Feinstein
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Developing a Profiling Methodology for Displaced People in Urban Areas

Final Report

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In 2010-11 the US State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration funded research by the Feinstein Center (Tufts University) to develop a profiling methodology for urban migrants and refugees. The purpose of the methodology was to capture a range of livelihood, integration and vulnerability data in urban settings, so as to compare the experiences of refugees and other migrant and non-migrant groups living in the same urban districts. As part of developing the methodology, we conducted case studies in three urban settings in key host countries. In each country we collaborated with the following local partners:

- Aden, Yemen – INTERSOS
- Polokwane, South Africa – African Center for Migration Studies, Univ. of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
- Mae Sot, Thailand – International Rescue Committee

The research built on earlier studies by the principal investigator (Karen Jacobsen) and our partners, and sought to make the mixed methodology easily utilizable by operational agencies.

Our final report is presented in the following sections:

1. **Introduction – the need for profiling in urban setting**

   We describe why profiling is important for refugee (or other humanitarian groups such as IDPs) programming.

2. **Conceptual framework**

   We outline the theory underpinning our profiling approach. We explain how we distinguish refugees from other migrants and residents, the link between livelihood security and vulnerability, and the constructs and key indicators we used to measure different kinds of livelihood security. We propose a model that explains the causes of livelihood security.

3. **Summary of findings and recommendations**

   We summarize our research findings and include two types of recommendations: good profiling practices (for use by donors when reviewing proposals), and programming recommendations that could be acted upon by implementing agencies.

4. **Research methodology**

   We describe our survey methodology, qualitative methods and mapping tools, and how they evolved and were revised over the course of our study.

Separate from this final report, are the **three case studies** we conducted – in Aden, Yemen; Mae Sot, Thailand; and Polokwane, South Africa. Each case describes how we adapted the methodology to make it contextually relevant, presents our findings, and provides specific programming recommendations. The survey questionnaire utilized for each site (including translation) is included as an annex to each case. The datasets for each of the three cities are available for use by other researchers upon request.

Our **toolkit** includes our **revised profiling tools and training module**, all designed to be easily utilizable by field organizations. The profiling tools include:

- the revised survey questionnaire★
- survey data entry template,
- survey sampling strategies,
- urban mapping instructions,
- qualitative interview schedules, and
- an outline of a two-day training workshop.

★ We revised the questionnaire following analysis of our case study data, and tested it during a short field trip to Nairobi in September 2011. We worked with IRC-Kenya's urban field office to pilot the new instrument and ensure it was easily adapted and utilizable.

Requests for either data or tools should be directed to Karen.Jacobsen@tufts.edu.

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1. INTRODUCTION: PROFILING IN URBAN SETTINGS

Humanitarian agencies seeking to provide livelihood assistance or protection for refugees in urban areas are faced by a different set of circumstances than in camp settings. First, in urban areas the political context – and particularly the presence of the state – is much more of a factor than it is in remote rural or border areas more typical of camp settings. Host governments are much less willing to allow, never mind support, urban livelihood programs aimed at refugees largely because they want to discourage migration to urban areas.[1] One implication of this is that advocacy for refugee livelihoods, particularly the right to work, has become an important aspect of protection and assistance for UNHCR, particularly in countries hosting large urban populations.[2]

A second issue is that urban migrants, including refugees, tend to live amongst the local population. Even where refugees were once in camps set up near towns, over time the camps become incorporated as urban areas spread. For example, Budumbura camp for Liberian refugees in Ghana was initially located in rural farmland 20 kilometers from the city of Accra, but today the camp is surrounded by urban settlement and is part of the city. This incorporation of camps has happened elsewhere, notably in Khartoum, where IDP camps that were once quite distant from the city are now on the outskirts or even part of the city. In all host countries with encampment policies (eg. Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania, Nepal) there are large numbers of refugees in urban areas. In countries without encampment policies, such as Egypt or South Africa, most of the refugee population lives in urban areas.

The distribution of refugees within urban areas varies by country and even by city. In some cities, refugees are concentrated in high-density, low-income settlements such as the Basateen district of Aden or the Eastleigh neighborhood in Nairobi (both areas where most Somali refugees in those cities live). Concentrated areas have the advantage of allowing refugees to mobilize and benefit from their co-national networks. In other cities, while there are still areas of refugee density, the overall pattern is for refugees to be more spread out amongst the local population. Such a pattern occurs, for example, in Cairo, Bangkok, Johannesburg and Kuala Lumpur.

When refugees live amongst the local population, aid agencies face a range of programming difficulties. While the government and/or UNHCR can register refugees who present themselves to the relevant office, many refugees, including some of the most vulnerable, are often not reached or even known about by agencies. Some of these 'hidden' refugees deliberately choose to avoid contact with UNHCR or other aid agencies, preferring to stay below the official radar, or simply choosing not to identify themselves as refugees. Others may not know about or be unable to access humanitarian agencies that could potentially assist them, or may be afraid to come forward because of their legal status, particularly if they have lived in the city undocumented for a prolonged period of time. Humanitarian agencies wishing to assist refugees (or wanting to estimate their numbers) are thus confronted with potentially large but unknown numbers of refugees who are out of view. Finding ways to locate them, distinguish them from other migrants, and determine whether and how they are more vulnerable and need assistance that differs from other groups, thus become important programming issues.

In many urban settings, aid agencies are only aware of – and thus only provide services to – those individuals who self-identify or come forward for help. It would be useful to know more about the total population of refugees in an urban setting and to understand what proportion of cases are actually being addressed, particularly for the most vulnerable. Cities are characterized by mixed migration flows, where migrants come to the city both because of protection needs and the need to find work. Refugees leave their place

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1   This report does not address the issue of IDPs in urban areas, where very different political considerations are in play. Some national governments downplay or even deny the existence of IDPs, particularly when they represent a political problem. Others support IDPs (or even refugees), for example, when the government sides with the displaced groups in a political conflict.

2   See in particular UNHCR's 'Urban Livelihoods: Operational Guidelines', January 2011.

of origin for reasons related to violence but choose a particular destination based on livelihood opportunities. Once a refugee population is established in a city, it attracts co-nationals who come for economic reasons even if not fleeing violence. 'Profiling' these groups – by determining which individuals fit the refugee category and why – is thus useful to guide programming for agencies concerned with refugees.

In low-income areas, where most refugees tend to live, it is important to determine whether and in what ways refugees are worse off than their neighbors, the local host population. In countries of first asylum, the urban poor face significant health, crime and poverty problems. Humanitarian programs can be seen as discriminatory when they target refugees whose neighbors may be equally badly off. Agencies need to justify – to host governments, to local people, and to donors – why they use resources to support one group and not others. If agencies can demonstrate that the target group is more vulnerable, or has special needs not faced by the larger population, targeting of resources can be more easily justified. Special needs can include for example, family tracing, trauma counseling, provision of documentation, and other problems arising from displacement which are less likely to be experienced by stable (non–displaced) populations.

Profiling studies can address the following programming issues identified above:

- *Distinguishing refugees from other types of migrants*

A profiling study provides a clear definition of who the agency includes and does not include in the refugee group in a particular setting, and how refugees are defined differently from other migrant groups.

- *Mapping where and how refugees are distributed in the urban setting*

Profiling data reveal where refugees (or the target population) are located, whether they are living interspersed throughout the city or concentrated in a specific neighborhood, and whether they live near hazardous areas (like industrial areas or garbage dumps).

- *Determining locally specific factors that influence the vulnerability of poor households (i.e. their ability to respond to economic shocks, disasters, etc), and how refugees differ from other urban groups in these factors*

A profiling approach identifies a range of information about refugees vis–à–vis other migrant groups and local residents living in the same districts. Such information can be simple demographics (age, sex, ethnicity) that point to potential vulnerability differences. A profiling study can also identify contextually-specific factors that increase vulnerability. Determining what type of data to gather can be a useful exercise for the agency or researchers to think through the factors that may increase vulnerability in the relevant context. Profiling can also reveal (relative) strengths, i.e. skills and other livelihood assets possessed by refugees and whether and how these differ from their neighbors.

Knowing the whereabouts, strengths and weaknesses of the target population can provide entry points for programming. Profiling can be used for political/advocacy purposes, as it is a relatively technical exercise that produces straightforward and verifiable data. Both the profiling exercise and the data can be used to engage with host governments to promote the rights of refugees. Faced with data that are rigorously and objectively collected, governments are less likely to deny the problems facing refugees, and the study can open a path to negotiating programming or rights. Profiling data can even potentially be used to show that refugees contribute to the economy, for example by showing that refugee entrepreneurs employ members of the local host community and support local markets.

The value of using a profiling approach to increase information about displaced populations has been recognized for several years. The approach was conceived and initiated by IDMC in the late 1990s, and has since been developed and implemented by a joint UN group, JIPS, with the support of UNHCR and other UN agencies and NGOs.

This report sets out an approach to designing a profiling study. It is based on research conducted

in three urban settings over the past year (2010–2011). The research and resulting data can be found in our case studies accompanying this report. We also provide a full toolkit containing the instruments and training module we developed for the studies. In the remainder of this report we describe our conceptual approach and the main recommendations from our study. The profiling methodologies we developed are explained in the following chapter. ■

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Our profiling approach first presents a way to distinguish humanitarian populations such as refugees or IDPs, other types of migrants, and local hosts, both conceptually and empirically, based on their migration history and their experience of conflict and or persecution.

