



Linnæus University
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Seeking protection

A case study on the urban Somali refugees in Nairobi



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Abstract

A massive challenge presents for host countries to manage and integrate incoming displaced people. East Africa is one of the sub-Saharan African regions experiencing an enormous refugee influx. Somalis and South Sudan refugees are a majority and are estimated to represent 80% of the refugees in Kenya; the Somali refugee crisis in Kenya is a significant problem, housing more than 200 000 Somali refugees in camps and cities. This field study aims to comprehend the integrating experience of urban Somali refugees within the scope of durable solutions. The study seeks to understand how various individual, family, and clan ties and characteristics aid urban Somali refugee integration. The theories chosen to guide this research is Sen's capability approach along with the social capital theory. This thesis has been delimited to only focus on the Urban Somali refugees living in East Leigh, Nairobi neighborhood. According to recent research, urban Somali refugees often need help with obtaining the necessary documentation to live freely and fully in their host countries. This lack of official documentation can pose significant barriers to accessing necessities such as housing and employment, making it challenging for refugees to integrate fully into their new communities. Additionally, refugees face discrimination and xenophobia, which can further impede their integration efforts. Interestingly, the study found that clan affiliation was crucial in facilitating integration, even more so than factors such as gender or social class.

Keywords: Integration, Urban, Refugees, Local integration, Somali, Eastleigh, Nairobi

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Table of contents

Abstract	1
Acknowledgements	2
Table of contents	3
Abbreviations	5
List of appendix	5
1. Introduction	6
1.1 Research problem and justification	6
1.2 Structure of this thesis	9
1.3 Purpose and aim of the Study	9
1.3.1 Importance and Relevance of this Study	10
2. Literature Review	10
2.1 Refugee integration	10
2.2 Durable Solution	14
2.3 Previous research on Somali refugee in Kenya	15
3. Theoretical Framework	15
3.1 Sen's capabilities approach	15
3.2 Social capital theory	17
4. Research Methodology	18
4.1 Choice of method	18
4.2 Sampling and Data Collection	19
4.3 The interviews	20
4.3.1 Interview guide	20
4.3.2 Interview participants	20
4.3.3 Focus Group Discussions	22
4.3.4 Observation	22
4.4 Analytic method	22
4.5 Limitations & Delimitations	23
4.6 My role as a researcher	24
4.7 Ethical considerations	24
4.8 Reliability and validity	24
5. Background	25
5.1 History and culture of Somali people	25
5.2 Legal and policy framework for refugee protection in Kenya	26
6. Findings	30
6.1 Legal and policy framework	30
6.2 Clan	34
6.3 Social class back in Somalia	37
6.4 Gender	39
6.5 Common challenges and opportunities	40

7. Analysis	41
7.1 Main challenges	41
7.2 Capabilities and social capitals effect on refugee integration	44
8. Conclusion	47
8.1 Recommendations	50
8.2 Further research	50
9. Bibliography	52
10. Appendix	56
10.1 Interview guide	56
10.2 Information-and consent letter	57
10.3 Interview participants	58

Abbreviations

EAC- East African Community

CFFR- The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework

GCR- The Global Compact on Refugees

IDP- Internally Displaced People

IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority on Development

KI- Key informants

KR- Key respondents

NGO- Non-Governmental Organizations

OAU- The Organization for African Unity

SOLO- Somali Lifeline Organization

UN- United Kingdom

UN- United Nation

UNHCR- United Nation Higher Commissioner for Refugees

US- United States

List of appendix

Appendix 1- Interview guide key informants

Appendix 2- Interview guide key respondents

Appendix 3- Information-and consent letter

Appendix 4- Key informants

Appendix 5- Key respondents

1. Introduction

In the following chapter an overview of the research problem and the importance of this study along with the research question that guides the thesis is presented.

1.1 Research problem and justification

Nearly 100 million people worldwide had been forced to flee their homes due to political conflicts, violence, fear of persecution, human rights violations and other environmental disasters as at the end of 2021 (UNHCR, 2022b). At the end of 2021, the total number of was 89.3 million. This includes the 59 million IDPs within the home origin, a four million rise compared to 2020. According to UNHCR, most refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya originate from Somalia (53%). Other major nationalities are South Sudanese (25%), Congolese (10%), and Ethiopians (5.6%) (UNHCR, 2021). According to the UN refugee convention, a refugee is characterized as "a person who has been forced to leave their home country and is unable or unwilling to return to their country" (UNHCR, N.D). Host countries therefore face enormous challenges in managing and integrating these displaced people. East Africa is one of the sub-Saharan African regions experiencing an enormous refugee influx. Somalis and South Sudan refugees are a majority and are estimated to represent 80% of the refugees, immigrating to neighboring countries like Ethiopia (250,719), Uganda (61,853), and Kenya (279,200) (UNHCR, 2022a).

Kenya hosts most of these refugees in refugee camps and in her main cities. Nairobi, the capital, hosts the most significant number from different countries and nationalities. Statistics show that over 550 thousand refugees and asylum seekers live in Kenya, 16% of these refugees reside in urban areas, mainly Nairobi. As of 2022, Somali refugees represent 53% of refugees Kenya (UNHCR, N.D). Refugees appear to have benefitted more from Kenya's relatively generous policy and are better off than many other refugees in the East African region. Yet, these refugees face many obstacles to achieve a life of value with economic inclusion and protection. The most severe challenge is the encampment and the absence of a durable solution to their dilemma, which requires quick action to implement. However, given the protracted nature of the refugee crisis, it has become increasingly difficult to sustain a strict policy. Thus, the situation calls for integrating refugees to benefit national and human rights interests in a more effective and sustainable approach (Kibicho & Matiang'i, 2020).

The framework of the global compact on refugees (GCR) and the comprehensive refugee response (CRRF) are two vital documents that impact Kenyan policy on durable solutions to the refugee question. These frameworks guide governments and international organizations on how to enhance social protection for refugees and the sharing of responsibility to prevent pressure on the host communities. GCR works towards confining refugees in camps and integrating them into society by empowering them to contribute to host communities and their futures. The signing of the CRRF is a commitment that has signaled the government's willingness to offer greater financial inclusion by implementing and publishing a new document that outlines progressive goals (Dick & Rudolf, 2019; Kibicho & Matiang'i, 2020).

In addition, in 2021, Kenya's President signed the new Refugees Act 2021, which created positive changes and significant milestones for refugee policy (The refugee act, 2021). This new Refugee Act provides for significant changes in policy on refugee economic inclusion, integration, refugee status determination, and the ability for refugees to contribute to Kenya's national and local economy. One of the key highlights in the Act is the provision that refugees shall have the right to engage individually or in a group, in gainful employment or enterprise or to practice a profession or trade to which they are qualified and where such qualifications are recognized by competent authorities in Kenya. The Kampala Ministerial Declaration on Migration, Environment & Climate Change' which is the last treaty the Kenyan government signed is also most relevant to Somali refugees. This declaration brought the Nations in the East & Horn of Africa region together to prioritize, respond to and strengthen global support to deal with the harsh impact of climate change on human mobility. The Kampala declaration recognizes that millions of people across the East Africa region have been displaced and are on the move due to climate change induced disasters. These disasters include drought, floods and landslides among others. This declaration therefore suggests that refugees must be supported to attain the economic opportunities to become self-sufficient. This is yet another step aimed at making refugees self-sufficient. Signed in March 2019 by IGAD member states, the IGAD Support Platform Launched at Refugee Forum is yet another proof of commitment to Progressive Refugee Policies by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. This support platform seeks to motivate and aggregate refugee support from the international community, civil society and the private sector while also facilitating the delivery of technical and financial support for refugees, returnees and host communities. Ultimately, the IGAD support platform will strengthen the implementation of long-term solutions to the refugee situation in the East and Horn of Africa (IGAD, 2019).

This study therefore focuses on the durable solution framework to examine the refugee crises in Kenya. The Durable solution framework proposes three possible solutions to the refugee crisis namely: voluntary repatriation to the country of origin, resettlement in another country and local integration (UNHCR, 2004). This framework which promotes sustainable solutions to the refugee crisis is the key focus of this thesis. It is an argument that the provision of refugees and asylum seekers with possibilities of integration and economic integration can lead to self-sufficiency and less dependence on aid. Legal integration, which the solution this thesis focuses on, assures refugees of the same rights as other citizens while social integration may provide for a more lasting solution of facilitating the social network between the host community and refugees. Many refugees in Kenya and in the Horn of Africa region still live in poverty and dreadful conditions. Only 2% of refugees in Kenya have been able to obtain a class M work permit allowing them to work legally. To sustain a living, the majority of refugees in urban areas make a living based on an informal economy with little to no help from both government and UNHCR while only 3 % of urban refugees get assistance from humanitarian organizations. According to O'Callaghan & Sturge (2018), 28% of refugees earn their living from the informal sector, 29% have their own business and the rest live on remittances from family members. The refugee influx into Kenya reached its peak in 2010, and by 2011, the UNHCR estimated that 80,000 to 100,000 registered and unregistered refugees were living in Nairobi. Since then the number of refugees flocking into Kenya has continued to spiral reaching 550 thousand refugees in 2022 (Danish Refugee Council, 2013)

The issue of insecurity among urban refugees, particularly urban Somali refugees residing in Nairobi, remains unaddressed, despite the development of legal instruments and regional, national and international policies to protect the rights of refugees. This thesis therefore focuses on expanding the research on the urban Somali refugees integration in Nairobi and in particular, it aims at illustrating the plight of the urban Somali refugee in the integration process in Nairobi, Kenya. The thesis will therefore focus on how different internal and external capabilities and characteristics can facilitate the integration process. This is an angle that needs further research, to identify and understand the complexity of the integration process and to further develop tailored solutions aimed at the refugees.

All of the data to be used in this study will therefore derive from the personal experience of interview participants, such as the refugees and civil society workers. To fully comprehend the social and legal context the refugees reside in, this thesis will provide a brief background on the policies and frameworks governing the field, including the Refugee Act 2006/2021, the

global compact on refugees (GCR), the comprehensive refugee response (CRRF) and the Durable Solutions Framework. In addition, interviews will be conducted with both key respondents and key informants. Overall, this thesis seeks to explore the complex issue of refugee integration and insecurity, and offer insights that could contribute to the development of effective policies and programs that can address the needs of Somali urban refugees in Nairobi.

1.2 Structure of this thesis

After introduction, where the reader receives an overview of the refugee situation in the east African region and, specifically Kenya, presenting the emerging research field. In chapters three and six, in -depth research regarding the Somali refugees, and the research field in a wider aspect to better comprehend the legal frameworks is presented. In the methods chapter, the methodology used throughout the study presented and discussed in the most transparent way. Moreover, a detailed description of the interview participants characteristics are presented. Chapter 7 consists of the findings presented through each capability, these findings are analyzed and summarized in chapter 8 and 9.

1.3 Purpose and aim of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand the urban Somalia refugees' integration experience in the context of the durable solution framework. More specifically, the study aims to comprehend how diverse individual, family and clan capabilities and characteristics facilitate the integration process for urban Somali refugees. For a more profound understanding, legal frameworks governing the research field, such as, the comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), the Nairobi declaration, the refugee act 2006, the durable solution framework and the urban refugee policies from the UNHCR. Sen's capabilities approach and social capital theory are treated as central in understanding and interpreting these experiences. The capabilities chosen, inspired by Sen's capacities approach, are social status prior to migration, clan ties, and gender dynamics in the integration process.

