

# **Chapter 4**

## **Social connection and network**

## 4.1 Introduction

*“Economically a poor person is somebody who has to work very hard to keep up with the daily level, but still he survives. Or, if somebody is a stranger and he hasn’t got a social network, no relatives, pretty new in the country, so he is poor– Ethiopian refugee” (Johnson, 2000).*

“Social connections” are most common among human beings. In particular, irrespective of type of migration, the migrants try and build social connections in the host so as to have good adjustment and integration with their living environment. This relationship does not only restrict to the host, but it also extends to their origin to have lasting network with their home. On the other hand, social network is defined as the frequency of contacts with social connections. For instance, Cheung and Phillimore (2013) measure social network as how frequently contacts are made with friends, relatives, and a range of organisations from more than twice a week to never. In addition to frequency, type of contacts with friends and relatives such as speaking on the phone or meeting them also add to social network. Thus, social network and social connection go hand in hand.

Studies on diasporas have shown the linkages between social network and social relationship influencing migrants’ behaviour and their improvement in the host. Wahlbeck’s (1996) study on Kurdish refugees in Finland shows that the refugees’ diasporic networks can be a useful resource for them in their efforts to improve their situation in their new country of settlement. Social networks within the refugee community can work in a complementary way in cases where integration (in the host environment) does not work in the desired way. Various other studies highlight that many refugee communities display a political and social orientation towards the country of origin. Political events and conflicts in the country of origin can unite those refugees who share the same political beliefs and background in the country of origin. The associations and informal networks growing out of this unity can be used as a resource to solve the problems faced by the refugees in their new country of settlement (Bousquet, 1991; Gold, 1992; Steen, 1992).

Social networking and social relationship act as “social capital” and decide the quality of social resources of the migrants (Portes, 1976). Human communities can be perceived to depend on their ethnic social capital which is a concept that broadly refers to social networks, the reciprocities that arise from them and the value of these for the achievement of mutual goals. For instance, it is well known that the ethnic relationship exists between the Sri Lankan Tamils and those in Tamil Nadu, India. The volume of social capital possessed by an individual depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize. Membership in groups, and involvement in the social networks developing within the and in the social relations arising from membership can be utilized in efforts to improve the social position of individuals in a variety of fields (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988).

When people need help, they can buy, trade, steal, get from governments and charities, or obtain it through their “*personal community networks*” such as supportive ties with friends, relatives, neighbours and workmates. Such ties supply “*network capital*” in the form of social capital that makes resources available through interpersonal ties. It is widely available, usually specialized, and unevenly distributed among people, ties and networks. Network members provide emotional aid, material aid, information, companionship, and a sense of belonging. For people, personal community networks are flexible, efficient, available and custom-tailored sources of social capital that are low in financial cost. They may strengthen bonds while providing needed resources (Fischer 1982; Wellman 1996; Schweizer et al. 1998). Both formal (e.g., settlement agencies, mutual aid and cultural organisations) and informal networks (e.g., family, friends, etc.) are important for strengthening social capital (Fister et al., 2010).

One of the objectives of the study is to examine the socio-economic relationship between individuals within the refugee population itself, and the socio-economic relationships between the refugees and the surrounding host population. A series of bivariate analyses have been conducted in this chapter to examine the nature and pattern of social networks with key background variables. A social network index has been developed based on different social relationships and related variables. Further,

multinomial analysis has been carried out to test the hypotheses “**Refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better social network**” and “**Refugees with more number of movements (as refugees) have better social network**”. Though it could be perceived that the ethnic link between Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils would lead to better social network, it may not be always true given the fact that they are also seen as threats due to various adverse events on the Indian soil which might influence their relationship/network pattern in the host.

## **4.2 Social connections and its dimensions**

From the literature reviewed for the study, it is seen that bonding, relationship, connections, etc., with friends and family members for achieving a particular goal have been seen as social connections, and contacts existing with these relations are often used as social network (Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Murray and Ferguson, 2001; Gutberlet et al., 2009; Fester et al., 2010; Lancee, 2010). Like various studies, the present survey also collected information on network among refugees with their social connections who are either friends/relatives/family members. For this study, social connection and social relationship has been synonymously used in various instances. The following section presents details of the dimensions of social network collected in the study.

### **Dimensions of social connection**

Social connections and social relationship within refugees play an important role in determining social wellbeing among refugees. It would also influence the decision-making as any decision taken by one will be with mutual consent of their close relations. The set of questions that were asked to the participants in the study included three dimensions of social relationship, viz., (i) friends/relatives/family members within refugees in Tamil Nadu; (ii) friends/relatives/family members in Sri Lanka; and (iii) friends/relatives/family members in India. So as to investigate the network within refugees, information was collected from the respondents on three broad network dimensions (Figure 4.1), viz., (i) Do you have any of your friends/ relatives/ family members living in Sri Lanka (as refugees)?; (ii) Do any of your friends/ relatives/ family members from Sri Lanka living in Tamil Nadu?; and (iii) Do you have any of your friends/

relatives/ family members living in Tamil Nadu who are Indian citizens? Within each dimension, additional questions were asked about the place they live, frequency of contact and mode of contact.