We then explain whether, how, and why refugees are more vulnerable than other migrants and the local population in urban contexts. We argue that livelihood security is a key factor influencing vulnerability in urban settings, and identify four key components: employment, income, housing and physical safety. Our case studies explore how these components differ amongst refugees, migrants and the local populations in each of the cities explored, and what factors increase livelihood security for migrants and refugees.

Distinguishing between refugees, migrants and non-migrants

There is much debate today about whether it is possible to distinguish refugees from other migrants in urban settings, and indeed, whether the experience of refugees in urban settings is different from that of other urban migrants.[3] Here we assume that it is possible to distinguish between different migrant groups, bearing in mind that there are also many similarities between them and definitions are often blurred.[4]

We distinguish refugees from other migrants according to 'push' factors associated with the refugee criteria outlined in the 1951 Refugee Convention and the OAU Convention. These treaties define refugees as those who cross international borders for reasons of individual persecution (perpetrated by state or non-state actors), or generalized situations of armed conflict or public disturbances. Thus, if in their

areas of departure, migrants experienced violent conflict or persecution, they are likely to have fled for reasons included in the refugee treaties, and if they crossed a border, they are likely a part of the refugee population.

In urban settings, the humanitarian population might comprise a broad range of people in refugee-like situations including refugees with legal refugee status, asylum seekers, those denied status, *prima facie* refugees, returnees, IDPs and so forth. The number and category of groups depends on the particular context and goals of the profiling study, but clear criteria for defining groups must be developed in each setting. In Yemen, for example, we identified four groups of interest:

- **Refugees** were those who were born in a country experiencing conflict and/or identified as asylum seekers or had a refugee card from UNHCR or the Government of Yemen.
- **Adenis** were those who had Yemeni citizenship, were born in Yemen, and were either born in Aden itself or came to Aden as a child.
- **Yemeni migrants** were those who had Yemeni citizenship, and were born in Yemen but not in Aden nor had come to Aden as a child.
- **Returnees** were those who had Yemeni citizenship but were not born in Yemen. (Many Yemenis had migrated to Somalia several decades earlier and returned to Yemen following outbreak of civil war in Somalia.)

In Thailand, all Burmese outside of the camp are considered by the government to be migrants rather than refugees, despite many having fled refugee-like situations prior to arrival. In Mae Sot, we knew from qualitative and key informant interviews that documentation status created significant differences amongst Burmese migrants, and this appeared to be more salient than defining who had specific refugee-like experience. Rather than simply comparing all Burmese with Thais, we divided Burmese into those who were undocumented and

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3 For a discussion of this debate, see Jacobsen, K. (2006). "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas: A Livelihoods Perspective..." <u>Journal of Refugee Studies</u> 19(3): 273-286.

4 Many who migrate for economic reasons experience push factors associated with 'structural violence' – i.e. structural inequalities that systematically deny people their basic human needs – rather than individual persecution or armed conflict. Severe economic destitution arising from the inability to bring in sufficient household income can lead to homelessness, starvation, the break-up of family, and ultimately, the decision to send one or more family member abroad.

documented, and compared the experience of migrants in both of these categories to that of Thai citizens:

- **Undocumented migrants** were those who were born in Burma and either had no documentation, expired documentation, or were stateless.
- **Documented migrants** were those who were born in Burma and had some form of documentation, issued by either the Thai government or UNHCR.
- **Thai citizens** were those who were born in Thailand, had Thai citizenship, and were either ethnically Thai or ethnically Karen.

In other contexts there might be IDPs present in the urban setting, or other ways to classify migrant groups of interest. For example, when profiling refugee groups from countries that are experiencing conflict in some regions and not others, it may be useful to create categories based on region of origin rather than the entire country. The criteria used to create categories should depend on the mandate of the agency and whether it operates using a broad or narrow refugee definition, or if it serves all migrants regardless of refugee status.

Operationalizing the categories

Once the group criteria are established, questions about the respondent's demographics, immigration status, and migration experience are selected. The questions are created such that responses will allow the categorization. Likely questions include:

- Where were you born?
- Where were you living before you came here (city/country)?
- When did you leave [place of origin] / How long have you been here?
- Why did you leave? Why did you come to this city and not another place?
- What is your immigration status?
- What is the first language spoken in your home / What is your ethnicity?

Based on responses to these questions, the respondent is assigned to the relevant group during the data analysis. For example, a respondent who said she departed from a conflict-affected area during a time when conflict was occurring would be assigned to the 'refugee' category. If she also said she left for reasons related to the conflict (eg. insecurity, persecution, etc), this would increase the likelihood that she is a refugee – even if she said she came to the city for economic reasons. A person who was initially forced to move because of conflict or persecution but came to the city for economic reasons is still a refugee.

There are several factors that might confound our categories. People often move in circular or other complex migratory patterns, and respondents might be wrongly categorized if, for example, the place of departure before coming to the city was a place of transit and not a place of origin. Thus our categorization might exclude some respondents who were refugees, and include others who are not. Validity checks by survey enumerators or others who are knowledgeable about the local context (who are from the local or refugee populations) are useful. For example, the survey can provide a place for enumerators to indicate at the end of each interview whether they believed the respondent was likely to be a refugee. It is important that enumerators are well-trained on definitions and categories prior to data collection. Although the categories do not always perfectly identify the groups of interest, we believe conducting secondary analysis of data is more reliable than self-identification by the respondent. There are often other reasons to declare or not declare oneself as a refugee, or confusion when respondents' own definition does not match documentation status. [5]

The link between livelihood security and vulnerability in urban settings

Unlike poverty, which is usually measured with static indicators such as income or wealth, vulnerability is a dynamic concept, intended to capture households' ability to respond to perturbations or shocks. These shocks can occur at the household level, such as the loss of an income

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5   This is different in locations where the government clearly defines categories. In Azerbaijan, for example, all IDPs receive clear documentation of their IDP status from the government, so people's responses about whether or not they are IDPs are relatively straightforward (See World Bank, October 2011. 'Azerbaijan – Building Assets and Promoting Self Reliance: The Livelihoods of Internally Displaced Persons', Report No. AAA64 – AZ.).

earner, or at the wider community level (often referred to as 'covariate' shocks), such as an environmental disaster. Vulnerability was long ago defined by Chambers and Conway as a combination of defenselessness, insecurity, and exposure to risk, shocks and stress.[6] Building on Chambers' definition, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) emerged in the 1990s, with a focus on livelihood strategies which are seen as an outcome of the intersection between a household's five types of livelihood assets (the assets pentagon), and the contextual importance of policies, institutions and processes (the PIPS box).[7]

In urban contexts, we conceptualize vulnerability by drawing on the work of Caroline Moser and the SLF.[8] Caroline Moser's "fivefold asset vulnerability framework" is designed for urban settings and captures the multidimensional aspects of low-income households' ability to respond to deteriorating circumstances.[9] Moser defines vulnerability as "insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment, and implicit in this, their responsiveness and resilience to risks that they face during such negative changes." [10]

Moser emphasizes the importance of identifying the distinctive features of urban settings that affect the assets the poor control.[11] One such feature is the "commoditized' nature of the urban environment. Commoditization means that households need cash to pay for all their needs, in contrast to rural dwellers who can rely more on their own production for food and shelter. Sources of cash income are therefore crucial for urban dwellers, and include employment, access to assets that can be sold or will increase the owner's productivity, and cash transfers (including remittances, governmental

safety nets, or humanitarian assistance). Households that lack diverse sources of income are likely to be more vulnerable, because if one source is compromised (due to a shock, or the 'changing environment') they have fewer others to draw upon. Diverse and regular sources of cash income are an important basis for urban livelihood security, which in turn is a key predictor of vulnerability. But cash income is not sufficient to ensure livelihood security. Households must feel and be safe in their homes and communities in order to ensure that they can access livelihood assets and safeguard their possessions.

Measuring livelihood security

Any program that seeks to address refugees' vulnerability to livelihood shocks and perturbations must be clear about what decreases such vulnerability, and how changes will be measured. We argue that vulnerability is affected by livelihood security, and identify four categories of livelihood security of particular importance in urban settings. Below we describe our four types of livelihood security (employment, financial, housing, and physical safety) and describe how refugees differed from other groups in our study cases.

1) Employment security

We define household employment as income earners being employed in decent work[12], which means not being exposed to capricious employers, physical risks or verbal abuse, and having time off to rest. Measures of household employment security include:

- Number of income earners – where households have single income earners, households are more at risk. Injury of the primary income earner can be a major shock to the household, and having a second earner is a measure of employment security. Studies should measure the experience of (at least) two income earners.

- Whether any household income earners are children or elderly.

- Number of hours income earners spend

6   Chambers, R. and G. Conway (1992). "Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century. ." IDS Discussion Paper 296, IDS, Brighton.

