BRIDGES TO ACCESS: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL ON
PAKISTANI URBAN REFUGEE-LED EDUCATION

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Thank you to my in-laws, my extensive extended family, and our friends in the U.S., Canada, Thailand, and the Philippines. Thank you for all of your support.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Rolando and Purisima Villaluz, my three brothers, Peter, Matthew, and Mark, and to my husband, Erik Winter-Villaluz. You remind me that another world is not only possible but is already present. Thank you for your unceasing love, encouragement, and inspiration.
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Bridges to Access: The Impact of Social Capital on Pakistani Urban Refugee-Led Education
by
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Master of Social Work
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This thesis examines the ways in which the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok, Thailand utilize social capital to address their lack of access to education. Bangkok’s urban refugees find themselves in a precarious and unstable environment with no legal right to healthcare, education, or employment. Considered illegal immigrants, urban refugees are vulnerable to arrest, indefinite detention, refoulement, exploitation, extortion, and poverty. It is in this context that members of the Pakistani urban refugee population have initiated community learning centers (CLCs) to help provide education to their children. Through the use of bridging social capital, members of the Pakistani urban refugee communities have gathered resources such as volunteers and donations from individuals, groups and organizations external and internal to their communities to establish many of the CLCs. While the CLCs do not replace the advantages of traditional schools, they help to provide access to education where no other avenue may exist. The CLCs, therefore, are not only an expression of the Pakistani urban refugees’ self-determination and ability to conduct community development, but they have also helped to transform their adverse environment. The role of the CLCs among the Pakistani urban refugee population is substantial. However, the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities face many challenges, including limitations in their bridging and linking social capital, which cannot only hinder the progress of the CLCs but may also undermine their existence.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban refugees are among the most marginalized populations and often find themselves living outside of any formal system of protection and assistance (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013). For example, many urban refugees do not have the same access to the limited shelter, food, healthcare, or legal assistance as camp or shelter-based refugees; rather, they live in environments that are hostile to their presence and livelihood (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Jacobsen, 2002, 2004; Landau, 2006). Often regarded as illegal immigrants who are perceived to be a threat in the local job market and a burden on social services, urban refugees are vulnerable to arrests, indefinite detention, deportation, and other infringements on their rights as outlined in the UN “Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees” (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004; Landau, 2006; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2010). Many urban refugees, however, are able to endure these trying conditions and in some cases, are able to move toward community organizing and development to achieve more than subsistence-level living standards (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006). This thesis will explore how an urban refugee population not only survives, but how its members are able to express self-determination and build services to meet their communities’ need for education.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how social capital is employed by the Pakistani urban refugee groups to address the issue of education through the creation of community learning centers (CLCs) in Bangkok, Thailand. This thesis also seeks to investigate the larger question of how urban refugees use their social capital to conduct community organizing and development. Further, aside from members of their own communities, who else is a part of the social networks of Pakistani urban refugees and how
do they become a part of these networks? What types of resources are the Pakistani urban refugee communities able to obtain through their social capital? How are these resources utilized for the CLCs? By seeking to answer these questions, this thesis will explore the social capital of the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok, how their social capital has been employed for the goal of offering education, and how their social capital can be expanded and further harnessed. The initiative and capacity demonstrated by the Pakistani urban refugee groups in creating educational opportunities in areas where little or no access to education exists underlines their ability to exercise self-determination in their lives and their communities, thereby helping to transform their resource-scarce environments.

This thesis will add to the growing body of literature about urban refugees in the global South in several ways. While research regarding this population has been emerging, many primarily focus on the needs and the problematic legal, economic, and social environment of urban refugees in countries of first asylum (Amara & Aljunid, 2014; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013). Research examining the capabilities of urban refugees is minimal and often focuses on their economic contributions as an argument for their integration into host countries (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Jacobsen, 2002, 2004). Furthermore, the few studies that investigate the ability of urban refugees to sustain their livelihood through community organizing and development do not delve into the function of social capital in their lives and communities (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006). This is unfortunate because studying the resources and strengths that are already available among urban refugees can equip interested individuals, organizations, institutions, and governments to better work with this population. Such research can also help to dispel the image of urban refugees as social and financial burdens in host countries (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012) by demonstrating their ability to create services and mechanisms to meet their own needs.