**Figure 4.1 Three dimensions of social connections investigated in the study**

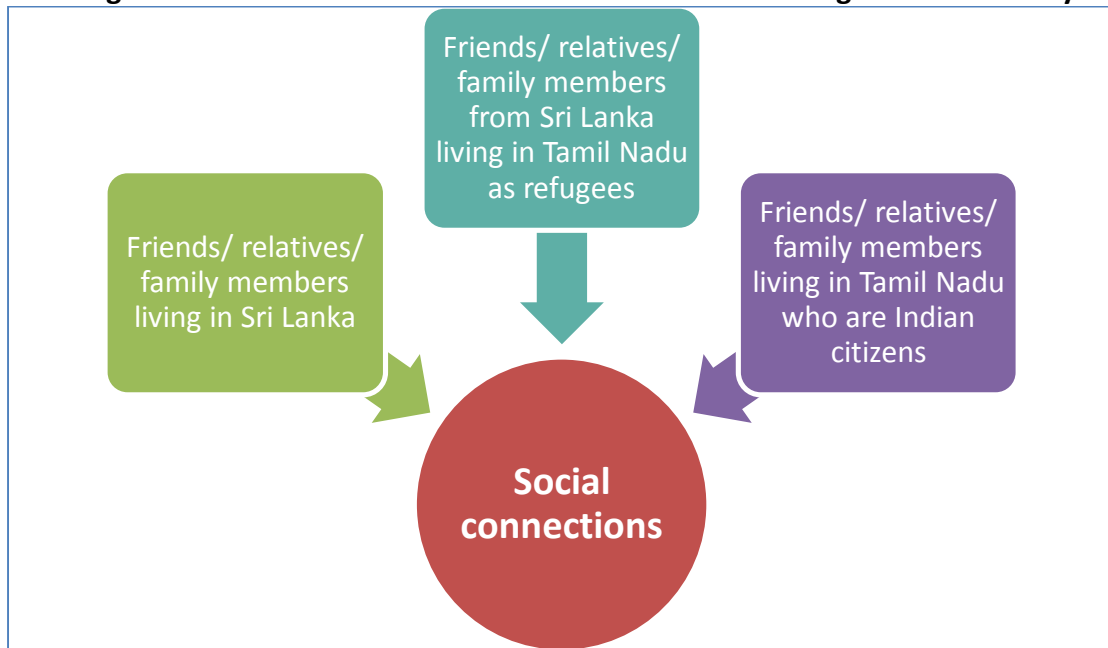
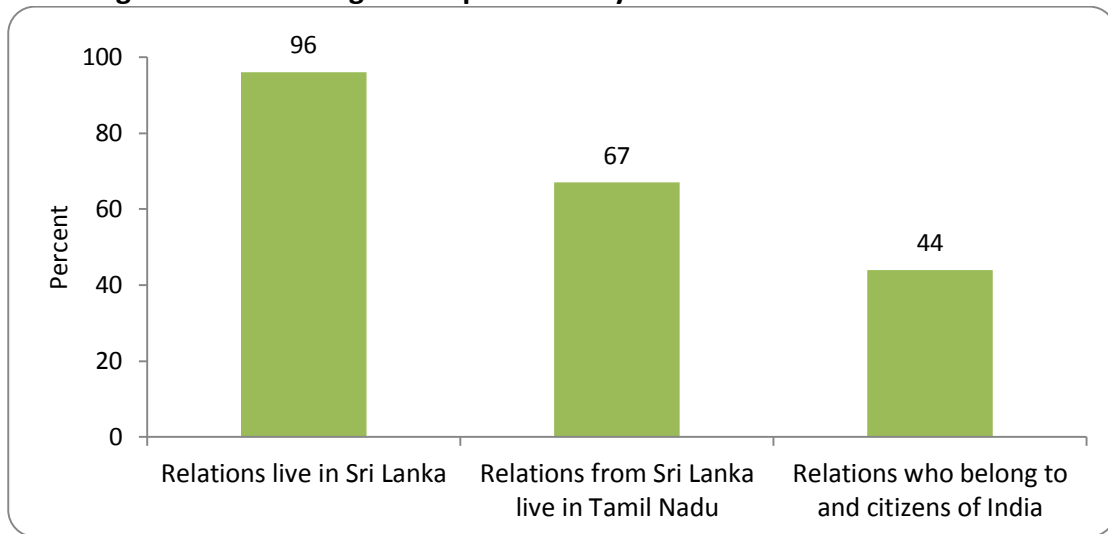


Figure 4.2 presents the dimensions of social relations which the respondents have. Results show that social relations are commonly reported among refugees. All the respondents reported any of the three aforementioned network dimensions. In particular, almost all the respondents reportedly have network in Sri Lanka as 96 per cent of the respondents reported having friends/relatives/family members there. Further, two-thirds of the respondents reported knowing friends/relatives/family members from Sri Lanka living in Tamil Nadu as refugees (including the same camp and other camps). Only 44 per cent of the respondents reported knowing local Indian citizens. It is noteworthy that network in Sri Lanka is very high and this would have an impact on the respondents' decision to either repatriate to Sri Lanka or to live in India. Similarly, network among citizens of India will also have an impact on the decision to stay back in India.

While it is clear that almost all refugees have their friends or family members in the country of origin, it would be interesting to understand the relationship within refugees and local citizens in Tamil Nadu. So further analysis has been carried out in the

background characteristics of respondents for the aforementioned two variables (Table 4.1 below).

**Figure 4.2 Percentage of respondents by dimensions of social relations**



#### **Relations from Sri Lanka living in Tamil Nadu by background characteristics**

Current age and education are the characteristics that are found to have statistically significant relationship in deciding network in Tamil Nadu. In case of age, the younger generation seems to be well connected with refugee network in Tamil Nadu as compared with their counterpart of older generation. In case of sex, both men and women have equal social relationship with other refugees in Tamil Nadu.

Education has a varying result as less educated refugees have more social relationship within refugees. The reason for this could be that these refugees would have come to India early and would have lost the opportunity to pursue education overseas. The important point to note here is the phase of arrival which is not significant as compared with other background characteristics. Those who arrived during the first phase and recent phases to India are more likely to have social relationship with other refugees in Tamil Nadu. It would be interesting to see the variation in this result when other factors are controlled.

