

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**



**Livelihood strategies of Afghanistan Refugee community in Urban Delhi,
India**

A Research Paper presented by:

Anam Qayyum
(India)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies: Social Justice
Perspective SJP**

Members of the Examining Committee:

Prof. Dr. Rachel Kurian (Supervisor)

Dr. Shyamika Jayasundara Smits (Reader)

The Hague, The Netherlands

December 2018

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

CONTENTS

List of Acronyms	vi
Acknowledgment	vii
Abstract	viii
Chapter 1: Refugees and Rights	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Contextual Background and Important Stakeholders	2
1.3 India: Refugees' Preferred Destination	5
1.4 Problem Statement	6
1.5 Research Objective	7
1.6 Research Questions	8
1.7 Methodology	8
1.8 Relevance to Development Studies & Social Justice Perspective	14
1.9 Scope and Limitations	15
Chapter 2: Human Development, Insecurity, Capabilities and Human Rights: A Theoretical Review	16
2.1 Securitization and Security Development Nexus	17
2.2 Capabilities Approach, Human Development and Human Security	18
2.3 Human Security Paradigm	19
Chapter 3: Securitisation and Human Insecurity	20
3.1 Insecurity	21
3.2 Challenges	26
Chapter 4: Capabilities and Coping Strategies	34
4.1 Capabilities	34
4.2 Coping Strategies and Stakeholders	39
Chapter 5: Concluding thoughts and way forward	52
5.1 The Strengths	53
5.2 The Weaknesses	54
5.3 The Opportunities	54
5.4 The Threats	55
Appendices	57
References	62

List of Tables

Table 1.1 Age bands of Survey Respondents	9
Table 1.2 Sex of Survey Respondents	10
Table 1.3 Sex and Age-bands of Respondents	10
Table 1.4 Ethnicity of Respondents	11
Table 1.5 Years spent in India by Respondents	12
Table 3.1 Challenges faced by Afghan Refugees	19
Table 3.2 Frequency distribution of challenges faced	20
Table 3.3 Attitudes of State's agencies	21
Table 3.4 Harassment/Discrimination at Workplace	22
Table 3.5 Nature of Discrimination at Workplace	22
Table 3.6 Discrimination Faced while staying	23
Table 3.7 Sector of Employment	24
Table 3.8 Housing by Region	25
Table 3.9 Ease of securing housing	26
Table 3.10 Quality of housing	27
Table 3.11 Monthly housing rent	28
Table 3.12 Monthly rent by region	29
Table 3.13 Access to healthcare	30
Table 4.1 Education Levels of respondents	32
Table 4.2 Education Levels by gender	33
Table 4.3 Knowledge of local language	33
Table 4.4 Vocational Skills	34
Table 4.5 Vocational Skills	35
Table 4.6 Education Enrolment Ratios	36
Table 4.7 Employment by Age-band	37
Table 4.8 Employment by Sex	38
Table 4.9 Employment by Sector	38
Table 4.10 Employment by Level of Education	39
Table 4.11 Job Profiles of Respondents	40
Table 4.12 Employment Income	41
Table 4.13 Means of Employment	42
Table 4.14 Sources of Income	43
Table 4.15 UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance	43
Table 4.16 Average Total Incomes	45
Table 4.17 Agency Opinion: ACCESS	46
Table 4.18 Agency Opinion: BOSCO	47

List of Maps

Map 3.1 Delhi Distribution of Refugees **Error! Bookmark not defined.**6

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 Sample Survey Questionnaire 52

List of Acronyms

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
EU	European Union
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
US	United States/United States of America
NHRC	National Human Rights Commission (India)
SLIC	Socio-Legal Information Centre
HRLN	Human Rights Law Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
HDA	Human Development Approach
INR	Indian National Rupee
US\$	United States Dollar

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

First and foremost, I would like to thank my research supervisor Dr. Rachel Kurian. The door to her office was always open for me at all points through this research and I always knew I could walk up to her whenever I ran into trouble or had any question about my research or writing. She has consistently allowed this paper to be my own work, but has steered me in the right direction at all points. I will be forever grateful for her guidance and support.

I would also like to thank Dr. Shyamika Smits Jayasundra, the reader of this Research Paper, and I am deeply indebted to her for her valuable feedback through the drafting of this paper.

I would like to express my profound gratitude towards my parents for their constant support and love. They have always been with me in all my decisions. I would also like to thank my friends at ISS and back home for being beacons of light in my life. Thank you for all the encouragement, love and support.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank to one of the most important persons in my life, Aditya, for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of writing this Research Paper. This accomplishment would not have been possible without him. Thank you.

ABSTRACT

It is a Sunday in peak summer time and Delhi's Lajpat Nagar area is full of its hustle-bustle. Its narrow lanes are packed with shoppers while street vendors adorn the sides of the lanes. In the middle of the innumerable shops is a shop, which has something different about it. Najeebullah¹, an Afghan national, in his early thirties runs the shop, Afghan General Store. He came to India in 2013, to escape the violence and conflict in Afghanistan. While his store offers all general items, it also has special items to specifically cater to its Afghan customers. As he looks on to the street, and sees many men in the traditional *Pathani*² outfits and women in the fashionable *abayas*³, he cannot help imagine that this could well be a street back home in Afghanistan. For him, the store is not merely a business or simply a means to earn money but a safety net, and a wall for himself, his wife and his two young children, against the violence and conflict in his home country.

Not far from the shop, Ghulam Nabi⁴, who came to India in 2010, lives in a one-room *barsati*⁵ with his family. His son had escaped to Pakistan's city of Peshawar from Afghanistan but he has not heard from him since. He now lives with his wife and two daughters – one of whom has even got married to another refugee. He operates a restaurant in the nearby Muslim dominated area of Delhi's Nizammudin, and like many others who live with him, he has no intention to go back. As Anwar, another refugee admits, that living in a one-room house may be a far cry from the five-bedroom house he had in Kabul. But he is happy in the knowledge that now his daughters and wife are safe and won't be accosted on the roads for not wearing a *chadar*⁶.

Delhi's Lajpat Nagar area, which was initially planned as a designated place for partition refugees, became a place of choice for Afghan refugees, fleeing violence, conflict and persecution in their country. The streets of this locality are lined with Afghan shops and restaurants while traditionally dressed women, men and children are seen swarming through the streets.

This Research attempts to take a glimpse in to the lives of these Afghan refugees in Delhi. Their struggle does not end with the grueling and life-threatening course of escaping threats and insecurity in Afghanistan. But in fact finding a new home away from home has its own challenges. This research is an endeavor to explore and uncover the

¹Najeebullah's story adapted from Suhasini Krishnan's "A Guide to Delhi's Little Kabul" (<https://goo.gl/geU7jK>)

²Traditional men dressing of the "Pathan" people – Pashto-speaking Afghans

³A new fashionable version of the traditional *Burqa*

⁴Ghulam Nabi's and Anwar's story adapted from India Today's Special Report on Afghan Refugees (Harinder Baweja) (<https://goo.gl/4vK9rS>)

⁵A small roof-top apartment– usually a single room on the terrace

⁶A full length cloak worn by Muslim women in conservative places

challenges and insecurities the Afghan refugees face in Delhi, their capabilities as individuals and as a community, and the coping mechanisms they have employed to “thrive” in Delhi – making Lajpat Nagar, the “mini-Kabul”.

Keywords

Forced Migration, Refugees, Afghanistan, Livelihood, Securitization, Human Development, Human Rights, Human Security, Delhi, India, UNHCR, BOSCO, ACCESS, SLIC, Capabilities, Coping

Chapter 1: Refugees and Rights

1.1. Introduction

While migration is typically associated with the movement of groups or individuals to new places, forced migration focuses on the displacement of persons due to war as well as natural or environmental disasters, famine, and even development projects. In the 21st century, particular attention has been given to forced migration as the consequence of recurrent and frequent conflict and violence, resulting in increased number of people being displaced from their native countries. While the United Nations recognises that forced migration is often a by-product of conflict, it argues that people being forced to migrate in a conflict-ridden area, is often an “orchestrated, directed and sustained” strategy adopted by the armed factions (Lichtenheld 2014: NP). This paper is concerned with the forced migration of Afghan refugees to India, which started with the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR in 1979. Following the end of the Soviet invasion, Afghanistan was further set back due to a civil war in the country from 1992 to 1996. The war on terror led by the US in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 World Trade Towers led to further worsening of the situation for the Afghans forcing them to migrate. This Research examines the various challenges the Afghan refugees face, the capabilities they have and how they channelize these capabilities to form coping strategies to sustain and manage livelihoods in Urban Delhi.

India and Afghanistan have had a long history - of shared rulers in the earlier centuries to very close trade and community ties in to the late 20th century. India had been a favoured destination for trade to the extent that many Indian movies and books carried depiction of Afghan traders, like the famous work of Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore’s *Kabuliwala*. India due to its cultural and physical proximity and being a relatively safer and peaceful nation became a destination of choice for Afghans escaping violence and general deprivation at home. Even though India does not have a formal legislation for refugees, it is in general considered as liberal in its acceptance of asylum seekers. The government has in fact allowed the UNHCR to provide refugee status to the migrants who apply and then allows such UNHCR mandated refugees to apply for long-term visas. (Venkatranam 2016: NP). India’s closeness to Afghanistan also stems from the fact that India is the fifth largest contributor of aid and support towards the reconstruction of Afghanistan (‘Business Standard’ 2018).

1.2. Contextual Background and Important Stakeholders

India is a country that has seen one of the largest refugee flows in history during the partition with Pakistan in 1947. Even today, it sees influx of refugees from different countries. Refugees, economic migrants and others cross into India every day, in thousands in hope for better livelihood prospects or to escape violence and possible persecution back home. The challenge for the Government and UNHCR is to ensure that the rights of refugees and asylum seekers remain protected. Working closely with the Government of India, UNHCR strives to do this effectively. (India, UNHCR, 2017)

The UNHCR, in order to effectively deal with critical issues facing refugees and to implement its various programs relating to refugee protection, resettlement claims and day-to-day operations, has partnered with various non-governmental actors, necessary in an urban setting.

1.2.1. Role of the State

India is not a party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol (hereinafter jointly referred to as the 1951 Convention), the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness (Sarker 2017: NP). India does not have any national refugee protection legislation in place either. This means that the state is under no legal or international obligation on how refugees are treated. However, it has a long-standing tradition of hosting refugees and the government largely respects the principle of non-refoulement.⁷

The state mostly acknowledges and aligns with the UNHCR's decision making on refugee issues. UNHCR has been working in India since 1981. In New Delhi, UNHCR works with individual refugees and asylum-seekers, primarily from Afghanistan, Myanmar and Somalia. ('UNHCR-UPR' 2016)

Due to absence of any law, India has no official procedural mechanism in place to protect refugees living within its borders. Rather, such vital decisions are often left in bureaucratic hands who may not have enough exposure to humanitarian principles of refugee law and human rights.

Even considered from a political or humanitarian point of view, treatment of refugees in India hence lacks technical application of established principles of international ref-

⁷ Non-refoulement is the policy of not forcing refugees or asylum seekers to return to a (their) country where they may have to face possible violence or persecution

ugee law and instead results in the application of *ad hoc* measures for the admission and treatment of refugees.

India has considered the Convention and the Protocol as “a partial regime for refugee protection drafted in a Euro-centric context” (Suryanarayan 2001: 254). India has pointed out that the framework does not adequately address situations faced by developing countries, as it was designed primarily to deal with individual cases and not with situations of mass influx, which is quite often the case. The protocols also do not adequately differentiate the treatment for political refugees and economic migrants.

The Constitution of India guarantees certain fundamental rights, which are applicable to non-citizen as well. The Right to Equality, the Right Life and Personal Liberty and the Freedom to Practice own religion are rights which can be enforced through the judiciary as the Indian Supreme Court has held that refugees or asylum seekers cannot be discriminated against because of their non-citizen status. The National Human Rights Commission of India (NHRC) has functioned effectively as a watchdog for the protection of refugees. India’s refugee policy is further governed by certain administrative regulations. The standard of humane treatment set by these administrative regulations flowed from the ethos that persons displaced from their home need both protection and economic sustenance (Sarker 2017: NP).

1.2.2. Role of UNHCR

UNHCR has informally been allowed to maintain a presence in Delhi and is responsible for registering, recognizing, and resettling refugees living in India. The Afghan community is one of the largest communities served by UNHCR in Delhi. In addition to registration and resettlement of refugees, UNHCR provides certain forms of humanitarian relief and welfare services and assistance to the refugee. This allied relief is however executed through its implementing partners.

Approximately 60,000 Afghans live in India, of who a mere 16,000 possess certificates issued by the UNHCR. They are not recognised as refugees by the Indian Government. The UNHCR concerns itself primarily with:

- Registration – which is an application form based process to register newcomers, post which refugee eligibility determination interviews and assessments are carried out. The process is usually marred with delays leaving the prospective mandate refugees without any formal documentation and without access to UNHCR-supported services, or any financial support.
- Recognition- After UNHCR approves a claim for refugee status; the applicant becomes a UNHCR-recognized refugee and a refugee identity card/certificate is issued by the UNHCR. The Refugee certificates, which are usually, valid for a period of eighteen months, are required in order for the refugees to access var-

ious UNHCR-sponsored services and also act as important identity documents for refugees. Post expiration, the certificates must be renewed.

- Resettlement - Refugees who are vulnerable are looked at for resettlement in different countries depending on the criteria of those countries. If and when refugees are accepted, it may take more than a year to complete formalities and obtain an exit permit.

Anticipating a dignified life after facing lot of hardships, there are many Afghans who seek resettlement in other countries, including going back to Afghanistan. There is however, a gap between the number of refugees seeking resettlement and the avenues for the same.

1.2.3. UNHCR's implementing partners

BOSCO: BOSCO is part of the Don Bosco Global Network spread across 135 countries. It runs educational institutions, vocational and technical training centres and community empowerment projects, providing various services to young people around the globe. As an implementing partner of UNHCR in India, BOSCO facilitates access to basic services such as health and education services through a team of experts supported by community workers. Early childhood education, bridge/tuition classes are provided to the refugees and their children. BOSCO responds to the requirements of persons with specific needs through regular assessments and psychosocial support. BOSCO has specific programs for children, youth and gender-based violence victims. BOSCO also provides sanitary materials and dignity kits to vulnerable female refugees.

BOSCO also runs a financial-support program with the UNHCR. It recommends, through individual assessments on need, a Sustenance Allowance.

Focus Areas: Psychosocial support, Education, Health and Livelihood support.

Partner since: 2002

SLIC: The Socio-Legal Information Centre (SLIC) is part of the Human Rights Law Network (HRLN), which is a collective of lawyers and social activists dedicated to the help enforcing human rights through the legal channels.

SLIC provides free legal assistance to refugees and asylum seekers. It also works in close coordination with local authorities to help eligible refugees acquire Indian citizenship through registration and naturalization. It also conducts trainings for lawyers, police, activists and local communities.

Focus Areas: Legal Assistance

Partner since: 2001

ACCESS: It is responsible for supporting the development of refugee livelihoods through job placements, vocational skills training and enterprise training grants, offering a range of social services aimed at supporting refugees enter the labour market and integrate into the host environment– elements viewed as key to self-reliance. These approaches include efforts to increase refugees’ human capital and material assets. ACCESS has the primary responsibility of supporting refugees get employment which they do through life skills training classes, vocational training and job placements, and also enterprise training as part of an entrepreneurship programme, which offers a small number of successful refugees (around 80) a year’s grant to set up their small business idea.

Focus Area: Livelihood, Employment

Implementing partners play a very critical role for the UNHCR. BOSCO, ACCESS and SLIC are instrumental in building capabilities of the Afghan refugees in Delhi while also working towards protecting them and their rights. They are critical as they help assist the Afghan refugees in tackling various challenges they face in their day-to-day lives in Delhi.

In India’s perspective therefore, the state’s inclination to non-refoulement and the presence of UNHCR (along with its implementing partners) seems to have more than made up for the absence of a refugee law. Despite the absence of any law for legally enforceable refugee rights, refugees have not been dissuaded from entering India, possibly due to these reasons.

