female-Headed Households
Jakarta	13.0%	14.3%
Karachi	50.1%	50.0%
Peshawar	47.7%	63.3%
Yaoundé	83.8%	80.1%
TOTAL	60.3%	71.1%

Figure 32: School Attendance Rates and Gender of Head of Household

A closer analysis of these rather surprising findings revealed that it was determined primarily by data from Peshawar, where school attendance rates for female-headed households were 63.3% compared to 47.7% for male-headed households. As mentioned above, the sample of female-headed households in Peshawar was small and reflected significantly higher income compared to male-headed households. The sampling process was probably biased in favor of wealthier female-headed households. The data therefore cannot be regarded as representative.

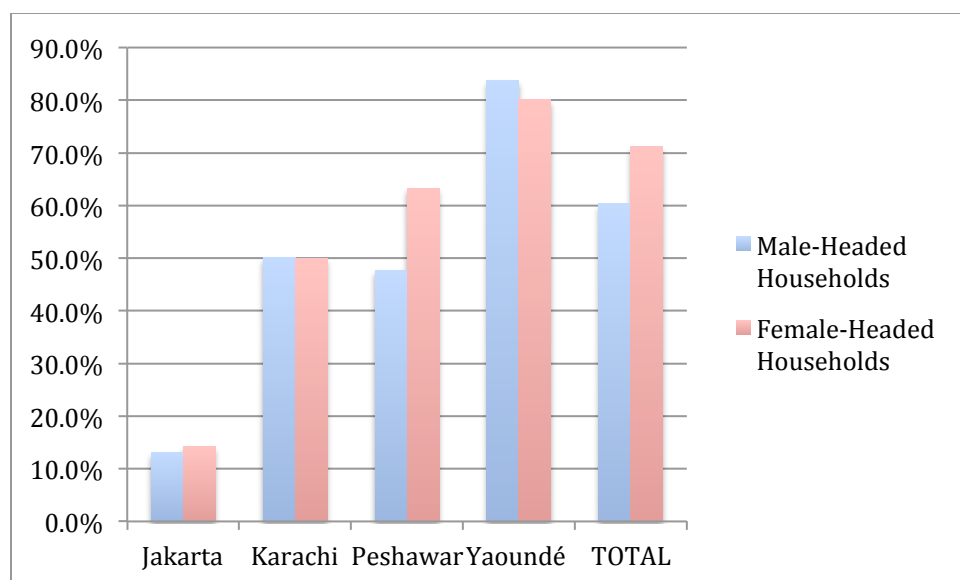


Chart 26: School Attendance Rates and Gender of Head of Household

As illustrated in Chart 26 above, survey data from Jakarta, Karachi and Yaoundé all suggest that there were no major differences in school attendance rates for male- and female-headed households respectively.

Given that cost is such a major consideration, an important factor that may limit enrollment in schools for urban refugees may include average numbers of children of school-going age. A city-based comparison of the average numbers of children of school-going age, by gender of the head of household suggests that, in general, male-headed

households comprise larger number of children of school-going age. This was consistent across three of the city-sites, except for Yaoundé.

City	Male-Headed Households	Female-Headed Households
Jakarta	2.1	1.6
Karachi	5.4	5.0
Peshawar	4.5	3.1
Yaoundé	1.6	2.0
TOTAL	2.9	2.2

Figure 33: Gender of Head of Household and Children of School-Going Age, Per Household

Gender-based patterns of attendance at education facilities are reflected below and reveal that female respondents are more likely to attend education facilities with other refugees, whereas male respondents were more likely to attend such facilities with refugees and locals together.

Attendance at Educational Facility	Female		Male		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	19	(11.8%)	54	(10.7%)	73
With mostly other refugees	62	(38.5%)	95	(18.9%)	157
With refugees and nationals together	80	(49.7%)	354	(70.4%)	434
TOTAL	161	(100%)	503	(100%)	664

Figure 34: Gender and Participation in School Activities in Relation to Nationals

These patterns suggest that gender may play a significant role in shaping opportunities for urban refugees to develop refugee-host relations around school and other educational contexts.

Age Category of Head of Household and Access to Education

Household data on the relationship between age-category of the head of household and access to education and training suggests that households headed by older persons may be less successful in accessing educational opportunities in the city, compared to other age categories. School attendance rates for households, on the basis of the age category of the head of household are summarized in Figure 35 below.

Head of household	Attending School		Not Attending School		Total
Child (-18)	116	(67.1%)	57	(32.9%)	173
Youth (18-25)	353	(69.4%)	156	(30.6%)	509
Mid (25-50)	1,209	(67.5%)	582	(32.5%)	1791
Senior (50-70)	381	(63.4%)	220	(36.6%)	601
Elder (70+)	20	(45.5%)	24	(54.5%)	44
TOTAL	2,079	(66.7%)	1,039	(33.3%)	3,118

Figure 35: School Attendance and Age Category of Head of Household

Data on broader respondent participation in education and training activities supports the impression that elder-headed households may reflect reduced opportunities to participate in educational activities. As illustrated in Figure 36 below, survey respondents from households headed by younger persons were more likely to participate in educational or training activities in groups that comprised both refugees and nationals. On the other hand,

respondents from households that were headed by older persons were more likely than other age categories to participate in educational or training activities in groups that were comprised of mostly refugees.

Attendance at School	Child (-18)		Youth (18-25)		Mid (25-50)		Senior (50-70)		Elderly (70+)		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	2	(4.3%)	19	(12.6%)	40	(11.1%)	12	(12.8%)	1	(20.0%)	74
With mostly other refugees	2	(4.3%)	25	(16.6%)	95	(26.4%)	33	(35.1%)	2	(40.0%)	157
With refugees and nationals together	42	(91.3%)	107	(70.9%)	225	(62.5%)	49	(52.1%)	2	(40.0%)	425
TOTAL	46	(100%)	151	(100%)	360	(100%)	94	(100%)	5	(100%)	656

Figure 36: Age Categories and Participation in School Activities with Nationals

This data suggests that persons from households headed by older persons may be less able to access broader educational opportunities in the city, compared to other age categories of heads of household. Consequently, these households may be less likely to develop broader refugee-host relations around school contexts.

Household Size and Access to Education

Given that cost was highlighted as the most common reason why children of school-going age were unable to attend school, one might expect that larger households, (which may be comprised of a greater percentage of younger dependents) would reflect lower rates of school attendance. While this trend was reflected to some extent by the total sample, it was not consistent across all four city-sites, as illustrated in Chart 27 below.

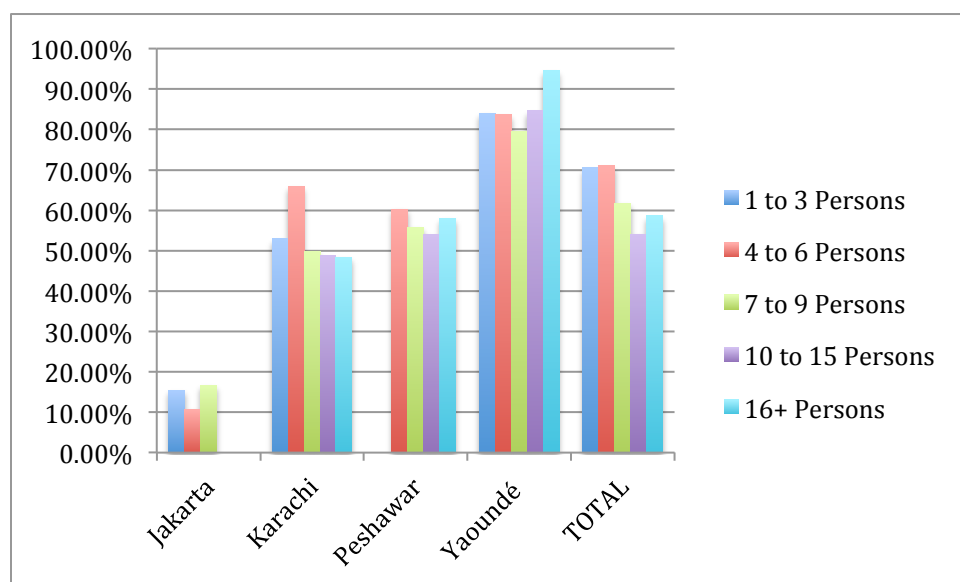


Chart 27: School Attendance Rates and Household Size, by City

An overview of household survey did not reveal a strong or consistent relationship between household size and access to education. This suggests that larger households may not necessarily have reduced access to education opportunities, compared to smaller households. Survey data from Yaoundé suggests that larger households have higher school attendance rates, compared to smaller households.

Legal Status and Access to Education

Household survey data suggests that children of school-going age were *least likely to be attending school if they were from households that were asylum-seekers*. Perhaps surprisingly, households that were refugees revealed a noticeably higher school attendance rate, when compared to “migrants” and “citizens.” The absence of refugee recognition therefore appears to play a role in limiting school attendance.

Legal Status	N=	Attending School	Not Attending School	School Attendance Rate	Children per Household
Refugee	786	1 332	676	66.3%	1.7
Asylum Seeker	95	21	49	30.0%	0.2
Migrant	27	78	62	55.7%	2.9
Citizen	87	247	239	50.8%	2.8
TOTAL	995	1 678	1 026	62.1%	1.7

Figure 37: School Attendance Rate and Legal Status

A review of data on attendance patterns with refugees and nationals, reflected in Figure 38 below, suggests that asylum-seekers are least likely to attend educational facilities with nationals, or in groups comprised of refugees and nationals together.

Row Labels	Asylum-seeker		Refugee		Migrant		Citizen		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	1	(5.3%)	54	(11.1%)	5	(14.7%)	14	(11.8%)	74
With mostly other refugees	14	(73.7%)	138	(28.3%)	3	(8.8%)	2	(1.7%)	157
With refugees and nationals together	4	(21.1%)	295	(60.6%)	26	(76.5%)	103	(86.6%)	428
TOTAL	19	(100%)	487	(100%)	34	(100%)	119	(100%)	659

Figure 38: Legal Status and Attendance with Nationals

The data summarized above suggests that asylum-seekers are the least likely category of person to develop refugee-host relations in education contexts. Part of the reason may be time-related and result from the fact that some new arrivals may not have had time to access education. However, as the education policy in Indonesia suggests, this may also reflect a policy or entrenched practice of limiting access to state entitlements.

Arrival Period and Access to Education

Data on school attendance rates suggest that these do not improve dramatically over time, after initial adjustment after arrival. While our data suggests that access to education appears to decline over the longer term, this reflects the situation of the majority of our sample from Pakistan, rather than an overall trend.

City	<1 Year Ago	1-5 Years	6-10 Years	11-15 Years	15+ Years
Jakarta	8.8%	16.0%			
Karachi		55.0%	46.2%	60.0%	49.3%
Peshawar		81.8%	72.1%	67.9%	52.9%
Yaoundé	92.3%	79.8%	79.2%	87.6%	95.0%
TOTAL	31.9%	73.1%	77.6%	73.0%	54.5%

Figure 39: School Attendance and Arrival Period

Inconsistencies in the relationship between school attendance rates and arrival period suggest that other time-related factors may play a more determining role. These may include the specific experiences and socio-economic characteristics of particular refugee “caseloads” that arrived over specific time periods.

Area of Origin and Access to Education

Surprisingly, school attendance rates were higher for households that originated from rural backgrounds, compared to those from urban backgrounds (see Figure 40, below). This was the case for Jakarta and Peshawar specifically, but the trend for Yaoundé and Karachi.

City	Rural	Urban	TOTAL
Jakarta	15.4%	10.9%	11.9%
Karachi	45.8%	53.6%	50.1%
Peshawar	58.2%	56.8%	57.3%
Yaoundé	81.4%	83.9%	82.3%
TOTAL	50.7%	60.7%	53.2%

Figure 40: Urban/Rural Origins and School Attendance

This data suggests that the urban or rural origins of a household may play a significant role in shaping urban refugee rates of attendance at school, but in ways that are context specific. Data on education participation rates with nationals revealed that respondents with rural backgrounds were far more likely to attend educational programs with nationals than respondents from urban areas, as illustrated in Figure 41 below.

Attendance at School	Rural	Urban	TOTAL
With mostly nationals	20 (8.4%)	53 (12.6%)	73
With mostly other refugees	36 (15.1%)	120 (28.4%)	156
With refugees and nationals together	183 (76.6%)	249 (59.0%)	432
TOTAL	239 (100%)	422 (100%)	661

Figure 41: Urban/Rural Origins and Attendance at Educational Institutions with Nationals

Once again, this data questions the assumption that refugees’ urban backgrounds could have a relative advantage in developing refugee-host relations, compared to refugees with a rural background.

Country of Origin and Access to Education

As illustrated in Figure 42 below, school attendance rates appeared to be shaped by specific characteristics that were reflected by the country of origin of the household. The sample from Jakarta, for example, suggested that refugees from Afghanistan and Somalia were the only refugee populations that accessed educational opportunities

for their children to any significant degree⁴⁵. In Yaoundé, urban refugee households from Rwanda and Sudan reflected relatively higher rates of school attendance, compared to other nationalities. A selection of this data is presented below, in Figure 42.

City	Country of Origin	School Attendance Rate
Jakarta	Afghanistan	33.3%
	China	0.0%
	Iran	0.0%
	Somalia	13.9%
	Sri Lanka	0.0%
Karachi	Afghanistan	50.7%
Peshawar	Afghanistan	57.2%
Yaoundé	CAR	78.4%
	Chad	87.7%
	DRC	82.8%
	Rwanda	93.7%
	Sudan	100.0%
	TOTAL	62.8%

Figure 42: School Attendance Rates and Country of Origin

National origin appears to be a strong indicator of the potential for refugees to attend education facilities. Through greater levels of access to education, certain nationalities may be better able to develop stronger refugee-host community relations. On the other hand, access to education may also reflect stronger refugee-host community ties or specific nationalities.

Refugee Access to Health Care

Urban refugee access to health care may be enhanced as a consequence of positive refugee-host relations. On the other hand, greater access to health care may increase opportunities for refugees to develop refugee-host relations.

The majority of refugees in the sample had access to health care that was either provided by government institutions or privately operated health care facilities. In general, government health services tended to be less costly than private health care, but also tended to be of a lower quality. This distinction was used to examine how patterns of health-seeking behaviors related to specific household characteristics. The significance of relying on one type of service rather than the other needs to be interpreted with reference to national context.

As indicated in Figure 43, more than two-thirds of our sample obtained health care through private health services. Karachi and Yaoundé reflected the highest rates of use of private health services while Jakarta was the only city-site where refugees relied predominantly on government services.

⁴⁵ This observation is based on a very small sample and does not consider school attendance patterns of refugees from countries that were not well represented in the sample. This data is included to support the point that national origin may reflect levels of access to education.

City	Government health services		Private health services		TOTAL
Karachi	23	(14.6%)	134	(85.4%)	157
Peshawar	132	(45.7%)	157	(54.3%)	289
Jakarta	113	(85.0%)	20	(15.0%)	133
Yaoundé	41	(8.3%)	452	(91.7%)	493
TOTAL	309	(28.8%)	763	(71.2%)	1,072

Figure 43: Access to Government and Private Health Care, by City

Gender and Access to Health Care

In general, survey data did not reveal strong differences between male- and female-headed households with regard to patterns of access to health care and main problems in accessing health care. As suggested in Figure 44, below, a slightly higher percentage of male-headed households accessed health care through private sources, compared to female-headed households. This may suggest that male-headed households could access slightly better quality health care, relative to female-headed households, but such differences in access are not particularly stark.

Main Source of Health Care	Female		Male		TOTAL
Government health services	106	(31.4%)	201	(27.6%)	307
Private health services	232	(68.6%)	526	(72.4%)	758
TOTAL	338	(100%)	727	(100%)	1,065

Figure 44: Gender and Main Sources of Health Care

Overall, the majority of refugee households across our sample obtained their health care together with local nationals. With regard to the gender of the head of household, 83.1% of female-headed households accessed health services with refugees and nationals together, compared to 86.8% of male-headed households. Data on this relationship by city-site is reflected in Chart 28 below and suggests consistent patterns of access across all city-sites except Karachi. In Karachi, a relatively high percentage of female-headed households appear to access health services mainly with other refugees, whereas the majority of male-headed households appear to access such services with refugees and nationals. This data may be skewed by our small sample of female-headed households in Karachi.