<b>Table 4.1 Percentage of respondents by dimensions of social relations and by background characteristics</b>			
	<b>Relations from Sri Lanka living in Tamil Nadu</b>	<b>Relations who belong to and are citizens of India</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex</b>	<b>(p = 0.529)</b>	<b>(p = 0.169)</b>	
Male	68.9	47.5	122
Female	64.6	37.8	82
<b>Age group of respondent</b>	<b>(p = 0.015)</b>	<b>(p = 0.019)</b>	
18-29 years	80.7	57.9	57
30-49 years	58.2	34.7	98
50 years and above	69.4	44.9	49
<b>Education of respondent</b>	<b>(p = 0.054)</b>	<b>(p = 0.002)</b>	
No education or <5 years complete	75.0	27.5	40
5-7 years complete	52.0	32.0	50
8-11 years complete	73.3	49.3	75
12 or more years complete	66.7	64.1	39
<b>Marital status</b>	<b>(p = 0.764)</b>	<b>(p = 0.271)</b>	
Unmarried	69.2	53.8	26
Currently married	67.7	43.7	158
Widowed/deserted	60.0	30.0	20
<b>Household size</b>	<b>(p = 0.256)</b>	<b>(p = 0.556)</b>	
One-three members	63.5	49.2	63
Four-five members	65.8	41.4	111
Six members and above	80.0	40.0	30
<b>Type of employment</b>	<b>(p = 0.766)</b>	<b>(p = 0.360)</b>	
Full time	62.1	48.5	66
Part time	64.4	41.1	90
<b>Household monthly income</b>	<b>(p = 0.273)</b>	<b>(p = 0.003)</b>	
Less than Rs.2000	61.1	33.3	36
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	61.5	43.6	78
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	75.0	29.5	44
Rs.6001 and above	73.9	65.2	46
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>	<b>(p = 0.287)</b>	<b>(p = 0.012)</b>	
No	74.4	25.6	39
Yes	65.5	47.9	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>	<b>(p = 0.367)</b>	<b>(p = 0.000)</b>	
No	68.1	38.9	185
Yes	57.9	89.5	19
<b>Phase of arrival</b>	<b>(p = 0.176)</b>	<b>(p = 0.000)</b>	
First phase (1983-87)	73.7	73.7	38
Second phase (1989-91)	61.6	38.4	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	74.1	33.3	54
<b>No of moves as refugee</b>	<b>(p = 0.752)</b>	<b>(p = 0.004)</b>	
Single move	67.7	38.1	155
More than one move	65.3	61.2	49
<b>All respondents</b>	67.2	43.6	204

*Figures in parenthesis represent the significance test from Chi-Square.*

Other characteristics such as marital status, type of employment, household income, language proficiency (both in Tamil and Sinhala), etc., do not have significant result which shows that irrespective of these characteristics, the relationship of refugees does not vary and stand unique for the mentioned background characteristics. However, a marginal difference is seen in the case of those who are not fluent in speaking Tamil and Sinhala as compared with their counterparts. Also, larger family size shows more relations from fellow population living in Tamil Nadu.

### **Relations who belong to and are citizens of India by background characteristics**

In case of refugees having network with the local population and who are citizens of India, significant relationship is found in case of characteristics such as age, education, household income, language proficiency, phase of arrival and number of moves. Education has direct relationship with social network with local population. Younger refugees have significantly higher proportion of social relations from India as compared with older refugees. It could be assumed that because of their connection through education, they are involved in employment and other activities. Variation in education supports the earlier assumption. Higher the education, the better is the social relationship with the local population.

While the type of employment shows no drastic variation in deciding relations in India, household income shows highly significant variation. Almost two-thirds of respondents with high income have relations in India. This is another factor that supports the assumption mentioned earlier. Also, language proficiency in Tamil and Sinhala decides relations in India. Those who are proficient in Tamil have better relations in India as compared with those who lack proficiency.

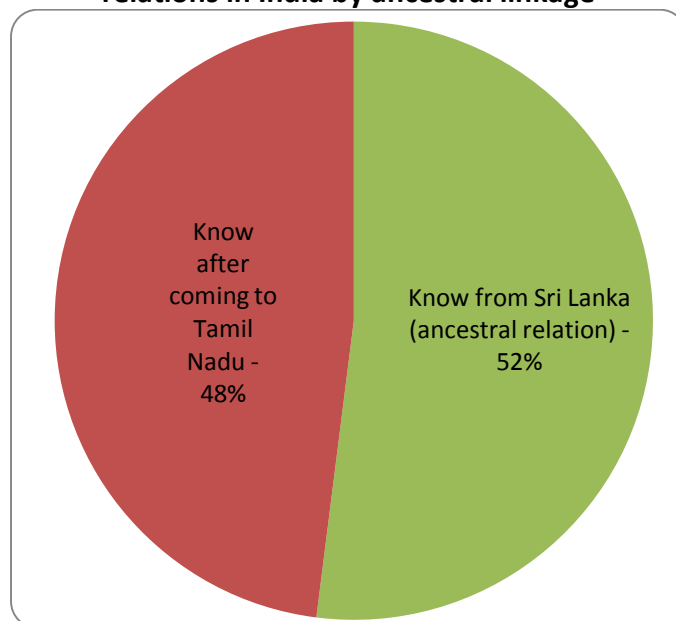
In the case of phase of arrival in India, almost three-fourths of the refugee respondents who arrived in the first phase have local network as compared with 33 per cent to 38 per cent of those who arrived during later phases (1989 onwards). Also, more than one move as refugees have better social network with local population as compared with those who have had come to India for the first time. These results highlight that the



strength of refugees lies when there is long duration of acquaintance in the host country and also when the movement is more frequent.

During this analysis, an attempt was made to find out what proportion of refugees with relations among local population know the people from their country of origin. In other words, to see if there is any ancestral linkage that would have helped the refugees to come to India. Hence, from 89 respondents who reportedly know Indian citizens in Tamil Nadu, a further question was asked whether they developed the network after coming to India or they had ancestral relationship with the Indian origins. It is found that more than half of the refugees continue to have ancestral relation with India which would have given them a faith to live here. The remaining 48 per cent refugees developed network with local citizens after coming to India. Majority of the people could win good faith among the local population because of their relationship with their motherland and irrespective of their refugee status.