1.3 India: Refugees’ Preferred Destination

While most refugees are vulnerable to various forms of social, economic and political exclusion, studies suggest that they are increasingly settling in cities, which has generated challenges not only for the UNHCR but also to urban stakeholders such as local governments, municipalities, local service providers, law enforcement agencies who have to take the demands of the refugees into account (Morand et al 2012: 7-9). The fact that 84% of the world’s refugee population lives in the developing countries, (Edmond 2017: NP) compounds the problem as these nations are at most times unable to bear the financial burden of hosting the refugee population. These nations, which are already constrained with a limited amount of resources for their own population, find it difficult to spare for more people coming in from other nations. Access to basic services and control of assets shape the economic strategies that refugees employ to achieve self-reliance, that is, food and income security.

Displacement destroys livelihoods and forces people to adopt new strategies to support themselves. Refugees often arrive with no safety net, they usually flee with only few resources and little preparation and, at times, are separated from or lose their

family members. Without access to basic services and assets, men and women, girls and boys often rely on risky (often illegal) activities to survive. These may include working as commercial sex workers, illegally hawking goods on unsafe streets, peddling drugs or trading sex for food or shelter (Buscher 2011: NP). Under these circumstances, the UNHCR in its policy objectives for refugees in urban areas in developing countries has stressed on community orientation and integration, partnerships and collaborations with local organisations, promotion of self-reliance, apart from the core objectives of ensuring documented refugee populations, maintaining security as well as ensuring access to healthcare, education and social welfare services (Morand et al 2012: 7-9).

India being the second most populous country has been the host for refugees from several countries, including Afghanistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. In the absence of any state protection as well as widespread poverty and unemployment already prevalent in India, refugees often find it difficult to access basic services like healthcare or education, or gain meaningful employment (Edmond 2017: NP). New Delhi is home to more than 21,000 “persons of concern” to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): 15,269 refugees and 6,092 asylum seekers. The largest population amongst these are the Afghans (10,758) and Burmese, primarily Burmese Chin (9,109), with smaller populations of Somalis (833), Rohingayas, Iraqis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, Congolese, Sudanese, Iranians, Pakistanis and Palestinians (Buscher 2011: NP). The Afghan refugee population is locally categorised in to two groups, Hindu Sikh Afghans and “ethnic Afghans” who are Muslim. The refugees’ education levels, skills and previous occupations differ significantly by nationality. Many of the Somalis and Afghans are highly educated and come from urban backgrounds, while the Burmese come from less educated, agricultural backgrounds and, as such, have the biggest adjustments to make and the fewest transferable skills for the urban environment.

Although the government does not grant refugees the right to work and, thus, does not issue them work permits, irrespective of whether they possess residence permits, they are allowed or ‘tolerated’ to work in the expanding “informal economy”. (Joint, I., Profiling Service (JIPS). But the informal economy, which employs nearly 81% of the total employed population in India, is characterised by low wages, lack of social security and other problematic labour conditions (The Wire 2018).⁸

1.4 Problem Statement

⁸The Economic Survey prepared by India’s Chief Economic Adviser quoted that nearly 87% of the firms registered in India – representing 21% of the country’s total turnover recent survey by the are indeed a part of the informal sector – defined as companies which neither file taxes nor provides social security to its employees.

While the rights of refugees are guided by International Covenants – accessing these rights is often complicated. The country in which the refugees are present and the provisions and general attitudes of the state and local population play critical roles. At the same time, refugees face the challenge of meeting their financial and sustenance requirements while coping with possible discrimination and violence. In the Indian context, this group is dependent on the protection of the state and the UNHCR. UNHCR provides some assistance, which is, however, restricted and majority of the refugees have to strive in many ways to sustain themselves. With an ever increasing population of refugees around the world, it is not only important to focus on the resettlement but also on how these refugees survive in a completely new and unknown territory as these waiting periods can spread to as much as ten years and longer.

This research deals with vulnerabilities and insecurities faced by the Afghan refugees, their capabilities and the consequent coping strategies. It draws attention to the economic and social challenges faced by Afghan refugees and it will analyse the measures the community undertakes to tackle those challenges. This research will examine the social and economic obstacles faced by the refugees and it investigates how these refugees have coped with these challenges and sustained themselves without much belongings or assets in a country which is not their own.

1.5 Research Objective

There has been extensive studies and research on the reasons for occurrences of forced migration. In recent times and especially in light of the Syrian conflict and the subsequent EU refugee crisis, there have been increased discussions on the moral responsibilities of countries to admit refugees and on ways of how to resettle and integrate them. However, there is limited and scattered literature or research available on what happens to the refugees during the time their application for asylum is under consideration or in cases where their applications have been rejected?

The overall objective of the Research paper is to analyse the vulnerabilities and challenges faced by the Afghan refugees in urban Delhi, the difficulties they face and the insecurities they endure; the support they receive from the UN and other organisations, and in what ways do they mobilise this support and their own capabilities to cultivate a livelihood in Delhi and strive for a life of economic independence and social acceptance. In doing so this paper contributes to the more comprehensive forms of intervention by the Government and the UNHCR to ensure basic social and economic rights for refugees.

1.6 Research Questions

The main research question this is:

How have the contemporary Afghan refugees used their capabilities and support of agencies to develop coping strategies in order gain employment and improve their conditions of work and life, as well as counter prejudice and insecurity in Urban Delhi?

The research sub-questions are:

1. How have Afghan refugees in India used their capabilities to find employment and negotiated and sustained their lives as refugees in Delhi?
2. In which ways have problems of harassment, discrimination and negative attitudes towards refugees impacted on their human security?
3. How have the supporting agencies supported refugees' claims and (human and economic) rights as refugees in the country?

1.7 Methodology

The analysis of the challenges and the coping strategies of urban refugees involves reviewing conceptual, historical and comparative data. In order to do this effectively, the paper provides a background to contextualise refugee migration of the Afghan population to India. It utilizes and reviews key conceptual and comparative work on the vulnerabilities of refugees and the importance of promoting not only their social integration in the host country but also their economic rights and independence. This research draws inspiration from key concepts on human rights, human development and human security.

This research is based on both secondary and primary research.

The secondary sources include relevant historical and theoretical material that is pertinent to understanding the context, challenges and coping strategies of the refugees in urban Delhi. It reviews the ideas developed by the authors on this subject including economist Mahbub Ul Haq's work on the Human Development discourse and his subsequent discussions on Human Security, the Capabilities approach introduced by Nobel laureate Amartya Sen and developed by Martha Nussbaum, as well as the undertones set by the securitization theory. These concepts are then used to analyse the coping strategies of the Afghan refugees in urban Delhi.

The primary data, related to the situation of Afghan refugees, was based on structured questionnaire interviews that dealt with various aspects of lives being led by the Afghan refugees in Delhi. Various sections in the questionnaire covered:

- Demographic details to covering basic characteristics including age, sex, ethnicity and identity
- Challenges faced: Questions covered aspects like ease/difficulty in finding housing and discrimination faced thereof, quality of housing, education of children, ease/difficulty in securing employment, harassment at work place or in general during their stay in Delhi as refugees
- Capabilities: Questions on educational levels, vocational skills and knowledge of local language - all of which would help their chances at employment and integration with the local population
- Coping strategies: Questions on ways in which many of them have gained employment, the kinds of work, the assistance available and average household incomes
- Role of agencies: Roles of UNHCR and its implementing partners, BOSCO and ACCESS, and their effectiveness

The research has drawn inferences from the responses received from a sample of 29 Afghan refugee households in Delhi during the period of August and September 2018.

The process of getting interviews conducted with the Afghan household heads was difficult and arduous. Multiple mails had to be written to UNHCR and BOSCO to seek permission for conducting the interviews. BOSCO, which is UNHCR's implementing partner in Delhi, asserted that they could not give such permission without UNHCR's ratification. UNHCR on the other hand, has a convoluted management structure where-in different set of persons handle different aspects for the refugees. As the questionnaire prepared contained questions pertaining to multiple aspects, it required immense coordination and multiple approvals from different UNHCR employees seeking permission from each member concerned with a particular aspect. None of the employees was committal towards granting such permission in totality. I therefore had to eventually take help of a few ex-BOSCO colleagues who administered the surveys outside of their office hours. All respondents were compensated for their time in putting together the inputs and responding to all survey questions. The respondents were also told that the surveys are independent and do not have any relation whatsoever with UNHCR or BOSCO. Overall the effort put in getting the surveys completed was protracted and strenuous.

The initial set of questions prepared for the interviews was more subjective. However, in view of practical challenges in administering a lengthy questionnaire and also the difficulties in analysing subjective answers, if received, to the questionnaire, I restructured my questions and framed multiple-choice questions. The new set of questions

would draw out similar responses and results albeit in a much more concise and analysable form.

The next challenge was to choose the set of prospective respondents. There were more than 12000 Afghan refugees in Delhi in 2017 as per the UNHCR and it was therefore imperative to select a sample, which could be representative of the whole population of the Afghan refugees in Delhi (Field, Tiwari & Mookherjee 2017: NP). In order to gain a more comprehensive flavour, the sample included respondents falling at different ends for various demographic parameters. The demographic details below indicate the varied nature of the chosen sample of respondents.

Age

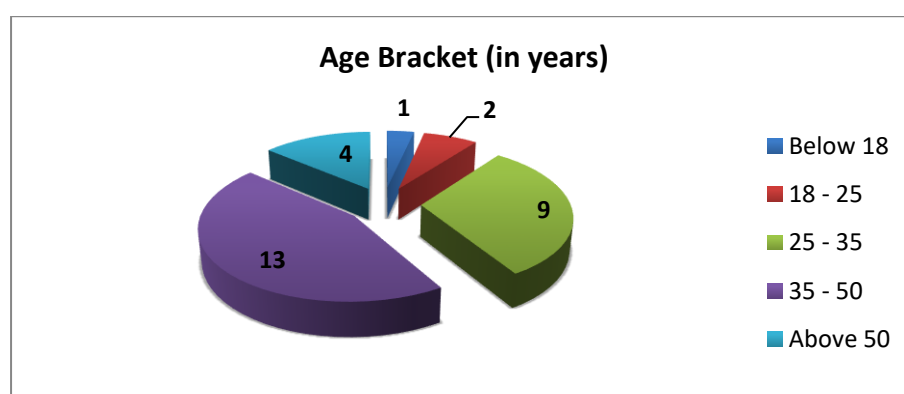
The youngest respondent in the group was 16 years old while the eldest was 52 years old. The average age of the group was 36.1 years and the median age was 35 years. This means that while age of most respondents was centred on 35 years – with 22 of the 29 respondents in the age of 25-50, younger respondents were covered in nearly equal proportion as older respondents (3 respondents below 25 and 4 above 50 years).

The median (and average) of those surveyed also ties in with the fact that the survey was administered to the household heads. This means most of those surveyed should be in the employable age. This is an important metric signifying the relatively younger age of the refugees and hence possibility of the refugees earning a living through employment and not being completely dependent on state or agency support. This also meant greater insights could be gained on aspects like employment and financial obligations.

The table and graph below shows the distribution of age of the sample.

	Age Bracket (in years)					Grand Total
	Below 18	18 - 25	25 - 35	35 - 50	Above 50	
No of Resp.	1	2	9	13	4	29

Table 1.1 – Age bands of survey respondents



Graph 1.1 – Age bands of survey respondents

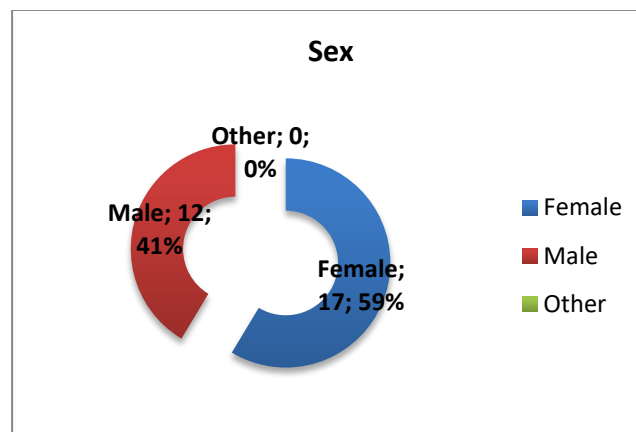
Sex

There was an attempt to ensure that enough female household heads are covered however analysing the sex brings to light interesting demographic facets of the sample household heads. Given the usual gender dynamics or traditional gender roles in poorer nations, and the fact that most of the Afghan refugees would be Muslims, it would be expected that the household heads would be predominantly male as males are preferred over females in various facets of life especially education or employment.

The survey found that 17 respondents were females while the remaining 12 were males. This means that 41% of the respondent population were males; a majority (59%) were females.

Sex	Total
Female	17
Male	12
Other	0
Total	29

Table 1.2 – Survey respondents by Sex



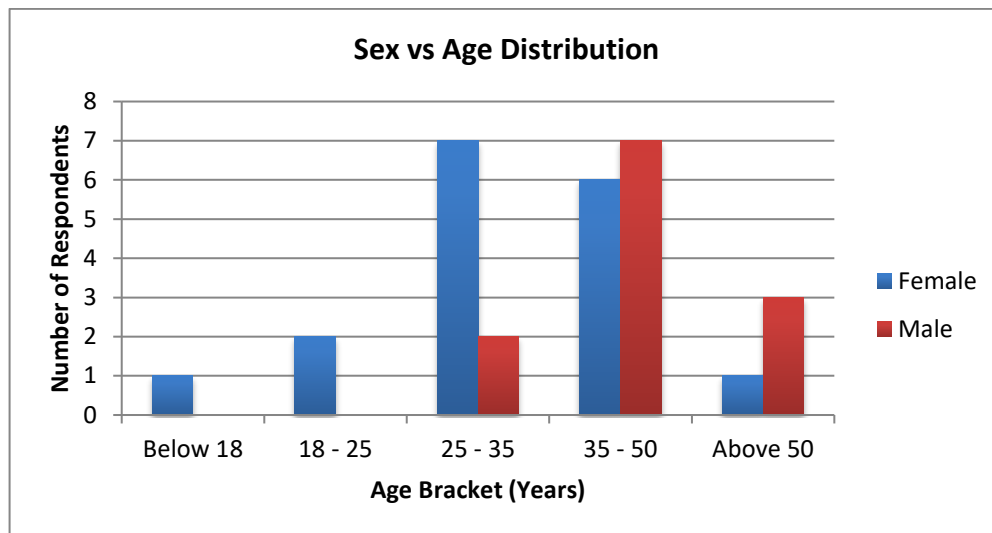
Graph 1.2 – Survey respondents by Sex

Also, on analysing the Sex to age distribution, it could be noted that there were more females in the younger age brackets (Below 18, 18-25 and 25 – 35) while there were more males in the older age brackets (35 – 50 and Above 50). However, the survey ensured a fair distribution on age across the sexes.

Age Bracket (years)	Female	Male	Total
Below 18	1	0	1
18 - 25	2	0	2

25 - 35	7	2	9
35 - 50	6	7	13
Above 50	1	3	4
Total	17	12	29

Table 1.3 – Sex and Age bands of respondents



Graph 1.3 – Sex and Age bands distribution

Ethnicity

The Afghan Constitution recognizes 14 ethnic groups in Afghanistan, and therefore it was imperative to capture at least the major ones amongst the refugee respondents.

Ethnicity was included to understand the migration patterns of different ethnic groups. Majority of the respondents (20 of 29) belonged to the Pashtun ethnic group, which was in line with their population proportion of Afghanistan of around 50%.

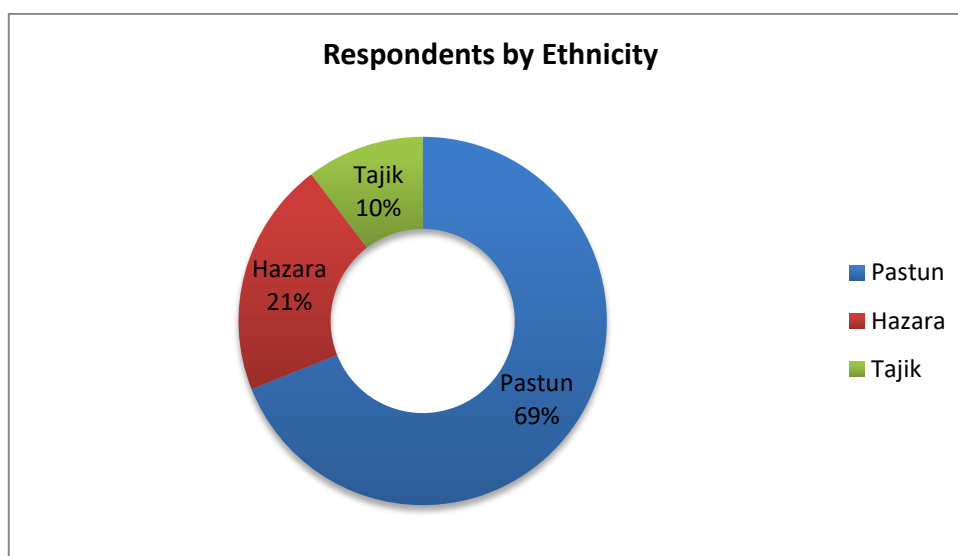
The second most dominant ethnic group within the respondents, are the Hazara ethnic group who formed 21% (6 out of 29) of the respondents, while they constitute 9-10% of Afghanistan's population. This was possibly due to the historical divides of this ethnic group from rest of Afghan population.