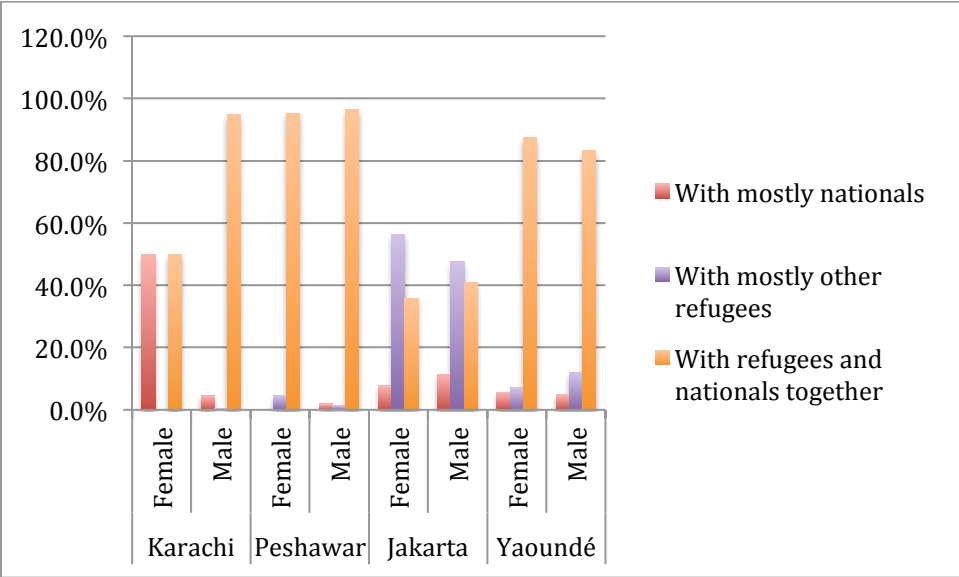


Chart 28: Gender and Attendance at Health Centers, by Country of Origin

When asked to highlight the main problems in accessing health services, female-headed households highlighted greater challenges related to language, compared to male-headed households, as indicated in Figure 45, below.

Main Problem Accessing Health care	Female		Male		TOTAL
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	
Access	34	(13.9%)	95	(15.8%)	129
Cost	107	(43.9%)	278	(46.2%)	385
Language	23	(9.4%)	14	(2.3%)	37
Quality	44	(18.0%)	143	(23.8%)	187
Other	36	(14.8%)	72	(12.0%)	108
TOTAL	244	(100%)	602	(100%)	846

Figure 45: Main Problem Accessing Health care and Gender of Head of Household

The data considered above provides very limited insight into the gendered aspects of household health-seeking behaviors. A focus on “head of household” does not necessarily capture the specific experiences of males and females within the household. While qualitative data from interviews and focus group discussions highlighted problems in accessing health care, these were not strongly gendered in their representation.

Age Categories and Access to Health Care

Overall, survey data suggests that the age category of the head of household did not shape patterns of access to health care in ways that were particularly significant. As summarized below, all age categories of heads of households reflected high rates of access to health care alongside nationals.

Access to Health Services	Child (-18)		Youth (18-25)		Mid (25-50)		Senior (50-70)		Elder (70+)		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	1	(2.0%)	14	(6.7%)	27	(4.1%)	8	(4.9%)	0	(0.0%)	50
With mostly other refugees	6	(11.8%)	25	(12.0%)	68	(10.4%)	8	(4.9%)	0	(0.0%)	107
With refugees and nationals together	44	(86.3%)	170	(81.3%)	562	(85.5%)	147	(90.2%)	6	(100.0%)	929
TOTAL	51	(100%)	209	(100%)	657	(100%)	163	(100%)	6	(100%)	1,086

Figure 46: Age and Integration of Health Services

A consideration of the relationship between the age category of heads of household and type of health care service revealed that child and youth-headed households (in particular) suggested that households headed by younger persons relied more strongly on government services compared to other age categories.⁴⁶

Age Categories	Government Health Services		Private Health Services		TOTAL
Child (-18)	3	(27.3%)	8	(72.7%)	11
Youth (18-25)	51	(46.8%)	58	(53.2%)	109
Mid (25-50)	135	(25.7%)	391	(74.3%)	526
Senior (50-70)	36	(25.0%)	108	(75.0%)	144
Elder (70+)	0	(0.0%)	2	(100.0%)	2
TOTAL	225	(28.4%)	567	(71.6%)	792

Figure 47: Age Categories of Head of Household and Main Sources of Health Care

This data suggests that younger households may struggle to access those forms of private health care to which older households have access. A consideration of the main problems in accessing health care by age category of the head of household reinforced the suggestion that child-headed households may be especially vulnerable in accessing health care. While child-headed households reflected a relatively lower concern over quality of health care, compared to other age categories, these households reflected a relatively greater concern over cost, as summarized in Figure 48 below.

Main Problem with Health care	Child (-18)		Youth (18-25)		Mid (25-50)		Senior (50-70)		Elder (70+)		TOTAL
Access	9	(17.0%)	39	(16.9%)	111	(15.7%)	19	(11.9%)	1	(16.7%)	179
Cost	37	(69.8%)	109	(47.2%)	336	(47.6%)	85	(53.1%)	3	(50.0%)	570
Language	1	(1.9%)	13	(5.6%)	21	(3.0%)	5	(3.1%)	0	(0.0%)	40
Quality	5	(9.4%)	48	(20.8%)	150	(21.2%)	37	(23.1%)	2	(33.3%)	242
Other	1	(1.9%)	22	(9.5%)	88	(12.5%)	14	(8.8%)	0	(0.0%)	125
TOTAL	53	(100%)	231	(100%)	706	(100%)	160	(100%)	6	(100%)	1,156

Figure 48: Main Problem Accessing Health Care and Age Category of Respondent

Suggestions in the household data that child- and youth-headed households may have relatively reduced access to health care compared to other might mean that the kinds of refugee-host interactions experienced by younger household heads may not promote their access to health care.

⁴⁶ The sample of child-headed households was too small in this instance to be conclusive.

Household Size and Access to Health Care

Data did not reveal a clear overall relationship between household size and access to health care options. Data from Jakarta suggests that access to private health services is limited to smaller refugee households, whereas larger households in Peshawar appeared more likely to have access to private health care.

City	Household Size	Government Health Services		Private Health Services		Grand Total
Yaoundé	1-3	18	8.9%	184	91.1%	202
	4-6	17	9.9%	154	90.1%	171
	7-9	5	5.0%	96	95.0%	101
	10-15	1	7.1%	13	92.9%	14
	16+		0.0%	5	100.0%	5
	Sub-Total		41	8.3%	452	91.7%
Jakarta	1-3	72	80.9%	17	19.1%	89
	4-6	26	89.7%	3	10.3%	29
	7-9	11	100.0%		0.0%	11
	10-15	4	100.0%		0.0%	4
	Sub-Total	113	85.0%	20	15.0%	133
Karachi	1-3	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6
	4-6	4	25.0%	12	75.0%	16
	7-9	10	11.5%	77	88.5%	87
	10-15	5	11.6%	38	88.4%	43
	16+	2	40.0%	3	60.0%	5
	Sub-Total	23	14.6%	134	85.4%	157
Peshawar	1-3	12	66.7%	6	33.3%	18
	4-6	56	52.3%	51	47.7%	107
	7-9	41	40.2%	61	59.8%	102
	10-15	16	41.0%	23	59.0%	39
	16+	6	37.5%	10	62.5%	16
	Sub Total	131	46.5%	151	53.5%	282
Grand Total		308	28.9%	757	71.1%	1,065

Figure 49: Household Size and Source of Health Care

In Jakarta, a stronger reliance on private health care by smaller households suggests that smaller households are less able to access government services. As smaller households may reflect more recent arrivals, it is likely that this finding is a function of time, rather than household size *per se*. On the other hand, increased rates of access to private health care in Peshawar by larger households suggests that larger households may have greater economic means and broader social networks to improve their access to health care. This trend was less evident with regard to Karachi and Yaoundé. Although the data is only indicative on this point, it suggests that larger households may have greater access to improved forms of health care in urban contexts.

Legal Status and Access to Health Care

As indicated in the table below, a comparison between the experiences of refugees and asylum-seekers suggests that 86.8% of persons with refugee status (or who asserted a refugee identity) accessed their health care alongside the local host community, compared to only 43.1% of asylum-seekers.

Access Health Facilities	Asylum-seeker		Refugee		Migrant		Citizen		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	3	(5.2%)	39	(4.4%)	1	(2.9%)	7	(5.9%)	50
With mostly other refugees	30	(51.7%)	77	(8.8%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	107
With refugees and nationals together	25	(43.1%)	764	(86.8%)	34	(97.1%)	111	(94.1%)	934
TOTAL	58	(100%)	880	(100%)	35	(100%)	118	(100%)	1,091

Figure 50: Legal Status and Integration of Health Services

Patterns of access to government and private health services suggest that, across our entire sample, 72.9% of persons regarded as refugees relied on private health care, compared to only 23.2% of asylum-seekers (see Figure 51, below). A greater reliance on public services by asylum-seekers suggests that refugee status enables urban refugees to develop the means and networks to access improved forms of health care, along with the local host population.

Legal Status	Government health services		Private health services		TOTAL
Asylum-seeker	53	(76.8%)	16	(23.2%)	69
Refugee	238	(27.1%)	641	(72.9%)	879
Migrant	13	(56.5%)	10	(43.5%)	23
Citizen	2	(2.2%)	88	(97.8%)	90
TOTAL	306	(28.8%)	755	(71.1%)	1,061

Figure 51: Legal Status and Main Sources of Health Care

Survey data therefore suggests that refugees have substantially greater capacity to access the same forms of health care that are available to the local host community, compared to asylum-seekers. The data on migrants as citizens confirms the suggestion that *regularization of status leads to more integrated forms of access to health care*.

When asked about barriers to access to health care, asylum-seekers placed greater emphasis on language, compared to refugees. Refugees, on the other hand placed a relatively greater emphasis on costs. Refugees also placed more emphasis on the quality of health care, compared to asylum-seekers, as summarized in Figure 52, below.

Problems Accessing Health Services	Asylum-seeker		Refugee		Migrant		Citizen		TOTAL
Access	4	(4.6%)	149	(16.4%)	12	(32.4%)	16	(12.8%)	181
Cost	19	(21.8%)	442	(48.7%)	22	(59.5%)	86	(68.8%)	569
Language	32	(36.8%)	8	(0.9%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	40
Other	25	(28.7%)	100	(11.0%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	125
Quality	7	(8.0%)	209	(23.0%)	3	(8.1%)	23	(18.4%)	242
TOTAL	87	(100%)	908	(100%)	37	(100%)	125	(100%)	1,157

Figure 52: Main Problem Accessing Health Care and Legal Status

The data summarized above suggests strongly that local recognition of refugees contributes positively and enables people to develop both the means and relationships to improve their access to health care. Greater levels of concern over cost and quality that were expressed by refugees suggest that they had largely overcome barriers of access and were reflecting many similar concerns of the host community. This data also suggests that access to health care may improve over time, which is examined more closely below.

Arrival Period and Access to Health Care

Survey data on the relationship between arrival period and patterns of access to health care facilities suggest that, over time, urban refugees experience improved access to health care that are increasingly consistent with the local host community. With regard to the total sample, the data suggests that the longer refugees remain in exile, the more they access health care along with the local host community. The data also suggests that urban refugee access to integrated health services increases significantly after one year in refuge.

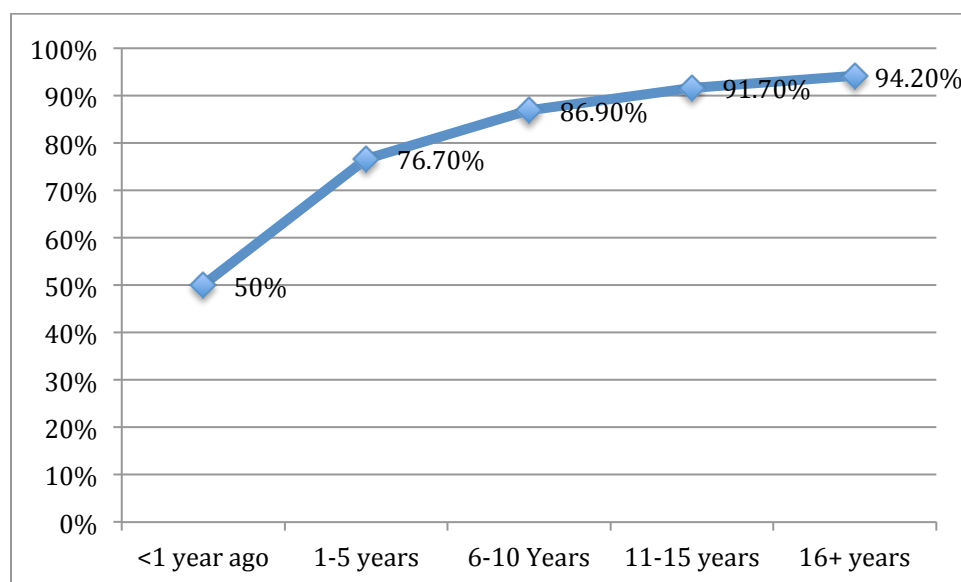


Chart 29: Chart showing percentage of integration of health care services and arrival period.

Consistent with the trend above, urban refugee rates of access to private health services increase rapidly after the first year of residence in the city, from 28.4% for new arrivals to 72.6% for persons that arrived between 1 and 5 years. This data is summarized in Figure 53 below.⁴⁷

Arrival Period	Government health services		Private health services		Grand Total
<1 year ago	58	(71.6%)	23	(28.4%)	81
1-5 Years	73	(27.4%)	193	(72.6%)	266
6-10 Years	30	(13.9%)	186	(86.1%)	216
11-15 Years	34	(28.8%)	84	(71.2%)	118
15+ Years	102	(28.3%)	259	(71.7%)	361
Grand Total	297	(28.5%)	745	(71.5%)	1,042

Figure 53: Arrival Period and Main Sources of Health Care

This data suggests that over time, refugees are able to accumulate both the social and economic capital needed to improve their access to health care, to levels that appear to be similar or the same as the local population. Overall our data suggests that success in this endeavor only really begins after the first year of living in the city.

Area of Origin and Access to Health Care

Survey data on the relative effect of an urban or rural background on refugee access to health care in the city suggests that urban refugees with rural backgrounds may face greater challenges in accessing health care, compared to refugees from urban backgrounds. As indicated in Figure 54 below, 87.0% of refugees with rural backgrounds accessed their health care alongside the local host community compared to 84.3% of those with urban backgrounds.

Access Health Services	Rural		Urban		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	19	(3.6%)	31	(5.5%)	50
With mostly other refugees	49	(9.3%)	58	(10.2%)	107
With refugees and nationals together	457	(87.0%)	479	(84.3%)	936
TOTAL	525	(100%)	568	(100%)	1,093

Figure 54: Urban/Rural Origins and Integration of Health Services

While this may point to slightly greater levels of refugee-host integration of health for refugees with a rural background, other indicators point to greater challenges in accessing health care for refugees with a rural background.

⁴⁷ Data for longer-term residents is skewed towards the experience of the sample from Pakistan.

Main Problem Accessing Health care	Rural		Urban		TOTAL
Access	117	(21.3%)	62	(10.2%)	179
Cost	235	(42.7%)	340	(55.7%)	575
Language	15	(2.7%)	25	(4.1%)	40
Quality	121	(22.0%)	120	(19.7%)	241
Other	62	(11.3%)	63	(10.3%)	125
TOTAL	550	(100%)	610	(100%)	1,160

Figure 55: Urban/Rural Origins and Main Problem Accessing Health Care

Overall, as indicated above, the main challenges that refugees face in accessing health care revealed marked differences in the two groups, particularly with regard to access and cost. The stronger emphasis that refugees with a rural background placed on problems of access, compared to cost, suggests that barriers to health care in an urban environment were relatively greater for refugees that originated from rural backgrounds.

Country of Origin and Access to Health Care

Our survey data on the relationship between selected countries of origin for refugees from Jakarta and Yaoundé and relative access to private and public health services reveals notable variation:

City	Country of Origin	Government Health Services		Private Health Services		TOTAL
Jakarta	Afghanistan	30	83.3%	6	16.7%	36
	Somalia	58	90.6%	6	9.4%	64
	Sri Lanka	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	12
Yaoundé	CAR	15	5.7%	248	94.3%	263
	Chad	8	10.7%	67	89.3%	75
	DRC	1	2.3%	42	97.7%	43
	Rwanda	4	6.3%	60	93.8%	64
	Sudan	7	41.2%	10	58.8%	17
	TOTAL	287	28.3%	728	71.7%	1,015

Figure 56: Country of Origin and Access to Government and Private Health Services

Community Integration

Survey data provided insight into broad patterns of everyday forms of engagement and interaction between refugees and the local host community. The specific data referenced here includes refugee perceptions of the extent to which they spend their leisure time with the local host community and the extent to which their religious activities involve members of the local host community. While this data does not necessarily reference levels of access to services directly, it does point to potentially relevant variables that determine the social opportunities for refugees to engage with the local host community and develop more expansive networks to improve their access to services.