**Figure 4.3 Proportion of respondents with relations in India by ancestral linkage**



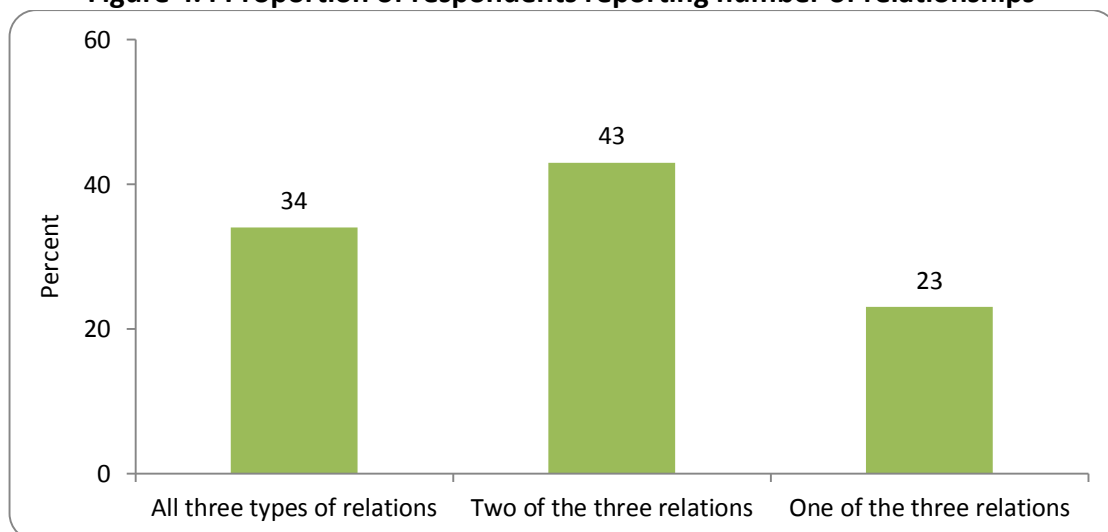
*Base: 89 respondents.*

### 4.3 Strength of social relationship

While there are advantages out of different social relationships, chances are that among the number of people in relationship circle, people belong to same fraternity, ethnicity, etc., could determine the status of living in the migrant society. In the present section, analysis has been carried out to examine the strength of social relationship of the refugees. Further, attempt has been made to find out whether longer duration of stay among refugees leads to better social relationship and also more movement as refugees leads to better social relationship.

Out of the three different relationships, an attempt is made to look into how many respondents have all the three types of relations, two of them, one of them and none of the three relations. Result shows (Figure 4.4) that one-third of the respondents have all the three types of relations. Further, 43 per cent of them have two of the three relations, while 23 per cent have only one of the three relations. There were no respondents who did not have any of the three relations.

**Figure 4.4 Proportion of respondents reporting number of relationships**



Further analysis has been carried out to understand the relationship pattern with that of the background variables (Table 4.2). Age, education, type of employment, household income, language proficiency, phase of arrival and number of movements as refugees are the characteristics that are found to have statistically significant relationship in deciding the three types of relations among refugees. As compared with

older refugees, younger ones in the age group of 18-29 years have all the three types of relations, and the result is statistically significant. There is only a marginal difference between male and female refugee respondents who have all the three relations. But this is not statistically significant. Education shows marked difference in deciding the number of relations. While only one-fifth of the refugees with low education have all the three types of relations, nearly half of the refugees who have attained education of 12 years or more have all the three relations. Marital status does not show much difference. Only one-fifth of widowed/separated respondents have all the three types of relations. The number of household size also shows insignificant result though more number of respondents in larger household has all the three types of relations as compared with other households.

Type of employment plays an important role in deciding the three relations. More than half of the respondents in higher income group have all the three types of relations as compared with the lower income groups. It could be that full time employment and higher income are because of their social connections which are not investigated further in this study. Ability to speak, read and write Tamil also has significant result where nearly two-fifths of the respondents with this ability have all the three types of relations as compared with only 15 per cent of respondents without it. Similar result is seen among those respondents who are proficient in Sinhala.

Of those respondents who arrived during the first phase to India, above three-fifths have all the three types of relations as compared with those who arrived during later phases. Similarly, among those respondents who have moved more than once as refugees, above half of them have all the three types of relations as compared with those who moved only once. The results of these variables are highly significant.

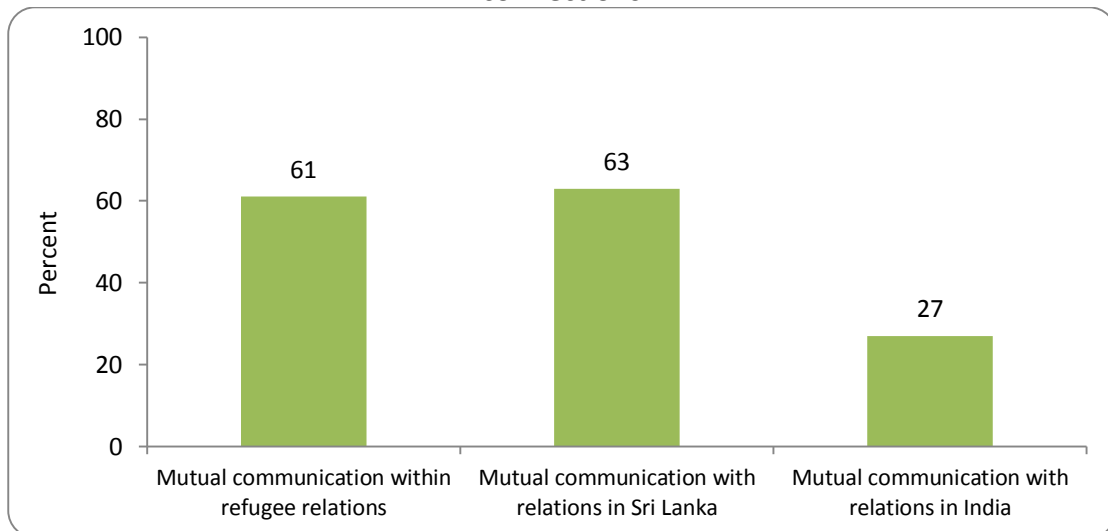
<b>Table 4.2 Percentage of respondents by number of social relationships by background characteristics</b>			
	<b>All three types of relations</b>	<b>Two or one of the three relations</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex (p = 0.409)</b>			
Male	36.1	63.9	122
Female	30.5	69.5	82
<b>Age group (p = 0.039)</b>			
18-29 years	47.4	52.6	57
30-49 years	28.6	71.4	98
50 years and above	28.6	71.4	49
<b>Education (p = 0.001)</b>			
No education or <5 years complete	20.0	80.0	40
5-7 years complete	18.0	82.0	50
8-11 years complete	44.0	56.0	75
12 or more years complete	48.7	51.3	39
<b>Marital status (p = 0.337)</b>			
Unmarried	30.8	69.2	26
Currently married	36.1	63.9	158
Widowed/deserted	20.0	80.0	20
<b>Household size (p = 0.638)</b>			
One-three members	30.2	69.8	63
Four-five members	34.2	65.8	111
Six members and above	40.0	60.0	30
<b>Type of employment (p = 0.039)</b>			
Full time	42.4	57.6	66
Part time	26.7	73.3	90
<b>Household monthly income (p = 0.006)</b>			
Less than Rs.2000	16.7	83.3	36
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	34.6	65.4	78
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	27.3	72.7	44
Rs.6001 and above	52.2	47.8	46
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil (p = 0.007)</b>			
No	15.4	84.6	39
Yes	38.2	61.8	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala (p = 0.001)</b>			
No	30.3	69.7	185
Yes	68.4	31.6	19
<b>Phase of arrival (p = 0.000)</b>			
First phase (1983-87)	63.2	36.8	38
Second phase (1989-91)	25.9	74.1	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	29.6	70.4	54
<b>No of moves as refugee (p = 0.001)</b>			
Single move	27.7	72.3	155
More than one move	53.1	46.9	49
<b>All respondents</b>	<b>33.8</b>	<b>66.2</b>	<b>204</b>