The Tajik, who actually constitute nearly 25% of Afghanistan's population, formed 10% of the respondent group. This is possibly because the Tajiks, also known as the "Persians of noble blood" descended from richer families and reside in the six-seven biggest cities of Afghanistan.

Ethnicity	No. of Respondents
-----------	--------------------

Pashtun	20
Hazara	6
Tajik	3
Total	29

Table 1.4 – Respondents by Ethnicity



Graph 1.4 – Respondents by Ethnicity

Time spent in India as refugees

While it may be more difficult for newcomers to endure the insecurities and vulnerabilities of finding refuge in an unknown city, it may (or may not) become easier with time spent. Hence, the set of respondents were chosen with this aspect as one of the key considerations.

As the below table depicts, of the 29 respondents, 4 could be considered newcomers who had spent lesser than 2 years in Delhi. A majority, 19 respondents, had spent time varying between 2 and 6 years, while another 6 respondents had spent more than 6 years, forming the other end of the spectrum vis-à-vis the newcomers.

Years Spent	0 to 2 Years	2 to 6 Years	6 + Years	Total
Total	4	19	6	29

Table 1.5 – Respondents by Years in India

I have worked for BOSCO in Delhi for two years (2015-2017), during which time I also interacted and worked closely with UNHCR. I therefore had the prospect of facilitating the interviews through members working with UNHCR or BOSCO. In my interactions with the refugee population living in Delhi, I was exposed to the challenges faced by

the refugees in sustaining themselves and their families in Delhi. I have been a part of the UNHCR program providing short-term assistance facilitated through BOSCO. At certain points, in this research, I have drawn from my experiences to compare and contrast the findings of the refugee survey however they are not intertwined with the survey's own results/analysis. The location for this research was also therefore chosen as Delhi, India.

As stated above, this research aims to examine the challenges faced by the Afghan refugees living in Delhi, the corresponding capabilities they possess and the coping strategies they employ to endure these challenges. The primary research, and more specifically the questionnaire prepared for the refugees therefore form the basis of this research. The questionnaire has helped develop insights in to the various aspects listed through first hand information from the refugees themselves.

The questionnaire was presented to a total of 35 Afghan refugees (mostly the heads of the households) residing in different parts of Delhi through August and September 2018. While all members were assured anonymity, 29 refugees agreed to respond. As detailed above, efforts were also made to ensure that the respondents are varied in their age group, sex, ethnicity and time spent in Delhi, in order to get a balanced, impartial and more accurate picture. Heads of the households were chosen as they were assumed to be in a better position to answer on behalf of the whole family and bring out the most pertinent issues. This research uses Microsoft Excel tools to conduct data and trend analysis in order to draw inferences from the collected responses. The complete questionnaire used is available in [Appendix 1](#).

In order to garner a 360-degree perspective, I have also included information and insights from my interaction with BOSCO and UNHCR employees - two very important institutions working with Afghan refugees in Delhi. Therefore the primary data also extends to discussions with members of the UNHCR and its implementing partner, BOSCO.

1.8 Relevance to Development Studies & Social Justice Perspective

Forced migration, especially due to war and conflict, has been increasing at an alarming rate. Globally there are nearly 25 million refugees and asylum seekers who were forced to leave their country as a result of conflict, violence or political persecution. In 2016 alone, 3.4 million people were forced to migrate outside of their native countries due to violence and conflict.

Afghanistan, which has seen constant conflict and internal political disruptions since the early 1980s, has the second largest population of refugees. The total refugee population of Afghanistan is 2.5 million as in 2016 despite the fact that the largest popula-

tion of returnees (refugees returning to their native country) are also from Afghanistan – 384,000 in 2016 alone. Afghanistan is second only to Syria, which has been in turmoil due to its civil wars which started in 2011 and has led to 5.5 million Syrians living as refugees

While there is an increased flow of returnees into Afghanistan as things normalise for the country and the government rebuilds the economy, it is imperative that till such time, the Afghan refugees are afforded decent livelihoods. It is critical that they are employed so that they can afford housing, food and basic healthcare expenses, education of refugee children must be prioritized to build future capabilities, and that they are protected against discrimination and exploitation.

“Humanitarianism demands that we stand firmly alongside those striving against oppression and assist their struggle for dignity and basic human rights” (Chandler 2001: 685).

However, policymakers, governments, humanitarian agencies, media and people in general have failed the refugees in helping them escape conflict and abject poverty and progress towards a life of dignity and perceived opportunity. They have instead been pushed towards discrimination, harassment and life-threatening dangers.

This research will therefore explore the issues faced by the Afghan refugee community – the second largest population of people displaced outside of their borders.

1.9 Scope and Limitations

While Afghan refugees have migrated to multiple cities across the world, including in India, this research focuses on their livelihood challenges, capabilities and coping strategies in Delhi. This research paper examines these aspects basis the responses to a questionnaire administered to 29 Afghan refugees living in Delhi. These responses have been, in a way, extrapolated to proposition the challenges, capabilities and coping strategies of the Afghan refugees in Delhi.

In order to provide a theoretical perspective on the findings, this research paper makes use of critical paradigms of Human Development, Human Security as well as the Capabilities Approach. Linkages of the research paper to the Securitization theory have also been broached upon.

This research paper also analyses to a smaller extent, the role of the Indian state, and to a larger extent, the role of the UNHCR and its partners in India, in aiding the resettlement of Afghan refugees in India. Their effectiveness has been scrutinized basis the responses of the refugees interviewed.

There are a few limitations that may be inherent in this research. Firstly, the fact that the responses of 29 Afghan refugees have been used to make observations for the en-

tire Afghan refugee population of Delhi may bring in certain possibilities of inaccuracies. While all efforts were made to make this sample as diverse as possible (as covered in the methodology section), the generalisations made basis these responses may be subject to what can be called extrapolation error.

During the interviews, the respondents were clearly advised that the survey is in no way connected with or endorsed by UNHCR or its partners, and in no way would have a bearing on their access to services from UNHCR or its partners. However, the fact that the same was administered through UNHCR's partner – BOSCO's employees could have resulted in certain biases in the responses of the refugees.

Additionally, as I have worked intensively and closely with Afghan refugees while working for BOSCO in Delhi (on a UNHCR project), there were possibilities of biases creeping in to the analysis through my experiences and pre-formed impressions. In order to try and overcome these, I have attempted to separate the analysis basis the primary questionnaire data and from my experience. I have explicitly mentioned wherever I have drawn inferences or influences from my time with BOSCO.

Chapter 2: Human Development, Insecurity, Capabilities and Human Rights: A Theoretical Review

The challenges faced by refugees to sustain their livelihoods in the host countries can be analysed by reviewing relevant concepts and frameworks that capture their experiences and possibilities. This chapter reviews the value of the securitization theory and the 'security-development nexus' as developed by Hintjens and Zarkov to understand how the general attitudes of local populations towards refugees are guided by fear for security and the resultant consequences for these suspicions for refugees, leading to discriminations and harassment. It then reflects and develops aspects of the Human Development and Human Security approaches developed by Mahbub Ul Haq, Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum to understand how the security and rights of refugees can be secured under these difficult circumstances.

2.1 Securitization and Security Development Nexus

Securitization theory, which was developed by the Copenhagen School, became an important development in the realm of security studies. From the classic approach on security, which would traditionally focus on materialistic characteristics of any threat like military capabilities, distribution of power and polarity, securitization theory scrutinizes how any matter is transformed, by an actor, into an issue of security justifying the use of extraordinary measures. It is a constructivist approach and lays emphasis on the "speech act" as being central to its implementation. Given that security is "administered" by a few and received by the majority, it results in unequal power relations (Williams 2003: 514).

The Securitisation theory has, perhaps, deeply shaped the current perceptions and apprehensions towards migration. The "fear" of migrants and refugees is often fuelled by political motivations, by factions who wish to unite the local diaspora by making the issue of migration seem "critical" and one with dire consequences and requiring urgent attention. In recent times, these apprehensions have manifested themselves into staggering actions. The US's travel ban against 7 Muslim countries and an iterated policy being consequently upheld by the Supreme Court (Lind 2018: NP) shocked lot of people across the globe however it also found support within the country. The widespread protests against migration in Europe, during the recent arrival of an influx of migrants from African nations (The Local De, 2018) is a testimony to how fear has been cultivated amongst masses.

India has not remained untouched from such sentiments. The locals would view the migrants as "outsiders" who are a risk to the limited resources available in the country. Particular profile of migrants (like Muslim migrants) would face greater averseness leading to instances of violence, harassment and discrimination. In the recent Rohingya crisis, when scores of migrants moved in to India to seek refuge from imminent violence in Myanmar, the Indian government took a decision to deport the migrants back to their country. India termed the Rohingyas as illegal migrants who are a "drain" on the country's resources and a "security threat" to its local population (Armstrong & Zeet 2017: NP). Another example is the government of (India's state of) Assam's un-

paralleled decision to carry out a court mandated drafting of the National Register of Citizens which is an exercise to determine whether the inhabitants are actually Indian or not and (The Times of India, 2018) illegal migrants will be “filtered out” and then asked to leave.

As Zarkov and Hintjens point out, the 1990s also brought in a widening of the so-called “narrow” and oversimplified definition of development, which associated it only with war. The new concepts explored the far-reaching effects of development, positive and negative. The new millennium and especially the events of September 11, 2001 brought in a renewed focus on security as well as border controls. This led to the security-development nexus. Zarkov and Hintjens argue that perhaps two of the more critical and evident aspects which originated due to this security-development nexus were “the global outlawing of spontaneous and/ or undocumented migration; the second is global curbing of civil liberties of those who are documented and legally living within states” (Hintjens & Žarkov 2014: 9). The security-development nexus lent credence to the notion that development was not possible until such time that the nation has been “secured”, a part of which was securing the borders reinforcing the general attitudes of the state and the local population against migration leading to increased instances of human rights violations against refugees and migrants.

2.2 Capabilities Approach, Human Development and Human Security

Does rehabilitation of refugees simply mean provision of basic essential needs like food, water and shelter, or would it include developmental needs like education, security, employment and self-respect? This study takes inspiration from the Capabilities Approach, theorized by the Nobel-winning economist, Amartya Sen, and further elaborated by Martha Nussbaum as well as the Human Development Approach pioneered by Mahbub Ul Haq in the 1980s and 1990s, to answer the above question. Sen argued that true indicators of development should be focussed on the capabilities of the population and their ability to operationalize those capabilities rather than simply the wealth as measured through GDP per capita (Brooks 2012: 519-520). He argued that any person, who has the “capability to” perform a particular activity or action which could lead to her/her wellbeing, should have the freedom and means to be able to exercise such capability. As noted by Brooks,

“Human dignity requires more than food, but choice: recall that the capabilities approach focuses on capability opportunities and not actual functioning. The problem of severe poverty requires action to ensure the human dignity of all is recognized and protected” (Brooks 2012: 520).

Sen’s Capability theory was further developed by Martha Nussbaum, who offered three extensions to the existing approach. She argued that each individual has multiple capabilities and all such capabilities need to be protected while the individual must have the freedom to exercise all such capabilities so possessed. Nussbaum also argued

in defence of the Capabilities approach that the ability of the population to be able to exercise their capabilities was akin to a “social minimum” or a bottom threshold of development. Thirdly, Nussbaum went on to list the areas of the basic capabilities while asserting that such a list was open to revision (Brooks 2012: 519-520).

“The ten capabilities demarcate the social minimum that all persons should surpass in order to possess their human dignity. Capabilities are goals that people are “entitled” to and governments must ensure this standard is met to pass as “minimally just”” (Fukuda-Parr 2003: 169).

The capabilities approach can also be applied to migrants and refugees. Their actual wellbeing in the host nation can be accurately gauged using the Capabilities approach. While Nussbaum defined certain capabilities like “bodily health”, “life” and “senses”, I would like to argue that it can even include critical aspects like capabilities in the sense of access to education, access to employment, and ability to lead a life of respect and dignity (Brooks 2012: 519-520). The HDA exemplified a broadened and emboldened thinking that did not limit to development being defined within limited parameters of only financial security. This research therefore, while examining the sustainability of livelihoods of the Afghan refugees in Delhi, is not limited to only employment parameters or other means of gaining financial sustenance. This research focuses equally on parameters like education, health and general social well-being and integration as all these factors, along with financial independence, are critical for successful assimilation of the Afghan refugees in Delhi’s society.

2.3 Human Security Paradigm

The Human Security discourse is perhaps the most critical amendment in developmental policy discussions. Introduced in 1993-94 by Mahbub Ul Haq, as a part of Human Development Reports, the paradigm attempted to associate human development with the aspect of security (Gasper 2007: 16). The concept of security, under this paradigm, was not limited to physical security, as was most times attributed to security of nations and its borders, but instead the ability of persons to feel secure in obtaining and retaining goods and services. It envisaged that the “orientation of defence and foreign policy objectives changed from an almost exclusive concern with military security to a broader concern for overall security of individuals from social violence, economic distress and environmental degradation” (Jolly & Basu 2006: NP). This would require “attention to causes of individual insecurity and obstacles to realization of the full potential of individuals” (Jolly & Basu 2006: NP). Hence, the ability of persons to secure education, safety (from violence, conflict and discrimination) and access to healthcare became elements that formed the human security paradigm. In essence then, the human security paradigm was an amalgamation of the human needs theory, human rights and human development along with a concern for stability and freedom from fear.

The Human Security approach has been believed to bring out priorities and often provides a more comprehensive picture than other paradigms. By focussing on the security (or insecurity) of individuals rather than that of a nation or state as a whole, the human security approach brought forth the intricacies involved in achieving or securing various basic needs. The human security paradigm also did not immediately define the set of threats to human security. This therefore gave the paradigm the ability to be flexible – with the ability to include or exclude threats as per the particular set of people or a particular nation, and also be dynamic – with the ability to root out older threats to make way for newer ones as they emerge.

The Human Security discourse is therefore a critical developmental paradigm as it boasts of many advantages over the preceding ones. The word security itself conjures up the aspect of ethicality – of joining forces to ensure fairness and justice. Additionally the fact the human security discourse lays emphasis on specific areas like violence, conflict, discrimination, etc. as threats to security, it allows for a more detailed analysis of the issues being faced by the effected population. It therefore seeks to uproot the causes of such insecurity and does not limit itself to the provision of basic capabilities like the human development approach. The human security approach therefore takes leads from the human rights approach and the human development approach and builds on them while adding sympathy and solidarity with the affected population, in turn building consciousness and demanding accountability amongst the general population and the state governments.

The human security discourse forms a basis for this research to analyse various aspects of the very existence of the Afghan refugees in Delhi. From understanding the threats that they face to examining the coping mechanisms they employ to sustain themselves, the human security lens leads to a detailed and meaningful evaluation of the Afghan refugees' weathering challenges to survive in a new and possibly hostile environment.

In the following chapters, we will see how securitization has led to various impediments to the integration of refugees and also resulted in discrimination and harassment faced by the refugees. The Human Development and Human Security paradigms, along with the capabilities approach form the main lens through which the challenges, capabilities and the coping strategies of the Afghan refugees in Delhi will be examined. In what ways have challenges resulted in insecurities for the refugees and how have the community networks and support agencies enabled the refugees to mobilize their capabilities and develop their coping strategies has been viewed in cognizance of the Human Development paradigm.

Chapter 3: Securitisation and Human Insecurity

As theorised in Chapter 2, the concept of securitization was a dominant reason for the way attitudes towards refugees and migrants were formed throughout the world since the late 1990s. Even through some (political) leaders in some countries (like the US) had attempted to securitize the concept of international migration, the sentiment spread across other nations as well, though possibly not with the same intensity. The general attitudes of the population was aversion to the refugees as they were seen as “outsiders” who would lay claim to what was “rightfully” the share of the local population and become a “burden” on the host country. This chapter explores the insecurities and challenges faced; and the dependence of Afghan refugees on the host nation for their ability to survive. Human security, apart from financial needs, covers more importantly the societal treatment the refugees receive along with the harassment or discrimination faced in their daily lives.