City	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Yaoundé	30	(11.4%)	86	(32.6%)	148	(56.1%)	264
Jakarta	9	(9.0%)	64	(64.0%)	27	(27.0%)	100
Karachi	2	(0.9%)	6	(2.7%)	217	(96.4%)	225
Peshawar	4	(1.5%)	32	(12.0%)	231	(86.5%)	267
TOTAL	45	(5.3%)	188	(22.0%)	623	(72.8%)	856

Figure 57: Leisure and Host Community, by City-Site

With regard to the four cities, the survey data suggests that respondents from Karachi and Peshawar spent a significantly greater percentage of their leisure time with the local host community, compared to Yaoundé and Jakarta. The majority (64.0%) of refugees in Jakarta spent leisure time mostly with other refugees. Interestingly, a sizeable percentage of refugees in Yaoundé and Jakarta (11.4 and 9.0% respectively) declared that they spent their leisure time mostly with the local community, whereas this form of interaction was very low for Karachi and Peshawar.

City	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Yaoundé	40	8.1%	188	38.0%	267	53.9%	495
Jakarta	23	29.9%	5	6.5%	49	63.6%	77
Karachi	4	1.8%	2	0.9%	220	97.3%	226
Peshawar	5	1.7%	4	1.4%	281	96.9%	290
TOTAL	72	6.6%	199	18.3%	817	75.1%	1,088

Figure 58: Participation in Religious Activities, by City-Site

With regard to participation in religious activities, survey respondents from Jakarta highlighted a relatively high rate (29.9%) of participation with mostly Indonesian nationals. This can be explained in terms of the low density of refugee settlement in Jakarta, compared to the other sites and dispersed refugee settlement patterns. Refugees in Karachi and Peshawar reflected the highest rate of participation in religious activities with refugees and nationals together. This finding points to the high density of refugee settlement as well as an important indicator of community integration. Respondents in Yaoundé reflected a relatively high rate of participation in religious activities along with mostly other refugees (38.0%). This suggests that religious institutions in Yaoundé may develop around specific communities and may not represent as strong a platform for refugee-host relations to be negotiated, compared to the other city-sites.

Gender of Respondent and Community Integration

Survey data on the relationship between gender and community integration suggests that males are significantly more likely to spend their leisure time with groups comprised of refugees and members of the host community (77.2% and 59.2% respectively). Furthermore, a greater percentage of male respondents spent their leisure time predominantly with nationals.

Gender	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Female	8	(3.7%)	81	(37.2%)	129	(59.2%)	218
Male	37	(5.9%)	107	(17.0%)	487	(77.2%)	631
TOTAL	45	(5.3%)	188	(22.1%)	616	(72.6%)	849

Figure 59: Gender and Leisure Activities with the Local Community

A similar pattern of gendered interaction was evident with regard to participation in religious activities, where a much greater percentage of male respondents participated in groups that included members of the local host community. A significantly higher percentage of females participated in religious activities only with other refugees.

Participation in Religious Activities	Female		Male		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	26	(8.4%)	46	(6.0%)	72
With mostly other refugees	100	(32.5%)	99	(12.8%)	199
With refugees and nationals together	182	(59.1%)	628	(81.2%)	810
TOTAL	308	(100%)	773	(100%)	1,081

Figure 60: Participation in Religious Activities, by Gender of Respondent

The data summarized above suggests that male refugees had greater opportunity than females to interact with the local community through leisure activities and through participation in religious activities. Males therefore have greater exposure to new potential networks and relationships that may enhance their access to specific services. These gendered patterns of interaction may therefore have significant implications on the ability of female-headed households to adapt to life in the city, through forging new networks and relationships with the local host community.

Age of Respondent and Community Integration

Data on the age of survey respondents suggests that the youngest and oldest of refugees in urban areas are more likely to more likely to spend their leisure time in groups comprised of both refugees and members of the host community. On the other hand, they were the least likely to spend time mostly with nationals from the host community. Respondents aged 18-50 were most likely to spend time mostly with other refugees.

Age Categories	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Child (-18)	0	(0.0%)	3	(6.5%)	43	(93.5%)	46
Youth (18-25)	11	(5.9%)	46	(24.7%)	129	(69.4%)	186
Mid (25-50)	27	(5.5%)	115	(23.5%)	348	(71.0%)	490
Senior (50-70)	7	(6.3%)	22	(19.6%)	83	(74.1%)	112
Elder (70+)	0	(0.0%)	1	(16.7%)	5	(83.3%)	6
TOTAL	45	(5.4%)	187	(22.3%)	608	(72.4%)	840

Figure 61: Age Categories and Leisure Activities

Patterns of participation in religious activities by different age groups reflected a similar pattern, in which younger and older refugees were most likely to participate in groups comprised of both refugees and nationals. This data is summarized in Figure 62.

Participation in Religious Activities	Child (-18)		Youth (18-25)		Mid (25-50)		Senior (50-70)		Elder (70+)		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	3	(5.8%)	13	(6.3%)	44	(6.8%)	12	(7.6%)	0	(0.0%)	72
With mostly other refugees	3	(5.8%)	37	(17.9%)	135	(20.8%)	24	(15.2%)	0	(0.0%)	199
With refugees and nationals together	46	(88.5%)	157	(75.8%)	470	(72.4%)	122	(77.2%)	6	(100.0%)	801
Grand Total	52	(100%)	207	(100%)	649	(100%)	158	(100%)	6	(100%)	1,072

Figure 62: Age Categories and Participation in Religious Activities

An examination of the potential relationship between selected indicators of community integration and the age category of survey respondents did not show particularly strong trends. A relatively small sample of both younger and older refugees suggests that this should be interpreted with some caution.

Household Size and Community Integration

A consideration of the relationship between household size and patterns of community interaction suggests that smaller households (between one and three persons) may interact less intensively with members of the host community than larger households. The data also suggests that persons from very large households (greater than 16 persons) interact less intensively with the host community than households comprised of between four and fifteen persons.

Household Size	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
1-3 Persons	16	8.5%	74	39.4%	98	52.1%	188
4-6 Persons	12	5.0%	66	27.7%	160	67.2%	238
7-9 Persons	11	3.8%	36	12.5%	241	83.7%	288
10-15 Persons	4	3.7%	6	5.5%	99	90.8%	109
16+Persons	2	8.0%	6	24.0%	17	68.0%	25
TOTAL	45	5.3%	188	22.2%	615	72.5%	848

Figure 63: Household Size and Leisure Activities

As suggested by Figure 63 above, respondents were more likely to spend their leisure time with both refugees and nationals from the local community if they came from larger households⁴⁸. A significantly higher percentage (39.4%) of smaller households (of between 1 and 3 persons) interacted mainly with other refugees.

⁴⁸ Limited data on large households (16+ persons) was mainly drawn from the Pakistan sample.

Household Size	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
1-3 Persons	31	11.0%	76	27.0%	175	62.1%	282
4-6 Persons	22	6.9%	63	19.7%	235	73.4%	320
7-9 Persons	12	3.6%	50	15.1%	270	81.3%	332
10-15 Persons	7	5.9%	7	5.9%	104	88.1%	118
16+ Persons	0	0.0%	3	10.7%	25	89.3%	28
TOTAL	72	6.7%	199	18.4%	809	74.9%	1,080

Figure 64: Household Size and Participation in Religious Activities

Data on the relationship between household size and participation in religious activities, summarized in Figure 64 above, reveals similar trends as outlined in Figure 63. This suggests further that smaller households may have less opportunity to interact with the local host community and consequently develop relationships and networks and lead to improved access to services.

Legal Status and Community Integration

As expected, data on the relationship between legal status and community integration highlighted asylum-seekers as the least likely category to interact with the local host community. This was particularly noticeable with regard to leisure activities but less evident with regard to participation in religious activities. Persons that declared themselves as either “migrants” or “citizens” reflected high rates of interaction in groups that include the local host community.

Legal Status	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Asylum-seeker	2	(4.1%)	31	(63.3%)	16	(32.7%)	49
Refugee	42	(6.5%)	154	(23.8%)	450	(69.7%)	646
Migrant	0	(0.0%)	3	(9.4%)	29	(90.6%)	32
Citizen	1	(0.8%)		(0.0%)	117	(99.2%)	118
TOTAL	45	(5.3%)	188	(22.2%)	612	(72.4%)	845

Figure 65: Legal Status and Participation in Leisure Activities with Hosts

As indicated above, a much higher percentage of asylum-seekers spent their leisure time in groups that only included other refugees (63.3%). In contrast, 76.2% of respondents that classified themselves as “refugees” spent their leisure time in groups that included the local host community.

Participation in Religious Activities	Asylum-seeker		Refugee		Migrant		Citizen		TOTAL
With mostly nationals	4	(9.3%)	62	(7.0%)	4	(11.4%)	2	(1.7%)	72
With mostly other refugees	9	(20.9%)	190	(21.6%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	199
With refugees and nationals together	30	(69.8%)	628	(71.4%)	31	(88.6%)	117	(98.3%)	806
TOTAL	43	(100.0%)	880	(100.0%)	35	(100.0%)	119	(100.0%)	1,077

Figure 66: Legal Status and Participation in Religious Activities

Data on the participation in religious activities suggests remarkable relative consistency between refugees and asylum-seekers. This suggests that asylum-seekers may be more able to interact with the local host community through participation in religious activities than through leisure activities. As more formalized structures, mosques,

churches and other religious institutions are perhaps more accessible to asylum-seekers than less formalized leisure activities, which may take more time to evolve and develop.

Arrival Period and Community Integration

As expected, the survey data suggested that interactions between urban refugees and the local host community that were organized around leisure activities increased over time. This trend is illustrated in Chart 30, on the next page.

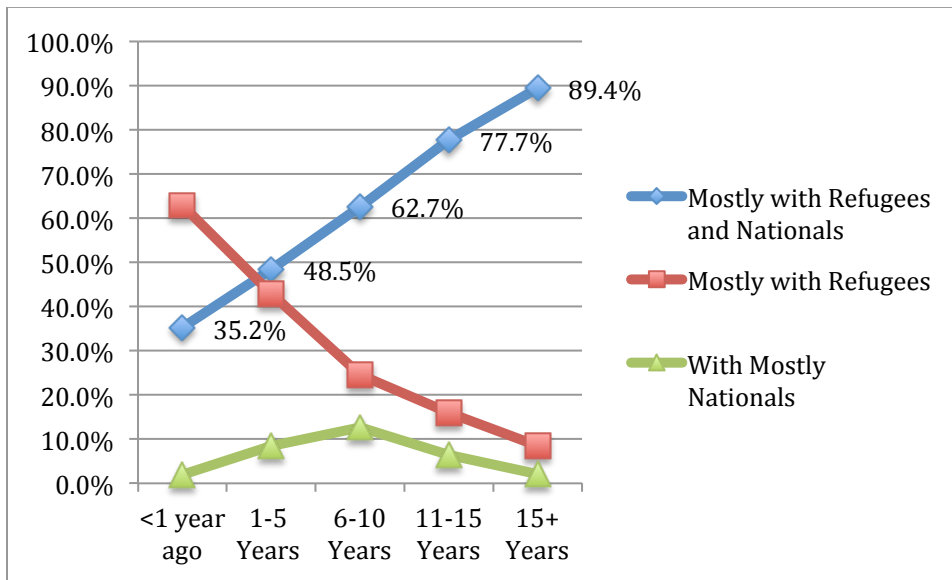


Chart 30: Refugee Participation in Leisure Activities with Refugees and Nationals, by Arrival Period

Data on the relationship between refugee patterns of interactions related to religious activities suggests that refugees engage strongly with religious groups comprised of refugees and the local host community in the immediate period following arrival. These develop into more refugee-centric groups, which gradually evolve back towards more integrated groups.

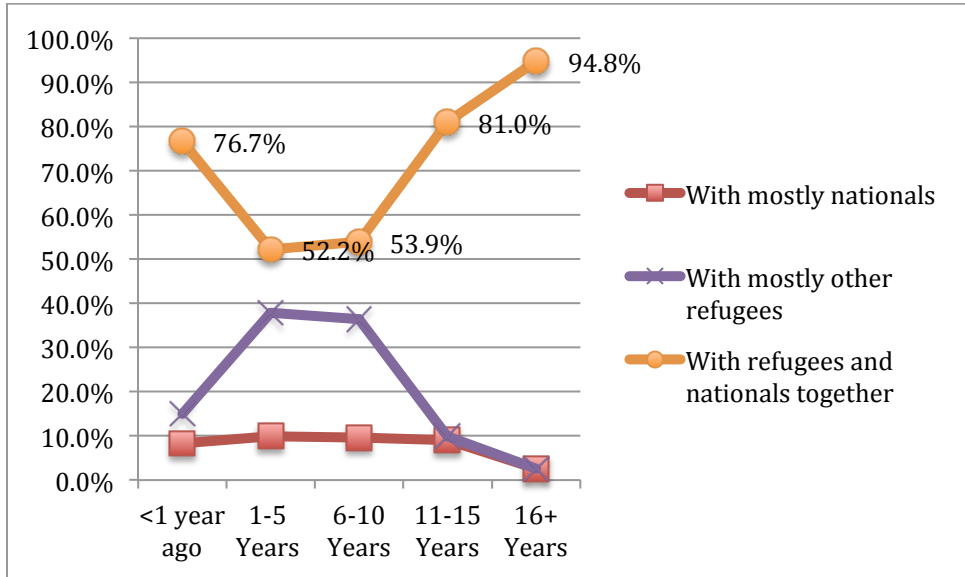


Chart 31: Refugee Participation in Religious Activities and Period of Arrival

The relationship between period of arrival and refugee patterns of interaction with the local host community suggests that relationships that develop around leisure or religious-based activities increase over time, suggesting that the potential for relationships and networks based on these interactions also increase with time.

Area of Origin and Community Integration

Refugees that originated from urban areas reflected greater rates of participation in religious and leisure-based activities with local nationals than refugees that originated from rural backgrounds.

Area of Origin	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	
Rural	21	(5.9%)	95	(26.7%)	240	(67.4%)	356
Urban	24	(4.9%)	92	(18.7%)	375	(76.4%)	491
TOTAL	45	(5.3%)	187	(22.1%)	615	(72.6%)	847

Figure 67: Area of Origin and Leisure Activities

With regard to leisure activities a significantly greater percentage of refugees from rural backgrounds tended to spend their leisure time mostly with other refugees (26.7%), compared to refugees from urban backgrounds (18.7%).

Participation in Religious Activities	Rural		Urban		TOTAL
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage	
With mostly nationals	25	(4.8%)	47	(8.4%)	72
With mostly other refugees	172	(33.1%)	27	(4.8%)	199
With refugees and nationals together	323	(62.1%)	485	(86.8%)	808
TOTAL	520	(100.0%)	559	(100.0%)	1,079

Figure 68: Areas of Origin and Participation in Religious Activities

As in the case of leisure activities, refugees that originated from rural areas reflected a much higher rate of participation in religious activities that included groups that were mostly other refugees, compared to refugees that originated from urban areas (33.1% vs. 4.8%, respectively). This suggests that participation in religious activities

provided fewer opportunities for urban refugees that originated from rural backgrounds to interact with the local host population and develop refugee-host relations and networks that could enhance their access to services in the city.

Country of Origin and Community Integration

As in the case of other variables examined above, a review of patterns of refugee interaction with the local host community reveals considerable variation by country of origin.

Country of Origin	With mostly nationals		With mostly other refugees		With refugees and nationals together		TOTAL
Afghanistan	9	(1.8%)	53	(10.4%)	449	(87.9%)	511
Central African Republic	17	(10.8%)	65	(41.4%)	75	(47.8%)	157
Chad	5	(13.5%)	8	(21.6%)	24	(64.9%)	37
China	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	10	(100.0%)	10
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	2	(9.1%)	2	(9.1%)	18	(81.8%)	22
Rwanda	3	(9.7%)	8	(25.8%)	20	(64.5%)	31
Somalia	4	(8.3%)	36	(75.0%)	8	(16.7%)	48
TOTAL	40	(4.9%)	172	(21.0%)	604	(74.0%)	816

Figure 69: Selected Country of Origin and Participation in Leisure Activities with Hosts

Variation in patterns of interaction summarized in Figure 69 suggests that country of origin may reflect the combined effect of a range of socio-economic characteristics that are associated with particular refugee populations.