*Note: Figures in parenthesis represent the significance test from Chi-Square.*

#### 4.4 Communication with social relations

Communication with social relations is another vital element that determines the intensity of social status among refugees in the host community. When they are disconnected without communication with their social counterparts, it could be perceived as not having any status. Thus, social status here is presented as the communication that the refugees have with their social counterparts. In the study, all the respondents were asked about the means of communication they have with their relations; i.e., (i) whether they contact the people in their connection; and (ii) whether the people in their connection contact them. Communication that is mutual on both the sides, respondents as well as their relations, is presented in Figure 4.5. More than three-fifths of the respondents reported having mutual communication between them and their relations in Sri Lanka, and between them and their relations within refugees. Only one-fourth of them reported having mutual communication between them and their relations in India. Further, a disaggregated analysis has been carried out to review the pattern of mutual communication with background characteristics of respondents (Table 4.3).

**Figure 4.5 Proportion of respondents by mutual communication with their connections**



#### **Mutual communication with connections within refugee relations in Tamil Nadu**

Age, phase of arrival in India and number of moves as refugees are the characteristics that are found to have statistically significant relationship in deciding mutual communication among refugee relations. As compared with older refugees, younger

refugees, particularly in the age group of 18-29 years, have mutual communication with refugee relations. Further, those refugees who arrived during the first phase to India have mutual communications as compared with those arriving later. Above four-fifths of the refugees who arrived in the first phase reported to have mutual communication with refugee relations. Of those who have moved more than once as refugees, 71% reported having mutual communication as compared with those who moved only once and who constituted 57 per cent.

Other characteristics where there is a marked difference in mutual communication pattern without statistical significance are education, type of employment, household income and proficiency in Tamil. Respondents who have higher education tend to have mutual communication within refugee relations. Besides, those who are employed full time and those who have higher income tend to have mutual communication within refugee relations.

#### **Mutual communications with relations in Sri Lanka**

Education, marital status, household income and phase of arrival in India seem to determine mutual communication with the relations in Sri Lanka. As compared with respondents with lower education, more than three-fourths of the respondents with higher education above 12 years or more have mutual communication with relations in Sri Lanka. Over two-fifths of the respondents with full time employment and nearly half of the respondents with income above Rs.6001 have mutual communication with relations in Sri Lanka.

As compared with those respondents who arrived during the initial phase, nearly four-fifths of those who arrived in India during third phase and later seem to be in mutual communication with their relations in Sri Lanka. While young age, sex and more than one move as refugee are other characteristics that decide mutual communication as compared with their counterparts, the results for these characteristics are not statistically significant to explain the pattern.

<b>Table 4.3 Percentage of respondents by mutual communication with their connections by background characteristics</b>				
	<b>Within refugee relations</b>	<b>With relations in Sri Lanka</b>	<b>With relations in India</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex</b>	<b>(p = 0.735)</b>	<b>(p = 0.179)</b>	<b>(p = 0.721)</b>	
Male	59.8	59.0	27.9	122
Female	62.2	68.3	25.6	82
<b>Age group</b>	<b>(p = 0.011)</b>	<b>(p = 0.270)</b>	<b>(p = 0.081)</b>	
18-29 years	77.2	66.7	36.8	57
30-49 years	55.1	65.3	20.4	98
50 years and above	53.1	53.1	28.6	49
<b>Education</b>	<b>(p = 0.157)</b>	<b>(p = 0.033)</b>	<b>(p = 0.011)</b>	
No education or <5 years complete	55.0	55.0	12.5	40
5-7 years complete	50.0	50.0	18.0	50
8-11 years complete	68.0	68.0	34.7	75
12 or more years complete	66.7	76.9	38.5	39
<b>Marital status</b>	<b>(p = 0.994)</b>	<b>(p = 0.002)</b>	<b>(p = 0.709)</b>	
Unmarried	61.5	53.8	30.8	26
Currently married	60.8	68.4	27.2	158
Widowed/deserted	60.0	30.0	20.0	20
<b>Household size</b>	<b>(p = 0.150)</b>	<b>(p = 0.704)</b>	<b>(p = 0.041)</b>	
One-three members	55.6	58.7	36.5	63
Four-five members	66.7	64.0	19.8	111
Six members and above	50.0	66.7	33.3	30
<b>Type of employment</b>	<b>(p = 0.250)</b>	<b>(p = 0.460)</b>	<b>(p = 0.000)</b>	
Full time	63.6	63.6	42.4	66
Part time	54.4	57.8	16.7	90
<b>Household monthly income</b>	<b>(p = 0.132)</b>	<b>(p = 0.000)</b>	<b>(p = 0.004)</b>	
Less than Rs.2000	44.4	38.9	22.2	36
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	65.4	53.8	20.5	78
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	59.1	90.9	20.5	44
Rs.6001 and above	67.4	69.6	47.8	46
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>	<b>(p = 0.177)</b>	<b>(p = 0.363)</b>	<b>(p = 0.003)</b>	
No	51.3	56.4	7.7	39
Yes	63.0	64.2	31.5	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>	<b>(p = 0.474)</b>	<b>(p = 0.338)</b>	<b>(p = 0.001)</b>	
No	60.0	63.8	23.8	185
Yes	68.4	52.6	57.9	19
<b>Phase of arrival</b>	<b>(p = 0.012)</b>	<b>(p = 0.008)</b>	<b>(p = 0.305)</b>	
First phase (1983-87)	81.6	68.4	36.8	38
Second phase (1989-91)	54.5	53.6	24.1	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	59.3	77.8	25.9	54
<b>No of moves as refugee</b>	<b>(p = 0.080)</b>	<b>(p = 0.671)</b>	<b>(p = 0.771)</b>	
Single move	57.4	61.9	26.5	155
More than one move	71.4	65.3	28.6	49
<b>All respondents</b>	<b>60.8</b>	<b>62.7</b>	<b>55.0</b>	<b>204</b>

*Figures in parenthesis represent the significance test from Chi-Square.*

### **Mutual communication with relations in India**

In case of mutual communication of refugees with relations in India, the determining characteristics seems to be age, education, household size, type of employment, household income, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala which are statistically significant in explaining the pattern. A proper trend cannot be found in the case of household size as refugees in small families and large families seem to have better communication mutually with their relations in India. This trend is, however, difficult to explain.