3.1 Insecurity

Challenges faced by Refugees can vary considerably in different geographical locations. It is therefore important to understand which challenges Afghan refugees in Delhi most commonly faced. The below table is a summary of certain financial and social challenges and how many refugees stated facing those particular challenges.

Major Challenges Faced as a Refugee in Securing a Livelihood	Female	Male	Total
Employment/Financial stability, Racial/Religious discrimination, Threats/Security Concern from native country	1	0	1
Employment/Financial stability, Racial/Religious discrimination	2	1	3
Employment/Financial stability, Physical/Sexual Violence	1	0	1
Employment/Financial stability, Others	1	3	4
Employment/Financial stability, Threats/Security Concern from native country	3	5	8
Physical/Sexual Violence, Threats/Security Concern from native country	1	0	1
Physical/Sexual Violence, Others	1	0	1
Threats/Security Concern from native country, Others	1	0	1
Employment/Financial stability	1	2	3
Physical/Sexual Violence	1	0	1
Threats/Security Concern from native country	1	1	2
Others	3	0	3
Total	17	12	29

Table 3.1 – Challenges faced by Afghan Refugees

Since multiple selections were possible, the below table is a frequency distribution of the challenges.

Challenge in Securing Livelihood	Females	Males
Employment/Financial stability	9	11

Physical/Sexual Violence	4	0
Threats/Security Concern from native country	7	6
Racial/Religious discrimination	3	1
Others	6	3

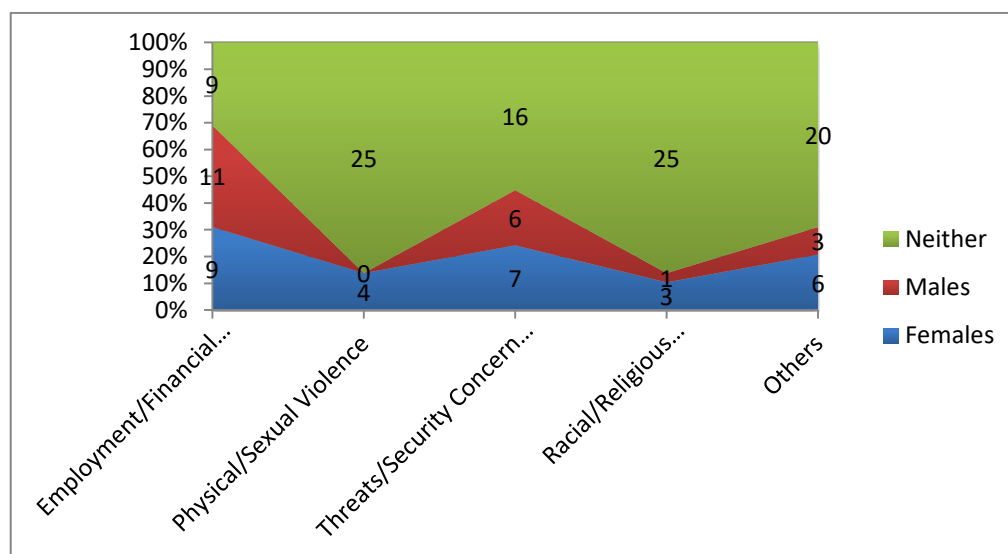
Table 3.2 – Frequency distribution of Challenges faced by Afghan Refugees

Securing employment or being able to attain financial stability was expected to and did turn out as a recurrent theme with 20 of the 29 respondents expressing it as a concern.

The second most commonly faced challenge was Threats and security concerns from native country which is testimony to the fact that many refugees are trying to escape persecution at the hands local political or ethnic groups.

Significantly, 4 Female refugees also stated that they had faced physical/sexual violence.

Each of the above challenges contributes to insecurity, be it financial, social or physical. These aspects bring into light the importance of the Human Security discourse.



Graph 3.1 – Frequency distribution of Challenges faced by Afghan Refugees

Apart from threats from their home country, refugees usually also have security risks within the host country. As has been discussed earlier in this paper, the general aversion towards migrants and refugees in the contemporary world has played (and continues to play) a big role in the perceived risks refugees may face in the host nations. In cases where a “foreign” looking or speaking community is seen as a threat to the local populations’ interests, rumours and paranoia can spread fast, leading to violence. New Delhi has witnessed many instances of refugees of different nationalities, often be-

longing to African nations, facing violence at the hands of the local population of the locality they reside in. India also does not have the best record in terms of women safety in general. This trend does not seem to be limited to the local women only.

Either way, in cases where the refugees face threat of violence, the only possible recourse for them would be going police. It was therefore imperative to understand the general attitudes of the state (and its agencies) towards refugees.

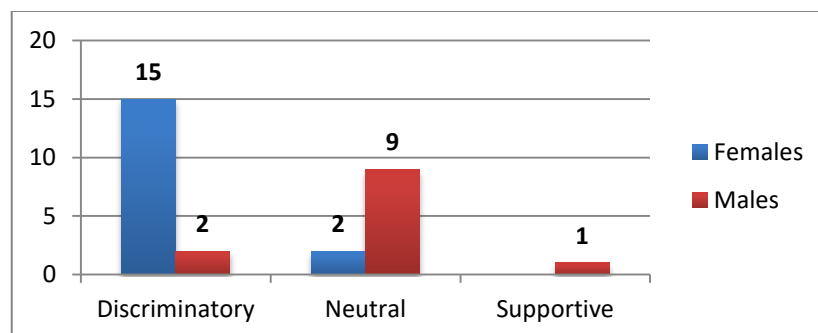
Given that there is no formal system for recourse for refugees in India, the results were as per expected lines. 17 of the 29 members responded that they felt that attitudes of the state/its agencies/police were discriminatory, 11 reported that it was neutral while only 1 member claimed it to be positive towards refugees.

Interestingly, of the 17 respondents who pointed out discriminatory attitudes, 15 were women and only 2 were men. On the other hand, of the 11 who stated that attitudes were neutral, 9 were men and only 2 were women. The below table and graph capture this stark variation:

Perceived attitude/Sex	Female	Male	Total
Discriminatory	15	2	17
Neutral	2	9	11
Supportive		1	1
Total	17	12	29

Table 3.3 –Attitudes of state agencies

Females, in general, were therefore found to be more dissatisfied with support from the state/police. Perhaps this signifies an intersectionality of discrimination or challenges that women face. On the one hand, by virtue of being refugees, women face various insecurities – economic and social, on the other hand they are also exposed to gender based violence as they are “viewed as cultural bearers and reproducers of ‘the enemy’” (Jolly & Basu 2006: NP). The human security paradigm by widening the concept of development by linking it to human security perhaps allowed for gendered insecurities to come to the fore.



Graph 3.2 – Attitudes of state agencies

Differences in culture and language often make conflict resolution more complicated. This can especially be true at workplace rather than being limited to only social relations.

Harassment/Discrimination at workplace	Salaried-Formal Sector	Salaried-Informal Sector	Self Employed	Total
No	3	5	3	11
No, Yes, due to language/appearance		1		1
Yes, due to gender		3		3
Yes, due to language/appearance	1	2	1	4
Yes, due to language/appearance, Yes, due to gender		1		1
Yes, others		4		4
Total	4	16	4	24

Table 3.4 –Harassment/Discrimination at workplace

(*One respondent selected both “No” and “Yes, due to language/appearance” options. Since the respondent further provided the details on the “Kind of harassment faced, the response to the previous question was considered as “Yes, due to language/appearance”)

11 out of the 24 employed respondents stated that they had never faced any form of discrimination or harassment at their workplace. While amongst those employed in the formal sector, 1 of the 4 respondents had faced discrimination, in the informal sector the equation was inverted, with 11 in 16 members reported having faced discrimination/harassment. The most common discrimination/harassment faced was due to difference of language and appearance, while the next most common was due to their sex. The human security paradigm dictates that freedom means safety from both violent and non-violent threats. Therefore, such discrimination or harassment fall directly in to the ambit of human (in)security.

3 – all females – respondents reported harassment due to gender while another female respondent reported harassment due to gender as well as difference of language/appearance. The human security concept laid emphasis on the importance of sensitivity towards specific insecurities of women and consequent understanding of specific types of protections or interventions based on what is required by whom. Disaggregation of insecurities through gendered lens results in a more accurate understanding of who is affected with what and how.

In total therefore, 13 members stated they had faced harassment or discrimination at workplace and attributed reasons as to what they thought were the causes for the same. The table below takes a deeper view of the cases of discrimination or harassment. Respondents were asked to narrate their experiences and then allot it in to one of the broader areas, as below.

Nature of Discrimination/Harassment Faced	Total
Delay/Non-payment of salary	2

Delay/Non-payment of salary, Sexual	1
Delay/Non-payment of salary, Unequal pay as compared to locals	4
Unequal pay as compared to locals	2
Others	4
Total	13

Table 3.5 – Nature of Discrimination at workplace

The most common form of harassment faced, was delay or non-payment of salaries – reported by 7 of the 13 respondents. The next most common factor was discrimination in pay vis-à-vis the locals, faced by 6 respondents. One respondent reported facing sexual harassment while 4 respondents stated that the nature of discrimination/harassment faced by them was not listed in the questionnaire options.

Subsequent sections would show how difficult it usually was for refugees to secure housing. They were often denied accommodation, and without any formal support from the state or the UN agencies, were left at the mercy of landlords. The most pertinent reasons in my and my colleagues' experience were discrimination due to religion – as majority of the Afghan population is Muslim; due to language/appearance – as home-owners may wish to stay away from “foreigners” or persons who do not speak and/or look like them, and lack of documents as most homeowners would want to ensure that they are not taking any risk in letting out their house.

While securing housing was difficult for refugees (as we will see in the section below) none of the 29 respondents claimed to not having faced any discrimination.

Nature of Discrimination	No. of Households
Yes, due to lack of documents	6
Yes, due to lack of documents, Yes, others	2
Yes, due to language/appearance	2
Yes, due to language/ appearance, Yes, due to lack of documents	9
Yes, due to language/ appearance, Yes, due to lack of documents, Yes, others	2
Yes, due to religion	2
Yes, due to religion, Yes, due to lack of documents	4
Yes, due to religion, Yes, due to language/ appearance, Yes, due to lack of documents	1
(blank)	1
Total	29

Table 3.6 – Nature of Discrimination during stay

“Lack of Documentation” or not having any formal/official identification proof came out to be the most common reason for discrimination. “Difference of Lan-

guage/Appearance” was reported as the second most common while others mentioned Religion to be the main reason for discrimination.

Integration with the local population in Delhi is difficult for most refugees. Differences in language, appearance, religion and culture often make refugees easy targets for discrimination, harassment and violence. The general lack of resources in country – be it in terms of educational and healthcare facilities or financial aspects like lack of employment and prevalent poverty further heighten tensions between the refugees and the local communities in Delhi, particularly among the urban poor who see them as competition for scarce resources available. Overall, it was observed that general aversion towards refugees and scarcity of resources result in an environment of insecurity and difficulty for refugees.

3.2 Challenges

An atmosphere of suspicion and general mistrust of refugees exists in most countries as a result of which refugees face discrimination and harassment (as examined in the previous section) and integration challenges (as the below section will examine).

It was critical to bring out the challenges faced by the refugees as perceived by them. Refugees were asked questions pertaining to challenges faced in:

- Being a part of the formal economy and finding employment
- Difficulties in finding housing and the consequent standards of living
- Access to healthcare

3.2.1 Challenges: Sector of employment

As the later sections will reveal, Afghan refugees are traditionally more educated and skilled as compared to other refugees. This should typically mean better employment opportunities. Though theoretically, they do get more employment opportunities, most of them are in the informal sector.

Sector type	Total
Salaried-Formal Sector	4
Salaried-Informal Sector	16
Self Employed	4
Unemployed	5
Total	29

Table 3.7 – Sector of Employment

Overall, 5 respondents were unemployed while amongst the 24 who were employed, 75% (16 of 24) were employed in the informal sector of the economy while another 12.5% (4 of 24) had ventured into their own businesses and only the remaining 12.5% (4 of 24) were employed in the formal sector.

Since the Indian government does not issue work permits easily, working in the informal sector may have been the only possibility of finding employment for many refugees. Additionally given India has a sprawling informal sector, with a research study (source above) estimating that nearly 81% of the total employed population in India works in the informal sector, the odds are skewed. However, as these employment opportunities may not be regulated, these would have lower wages and make refugees more vulnerable to discrimination and harassment.

ACCESS which is mandated by the UNHCR to assist refugees in securing employment has to work in close cooperation with the government and therefore only UNHCR mandated refugees are assisted with applying for work permits and only those refugees who receive such permits would then be assisted by ACCESS to get employment. Given these limitations, its impact may be restricted to a small proportion of the total refugee population only. Without much formal support, the refugees were mostly relegated to work in the informal sector.

During visits to the Afghan refugees during my work with BOSCO, I often observed that Afghan refugees were at times forced to do petty jobs, which were not commensurate with their educational levels. They often worked as street vendors, mechanics, tailors, and waiters/cook in restaurants or as assistants in small shops. Often persons in prominent positions or prestigious profiles in Afghanistan were constrained to doing more menial jobs for survival.

Such an environment for the refugees then is in direct contrast to what the capabilities approach and the human security framework proposed. Afghan refugees often fail to fully recognize their potential and their skills, as they are denied relevant opportunities where they can effectively and entirely employ their capabilities. Additionally, jobs in the informal sector force many of them to live a life of financial inadequacy and general insecurity.

3.2.2 Challenges: Housing

Housing is a critical aspect when considering the standard of living for any population. In order to ascertain the standard of living, the questions and the analysis focused on:

- The particular regions of Delhi the Afghan refugees live in
- The quality of housing and the rent paid

It was observed that out of the 29 sample households, 21 lived in South Delhi, which is in line with South Delhi's Lajpat Nagar being a location of choice for the Afghan refugees even though other parts of Delhi like East Delhi may provide cheaper options. This

implied that the refugees' priority was to live with other (Afghan) refugees than rent being the primary determinant.

Region	No. of Households
Central Delhi	1
North Delhi	4
South Delhi	21
West Delhi	3
Total	29

Table 3.8 – Housing by region in Delhi



Map 3.1 – Delhi distribution by region

None of the implementation partners of the UNHCR

is designated to assist refugees in finding accommodation, nor is there any financial assistance. Struggling to get away from violence and conflict in their country, and with no assets in Delhi, the Afghan refugees are left at the mercy of local landlords. In such a scenario, most of the Afghan refugees turn to their community – those who have been staying in Delhi for some period of time. Members of the community help the new incumbents in securing housing through referral or even by sharing accommodation for a period of time. This has led to a concentration of Afghan refugees living in the Lajpat Nagar area of South Delhi. Part of the colony is known for housing Afghan refugees and has Afghani styled markets and restaurants.

Overall we see that, without formal help, it is generally difficult for new refugees to find accommodation, which also reflected from the questionnaire's findings.

Ease of finding Accommodation	No of respondents
3	6
4	18
5	5
Total	29

Table 3.9 – Ease of securing housing

On a scale of 1 to 5 of increasing difficulty, none of the 29 respondents selected “1” or “2” signifying that each household faced at least some difficulty while seeking accommodation in Delhi. 23 respondents stated that looking for accommodation was difficult to very difficult, while the remaining 6 were neutral.

While it is difficult to secure housing, even families that do manage to find housing, quality of housing remains a concern. The table below captures the ratio of the total number of members in each household over the number of rooms in their accommodation giving a broad idea of the quality of housing.

Members/Room	No. of Households
0.5	1
1	3
1.5	1
2	4
2.5	4
3	10
3.5	1
4	1
5.5	1
6	3

Table 3.10 – Quality of housing

Most Afghan refugees often spend a lot of their liquid wealth in escaping from Afghanistan and coming to Delhi. Hence, it could be expected that they would usually have low/inadequate quality of housing. Majority (10) of refugee families had an average of 3 members living in a room and 4 households each had 2.5 and 2 members per room. Given these high ratios, it can be deduced that the general quality of living spaces for refugees remains low. In my visits to refugee households, I had observed that apart from the member density, the other typical features of the accommodation are usually poor and at times unhygienic. The housing would be in poor or lower-middle class localities, shabbily built and usually very small in size.