Access to Physical Safety and Protection

Urban refugee attempts to improve their levels of protection in the city, including physical safety, may depend to some degree on the state of local social relationships with the local host community. Strongly negative social relations between urban refugees and local host communities may lead to increased levels of xenophobia and local intolerance of refugee settlement. On the other hand, low levels of protection for urban refugees can promote the development of refugee-host relations that are based on exploitation, abuse and mistrust of refugees. With this in mind, this section provides an overview of selected results of urban refugee perceptions of their forms of protection that they enjoy and the relationship of these to refugee-host relations in general.

In general, 43% of the total sample indicated that they would feel comfortable requesting assistance from the local police. There was some considerable city-based variation in this response, which is summarized in Figure 70 below:

City	Confidence in Local Police Services
Yaoundé	48.3%
Jakarta	54.2%
Karachi	18.1%
Peshawar	49.2%
Total	43.4%

Figure 70: Refugee Confidence in Local Police Services, by City

Respondents in Jakarta expressed a slightly higher level of confidence in the local police services compared to other city-sites. The figure for Karachi, on the other hand, was notably lower than the other sites.

Data on urban refugee perceptions of the degree to which refugees were especially vulnerable to crime in the city revealed that approximately one-third of the total sample believed that refugees were indeed especially vulnerable. Once again, there was notable variation across city-sites, which are summarized in Figure 71 below.

City	Refugees More Vulnerable to crime
Yaoundé	55.3%
Jakarta	22.6%
Karachi	18.3%
Peshawar	10.5%
TOTAL	32.5%

Figure 71: Refugee Perceptions of Refugee Vulnerability to Crime, by City

This data suggests that refugee respondents in Yaoundé felt especially vulnerable to crime, compared to other cities. Urban refugees in Peshawar, on the other hand, expressed the least concern over the specific vulnerability to crime.

An enquiry into the sources of assistance that refugees could appeal to for protection shed further light degree of confidence that refugees expressed on the local urban institutions. These are illustrated in Chart 32 below.

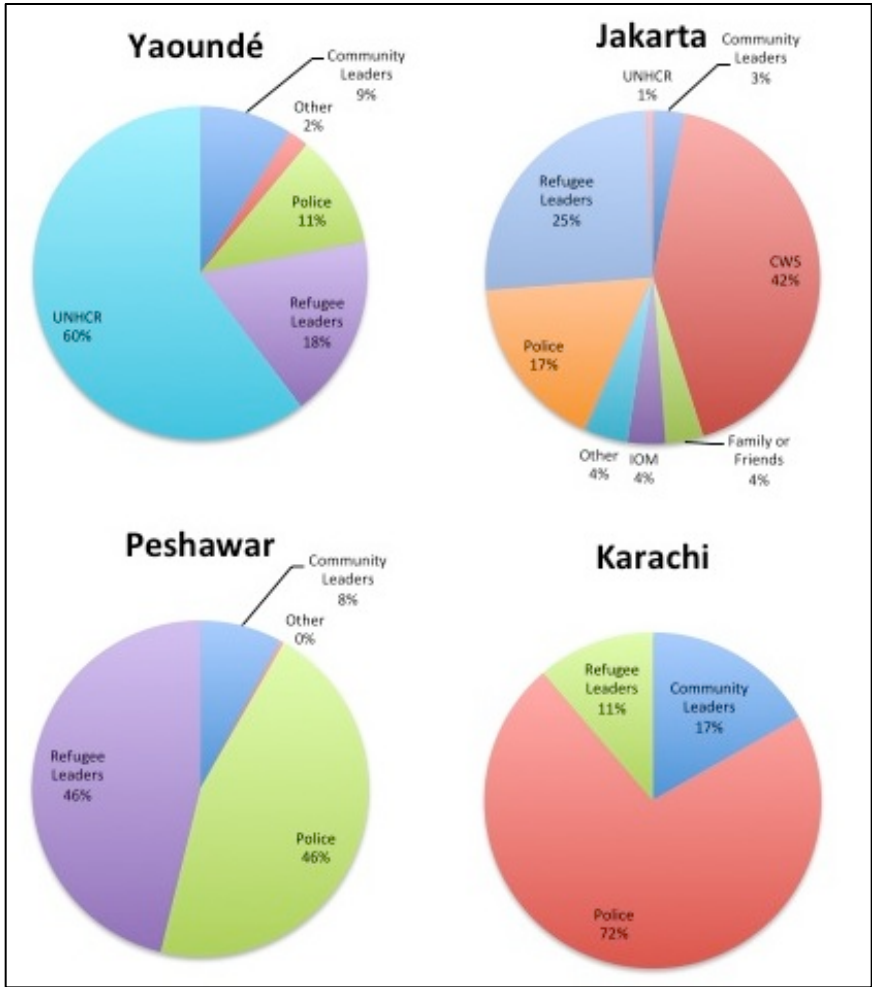


Chart 32: Urban Refugee Preferred Sources of Assistance for Protection, by City

Possession of relevant documentation may play a potentially significant role in determining the level of protection enjoyed by refugees in urban areas. Concerns over documentation may also shape refugee-host interactions and relationships in a number of contexts. The ability to acquire, retain and utilize certain documents may be critical to refugees' ability to meet the everyday demands and requirements of life in the city. These may be important to secure certain refugee-specific entitlement such as assistance, or they may be essential to accessing general local services such as health care, education and housing, as discussed above.

Relationships that are forged around documentation may impact fundamentally on the level of protection enjoyed by urban refugees. The willingness of authorities to accept the veracity of documents in the possession of refugees has significant ramifications, particularly in urban areas. The ability of refugees to be protected from abuse by local authorities is often dependent on their ability to acquire and retain appropriate documentation.

In general, urban refugees sampled across the four city-sites reflected a relatively high rate (81.0%) of possession of relevant documentation to feel safe in the city. Karachi was an exception to this, with only 22.1% of respondents possessing the appropriate documentation.

City	Possession of Documentation
Yaoundé	96.0%
Jakarta	96.4%
Karachi	22.1%
Peshawar	93.6%
TOTAL	81.0%

Figure 72: Possession of Refugee Documentation, by City

Even though a minority of our sample of urban refugees in Karachi possessed the required documentation to remain settled in the city, relatively few were concerned about this. While the vast majority of respondents in the other city-sites (between 94.9% and 98.8%) highlighted the importance keeping documents on one's person at all times, only 33% of respondents in Karachi felt that it was important to carry documentation. This findings was somewhat gendered, with 34.1% of males expressing this view compared to only 20.0% of women. This suggests that the forms of protection enjoyed by refugees in Karachi exist independently of their official status as refugees.

Gender of Head of Household and Safety & Security

With regard to gender, approximately 40.4% of male respondents expressed confidence in the local police, compared to 50.5% of female respondents. This somewhat unexpected result suggests that male refugees in urban areas may be more vulnerable to abuses by police than their female counterparts. Data on gendered differences in perceptions of refugee vulnerability to crime revealed that 37.2% of female respondents felt that refugees were especially vulnerable to crime compared to 30.4% of male respondents. This may suggest that fear of crime could contribute to inhibiting the development of refugee-host relations slightly more for women. However, no specific evidence was collected to suggest that this was indeed the case.

Age Category of Head of Household and Safety & Security

Survey data suggests that heads of household aged between 50 and 70 years expressed a higher level of confidence in the local police. This data is summarized in Figure 73, below. There was no clear explanation for this, except to suggest that households headed by older and younger persons may be more vulnerable to abuse and therefore especially weary of abuse by police.

Age Categories	"Yes"		"No"		TOTAL
Child (-18)	22	39.3%	34	60.7%	56
Youth (18-25)	93	39.2%	144	60.8%	237
Mid (25-50)	316	43.7%	407	56.3%	723
Senior (50-70)	85	51.2%	81	48.8%	166
Elder (70+)	2	33.3%	4	66.7%	6
TOTAL	518	43.6%	670	56.4%	1,188

Figure 73: Age Categories and Confidence in Local Police Services

Households headed by older and younger persons expressed lower rates of suggestion that refugees are especially vulnerable to crime. These data are summarized below. These findings are likely to be biased by small samples of child and elder-headed households, as indicated in Figure 74 below.

Age Categories	"Yes"		"No"		TOTAL
Child (-18)	9	16.4%	46	83.6%	55
Youth (18-25)	72	30.5%	164	69.5%	236
Mid (25-50)	251	35.0%	467	65.0%	718
Senior (50-70)	56	33.5%	111	66.5%	167
Elder (70+)	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	6
TOTAL	389	32.9%	793	67.1%	1,182

Figure 74: Age Category and Refugee Perceptions of Vulnerability to Crime

Age-related differences of the importance of carrying documentation were only notable with regard to respondents in Karachi, as reflected in Chart 33, below.

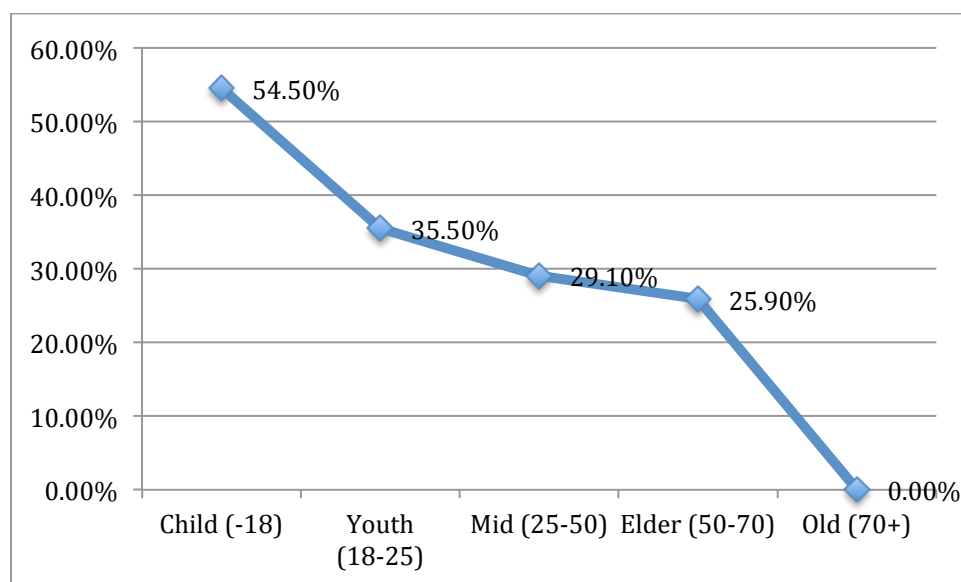


Chart 33: Age Category of Respondents and Expressed Importance of Document Possession, Karachi

This result may relate to current Pakistani government initiatives to crack down on undocumented Afghan settlement, and age-based fears of exposure to arrest and deportation to Afghanistan.

Household Size and Safety & Security

There were not specific results on the relationship between household size and perceptions of safety and security that provided additional insight into refugee-host relations.

Legal Status and Safety & Security

Data on the relationships between legal status and urban refugee confidence in local police services is summarized in Figure 75 below:

Legal Status	"Yes"		"No"		TOTAL
Refugee	424	45.4%	509	54.6%	933
Karachi	6	7.0%	80	93.0%	86
Peshawar	125	46.1%	146	53.9%	271
Jakarta	53	63.1%	31	36.9%	84
Yaoundé	240	48.8%	252	51.2%	492
Asylum-seeker	40	42.1%	55	57.9%	95
Peshawar	0	0.0%	2	100.0%	2
Jakarta	38	45.2%	46	54.8%	84
Yaoundé	2	22.2%	7	77.8%	9
Migrant	10	26.3%	28	73.7%	38
Karachi	5	15.6%	27	84.4%	32
Peshawar	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	6
Citizen	41	32.8%	84	67.2%	125
Karachi	30	26.3%	84	73.7%	114
Peshawar	11	100.0%	0	0.0%	11
TOTAL	515	56.8%	676	(43.2%)	1,191

Figure 75: Legal Status and Confidence in Local Police Services

A comparison of the respective perceptions of refugees and asylum-seekers in Yaoundé and Jakarta (where the distinction is legally formalized and sample size was sufficient) suggests the granting of refugee status contributes to increased levels of confidence in the local police services. In Jakarta, confidence in the local police increased from 45.2% for asylum-seekers to 63.1% for refugees, while Yaoundé increased from 22.2% and 48.8% for asylum-seekers and refugees respectively. These results suggest that the formalization of refugee status enables the development of refugee-host relationships based on greater refugee confidence in the ability of the local police to protect their interests.

Legal Status	"Yes"		"No"		TOTAL
Asylum-seeker	24	25.3%	71	74.7%	95
Refugee	346	37.2%	584	62.8%	930
Migrant	9	25.0%	27	75.0%	36
Citizen	10	8.1%	114	91.9%	124
TOTAL	389	32.8%	796	67.2%	1,185

Figure 76: Legal Status and Refugee Perceptions of Vulnerability to Crime

As suggested in Figure 76, asylum-seekers generally felt that they were less vulnerable to crime than refugees. This data may be skewed to reflect a relatively high proportion of asylum-seekers in Jakarta, where perceptions of refugee vulnerability to crime were generally lower than in the other the study locations.

Arrival Period and Safety & Security

Surprisingly, there did not appear to be a very strong or direct positive relationship between the length of time in refuge and confidence in the local police. In general, levels of confidence in services appeared to increase very slightly over time, as reflected in Figure 77.

Arrival Period	"Yes"		"No"		TOTAL
<1 year ago	51	47.2%	57	52.8%	108
1-5 Years	137	49.5%	140	50.5%	277
6-10 Years	113	51.4%	107	48.6%	220
11-15 Years	64	50.8%	62	49.2%	126
15+ Years	143	32.6%	295	67.4%	438
TOTAL	508	43.5%	661	56.5%	1,169

Figure 77: Arrival Period and Confidence in Local Police Services

Similarly, perceptions of refugee vulnerability to crime did not reveal a very strong relationship to the period in refuge. These results suggest that confidence in protection does not inevitably increase over time in urban areas.

Area of Origin and Safety & Security

Urban refugees that originated from rural areas in their countries of origin expressed slightly less confidence in local police services, compared to refugees coming from urban areas (41.3% and 45.3% respectively). Similarly, urban refugees with rural backgrounds also perceived refugees as especially vulnerable to crime, compared to their counterparts from urban areas (35.8% and 29.9%) respectively. This suggests that urban refugees with rural backgrounds may be less likely or confident in seeking protection from the local police and their behavior is more likely to be constrained over concerns related to crime. These results contribute towards refugees with rural backgrounds being less likely to pursue successful new relationships with the local host community than those with a more urban background.

Country of Origin and Safety & Security

In common with other findings related to country of origin, the survey data reflected considerable variation in the refugee perceptions of the local police and refugee vulnerability to crime. Selected data from Yaoundé and Jakarta is presented below.