7   For a discussion and application of the SLF, see: DFID, Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets http://www.nssd.net/pdf/sectiont.pdf

8   This approach is further explored in Karen Jacobsen and Anastasia Marshak, "Vulnerability and Migration Status in Urban Settings: Comparing IDPs, Migrants and Non-migrants in Nairobi," in draft, Feinstein International Center, September 2011.

9   All references to Moser are from: Moser, C. N. (1998). "The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies." World Development 26(1): 1-19.

10 Moser 1998: 1

11 Moser 1998: 4

12 See ILO's 'Decent Work Agenda' found at: http://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/decent-work-agenda/lang--en/index.htm

working (are they underemployed, or overworked?).

- Whether type of work exposes them to risks such as abuse, sexual assault, or harassment. Workers in some occupations are at greater physical risk, especially those working in physically hazardous sites (any street work, construction), or in isolated environments (such as domestic workers in private homes).
- Whether any income earners have worker's insurance (or any form of safety net).

In our case studies, we found that refugee households in Aden and undocumented Burmese in Mae Sot were much more likely than other groups to be unemployed, or to be engaged in low-income, insecure employment. In Aden, refugee households were more likely to have children at work.

2) Financial security

We define financial security as having enough financial resources to adequately fulfill the needs and some wants of a household. Financial resources include household assets, income, savings, access to credit and insurance, and manageable debt. Measures of financial security include:

- Assets -- including *productive assets*, which increase household productivity such as a computer or electricity (the household may either own or have access to these), and *transferable assets,* which can be sold to increase cash flow (the household must own these in order to utilize their value).
  - ° Housing is a significant asset in urban settings and often underpins income, employment, and physical security. In addition to providing shelter, housing is an important productive asset that can be used to generate income through home-based production activities, rental of a room or property, or secure storage of goods for vending or trade. (For more discussion of the importance of housing, see below.)
- Income -- both what household members earn through work, and external sources such as remittances or aid. Household income is often difficult to ascertain, and a number of questions or indicators should be

used, such as daily or weekly income or 'best and worst' ranges. Household daily, weekly or monthly expenditures can be an additional or substitute indicator.

- Financial obligations -- such as sending remittances and debt servicing.
- Access to financial services and institutions -- such as credit (which enables entrepreneurship) and savings facilities (which increases the safety of household cash). Lack of access to banks or microfinance institutions prevents individuals from being able to start micro and small enterprises. Refugees in particular are often unable to use bank services for lack of identification or permanent address, or because of banks' lack of trust of refugee clients. Banks often resist providing credit to refugees for fear they will leave the country before repayment, or because they lack social guarantees that may exist among the host community along long-standing ethnic or social lines.

In our case studies, we found that refugees were much worse off in their financial security than other groups. Refugees in Aden and undocumented Burmese migrants in Mae Sot had fewer assets and lower household incomes. While remittance patterns were mixed, in Aden we found that refugees were more likely than other groups to send remittances. Burmese undocumented in Mae Sot were less likely to receive remittances than those who were documented.

One key difference we found amongst our migrant groups was that refugees were more likely to have had to abandon assets when they migrated, and this affected their financial security. Refugees who are forced to flee suddenly are less able to prepare, and must often abandon their non-movable assets. In addition, many refugees arrive with significant debt if they borrowed money from family or friends to pay for transportation to the host country or smugglers' fees.

3) Housing security

We defined housing security as physical safety of the dwelling itself, location, and the household's security of tenure. (Housing is also an asset,

discussed above, but important enough to stand alone as a key aspect of livelihood security.)

Measures of housing security include:

- Whether the dwelling is in a hazardous location.
- The type of housing (shack, slum dwelling, flat, house, etc) and construction materials.
- The amount of rent paid can be a proxy for quality of housing and location.
- The household's security of tenancy, i.e. whether the household owns the land or dwelling, or has a stable agreement with landlords allowing it to reside there.
- The household experience of eviction or forcible relocation.

In both Aden and Mae Sot, we found refugees (undocumented Burmese in Mae Sot) were more likely to live in houses made of inferior materials, more likely to have been evicted from their homes (because they could not pay the rent or because the owner did not want them there), and less likely to own their land and dwellings (largely because of the laws concerning refugee ownership).

4) Physical Safety

We defined physical safety as the absence of physical threats or harassment in the home, in one's own neighborhood and in the wider city. Feeling safe can influence whether and how one goes about pursuing a livelihood. Threats or harassment can stem from different sources, including other members of the household, the community, and state or extra-state authorities, and can make livelihood activities much more costly. People can feel unsafe because of crime, inadequate protection from police, or lack of access to justice. Or, household members can feel unsafe if they are obliged (for economic or other reasons) to share their dwellings with individuals who are not part of their family, and who could pose threats such as theft or sexual abuse, particularly for women or children.

Measures of lack of safety include:

- Actual experience of threats – for example, whether any household members have experienced crime, harassment, or physical assault in the past year.

- Perceptions of risk -- whether respondents feel safe in their homes or neighborhoods, and whether they trust others with whom they come into contact.
  - ° Questions should seek to determine sources of risk, i.e. from someone within the household or in the community, the police or local authorities, or even the home country government.
- Access to justice – if threats are experienced, whether the respondent feels she has any recourse to authorities.

In our case studies we found that refugees were more likely to feel at risk for their physical safety, and more likely to have experienced crime and harassment in the past year. In both Mae Sot and Aden, refugees experienced significantly higher levels of harassment and physical assault than other groups. Refugees were also more likely to share a dwelling, kitchens, or latrines with strangers. In Mae Sot, only 26% of undocumented and 36% of documented migrants believed the Thai police protect their families, compared with 61% of Thai citizens. Qualitative interviews revealed that local vigilante groups were filling a vacuum in security for many migrants. Community-based organizations attempted to deal with issues between Thai and Burmese without the assistance of the police because many believed that pursuing cases with authorities would be counter-productive by shining light on problems with Burmese.

Predicting and explaining livelihood security

How might differences in the livelihood security of refugees compared with other migrants and the local population be explained? For migrants and refugees, distinctive features of urban settings determine access to livelihood assets and security. These features can be analyzed at three levels:

- First, at the policy/institutional level where the state is the main actor;
- Second, at the level of civil society where policy is implemented, and where wider social processes including what we call a 'culture of harassment' influence what migrants can do; and
- Third, at the household/individual level,

where specific characteristics and experiences influence livelihood security.

a. The policy/institutional level: host government refugee policy

National refugee and other migration laws and policies, along with the bureaucracies and authorities that implement them, are an important determinant of refugees' abilities to pursue livelihoods. Unlike in camps or rural areas, which national governments often ignore and leave to the purview of humanitarian agencies, in urban settings the state is more actively present. This makes the host government's position on refugees' rights to work or pursue other economic activities, own land or houses, live in urban settings, or have freedom of movement particularly important. Whether authorities 'turn a blind eye', i.e. tolerate violations of restrictive policies or not, can make a significant difference in whether refugees are able to pursue livelihoods.

The wider institutional context is also key, in particular the practices of health, financial and educational institutions and their willingness to allow refugees access to their services. For example, financial institutions such as banks and microfinance agencies can extend or withhold financial services such as savings accounts, money transfers and credit to refugees. Even if refugees are legally permitted to access services, institutions often charge higher fees to non-citizens or require documentation that some do not have. When school fees and hospital bills exceed their monthly income, individuals must take out loans and thereby become indebted to other community members, employers, or moneylenders. This can be particularly problematic and more costly for refugees when a culture of harassment exists, as described in the next section.

b. Social processes: a culture of harassment

At the level of civil society, in many settings discrimination and harassment by the state (police, immigration authorities), including in the form of extortion (bribery) make it difficult or costly for refugees to move around freely or to work or engage in economic activities. Harassment can take the form of anti-migrant (xenophobic) attitudes on the part of

governmental authorities and the local community. It can range from verbal and emotional abuse (name-calling, racial slurs, exclusion from jobs, services, and social spaces), to physical harassment (pushing, bumping, or assault), or to open extortion (forced payment of bribes and unwarranted detention). Such actions create a culture of fear and intimidation making it difficult for refugees or migrants to move freely. In such an atmosphere, refugees may choose to stay inside or keep their children out of school, and not to pursue self-employment initiatives due to the risk of being jailed or charged a bribe higher than the amount earned. In times of political crisis, such as the Arab Spring or national elections, refugees are often at increased risk of xenophobic attacks.

A culture of harassment is associated with increased transaction costs associated with pursuing livelihoods, including bribes (often related to the lack of documentation), higher rents (because of discrimination by landlords), and extra "fees" charged by employers (who use refugees as cheap labor). When refugees must endure a culture of harassment, they face greater threats from criminals, who know they are less likely to seek recourse or protection from the authorities.