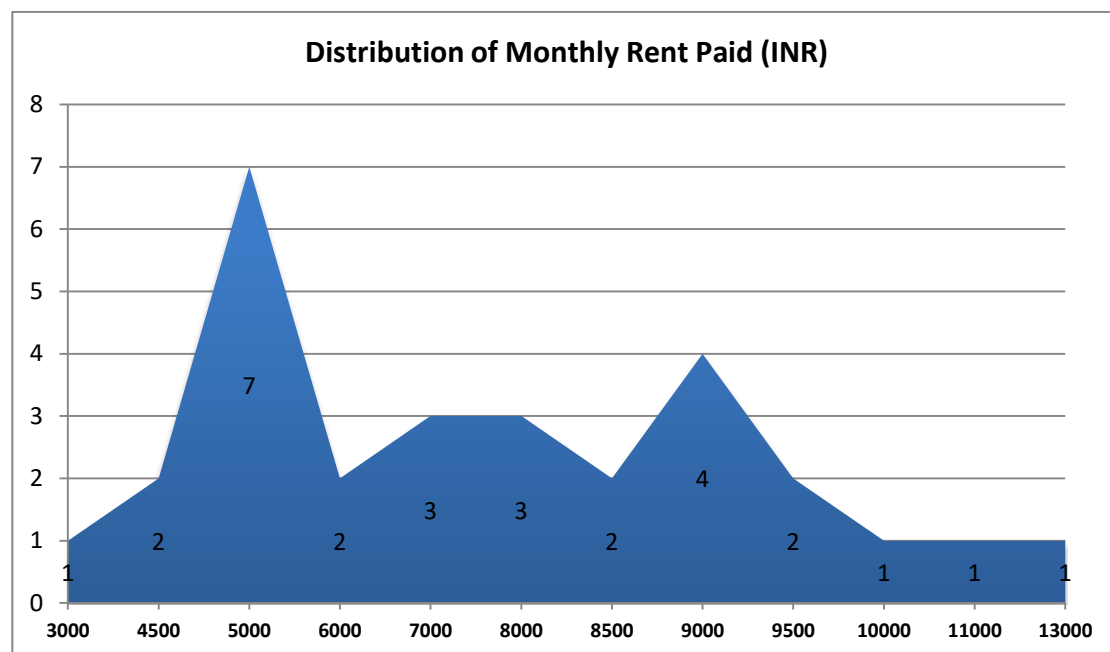
Even though housing facilities available to refugees are usually shabby, small and not always ideal, the rent they have to pay for the same can be high considering they have limited income options. Moreover, housing rent is a fixed expenditure. If they fail to gather enough funds for rent, they face the fear of eviction and losing out on their place of stay. The section below analyses the affordability of housing for the households under consideration.

All these factors – difficulty in securing housing, low quality of housing and uncertainties due to rent payments lead to insecurities amongst the Afghan refugees.

The average rent paid by the 29 households was INR 7241 while the median rent was INR 7000.

Monthly Rent (INR)	No. of Households
3000	1
4500	2
5000	7
6000	2
7000	3
8000	3
8500	2
9000	4
9500	2
10000	1
11000	1
13000	1
Total	29

Table 3.11 – Monthly Rent

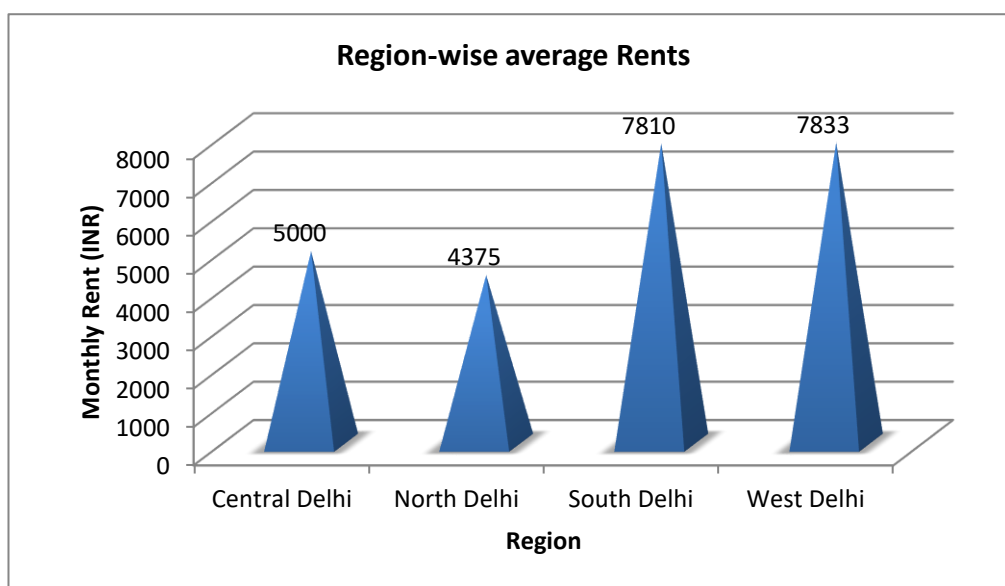


Graph 3.3 – Distribution of monthly rent paid

South Delhi, which was a centre of choice, offered the widest range of rent options – and hence was suitable for refugees with different budgets available for housing. Even though the average rents for South Delhi were more than most of the other regions, the presence of an existing and well-settled Afghan community made it attractive for newcomers. Along with a sense of security and safety, presence of community could also present employment opportunities.

Rent/Region	Central Delhi	North Delhi	South Delhi	West Delhi	Total
3000		1			1
4500		1		1	2
5000	1	2	4		7
6000			1	1	2
7000			3		3
8000			3		3
8500			2		2
9000			4		4
9500			2		2
10000			1		1
11000			1		1
13000				1	1
Total	1	4	21	3	29

Table 3.12 – Monthly Rent by region



Graph 3.4 – Region-wise rents paid

3.2.3 Challenges: Healthcare

Due to difficult, congested and at times unhygienic living conditions, along with the daily hardship in Delhi, the Afghan refugee community is prone to illnesses and medical problems. UNHCR, through its partner BOSCO, endeavours to provide access to several health clinics as well as government hospitals to the Afghan refugees. BOSCO provides primary health care as well as referrals for more complicated cases. BOSCO also provides medical interpreters to accompany patients during hospital visits to ensure that there is no communication barrier while expressing symptoms, diagnosis and treatment options. BOSCO provides medical reimbursement for the expenses borne by the Afghan refugees when they undergo treatment from government hospitals through UNHCR.

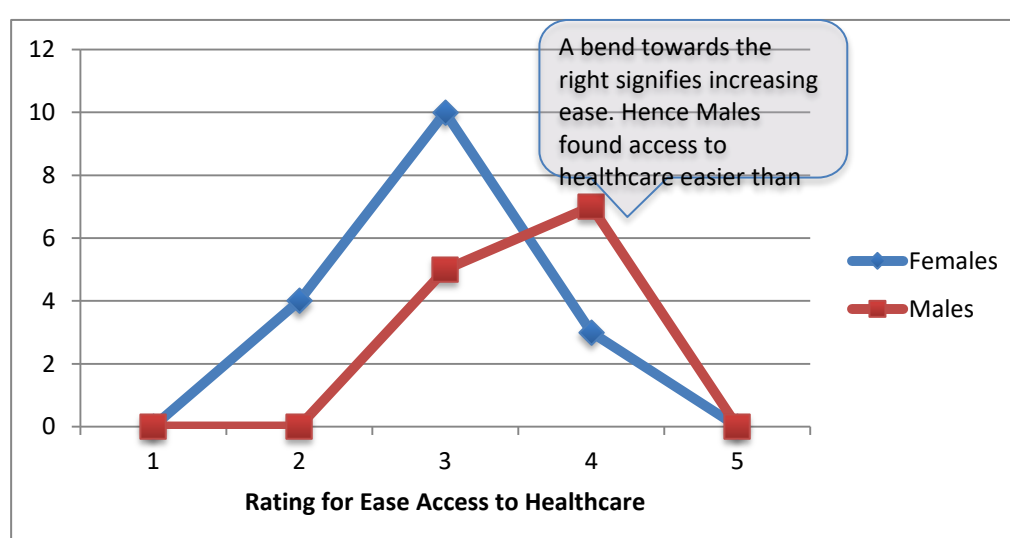
Access to healthcare is an important parameter. Nussbaum, in her definition of the ten capabilities, mentions life, bodily health, and emotions, all of which in some ways are dependent on health. Therefore, being healthy – physically and mentally – is a critical metric for the refugees to be able to realize their capabilities or mobilize their skills.

Ease of Healthcare Access	Female	Male	Total
1	0	0	0
2	4	0	4
3	10	5	15
4	3	7	10
5	0	0	0
Total	17	12	29

Table 3.13 – Access to Healthcare

When asked about the ease with which the refugees could access healthcare facilities, the outcome was mixed and most respondents stayed neutral. On a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 standing for “Very Poor” (or difficult) and 5 standing for “Excellent” (or easy), most respondents were neutral (rating of “3”) however males in general tended to find healthcare more accessible as compared to women. A tilt towards the right side on the primary (x) axis denotes a better rating on ease of access.

This finding reinforces the criticality of institutionalising gender perspectives within security studies. The figure below shows how access to healthcare actually varies between genders even though both sets are refugees in the host nation. This perhaps could mean that while general health-care facilities may be available to refugees, specialised and gender-specific healthcare facilities for female needs like gynaecology, maternity, etc. may not be as readily accessible. As these facilities are specialised, they are usually not widespread and at the same time have higher inherent costs. In such cases therefore, either the state may not make these services available at affordable rates, or wherever available, it would exclude refugees to make way for the locals.



Graph 3.5 – Ease of Access to healthcare by Sex

Chapter 4: Capabilities and Coping Strategies

This chapter focuses on the various capabilities that the Afghan refugees possess. Capabilities possessed by the refugees become a critical tool for not only securing financial stability but also for social integration with the local population. This chapter also examines how the Afghan refugees have channelized their capabilities to tackle the challenges and navigate the difficulties of refugee life in Delhi. Various challenges discussed in the previous chapter combined with the capabilities discussed in this chapter shape the coping strategies of the Afghan refugees.

4.1 Capabilities

Sen and Nussbaum pointed out in their Capabilities Approach, within the ambit of Human Development, the importance of the ability of the general population to operationalize their capabilities. The ramifications of this approach are in fact undeniable. If the state (or support agencies) can enable a particular set of people to be able to use their capabilities freely, it would help them achieve sustainable development and financial security. In the case of Afghan refugees, who often have no fixed assets and limited liquid assets in a country which is not their own, their capabilities and their ability to be mobilize these capabilities takes prime importance. This section discusses the various characteristics, which can be considered as capabilities of the Afghan refugees, including,

- Education levels of the refugees - which plays an important role both in employability as well as social integration
- Local language knowledge which is critical both for employment as well as social integration
- Vocational skills, which impacts employability

4.1.1 Capability: Education

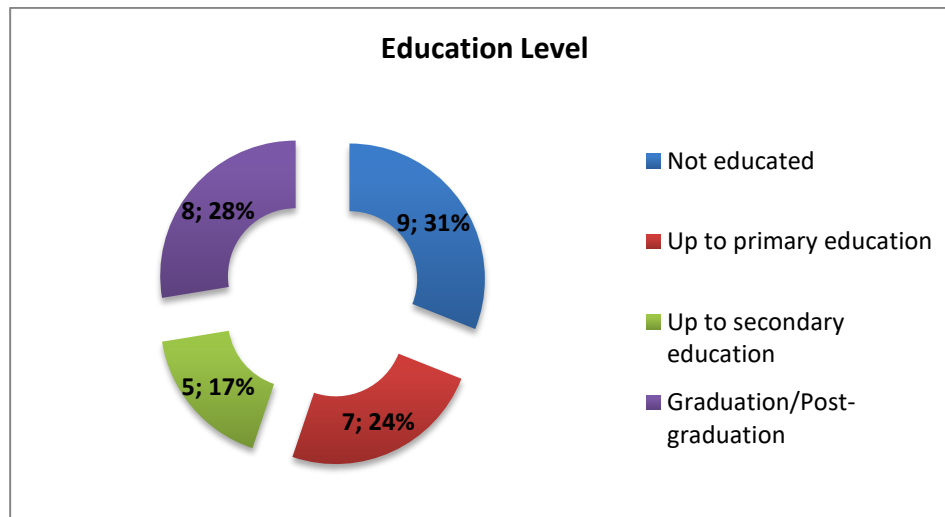
Education is perhaps the single most important parameter, not only to determine the employability of the current working-age Afghan refugees but also to ascertain the educational opportunities and avenues available to the refugee children, which would in the future define their ability to secure a prosperous livelihood.

It was observed that 9 out of 29 respondents had no education at all – which formed 31% of the respondent population. However, the remaining respondents (20 of the 29), which were 69% of the total respondent population, had some level of education. This number is fairly high given that Afghanistan as a country had a literacy rate of 38.2% in 2015 (Max & Ospina 2018: NP). Out of the educated respondents, 7 (24%) had education up to primary school level; another 5 (17%) were educated up to secondary school level while the remaining 8 (28%) were educated to graduation/post-graduation levels. Therefore it is interesting to note that while 31% of the respondent population was found to have undergone no education at all, nearly an equal proportion (28%) were educated to graduation/post-graduation levels. The overall education levels (69%) as well as the proportion of those educated to graduation/post-graduation levels (28%) both were quite high. To put this in perspective, India had a higher-education enrolment ratio of 25.2% in 2016-17 (Chopra, R., 2018), lower than the proportion of Afghan refugees who were educated at those levels.

Education Level	No. of Respondents
Not educated	9
Up to primary education	7
Up to secondary education	5
Graduation/Post-graduation	8
Total	29

Table 4.1 – Education levels of respondents

This led to two inferences. On the one hand, since Afghan refugees are likely to be more educated, they are a capable group. Due to the securitization of migration, the undertones of aversion that exist against refugees, this is a critical find. Afghan refugees are capable of gaining meaningful employment and perhaps contributing to India's economy. And on the other hand, this high level of education could be an impediment towards employment as well. I had observed during my work with UNHCR that some well-educated Afghan refugee would not be as willing to take up jobs, which they did not consider suitable as per their calibre or education. They may also not be willing to accept jobs in the informal sector, which sometimes led to higher unemployment. This brings out an important notion within the human security framework. Human security does not simply talk about employment to achieve economic security; it instead focuses on realisation of potential and capabilities. This means that even those refugees, who may take up employment that is not commensurate with their educational qualifications, are still in fact facing insecurity.

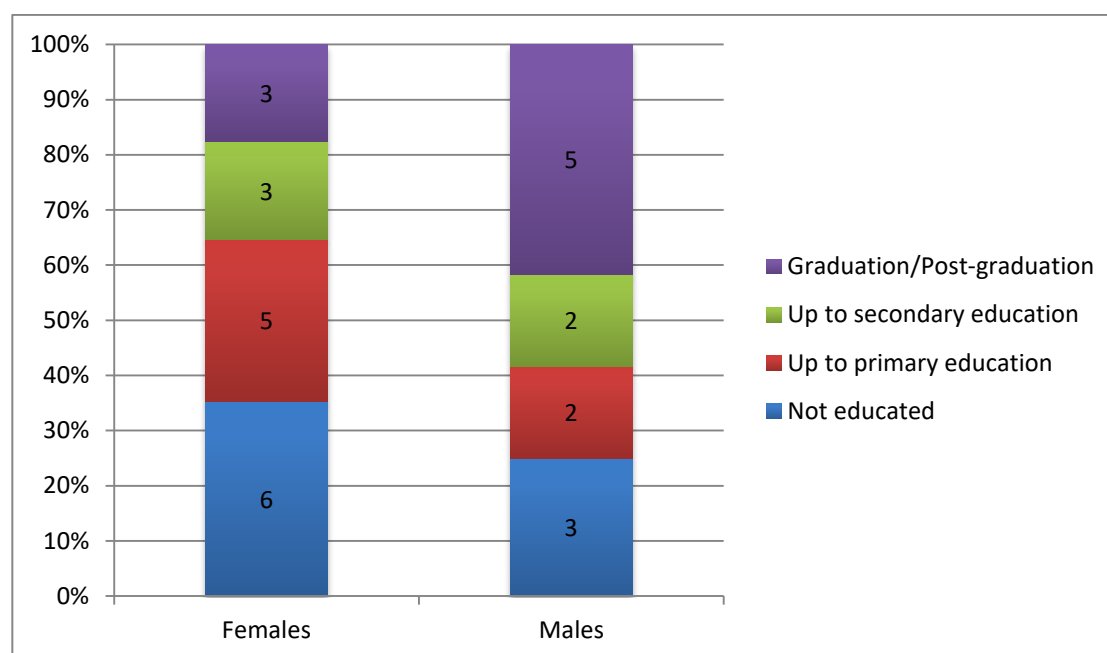


Graph 4.1 – Education levels of respondents

Education Level/Sex	Females	Males	Total
Not educated	6	3	9
Up to primary education	5	2	7
Up to secondary education	3	2	5
Graduation/Post-graduation	3	5	8
Total	17	12	29

Table 4.2 – Education levels of respondents by Sex

In the methodology section, we observed that the sample of respondents had more female household heads than male heads. However, education bifurcated by sex presents a picture in favour of males.