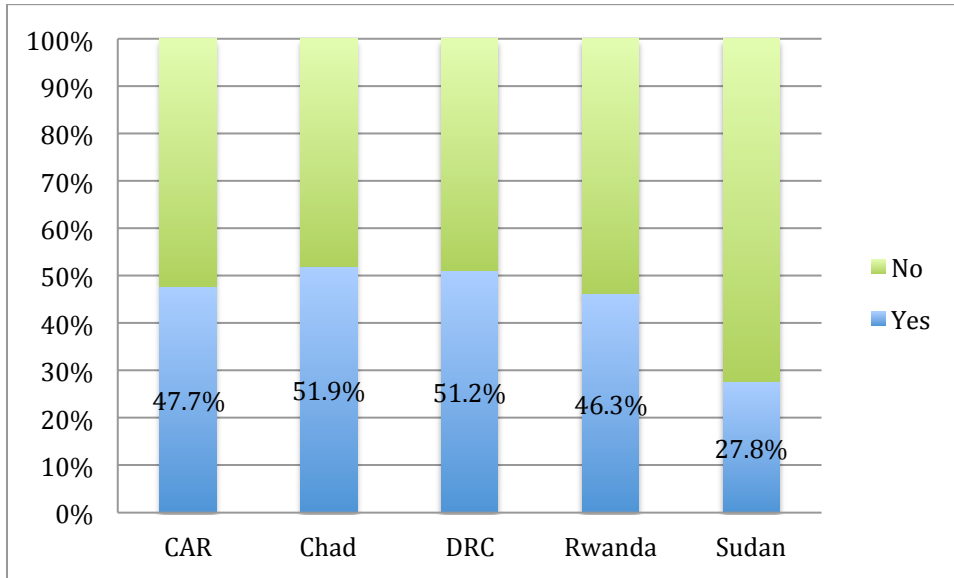


Chart 34: Selected Countries of Origin and Confidence in Local Police Services, Yaoundé

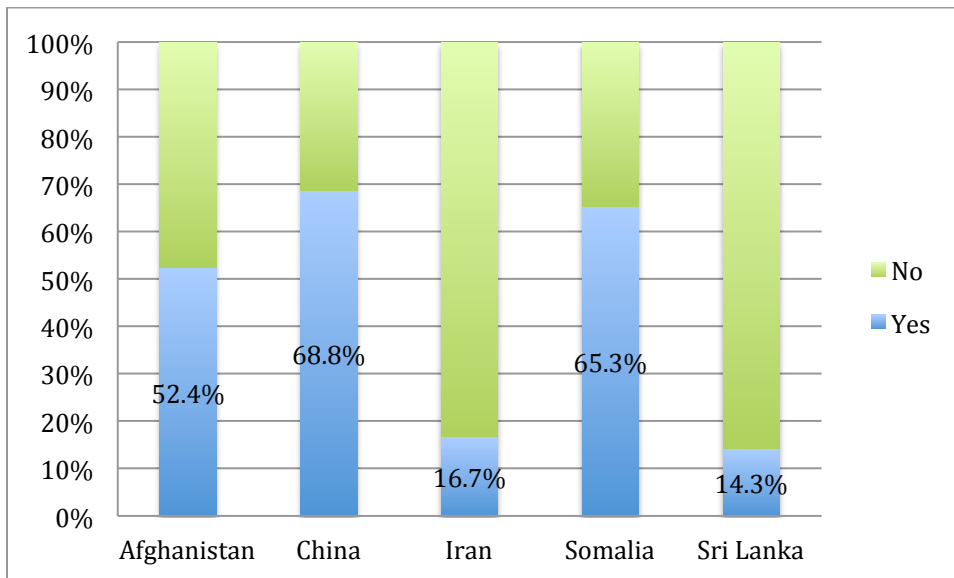


Chart 35: Selected Countries of Origin and Confidence in Local Police Services, Jakarta

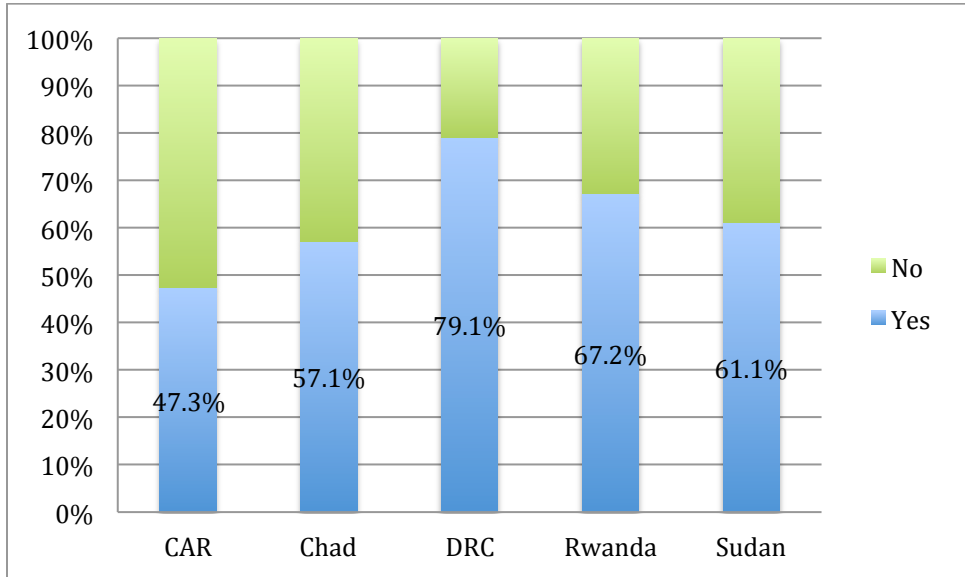


Chart 36: Selected Countries of Origin and Perceptions of Refugee Vulnerability to Crime, Yaoundé

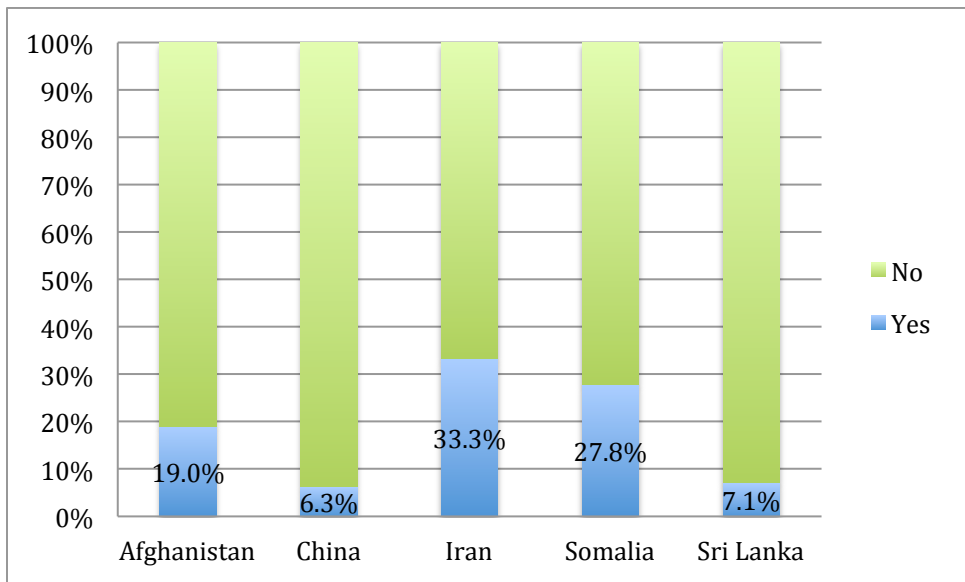


Chart 37: Selected Countries of Origin and Perceptions of Refugee Vulnerability to Crime, Jakarta

Preferences for Durable Solutions

This study included an enquiry into refugee perceptions of their future outcomes as a potential indicator of the state of their relationships to the states, neighborhoods and community that they presently live within. Survey and interview respondents at all four city-sites were asked what they thought the best solution was to their situations, which included reference to established durable solutions.

The vast majority of our sample indicated that they preferred either resettlement or local integration. Very few respondents across the entire sample expressed interest in returning to their respective countries of origin at some point in the future.

As indicated in Chart 38 below, the majority of survey respondents in Yaoundé and Jakarta indicated a preference for resettlement. The presence of UNHCR offices in both of these locations, both with active resettlement programs, is likely to contribute significantly to sustaining high levels of interest in resettlement. The fact that refugees have no legal option to settle in Indonesia, and limited opportunity to settle permanently in Cameroon also probably increases a preference for resettlement. On the other hand, the absence of UNHCR in the everyday lives of refugees in Karachi and Peshawar, along with the longer time spent in exile and a greater degree of *de facto* integration are likely to be amongst the major reasons why refugees in Pakistan have a significantly higher level of interest in local integration⁴⁹. The absence of any practical possibility for resettlement probably leads to a reduction of interest in resettlement.

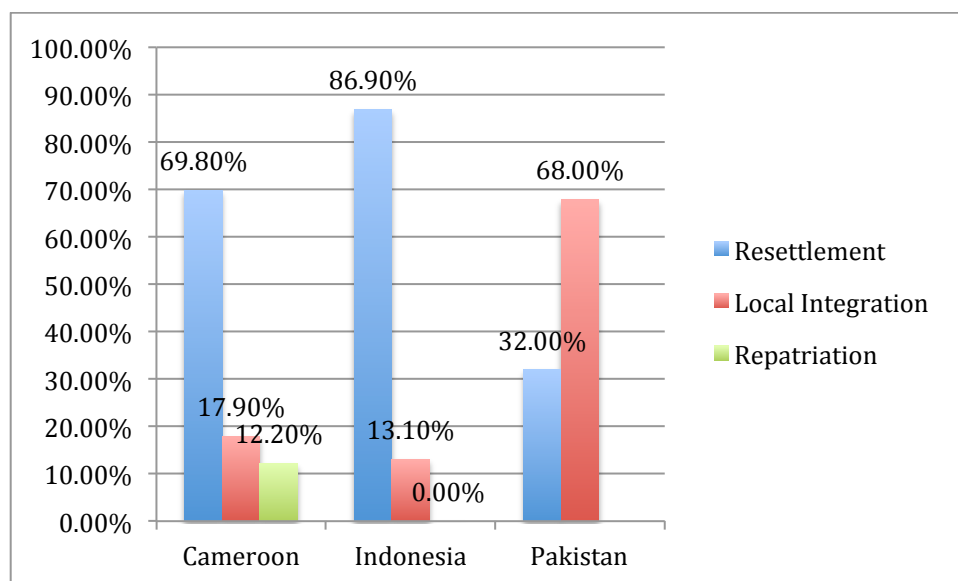


Chart 38: Graph of Preferred Durable Solutions for Cameroon, Indonesia and Pakistan

As illustrated above, the only significant interest in repatriation was recorded in Yaoundé. A closer examination of the data reveals the following:

- *Location of country of origin* appears to be a significant variable in determining attitudes to repatriation. Whereas refugees from the neighboring countries of Chad and CAR comprised 68.1% of our sample in Cameroon, they comprised 86.4% (51 of 59) of respondents that indicated a preference for repatriation.
- *A rural background* appears to contribute towards increased interest in repatriation. Approximately 76.3% (45 of 59) of respondents that indicated a preference for repatriation originated from rural areas, compared to 65.3% for the entire sample from Cameroon.
- *Period of arrival* appears to play a significant role in shaping interest in repatriation. A high proportion of refugees in Yaoundé that indicated a preference for repatriation (84.7%) arrived between 1 and 10 years previously. Very few recent arrivals or persons that have been in refuge for long periods expressed an interest in repatriation.

⁴⁹ Due to an oversight in the survey design, an almost negligible level of interest on repatriation could not be quantified with a sufficient degree of reliability for Pakistan.

With regard to the relatively high percentage of respondents from Pakistan that indicated a preference for either resettlement or local integration as a durable solution:

- The vast majority of responses (98.2%, or 168 out of 171) that indicated a preference for resettlement were located in Peshawar. Only three respondents in Karachi (out of a total of 239) indicated a preference for resettlement. This suggests consideration differences in the attitudes of refugees to durable solutions for refugees living in Peshawar and Karachi respectively.
- 78.9% of respondents that indicated a preference for resettlement had been living in Pakistan for fifteen years or more.
- 55.4% of respondents that indicated a preference for local integration indicated that they originated from an “urban” background. In contrast, 89.9% of respondents that indicated a preference for resettlement originated from urban areas. The background of refugees as either urban or rural appears to play a significant role in shaping attitudes to local integration into the city.
- Whereas only 59.3% of respondents that indicated a preference for local integration described their legal status as “refugee”, 91.1% of those who preferred resettlement described their status as “refugee”.
- Related to the point above, 41.1% of respondents that indicated a preference for local integration were in possession of Pakistani identity cards, whereas only 4.3% of respondents that indicated a preference for resettlement were in possession of these.

Gender and Durable Solutions

The gender of the head of household did not appear to impact significantly on patterns of preferred durable solution. As illustrated in Chart 39, which summarizes data for Yaoundé, female-headed households expressed a slightly lower interest in resettlement and a slightly higher interest in local integration and repatriation, compared to their male-headed counterparts.

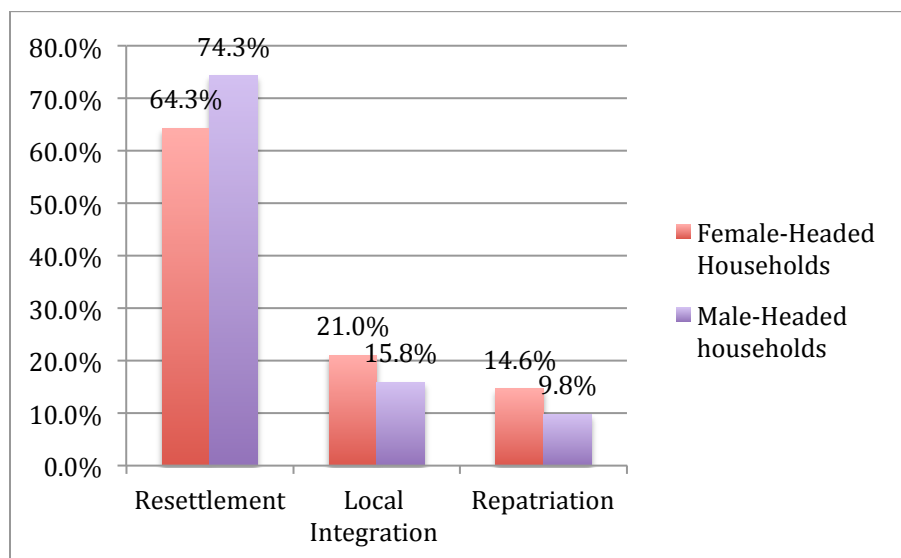


Chart 39: Gender of Head of Household and Preferred Durable Solution, Yaoundé

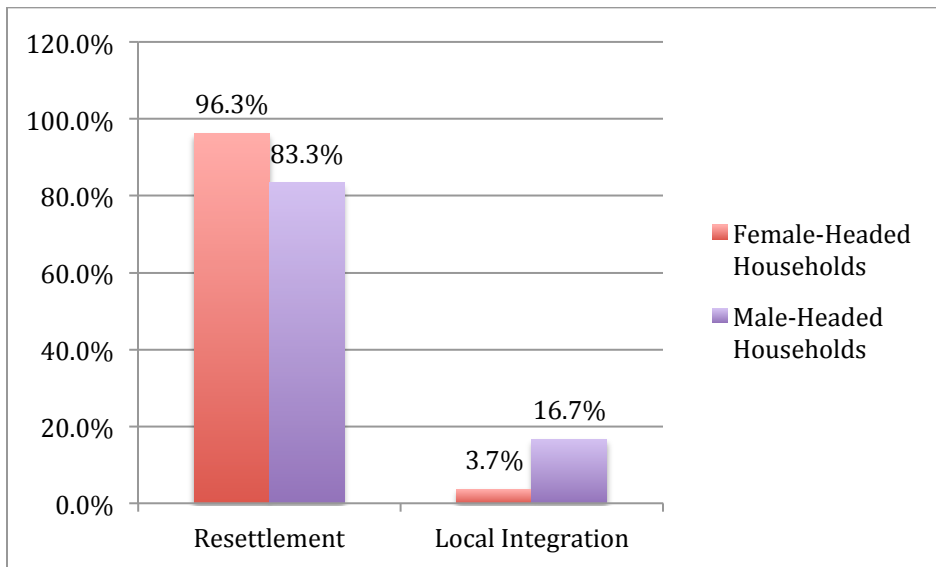


Chart 40: Gender of Head of Household and Preferred Durable Solution, Jakarta

In Jakarta, on the other hand, female-headed households revealed a relatively higher level of interest in resettlement compared to male-headed households (see Chart 40). A brief comparison of Yaoundé and Jakarta suggests that while the gender of the head of household may be a significant factor in shaping attitudes to durable solutions, these vary across contexts.

Age Category of Head of Household and Durable Solutions

Analysis of data did not reveal strong patterns of differences between different age categories of heads of households and preferred durable solutions. The comparison of data between Yaoundé and Jakarta suggests a relatively consistent pattern of preferred durable solutions across different age categories of heads of households. These are illustrated in Chart 41 on the next page.