Government and institutional policy and a culture of harassment are forces playing a central role in the livelihood security of refugees and migrants. In any urban setting, these forces increase refugees' difficulty in pursuing livelihoods compared to other urban poor who are not subject to them. But within the same urban setting, there remains variation between and within migrant groups not entirely explained by these wider policy and processes. Some individuals cope better and achieve greater livelihood security. Some even become financially successful, such as well off Somali migrants in Nairobi. What explains why they did well? They may have arrived in Nairobi already accustomed to conducting business in urban settings, and with social or financial capital that equipped them to circumvent policy restrictions through payment of bribes or hiring of a local intermediary. In any situation, those with capital and relevant skills will do better than those without. Financially successful
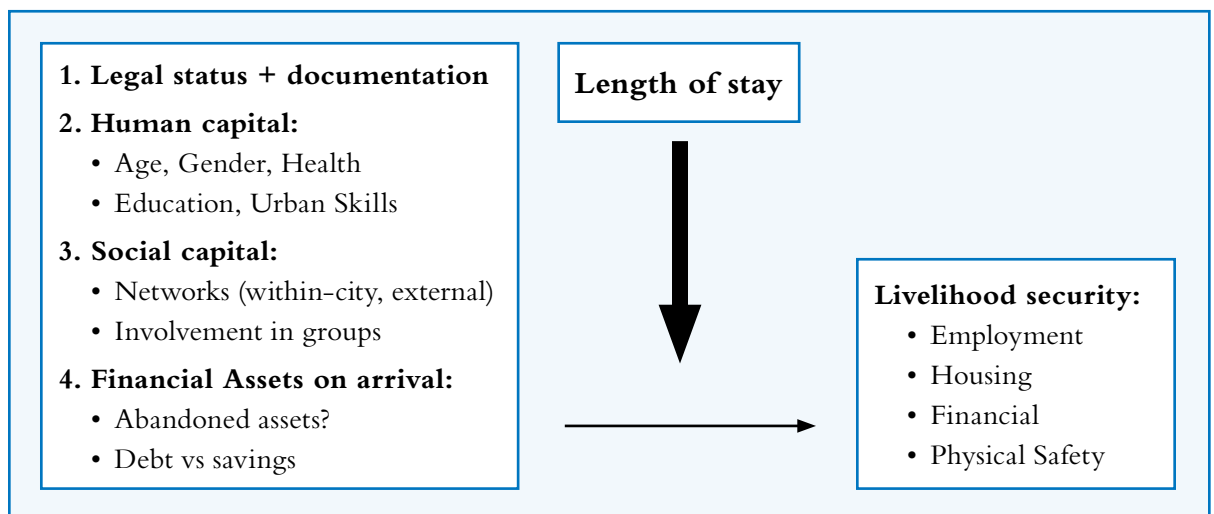
migrants have managed to overcome obstacles that constrain their ability to control different livelihood assets, and thus their livelihood security. How and why they were able to do this requires inquiry into the factors affecting livelihood security at the household level.

c. Household characteristics

Drawing on the literature and our own previous research, we see migrant household livelihood security as influenced by four categories of factors, as shown in the diagram below. These factors play out both prior to migration and on arrival, and change over time, so length of stay is an important intervening variable.

status, but usually does not include the right to work or pursue other economic activities such as owning a business. Refugees must pursue economic activities in order to survive regardless of status, and if they are not officially permitted to do so it becomes a matter of whether authorities enforce the law or not. Legal status makes less of a difference when work and self-employment opportunities are largely in the informal sector where law enforcement is more lax, and where refugees find employment through networks, community-based organizations and local institutions (such as religious organizations) rather than through formal mechanisms.

Diagram A: Causal model: Predicting migrant household livelihood security

1. Legal status + documentation

2. Human capital:
- Age, Gender, Health
- Education, Urban Skills

3. Social capital:
- Networks (within-city, external)
- Involvement in groups

4. Financial Assets on arrival:
- Abandoned assets?
- Debt vs savings

Length of stay

Livelihood security:
- Employment
- Housing
- Financial
- Physical Safety

1. Legal status and documentation

An important determinant of livelihood security is an individual's legal status and whether s/he has the documentation to support this status. Documentation includes, for example, refugee identification, birth certificates, and legal residence cards, depending on the specific urban context. Having formal refugee status (i.e. where refugees have undergone individual or group status determination) can mean refugees are less likely to be arrested or deported, and in most host countries allows refugees to pursue livelihoods with less risk of being stopped by authorities. However, in many host countries the majority of refugees do not have formal refugee status, but rather have *prima facie* status or are asylum seekers. *Prima facie* status is a form of legal

Furthermore, to be effectively protected by legal status requires that a) refugees have the documentation to prove it, and b) that immigration officers and police are trained to recognize the documents and to act so as to accord refugees their rights. Being in possession of documents, even those granting only *prima facie* status, can reduce police abuses such as arbitrary arrest or extortion by having a paper to present when stopped.

In many urban settings, some (often large) proportions of refugees do not engage with the humanitarian or state bureaucracy, such as UNHCR or the relevant government or aid agency. Refugees stay under the radar because they lack the knowledge or resources that enable them to access registration authorities or because

they fear that registration will facilitate deportation in the future or a denial of their case. The choice not to register is a protection strategy in some cases but also places individuals at greater risk of deportation or arrest if discovered.

Documentation is also a factor for non–refugee migrants and low-income urban residents or marginalized communities who lack official documentation such as birth certificates that grant them rights in their country.

We hypothesized: Livelihood security will increase when at least one household member possesses documents to support their legal right to reside and/or to work or access other social and legal benefits.

In our two cases, we found that the importance of legal status varies. In Yemen:

- Somali refugees enjoy prima facie status. The government has sought to provide Somalis with an updated refugee card; however, the cards are easily obtainable and legal status is not a significant barrier to access to other services.
- Documentation in Yemen is important to regularize refugees' statuses, but is not a primary factor in determining vulnerability.

In Thailand:

- Differences in livelihood security indicators between documented and undocumented migrants clearly showed the importance of documentation. Undocumented Burmese migrants fared worse than documented migrants (who fared worse than Thai citizens) in nearly every livelihood category.
- Many did not obtain documents due to financial concerns; others were reliant upon employers who held documents as a means of restricting movement of their employees. Indeed, those lacked documents in Mae Sot also did not have the education and language skills most likely to assist them.
- Channels exist for registration of migrant workers; the main obstacle is the cost and red tape involved. A more equitable, clear process of obtaining documents that is not employer-driven could assist the most vulnerable migrants by ameliorating one of the many obstacles they face in the city.

Thus, programming for Mae Sot should focus on facilitating registration processes.

2. Human capital

Human capital refers to skills/knowledge, education, health and other assets that are important determinants of whether and how households can access livelihood assets. In measuring human capital, a focus in the survey on household heads (rather than recording human capital indicators of all household members) can save time and resources. However, it can also risk missing the experience of other vulnerable individuals, particularly women/wives in male headed households, so the decision on who to obtain data about should be considered carefully depending on the purposes of the study. Since livelihood assets are often secured at the household level, household heads can serve as proxies for the human capital of the household. Households headed by those who are children, elderly, physically disabled or sick will be less secure. Similarly, households with large numbers of dependents, or those who cannot earn income, are also less secure. Gender is a more complicated factor. Conventional wisdom suggests that female headed households are likely to be more economically disadvantaged, but this is not always the case, particularly in urban areas given the risks of arrest and detention disproportionately faced by young men. Ethnicity also influences access to livelihood assets when certain groups are subject to discrimination.

Education and what we call transferable urban skills are particularly important aspects of household livelihood security. Households with relevant urban skills will be more secure. Households coming from the rural sector are likely to lack skills that are easily transferable to the urban setting. In a commoditized urban economy, farming or pastoral skills are no longer relevant and 'transferable skills' include business, trade, a profession, office or factory work, or services.

Language abilities are particularly important in urban settings that are characterized by a mix of people of different origins. Speaking a locally relevant international language (such as English, French, Spanish or Arabic) can be useful for

securing employment in international agencies, or in negotiating onward movement from the city in which a migrant or refugee lives. Migrants and refugees might be more likely than local residents to speak an international language if they have moved often, requiring them to interact with different types of people. Speaking the local, most widely spoken language is also important because it increases access to employment and ability to engage in business, helps with protection (for example, if an individual is stopped by a police officer), and enables migrants/refugees to join local organizations and networks. We assume that the household is more livelihood secure if any adult member of the household speaks the languages[13], and that speaking the local or relevant international language impacts livelihood security in different ways depending on the setting.

3. Social capital

Social capital – derived from involvement in community groups and institutions, having social support networks, or knowing the local language – assists in securing livelihoods and housing, providing access to financing (both during emergencies and for the purposes of investment), and protecting against harassment or other forms of abuse. For migrants, knowing someone to assist upon arrival is helpful, but a greater degree of social integration in the city can make any urban resident (migrant or local) less vulnerable. Social capital can help one feel secure in the community, and security can increase social capital by allowing for freedom of movement and comfort in one's neighborhood.

Social networks are of two types. One is the local network within the urban setting, which consists of family and friends, co-ethnics, or co-nationals. Access to local networks both before migrating, upon arrival, and throughout the stay in the urban area are important.[14] Knowing someone in a particular city prior to

departure can influence migrants' final destination, as networks facilitate initial access to housing, food, local know-how and employment opportunities upon arrival. Once settled into the city social capital can increase through participation in community groups and organizations such as youth and women's groups, neighborhood/street committees, savings groups, religious organizations, unions, or migrant worker associations. Participation in such groups increases the household's involvement in the daily social life of the city or neighborhood, and their access to local networks.