The study is limited to examining the integration/local settlement component of the durable solutions framework for urban Somali refugees in Nairobi, Kenya. The study site is in the

neighborhood of Eastleigh Estate in the city of Nairobi, where there is a large settlement of the Somali people.

The following research question will guide this research.

- What are the main challenges that urban Somali refugees face when integrating in Kenyan society?
- What role do different capabilities and social capital play in refugee livelihoods and how do they affect the integration process?

1.3.1 Importance and Relevance of this Study

This study seeks to document the urban Somali refugee integration experience and also to demonstrate the challenges urban Somali refugees face in their integration process. This study also highlights how the durable solution framework and related agreements are perceived, received and implemented among refugees. It is proposed that the features of refugees during integration may make it easier to make decisions that result in more specialized refugee policy, as it also contributed to the growing body of research on the integration of urban Somali refugees, but also applicable to any race with a comparable cultural background.

2. Literature Review

In the following chapter previous research regarding urban refugees around the world and in Kenya is presented to provide an overview of the field, Additionally, studies on urban Somali refugees in Kenya have been done to highlight the gap in the topic.

2.1 Refugee integration

Integration is a "*dynamic, two-way of mutual accommodation by migrants and by the societies receiving them*"(Ager & Verweij, 2012:15). It entails refugees embracing the social, political and economic aspects of the host nation or community. Social integration seeks to broaden one's social networks while economic integration happens when individual refugees become self-sufficient through education and employment. If viewed from the lens of a macro perspective, Entzinger & Biezeveld (2003) believe that integration depends on the social cohesion of the country or the characteristics of the country. Integration has two dimensions: Incidence and Identification. Firstly, incidence, which is further divided into frequency, means

how often individuals see each other; for example, individuals who see strangers more than their family members still feel a stronger connection to their family. Because of intensity, there is a feeling of belonging within the family. The second dimension, identification, the sense of a strong network, does not have to relate to frequency or incidence, just who the person identifies with. In the case of refugees, many identify with their country's people. The interesting point about this is that frequent and intense ties can lead to integration. However, conversely, if there is no connection and identification between individuals, it does not mean they do not correlate with each other. However, integration is less likely to happen if they do not identify with the country's people. Applying this theory of integration to this study is interesting as this research is conducted in a big, yet compacted neighborhood with a mix of refugees and nationals, where both dimensions occur. On the other hand, there is a discussion that good integration depends on policies; with the comprehensive nature of the policies and depending if it is a top-down or bottom-up approach, it will, in both cases, be a challenge for decision-makers and civil society actors.

Integration into the host community also leads to self-reliance; by UNHCR's definition, self-reliance implies that an individual acquires the financial and social ability to live durably, meaning creating opportunities where their need for essential needs like food, housing, and protection, as well as education and employment, is sufficient for themselves. Creating opportunities for refugees reduces vulnerability and the need for aid and assistance (UNHCR, 2005). The shortcut to economic self-reliance is economic integration. For urban refugees, jobs can be the most convenient way to earn a salary, even if it puts them in the low-income category. In the case of Uganda, there are far more working refugees that live in poverty than nationals; the refugees' earnings are much lower income despite having the credentials: discrimination built on unfair policies and circumstances. Refugees with higher education and skills are more likely to be unemployed; 79% of high-skilled refugees could not use those skills in appropriate jobs, settling for a position below compared to 66% of low-skilled refugees (Sarr et al., 2022). Migration holds economic, social, and political significance in a country, and the countries highly politicize it. The consequences of migration are a problem concerning the country housing the refugees and the neighboring countries (Betts, 2011). The influx of refugees is too complex for a single country to handle. To lighten the pressure on host countries, to increase the protection of protracted refugees and allow them to become self-reliant, global refugee policies such as the refugee convention of 195, the framework of the global compact on Refugees (GCR) and the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) have been

developed. An important step is the implementation of the refugee convention of 1951. It served as the foundation for many refugee-receiving countries' efforts to combat the refugee issue and aided the nations receiving refugees; however, with the lack of legislation and policy formation that fits the country's context, it was a failure, as many countries found it incoherent. In the case of African countries, the OAU Convention 1969, which regards the protection of refugees, provides them with different safety nets, resulting in a strengthened legal framework for refugee protection. Despite this impact, international and domestic law can sometimes collide, where domestic laws compromise international human rights laws (Addaney, 2017; Goodwill, 2008).

In the case of local integration (one of the three parts of durable solutions) in a country, citizenship and refugee status given by the UNHCR is a must. A step closer to becoming a full member of the countries. They are provided with their fundamental rights equal to the citizens in the country, and this process differs depending on the country. In Uganda, refugee or not, a person must live in the country for 20 years minimum before they apply for citizenship. However, laws similar to these are aimless and pointless since the refugees cannot use these rights due to difficulties with implementation, demonstrating that the lack of respect for the legislation is an obstacle for refugees getting citizenship (Addaney, 2017). As implied in the case of refugees in Cairo, Egypt, several refugees were denied refugee status by UNHCR. Leading to refugees outside of society, nevertheless not stopping them from contributing to the country's globalization (Grabska, 2008). Citizenship and naturalization are considered fundamentals for local integration. The link between naturalization and integration is critical for refugees without nationality and those in non-sustainable situations. The adaptation of the refugee convention 1951 emphasizes the naturalization of refugees. Naturalization, as in assimilation, is seen as a form of integration; however highly condemned by the international community, as it involves denying one's cultural background in favor of obtaining citizenship or the same rights as nationals of the home country. Such an approach is rooted in racism and possibly promotes xenophobia (Addaney, 2017); however, Betts. Et al. (2022) argue that in the case of East Africa, where culture and the economy are very intertwined, this needs to be more relevant. Their cross-border relationship promotes a positive relationship that roots in religion and mutual trust. The most considerable upset with migration within this region is the security; local hosts believe that refugees are the scapegoats for crime, feeding into the negative concept. In the case of Sierra Leone, citizenship is permitted by the government but by state institutions and organizations like UNHCR (Addaney, 2017). According to Norman (2018), this is a way to prevent discrimination. Indifference provides a strategic form of engagement for the host

countries to engage with refugees and migrants through international organizations and civil society. In the case of Kenya, citizenship is permitted after seven years in the country. However, requirements such as speaking the language fluently and providing legal work and income documents hinder refugees from obtaining citizenship (Addaney, 2017). In theory, the Kenyan government promotes self-employment even without permission, allowing illegal incomes; however, rarely does the government allow work permits for refugees to obtain paid employment which is also recruitment for citizenship (Garlick et al., 2015). Self-reliance and integration are conjoint; the argument that refugees should be separated from politics and put in a sphere where they can be seen as individuals with the potential to be self-reliant is very prominent. The key argument is that refugees should be viewed as rational actors with the potential to strive and become self-reliant (Goodwill, 2008). Krause and Schmidt (2020) argue that it starts with formulating policies. Refugees strive to become how the policies describe them. Global migration policies determine the amount of resilience and self-reliance refugees have. Nevertheless, the language and the formulation of the policies have an underlying tone of vulnerability followed by inadequate funding that limits both the refugees and the host countries. According to Muhumad and Jaji (2023), countries dealing with refugees often need to recognize the refugee's skills and resourcefulness. For this reason, many refugees cannot integrate, and host communities need to take advantage of this when no policies govern the issue. Countries in the East African region restrict their refugees from working to limit local integration. An additional issue link the one above is the location of assistance. Camps were created and located away from urban areas or places with job opportunities. In these camps, refugees are provided with the bare minimum assistance, such as food, housing and education; however, with the large influx of refugees in the host communities, this has been compromised. In Kenya, camps are normally located in areas where development is less likely to happen and places where everyday life is complicated. The encampment policy restricts registered refugees from leaving the camps. However, many refugees flee, giving up on their humanitarian assistance to pursue a life with more economic opportunities in the urban cities. However, as they flee to urban areas due to a lack of economic opportunities in camp, many refugees more time only to find themselves in urban areas with minimal assistance and few economic opportunities, refugees' access to economic opportunities is often limited; they need to attain a work permit from the government (rarely issued to individuals without citizenship or residency) resulting in being excluded from the labor market. The increased number of refugees in urban areas has also made it difficult for humanitarian aid to assist urban refugees. However, with the

help of refugee integration, it eases the pressure on authorities, organizations and refugees. (Talukder et al, 2021).

2.2 Durable Solution

The concept of self-reliance among refugees and displaced persons became popular in Africa in the 1950s due to the large number of IDPs. The focus of self-reliance was on rural agriculture and community growth. Later, the concept of individual self-reliance, which is economic self-reliance through self employment, was adopted by UNHCR. However, only a small number of refugees achieve the status of self-reliance. The main reason for this low achievement is limited refugee assistance, poor-performing economies, restriction of refugee rights and administrative bottlenecks. Understanding the durable solution framework as a whole is essential before continuing to read. Below is a short overview of how this framework works in different societies and countries. When discussing durable solution frameworks, it is different in different countries, much depends on the laws governing the field. This framework is very new in the global south, and many countries need help implementing all three sections of durable solutions. Africa houses more than 80% of the world's refugees, which makes implementing local integration difficult. When the opportunities for refugees to properly integrate into a country and take advantage of their right as citizens lack, the will to either resettle in a third country or rehabilitation to their country of origin grows (Muhumad & Jaji, 2023; UNHCR, 2022a).

In the case of Syrian refugees in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, they are classified as refugees but not viewed as refugees; in the eye of the law, they are seen as tourists/visitors due to the country neglecting and refusing to sign the refugee convention, upon that there are no laws that founded to handle issued like these in the country. So when trying to implement a durable solution framework in this situation, the different version is not on the same success rate; for example, local integration was not working, and according to Yaseen (2019), the option of third-country settlement was the most desirable option for refugees due to the lack of assistance and laws governing the country. The same framework applied to Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh is more complicated than the Syrian refugees in Iraq; return is not a possible solution for the Rohingya due to the high violence rates against their ethnicity in Myanmar. Bangladesh is not in tune with the idea of local integration for Rohingya as they have yet to identify themselves as an ethnicity despite many Rohingyas being integrated into the society. The idea of resettlement in a third country is insufficient data (Azad & Jasmin, 2013). The laws of various countries play a crucial role in determining the effectiveness of the durable solution framework.

2.3 Previous research on Somali refugee in Kenya

According to Muhamad and Jijo (2023), refugees feel dissatisfied with the policies that govern their lives as refugees. However, these authors observe that due to refugees' resilience and resourcefulness, a few of the refugees end up successfully integrating into host countries. One out of 6 refugees and asylum seekers live outside the camps in urban areas in Kenya, mainly without assistance and still unregistered. When moving to urban areas, humanitarian assistance is limited, so most of them venture into businesses to provide for themselves and their families; some of them become self-reliant, and others are not as successful. According to Talukder (2021) and UNHCR (2012), refugees maintain a small business, whether in a store, work as a hawker, trade resources, or get employed in a store. Others tend to trade or sell vegetables and clothes on the roadsides. Finding work is difficult in highly competitive settings, and refugees tend to accept a low income when work is available. Suppose refugees choose to move to Nairobi instead of remaining in the camp. In that case, they can improve their livelihoods by utilizing their skills and networks to secure economic opportunities. However, cases of success in getting employment are relatively few. Economic integration is the main form of integration easily accessible to urban refugee communities (Talukder, 2021). This is an emerging area of study; the fact that some urban Somali refugees integrated and became self-sufficient, while others are quite the opposite, is yet unknown, how these differences arise and why the situation differs for each individual. When integration capabilities include discussion, there is a deficit in this field of study.