Graph 4.2 – Education levels of respondents by Sex

While 25% of the males respondents were uneducated, the same figure for females stood at 35%. Also, while 42% of the males were graduates/post-graduates, only 18% of the females had completed this level of education.

4.1.2 Capability: Local language

Employment/ Language	English	Hindi	Hindi, English	Neither	Total
Employed	1	15	2	6	24
Unemployed		1	2	2	5
Total	1	16	4	8	29

Table 4.3 – Knowledge of local language

Working level knowledge of a local language is arguably a critical factor in finding employment. The two most prominent languages in Delhi are Hindi and English as most of the companies based out of Delhi would use English as the main language and many jobs in the informal sector, like working in a mall or shop or in a restaurant, would require knowledge of Hindi. It was observed that 21 out of the 29 respondents knew at least one the two languages. This means that 72% of the respondents knew at least one language – which enhanced their employability.

In the sample, 1 respondent who knew only English was employed (a 100% employment ratio). Of the 16 persons who could use the local language, Hindi, 15 found employment – an employment ratio of nearly 94%. Interestingly, 75% (6 out of 8) of those

who spoke neither Hindi nor English were also employed – an interesting find, for which we will see a rationale while analysing the job profiles of the refugees.

Knowledge of a local language is also important for possibility of Afghan refugees to intersperse well into the domestic population as language also plays a big role in being able to interact with neighbours, at workplace, etc.

As majority of the Afghan refugee population knew at least one local language, their capability to be employable as well as being socially integrated is higher.

4.1.3 Capability: Vocational Skills

Possessing a skill, apart from being educated and having knowledge of local language, would in fact be significant capability. It is an important metric to determine the employability of a refugee. A refugee who already possesses a certain skill could be absorbed quickly when a requirement occurs. Some skills like tailoring or driving or cooking can even enable refugees to start their own (small) business.

Vocational Skills	No of Resp.
Computer/Office work	1
Computer/Office work, Language Interpreter	2
Computer/Office work, Language Interpreter, Household chores	1
Computer/Office work, Language Interpreter, Teaching	1
Computer/Office work, Teaching	1
Cooking	2
Cooking, Agricultural	1
Cooking, Household chores	2
Cooking, Language Interpreter	3
Cooking, Language Interpreter, Household chores	1
Cooking, Tailor/Driver	1
Language Interpreter	3
Language Interpreter, Household chores	1
Language Interpreter, Tailor/Driver	1
Language Interpreter, Teaching	1
Tailor/Driver	1
None	6
Total	29

Table 4.4 – Vocational Skills of respondents

23 out of the 29 (79% of the total) respondents had at least 1 vocational skill while the remaining 6 reported none of the vocational skills of the options mentioned.

Some of the Afghan refugees even reported having multiple skills - 6 respondents reported having three vocational skills, 13 reported possessing two and 4 reported having one vocational skill.

Vocational Skill	No. of Resp.
Language Interpreter	9
Cooking	6
Computer/Office Work	5
Household Chores	4
Teaching	3
Tailor/Driver	3

Table 4.5 – Vocational Skills of respondents

The most common skill possessed by respondents was of language interpretation while the next most common skill was cooking. The other skills that were mentioned are Computer/Office Work (5), Household Chores (4), Teaching (3) and Tailor/Driver (3). We will see in the sections below how these skills correspond to the kind of employment the refugees acquired. At this point, we can assert that having vocational skills is an important metric for gaining employment, and the Afghan refugees are fairly skilled. Also, the point to remember here is that the most common skill is that of language interpretation.

The capabilities section has brought to the fore very important characteristics of the Afghan refugees in India. They are well educated and fairly skilled. We can perhaps speculate therefore that if provided with the right opportunities, the refugee population has the capability of assimilating well in the society and perhaps meaningfully contributing to the economy while not being a “burden” on the system that they are often assumed and projected to be. Despite possessing such traits, the refugees in Delhi continue to face challenges in Delhi, which highlighted in the previous chapter.

4.2 Coping Strategies and Stakeholders

The preceding chapters analysed the challenges and insecurities the Afghan refugee community faced in Delhi. In this chapter, the first section has covered the capabilities of the Afghan refugees. The section below examines how the Afghan refugees have mobilised humanitarian support (from the state or UNHCR and its agencies) and their own capabilities; and navigated the difficulties to sustain themselves and perhaps improve their livelihoods in Delhi over time. This section also examines the effectiveness of the interventions and assistance of the UNHCR’s implementing partners.

Delhi is a difficult city to survive in. Not only is it expensive, being the capital of India – a 2017 cost of living survey by Mercer ranked Delhi 99 amongst the most expensive

cities in the world, a jump of 31 ranks from its previous year's report ('Despite World-wide Changes' 2017); it is also highly competitive as far as employment is concerned since it witnesses mass migration from various parts of the country in search of livelihoods – a World Bank report showed that unemployment in India was steadily rising and stood at 3.52% at the end of 2017 ('India Unemployment Rate' 2017). This level of unemployment on a large population base results in the fact that each job/position is hard-fought. Below are the coping mechanisms that Afghan refugees have employed to cement their place in Delhi's society:

- Education for refugee children
- Employment: Finding employment, nature of employment and job profiles
- Income: From employment, from aid agencies
- UNHCR's Implementing Partners: Nature of assistance and their effectiveness

4.2.1 Coping Strategies: Enrolment for education

Education of refugee children is an important aspect to consider. It gives the refugee children, who have had to migrate from their homes in formative years, the ability to reconstruct and perhaps build a better future. UNHCR recognises the importance and criticality of this aspect and has therefore mandated its implementing partner BOSCO to assist refugees with education for children.

The ratio of the number of children enrolled to the total number of children in each household gave us a broad idea of the enrolment ratio of each household.

% Enrolment	No of Resp.
0%	3
40%	1
50%	1
67%	5
75%	2
88%	1
100%	8
(No Children)*	8
Total	29

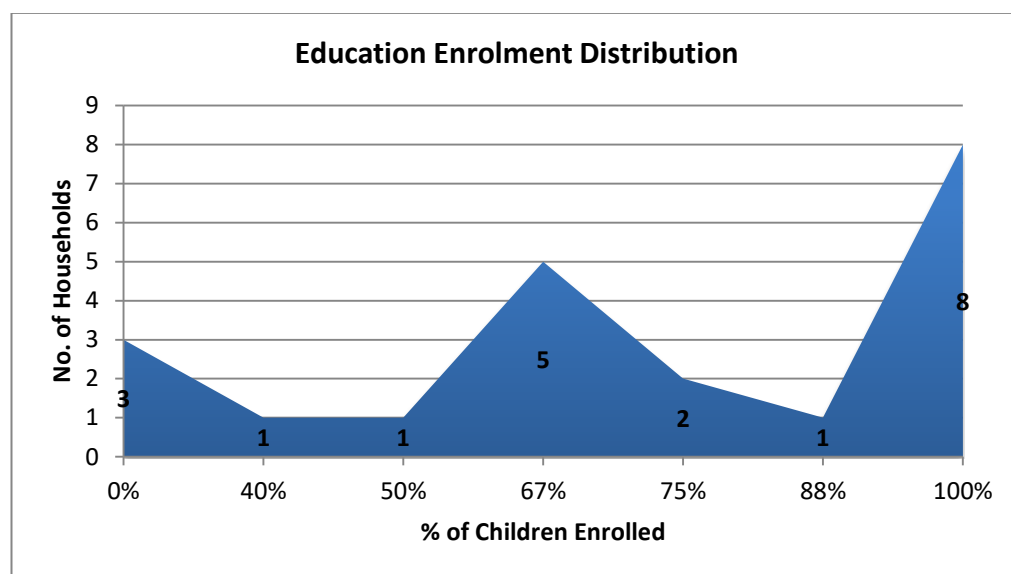
Table 4.6 – Enrolment Ratios

*Out of 29 respondents, 8 respondents left the section blank this could either denote that those households have no children or that the respondent did not wish to disclose that information. The below analysis excludes such cases.

There were 21 responses, 8 of which reported 100% enrolment, 11 reported an enrolment percentage of 75% or more while 17 of the 21 households reported an enrolment of 50% or more. Therefore 81% of the active respondents (17 of 21) claimed an

enrolment ratio of at least 50%. This enrolment ratio looks quite high given the general challenges that the refugees can be expected to face. However, it also gives credence to the theory that educated parents would most likely make education a priority for their children as well. In fact, for the respondents who were themselves graduates/post-graduates, in this reduced sample of 21 households, the enrolment percentage for all such households was found to be 100%.

Education is therefore a priority for Afghan refugees. The high enrolment ratios directly point towards their efforts of building future capabilities. The Afghan refugees understand the criticality of education and therefore endeavour to enrol their children despite all adversities and difficulties in the host country.



Graph 4.3 – Education Enrolment Ratios

4.2.2 Coping Strategies: Employment

A very critical coping strategy was undeniably to secure employment. Majority of the Afghan refugees would not have much liquid assets and spend the most of the cash they would have on initial movement and settling in. Employment is therefore critical to make their livelihood financially viable and help them afford housing, education and access to healthcare.

Employment/ Age	Below 18	18 - 25	25 - 35	35 - 50	Above 50	Total
Employed	1	2	7	12	2	24
Unemployed			2	1	2	5

Table 4.7 – Employment by Age band

In the respondent sample, 24 of the 29 household heads were employed. As expected, majority of those in the employable age (18-50 years) were employed. There was an employment ratio of nearly 83%.

Employment/Sex	Females	Males	Total
Employed	14	10	24
Unemployed	3	2	5
Total	17	12	29
% Employed	82.4%	83.3%	82.8%

Table 4.8 – Employment by Sex

While overall the employment ratio is 82.8% - with a total of 24 of the 29 members interviewed being employed; the ratio was higher for Males (83.3%) as compared to Females (82.4%). However, the difference was not substantial.

This was however, the employment ratio amongst the household heads only. Using data collected from the questionnaires, the total number of persons (in the surveyed households) in the employable age was determined – which turned out to be 70. Using the question on the number of working members in each household, the total number of employed members in all the 29 households together was found to be 52. This therefore was an employment percentage of 74.3%.

Since many refugees were likely to accept any kind of job(s) in order to financially sustain themselves, the employment ratio was expected to be higher. However, this employment ratio needs to be understood together with the nature of employment.

Employment: Sector of employment

We have seen that the Afghan refugees are generally educated, equipped with skills and with local language knowledge – all of which should mean a higher employment probability. While Afghan refugees do in general have higher employment ratios, the kind of employments they get may not always be optimal.

Sector type	Total
Salaried-Formal Sector	4
Salaried-Informal Sector	16
Self Employed	4
Unemployed	5
Total	29

Table 4.9 – Employment by Sector

In the sample 5 respondents were unemployed while amongst the 24 who are employed, 75% (16 of 24) were employed in the informal sectors of the economy while

another 12.5% (4 of 24) had ventured into their own businesses and only the remaining 12.5% (4 of 24) had been able to get employed in the formal sector.

Since the Indian government does not issue work permits easily, working in the informal sector may have been the only possibility of finding employment for many refugees. Accordingly, to cope with the livelihood and other expenses, many Afghan refugees seemed to have embraced and exploited the opportunities within the wide informal sector. The Afghan refugees have therefore turned their limitation in to a coping mechanism.

Employment: Education levels

Education is perhaps an important parameter for analysing the employability of any population. The table below highlights the correlation between level of education and type of employment of refugees.

Type of Employment	Not educated	Up to primary education	Up to secondary education	Graduation/Post-graduation	Total
Salaried-Formal Sector	1	1	1	1	4
Salaried-Informal Sector	6	4	2	4	16
Self Employed		1	2	1	4
Unemployed	2	1		2	5
Total	9	7	5	8	29

Table 4.10 – Employment by Level/Band of Education

Nearly all respondents with medium level of education (Primary education or Secondary education) were employed (11/12 or 92%). However majority of these 11 employed respondents were working in either the informal sector or were self-employed.

Amongst respondents who are uneducated, 77% (7/9) were employed and 67% (6/9) were employed in the informal sector. The overall employment ratio in this group was lower than the group with medium level of education (92%) leading to the conclusion that some level of education does result in increased chances of employment.

The well-educated group threw up an interesting statistic. Amongst those who had education levels of Graduation/Post-graduation, the employment ratio was the least (75% of 6/8). Also amongst those who are employed, most were working in the informal sector.

This led to two important observations. Firstly, most of those employed were in the informal sector and only one respondent each was employed in the formal sector from each of the education level bands. Therefore a higher level of education did not generally mean higher chances of employment in the formal sector. This could obviously be attributed to the fact that despite being educated, in the absence of official documentation or a work permit, the formal sector would usually not employ refugees. Second-

ly, those who were the most educated had the least employment ratio as some of those who were unemployed may have refused particular jobs in the informal sector, as they would not consider those jobs to be worthy or comparable with their education levels.

Good levels of education (69%) along with knowledge of at least one local language (72%) combined with high levels of vocational skills (79%) resulted in higher proportion of the Afghan refugees being employed (82.8%). These results are in line with my observations during my work with refugees at BOSCO. The Afghan refugees in general had higher educational and employment levels as compared to refugees of other nationalities like Somalis, Burmese, etc.

The sections below cover the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the employments of the Afghan refugees. While the qualitative aspects deal with the type of job profiles, the quantitative section refers to the average incomes earned.

Employment: Job Profiles

The table below gives a glimpse of the kind of employments that the employed respondents were found in. The single biggest type of employment was as Language Interpreters. 13 respondents of 24 worked as Language Interpreters either exclusively or along with another job. The second most common type of employment was working at Shops and Restaurants (6). Since many of the respondents (16 of 29) knew the local language (Hindi), and working at shops and restaurants in India remains mostly unregulated, it would be easier for refugees to be accepted in such jobs. The other most common work profiles were Drivers/Tailors (4), Office/Clerical/IT (3). It was found that the most common job profiles were in line with the vocational skills of the refugees.

Type of employment/Job Profile	Total
Drivers/Tailors	2
Interpreters	8
Interpreters, Drivers/Tailors	2
Interpreters, Others	1
Office/Clerical/IT	2
Office/Clerical/IT, Shops/Restaurants, Interpreters	1
Shops/Restaurants	4
Shops/Restaurants, Interpreters	1
Others	3
Total	24

Table 4.11 – Employment/Job Profiles of respondents

Employment: Income levels

The World Bank stated in its report on poverty that people living on lesser than US\$1.9 a day are living in extreme poverty. The World Bank defined this as the International

Poverty Line, denoted in \$ and based on a Purchasing Power Parity method to ensure the comparison of similar levels of welfare across countries.

In India's context, a daily income of US\$1.9 converted on the current exchange rate (1US\$ = INR 72) equates to a monthly income of INR 4104. Therefore, people earning less than this threshold would be living below the International Poverty Line or would be considered to be living in extreme poverty.