The second type of network is that which extends to other countries, particularly the country of origin. This external network is particularly important for its potential for remittances, but also for onward migration or return.

4. Loss of financial assets and transportation debt

The trauma associated with forced displacement is a unique challenge facing some migrant households, one that impacts their experience in the urban setting to which they flee. The experience of violence, loss of family members, and the often harrowing journey refugees must undertake before they reach their destinations all take a toll on the ability of people to restart their lives. A financial aspect of this trauma is the loss of property or assets such as land, livestock, a house, car or business. When refugees and other forcibly displaced people are forced to move quickly they are less able to plan their journeys, and more likely than other migrants to have to abandon productive assets in their home areas. This loss puts refugees at an economic disadvantage and increases their vulnerability as they have less of a financial reserve or cushion upon arrival.

In addition to arriving without assets, migrants and refugees often arrive with debt as a result of borrowing money to pay for smuggler fees or transportation, particularly in the event of an emergency departure. Migration–related debt is compounded when households borrow to smooth consumption needs. They may also borrow from commercial entities, such as micro–finance institutions or moneylenders.

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

14   (Nakagawa and Shaw, 2004; Pelling and High, 2005)

While carrying debt is a normal part of modern life, a household's financial security is seriously undermined if the household carries an amount of debt that exceeds its ability to repay or to keep abreast of payments.

Hypothesis: Households that had to abandon assets prior to migrating or who are carrying migration-related debt will have decreased livelihood security.

5. Length of stay

These household-level factors – *human, social and financial* – predict and explain migrant livelihood security in urban settings, but one additional variable is important. The household's length of time in the city is likely to strengthen the effects of some of these factors. The longer the household stays in the city, the more likely is it that social networks are expanded and solidified, local knowledge and language abilities have improved, and assets have accumulated. These advantages can increase informal and formal protection, for example by improving the ability to notify or seek help from the relevant authorities or organizations if one's rights are violated, or if one needs help.

Hypothesis: Increased length of time in the city will increase livelihood security.

In each of our case studies – Yemen, Thailand and South Africa – we explored differences in livelihood security among refugees and other groups, and tested our hypotheses based on the conceptual framework with survey and (in the case of Thailand) qualitative data. ◼

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROPOSALS AND PROGRAMS

This section sets out specific profiling issues that urban programs (and proposals for such funding) should explore. Donors should look for information about these issues when assessing proposals to fund livelihood programs in urban areas. The agency should be encouraged to gather this information before the project begins, which can be done using profiling tools. The information can also be used to inform program monitoring and evaluation.[15] Our measures of livelihood security also offer entry points for how change (improvement) will be measured. Other indicators could be added or substituted, depending on the data available and the ability to collect such information from respondents.

Defining refugees and other migrant groups in the urban setting

Any program that seeks to profile livelihood security must begin with a clear understanding about the different refugee/migrant groups in the urban population, which groups are likely to be more vulnerable, and where these groups live. This kind of information is usually known at the local level and should be clear in a proposal. Good profiling practices in a proposal should reflect the following:

Be clear about definitions:

- How is the refugee group (or other humanitarian target group, such as IDPs) defined, and who is and is not included?
- Are there other migrant groups (recognizing that migrants and refugees can come from the same country)?
- What indicators (questions) will be used to identify the target groups? These can include place of origin, date of departure, reason for departure, etc.

Be clear about descriptions (provide existing information on demographic and household composition):

- Gender and age balance of household heads.
- Ethnicities – especially those at particular risk.
- Education, skills , languages.
- Documentation types available, and numbers estimated to be undocumented.
- Other characteristics that could potentially indicate vulnerability.

Be clear about location, numbers and trends:

- Indicate where refugees are living in the urban area and whether they are evenly distributed or clustered in particular districts. This information can and should be provided in the proposal or be a planned part of the study.
  - ° Are refugees are living in unsafe areas such as garbage dumps, landslide areas, flood plains, or industrial zones that increase their vulnerability and/or make access difficult for the implementing agency?
  - ° Are some refugees living in camps, which could affect refugees' access to assistance, or influence livelihood strategies, such as buying/selling food aid, enrolling in school, or obtaining free or low–cost housing?
- How many refugees are estimated to be in the city, and what are the trends? High numbers of new arrivals can portend a negative shift in refugee policy, and new arrivals are more vulnerable than longer stayers.

Diagnosing and addressing livelihood security

Any program that seeks to address refugees' livelihood vulnerability to shocks and perturbations must be clear about what affects vulnerability and how changes in vulnerability will be measured. We argued that vulnerability is affected by livelihood security, and identified four categories of livelihood security of particular importance in urban settings. We also identified specific factors that are likely to increase livelihood security. Our

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15   A profiling approach could also be used for program evaluations, which should include an assessment of how the strengths/capacities and weaknesses/vulnerabilities of the target population have changed over the course of the program. Whether or not these changes can be attributed to the program is a separate issue and should be addressed by strong impact assessment methodologies.

recommendations below set out specific issues that should be identified in profiling proposals, and we make some related program and advocacy recommendations.

1) Housing security:

A. Proposals should consider:

- Are refugees more likely to live in hazardous locations?
- Do refugees lack land and housing ownership rights?
- Are particular households at risk of eviction for non-payment of rent?

B. Programming recommendations:

- Work with government urban planners to identify and predict areas of urban expansion in order to prohibit settlements in the most dangerous locations.
- Help those living in hazardous locations to find alternative long-term solutions, which may include relocation.
- Work with government to find ways to increase refugees' security of housing, including either rights to ownership or representation to landlords.
- Explore the possibility of temporary social safety nets available in the form of cash assistance or rental subsidies.

2) Financial security:

A. Proposals should consider:

- What are current levels of household assets -- including productive assets (which increase household productivity such as a computer or electricity) the household either owns or has access to, and transferable assets, which can be sold to increase cash flow?
- What are household income levels (or expenditures) -- both what household members earn through work, and external sources such as remittances or aid?
- What financial obligations does the household have, such as sending remittances and debt servicing?
- Does the household have access to financial services such as credit and savings facilities?

B. Programming recommendations:

- Where refugees are viewed as risky clients

for loans, encourage banks and MFIs to engage with refugee clients for savings products at a minimum, including micro-savings or electronic/mobile phone based accounts. Such account records could serve as a form of credit history at a later time should refugees be considered for loans.
- Provide guarantees/incentivize for banks to serve refugee clients, for example in the form of compensation if an eligible refugee client defaults on the loan or relocates. Governments or aid agencies could "buy down risk" of working with refugee clients by guaranteeing their loans under certain conditions. Banks and aid agencies could work together to identify client profiles and types of loans that are eligible for guarantees. A guarantee specific to refugee clients might involve agreeing to reimburse the bank if government policy changes toward refugees' right to work, own small businesses, or live legally in the country, as this is a challenge unique to refugee clients.
- Train banking/financial service providers on types of refugee documentation and legal rights around formal financial services, where rights to bank accounts for refugees and migrants exist.
- Where banking services are not available, agencies could promote mobile phone money transfers, where appropriate, as this often serves as an informal savings mechanism. Mobile money savings and transfers could increase refugees' ability to send and receive remittances (where international services are available) at lower rates, therefore freeing up disposable income. Mobile money institutions would be category-blind, facilitating financial transactions and savings for all groups.

3) Employment security:

A. Proposals should consider:

- Are refugees able to work legally? If so, what documents are required?
- Are refugees able to work *de facto*, or do they face serious harassment and risk of arrest and detention?
- Are refugees engaged in different kinds of work compared with other urban poor?
- How will households at particular risk of

employment insecurity be identified, including those who:

º Have primary income earners who are children or elderly;

º Have income earners who are underemployed, or overworked;

º Have income earners whose work exposes them to risks such as abuse, sexual assault, or harassment.[16]

• What are the skills profiles of refugee households?

B. Programming recommendations:

• Work with governments to support the right of refugees to work and engage in economic activities.

• Assist households with young children to enroll them in school or child care, which can free up an income earner (especially women) to work.

º Work with local schools to expand refugee children's access to education. Improve child care opportunities to support single mothers or secondary income earners to obtain work.

º Informal child care arrangements can provide employment for mothers as in-home providers.

º Facilitate 'merry go round' child care arrangements. Provide assistance in forming child care groups, for example, when seven women with children join together to each watch the children free of charge one day of the week.

4) Physical safety

A. Proposals should consider:

• What types of risks are common for specific groups, including crime, harassment, or physical assault? Do refugees feel safe in their homes or neighborhoods? Do they trust others with whom they come into contact?

• What are the sources of risk, i.e. from someone within the household or in the community, the police or local authorities,

or the government of the country of origin?[17]

• What kind of access to justice do refugees have? If threats are experienced, do people feel they have any recourse to authorities?

• What sources of protection, such as extra-state vigilante groups, and locally-specific conflict resolution mechanisms exist?

B. Programming recommendations:

• Provide training and support to police to enhance refugee rights awareness and services.

• Advocate with government to expand police force in areas where unregulated

• vigilante groups are filling a vacuum in security services. Support policing efforts, particularly at night, in low-income urban settlements.