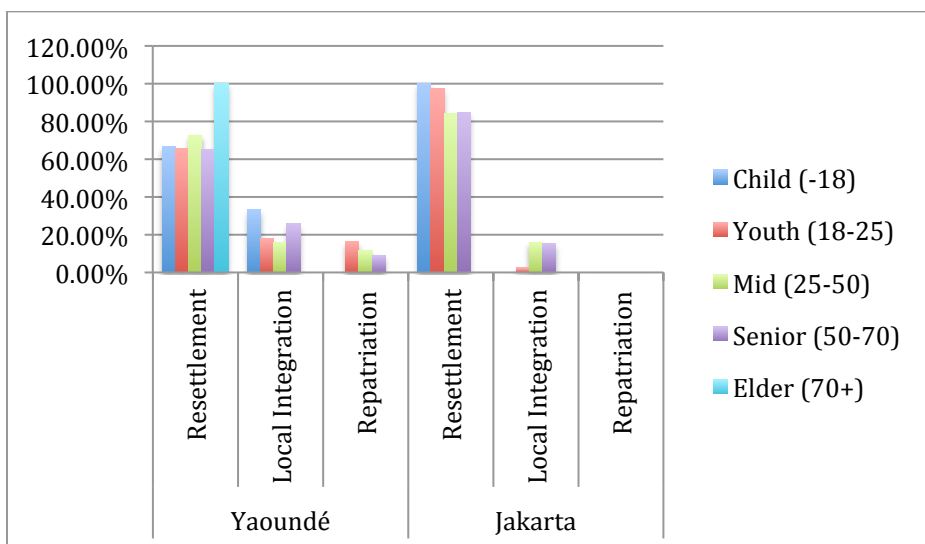


Chart 41: Age Category of Head of Household and Preferred Durable Solution, Yaoundé and Jakarta

Child-headed and youth-headed households in Jakarta exhibited a stronger commitment to resettlement than other age categories of heads of household. This is consistent with qualitative observations that relatively high numbers of unaccompanied minors and young adults have arrived in Jakarta with the explicit intention of either being resettled or migrating to Australia, either through formal resettlement programs or with the assistance of smugglers. A high commitment to resettlement by elder-headed households in Yaoundé can be explained as a biased result from a very low sample from this age category and cannot be taken as representative.

Household Size and Durable Solutions

Data from Pakistan, in particular, suggests that there may be a strong positive relationship between household size and a preference for local integration as a durable solution. As illustrated in Chart 42 below, interest in local integration increases for households that are larger than six persons.

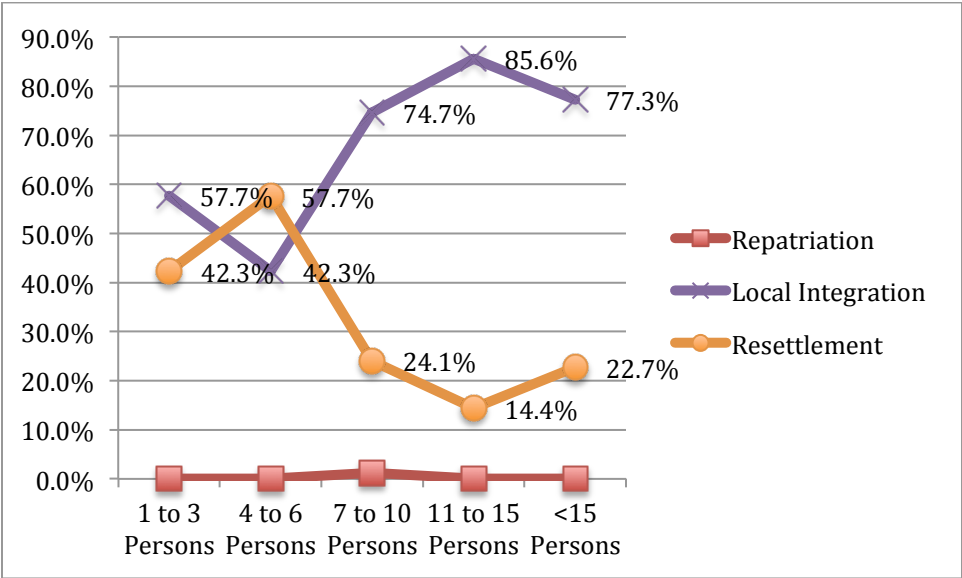


Chart 42: Household Size and Durable Solution, Pakistan

Although not as stark, data from Cameroon suggests a similar trend, as illustrated in Chart 43 below.

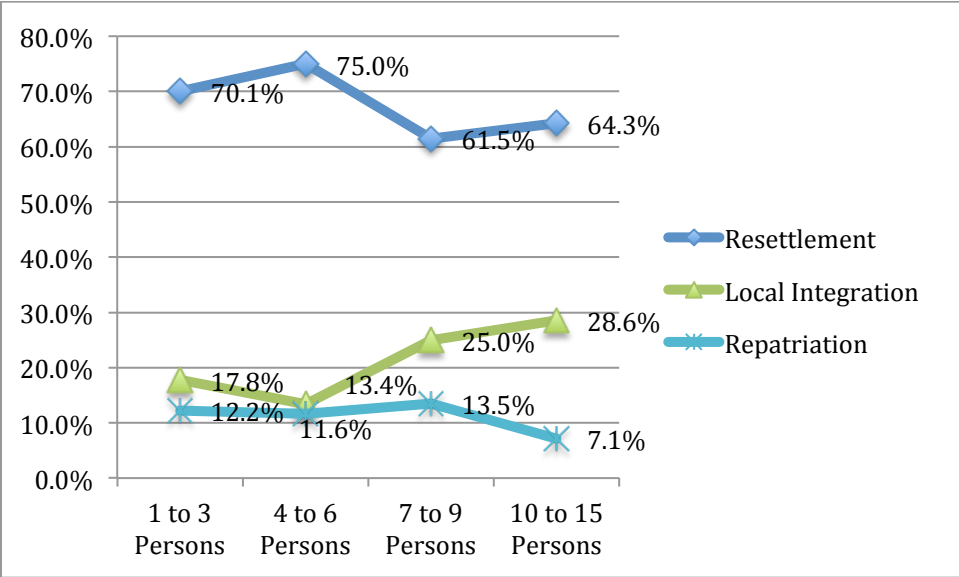


Chart 43: Household Size and Durable Solutions, Cameroon

The reasons why larger household may be more inclined to accept local integration as a durable solution may vary across contexts, which may relate to other factors like duration in refuge or the economics of resettling a family with a large number of dependents to a third country. With regard to refugee-host relations, larger households may simply have more “points of contact” with the local host environment, making resettlement an increasingly complex option. Larger numbers of children in school and multiple forms of investment in the local economy may encourage some larger households to prefer local integration to resettlement.

Legal Status and Durable Solutions

In Pakistan, the vast majority of respondents that classified their status as “refugee” expressed a preference for either local integration (57.0%) or resettlement (42.4%). All of the “refugee” households that expressed a preference for resettlement were located in Peshawar. The majority of households that indicated their status as either “migrant” or “citizen” displayed a preference for local integration as their preferred durable solution, as summarized below.

	Asylum-seeker	Refugee	Migrant	Citizen	TOTAL
Repatriation	0	2	1	0	3
Karachi	0	0	1	0	1
Peshawar	0	2	0	0	2
Local Integration	2	207	31	109	349
Karachi	1	93	30	106	230
Peshawar	1	114	1	3	119
Resettlement	1	154	6	8	169
Karachi	0	0	2	1	3
Peshawar	1	154	4	7	166
TOTAL	3	363	38	117	521

Figure 78: Legal Status and Durable Solutions, Pakistan

A comparison between asylum-seekers and refugees in Indonesia (in Figure 79 below) suggests that refugees were slightly more inclined to accept local integration, compared to asylum-seekers. This finding is somewhat surprising, given the legal limitations on refugee settlement in Indonesia.

Preferred Durable Solution	Asylum- Seeker		Refugee		TOTAL
Resettlement	75	89.3%	71	84.5%	146
Local Integration	9	10.7%	13	15.5%	22
TOTAL	84	100.0%	84	100.0%	168

Figure 79: Legal Status and Durable Solutions, Indonesia

Data on the relationship between legal status and durable solutions was not revealing for Cameroon, where 98.1% of household survey respondents were refugees and only 1.9% (n=9) were asylum-seekers.

Data from Pakistan and Indonesia suggests that while refugee status in urban areas is likely to be associated with a strong interest in resettlement as a durable solution, some refugees may begin to accept local integration as an option over time, as they settle and refugee-host relations develop. This is explored in more detail below.

Arrival Period and Durable Solutions

The combined data from all four city-sites suggests that interest in resettlement appears to decrease over time, as a preferred durable solution. Interest in repatriation (mostly in Cameroon) was most evident between one and ten years after arrival. A summary of 924 households that provided reliable data is presented in Chart 44 below. This suggests that interest in resettlement decreases over the longer term as interest in local integration expands. There appears to be a limited “window of opportunity” for refugees to be interested in voluntary repatriation. This appears to be most evident in the years following the first year after arrival.

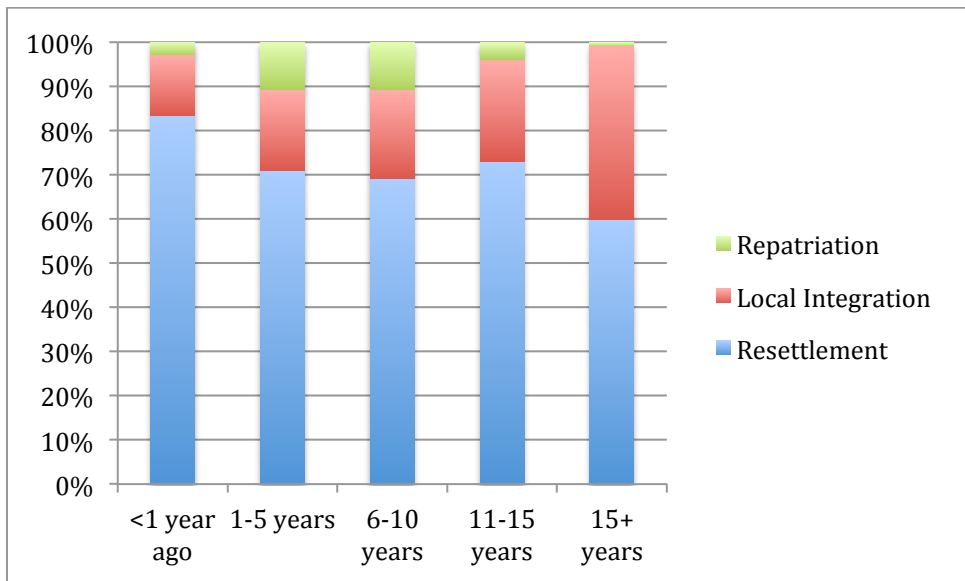


Chart 44: Arrival Period and Preferred Durable Solution

For the roughly 12% of our sample in Yaoundé that indicated an interest in returning to their respective countries of origin, the largest percentage had arrived in Cameroon between one and five years previously. Of this group, relatively few had arrived earlier than one year previously. The highest percentage of respondents that indicated a preference for repatriation arrived in Cameroon between one and five years previously. After five years, this percentage of refugees interested in repatriation appears to decline steadily. These data are summarized below, specifically for Yaoundé, comparing the percentage of the sample represented by each age category against the percentage of expressed preference for repatriation.

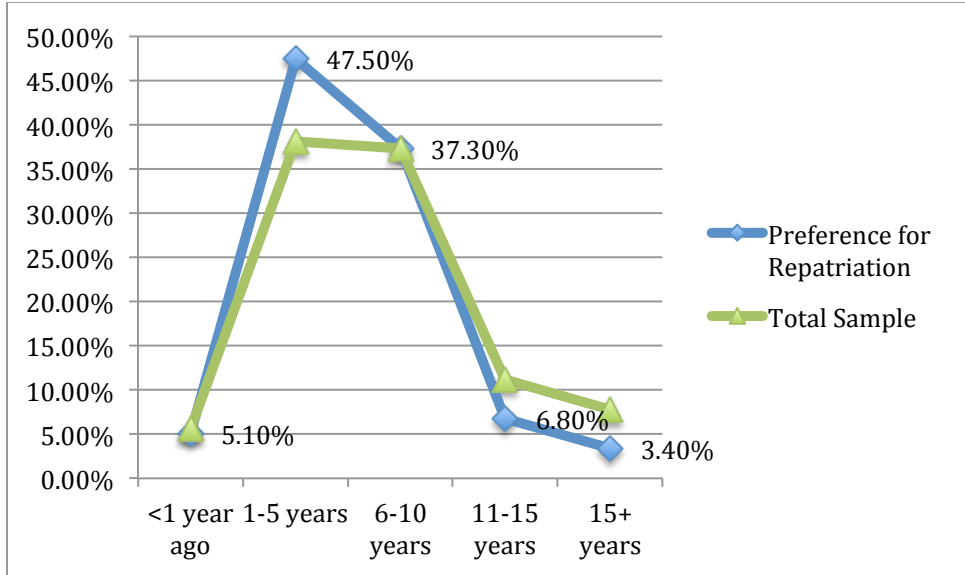


Chart 45: Respondents Intending to Repatriate, by Period of Arrival, Yaoundé

The data summarized above shows clearly how a relatively high initial interest in repatriation decreases over time. This may partly result from the effective integration of refugees into the urban economy and the development of closer refugee-host relations.

A comparison of the changing levels of interest in local integration and resettlement in Pakistan, measured by period of arrival, suggests a similar process of increasing commitment to local integration. The results suggest that—at least in the context of Peshawar and Karachi – refugees accept local integration as a preferred solution to their plight after approximately a decade of living in refuge. Once again, this suggests that refugee-host relations may play a significant role in shaping an increased commitment to living in the city.

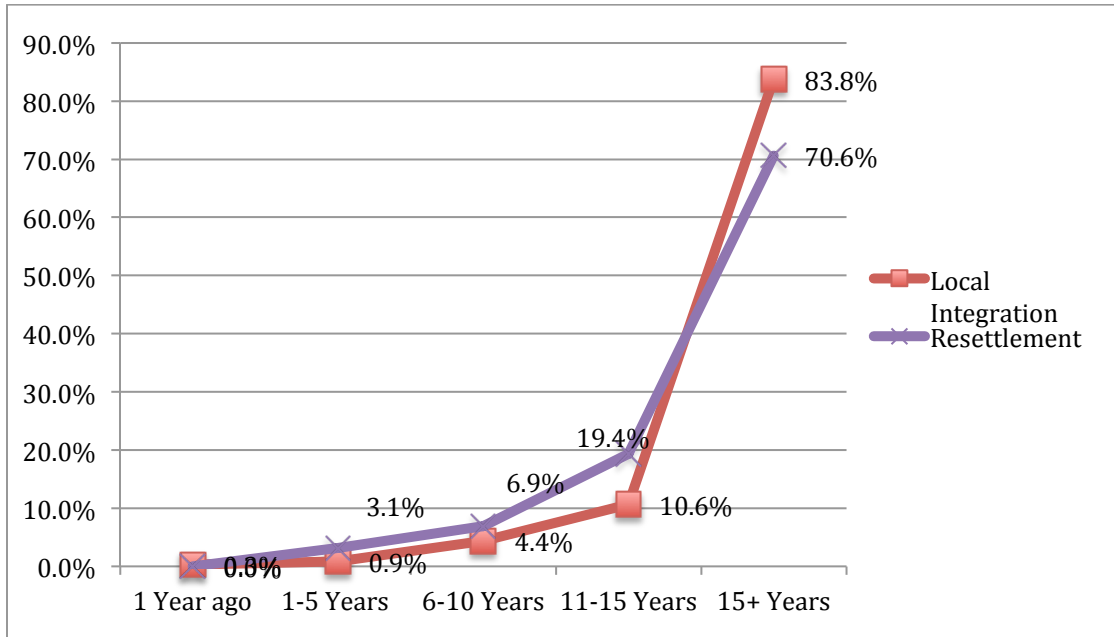


Chart 46: Preference for Durable Solutions, Pakistan

This trend is illustrated further, showing the relative percentage of preference for resettlement and local integration for each age category for household heads in Pakistan.

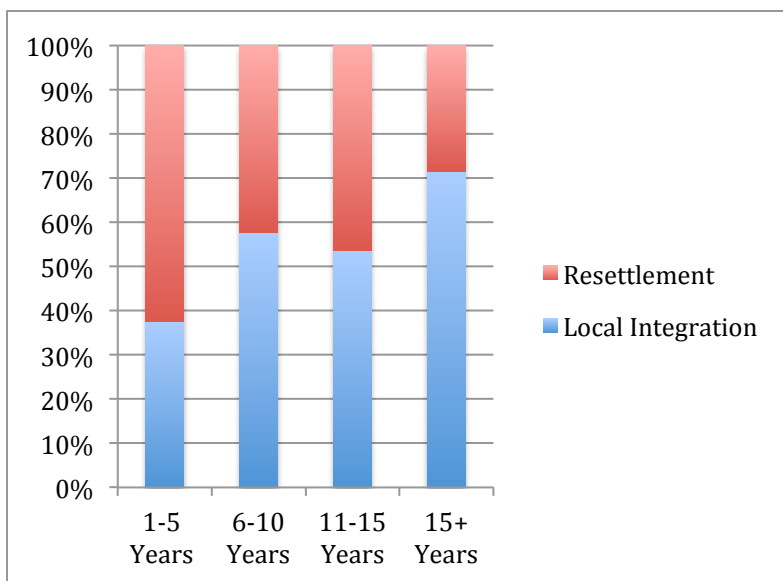


Chart 47: Relative Preference for Resettlement and Local Integration, with Regard to Arrival Period, Pakistan

Area of Origin and Durable Solutions

While the survey data revealed notable differences in the attitudes to durable solutions that were expressed by refugees from rural and urban backgrounds respectively, these were not consistent across the different city-sites. This reinforces the point that the meaning of an urban or rural background cannot be assumed for urban refugees and needs to be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Durable Solution	Rural Households		Urban Households	
Return	45	14.2%	14	8.4%
Resettlement	203	63.8%	135	81.3%
Local Integration	70	22.0%	17	10.2%
TOTAL	318	100%	166	100%

Figure 80: Area of Origin and Durable Solutions, Cameroon

As indicated in above, 14.2% of refugee households in Cameroon that originated from rural areas indicated an interest or intention to return, whereas 8.4% of households from urban areas indicated a similar intention. Furthermore, a noticeably higher percentage of households that originated from rural areas also indicated a greater interest in local integration (22.0% compared to 10.2%). Urban refugees with urban backgrounds indicated a relatively higher interest in resettlement.