3. Theoretical Framework

This study is based on broad theories that can be applied in various situations. The theoretical foundations used in this thesis will be defined and explained below, with a focus on their relevance to integration.

3.1 Sen's capabilities approach

This thesis will employ Amartya Sen's capabilities approach in the context of migration and the social capital theory to help understand the multifaceted impact of migration and what is missing and needed to facilitate the integration process for urban Somali refugees. Integration is part of the capabilities. In the bigger context, it can mean economic self-reliance; as time passes, it becomes a valuable asset that can help people secure work and education, even higher

education, adaptability, creativity, and resource utilization (Eichsteller, 2021). In the context of refugee integration, this can be explained by the government policies that are created to help refugees through employment prospects. To fully understand refugee integration, we need to look beyond economic opportunities. Sen (1999) emphasizes accessibility and availability. The resources provided need to be accessible to everybody. Social, economic and cultural inequalities and capabilities need to be equally addressed in the policies.

Sen (1999) explains how people's freedom and well-being should be determined based on their capabilities and resources, for example, what economic opportunities they have, what types of jobs are available to them, what access they have to education and the quality of education they receive.

The state should protect the rights of the refugees while adapting the capabilities based on the refugees, meaning they should be aimed at the refugees. To increase institutional support that empowers individuals, Sen believes that the concept of justice has a specific meaning in migration. Sen's theory of justice is based on fairness. This concerns the freedom of individuals to achieve the lives they value. It is about their actual capability to do so. In this context, social justice is achieved collectively through shared values, norms and expectations (Eichsteller, 2021). There is a social hierarchy based on social class, age, gender and ethnicity. Sen (1999) stresses that these characteristics play a unique role in migration and limit several of their capabilities based on social factors and norms. Creating a structural power relation that limits one's capabilities, reinforcing the inequalities and setting up barriers, as they also hinder accessing resources, such as economic opportunities. The judicial system based on a capabilities approach helps social relations. However, it is a two-way approach where individual responsibility is vital; a person, organization or government need to be aware of the part they play. The relations between minorities and the majority are also as prominent and are often based on ethnicity. Factors like these significantly affect how well a person can integrate, yet are overlooked. The government needs to acknowledge refugees' structural disadvantages when implementing the policies. Governments also need to focus on their flexible capabilities to improve the livelihoods of refugees (Eichsteller, 2021; Sen, 1999).

This theory should challenge policies based on their capabilities to impact people's life and based on their capabilities. It covers all aspects of human life, well-being, social, political and economic integration/development justice.

3.2 Social capital theory

Social capital refers to the degree of connectedness and the quantity and quality of social relations in each population. Social capital also refers to the relationships between individuals, their trustworthiness, and their sense of community rather than just social assets or capital. It can also be seen as a social status within a community and access to various social situations, such as having support from family, friends, or civic connections. Social capital is closely related to the relationship between individuals and their trust and reciprocity. Social capital is a gateway to acquiring financial, human, and natural capital (Portes, 1998).

In this study, social networks and capital are intertwined. Lyytinen & Kullenberg (2013) explain how social capital plays a crucial role when an individual decides to immigrate to another country, as it can be decisive in how well they integrate into society. Social capital provides informal security that contributes to trust and the willingness and ability to work together with others. Social networks also provide a different type of protection that traditional society cannot provide. For example, those who are members of ethnic, social networks always have a fallback, whether their ethnic partners live in the city or abroad. However, leaving the host society and creating social networks solely for a particular ethnic community can lead to adverse outcomes. Decision-makers may design incorrect policies that do not consider the importance of social capital for a community, and the individuals fail to integrate into the host community. While social capital can be a positive factor that brings people out of poverty, it is essential to consider the decision-makers' role in supporting communities to build and maintain their social capital.

This theory differentiates between bonding and bridging social networks. A bonding network refers to solid networks, as in clan and family ties, consisting of exclusive and homogeneous groups. This bonding social networking is advantageous when surviving daily because it creates a sense of security and comfort. However, it does not help individuals advance as it is limited to the same patterns. Ethnicity and religion are typical examples of bonding networks. Bridging social networks refers to weaker ties, networking with people from different social circles, and a more comprehensive social platform to advance and grow from. Weaker links to acquaintances are better than solid ties with family; the chance of reaching out to more people and having the opportunity for a more extensive network, in the sense of opportunities. In the case of strong family links, you are isolated within the same group of people, leaving you a limited space to develop and learn new things. Nonetheless, other factors, such as gender and age, also play significant roles (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Social networking differentiates between genders. The networking opportunities are bigger and more vital for refugee men than

women. Nevertheless, age plays an essential role for females, as teenage female has less luck with social capital than adult women. The characteristics that bond people between borders are nationality, ethnicity and religion. Bridging social capital results in an integrated community where they no longer feel like foreigners and are excluded. (Calhoun, 2010).

These two theories provide a better structure and understanding of the thesis. They provide a profound insight into how local integration can be viewed through the view of both refugees and decision-makers. Sen's capabilities approach defines the importance of government responsibilities concerning policies and development in the context of individual capabilities, explaining the importance of policies aimed at the refugees. Sen explains in his theory how characteristics, such as gender, age, social class and ethnicity, can either facilitate or lower the chances of integration. The integration of urban Somali refugees can be better understood by combining this theory and the social capital theory.

4. Research Methodology

This chapter delves into the method and methodology employed in this thesis, along with an evaluation of the reliability and validity of the research. Furthermore, the ethical implications that arise when working with vulnerable groups.

4.1 Choice of method

The chosen methodology for this research was a qualitative research method, which involved interviews, observations and content review of existing secondary data sources.

First, the interviews for this case study were conducted using semi-structured interviews. This method allowed me to get more in-depth information about the known and unknown. A semi-structured interview allows for use of relatively open-ended questions that leave room for the respondent to reason freely and for the interviewer to probe. This method allows a free dialogue as the researcher leads the conversation and has space for appropriate follow-up questions (Esaiasson et al., 2017). The interview consisted of key respondents, meaning the refugees, and key informants, meaning civil society actors with profound knowledge and experience in integrating refugees and other matters, including government laws and policies. Both key respondents and key informants will be provided with different interview guides. In conducting interviews for this study, the interview questions were constructed as a casual dialogue and adopted an informal approach to mitigate any emotional strain on the participants, while delving

into potentially sensitive topics. I initiated discussions with the participants before the actual interview, which allowed me to establish an observation of them before the formal interview (Bryman et al., 2021; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014). Second, I used the observation method. Observational research is a technique where a researcher observes participants before and after interviews and phenomena in their most natural settings. This enabled me to see the participants react to situations in their natural setting and the consequential effects of their reactions or responses. Third and finally, additional qualitative data were also collected from secondary data sources. Secondary data is the governmental reports retrieved from existing documents or reports. These government documents and other reports were used to cross-check and authenticate data and information obtained through observation and interviews. This study triangulated the three sets of data from interviews, observations and secondary material to enhance the study results' validity and reliability.

4.2 Sampling and Data Collection

In this thesis, 22 interviews were conducted with five key informants and 17 refugees. These interviews were conducted within three weeks in April 2023. All interviews with key respondents were face-to-face interviews, with a combination of focus group discussion and individual interviews held in their neighborhood, Eastleigh. The requirements for selecting key respondent interviews were that every participant had to be aged 18 years or more. The participant had to have obtained refugee or asylum status, a mandate from UNHCR and have had it for more than two years to provide the thesis with rightful information adequately, as this thesis is aimed at registered refugees. The key respondents had a Somali background and had stayed outside of camp for more than two years. The characteristics examined in this thesis were developed using Sen's capability approach. In his theory, Sen argues that gender, social class and ethnicity can influence capabilities in the context of integration. Since this research focuses only on Somali people, the ethnicity characteristic changed to clan.

This sampling method involves a primary data source recommending or identifying other potential data sources that can participate in a study. The snowball sampling method is purely based on referrals, and that is how a researcher is able to generate a sample. The Organization Somali Lifeline Organization (SOLO) provided a group of refugees, and through the former participants, several others were interviewed. In order to achieve a general analysis and to observe if different characteristics contribute to what extent refugees with particular attributes and components integrate better than others (Esaiasson et al., 2017). The organization also

provided me with connections to the key informants. The study kept an even number of all different characteristics to gain fair representation and results. During the sampling, the researcher filtered away participants as they did not reach the requirements.

4.3 The interviews

4.3.1 Interview guide

The two interview guides were constructed based on the research conducted beforehand so that the researcher could draw from the literature and ask questions relevant and in theme with the objective of the study. Along with this, the goal was also to conduct the key informant's interviews before the key respondents' interviews to gain more knowledge of the key respondents' lives and ask more appropriate questions that were realistic and factual. All key informants were interviewed in English, while the key respondents were interviewed in English and/or Somali. The interview guides had between 10-15 questions, excluding follow-up questions.

4.3.2 Interview participants

All five key informant interviews were conducted over the course of one month. The key informants included various civil society actors, individuals working with NGOs and international organizations focusing on refugees in camps and urban areas, and with profound knowledge of the field's legal framework. Face-to-face and phone interviews were conducted, and the key informants carefully maintained confidentiality. None of their professions or workplace names will be disclosed in this study. One of the key informants is a former refugee protection officer who worked closely with refugees; another is currently working with the same title. The remaining three key informants are government workers who work with refugees. The interview guide for the key informant was aimed at policy questions, how they perceive the situation and how it is. By interviewing civil society actors, the study gained a deeper understanding of the issues while providing a different perspective. The key informants either work first-hand with refugees or the policy-making, providing first-hand knowledge on the gaps and faults that hinder refugees from integrating while providing valuable information on the opportunities. Civil society actors have the knowledge and expertise to criticize policies with a deeper understanding and to compare the contrast between reality and theory, which gives the study a higher level of validity.

Before each interview, the researcher sent consent-and information letters to each participant for approval. Each respondent was fully aware of the implications of their participation in this study, including what happens with their answers. Before the interviews, the researcher went through the information and invitation letter to make sure everyone understood participation was free and that the participants had the right to withdraw or even not to answer any questions they thought were incriminating on their part. Due to confidentiality reasons, many resisted the idea of voice recording, which was accepted.

A total of 17 interviews with refugees were conducted. In selecting key respondents, the following factors were considered: gender, refugees with different social statuses, and time spent in the country. The selection of the interview participants was through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling or chain-referral sampling is defined as a non-probability sampling technique in which existing known participant subjects provide referrals to recruit other sample members with whom they share characteristics for purposes of a research study. The majority of the interviews were individual interviews with two focus group discussions. The two focus group discussions consisted of a different number of people each time and people with different characteristics to create a discussion of whether this was a coincidence. These types of interviews are most appropriate to investigate group dynamics, see how well they interacted and discuss the collective issues they faced. Individual interviews with some of the focus group participants were also conducted. As focus group discussion may get uncomfortable when discussing heavy subjects, I made sure to cancel out some questions to ask them in individual interviews later, as some subjects in the Somali community are taboo to speak about openly, and there is some sensitive information they did not want to disclose. For example, the help they get from family connections and how much they make. Like the key informants, the key respondents signed a consent-and-information letter before the interview after the researcher explained the study and the requirements for their participation. The questions dedicated to the key respondent were designed to create a conversation. During the interviews, the researcher posed open-ended questions such as "Tell me about your time in Somalia" and "How is your life today?" which encouraged participants to share their experiences. Additionally, I followed up with specific questions when necessary to clarify or obtain more detailed responses.