• Police should be aware of acceptable forms of documentation, and reasons for protection needs, including certain groups that might be at risk of violence, the reasons for the risk, and ways to enhance protection.

• Police should be aware of the reason for refugees' presence in the city and need for protection.

• If refugees are at risk of violence at the hands of spillover groups from their home countries and protection cannot be guaranteed by local authorities, efforts should be made to support resettlement or relocation.

• Monitor practices by local authorities, including extortion attempts and xenophobia.

Explaining the livelihood security of refugees

1. Legal status and documentation

A. Proposals should consider:

• The legal position of refugees and asylum seekers.

º Has the host country enacted reservations to Articles 24, 17 and 18 in the 1951 Convention (employment)?

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16   Workers are at greater physical risk in hazardous sites (any street work, construction), or in isolated environments (such as domestic workers in private homes).

17   Profiling studies should include a way to indicate (such as a write-in place on the survey questionnaire) situations encountered when risks are particularly serious to facilitate follow up by an agency.

° Are there restrictions on employment, owning businesses or property for foreign workers[18]?

° Do authorities tolerate or enforce restrictive policies? For example, even if illegal, is employment or self-employment in the informal sector permitted? When and where is enforcement more likely to occur?

° Are there constraints on freedom of movement and requirements for refugees to live in certain locations (e.g. in urban camps or designated areas of a city)?

• Refugees' ability to obtain documentation and the effects of having documentation.

° What are the conditions under which one obtains a refugee ID or other documents required to access or obtain services?

° Which documents provide the right to work, or to social rights such as health care?

° Are documents temporary which require renewal, or might they ever lead to citizenship?

° Are refugees at risk of having documentation revoked? Under what circumstances?

° Are refugees likely to need documentation/certificates concerning skills and education, credit history, land title, etc from the country of origin? (Such documents are often lost during flight and this can limit access to employment, banks, small business and trade.)

° Do legal assistance services exist to help undocumented households obtain documentation for free or reduced cost?

Whether target households:

• Are likely to have documentation or some form of legal status.

• Are in possession of documents that allow them to work or participate in specific livelihood program activities, or whether documents should be required in order to avoid placing participants at greater risk.

• Know about existing legal assistance services, if they exist.

B. Programming recommendations:

• Support documentation efforts by subsidizing or eliminating the cost of obtaining documents.

• Support decentralized registration in areas where refugees or migrants live. Refugees are less likely to travel far from where they feel safe in order to make themselves known to authorities.

• Help clarify guidelines about obtaining different legal statuses, and communicate them through media campaigns and sensitization of local leaders.

• Avoid tying documentation to employers. Work permits should be valid in wider sectors or industries and not be dependent on an employer's good will. (In Mae Sot, for example, many migrant workers remained indebted to abusive employers who sponsored them to obtain the permits.)

• Establish groups to monitor abuse and lack of pay against migrant and refugee workers. Support the creation of a government or independent agency responsible for following up on serious abuses.

• Encourage local authorities to ensure that refugees can access health services at the same cost as citizens, and that refugee children can register for school, and are not charged additional fees.

° If laws prohibit refugee children from attending school, provide support for refugee-led education initiatives.

° If schools charge refugees additional fees, provide support to refugee households with young children to offset additional costs.

• Work with governments to persuade them of the value of allowing refugees to be economically active and to have access to service institutions.

2. Human capital

A. Proposals should include:

• Information on the target population including age, health, gender, education, ethnicity.

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18   For example, Yemen has a list of restricted trades.

- Whether the household income earners are likely to possess urban, transferable urban skills.
- Whether adult household members are likely to speak the relevant international language.
- Whether adult household members are likely to speak a relevant local language.

B. Programming recommendations:

- Provide functional language and literacy training linked specifically to vocational areas where refugees are likely to obtain work, particularly for those who are not able to read and write.
- Vocational training should be targeted at groups that lack 'urban' appropriate skills. Trainings should be linked to market demand for employees, products, or services. Wherever possible, they should incorporate the skills refugee populations already possess. Prior to implementing any livelihood support program, agencies should conduct a comprehensive market analysis.[19]
- Identify and support existing skills by registering the skills refugee populations have upon arrival to the city. Make this a standard question during registration, and incorporate existing skills into livelihood/ employment and vocational training programming considerations.
- Assist refugees to secure country-specific credentials (recertification) and permits.
- Target cash-based assistance (in the form of social safety nets or grants) for individuals with disabilities, health issues or elderly people, particularly those who do not have strong social networks.

3. Social capital/networks in the urban setting

A. Proposals should consider:

- What safety nets and support mechanisms (livelihood and welfare assistance) already exist within refugee communities, and how are communities equipped to support specific types of vulnerabilities?

- What community organizations (both officially registered and not) are serving refugee groups and in what ways?
- What households are linked into relevant community support mechanisms? Are community assistance networks and organizations based on regional, ethnic, or familial lines, meaning that certain individuals or populations may be excluded from existing community-based services?

B. Programming recommendations:

- Programming should complement and not override existing services.
- Programming should be targeted at individuals or households not served by existing organizations.
- Network mapping can identify community organizations (both officially registered and not), their beneficiaries (and who is left out), and their resources.
  ° Entities such as churches/mosques, youth groups, community centers, training courses, political organizations, community social work groups, and food distribution centers should be included in such a mapping. Identify and address issues that undermine social capital in urban communities. Where discrimination or xenophobia is present:
  ° Media campaigns about the reason for refugees' presence in the community can ameliorate discrimination or misunderstanding by the host community or local authorities.
  ° Facilitate programs, meetings or other forums, such as joint community activities, for refugee groups and the host community to increase understanding about one other, including the ways refugees contribute to the host economy and culture.
  ° Encourage discussion about ideas for how refugees should work toward local integration, ways host communities can support them, ways they can keep their own practices/cultural events and partake in/learn from those of other groups.

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19 See USAID's Value Chain wiki, http://apps.develebridge.net/amap/index.php/Value_Chain_Development.

OVERALL: *Good practices for promoting urban refugee livelihoods – and how profiling can support these*

In sum, proposals should:

1. Indicate what form of livelihood security is being targeted (housing, employment, etc), and how changes will be measured, i.e. what indicators will be used.

2. Have some indication of current baseline levels of livelihood security indicators with preliminary statistics, or outline plans to conduct a baseline assessment.

3. Include both strengths (capacities) and weaknesses (vulnerabilities) within the target population for different types of livelihood security, and differences between refugees and other groups in the host population.

4. Specify whether the program would limit participation to specific groups, and if so:

   a. Why the programming need is specific to the target group (refugees) and not other groups.

5. Specify how the program will ensure that it does not exacerbate community tensions.

The following good practices have been identified by UNHCR for promoting livelihoods for refugees in urban settings:[20]

❖ Recognizing *diversity in refugee populations* in terms of economic and social capacities and livelihoods;

❖ Understanding the refugee context, in particular the *policy environment* and *market opportunities* of the host area;

❖ *Building upon positive coping strategies* developed by individuals, groups and communities;

❖ *Facilitating access* to livelihood opportunities and related services;

❖ Acknowledging the *complexity* in designing and implementing sound economic interventions, and the sequencing and targeting that quality programming requires;

❖ *Engaging non-traditional actors* from the private sector and public institutions;

❖ *Advocating for the right and access to work* of refugees as the basis for all livelihood programming in refugee hosting areas.

In line with these livelihood good practices, we recommend the following profiling good practices which can underpin and support them:

❖ Gather information on the location and *diversity* of *refugee populations* in terms of economic and social capacities and livelihoods. Keep it updated;

❖ Gather information on the refugee context, in particular the *policy environment* and *market opportunities* of the host area; Keep it updated

❖ *Identify positive coping strategies* developed by individuals, groups and communities;

❖ *Identify obstacles and areas of livelihood vulnerability*

❖ *Use information gathering to facilitate access* to livelihood opportunities and related services;

❖ *Use profiling or other information gathering initiatives to promote advocacy for the right and access to work* of refugees as the basis for all livelihood programming in refugee hosting areas.

Proposals should be clear about how their interventions will influence specific aspects of livelihood security or the factors that affect them, and how this change will be measured. Contextual and household profiling information should relate to the substance of the proposal. For example if the proposal is for health funding,

there should be specifics about the health of the target population vis–à–vis the host population. Our profiling indicators need to be customized for particular urban settings, and others could be added or substituted depending on the data available and on the ability to collect such information from respondents.

In general, program resources (eg. housing, food, cash, financial services, skills trainings, and employment projects) should not be targeted at refugees alone. Programs should focus on neighborhoods or areas where refugees are concentrated, but should include all vulnerable households as determined by a profiling survey or similar assessment tool. Programs that address issues not likely to be relevant to the host population, such as immigration detention, documentation assistance, or trauma counseling should be targeted at refugees. Any agency that wishes to implement programming should consider how and where refugees may be linked to existing local services, and only attempt to fill gaps where they exist. ■

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4. METHODOLOGY FOR URBAN PROFILING OF REFUGEES

Profiling an urban population means comparing the experience of refugees with other migrants and non-migrants living in the same locality. This can be done using quantitative or qualitative methods, or both, as we did. For each of our case studies, we began with a household survey that sampled from the population of all the districts of the urban setting, and then through secondary data analysis, identified those most likely to be refugees and migrants, and compared their experience across a range of indicators. Based on the survey findings we conducted a series of in-depth qualitative interviews (in two of our three sites) to probe and test our survey findings and to explore areas that the survey was not well equipped to address. In addition, we experimented with a third technique (and additional form of triangulation), an adapted version of the Delphi method.