On the other hand, education and household income clearly have a clear trend and direct relationship. Higher education and income lead to better mutual communication with relations in India. Also, young respondents have better mutual communication as compared with those in older age group. Further, proficiency in Tamil leads to better relations with relations in India. Proficiency in Sinhala does not give an opposite pattern that of Tamil as it could be due to the knowledge that people have with regard to both the languages.

### **Cross-cutting result on mutual communications**

A cross-cutting analysis on the aforementioned three indicators shows a unique pattern among refugees who communicate mutually with their relations. Across all three indicators, higher education among refugees leads to better communication with their relations as also those who moved as refugee more than once and refugees who are younger. On the other hand, the phase of arrival shows an altogether different pattern.

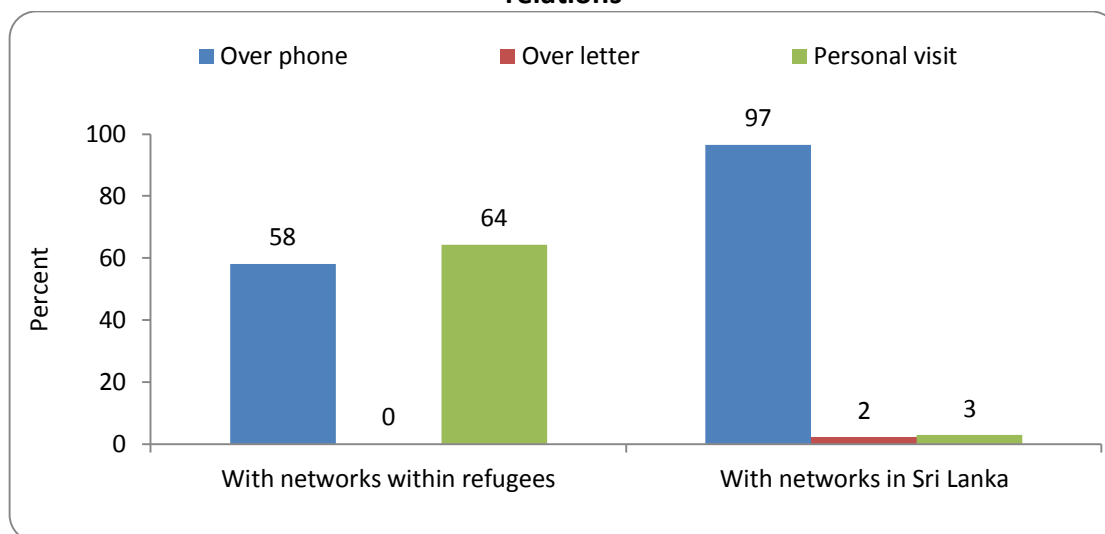
Those refugees who arrived in India during the first phase of exodus are better connected with their relations in other refugee camps as well as their relations in India. But the refugees who arrived in India recently are better connected with their relations in Sri Lanka. This shows that time fade the contacts the refugees have in their country of origin which could influence their decision to return. Efforts are also mentioned by respondents who tried to contact and reunite with their family members/ relatives/ friends. Information on reunion is covered in the study and presented in another chapter.



### Channel of communication

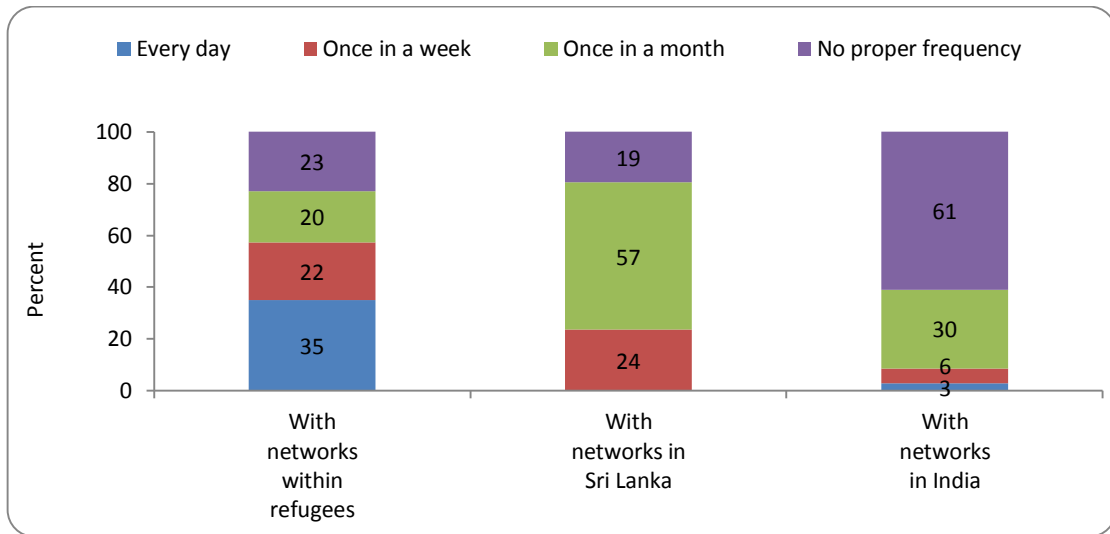
In addition to the communication aspects mentioned in the earlier section, further information has been collected to investigate the channels of communication such as telephone, post office and personal visit, as well as the frequency of contact, whether it is every day, once a week, once a month or no fixed frequency. The main channel of contact within the refugee relations is through personal visit, followed by telephonic contact. On the other hand, the refugees contact their relations in Sri Lanka mainly over telephone (Figure 4.6). Further, the contact is more frequent (every day or every week) within the refugee relations. But the frequency of contact is once a month in case of relations in Sri Lanka. While three-fifths of the respondents having relation with Indian citizens reported contact with no frequency, two-fifths of them reported frequency of at least once a month (Figure 4.7).