4.3.3 Focus Group Discussions

A total of 2 focus group discussions were conducted; each interview had four key respondents with different genders, social status and social networks. The discussions did not go as planned because I did not have control over who participated, resulting in a diverse group of individuals with varying characteristics. Nevertheless, this mix provided the study with a more in-depth analysis.

4.3.4 Observation

Both directly and indirectly structured observations were conducted for this study. As a participant observer, I took the time to learn and integrate myself into the community to gain a deeper understanding of the area and the environment where the participants reside, which was useful in relating responses to the questions. I also made conversation with the refugees outside of the formal interviews to create a free and understanding environment. During these conversations, the participants shared information about questions not asked in the interview, as they talked about their emotional and mental states and got an insight into their personal lives beyond the formal interviews.

4.4 Analytic method

I employed sentence concentration and coding techniques to analyze and categorize the findings. Through coding, I identified the keywords in the collected data and categorized them based on themes and words, which streamlined the analysis process and ensured a thorough analysis. By using this approach, I am able to get a clear summary of the results. I can easily identify recurring themes by categorizing them and then analyze each theme in detail. I filtered the answers based on relevance; the interview respondents would often float away from the question discussion, and I used sentence concentration to acquire the most relevant answers. By rephrasing the answers into shorter and captured answers, however, they still maintain the participant's total influence (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2014).

4.5 Limitations & Delimitations

In a study of this, I am aware of the ethical balancing act – protecting the rights of the participants while also seeking to obtain useful data and information. This thesis focuses on the Somali refugee's perceptions of their experiences in integration. Initially, this thesis was to be based on Somali refugees in the Dadaab camp. However, due to strict regulations and the

requirement for government approval, the study was redirected to the neighborhood of Eastleigh in Nairobi, where most Somali refugees live and have settled.

As a first-generation immigrant with Somali and Muslim roots, I am writing this study with a prior and deeper understanding of the local context. Speaking the same language and practicing the same religion as the refugees allow me to reason and understand the participants in their native language much more profoundly, protecting the study from misinterpretation and an interpreter's difficulties. Using my existing knowledge will benefit this study. However, I am aware of the limitations and biases it can bring, and I will continuously reflect on how my background might influence my perception of the refugees' situation. I will limit it to not let it bias the study. The focus of this thesis is the Somali refugee's perceptions. My background can contribute to reducing ethical conflicts between the researcher and the participant. Despite this, I am aware that ethical challenges balance this research problem as it targets women and men in vulnerable situations. I will avoid any interviews or questions that can put the interviewees in an uncomfortable situation or at risk.

An additional delimitation is how I could not ask questions that were viewed as sensitive in the focus group discussions, as it would put them in a vulnerable position. In the most effective way possible, I tried to get them not to think about past traumas, as I am not equipped to deal with it. Whether or not it was something they mentioned of their own accord, I asked follow-up questions. Asking open-ended questions leaves room for the participants to think and converse freely; however, it also leads to non-direct answers, meaning reading and analyzing the answers between the lines.

4.6 My role as a researcher

Coming into this field research, I had a pre-understanding of the cultural context through my family's experience and the extensive background research I did beforehand in preparation for the fieldwork. However, it was still important that I see myself as an outsider. As my respondents shared their problems and struggles, it became clear that they saw me as someone who could offer assistance, similar to an aid agency worker. For this reason, I had to make it clear that I was a student conducting research. However, for my respondent to see me as an aid worker also had the advantage of having them answer my question clearly and with unfettered commitment. The observation and informal conversations also came as an advantage during my fieldwork.

4.7 Ethical considerations

In this thesis, multiple ethical considerations were observed. Before every interview, a short study presentation was provided, where the interviewees got to know the purpose of the research, its aim, content, and how their data will be used. This provided the participants with a complete understanding of the study. To protect the participants Kvale and Brinkmann (2014) argue that qualitative research should be as transparent as possible since the study's validity and reliability are based on each research stage. The interviewees also need assurance that the information they provide will be treated confidentially, the personal data is hidden, and the collected data from the interview were only used for research purposes. The consent requirement means that the participant has given full consent over how far they want to participate, and every interviewee has the right to pull out of the interview at any given moment (Vetenskapsrådet, 2002).

4.8 Reliability and validity

The research team was made up of only one member, the researcher. However, the SOLO provided assistance by organizing interviews, and ensured that the sample selection had a wide range of demographics such as class, gender, age, and experience.

Although this study is transparent in presenting its results and process steps, the confidentiality of key informants may limit its transferability. If the later researcher is not able to access the same participants, the possibility of transferability is reduced. In order to replicate this thesis, the key respondents and researcher must share a similar background and understanding of the cultural context. Having this shared background is necessary for the successful replication of the thesis.

I conducted 22 interviews in this study. That is a relatively small sample to merit the generalization of the results, but this thesis intended to produce something other than generalizable results. Constraints of time and the availability of the appropriate key respondents that match the requirements of my intended sample meant I could only reach this limited sample. My results, however, illuminate our understanding of the experiences and challenges refugees face in seeking to be self-reliant and to integrate in host nations. To that extent, key lessons can be discerned from these findings. More, triangulating different data sets has also

enhanced the validity of our findings, implying that a certain degree of generalization is possible.

5. Background

In the following chapter, the research provides a comprehensive insight into the Somali culture and an overview over the legal frameworks required to better understand the forthcoming discoveries that will be discussed in section 7.

5.1 History and culture of Somali people

Some Somali people are citizens and residents of Kenya. According to the 2019 Kenya population census, the Somali population was estimated to be 2,780,502 (Ndungo, 2020). These Somalis have historically inhabited what was previously regarded as the North Eastern Province, also called the Northern Frontier District, which was carved out of the Jubaland region of present-day southern Somalia during the colonial period. Following the civil war that broke out in 1991, many Somalis sought asylum in the Somali-inhabited areas of Kenya. One of the largest colonies of the Somali people in Kenya is found in the Eastleigh area in the city of Nairobi. In this area, the Somali people have established themselves as an entrepreneurial community with diverse and robust business interests, yet many of them still have refugee status (Abdulsamed, 2011).

All Somali nationals share the same culture, language and culture. However, the clan system divides them, and this clan system has been in existence for centuries. The clan system is divided into clan-family, clan, sub-clan, primary lineage and mag-paying group. The clan relationship is still maintained and strongly influenced within the Somali diaspora. Individuals from the same clan and family affiliate together and are obliged to support each other in times of difficulty and joy. Clan members also form social networks and provide safety nets. These elaborate clan networks are to be found in both Somalia and in the Somali diaspora all over the world. This is advantageous in Somalia and for the diaspora of Somalis worldwide. On the other hand, individuals of different clans do face exclusion and discrimination, and the case is worse for individuals from smaller clans (Gundel, 2009).

5.2 Legal and policy framework for refugee protection in Kenya

In order to fully comprehend the complex matter of refugee integration in Kenya, it is crucial to have a solid grasp of the legal system that regulates refugees in Kenya. This study will provide an overview of the critical national and regional frameworks related to refugee integration in Kenya and the Horn of Africa region. These will include the New York Declaration for migrants and refugees, the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), the Nairobi Declaration, the Refugee Act 2021, the Durable Solution Framework and the urban refugee policies from the UNHCR.

As a response to the protracted influx of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) at the global level, the United Nations introduced Specifically, the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) and the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), which the Kenya government has ratified. While the GCR entails a policy based on power-sharing between nations and outlines activities geared towards achieving the set objectives, the CRRF, which Kenya implemented in 2017, is a subset of the GCR. It is an updated version that recognizes and caters to the needs of both the refugees and host communities (Zamfir, 2019; United Nations, 2018).

The CRRF is founded on four distinct objectives, namely, relieving the burden on host communities, improving self-reliance, providing a solution to the challenges associated with emigrating to a densely populated country and facilitating the rehabilitation of the country of origin (United Nations, 2018). These frameworks, however, have both advantages and disadvantages. First, these frameworks must emphasize critical actors like local organizations and municipalities. Second, inadequate funding from both national organizations and the international community limits the effective implementation of these frameworks. Third, most refugee programs run without a proper monitoring framework for a prolonged period. Fourth, most refugee regulations adopt a top-down approach that alienates local actors such as the refugees and host communities. Kenya has made several commitments to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and developed a plan of action to provide durable solutions for Somalia refugees. The project is designed to assist refugees in achieving long-term solutions to their displacement (Zamfir, 2019; IGAD 2017). There is also the Nairobi Declaration, which was adopted by the African governments in 1985. This declaration states that the host countries need to acknowledge refugee rights and take the means to assist and protect them. However,

the responsibility is not only set on the government but also on the international organizations. Like other frameworks declared above, the Nairobi Declaration focuses on refugee self-reliance. It states that refugees can become prominent actors in their integration, when provided access to social services and economic opportunities in refugee-hosting areas. Education and skill formations are a prerequisite for meaningful employment and sustained livelihoods. As part of the integration into host countries, refugees should have access to education and also the right to apply for citizenship and residency in Kenya. The Refugee Act also emphasizes refugees' and asylum seeker's rights and obligations (Leghtas & Kitenge, 2022). In recent years, specific changes have occurred in the laws; for example, in the 2017 Refugee Bill, refugees were required to settle in specified areas regardless of whether they had better prospects for opportunities for self-sufficiency and access to work permits and land. However, this law was rejected. This Bill was later replaced by the Refugee Act 2021, which provides for a longer-term solution that focuses on rehabilitation and resettlement but avoids local integration (Muhumad & Juji, 2023).

In present-day Kenya, urban refugees need more comprehensive protection, and there needs to be accurate data on their socioeconomic status. It is often assumed that urban refugees can become self-reliant through the aid they receive from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the International Rescue Committee (IRC). However, UNHCR's 2019 report shows that only about 5% of urban refugees receive such assistance. Besides, factors such as humanitarian aid and protection still need to be addressed under the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), as highlighted by O'Callaghan and Sturge (2018). Upon arrival in Kenya, refugees have the right to apply for refugee status, during which they can explain the reasons for their migration. The eligibility panel must respond within 90 days, although, in practice, the waiting period varies from three months to three years. During this period, refugees are provided with temporary identification. However, lack of documentation is a critical issue which limits the refugee's rights and capacity for integration (Leghtas & Kitenge, 2022). According to the Refugee Act of (2021), all refugees have the right to obtain the legal documents required to participate in society. Many refugees must also acquire the legal documentation necessary to secure legal employment. The Refugee Act provides refugees with the right to work without discrimination.