Based on our experience in our three cases, we revised the profiling methodology in a number of ways. First, we eliminated the Delphi approach, which was too unwieldy and difficult to implement in the field. Second, we revised the survey questionnaire after analysis of our case study data to make it better reflect and capture information on our categories of vulnerability and more easily utilizable by field agencies. This streamlined revised questionnaire and its data entry template were tested during a short field trip to Nairobi in September 2011 where we worked with IRC-Kenya's urban field office to pilot the new instrument. The revised versions are now included in our toolkit.

1. The Household Survey

The household survey was carried out in several phases, as follows:

Phase 1: Pre-Positioning and Preparing the Fieldwork

The success of the survey is predicated on careful preparation. Prior to beginning data collection in each site, it was important to actively solicit the help and cooperation of stakeholders with an interest in the study, including UNHCR and other relevant UN agencies, government ministries, government statistics/census offices, and local community organizations working with refugees. Given political considerations in each city, it was important to inform local authorities and police of the purpose of the research as well. This minimized the risk that enumerators would be seen as political actors or encounter problems if stopped by police. During consultations with municipal offices/census bureaus, it was important to inquire about the most up-to-date available maps and census information, and obtain them where possible.

Phase 2: Training, Adapting the Questionnaire, Translating, and Back-Translating

Consultants worked with partner organizations to recruit a team of enumerators and team leaders for each site. The teams then embarked on a week-long training that included a field pilot. The training was designed to build research capacity in the enumerator team and familiarize them with the research protocol and instruments. Topics included the theory behind data collection, how profiling is a tool of protection for vulnerable populations, and random sampling techniques. For detailed information on the training, see the schedules and training materials in the toolkit.

The profiling questionnaire template (the generic version) was developed in Boston, based on earlier profiling studies conducted by the Feinstein Center. The profiling questionnaire's questions were structured and fully coded with standard wording (see template). The template was then sent to each of our partners for customizing and adapting to the local context to ensure the question formats and codes were culturally relevant. For example, the codes for the question, 'What type of dwelling does the respondent live in?' were adapted to reflect the possible types of housing typical of the city. The questionnaire was tested and revised repeatedly until it accurately captured the relevant information. This testing and revision process was part of the training of the enumerator team.

Once the questionnaire was satisfactorily

adapted, it was translated into the local languages and then back-translated to ensure the translation was accurate. Translation and back-translation into each of the relevant languages was conducted with extreme care. For each language, the survey was divided in half, and two teams of enumerators worked to translate each half. When the translation was complete, the teams that completed the same half worked together to compare each version and develop a final version. Once this was completed, each of the teams traded halves (each receiving the half they did not translate) for back-translation, and adjustments were made as misunderstandings were identified.

Phase 3: Sampling

Our survey was based on a random, two-stage systematic sample of between 700 and 850 respondents. We stratified the urban areas to reflect areas of refugee densities as identified by local partner organizations and key informants. To select households we utilized grids overlaid on Google Earth maps and a random grid number selection. As part of our two-stage cluster sampling, GPS points were randomly distributed across the grid, creating waypoints from which four or five households were selected (clusters). By recording the GPS coordinates of the waypoints we could geo-reference our findings at a later stage of analysis. (More detailed methodology can be found in each of the case studies.)

The two-stage clustering approach offered slightly lower precision than a simple random sample would have provided.[21] We over-sampled to address design effects of cluster sampling and also because we anticipated significant attrition (ie. some respondents would not answer all questions).

In each case study we went about sampling as outlined below, with some variation in each city:

1. Our first step was to define the research area by drawing a line around a map of the city, including informal settlement areas

where migrants might live. Although up-to-date census maps of the city's districts, divided into sub-districts, would have been useful, these were not widely available. We used Google Earth maps instead, also because they are open source and therefore available for any city. Attributing GPS points to Google Earth maps was also simpler than it would have been on paper-based maps.

2. The next step was to stratify the city into areas of high, medium, and low refugee density in order to ensure that enough refugee households were selected. By increasing sample size in high density areas we could increase the number of refugees, so as to enable comparison with the local population and other migrants. The goal was to classify each sub-district on the map as high, medium, or low refugee density. Since some cities' sub-districts remained too large to generalize, and refugee densities did not follow the pattern of sub-district lines, at times we further divided the city using our own lines drawn on Google Earth. The definition of "high density" varied with each urban setting. For example, in Mae Sot, the research team determined that high density should be where the refugee population was estimated at two-thirds of the total population or more. The process of defining high/low density and designating sub-districts was conducted through extensive discussion with local experts from a range of organizations. In Mae Sot the team interviewed more than 15 national level staff at international NGOs and staff of Burmese community-based organizations (CBOs) throughout the Mae Sot area. Determining density levels is not an exact science, but triangulating the perspectives of a range of informants allowed us to be fairly certain about density levels according to local key informant knowledge.

3. Once the sub-districts were stratified and mapped, the first sampling stage began. Waypoints[22] were identified through a random selection of grid cells. To create the

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21 Another possibility was to use Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) sampling. PPS sampling is appropriate when recent census data is available, and involves adjusting probability so that individuals or households in larger population groups have an equal chance of being randomly included in the sample as those in the smaller population groups. Detailed explanation on use of PPS sampling is included in the toolkit.

22 A waypoint is a GIS location from which we sampled five households (selected in the second stage). Each of the grid cells was associated with a unique GIS point, which fell at the center of the cell.

cells we laid grids over the Google Earth maps of each city. This required creating a large table in Excel, labeling every fifth with a number, and saving it as a PDF file. We used GIMP, an open-source image editor that works on both PC and Mac to save the image as a file recognizable by Google Earth (.bmp or .jpeg) and to make the background transparent. We overlaid the grid onto Google Earth and selected numbered grid cells using a random number generator.

The total number of waypoints / grid cells selected was the desired sample size divided by five, since five households were surveyed at each waypoint. For example, 850 divided by 5 resulted in 170 waypoints required. The distribution of waypoints varied in different areas of the city depending on the different refugee density areas, with more waypoints selected in high density areas. As shown in Table 1, in Mae Sot we wanted 450–500 households in high density areas, so that meant 100 waypoints. The number of households desired in each density area depended on the layout of the city and the refugee densities, and is explained further in each case study.

omit. It is possible that some of the omitted points actually had people living at or near them, particularly homeless, street, or nomadic populations. Considering our findings about the crucial role of housing, these are important vulnerable groups to capture and are most likely to be left out of all other household-level research. Given the study's intention to randomly sample throughout the entire city, future urban studies might consider how to incorporate these populations. A purposive sample might help offset the problem of not finding them through our existing strategy.

4. Next, we selected five households around each waypoint. During the data collection, we used GPS handheld devices to navigate to the pre-selected waypoints. Around each waypoint we randomly selected five dwellings by spinning a pen on a clipboard (or counting flats with randomly assigned numbers, in the case of flats) and then selecting the nearest household to which the pen pointed. We solicited respondents from each dwelling; if no one was available in the selected dwelling, we returned later in the day or the next day, and if we still received no response we selected up to two replacements from doors to the right.

Table 1: Mae Sot Sampling Strategy

Density level	Waypoints	# Households
High	100	450–500
Medium	50	200–250
Low	30	100–150
Total	**180**	**750–900**

Due to the transparent grids, we could use the satellite view provided by Google Earth to determine where waypoints fell on areas in which no dwellings were located. We identified those that fell on lakes, mountains, or industrial areas and selected replacement points for them. While overall we believe the satellite imagery enhanced our process, allowing the teams to save valuable time and resources not traveling to points without households, this process could have introduced some subjectivity in that the team decided which waypoints to

Phase 4: Data Collection

Once the training, translation, and sampling were complete, the teams began data collection over a period of four to five weeks. In each household the profiling questionnaire was asked of a single (adult) respondent who could provide information about the household. It was preferable that this person was the head of household (HoH), but it was often not possible to interview the HoH during the time of the survey because he/she was working or away. Another person was then selected, often the spouse or

other adult who could respond on behalf of the household. The questionnaire clearly indicated whether the respondent was the HoH, and if not, the relationship to the HoH (eg. spouse, child, other relative). We then asked about household composition, respondent demographics, migration history, and vulnerability indicators including employment, financial, housing, and household/community security.

Specific concerns of the survey instrument:

- **Defining a 'household':** We defined a household as 'individuals sharing food or income on a daily basis'. However, this definition remains open to interpretation, and respondents may have answered in different ways, particularly around whether to include individuals such as servants/house help, family members living abroad but sending remittances, etc. Since much of the survey is based around understanding of this term, translation is crucially important, and the questionnaire should be carefully tested. For example, in Arabic and Somali the term 'household' does not exist. The team used the term 'family', but this often resulted in people listing friends and others as part of their household. If no term exists, a more lengthy (and well-translated) explanation, including examples, may be required to ensure a uniform definition is used. Ensuring that enumerators are well-versed in a common definition of 'household' must be included as a crucial component of the training.