**Figure 4.6 Proportion of respondents by mode of contact with different social relations**



From the findings, it is obvious that the frequency of contact within refugee relations is common. Almost all the refugees have relations in Sri Lanka. Thus, any decision taken by the refugees might be a reflection of not a mere discussion within refugee relations but also of the relations they have in the country of origin. While only 44% of refugees reported being in touch with Indian citizens (Figure 4.2), only two-fourths of them are in frequent contact with these relations and the remaining 60% keep contact at irregular intervals.

**Figure 4.7 Proportion of respondents by frequency of contact with different social relations**



#### **4.5 Social network index**

It is often found in social sciences that a single variable is not appropriate to measure a certain phenomenon due to the complex nature of human behaviour. Phenomenon such as social network is more complex given its nature. In order to measure the linkage of social network with the duration of stay and number of movements, a “Social Network Index (SNI)” has been developed using ten indicators that determine the social relations and connections with relations. The indicators selected for SNI are separately discussed in earlier sections. The index value ranges from 0-10. Value close to ‘10’ shows strong social network, while that close to ‘0’ shows absence of social network. Table 4.4 presents the mean score of SNI by respondents’ characteristics such as current age, age at the time of arrival in India, sex, education, phase of arrival in India and number of moves as refugees. Result shows that social network is strong among people aged 18-29 years, with higher education, in higher income group, proficient in Tamil, proficient in Sinhala, arriving in India during first phase and having more than one moves as refugees. There is no distinct relationship among male and female refugees in the network strength.

To find the effect of one variable on the dependent variable, logistic regression is one of the appropriate statistical techniques when the dependent variable is dichotomous. Hence, in order to find the effect of duration of stay in India and number of moves as refugees on social network, the SNI score is customised to fit binary logistic regression. As a result it, the continuous variable of SNI is divided into two equal categories – score 1-5 as weak network “0” and 6-10 as strong network “1”. Further, the adjusted percentage has been calculated by controlling the effect of age, sex and education of respondents to see the controlled effect of key background variables over social network with duration of stay and number of moves.

<b>Table 4.4 Mean Social Network Index by background characteristics of respondents</b>				
	<b>Mean (SD)</b>	<b>Lower limit</b>	<b>Upper limit</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	5.49 (0.24)	5.016	5.967	122
Female	5.18 (0.27)	4.651	5.715	82
<b>Age group</b>				
18-29 years	6.28 (0.27)	5.747	6.814	57
30-49 years	4.92 (0.26)	4.404	5.433	98
50 years and above	5.20 (0.41)	4.393	6.015	49
<b>Education</b>				
No education or <5 years complete	4.53 (0.39)	3.748	5.302	40
5-7 years complete	4.38 (0.33)	3.723	5.037	50
8-11 years complete	5.99 (0.30)	5.403	6.571	75
12 or more years complete	6.31 (0.37)	5.572	7.043	39
<b>Marital status</b>				
Unmarried	5.46 (0.36)	4.742	6.181	26
Currently married	5.51 (0.22)	5.086	5.939	158
Widowed/deserted	4.10 (0.42)	3.280	4.920	20
<b>Household size</b>				
One-three members	5.19 (0.29)	4.625	5.756	63
Four-five members	5.34 (0.25)	4.843	5.842	111
Six members and above	5.83 (0.52)	4.810	6.856	30
<b>Type of employment</b>				
Full time	5.70 (0.36)	4.978	6.416	66
Part time	4.99 (0.25)	4.501	5.477	90
<b>Household monthly income</b>				
Less than Rs.2000	4.28 (0.41)	3.463	5.093	36
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	5.04 (0.29)	4.460	5.617	78
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	5.61 (0.32)	4.975	6.252	44
Rs.6001 and above	6.54 (0.38)	5.794	7.293	46
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>				
No	4.23 (0.38)	3.487	4.975	39
Yes	5.64 (0.20)	5.244	6.029	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>				
No	5.26 (0.18)	4.897	5.622	185
Yes	6.42 (0.71)	5.020	7.822	19
<b>Phase of arrival</b>				
First phase (1983-87)	6.24 (0.37)	5.503	6.971	38
Second phase (1989-91)	4.95 (0.26)	4.440	5.453	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	5.63 (0.31)	5.012	6.247	54
<b>No of moves as refugee</b>				
Single move	5.26 (0.21)	4.856	5.673	155
More than one move	5.69 (0.37)	4.971	6.417	49
<b>All respondents</b>	<b>5.37 (0.18)</b>	<b>5.012</b>	<b>5.723</b>	<b>204</b>

*Figures in parenthesis represent Standard Deviation of respective mean.*

### **Association between social network and phase of arrival in India**

Table 4.5 presents the results of binary logistic regression to see the effect of phase of arrival and other key variables on social network. Table 4.6 presents the results of binary logistic regression to see the effect of number of moves as refugees and other key variables on social network. Tables 5a and 6a presents the result after controlling the background variables such as age, sex, education household size, household income, marital status, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala respectively for phase of arrival and number of moves on social network.

The result of logistic regression shows that the phase of arrival in India (duration of stay) has significantly affected the strength of network among refugees. As compared with those who arrived in the recent phases, i.e., third-fourth phases (1996 onwards), those who arrived in the first phase (1983-87) are three times more likely to have network with their social connections (OR: 3.283 at 95% significance level). **This result supports the hypothesis that refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better social network.** Further, household size has significantly affected the strength of network among refugees. As compared with those in small families, refugees who have four-five family members are twice more likely to have network with their social connections. On the other hand, compared with younger refugees aged 18-29 years, those in the age group of 30-49 years are less likely to have social network.