Durable Solution	Rural Households		Urban Households		Grand Total
Repatriation	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
Resettlement	56	93.3%	90	83.3%	146
Local Integration	4	6.7%	18	16.7%	22
TOTAL	60	100.0%	108	100.0%	168

Figure 81: Area of Origin and Durable Solutions, Indonesia

In contrast to Cameroon, households in Indonesia that originated from rural areas expressed a relatively stronger interest in resettlement, compared to households from urban areas (93.3% and 83.3% respectively). Of the few households that indicated an interest in local integration, the majority originated from urban areas.

	Rural		Urban		TOTAL
Repatriation	3	1.7%	0	0.0%	3
Karachi	1	1.1%	0	0.0%	1
Peshawar	2	2.4%	0	0.0%	2
Resettlement	17	9.7%	152	43.9%	169
Karachi	0	0.0%	3	2.1%	3
Peshawar	17	20.0%	149	74.1%	166
Local Integration	156	88.6%	194	56.1%	350
Karachi	90	98.9%	142	97.9%	232
Peshawar	17	77.6%	149	25.9%	166
TOTAL	176	100%	346	100%	522

Figure 82: Area of Origin and Durable Solutions, Pakistan

The data from Pakistan (summarized above) reflects stark differences between Peshawar and Karachi. In essence, the vast majority of our sample from Karachi want to remain settled in the city permanently and only a very small number of households indicated an interest in resettlement (n=3). In Peshawar, the majority of households with an urban background expressed an interest in resettlement, whereas the majority of those with a rural background indicated a preference for local integration. Interest in voluntary repatriation was negligible in both cities. The three households that indicated an interest in return were all from rural backgrounds.

In Cameroon and Pakistan, refugees with rural backgrounds tend to be poorer than those with urban backgrounds and predominantly from neighboring countries. They are also likely to be less educated and less skilled than their urban counterparts. In Jakarta, some urban refugees were, for example, relatively wealthy farmers in Afghanistan that were persecuted by the Taliban. Travel to Jakarta required a considerable financial commitment as well as extensive social capital to undertake the journey. Being from a rural background, in this context, was a sign of enhanced capacity to manage the urban environment and shape future outcomes.

Country of Origin and Durable Solutions

Limited data on the relationship between country of origin and durable solutions suggests that there may be considerable variation. Chart 48 summarizes data for selected refugee nationalities represented in Yaoundé.

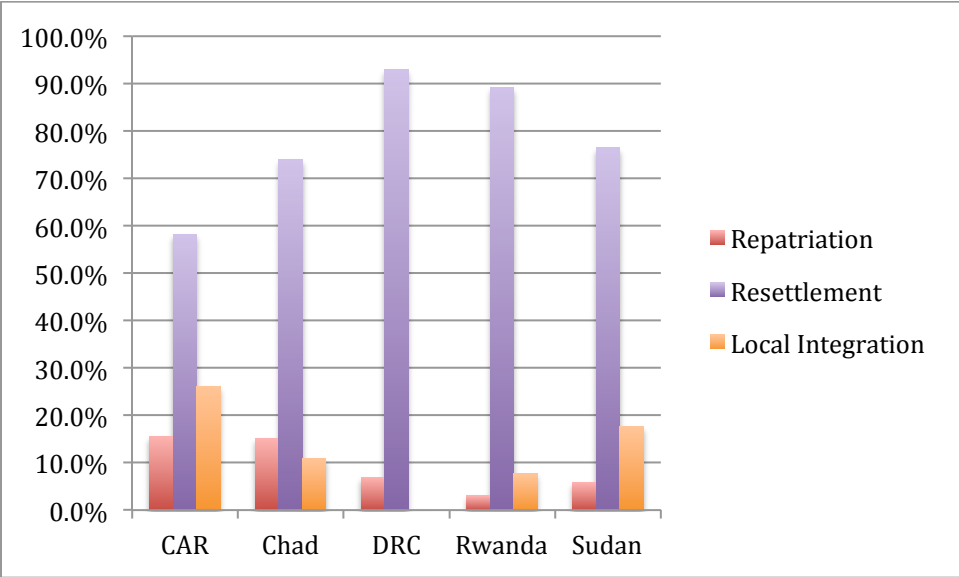


Chart 48: Preferences for Durable Solutions by Selected Country of Origin, for Cameroon.

While the majority of respondents from listed countries indicated a preference for resettlement, this ranged from 58.2% for refugees from CAR to 93% for refugees from DRC. Interest in repatriation, on the other hand, varied from 15.6% for refugees from CAR to 0% for refugees from DRC.

Such variation suggests that country-specific backgrounds and experiences of refuge can shape refugee-host relations. Factors such as common language, regional proximity, period of arrival or cultural affinity may impact on the potential for specific countries to develop relationships with the host community. Refugee commitments to establishing these relationships may also be shaped by events in the country of origin. For example, at the time of research, Rwandan refugees were facing the invocation of a cessation clause. Concern over this development may have sharpened the commitment of Rwandan refugees to remaining in Cameroon, relative to other national groups. The relative economic success of Rwandan refugees in Yaoundé may also contribute towards their commitment to remaining in the city, to protect and develop their livelihoods and investments.

Appendix 1: Qualitative Interview Guidelines - Example

Example of Interview Guidance Notes: Urban Refugees – Yaoundé

Introduction and Project Explanation

Biographical and Migration Background

Where and when were you born?

When did you come to Yaoundé?

Could you describe your journey from [area of origin] to Yaoundé?

Did you travel to Yaoundé alone or with others? Explain...

Why did you choose to move to Yaoundé, specifically? Explain...

Have you received any documentation since arriving in Yaoundé? Provide details?

Are you satisfied that you decided to settle in Yaoundé or do you now think that you should have gone somewhere else? Explain ...

Livelihood Profile

What activities do you rely on to survive in Yaoundé? Explain ...

Are you dependent on other people to survive? Explain ...

Are there other people that are dependent on you? Explain ...

In general, are refugees and other foreigners able to work easily in Yaoundé? Provide details on some of the constraints and opportunities?

Housing

Which neighborhood do you live in within Yaoundé?

Do people from your country live all across Yaoundé or are they concentrated in specific areas?

What are the main nationalities of people living within your neighborhood? [List from majority to minority]

What kind of housing do you live in?

How did you get access to the house that you are presently living in?

Are you satisfied with the quality of your present housing? Explain ...

Access to Local Services

Do either you or your children make use of any of the following services in Yaoundé [if “yes”, explain details]?

Schools

Hospitals or Health Centers

Legal Services

UNHCR

Humanitarian Assistance and Protection

Are you aware of any humanitarian assistance programs for refugees in Yaoundé? If yes, explain ...

As a refugee in Yaoundé, have you ever received any assistance from humanitarian organizations? Provide details (what, where, when...)

How would you describe your interactions with government representatives or security officials? Explain...

Perceptions of Refugee-Host Community Relationships

In general, how does your community relate to your local Cameroonian neighbors?

Friendships?

Intermarriage?

[If working, or going to school] What are the nationalities of the people that you interact with most at work/school?

Areas of conflict between Refugees and Locals

Have you experienced violence or the threat of violence from local community members on account of you being a foreigner?

Future Plans

Do you plan to stay in Yaoundé or do you plan to move somewhere else? Explain ...

Do you imagine that you will be able to return to your country of origin at some point in the future?

What do you think you would be able to do in the future to improve your life and the life of your family/dependents?

Explain ...

Appendix 2: Survey Form – Cameroon

CWS: Urban Refugee Project

Refugee Household Survey Form VER

1.4

YAOUNDÉ, CAMEROON

1. Household Number				
2. Location (City)			3. Enumerator Name	
4. Name of Respondent			5. Date of Interview	

SECTION A: GENERAL

A. Biographical Information of Respondent:

6. Gender (P)	Male	Female				
7. Age (P)	Child (-18)	Youth (18-25)	Mid (25-50)	Elder (50-70)	Old (70+)	
8. Country of Origin						
9. Home Area (P)	Urban	Rural				
10. Occupation (P) Prior to Refuge	Farmer	Business	School	Government worker	Other (<i>specify</i>)	
11. Arrival Date (P)	<1 year ago	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	15+ years	
12. Legal Status (P)	Citizen	Refugee	Asylum Seeker	Migrant	Other (<i>specify</i>)	

B. Social Activities:

13. Do you personally participate in any of the following activities on a regular basis?:

	With mostly other refugees	With mostly nationals	With refugees and nationals together
Attend a place of religious worship? (P)			
Attend school or other education? (P)			
Regularly access health services? (P)			
Play sports? (P)			
Enjoy leisure activities? (P)			

C. Household Characteristics:

14. This Neighborhood (Name)					
15. Are you the head of your household? (P)	Yes		No		
16. Household Size (P)	1-3	4-6	7-10	10-15	15+
17. Status of Neighbors (adjacent houses)	Number of refugee households			Number of non-refugee households (Citizens)	
18. Status of housing (P)	Owned	Rented	Guest	Other (<i>specify</i>)	

D. Household Expenses and Income

19. Approximately how much does the household pay per month towards the following expenses?

	Monthly amount	Additional Comments (optional)
Housing		
Water		
Electricity		
Food		
Transport		
Education		
OTHER (Total)		

20. Where does the household obtain income to meet the expenses listed above?:

	Monthly amount	Additional Comments (optional)
Formal Employment		
Own Business		
Informal Street Trading		
Domestic Worker		
Daily Laborer		
UNHCR		
Charity Organizations		
Mosque or Church		
Loan from Neighbors		
OTHER (Total)		

E. Marriage

21. Number of current married couples living within household?	
22. Of these, number of marriages between refugees and citizens?	

F. Access to Education

23. Number of children of school-going age...	...attending school?		...not attending school?		
24. Main reason for children not attending school (P)	Cost	Work	Legal status	Discrimination	Other (<i>specify</i>)
25. Primary responsibility for cost of education (P)	Household		Government	UNHCR	Other (<i>specify</i>)
26. Main problem with education in general (P)	Cost		Access	Discrimination	Other (<i>specify</i>)

G. Access to Health Care

27. Main source of health care (P)	Government health services	Private health services	Religious communities	Other (<i>specify</i>)
28. Main assistance to meet health care costs (P)	None	UNHCR	Loans from neighbors	Other (<i>specify</i>)
29. Main household health complaint (P)	Stomach ailments	Fever (including Malaria)	Physical injury	Other (<i>specify</i>)
30. Main problem with health services (P)	Cost	Access	Quality	Other (<i>specify</i>)

H. Protection and Security

31. In general, are refugees comfortable seeking assistance from the local police? (P)	Yes	No	Additional Notes	
32. Are refugees more vulnerable to crime and abuse than citizens? (P)	Yes	No		
33. Do you and your family members have documents to prove that you are refugees? (P)	Yes	No		
34. Is it important for you to keep your documents with you at all times, to prove that you are a refugee? (P)	Yes	No		
35. Who do you approach first, if you need assistance related to your security? (P)	Police	Refugee Leaders	Community Leaders	Other (<i>specify</i>)

SECTION B: CAMEROON

I. Travel History and Arrival: Cameroon

36. After fleeing your home, how many other countries did you pass through before settling in Cameroon? (P)

None, we came straight to Cameroon	
We initially took refuge in one other country but later decided to move to Cameroon	
We travelled through several countries before settling in Cameroon	
Other (explain...)	

37. What was the main reason behind your household seeking refuge in Cameroon? (P)

Cameroon was the closest safe county to my country of origin	
We had relatives already living in Cameroon	
We were encouraged by the policy of Cameroon towards refugees	
There are possibilities for rebuilding our life in Cameroon	
Cameroon is a good place for us to move on to another country	
Other reason (explain...)	

38. What did you do after you first arrived in Cameroon? (P)

We moved directly to Yaoundé	
We initially settled in a refugee camp and then later decided to move to Yaoundé	
We initially settled in a rural village and then later decided to move to Yaoundé	
We initially settled in another town and then later moved to Yaoundé	
Other (explain...)	

39. How significant were the following, in informing the decision for your household to move to Yaoundé? (P)

	Major reason	Minor reason	No significance
Safety and protection			
Access to employment opportunities			
Access to UNHCR			
Access to other forms of humanitarian assistance			
Access to education facilities			
Access to health facilities			
Improved chances of being offered resettlement			
The city is more comfortable than the countryside			

J. UNHCR and Access to Services: Cameroon

40. Do children of school-going age in your household currently receive support from UNHCR to attend school? (P)

Yes	No	Only some children in the household
-----	----	-------------------------------------

41. Does your household receive support from UNHCR to pay for housing costs? (P)

Yes	No	Sometimes	In the past
-----	----	-----------	-------------

42. What is the nationality of the person who owns the house that you live in? (P)

Cameroonian	Non-Cameroonian (foreigner)
-------------	-----------------------------

43. Are members of your household able to obtain support from UNHCR to pay for costs related to health care? (P)

Yes	No	Sometimes	In the past
-----	----	-----------	-------------

K. Safety and Protection: Cameroon

44. Do members of your household possess sufficient documentation to access to following services?:

Education	Yes	No
Health	Yes	No
Housing	Yes	No
Employment	Yes	No
Travel within Cameroon	Yes	No
Travel outside Cameroon	Yes	No

45. Has any member of this household been the victim of a crime in Yaoundé in the last 12 months? (P)

Yes	No
-----	----

46. What was the most recent serious crime experienced by a member of your household? (P)

Housebreaking	Mugging	Assault	Fraud	Other (<i>specify</i>)
---------------	---------	---------	-------	--------------------------

47. In general, do you (personally) feel safe living in Yaoundé? (P)

Yes	No
-----	----

48. Which of the following can you rely on for help if your safety or security is threatened?

Police	Yes	No
Neighbors	Yes	No
Chief of the Quarter	Yes	No
Refugee community leaders	Yes	No
UNHCR	Yes	No
Others...		

49. In general, do you personally feel that Cameroonians are happy to accept refugees in Yaoundé? (P)

Yes	No
-----	----

L. Future Plans:

50. Finally, what do you think is the best solution to your situation as a refugee? (P)

Return to my original home, in my country of origin	
Remain living in Yaoundé	
Move to another part of Cameroon	
Move to another country	
Return to my home country, but to a new area	
Other (Explain)	

M. Questions for Enumerator

51. Language of Interview

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52. Was additional translation used during interview (P)

Yes	No
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Appendix 3: Enumerator Training Guidelines - Example

Guidance Notes for Enumerators - Yaoundé: (Provided in French and English for Cameroon)

SECTION A: GENERAL

1. Leave this blank - do not enter a household number (to be entered by the lead researcher)
2. City – Write either “Yaoundé” or “y”, if this is blank
3. Enter your name here, and on every form that you complete. You may enter some other identification of yourself, such as your initials or perhaps a number assigned to you by the lead researcher. The lead researcher will advise you on this question.
4. Name of the person being interviewed. Remind the person that they will not be identified in any results that come out of the survey. Their names are only being recorded for quality control purposes. Write “n/a” if the person would rather not have their name recorded.
5. The date that the information is being collected

A: Biographical Information of Respondent

Information in this section refers exclusively to the person that you are interviewing (i.e. the respondent), even if they are not the head of the household. It is information that relates to them personally, not to the household or any other members of the household.