Table 4.12 – Employment incomes of respondents

Employment Income (INR)	Total
0	6
1000	1
2000	2
4000	3
5000	6
6000	2
8000	1
9500	1
10000	4
12000	2
15000	1
Total	29

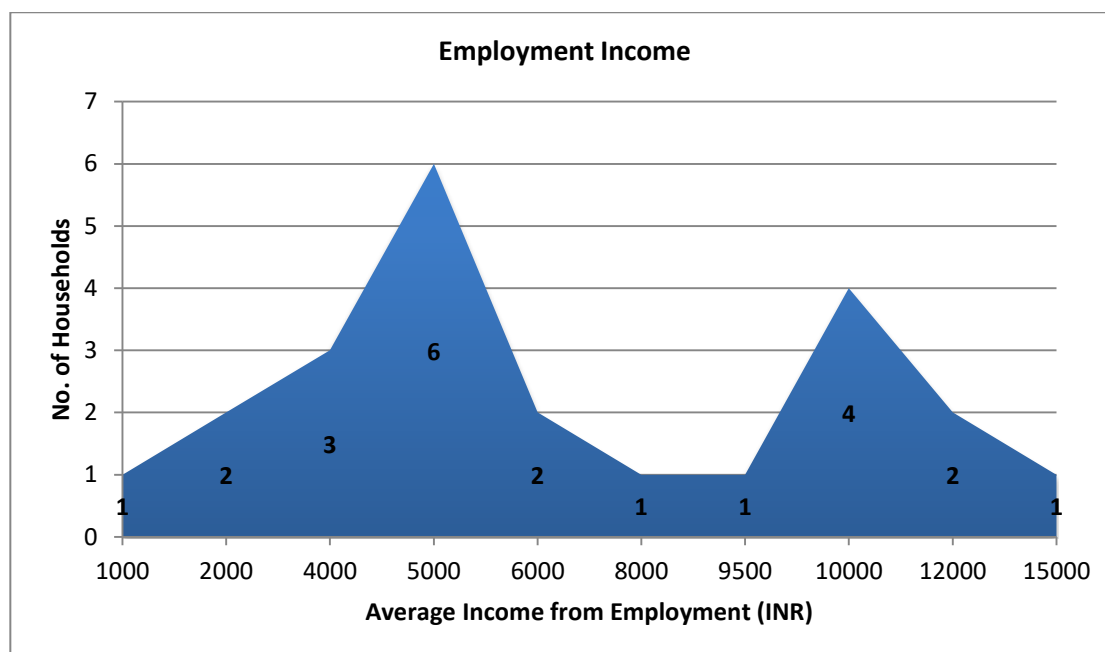
The table above collates the income from employment of the surveyed group of refugees. Of the 29 respondents, 12 had incomes lesser than the INR 4104 benchmark (or the International Poverty Line) defined above. Therefore, while the employment ratio for the Afghan refugees was as high as 82.8%, an astonishing 41.4% of the respondents actually lived in extreme poverty as per the World Bank's definition. This highlighted the quality of employment of the refugees and the possibility of discrimination at workplace in the form of lower pay when compared to locals or non-payment of salaries.

The average income* from employment of the group was INR 6760 while the median was at INR 5000. In general it was noted that respondents with only one job formed the lower end of the employment income spectrum while those with multiple jobs (two or more) had higher average incomes.

(*For calculation of average income, unemployed refugees (5) and blank responses (1) were excluded)

In the section on Housing, we observed from the data on rent paid, that the average rent paid by the respondents was INR 7241. Therefore, it was observed that the average rent paid was higher than the average income from employment. This could mean that despite being employed, many refugees remained insecure about paying their housing rent.

In order to supplement their income to be able to pay for housing as well as basic expenses, therefore, majority of the refugees apply for UNHCR's subsistence allowance.



Graph 4.4 – Distribution of Employment incomes of respondents

Employment: Means

Though Afghan refugees have been found to be a fairly educated and skilled lot, the below analysis scrutinizes what or who forms the link between capabilities and employment opportunities. What are the means/channels through which refugees secure employment?

Employment Assistance	Total
Through ACCESS	2
Through job sites/classifieds	1
Through reference from community/friends/family	20
Others	1
Total	24

Table 4.13 – Means for employment

In our group of 24 employed respondents, only 2 members reportedly found employment through UNHCR's implementing partner, ACCESS, which has the mandate to enable and assist refugees in finding employment in Delhi. Only 1 member claimed find-

ing a job herself/himself by applying on job sites/classifieds ads. A majority of the employed refugees, 20 of the 24 in fact, stated that they had found jobs through references from their community, friends or family. This led to two important conclusions. On the one hand, refugees did not find UNHCR's partner ACCESS' assistance helpful or effective for securing employment, and on the other it was the networking within the Afghan community which helped majority of the respondents find employment.

Importance of community networking is therefore of extreme criticality. Not only did the community help a majority of the refugees find housing, but they also helped more than 80% of the respondents find work.

4.2.3 Coping Strategies: Supplementary Incomes

Source(s) of household income	Total
Employment	7
Employment, UNHCR Subsistence Allowance	13
UNHCR Subsistence Allowance	6
UNHCR Subsistence Allowance, Humanitarian Assistance/ Donations	3
Total	29

Table 4.14 – Sources of income

The survey also questioned the respondents on the sources of income they had. While 7 respondents depended solely on their employment income, the remaining majority of 22 (76%) depended on at least some form of aid. 6 respondents depended only on the UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance.

UNHCR Subsistence Allowance (INR)	No. of respondents
2000	5
3800	4
4000	5
5800	3
6000	2
7800	1
9800	2
Total	22

Table 4.15 – UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance

UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance program is aimed at helping those refugees who would otherwise not be able to sustain themselves in an expensive city like New Delhi. It essentially works on a case-by-case basis starting with an officer from UNHCR's im-

plementing partner (BOSCO for Delhi) assessing the need of the refugee households. The officers would traditionally evaluate various aspects like need of allowance for education, healthcare, household expenses or even rent. In case an officer is convinced of the impending need for a particular refugee household, a case is made to the UNHCR, which may then accept or decline requests.

The Subsistence Allowance is paid at INR 3800 for the primary applicant and INR 2000 for every dependent in the household. The above table presents a summary of the Subsistence Allowance received by respondents.

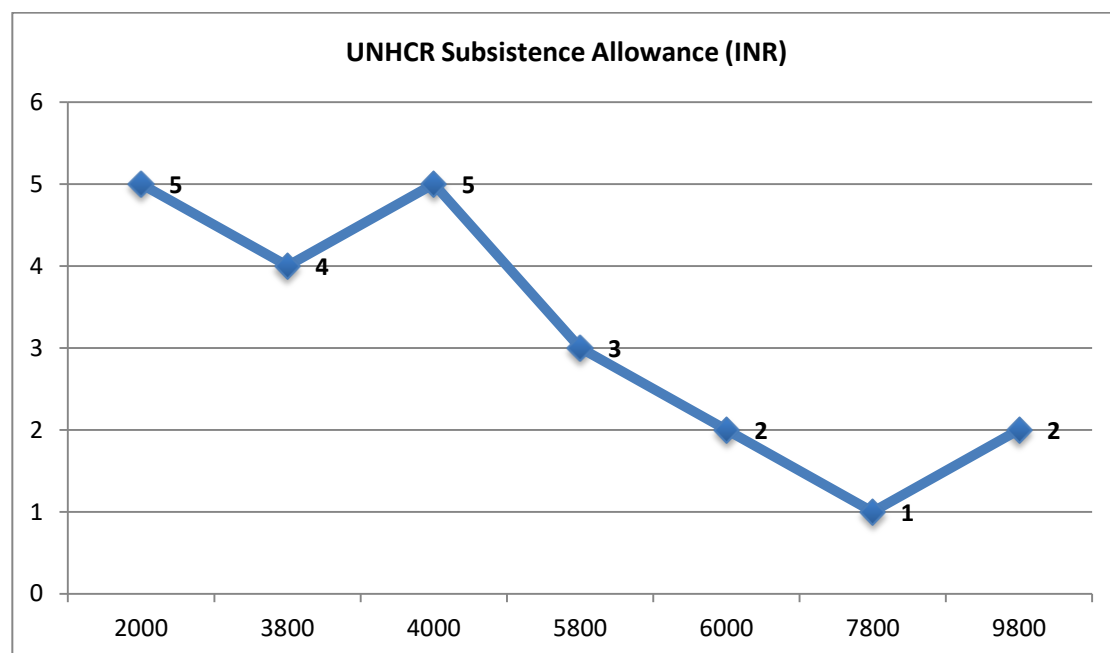


Table 4.15 – UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance

Majority of the respondents received an allowance of INR 4000 or lesser (14 of the 22). While the minimum allowance received was INR 2000, the maximum allowance received was INR 9800. The average allowance received in this sample set was INR 4636 while the median was INR 4000.

Considering that the average income from employment was INR 6760 and 5 unemployed members would have no income from employment whatsoever, UNHCR's Subsistence Allowance with an average pay out of INR 4636 is a substantial amount when put in perspective. Combining these two major sources of incomes, many of the refugee households would somewhat be able to afford essentials like housing rent and basic requirements for sustenance.

The table below sums the employment income of various households with the UNHCR's Subsistence allowances to ascertain the total household incomes. The average total household income jumps to INR 8879 while the median increases to INR 9000.

Total Household Income (INR)	Total
2000	1
3000	1
3800	2
5000	2
5800	1
6000	3
7800	1
8000	2
8800	1
9000	1
9800	2
10000	2
10800	2
11500	1
12000	2
14000	3
15000	1
15800	1
Total	29

Table 4.16 – Average Total income

To further put this into perspective, this paper compared this average income with the per capita income of the Indian population.

The total income of each refugee household was divided by the total number of members in that particular household – resulting in the average income per member or the per capita income of that particular household. Average of the per capita income of all the households was calculated to be INR 2360 per month. On an average therefore, an Afghan refugee would have INR 2360 to cover her/his expenses.

As per latest estimates, in 2018, India's per capita income stood at INR 112835 per annum, which corresponds, to INR 9403 per month. Therefore the per capita income of Afghan refugees (INR 2360) was approximately one fourth (25.1%) of the per capita income of the general Indian population (INR 9403).

The above sections have highlighted how the Afghan refugees have developed coping strategies around employment, education and income generation to overcome the challenges they face. However, a lower level of income, as this research has found, leads to insecurities at multiple levels for the refugees.

A lower level of income as compared to the local population sets back the refugees in many ways. Access to education (or quality education) becomes difficult as the private schools or institutions remain out of reach due to their high fees. While refugees do

get housing, the quality of housing is often much below par and leads to other risks of health and hygiene apart from possibility of violence. Access to healthcare, due to affordability, becomes curtailed. Therefore, economic insecurity leads to vulnerabilities at multiple levels for the refugees – which in turn adversely impacts their quality of life in Delhi.

4.2.4 Coping Strategies: Supporting Agencies

ACCESS

ACCESS has the critical and important mandate of helping refugees find work. The survey enquired the level or quality of help/assistance provided by ACCESS to the refugees for finding employment.

To ascertain effectiveness of UNHCR’s implementing partners, two parameters could be used. Firstly, as highlighted in the previous section, only 2 of the 24 employed respondents had found employment through ACCESS. However, there could be cases in which ACCESS could be assisting the refugees but they could be in the end getting jobs through community referrals – in which cases the assistance received from ACCESS cannot be equated to nil.

Assistance from ACCESS (1: Very Poor to 5: Excellent)	Total
1	5
2	10
3	14
4	0
5	0
Total	29

Table 4.17 – Agencies Opinion: ACCESS

Secondly, the table above shows how the refugees ranked the assistance received from ACCESS (on a scale of 1 to 5). 5 out of the 29 respondents (17%) accorded a rating of 1 conveying their complete disappointment over the assistance received from ACCESS. Another 10 respondents (34%) reported a “Poor” rating of 2 and the remaining 14 were neutral towards assistance received from ACCESS and gave a rating of 3. None of the respondents gave a rating of 4 or 5, which meant that none of the respondents, even those 2 members who secured employment through ACCESS’s help, were satisfied with the assistance received from ACCESS.

Perhaps disappointment with ACCESS could have multiple reasons. Firstly, ACCESS works within the formal chain and can only get those persons employed who have been granted a work permit from the Indian government. As we have discussed, this is usually in very limited cases. Secondly, unlike many other services like psychosocial support (BOSCO) or legal assistance (SLIC), the count of refugees lining up to avail employment opportunities would be much more. This would make their work all the more

challenging in a country where many local educated youth are unemployed. Lastly I believe that the result of ACCESS's effort can be defined in binary – a 1 for those who found employment and a 0 for those who didn't, but in fact there could be many cases where ACCESS assisted the refugees but they could not eventually secure the employment opportunity.

BOSCO

Since BOSCO helps refugees with their healthcare requirements, it also provides psychosocial care through counselling, group discussions, etc. Respondents were asked to rate the psychosocial support they receive from BOSCO, on a scale of 1 to 5.

11 of the 29 respondents (38%) responded with a rating of "3" meaning they were neutral towards the assistance/support received, another 15 refugees (52%) gave a rating of "4" – signalling that they were somewhat satisfied with the assistance/support received, while the remaining 3 respondents affirmed a rating of "5" – asserting that they found the assistance/support to be excellent. None of the respondents gave a rating of "1" or "2", signifying that BOSCO seemed to be mostly successful in its mandate of providing psychosocial care to the refugees. The responses received are summarised below.

Psycho-social Support (BOSCO) (1: Very Poor to 5: Excellent)	Females	Males	Total
1	0	0	0
2	0	0	0
3	7	4	11
4	9	6	15
5	1	2	3
Total	17	12	29

Table 4.18 – Agencies Opinion: BOSCO

BOSCO's favourable position with the Afghan refugees could also have inherent reasons. The following is not to take away from the effort put in by BOSCO's program managers, but to explore the contrast between ACCESS and BOSCO. Firstly, BOSCO provides special tuition classes for both children and adults. Since we have seen that the Afghan refugees put a lot of emphasis on education, such initiatives would have worked in BOSCO's favour. Secondly, since BOSCO mediates application for sustenance allowance (SA), many refugees could be wary of criticising it. Thirdly, unlike for ACCESS, the result of services provided by BOSCO is not binary. Different refugee (or refugee families) may have gained in different ways from BOSCO – psychosocial support, help for access to healthcare facilities, approval of sustenance allowance or from the educational initiatives. Hence, many refugees could view BOSCO more favourably as compared to ACCESS.

Chapter 5: Concluding thoughts and way forward

During my work, I have seen that refugees remain susceptible to discrimination and exploitation in many places with little or no avenues for redress. Since they neither have any assets (property, bank balances, etc) in the host country, nor do they have any networks or relationships with any section of the society, they are more often than not left to fend for themselves or completely depend on organisations like the UNHCR for support.

The below SWOT model is perhaps an application of the responses of the questionnaire administered to the Afghan refugees for the purpose of this study. It examines the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that the Afghan refugees possess/encounter during their stay in Delhi.

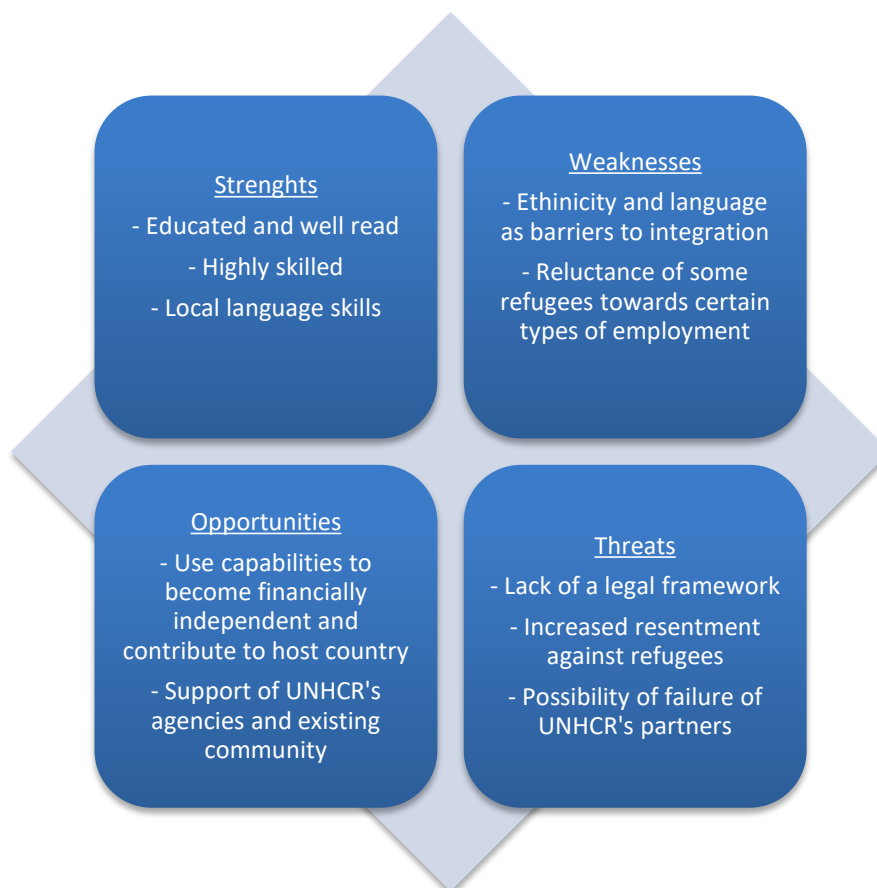


Fig 5.1 – SWOT Analysis

The chapters above have uncovered various facets of the refugee lives led by the Afghan nationals who have come to Delhi in search of security and stability, escaping violence, conflict and distress back in their own country.