To test any variation in result due to key background variables such as age, sex, education, household size, household income, marital status, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala, adjusted percentage has been calculated and compared with the unadjusted percentage. While the blind analysis shows that 68% of respondents had strong network, adjusting the variables leads to a mild increase in strength of network to 71%. Regression analysis shows that even after controlling age, sex, education, household size, household income, marital status and language proficiency, not much change has been seen in the result than what has been observed in previous Table i.e., those who arrived during first phase are more likely to have network with their social connections with statistically significant result. This again strengthens in

highlighting the research hypothesis that **refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better social network.**

<b>Table 4.5 Results of binary logistic regression</b>				
Dependent variable "Social Network Index"				
Weak network = 0				
Strong network = 1				
	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	<b>Std. Err.</b>	<b>95% Conf. Interval</b>	
			<b>Lower bound</b>	<b>Upper bound</b>
<b>Phase of arrival</b>				
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	1.000			
Second phase (1989-91)	1.209	0.572	0.478	3.058
First phase (1983-87)	3.283 <sup>b</sup>	1.848	1.089	9.898
<b>Sex</b>				
Male	1.000			
Female	1.239	0.485	0.576	2.667
<b>Age group</b>				
18-29 years	1.000			
30-49 years	0.370 <sup>b</sup>	0.179	0.143	0.957
50 years and above	0.782	0.464	0.244	2.504
<b>Education</b>				
No education or <5 years complete	1.000			
5-7 years complete	1.122	0.724	0.317	3.973
8-11 years complete	1.502	1.079	0.367	6.141
12 or more years complete	2.924	2.434	0.572	14.945
<b>Household size</b>				
One-three members	1.000			
Four-five members	2.323 <sup>c</sup>	1.040	0.967	5.584
Six members and above	1.453	0.768	0.515	4.097
<b>Household income</b>				
Less than Rs.2000	1.000			
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	0.792	0.400	0.295	2.132
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	1.263	0.763	0.386	4.127
Rs.6001 and above	1.467	0.890	0.447	4.817
<b>Marital status</b>				
Unmarried	1.000			
Currently married	1.330	0.763	0.432	4.093
Widowed/deserted	0.503	0.443	0.090	2.823
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>				
No	1.000			
Yes	1.195	0.780	0.333	4.293
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>				
No	1.000			
Yes	1.370	0.813	0.428	4.382

<sup>a</sup> Significance at 99%; <sup>b</sup> Significance at 95%; <sup>c</sup> Significance at 90%

Table 4.5a Adjusted percentage of phase of arrival on social network					
	Un-adjusted %	Adjusted % <sup>~</sup>	Odds Ratio	95% Conf. Interval	
				Lower bound	Upper bound
Third-Fourth phase (1996 onwards)	48.2	39.6	1.000		
Second phase (1989-91)	49.1	53.3	1.738	0.804	3.756
First phase (1983-87)	68.4	70.7	3.673 <sup>b</sup>	1.331	10.134
<sup>~</sup> Adjusted percentage is obtained by controlling age, sex, education, household size, household income, marital status, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala.					
<sup>a</sup> Significance at 99%; <sup>b</sup> Significance at 95%; <sup>c</sup> Significance at 90%					

### Association between social network and number of movements as refugees

Another regression model (Table 4.6), where the number of movements as refugees is included in the analysis along with key background variables, shows that the respondents having moved as refugees more than once do not have any effect on network with social connections. Though they are more likely to have network with their social connections as compared with those having moved only once as refugees, the result is statistically insignificant. **This leads to the rejection of the hypothesis that refugees with more number of movements (as refugees) have better social network.** While higher education, large household size, higher income, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala have effect on network, these results are also statistically not significant.

<b>Table 4.6 Results of binary logistic regression</b>				
Dependent variable "Social Network Index"				
Weak network = 0				
Strong network = 1				
	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	<b>Std. Err.</b>	<b>95% Conf. Interval</b>	
			<b>Lower bound</b>	<b>Upper bound</b>
<b>No of moves as refugees</b>				
Single move	1.000			
More than one move	1.635	0.642	0.757	3.531
<b>Sex</b>				
Male				
Female	1.304	0.501	0.613	2.771
<b>Age group</b>				
18-29 years				
30-49 years	0.381	0.184	0.148	0.980
50 years and above	0.862	0.495	0.279	2.659
<b>Education</b>				
No education or <5 years complete				
5-7 years complete	1.094	0.694	0.315	3.795
8-11 years complete	1.515	1.074	0.377	6.082
12 or more years complete	2.937	2.423	0.583	14.800
<b>Household size</b>				
One-three members				
Four-five members	2.094	0.884	0.916	4.790
Six members and above	1.245	0.644	0.452	3.434
<b>Household income</b>				
Less than Rs.2000				
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	0.880	0.435	0.334	2.316
Rs.4001 to Rs.6000	1.225	0.667	0.422	3.559
Rs.6001 and above	1.576	0.933	0.494	5.030
<b>Marital status</b>				
Unmarried				
Currently married	1.358	0.769	0.447	4.120
Widowed/deserted	0.534	0.464	0.097	2.927
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>				
No				
Yes	1.125	0.720	0.321	3.941
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>				
No				
Yes	1.544	0.906	0.489	4.877

<sup>a</sup> Significance at 99%; <sup>b</sup> Significance at 95%; <sup>c</sup> Significance at 90%



A similar result has been observed after calculating adjusted percentage (Table 6a). The unadjusted percentage shows that 61% refugees have network with their social connections while the result remains the same in the case of adjusted percentage. This analysis supports rejection of the hypothesis **that refugees with more number of movements (as refugees) have better social network.**

<b>Table 4.6a Adjusted percentage of number of moves as refugees on social network</b>					
	<b>Un-adjusted %</b>	<b>Adjusted %<sup>~</sup></b>	<b>Odds Ratio</b>	<b>95% Conf. Interval</b>	
				<b>Lower bound</b>	<b>Upper bound</b>
Single move	49.7	<b>50.2</b>	1.000		
More than one move	61.2	<b>60.9</b>	1.543	0.743	3.207
<i><sup>~</sup>Adjusted percentage is obtained by controlling age, sex, education, household size, household income, marital status, proficiency in Tamil and proficiency in Sinhala.</i>					
<i><sup>a</sup> Significance at 99%; <sup>b</sup> Significance at 95%; <sup>c</sup> Significance at 90%</i>					