- **Asking enumerators to cross-check migrant categories:** Enumerators were asked to record at the end of the survey whether they believed the respondent was a refugee, returnee, IDP, stateless, etc. This is simply intended as an opportunity for enumerators to add any extra information that might help us designate the respondent, and is not intended as a way to assess these categories using this information alone. Opinions of the enumerator should not be used as a defining measure, but enumerators should be well aware of how different possible categories are defined before being asked to make a subjective call at the end of the survey.

- **Calculating household (or individual) income:** Asking about respondents' income is difficult at the best of times and in all contexts. Confusion can occur if respondents mention daily income amounts but the survey asks for a monthly average. In future versions of the survey, providing the option to enter it daily or monthly would be valuable and provide for more accuracy.

- **Calculating age for those who did not know:** When people do not know their age, this question is difficult to answer. Including an estimate is useful, and enumerators may be trained on how to help people calculate their age. If the respondent and enumerator are unsure of how to make an accurate estimate, they should ensure that DK ('don't know') is filled out.

- **Providing a place for those without a latrine or kitchen:** In Mae Sot, enumerators noted that there were respondents who did not have any latrine or place to prepare food. This situation was true of the poorest residents, but was not captured as an option on the original version of the survey.

- **Failure to complete survey:** Some respondents began but did not complete the surveys, opting to stop the interview halfway through. In such cases teams must decide on a uniform way to complete the sheet, by either leaving the rest blank or filling RA ('refused to answer') on each subsequent question.

Data collection issues:

- **Debriefing with enumerators:** It is important to conduct a discussion/ debriefing with the enumerator team at the end of each data collection day. This ensures that difficulties encountered, such as how to define a household, are treated uniformly by enumerators. Such a debriefing can also serve the important function of helping enumerators discuss or vent about problems and emotional or other difficulties – such as security problems or listening to difficult stories – that arise during their days. The team leaders and consultant can then become aware of major issues. We found that taking a day off from data collection one week after it began was useful in order to ensure that enumerators discussed the ways they were approaching different questions and managing unexpected issues.

- **Selecting households from large apartment complexes:** Many urban dwellings are part of large blocks of flats, and enumerators should devise a system to assign numbers to each flat and then randomly select the total required. In Yemen, enumerators numbered the flats and drew small, numbered pieces of paper from a bag to select the flats to interview.

- **Skipping and substituting households:** Part of the sampling strategy is to decide when and whether to move to the next dwelling when the one selected is not available. When the survey is conducted during regular working hours, moving to the next house can bias results toward those who are not at work. To avoid this bias, the teams should return to the house at a later time (which can be facilitated by asking a neighbor the best time to reach the household) whenever possible. In sites where logistical concerns (such as time or transport constraints) prohibit returning later, the teams should work at different times of the day and during the weekends when workers are more likely to be at home. This issue should not be taken lightly as it can bias results significantly; however, cost and safety concerns, such as working after dark, may also limit ways this can be remedied.

- **Houses where large numbers of migrants/refugees live together:** In urban areas, migrants live often together in large houses (in Mae Sot, for example, these are termed 'social houses'). Our sampling strategy underrepresented such migrants, since their dwellings had an equal chance of being counted as a single-household dwelling, yet many more individuals lived there. For cities where this is common, adapting the sampling strategy (for example, adding a purposive sample) should be considered.

- **Access to wealthy/gated communities:** In our surveys, the refusal rates tended to be highest in wealthy neighborhoods. It was difficult for enumerators to enter gated communities when waypoints fell in these areas. This access problem created sample bias, but little can be done to change such a situation other than selecting another household in the same neighborhood, one that hopefully falls within a similar income group.

- **Protection for enumerators in case of intervention by authorities:** In settings where there is a chance that authorities will interfere with the research, it is important for the partner agency to ensure that the survey will not place enumerators at risk of being arrested, forced to pay bribes, or identified as working against the government. For such precautions adequate sensitization in advance of the survey is important. Providing enumerators with identification cards and relevant phone numbers can assist with minimizing this risk.

- **Trust between enumerators and respondents:** In some situations respondents may not feel comfortable allowing enumerators to enter their homes. In Yemen, one issue arose between having male enumerators enter homes where only females were home and vice versa. This situation was remedied by providing enumerators with vests bearing the name of the partner organization in order to indicate that they were conducting official work.

- **Respondent feedback:** In some settings, it is helpful for enumerators to have a brochure that includes the information from the oral consent form and the contact information of the field coordinator that can be left with respondents in case they have complaints, questions, or other follow-up from the interview.

Phase 5: Data entry

Once the survey data were collected (usually within three weeks), sufficient time – about one to two months – was devoted to data entry and cleaning.

For the cases in this study we used a data entry program called CSPro (Census and Survey Processing System), which can be downloaded and installed for free.[23] CSPro was developed with support of USAID and is commonly used

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23   Download CSPro free of charge at: http://www.census.gov/population/international/software/cspro/

for census and survey data entry in developing countries. The program requires significant up front efforts to train the data entry team and to create a data entry template specific to each customized survey.

Some problems we encountered using CSPro were that the questions could not be adjusted once data entry began and errors were found, forcing users to re-enter all data if the template needed to be changed at a later time. For these reasons and the time requirements in familiarizing oneself with the program, we do not recommend field agencies use it unless statistical teams have prior training in it or a similar program. Our consultants, who did not have expertise in the program, spent around 30 hours preparing the template for their specific surveys, and they had prior access to a template (from which they only needed to adapt) from a previous version. The program's significant advantages, however, include no cost, significantly reduced data entry errors, and ability to produce much cleaner data (the program won't allow the data entry in the wrong format) resulting in lower time required on the back-end for cleaning. It should be noted that CSPro can be used only on a PC.

Alternatively, data can be entered using Excel, STATA, SPSS, or Microsoft Access. Each has its disadvantages and advantages, and the program should be selected based on prior experience of the data entry team or organization. For example, while straightforward for anyone with limited data management experience to use, Excel poses challenges with producing clean and error-free data. The program does not identify when mistakes are made, meaning that the data entry personnel must be meticulous in order to produce accurate data.

2. Qualitative Methods

Qualitative methods are useful in obtaining detailed and possibly sensitive information from displaced populations, but alone cannot be used for profiling purposes, which require broad population comparisons. Qualitative data cannot be extrapolated because of the small and usually purposive sampling. However, they are very useful for probing and exploring interesting or unexplained findings from the profiling survey

in order to build on and add meaning to the findings. In Mae Sot, for example, qualitative findings provided a more nuanced view of how respondents felt about their ability to access justice, and why they could or could not access certain systems in the community. The survey data showed that documentation had a significant effect on vulnerability, but qualitative data increased our understanding of this phenomenon during semi-structured interviews. Qualitative interviews shed light on why individuals in Mae Sot often cannot or do not choose to access documentation.

Profiling surveys should be followed by in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews with respondents from the categories of interest to ensure the profiling tool accurately captures the most salient issues in the particular city.

In each urban setting,[24] we used multiple entry points to construct a purposive sample that would enable group and gender comparisons. We interviewed migrants who were documented and undocumented, local and international, and conflict-displaced and economic, along with local residents (nationals) living in the same neighborhoods. Entry points included community-based organization networks, NGOs, and religious organizations. We also recruited from the survey sample: during the survey, enumerators asked respondents if they were willing to participate in follow-up interviews and if they agreed, recorded their contact information in a separate notebook for follow up by the qualitative team to arrange an appointment for an interview.

3. The Delphi Method

The Delphi approach sought to harness and build off of expert knowledge about a specific issue-area. We began by identifying a small group of individuals with a strong understanding of migration, livelihoods, and security in the relevant urban setting. These included representatives from the government who work on issues involving migrants, human rights activists, journalists and academics. In addition, the value in this method is in harnessing the

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24   Due to heightened insecurity in Aden arising in March 2011, the team was not able to conduct follow-up qualitative interviews in this site.

knowledge of local and international staff from NGOs and community organizations working with refugees, whose inherent understanding of the issues is often under-utilized. Once we identified a list of experts, we interviewed them, or asked them to fill out a short questionnaire using Survey Monkey[25] online. Their views improved our understanding of our survey and qualitative findings by providing expert opinions on similar subject matter.

Ideally, the Delphi method involves conducting three or more rounds of interviews with the same experts. After each round, responses are aggregated, analyzed, and presented back to the experts, who are then asked whether they would like to respond or even amend their initial response based on the overall group results. In these cases we found that online surveys (Survey Monkey) posed significant challenges due to computer literacy and language barriers (inability to translate). We adapted by using Survey Monkey as a key informant interview guide. We conducted in-person interviews and then used the template to enter the data ourselves, but this approach made it unrealistic to conduct three rounds of interviews with each expert given the time constraints (theirs and ours). The approach still served as a useful way to frame our key informant inquiry. ■

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25 www.surveymonkey.com; For the purposes of this project, we purchased a professional package to enable unlimited questions and responses.

Notes