Despite Kenya's progressive refugee policies efforts, Leghtas & Kitenge, (2022) states that the employment sector needs to be revised and correctly executed in practice. The Refugee Act

2021 provides inter alia that "Subject to the laws applicable and taking into special consideration the special circumstances of refugees, a refugee recognized under this Act shall have the right to engage individually or in a group, in gainful employment or enterprise or to practice a profession or trade where he holds qualifications recognized by competent authorities in Kenya." (The refugee act 2021, 28(5)). This provision is however limited. Many refugees are classified as war refugees and fleeing their country with no time to collect their important personal documents. Further, registered refugees reside in designated areas, restricting them from accessing areas where jobs could be easily available. However, this rule does not regard every refugee. The regulations for refugees from EAC countries and non-EAC countries (East African Community) differ. Refugees that come from EAC countries (Burundi, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and The Democratic Republic of Congo) have the opportunity to discard their refugee status, allowing them to live without the restrictions that follow refugee status, for example, encampment. Refugees coming from other non-EAC countries do not have the freedom to choose between staying in refugee status or not. As of 2022, refugees from EAC countries account for 34%, while refugees from non-EAC countries are up 60%, 28% of them are Somalis (Leghtas & Kitenge, 2022). Relationships between countries also impact the refugee influx.

Another framework heavily involved in the integration process of refugees is the UNHCR urban refugee policy created in 2009, a 12-step protection plan for refugees outside camps and in urban areas. This framework has three subsections. First, the documentations and status determination section which recognizes requires all refugees to acquire legal documents to formalize their status as refugees. Several urban areas need more administrative offices, making it hard for urban refugees to formalize their status. Many refugees can also not travel to the urban areas to attain their status due to travel costs, fear of arrest and additional documentation fees. Inadequate staff and lack of UNHCR and/or government offices to facilitate registration hinder the refugees' ability to integrate easily. Moreover, using mobiles to inform is only a solution when everyone can access a phone. An active engagement between the UNHCR and governments is crucial. The government needs to be improved when documentation and decision-making, and documentation is essential in urban refugees' lives. Second, in community relations, urban refugees live around the city, making it harder for the UNHCR to contact them. Further, according to data from UNHCR, many refugees live where UNHCR does not have a presence, making it hard to maintain and manage expectations and security. Third, on safe, sustainable existence for urban refugees, this category addresses the importance of a safe and

secure livelihood, materialistic needs, durable solutions and freedom of movement. A relationship between the government and the organization is critical, as the country's law determines an individual's livelihood. Every state is responsible for refugee registrations, and the UNHCR provides support if necessary. The definition of registration is "refugee registration is the recording, verifying and updating of information on person concerned to protect and document them, and of implementing the durable solution." Registrations allow refugees to be categorized as people of concern that are in need of protection and assistance by the government and UNHCR. Usually, new refugees - whether emergency and/or non-emergency refugees are given a refugee identification card called a mandate. Once given this card, refugees have the freedom to move around, whether inside or outside of camps (UNHCR, 2003).

This registration also gives refugees protection against arrest. It also gives young people protection against military recruitment and makes it easier to find their families. With registration, the choice of durable solutions is made much more manageable, and it is left to the organization to examine which of the three durable solutions is appropriate. There is also a legal framework to govern and strengthen the authorities and assistance refugees, yet the implementation of this framework is still problematic in Kenya and the East African region (UNHCR, 2003).

6. Findings

In this chapter, we will present a detailed description of our findings, which are categorized into five themes: legal and policy framework, clan, social class prior to migration, gender, and the most common challenges and opportunities. We also provide a description of the interview participants in chapter 11, which can be found in Tables 1 and 2, which is recommended to review before continuing.

6.1 Legal and policy framework

On the question regarding the key informant's views on how the Kenyan government has addressed the refugee crisis in recent years, and the implementations of these policies, all five key informants agreed that the country had made progress on laws and policies relating to refugees in the recent past. The enactment of the Refugee Act 2021 was cited as a good example. Regarding creating a safe space for refugees, particularly in the camps, the

respondents reported that the Kenyan government, UNHCR, and other international NGOs had implemented durable solutions such as the Global Compact on Refugees.

Key informants also reported that these organizations had also made efforts to empower refugees, making it easy for the refugees to integrate with the host communities. The main issue is the economic interaction of refugees in camps and urban cities. The issue of obtaining a work permit is a challenge, and as of now, many end up in illegal work, such as market stands and selling merchandise outside. Those engaging in illegal work are limited to their designated area and cannot pursue other economic opportunities beyond it, as doing so may result in the risk of imprisonment. One of the participants expressed that the Kenyan government has been very supportive of refugees, and finding legal employment is also a hardship for most Kenyan citizens. The key informant expresses that even before proper citizenship, the Kenyan government provides many refugee children with education and adult refugees receive entrepreneurial education from the UNHCR.

“...However it can be hard to sometimes provide the refugees with privileges that nationals don’t have, example, providing work permits is one thing, providing work is something that all struggle with”- Key informant 2

“We can not provide people with work since the employment is already hard for the citizens for the citizens of this country”- Key informant 4

Regional and international policies/frameworks are implemented in varying ways. The government and the stakeholder working in these fields, such as the UNHCR and other NGOs, have done much by forming the policies, yet more is needed; the authorities have a hard time implementing the regulation. The number of refugees locally integrated is deficient. As it is a long bureaucratic process, it keeps getting denied by the government or delegated to other organizations. For example, education for refugees is provided by the UNHCR; the education includes entrepreneurial education, so they can learn the most effective ways of making a living. However, as education does not pay, many refugees choose to forgo it to seek alternatives to make a living.

Despite the government working with international and local advocacy organizations and NGOs, One of the key informants expresses that refugee influx is a severe and protracted issue that needs time and resources, for that reason, must be handled by the established authorities in mention, meaning the UN and the Kenyan government. Small local organizations and even, at

some times, international ones do not have the funds and resources for rehabilitation, third-country settlement, and to make sure that the rehabilitated people survive and integrate into their new country. Local integration also requires significant resources for integration and maintenance. Additionally, organizations with the necessary space must handle the situation properly to prevent mishandling.

“When talking about a durable solution, when NGO don’t have enough space for this” - key informant 4.

The key informants also emphasize that sustaining large influxes of refugees from all over the region is challenging. Particularly if the country has high poverty rates, low education and employment rates. Key informant one also highlights that Kenya is still a developing country that requires much assistance in other sectors. Therefore, significant changes that affect a large portion of the country will take time to implement.

When discussing common challenges, the subject of documentation often appeared. In the case of urban refugees, a valid mandate is allegedly the gateway to an easier integration process. However, all key respondents stated that a mandate does not fulfill the rights of refugees. Without a valid mandate, the key respondents noted it was not easy to transact business through mobile payment methods, which is a widespread method, or even to access health care due to the lack of respect for the UNHCR mandate. Securing accommodation was also extremely difficult because hotels and landlords always insisted on identification. In essence, a valid mandate provided a sense of security within their designated area. Refugees could show the document to the police and would thus not be arrested and charged for being ‘vagabonds’. The Kenyan government allows police to detain and/or arrest persons found loitering in urban areas without proper identification or a ‘visible source of income, meaning a lot of refugees with illegal incomes would get detained. Many refugees also expressed that the police would arrest them when innocent and a valid mandate due to being Somali or refugees.

Respondents also indicated that the mandate is only valid for two years, and the renewal of the mandate is free. However, the renewal process could be very complicated due to corruption. The renewal process also opened up refugees to abuse and discrimination. They noted that on several occasions, they would seek to renew their mandate – which is free, only to be asked for huge bribes. This occurs in the urban areas, and the urban refugees do not get much humanitarian assistance.

“I regret searching for a mandate as it has not helped me with education, job or other essential when immigrating into a country.”- Key respondent 1, Male

“ Refugees are marginalized and are subjected to demands a national does not face ” - Key informants 2

One specific refugee explained how he only got his mandate after living as an undocumented refugee for four years. He explained how his life before the mandate was The same refugee stated:

“... However I regret searching for a mandate as it has not helped me with education, job or other essentials when immigrating into a country.” - Key respondent 15, Male, Urbanite, Weak network

“I had been walking around as a hawker all day, I later encountered the police and asked for my documentation and I provided them with the UN Mandate, however the police do not respect the UN and they arrested me.”- Key respondent 7, Male, Urbanite, Strong network

Half of the key respondents interviewed stated that they had been arrested for lack of documentation. One respondent noted that the first time he left the refugee camp without the freedom of movement document he got arrested and imprisoned for two years. On release he was then sent back to the refugee camp and the other time he got arrested was because of an expired mandate. Another one stated that he left his neighborhood to go to the Department of Refugee Affairs but got arrested on his way there due to an expired mandate.

“ I had no job, no type of way to sustain myself and was without food or water for a day, the police found me and asked for my documentation. I provided them with the UN Mandate, however the police did not find this acceptable, and they arrested me” -Key respondent 9, Female, Strong network, Urbanite

When asked the key challenges facing refugees in their bid to become self-reliant, the most common answer was policy and legal restrictions and specifically lack of documentation which in turn inhibited their freedom of movement. Regardless of whether they lived in camps or urban cities, refugees had limited freedom of movement. Those refugees with formal refugee status were restricted by the encampment policy. This policy limited their residence to

designated areas. With their fingerprints taken and the documentation they receive from UNHCR, they are limited from traveling freely to explore opportunities. Some respondents termed this as an open prison. The issue of the right papers and getting the money for freedom of movement documents is another challenge. Many do not receive the right documents or if these documents expire and they cannot afford to get them easily renewed due to corruption.

“ There is a lot of xenophobia toward refugees from the nationals which can make this process of self-reliance harder”.- Key informant 3, Male, Urbanite, Weak network

“ No identification number, many would resort to illegal business and many have limited opportunities for credit capital, which you need to access to start a business” - Key informant 1, Male, Nomad, Weak network

Challenges to freedom of movement are also one of the reasons why many refugees live in the camp for so long. If police find refugees outside the designated area mentioned in their documentation, they would be arrested or sent back to the camp, and many refugees do not want to take that risk. Others, however, take the risk and sneak into the urban cities to seek more economic opportunities. Key informants stated that some refugees live in the camp for so long that it becomes even more complicated when they move to urban areas because they are used to simple life there. Other refugees were reported to have managed to thrive in the camp, taken advantage of the entrepreneurial school and local business, and later moved to the cities.

When addressing successful integration for refugees, we look at it from several perspectives and, more specifically, from the social, legal and economic perspectives, and how these perspectives impact integration. Economic integration is often seen as the best form of integration for refugees in Kenya. Economic self-reliance can pave the way to personal freedom and flexibility to move around relatively easily. The most common cases of successful integration mentioned by obtaining a work permit. The work permit allows a refugee to live closest to local citizens because obtaining a work permit guarantees a refugee the right to earn an income legally. There are also different types of successful integration depending on what type of support you have. Key informant 2 emphasized that successful economic integration often depends on where you are categorized..

“As a person of Somali descent and working with the refugee problem, I have formally and informally seen that those people who successfully integrate into society are people with a strong social network”- Key informant 2, Male, Nomad, Weak network

For the individuals that come through the camp and try to get self-reliant, they find it harder than individuals that come straight to the urban cities and go behind the system and do not get the papers or their fingerprints taken to avoid living in restriction. Many of them turn into entrepreneurs, become economically self-reliant and later these people employ their Kinmen, send their kids to good school and the cycle starts from there.

“ There are some cases where refugees that arrive here with money, get residency due to going around the system and do not obtain refugee status. Those with money can even buy local identity cards” - Key respondents 17, Female, Nomad, Weak network

6.2 Clan

Clan have an incredible influence on the Somali community. However, it can be both advantageous and disadvantageous. Clannism involves family relationships, individuals from the same clan and the network between them. Kinship refers to social relations among the Somali people.