6. Tick (P) either “male” or “female” – you do not necessarily need to ask the person.
7. Ask “How old are you?” or “What year were you born?” Enter either age of person or year they were born – however they respond to the question. If they do not know, estimate by entering a tick (P) in the appropriate age category
8. Ask “What country did you originally take refuge from?” Write the name of the country in the space provided.
9. Ask “Would you describe the home that you fled from as urban or rural?” Tick (P) the appropriate box in relation to the response.
10. Ask. “What work did you do, prior to fleeing your country?” Tick (P) the appropriate box. If the occupation is not listed, write it in the space provided.
11. Ask “When did you arrive in Yaoundé?” Enter arrival date or tick (P) the appropriate box that reflects the number of years the person has spent in Yaoundé.
12. Ask “What is your legal status in Cameroon?” Tick (P) appropriate box. If the person is an undocumented migrant write “undocumented” in space provided.

B: Social Activities

This section also refers exclusively to the respondent. The questions seek to explore the extent to which selected activities of the respondent are pursued in contexts that also include local Cameroonians. Questions 13 – 17 can be asked in such a manner that the respondents are told of the various options for answering the questions.

13. Ask “Do you personally attend a place of religious worship in Yaoundé on a regular basis?” If answer is “no” mark with an “X”, (adjacent to question). If answer is “yes”, then continue to ask “with mostly other refugees? Or nationals? Or with both refugees and nationals mixed together?” Tick (P) the box that is

appropriate to their response. Repeat the same process for questions related to education, health, sports and leisure.

C: Household Characteristics

These questions collect some basic information related to the household. When considering the issues of household size, a “household” should be defined as people who live together on a regular basis and who think of themselves as part of the same unit. Household structures change over time, so consider the situation at time of the interview. Questions on household income and expenditure can be difficult and consuming to work out. Many people do not like to disclose such personal details. However, this information is important, so take your time and make sure information is recorded accurately.

14. Ask “What is the name of the neighborhood that you live in, here in Yaoundé?” Write the answer in the space provided.
15. Ask “Are you the head of your household or family here in Yaoundé?” Tick (P) appropriate box – either “yes” or “no”.
16. Ask “How many people live within your household?” Enter number in appropriate box.
17. Ask “Regarding your neighbors that live immediately next to your house, how many families are refugees and how many are Cameroonian?” Enter number of each in the appropriate box provided. This should only apply to households that are surrounding the household that you are surveying. If the person claims that they do not know, enter “n/a” in both boxes.
18. Ask “Do you own your house or is it owned by someone else?” Tick “owned” if the person is the owner. Tick (P) “rented” if the person pays somebody a regular and fixed amount of money for their accommodation. Tick “guest” if the person does not own the property that they stay in and if they do not pay the owner to stay there.

D: Household Expenses and Income

Ask respondents to estimate an average of forms of household expenditure listed over the period of a month.

19. Ask “In general, how much per month does your household spend on housing?” Enter the approximate amount per month in local currency. Ask the same question in relation to water, electricity, food, transport, education. If the person does not know or refuses to answer, enter “?”. Enter “0” if the household does not pay for specific listed expenses. The total for additional household expenditure, not listed above, should be entered under the last category, “OTHER”. “Additional comments” may be written in the space provided, if necessary. These may include observations or responses to the question, or notes on how particular figures were calculated.
20. Ask “Is anyone in the household employed?” If answer is “yes”, ask “What is the average amount of money that they collectively bring into the household per month?” Ask the same with regard to “own business”, “informal street trading”, domestic worker”, “daily laborer”, “UNHCR”, “Charity organizations”, “mosque or church”, “loan from neighbors”. Under “OTHER” add the total amount of additional income that is not listed above. You may need to take some time over this question to help the respondent to work out the figures for each of the sub-categories. In some cases income may not be regular or may only be occasional. In such instances you should try to estimate an *average per month*, by considering the total amount earned over a number of months and dividing the amount by that number. If amount is 0, write “0”. If amount is unknown, or person is reluctant to disclose this, enter “?”.

E: Marriage

Identify total number of marriages in the household, particularly marriages between refugees and Cameroonians. "Marriage" may include a formal or officially-sanctioned marriage, as well as traditional arrangements and concubinage, where these arrangements are recognized within the household as marriage.

21. Ask "How many married (official and common-law) couples are there living in this household?" Enter the number in the appropriate box.
22. Ask "Of these marriages, how many are between refugees and Cameroonians?" Enter the number in the appropriate box. Note that this number should always be the same or smaller than the number in 21.

F: Access to Education

23. Ask "How many children of school-going age (primary and secondary) who live in this household are attending school?" Enter number in appropriate box. Then ask "How many children of school-going age (primary and secondary) are not attending school?" Enter number in appropriate box.
24. Ask "With regard to those children that are not attending school, what is the main reason for them not attending school?" Tick one appropriate box. You may read out the choice of reasons to the respondent and allow the respondent to select the main reason. If an additional "main reason" is not listed, write it under "other". They can only select one option.
25. Ask "Who is primarily responsible for meeting the cost of education in this household?" Tick appropriate box or specify under "other". You may read out the options to the respondent and allow them to select who is primarily responsible. They can only select one option.
26. Ask "What are the main problems with education, in general?" Tick one appropriate box or specify one additional reason under "other". You may read out the options to the respondent and allow them to select what they think is the main problem with education. They can only select one option.

G. Access to Health Care

27. Ask "Where do members of the household mainly access health services from?" Tick one appropriate box or specify one additional reason under "other". You may list the options to the respondent. If none of the options apply, write in the additional answer under "other".
28. Ask "What is the main source of assistance with meeting health care costs?" Tick one appropriate box or specify one additional reason under "other". You may list the options to the respondent. If none of the options apply, write in the additional answer under "other".
29. Ask "In general, what are the main health-related problems in this household?" Tick one appropriate box or specify one additional reason under "other". You may list the options to the respondent. If none of the options apply, write in the additional answer under "other".
30. Ask "In your experience, what is the main problem with accessing health-care services?" Tick one appropriate box or specify one additional reason under "other". You may list the options to the respondent. If none of the options apply, write in the additional answer under "other".

H. Protection

31. Ask "In general, are refugees comfortable seeking assistance from the local police?" Tick either "yes" or "no". Additional notes may be added to explain the answer.
32. Ask "Are refugees more vulnerable to crime and abuse than Cameroonians?" Tick either "yes" or "no". Additional notes may be added to explain the answer.

33. Ask “Do you and your family have documents to prove that you are refugees?” Tick either “yes” or “no”. Additional notes may be added to explain the answer. If only some members of the family have documents write “some members” under additional notes.
34. Ask “Is it important that you keep your documents with you at all times to prove that you are a refugee?” Tick either “yes” or “no”. Additional notes may be added to explain the answer.
35. Ask “Who do you approach first if you need assistance related to your security?” Wait for answer and then tick appropriate box, or specify additional reason under “other”.

SECTION B: CAMEROON

I. Travel History and Arrival

36. Ask “After fleeing your home, how many other countries did you pass through before settling in Cameroon?” After hearing the answer from the respondent, tick appropriate answer or specify under “other” if none of the listed reasons apply. Tick only one answer.
37. Ask “What was the main reason behind your household seeking refuge in Cameroon?” After hearing answer tick appropriate answer or specify under “other” if none of the listed reasons apply. Tick only one answer.
38. Ask “What did you do after you first arrived in Cameroon?” After hearing the answer, tick appropriate answer or specify under “other” if none of the listed reasons apply. Tick only one answer.
39. Ask “When your household decided to move to Yaoundé, was safety and protection a major reason, a secondary reason, or insignificant to you decision to move?” Tick appropriate block. Do the same for “access to employment opportunities”, “access to UNHCR”, etc. Tick one box per row.

J. UNHCR and Access to Services

40. Ask “Do children in your household currently receive support from UNHCR to attend school?” Tick appropriate box.
41. Ask “Does your household receive support from UNHCR to pay for housing costs?” Tick appropriate box.
42. Ask “What is the nationality of the person who owns the house that you live in?” Tick appropriate box.
43. Ask “Are members of your household able to obtain support from UNHCR to pay costs related to health care?” Tick the appropriate box.

K. Safety and Security

44. Ask “Do you and other members of your household have access to sufficient documentation to access education?” Tick either “yes” or “no”. Repeat in the same way for the other services listed in the table.
45. Ask “Has any member of your household been the victim of a crime in the last 12 Months?” Answer either “yes” or “no”.
46. Ask “What was the most recent crime experienced by a member of your household?” Tick appropriate box or specify under “other”. Tick only one box that applies to the *most recent* experience of crime.
47. Ask “In general, do you personally feel safe in Yaoundé?” Tick “yes” or “no”
48. Ask “Can you rely on the police for help if your safety or security is threatened?” Answer either “yes” or “no”. Ask the same for “neighbors”, “chef de quartier”, etc. One answer per row.
49. Ask “In general, do you personally feel that Cameroonians are happy to accept refugees in Yaoundé?” Answer either “yes” or “no”.

L. Future Plans

50. Ask “Finally, what do you think is the best solution to your situation as a refugee?” Tick next to response that the respondent agrees with most. Tick next to one answer only, or add an additional answer under “other”. You may read the different options out to the refugee.

M. Questions for Enumerator

51. Enumerator to write in the language that the interview was conducted in.
52. Indicate whether an additional translator was used in the course of conducting the interview.

Appendix 4: Checklist for Funding Agencies when preparing Requests for Proposals (RFPs) Related to Urban Refugees

1. Does the RFP invite proposals that address the initial reception needs of urban refugees, based on methodologies that contribute to self-reliance?
2. Does the RFP include shelter/housing in its sectoral focus list? If so, does it provide the flexibility to use innovative approaches for improving urban refugees' access to housing rental markets?
3. Does the RFP include livelihoods in its sectoral focus list? If so, does it call for innovative approaches to increasing urban refugees' access to formal employment, including linking protection, community outreach and livelihood activities?
4. Does the RFP include a call for activities that encourage cooperation, interaction, and peaceful coexistence among refugees and host communities, such as joint community development activities, joint management of common infrastructure (e.g., water points) or dispute resolution mechanisms?
5. In settings where the national legal framework is restrictive or does not recognize refugees living in urban areas, does the RFP invite strategic outreach and advocacy activities, including through partnership with local and national organizations?
6. Does the RFP provide opportunities to identify and document the needs and perspectives of urban refugees regarding potential durable solutions, including for the purpose of designing future programs that support these solutions?
7. Does the RFP provide for flexibility in proposing sub-agreements with local or national organizations that could provide specific services or engage local stakeholders in ways that would strengthen refugee-host relations?
8. Does the RFP use standard language, e.g., "urban refugees" or "refugees living in host communities" to indicate that the proposal opportunity is not limited to work with refugees in camp-based settings?
9. Does the RFP invite analysis of projects' potential impacts on host communities and the relationship between urban refugees their hosts, analysis of heterogeneity within a refugee hosting community, or a needs assessment of the urban poor who live among refugees?
10. Does the RFP include an expectation of coordination with development actors and other non-traditional actors (e.g., local civic, faith or business associations) when urban refugee programming is proposed?

Appendix 5: Refugee-Host Relations Checklist for Program Design and Evaluating Proposals

1. Does the proposal identify existing social structures and diversities (e.g., economic, religious, linguistic) within refugee and host communities, and consider how these might affect refugees' access to essential services and protection?
2. Does the proposal identify points of interaction or mutual organizing between refugees and host communities? Funders could request that proposals include a community or institutional mapping to illustrate where, when and how refugees and their hosts are likely to interact.
3. Does the proposal assess the level of awareness of refugees and their rights among the local host community, including relevant public agencies? What steps does it propose to address these, in terms of encouraging a more refugee-friendly "operating environment"?
4. Does the proposal analyze the refugee protection framework and any opportunities or challenges it presents for local integration? How does it propose to make use of opportunities? How does it propose to address challenges? Funders could request this be included in the background section.
5. Does the proposal include ways to measure (quantitatively and/or qualitatively) the potential benefits of refugees living and working in the community to host community members?
6. Does the proposal identify any gaps in protection and assistance to new refugee arrivals that may generate conflict between refugees and hosts? If so, how does it seek to address these?
7. If common property resources (i.e., shared infrastructure or physical assets) are identified, does the proposal include activities to strengthen their management through involvement of both refugees and host community members?
8. Does the proposal analyze potential obstacles for refugees in accessing essential public services, e.g., health care or education? Does it address these obstacles in ways that engage local beneficiaries of these services?
9. Does the proposal identify ways to engage local landlords or community institutions (e.g., neighborhood associations, local government units) in expanding refugees' access to rental housing or making refugees' tenancy rights more secure?
10. Does the proposal identify opportunities to partner with local civil society organizations, community-based or faith-based associations, or volunteer networks in providing essential services or protection to urban refugees? Funders could request that this be included as an appendix to the proposal.
11. Does the proposal assess prospects for durable solutions for refugees in urban areas, and consider ways to engage local stakeholders in the identification and implementation of durable solutions?

Appendix 6: Sample Indicators Related to Refugee-Host Relationships for use in Monitoring and Evaluation

The following are sample indicators related to urban refugee-host relationships that could be included in monitoring and evaluation frameworks.

Protection Framework

1. The national refugee protection framework recognizes the rights of refugees to reside, access essential services and pursue livelihood opportunities in urban areas.
2. The percentage of sampled municipal authorities and law enforcement officials who are able to identify or accurately describe:
 - a. At least one element of their country's accepted definition of a refugee.
 - b. At least three key commitments of their country's refugee protection laws or policies.
 - c. The procedures for refugee reception and/or registration.
3. The percentage of sampled host community residents who are able to identify:
 - a. At least one element of their country's accepted definition of a refugee.
 - b. At least two commitments of their country's refugee protection laws or policies.

Arrival and Reception

4. Written information on the reception process is available in refugee languages.
5. Interpretation services are available during the reception process as needed.
6. The reception process includes a socio-economic assessment and identifies refugees in need of intensive short-term support, based on established vulnerability criteria.

Shelter and Housing

7. The level of security in tenancy relationships, as measured by changes in:
 - a. The number of forced evictions of refugees.
 - b. The percentage of evictions and rent defaults over time.
8. The extent to which identified landlords make adequate rental housing available to urban refugees, as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of sampled refugee rental housing that meets minimum standards.
 - b. The percentage of sampled refugee tenants who are able to meet their monthly rental payment commitments.
9. The extent to which urban refugees have secure access to shared community infrastructure (e.g., water and sanitation points), as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of user groups that include both refugee and host community participants.
 - b. The percentage of user groups that have guidelines for the use and management of common property which are mutually agreeable to refugee and host community users.

Livelihoods

10. The percentage of sampled host community employers who are able to identify at least two skill-sets (e.g., carpentry, embroidery) among refugees living in their municipality.
11. The percentage of sampled host community employers who are able to describe accurately the procedures for hiring refugees.

12. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who:
 - a. Are able to describe accurately the procedures for receiving permits to conduct business.
 - b. Apply for and receive for business permits.
13. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who are economically self-reliant, as measured by self-reporting of household consumption and income sources.

Education and Health Care

14. The extent to which urban health clinics (including government, private and NGO-managed clinics) are accessible to urban refugees, as measured by:
 - a. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who are able to describe accurately the procedures for accessing local health services.
 - b. The percentage of sampled urban refugees who indicate ability to pay fees for basic and curative health services.
15. The extent to which sampled clinic and school administrators and staff are able to:
 - a. Identify at least one element of their country's accepted definition of a refugee
 - b. Identify at least one form of documentation of refugee status.
 - c. Describe accurately the procedures for refugees to access essential services.
16. The percentage of sampled school-age refugee children who are enrolled in schools.
17. The percentage of sampled parents of school-age urban refugee children who:
 - a. Are able to identify procedures for enrolling children in school.
 - b. Indicate the ability to pay for fees associated with enrolling children in schools.

Durable Solutions

18. In locations where durable solutions are being explored, relevant documents (e.g., needs assessment frameworks, strategy documents, implementation plans) identify and incorporate the perspectives of urban refugees.
19. National law and policy governing migration provides mechanisms (e.g., visas, permanent or temporary work permits) for urban refugees to transition to other legally recognized migrant statuses.

Depending on the availability of baseline information, these indicators could be made more specific to planned activities and targeted participants, or indicate expected change over time, e.g.: "100% of beneficiaries are able to accurately describe the procedures for applying for business permits, as indicated by activity post-tests" or "The percentage of beneficiaries who are economically self-reliant, as measured by self-reported household consumption, increases from 20% to 50% over one year."

Information for these indicators could be collected through the following approaches:

- Quantitative and/or qualitative surveys (drawing on Appendix 1 and 2 of this report as examples)
- Focus group discussions involving activity participants
- Written stories from project beneficiaries on the most significant changes from their participation
- Desk reviews of relevant laws, policies or procedural documents
- External observation of refugee reception or service intake processes

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