This research, through the administration and analysis of a questionnaire has provided insights into the challenges faced by the Afghan refugees, the capabilities that they possess and help them stand out, as well as the coping strategies they have devised to sustain themselves, and probably thrive, in Delhi

5.1 The Strengths

The research found that the Afghan refugees in Delhi are a fairly well educated people – many even educated above the graduate/post-graduate levels. The research found high enrolment of refugee children in education, which lays credence to that fact that they give substantial importance to the education of their children. Their focus on self and their children's education is an indicator that the Afghan refugees focus on building future capabilities, despite being in a foreign land.

Most of the Afghan refugees interviewed were familiar with the use of at least one of the two languages used most commonly in Delhi – Hindi and English. Both these languages are critical in view of employment – in the formal or the informal sectors, as well as for integration with local population. The knowledge of a common language can help minimise risks of discrimination or harassment through dialogue.

This research also found that the Afghan refugees possess many key vocational skills. Being equipped with such vocational skills, along with good education levels as well as understanding of local language(s) has helped the Afghan refugees to have a high employment ratio. In many aspects, the Afghan refugees are way ahead as compared to refugees of other nationalities like the Somalis or Burmese.

This research uncovered how the community networks – or the social capital, have come to the rescue of Afghan refugees in Delhi. Older refugees often help and guide the newcomers. Most of the refugees who were interviewed for this research stated that they had secured jobs due to references of friends and family. The existing community also helps new families to find housing, at times even sharing or sub-letting houses.

This research sought out to understand the capabilities of the Afghan refugees and how those capabilities have helped them traverse. I would like to attribute all the above strengths of the Afghan refugees as a community as their capabilities. Perhaps these strengths have enabled the Afghan refugees to fare better than refugees of other nationalities.

5.2 The Weaknesses

Ethnic, language, cultural and lingual differences are not personal weaknesses in a stand-alone scenario. However, these factors become critical when viewed in respect to integration of the refugee population with the local population. The differences of ethnicity and culture require time for assimilation. Similarly, visible differences of appearance and language often become barriers to faster integration or conflict resolution.

Additionally, lack of any official documentation often results in alienation of the refugee population from the local populace.

For instance, the survey found that it was in general very difficult for the refugee population to secure housing and to find employment. Majority of the refugees reported the differences of appearance, language and ethnicity along with lack of official documentation as primary reasons for denying housing or employment.

Analysis of the survey responses also found that some well-educated refugees remained unemployed. This was in all likelihood due to their reluctance to work in the informal sector or possibly to do particular types of jobs. This resulted in a lower employment ratio amongst refugees with higher educational qualifications as compared to lower ones.

5.3 The Opportunities

Being resourceful and equipped with language and vocational skills, employment of Afghan refugees has played a big role in them being able to sustain themselves in Delhi. Most of the employed refugees have also been flexible enough to take up jobs in the unregulated informal sector instead of simply and solely depending on the aid agencies – highlighting the importance they lay on self-reliance. The Afghan refugees can convert these into possibilities of contributing to the local economy, therefore becoming more relevant, and in the process, self-reliant.

The community networks of the Afghan community while being a strength for them, also presents an opportunity for the refugees. The community must mobilize its resources and skills in a more organised manner in order to possibly achieve much more positive benefits that currently possible through informal interactions. Community help groups or committees can be formed to help new refugees (or even existing ones) in basic yet essential aspects like finding housing, legal assistance or securing employment.

While on the one hand, the critical role played by their own community came to the fore in the course of the analysis, the effectiveness of UNHCR's implementing partners is an area of improvement yet one with great potential. All three agencies, BOSCO, ACCESS and SLIC with their dedicated mandates present an opportunity to equip the

Afghan refugees to be able to sustain themselves in Delhi by helping them integrate economically and socially. In this research, while BOSCO seemed to have a favourable opinion from the refugees, ACCESS seemed to get unfavourable views. This research explored possible reasons for both. This research has therefore attempted to bring to the fore the roles the support agencies ought to play, how their effectiveness is currently perceived by the refugees and possible areas of improvement.

5.4 The Threats

The above however, is not to say that the Afghan refugees face no insecurity or discrimination in India. This research paper has touched upon how the theory of securitization has led to general undertones of aversion towards migrants and refugees within majority of the populations throughout the world. Even though Afghan refugees are fairly educated and skilled; and are also at most times well versed with a local language, they face various forms of discriminations and harassment.

Additionally, as the Human Security Paradigm shows, true assimilation of the Afghan refugees is only possible if they are able to live without fear and exercise their basic rights – like education and healthcare and become independent – through employment.

This however does not always happen. As a very small percentage of refugees receive work permits, their access to the formal sector for employment is curtailed. As we have seen, most of them are forced to take different jobs within the informal sector – which being mostly unregulated – exposes them to possibilities of discrimination and harassment. Unequal pay as compared to the local population or delay in payment of salaries is commonplace.

Given the undertones of general aversion to refugees that have been discussed in the research, the Afghan refugees also face challenges in finding accommodation or navigating their daily lives in Delhi. House-owners often avoid renting out their places to “foreigners” who have no official documentation. At the same time, social integration is made difficult due to differences of appearance and ethnicity. Most refugees face financial distress and many also do not have access to proper healthcare in case of need.

In the absence of a legal framework, the sustenance of refugees in India becomes doubly difficult. On the one hand, refugees would have no formal redress mechanism to support their claims (to their rights) to any service or employment in India. Additionally, this also curtails the abilities of the supporting agencies (UNHCR, BOSCO, ACCESS, SLIC, etc) to be able to assist the refugees.

Discrimination – when looking for housing, employment or healthcare, and harassment – in society, at workplace and by state agencies; along with challenges arising from absence of financial stability or legal backing, have led to an intersectionality of

insecurities for the Afghan refugees. This has adversely impacted their quality of life in Delhi.

Despite multiple challenges and constraints, and with limited support, the Afghan refugee community in Delhi has successfully mobilised their resources and skills to be able to sustain and develop their livelihoods in Delhi. They have used their capabilities and exploited their networks to navigate the challenges that refugee life in a densely populated capital of a fast developing nation presents.

As an endnote, I would like to leave the readers with a small clip by WION (an Indian News network) which in under 5 minutes examines how the Afghan refugees have assimilated in Delhi and gives a glimpse in to their lives.



('Delhi's Mini Afghanistan' 2017)

Appendices

Appendix 1 : Sample Survey Questionnaire

20/09/2018	Research Paper Questionnaire on Refugees from Afghanistan
 Research Paper Questionnaire on Refugees from Afghanistan (Personally identifiable information is optional)	
1. Name _____	
2. Age (Years) _____	
3. Sex <i>Mark only one oval.</i> <input type="radio"/> Male <input type="radio"/> Female <input type="radio"/> Others	
4. Ethnicity <i>Mark only one oval.</i> <input type="radio"/> Pastun <input type="radio"/> Hazara <input type="radio"/> Tajik <input type="radio"/> Other	
5. You are recognized as a? <i>Mark only one oval.</i> <input type="radio"/> Refugee <input type="radio"/> Asylum seeker <input type="radio"/> Other	
6. For how many years have you been staying in Delhi/India? <i>Mark only one oval.</i> <input type="radio"/> 0 to 2 Years <input type="radio"/> 2 to 6 Years <input type="radio"/> 6 + Years	
7. Languages known <i>Check all that apply.</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Hindi <input type="checkbox"/> English <input type="checkbox"/> Neither	
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/152kJymO0yrPn8nKPQNhkgJybirgMO8eqwewc52C2UXU/edit	
1/6	

8. Total no. of family members?

9. How much rent do you pay for your accommodation? (INR)

10. How many rooms are there in your rented accommodation?

11. In which region of Delhi is your accommodation located?*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ South Delhi
☐ West Delhi
☐ East Delhi
☐ North Delhi
☐ Central Delhi

12. How difficult was it to find an accommodation?*Mark only one oval.*

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | |
| Very easy | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | Very Difficult |

13. Did you face any discrimination during your search for accommodation/in your neighborhood?*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ No
☐ Yes, due to religion
☐ Yes, due to language/appearance
☐ Yes, due to lack of documents
☐ Yes, others

14. Mention the total no. of children in your family

15. Mention the total no. of children attending School/University?

16. Mention your educational level*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Not educated
☐ Up to primary education
☐ Up to secondary education
☐ Graduation/Post-graduation

17. Select your vocational skills (Multiple selections possible)*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Computer/Office work
☐ Cooking
☐ Language Interpreter
☐ Teaching
☐ Tailor/Driver
☐ Household chores
☐ Agricultural
☐ Other- Specify?
☐ None

18. Mention the no. of people working in the family

19. Mention your total monthly family income (INR)

20. Mention all sources of family income (Multiple selections possible)*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Employment
☐ Personal Savings/Remittances
☐ UNHCR Subsistence Allowance
☐ Humanitarian Assistance/ Donations

**21. Mention the total monthly Subsistence Allowance received from UNHCR?
(Participant Applicant- INR 3800, Dependent- INR 2000)**

22. How did you find your current employment?*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Through reference from community/friends/family
☐ Through ACCESS
☐ Through job sites/classifieds
☐ Others

23. Mention the nature of your employment*Mark only one oval.*

- ☐ Salaried-Formal Sector
☐ Salaried-Informal Sector
☐ Self Employed
☐ Unemployed

24. Mention your type of employment*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ Office/Clerical/IT
☐ Shops/Restaurants
☐ Interpreters
☐ Receptionist/Beauty Salon
☐ Drivers/Tailors
☐ Others

25. Mention the no. of daily working hours?

26. Mention your hourly wages? (INR/Hr)

27. Have you faced any discrimination/harrassment at your workplace? (Multiple selections possible)*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ No
☐ Yes, due to language/appearance
☐ Yes, due to religion
☐ Yes, due to gender
☐ Yes, others

28. What kind of discrimination/harassment did you face? (Multiple selections possible)*Check all that apply.*

- ☐ NA
☐ Delay/Non-payment of salary
☐ Sexual
☐ Physical
☐ Unequal pay as compared to locals
☐ Others

29. How would you rate the assistance in finding employment from ACCESS (implementing partner)?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Excellent

30. How would you rate the assistance for Psycho-Social Support from BOSCO (implementing partner)?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Excellent

31. Rate the ease of access to health care available

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very Poor	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Excellent

32. What are the major challenges you faced in sustaining a livelihood in Delhi as an Afghan refugee? (Multiple selections possible)

Check all that apply.

- ☐ Employment/Financial stability
- ☐ Racial/Religious discrimination
- ☐ Physical/Sexual Violence
- ☐ Threats/Security Concern from native country
- ☐ Others

33. How do you perceive the attitudes of the state/Police officials towards you/other Afghan refugees?

Mark only one oval.

- ☐ Discriminatory
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Supportive

34. Please mention any other challenges/recommendations/assistance sought.

Powered by

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/152k3ym00yrPn8nKPQNhkgJybirgMO8eqwewc52C2UXU/edit>

5/6

REFERENCES

'Assam NRC: Supreme Court Orders Resumption of Filing of Clai .. ' (2018) The Times Of India,.

Brooks, T., 2012. Global justice and politics. In *The Routledge Companion to Social and Political Philosophy* (pp. 541-549). Routledge.

Buscher, D. (2011) 'Bright Lights, Big City: Urban Refugees Struggle to make a Living', New York, NY: Women's Refugee Commission, New Delhi.

Chanambam, Armstrong & Thouba Nawaz, Zeet (19th September 2017) 'Rohingya Muslims in India: How Will India Deport 40,000 'Illegal' Refugees to Myanmar when it can't Even Deport 11? ' FirstStop,.

Chandler, D.G. (2001) 'The Road to Military Humanitarianism: How the Human Rights NGOs Shaped a New Humanitarian Agenda', *Human Rights Quarterly* 23(3): 678-700.

Chopra, R. (2018) '**India's Gross Enrolment Ratio in Higher Education Up by 0.7%**' *The Indian Express*. (<https://indianexpress.com/article/education/indias-gross-enrolment-ratio-in-higher-education-up-by-0-7-5012579/>)

'Debating Piketty's Theory on how Wealth Begets Wealth, Widens the Economic Gap' (Last updated 2014). Accessed September 2018 <<https://www.pbs.org/weta/washingtonweek/web-video/debating-piketty%E2%80%99s-theory-how-wealth-begets-wealth-widens-economic-gap>>.

'Delhi's Mini Afghanistan: Far from War, these Afghanis have found their Home in India' (Last updated 2017) (a webpage of WION). Accessed November Youtube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghkz5_MJMqM>

'Despite Worldwide Changes, Multinationals Focus on Mobile Workforces to Support Career Growth and Ensure Competitiveness' (Last updated 2017). Accessed November 2018 <<https://www.mercer.com/newsroom/cost-of-living-2017.html>>.

Edmond, C. (2017) '84% of Refugees Live in Developing Countries '.

Eroukhmanoff, C. (2017) 'Securitisation Theory'.

Field, J., Tiwari, A. and Mookherjee, Y., 2017. Urban refugees in Delhi: identity, entitlements and well-being.

'Forced Migration Learning Module'. Accessed September 2018 <<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/hs/pubhealth/modules/forcedMigration/definitions.html>>.

Fukuda-Parr, S., 2003. The human development paradigm: operationalizing Sen's ideas on capabilities. *Feminist economics*, 9(2-3), pp.301-317.

Gaspar, D., 2007. Human rights, human needs, human development, human security. *ISS Working Paper Series/General Series*, 445, pp.1-32

Global, U. (Last updated 2017). Accessed May/ 18th 2018 <<http://www.unhcr.org/>>.

Hintjens, H. and D. Žarkov (2014) 'Conflict, Peace, Security and Development: Theories and Methodologies', 'Conflict, Peace, Security and Development: Theories and Methodologies', Conflict, Peace, Security and Development, pp. 15-34. Routledge.

'India Fifth Largest Donor to Afghanistan: Official' (2018) Business Standard,.
'nearly 81% of the Employed in India are in the Informal Sector: ILO' (2018) The Wire,.

'India Unemployment Rate' (Last updated 2017) (a webpage of world bank). Accessed November 2018 <<https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/india/unemployment-rate>>.

Joint, I. , Profiling Service (JIPS) Urban Profiling of Refugee Situation in Delhi: Refugees from Myanmar, Afghanistan, and Somalia and their Indian Neighbours: A Comparative Study, September 2013 .

Jolly, R. and Basu Ray, D., 2006. The human security framework and national human development reports. *NHDR Occasional Paper*, 5.

Lichtenheld, A., 2014. Forced Migration as a Weapon of War in Iraq and Beyond. *UN DISPATCH*, July, 1.

Lind,d.,2018. how Trump's Travel Ban Became Normal
the Ban has been Tamed. so has the Resistance to it..

Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina (2018) - "Literacy". Published online at Our-WorldInData.org. Retrieved from: 'https://ourworldindata.org/literacy' [Online Resource]

Morand, M., K. Mahoney, S. Bellour and J. Rabkin (2012) The Implementation of UNHCR's Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas: Global Survey 2012. UNHCR PDES.

O'Leary, Z. (2017) *The Essential Guide to Doing Your Research Project*. Sage.

Sarker, S.P. (2017) *Refugee Law in India: The Road from Ambiguity to Protection*. Springer.

Suryanarayan, V., 2001. Need for National Refugee Law. *ISIL YB Int'l Human. & Refugee L.*, 1, p.254

'Thousands March in Germany to Protest EU Refugee Policy' (8th July 2018) The Local De,.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UNHCR Submission on India: UPR 27th Session, August 2016, available at:

<http://www.refworld.org/docid/5a12b5420.html> [accessed 10 May 2018]

Venkatranam, S., 2016. Afghan Refugees are Cooking Up a Better Future in India.

Wæver, O. (2011) 'Politics, Security, Theory', *Security Dialogue* 42(4-5): 465-480.

Werker, E. (2007) 'Refugee Camp Economies', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20(3): 461-480.

Williams, M.C., 2003. Words, images, enemies: Securitization and international politics. *International studies quarterly*, 47(4), pp.511-531.