On questions regarding family connections, there were mixed feelings/ Kinship ties within Somalis were better than clan ties as clan often came with exclusivity. A standard answer to the question of how they were making a living, many answered is that clan family members gave them a hand when they needed help. This can be in the context of extra money on the side, a place to stay while they figure out what to do. Others who are lucky enough also get jobs out of family connections. For example, one key respondent specified that when he chose to leave Somalia due to insecurity, the country of choice was Ethiopia or Kenya because that is where most Somalis settle in the East African region. This fact alone assured him he could make a living there and he would find an easy landing. Upon arrival in Kenya, he started out by receiving money from family members in the US. This is the case for many refugees in Kenya, Ethiopia or the East African region. Most have close clan connections with relatives in America or the UK. These relatives always support their clan members. When arriving in a new country, many people in Nairobi and other places rely on remittances to help them settle, especially

during the first few months. They receive handouts from friends or family in the area, and with luck, they also get job opportunities through these family connections. Several refugees expressed their belief in god providing for them, especially where social networks are lacking. In such cases, their resilience kicks in as they try to find other sources of livelihood, including going back to refugee camps to get humanitarian assistance or choosing to work as hawkers to sustain their lives. The most vulnerable refugees are the ones without assistance from the organization, government and clan/kinship. This lot is highly vulnerable and prone to exploitation and abuse.

A mother with two children fled the war without support, documentation, or money. She lived in Dadaab camp for five years and became fully integrated into the society there. However, she was disappointed with the lack of assistance provided in the camp. During her time in the refugee camp, she met another Somali family waiting for registration so they could move to urban cities where their family awaited them. They left the camp together, and the family helped her find a job in one of the stores. They also provided her with housing and helped her make the minimum amount of money required to provide for her family..

“We were lucky in the sense that we were received immediately and registered because of my children. When I saw other people waiting much longer.” -Key respondent 16, Female, Urbanite, Weak network

In many cases it is not about how well one succeeds in Nairobi, for example key respondent 10 expressed how she managed to become self-sufficient in the Dadaab as her family in America gave her a sum where she could start a business, she managed to get out of the camp and start a life in Mombasa put her kids through school and later moved to Nairobi where her business kept growing. She goes on to explain how the restrictions of living as a refugee always shadow her dreams and capabilities.

“I have gained a lot with persistence, however when I go to show documentation and they see that a carry a mandate, people are often resistant to help me out, thinking I am not capable of this” - Key respondent 10, Female, Nomad, Strong network

When discussing the issue of clan in the Somali network, there is a lot of xenophobia within the community based on clan, the influence of clan is still very prominent within the Somali diaspora. Besides being marginalized and stereotyped by the nationals, Somali refugees and Somali-kenyans (Somalis born in Kenya) discriminate against each other by clans. The majority

of key respondents feel as if they have been discriminated against based on their clan by other Somalis. These conflicts occur both in the sense of economic and social integration.

In situations where discrimination based on clan ties often occurs in social settings, hindering each other from accessing certain resources. Many express their fear of presenting their clan, however, is also something that cannot be hindered as Somalia are proud of their clans and is often evident in the dialect.

“ ... I have many times felt that people do not want to share their opportunities...” - Key respondent 1, Male, Nomad, Weak network

“... it is nothing that shocks me as the clan will always be in the mind of Somalis...” Key respondent 14, Male, Nomad, Strong network

This is a deeper problem for individuals that come from smaller clans, as the social network is not as tight, or their clan carry a bad stereotype. Key respondent 8 stated that the only reason she can provide for herself is because she belongs to one of the biggest Somali sub-tribes in Kenya. This use of clannism is pervasive and also occurs in jobs involving employer and employee, whether it is people with refugee status or Kenyan Somalis with citizenship. Somali people have mastered the art of social integration by getting involved in social connections and networks. Somali refugees have also been migrating to Kenya for a long time and have established networks that help them sustain a life there. These networks are largely based on one clan and not just nationality.

Social integration enables refugees to gain certain basic rights that facilitate easy integration for the individual. Marrying for the sake of citizenship, is also a way for many refugees to escape the restriction of refugee status. For Somali people this often happens within their own community and where they search for individuals with already established lives. Key informant 3 highlights that the individuals that do not go through refugee camps try to avoid having their fingerprints taken as the system will be able to identify them easily. As such they can easily move into the cities or urban areas because refugees that have a strong family network or those who live in urban areas enjoy a higher social status back in Somalia. They would be seen as the successful refugees, helping the others with jobs and resources, if they have the opportunity.

6.3 Social class back in Somalia

In order to better understand social class back in Somalia, the key respondents were asked if they were urbanites or nomads. The nomad category includes farmers, pastoralists and herders, while the urbanites refers to people who live in urban areas. This is a familiar divide among people in Somalia. The refugee's social class in Somalia has a semi-decisive role in how they end up living even in foreign countries, depending on their situation. The urbanites tend to find it easier to join in other urbanites and are also more progressive than the nomads. The findings showed that the quality of life in Kenya today depends more on how they came into the country. Both urbanites and nomads initially spent time in the camps. For most refugees, camps are the only places to seek refugee status and assistance and access registration and documentation more easily and faster. In the camps or urban, there is no clear distinction between the life of former urbanites and nomads in their daily lives. On the other hand, some nomads do live more comfortably and urbanites in hardship.

In the case of key respondent 7, he came from an urbanite life and fled the war 1991, He lived a good life in Somalia and his travel to Kenya landed him in a comparable position compared to other key respondents. Nevertheless, he expresses how he feels bad that his life in Kenya is rather limiting. Finding work or other economic opportunities is hard and the little money he gets from family members cannot sustain him.

“ I live in a open prison where I get harassed when I walk outside, I cannot work or make an honest living“ -Key respondents 7, Male, Urbanite, Strong network

In contrary, key respondent 8, a woman with a similar background, however lives a very different life from the man above, she is a person with a very strong network that has managed to establish a successful business. The key factor that determined her life trajectory is her network back in Somalia that keeps funding her. However, there are some differences in that those who left Somali during the 1991 war and came into Kenya, most have successfully integrated and are leading a reasonable and sustainable life. After some years of life in refugee camps and in the city, many have surmounted hardships and are living a normal societal life.

Key informant 5 states that those who left Somalia due to the war were well off because Somalia had better security then. Key respondents who fled the war also stated that they made an honest living in Somalia and could provide for themselves and their families. Nonetheless, in some cases, nomadic individuals leaving Somalia had less control over their lives compared to urban dwellers due to a lack of financial resources to steer their lives and afford a privileged lifestyle. Key respondent 4, who lived as an urbanite and had a comfortable life in Somalia before the war, found himself struggling and restricted by the refugee status he applied for. His journey

from Somalia to Kenya was by boat which was a better mode of travel than other refugees. He now lives without assistance from the government or the UNHCR.

On the issue of why they left Somalia, the majority of them said they were war refugees, either fleeing the civil war during 1991 or during the terror attacks of Al Shabab during the 2010s. In addition there are refugees that fled due to insecurities in the country while others it was due to economic instability in the country, making it hard for them to secure economic opportunities. Political instability and climate issues, especially persistent droughts were also driving forces to the migration by the key respondents. Other refugees were also economically comfortable in Somalia, but still choose to immigrate to Kenya, live for a while as refugees in a refugee camp on the pretext of insecurities in Somalia and later with UN support try to resettle in a third country, typically in the western world.

The research reveals that certain refugees were classified as economic refugees, which means they fled Somalia because of the poor economic situation and arrived with additional funds. These refugees have adapted well to their new environment, due to the extra pocket money.

On the question of how they saw their future lives in Kenya the answers were mixed. Several refugees also said that their plan was to end up in a camp where they would get assistance to travel to a third country, in the western world. As many of them had given up on third country settlement, they expressed their deep will or desire to get rehabilitated in their country of origin. One of the key respondents shared that he would rather live in Somalia despite the insecurities. He indicated he had already expressed this desire to UNHCR, but the agency had not assisted. After years of making promises to him, he had since given up on the matter. Another one said that the only reason they are still Kenya and have not started their journey back to Somalia was because they had built a life for their children in Kenya. She argues that her children are classified as Somali-Kenyans and says that despite struggles with integration the children have better life chances in Kenya since they were born and raised there. She observes that integrating in a much easier and better way being a refugee. She states that because she is self-employed with sufficient resources, who did not get help from any organization to acquire the life she has today, she can afford to send her children to school and provide a better life for them, and for that reason she believes her children can reach new heights.

”...People like me have lost hope for a third-party settlement. So the best way is to continue is to living in Kenya as it is my home, I don’t have any prospect as the Kenya government is not progressive in this matter...” - Key respondents 12, Female, Urbanite,

Weak network

6.4 Gender

The issue of gender inequality in the Somali community is a complex and multifaceted one that has different effects depending on the livelihoods of the individual. The majority of the findings indicate that gender does not have an extensive impact on the integration process of refugees. This implies that neither of them has an upper hand in the integration process. When discussing the economic opportunities and the safety involved in acquiring them, the findings show that men have the advantage, as they take on the cultural role as the breadwinner of the family and this also puts them in a powerful position.

One women talked of how the man of the household would often lead the way, however if poverty persists, then gender roles get blurred, and women take on the roles necessary to provide for the family. It was also noted that despite men bearing the heavier economic responsibility to the family, women have an advantage when it comes to acquiring social networks and creating a strong support system. The complexity of the gender roles within refugees is however very wide, meaning more time they are blurred and women step into the role of obtaining economic opportunity and at the same time having an easier time networking you can say women do have an easier time integrating.

“ ... I go out during the day to try and scrape together whatever I can...” -Key informant 5,
Female, nomad, weak network

6.5 Common challenges and opportunities

Xenophobia in countries with large waves of refugees is nothing unusual, whether in the case of Somalis in Kenya and the racism they are subjected to can be seen as their biggest challenge after the lack of effective execution of the policies and frameworks governing the field. Somalis refugees or born Somalis hold a negative stereotype and to the point they are marginalized in society, the daily harassment they receive for being not only Somalis but as refugees which do carry a negative connotation. One key informant expresses how nationals are sensitized to the problem of refugees.

On the other hand many also view Somalis as a source for financial opportunity. There are Somalis who build business in Kenya, providing jobs and the opportunity to learn entrepreneur skills, these would be classified as successful refugees. Refugees, if successful or not, can be seen as competition, yet at the same time as safety nets due to the reason mentioned above. Key

informants state that this problem is not only in the workplace, beyond that finding residence is even more troublesome as the landlord views refugees as incapable of paying rent. For this reason many Somalis stick together. Seeing it from the view of policies all refugees (depending if they are EAC-countries or not) are treated equally.

Another obstacle for many refugees is the issue of stereotypes. Many raised the concern that other Kenyans and Somali-kenyans hold the perceptions that refugees are not capable of hard work or that their potential is limited. These stereotypes act as an obstacle for refugees to access employment opportunities. Refugees also rarely acquire jobs that match their qualifications and skills, which always results in them settling for lower paying jobs. Moreover, racism and discrimination also limits Somali refugees from accessing resources and opportunities. Not only do employers discriminate against Somalis, but if the employers are of Somali descent, it is highly likely that the discrimination will be based on clan.

7. Analysis

In this chapter, the researcher analyzes the findings with the help of the theoretical frameworks to properly answers the research question. The chapter is divided into two parts to clarify, the main challenges and capabilities and social capital's effect on refugee integration.

7.1 Main challenges

In this section, the researcher will analyze the main challenges related to the theoretical framework of Sen's capability approach and the social capital theory. Throughout this project, clear patterns have emerged from both key respondents and key informants. The most significant issue both parties highlight is the lack of proper documentation, whether it is registration, mandate, or freedom of movement papers. This issue remained the most complex issue for all the refugees interviewed. Besides the issue of documentation, other obstacles hinder refugees from integration.

The findings revealed that even individuals with strong social networks still faced serious challenges with the documentation of their status. Documentation, therefore, remains a serious issue to all refugees and non-nationals regardless of their social class, gender, and social network, because they are perceived as 'aliens' in the eyes of the government and Kenyan

society. The consequences of this perception also appeared to significantly undermine and often hinder the prospects of smooth integration of Somali refugees into the local community. According to Sens, a person's chances of integration are determined by their capabilities and the availability of resources. This implies that lacking these two ingredients can significantly undermine one's capacity to actualize job opportunities and integration. Documentation is seen as a facilitating factor that is supposed to benefit refugees to reach resources needed for integration, for example, identification cards to get jobs, healthcare and other basic necessities, due to the lack of respect for the documentation by authorities such as police forces many refugees end up arrested or abused. According to the data, many refugees think that having refugee status entails greater difficulties than not having it in urban locations. Social problems like bigotry and corruption make it difficult for refugees to use the documentation, hindering them from reaching the essential resources for integration.

These refugees made their way to Kenya because it is not only a neighboring country to Somalia, but it is also a country that is seen to be politically stable and safe. For example, the economic refugees find it easy to do business and prosper in Kenya. Other refugees think Kenya provides job opportunities, quality education, and other forms of assistance. Furthermore, this holds true whether a refugee is restricted or not. The general thinking is that despite the challenges of managing daily life, Kenya still offers a higher pool of possibilities in life, and these possibilities can play a significant role in how well a person can integrate. The availability of jobs and educational opportunities make it an attractive destination, especially for economic refugees and those fleeing insecurity in Somalia. However, as presented above, societal obstacles and discrimination make it difficult for refugees to access these opportunities. On the topic of policies, there was a feeling that the government needs to strengthen its capacity to deal with discrimination and corruption, as the capabilities approach stresses the idea that the government needs to acknowledge the structural disadvantages that refugees face in the integration process. This has yet to apply to the case of Kenya, as they have implemented a one-size-fits-all approach, which can result in negative social relations. The law requires immigrants and refugees to stay in the country for seven years before being granted citizenship. However, this is very oppressive, as it needs to be accurately implemented. The government does not provide citizenships even after that long and even after much longer in many cases of refugees; although a majority of the critical respondents have lived in Kenya for longer than seven and speak the language fluently, they have yet to receive citizenship. This makes life extremely tough for migrants, confining them in an open prison constrained by the government and

societal barriers. According to key informant results, many urban migrants do not receive help compared to camp refugees. Moreover, because they are away from the camps, obtaining documents to confirm their refugee status becomes even more difficult. However, given that they encourage self-employment, it is not easy to comprehend why people cannot obtain work permits to work legally and earn higher wages.

Sens explains that the dynamics between minorities and the majority, often based on ethnicity, play a significant role in integration, exploring and understanding the social interaction between the two groups; with the urban Somali refugees acting as the minority in this case, the potential societal barriers that hinder individuals' integration. The dynamics also shape the resources, opportunities and connections the different groups get, and the xenophobia and abuse refugees face puts a bigger obstacle for them to achieve economic opportunities and other resources that can facilitate the integration process. As presented in the findings, when discussing the dynamics between nationals and refugees, the dynamic between Somalis and Kenyans is very tense at most times as Somalis are marginalized and stereotyped and linked to the terror group Al Shabab. On the other hand, this situation for refugees could be improved by integration. In this study, the dynamics between different clans are discussed, revealing that they can create distance and hinder integration while facilitating progress. Linking the two theories, clan relationships are viewed as a capability within Sen's framework and a source of strength and weakness in social capital. Clan relationships are defined as bonding networks within the social network theory. They are often intense and exclusive, thus perceiving it as a capability challenge, as it might act against simplifying the integration process in some situations.

The government often overlooks these factors, which should acknowledge refugees' structural disadvantages and implement policies that support them. For instance, delegating power to large NGOs to handle refugee crises and granting citizenship can reduce discrimination. Laws that require migrants and refugees to be present in the country for a certain period before being granted citizenship also pose a challenge. During the asylum period, many urban refugees lack assistance, and the problem of valid documentation makes it even harder. Laws that hinder refugees' access to citizenship and employment opportunities remain significant challenges. The government needs to address these issues to facilitate refugees' integration into Kenyan society.

Regarding the government delegating responsibility to NGOs, the UNHCR has actively addressed various refugee issues such as registration, protection, and education. However, when it comes to education, many refugees feel that there are more effective ways to support

themselves or their families financially. In response, the UN aims to provide refugees with entrepreneurship skills to help them generate income more effectively. Additionally, refugees receive monthly financial assistance from the UN to support their basic needs. However, many refugees have reported difficulties accessing this assistance, or it has been cut over the years. The government's promotion of self-employment is contradictory because it refuses to issue work permits to self-employed refugees. Encouraging self-employed individuals to succeed in their businesses and earn better incomes would facilitate their social integration. It would also help them provide legal income proof when required, bringing them closer to citizenship. However, the Kenyan government's aim does not prioritize local integration.

Another factor is the promotion of naturalization, which is highly condemned but promoted within a different migration policy, for example, the CFFR. Naturalization has roots in assimilation, and it aims to reduce one's cultural and ethnic heritage in order for them to fit into the host country's culture and society. An example is Sierra Leone, where the government has delegated power to a large NGO to handle many refugees in the country and grant citizenship to avoid discrimination. Local stereotypes also need to be addressed because they negatively impact refugees' self-esteem and confidence, making it difficult for them to integrate fully into society. Naturalization should also be encouraged as a way of stopping discrimination. The big question is: Does the government aim to reduce cultural differences to integrate refugees better, or are refugees supposed to stick to their different cultures and try to adapt to local cultures? Questions like these need to be answered before framing the policies. This point of view is lacking when reviewing the legal framework and comparing the theories to the findings.

7.2 Capabilities and social capitals effect on refugee integration

Somali clans in Kenya often maintain strong ties to their cultural and traditional practices, which can provide a sense of identity and continuity for individuals within the clan. Sen explains how the dynamic relationships between minorities and the majority influence integration. Nonetheless, this study instead focused on the dynamic relationships between clans. The findings show that the dynamics between different clans influence refugees' integration capacity.

The social networks of the Somali people often make up for the lack of support from the government, creating a close connection between refugees that can facilitate life as refugees. The finding is that clans do have a significant role in refugee integration. Refugees with solid social networks find an easier way to sustain themselves. Then there are the refugees within the

country who are economically successful. These are the ones who manage to help other refugees regardless of whether they belong to one clan or not.

Research has found that refugees, living as nomads or urbanites, experience comparable difficulties. However, there are instances where nomadic refugees may have more comfortable living conditions than urbanites and vice versa. Having a solid social network can be very useful. It can address such small matters as getting somewhere to stay when migrating to Nairobi or even getting clothes to make one look presentable. Refugees migrate to countries regardless of whether they have a strong social network that helps them integrate, and that way, the situation is simplified. Other times refugees migrate without registering, and because they are undocumented, integration is easier since the restriction does not bind them.

The refugees without social networks might be the most vulnerable, yet ironically, this category of refugees is also the most resilient and resourceful. Several key respondents reported that they had lived in Nairobi for several years without a strong social network or assistance from authorities and still managed to survive the hardships associated with urban life. Most of the key respondents without strong networks work as hawkers or get jobs as waiters in restaurants earning 2-5 dollars a day, and they would use this pay for their own needs and also to provide for their families as well. The government should recognize refugees' skills and capabilities and incorporate them into their policies for more positive outcomes. This would alleviate some of the burden on both policymakers and refugees.

The social capital theory would define strong networks, more time clan and family ties as bonding networks, the exclusive groups that are very homogeneous. However, this theory states that living with people similar to you does not help you advance in life. The finding shows that the individuals with strong bonding networks are successful. In the case of clans, the bonding network plays a more significant role in integration, as those with the most vital links would primarily be defined as clans, as the key informant would express that their close clan ties have helped them out. Somalis are also known in the city to reach out to each other based on ethnicity. Concerning clan, it is evident that intensity has a more significant role than frequency; as Entzinger & Biezeveld (2003) state, individuals who only know each other through family name and clan will help an individual more than the person they know. The value of a clan holds a more immense value than kinship, meaning that individuals with the same clan that meet for the first time share a bonding network, and they are more likely to help each other compared to two individuals with different clans that have a bridging network, aligning with the social capital theory.

Sen's (1999) claim that gender plays a particular role in integration is partially accurate; when considering the overall perspective, it is evident that genders have different roles. The likelihood of integration varies depending on the situation because males have a larger playing field to work on because gender norms do not constrain them. Women have more chances to build social relationships, but according to social capital theory, these connections are considered weak because they belong to bridging networks. The intriguing aspect is how it aligns with Somali culture, as Somali men typically take the lead. The researcher's organized observation demonstrates that, while women can provide for their families, cultural gender norms prevent them from taking explicit leadership. The government should recognize that men and women face unique challenges and inequalities, and it could reduce refugee hardships if policymakers acknowledge and utilize these differences in skills and opportunities. The capabilities approach also states that social class affects integration, but that was different for the refugees interviewed. This conclusion is at odds with the theory when social class is discussed, as both urbanites and nomads had similar cases, and their social network instead determined their integration process.

There are also some differences due to when the refugees left Somalia. Refugees who left Somalia in times of civil war, for example, during 1991, had a more challenging time integrating and building a sustainable life because the current strong network was not present then. Since Somalia was not facing the difficulties, then they are facing now. The Somali refugee crisis has since escalated, and refugees have developed adaptive mechanisms and resilience and an easier understanding of how to support and help each other.

Organizations handling refugees have also developed policies and a better understanding of refugees than used to be the case. These policy changes include, among others, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Refugee Act of 2006. The CFFR and GRF were introduced in later 2010 as more assistance was sought due to the refugee influx after the civil war in Somalia. The government and the authorities needed a comprehensive idea of how to handle the situation most effectively.

The policies implemented still need to adequately address the concerns of all Somali refugees. This issue nowadays depends on the number of refugees in Kenya, both in camps and urban areas. The corruption and abuse refugees face by authorities and locals is another obstacle to refugees. One refugee mentioned how he was well received and assisted in the urban areas for a long while, he worked, and the UNHCR helped him with housing. However, due to a personnel change, his circumstances changed. He expresses how he got treated differently

depending on which staff he approached. This means that staff need to follow specific standardized guidelines to provide the same level of service to all refugees; with the social capital theory, having a solid social network that can step in if needed could make this more difficult.

8. Conclusion

Within this particular chapter, the researcher will thoroughly analyze and scrutinize the findings and conclusions in order to provide a comprehensive answer to the thesis research question. This question specifically pertains to the primary challenges that are encountered by urban Somali refugees as they attempt to integrate themselves into Kenyan society. Furthermore, the role that diverse capabilities and social capital play in refugee livelihoods, as well as exploring their impact on the integration process itself.

What are the main challenges that urban Somali refugees face when integrating in Kenyan society?

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that Somali refugees in Kenya face daunting challenges in their attempt to integrate locally. Refugees face several challenges, such as administrative barriers, limited economic prospects, xenophobia, and bias. Other challenges include a lack of assistance from government agencies, a hostile socio-legal environment and limited help from NGOs working in humanitarian assistance – which tends to accentuate their predicament. The legal frameworks governing refugees, particularly in urban areas, are lacking primarily due to the lack of staff; interview participants express that urban-based refugees face severe challenges in accessing assistance in urban areas. This lack of staff in these areas is why many Somali refugees risk and travel between refugee camps and urban areas, risking their lives.

In most cases, if the camps had adequate staffing, they could monitor the movement of refugees and ensure they do not leave the refugee camps or designated areas. This space allows refugees to become too uncertain between the rural and urban worlds as it suits their convenience. When life gets too difficult in the cities or urban areas, the refugees return to the refugee camps for their rations and other assistance from UNHCR and other agencies. However, when things look

up, these same refugees will leave again for the urban areas to seek more opportunities. This limits their capacities for integration.

Second, there is a challenge of the need for more attention from the government. Most refugees interviewed reported that they receive no help from the government and that the only assistance they regularly receive is from the UNHCR, although more is needed at most times. The government should not just develop policies but should also provide tangible assistance to the refugees. In assisting the refugees, the government could interface with them and appreciate their predicaments. As things stand, it will only be possible for the government to design relevant and effective refugee policies if it understands the existing complex social networks among the refugees.

It appears that the Kenyan government has agreed with the UN to offer rehabilitation to Somalis instead of incorporating them into society. This choice may have been influenced by the high number of refugees relocating to Kenya, which could have surpassed the government's ability to provide sufficient care for them. In the contrary, without proper assistance and effective implementation of the framework, this decision could also be interpreted as their primary objective.

One of the legal requirements for refugees is to be given citizenship after seven years of local residence. Even after seven years of residence, most refugees still need to get a residence permit and be issued work permits for asylum seekers and refugees. This lack of a clear status often problematizes the integration process. The refugees interviewed stated that the government should try to see the potential urban Somali refugees have and the critical role they can build in the economy and assist them in integrating.

In the discussions with refugees, marginalization and xenophobia were mentioned as significant obstacles to integration. Despite the policy issues and the capabilities, this is something Somali refugees and Somali-Kenyans face and cannot be wished away. When searching for work, housing, renewal of documents, and even walking in public, refugees face discrimination. The government must address marginalization and xenophobia to enhance integration capabilities.

What role do different capabilities and social capital play in refugee livelihoods and how do they affect the integration process?

The conclusion and the main point drawn from this thesis, is that effective integration is anchored by clan ties. The capability, strong clan network have been a substitute for the lack of assistance from the government and NGO working in this field. Those without these bonding social networks face the severest hardships, and are seen as the most vulnerable refugees. The lack of assistance and support has however, made these vulnerable refugees resilient, many have lived in Nairobi for years and have been able to make a living however modestly. This vulnerable segment of the Somali refugees has managed to rely on its own resourcefulness and skill to survive. However, this is not to say that they are not in need of assistance. If they could get some government support, these refugees would effectively get integrated into society. Although among the Somali, men and women have different culturally prescribed roles, men have the advantage of not being restricted in their movements. On the other hand, women experience limitations on their physical mobility limiting their access to opportunities, yet they are responsible for most of the family care. Their bridging social network does help them integrate but in the long run men do have it easier due to cultural gender norms. In discussion regarding difference urbanite and nomads integration process, how successful one is not dependent on the social class prior to migration, rather the link to social networks. The research indicates that nomads and urbanites share commonalities when it comes to integration. However, their social networks play a crucial role in distinguishing them. Newer refugees find it easier to integrate as they have more Somalis living in the area to support them.

What does this mean in the field of studies in integration for refugees?

The conclusion drawn from this study highlights the importance of social networks, specific clan within the Somali demographic in Kenya, overlooking their indifferences and conflict between different clans; individuals within the same clans create a strong bonding network which helps them integrate better. Acknowledging the importance of social networks and clan ties can provide a better understanding of how to handle urban Somali refugees in Kenya. This study also highlights that there needs to be more effort put into assisting refugees; with all the legal frameworks mentioned above, Kenya still needs effective and accurate implementation. The Somali capabilities that help them integrate better or work along with the challenges mentioned above can help policymakers in Kenya and around the world where refugees experience similar challenges, tailor policies and frameworks in favour of the refugees. The government must assist these networks so they can maintain a strong network when the governing frameworks fail.

8.1 Recommendations

Due to the unbearable situation for urban Somali refugees in Kenya, these are the recommended changes that should be implemented, by adding and implementing the recommendation below they will be a positive contribution to the mitigation of the issue.

- **Reevaluation:** The Kenyan government needs to reevaluate their policies, and assess their policies, since made clear local integration is not their main objective, however due to the slow rate of rehabilitation, resettlement, the refugees are increasing continuously, the government need consider a more sustainable approach to the issue in a more effective manner.
- **Assistance for urban refugees:** Urban refugees are in need of dire assistance – which assistance should include financial aid and housing. Refugees should also be assisted by ensuring the asylum seeking process is faster, smooth and predictable. There is also need to strengthen the already existing support system, meaning the international community and UNHCR staff should be in designated areas and are reachable.
- **Refugees as a tool:** Refugees are more than capable of making a living and it is essential that the government take advantage of what the refugees can do by themselves and then support in those ventures to ensure they become self-supporting. Refugees should also be exposed to different training programs to enable them to gain skills which they can use to access job opportunities.
- **Effective implementation of the policies:** It is essential that the laws and policies that are favor and are friendly to refugees be developed and this should be accompanied by the removal of administrative barriers to their resettlement. The evaluation of said policies should be done yearly.
- **Support from the international community:** As Kenya is a country with high rates of poverty and unemployment, it is vital for the international community to provide the assistance needed such as financial, institutional aid and adequate resources needed to address the issue of refugees effectively.

8.2 Further research

Below, the researcher presents areas in need of further research, research that can contribute to a more profound and comprehensive understanding of refugee studies

For future research an interesting point of view to add to the emerging field of urban Somali refugees is to do a comparative analysis of Somali refugees compared to South Sudanese refugees, who are two of East Africa's most protracted refugees. This comparative study will draw on the same theories as this thesis to understand and discuss the differences in challenges and opportunities of these specific ethnicities in an urban refugee setting. Another interesting aspect to further research is on security issues. Security in regard to refugees in the camps is a subject that is often discussed, understanding security issues in regards to urban refugees is a situation that needs to be further researched. Urban refugees already confront a lack of support, so it's critical to recognize the kind of protection they have and require while simultaneously emphasizing the challenges, violence, and vulnerability they face. Following those who have undergone rehabilitation back to their home country for further study the outcomes and their experience is a crucial step in subsequent research to emphasize the beneficial effects of this durable solution.

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10. Appendix

10.1 Interview guide

Appendix 1: Interview guide 1: Key informants

- What is your line of work?
- How long have you been working with this?
- Can you describe your experience with the refugee crisis in general, particularly Somalis in Kenya?
- Can you describe to me how the Kenyan government has addressed the refugee crisis in recent years, like implementations of GCR, CRRF and other regional or international policies?
- What progress is made, what section was successful and challenging? - For example, integration, employment, or any other support given legally or administratively to integrate into Kenyan society?
- What are some of the key challenges that Somali refugees face when trying to become economically self-reliant?
- Can you discuss any positive examples of successful integration that you have seen among Somali refugees in Kenya?
- What is your understanding about perceptions of the local Kenyan community towards Somali refugees? -Did that change over time?
- What policy changes or interventions do you think could help improve the integration experience of Somali refugees in Kenya?
- Is there something more you would like to add?

Appendix 2: Interview guide 2: Key Respondents

- Can you tell me your age and how long you have lived in Kenya?
- Tell me about your life in Somalia?
- How was your travel to Kenya?- Was it easy for you to enter Kenya? -
- Have you ever lived in a refugee camp?
- Did you get any help while you were in Kenya? For example, from family?
- Tell me about the problems you faced living in this country as a refugee?
- Have you found work, education or other activities since you came to Kenya?
- If not, did you get any help from the Kenyan government or the UNHCR in these matters?
- How do Somalis and Kenyans treat each other?

- How do you feel about your prospects for long-term integration into Kenyan society?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

10.2 Information-and consent letter

Appendix 3

This is a master's thesis authored by Naeiima Farah from Linnaeus University. The study endeavors to explore the integration experience of Somalia refugees residing in Nairobi, specifically in the East Leigh neighborhood. The study aims to identify the challenges and opportunities encountered by Somali refugees in Nairobi. Moreover, do different characteristics determine how well one integrates?

The estimated time for the interview is 10-15 minutes. The interview is confidential and the interview participants also have personal protection. The interview will be recorded and then transcribed. During the interview, the participants have the right to pause and interrupt the interview. All collected material will continue to exist in the thesis. The interview participants have the opportunities to be interviewed in English and Somali. If needed, an interpreter will be arranged.

Consent to participate in research

- The purpose of the thesis is evident to me after reading the information sheet.
- I am aware that I might be asked if I would be open to have an interview regarding my integration-related experiences. I volunteered to take part in these interviews as well. I am permitted to decline to answer a particular interview question without providing a justification or facing consequences.
- I am aware that interviews will be captured on a digital audio recorder.
- I am aware that the data I provide in these interviews may be utilized in research, writing, and presentations.
- I consent to taking on the project as it has been described to me.

10.3 Interview participants

Appendix 4

Table 1: Key informants

<i>Type of participant</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
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Key informant 1	Refugee protection officer
Key informant 2	Government staff
Key informant 3	Refugee protection officer
Key informant 4	Government staff
Key informant 5	Government staff

Appendix 5

Table 2: Key respondents

<i>Type of participant</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Social class prior to migration</i>	<i>Social network</i>	<i>Time spent in the country</i>
Key respondents 1	Male	Nomad	Weak network	32 Years
Key respondents 2	Male	Nomad	Weak network	15 Years
Key respondents 3	Male	Urbanite	Weak network	7 Years
Key respondents 4	Male	Urbanite	Strong network	32 Years
Key respondents 5	Female	Urbanite	Strong network	32 Years
Key respondents 6	Male	Nomad	Weak network	32 Years
Key respondents 7	Male	Urbanite	Strong network	32 Years
Key respondents 8	Female	Urbanite	Strong network	9 Years

Key respondents 9	Female	Urbanite	Strong network	9 Years
Key respondents 10	Female	Nomad	Strong network	5 Years
Key respondents 11	Male	Nomad	Strong network	5 Years
Key respondents 12	Female	Nomad	Weak network	23 Years
Key respondents 13	Male	Nomad	Weak network	7 Years
Key respondents 14	Male	Nomad	Strong network	20 Years
Key respondents 15	Male	Urbanite	Weak network	8 Years
Key respondents 16	Female	Urbanite	Strong network	13 Years
Key respondents 17	Female	Nomad	Weak network	17 Years