This thesis will also add to the existing body of literature regarding urban refugees by focusing on a little-studied population: urban refugees from Pakistan. More research has been conducted regarding urban refugees from African countries such as Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2002; Landau, 2006). For Thailand specifically, much of the attention has focused on refugees from its neighboring countries such as Myanmar, Vietnam, and...
Cambodia (Brees, 2008; Palmgren, 2013; Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012). The number of urban refugees from Pakistan, however, is growing due to the persecution of religious minorities and its internal war with militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups like the Afghan Taliban, Pakistan Taliban, and Kashmiri-Punjabi extremist groups (Fair & Jones, 2009; Foster, 2015; Gregory, 2012; Javaid, 2010; Khan, 2003; Malik, 2011). Pakistanis are the largest asylum-seeking population and the second largest refugee group in Thailand, totaling 8,000 in early 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). Since the camps are mainly for refugees and asylum-seekers from the neighboring country of Myanmar, many, if not all Pakistani refugees and asylum-seekers live in Bangkok and other urban areas (Foster, 2015; UNHCR, 2015). The number of Pakistani refugees and asylum-seekers is expected to increase by 52.5%, totaling more than 12,000 by the end of 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). By examining how the Pakistani urban refugee population uses social capital toward their goal of providing education to their children, this thesis can also help interested individuals, organizations, institutions, and governments to better understand how segments of this growing population functions in terms of creating and using social connections and how these networks can be applied to community organizing and development initiatives.

While it would have been best to examine how social capital functions within the Pakistani urban refugee groups by directly interviewing members of these communities, there are several complications to this approach. The main concern is the current security risks for urban refugees in Thailand. Urban refugees in Thailand are considered illegal due to the lack of a legal and political framework in the country and, therefore, are vulnerable to arrest, indefinite detention, deportation, and refoulement if captured by police, immigration, or military officials (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). According to the UN Convention and Protocol, refoulement is the act of sending or returning “a refugee against his or her will … to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3). The vulnerability of urban refugees to mistreatment by police and government officials is within the larger context of how undocumented migrants in general are regarded in Thailand. For example, news articles in 2014 reported police crackdowns and the arrests of undocumented Cambodian, Burmese, Uighur, and Rohingya migrants, including Uighur and Rohingya migrant men, women, and children (Naing, 2014; Ngamkham, 2014). This is in addition to talks of repatriation for the
thousands of refugees from Myanmar, despite continued human rights abuses against Myanmar’s ethnic minorities (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Nanuam, 2014). In general, migrants and refugees are also viewed by many in Thailand as a threat to personal security, an additional burden on resources, and as a source of job competition (Brees, 2008; Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012). Due to these security risks, interviewing non-Pakistani humanitarian actors who are a part of the Pakistani urban refugee communities’ and the CLCs’ social networks was considered a worthwhile alternative.

Regardless of the current political situation for migrants and refugees in Thailand, gaining an understanding of the perspective of humanitarian actors has several benefits. For many urban refugees, some of their first points of contact in the country of first asylum are service providers, members of religious institutions and organizations, and other individuals and groups who have a particular concern and interest in urban refugees (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen, Ayoub, & Johnson, 2014; Korac, 2003; Palmgren, 2013). Humanitarian actors provide material assistance and services, along with other essential support to urban refugees through their formal and informal work with NGOs, religious institutions and organizations, or directly with urban refugees (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Korac, 2003; Palmgren, 2013). Outside the network of humanitarian actors, these individuals, groups, institutions, and organizations also have extended social networks and resources, such as other groups and organizations (Palmgren, 2013). In addition to receiving direct services from humanitarian actors, urban refugees can also benefit from the additional networks and resources of humanitarian actors if granted access to them (Palmgren, 2013). The relationships between humanitarian actors and urban refugees, therefore, are not only important for the ability of urban refugees to survive, but can be pivotal for successful community organizing and development initiatives.

**THESIS OUTLINE**

Following this introduction, an exploration of the existing literature will be offered to provide the appropriate foundation for this thesis. The literature review chapter will focus on two main areas: urban refugees and social capital theory. The first section will include a description of the current conditions for urban refugees in host countries of the global South and in Thailand, and will discuss the unstable political, legal, and social environment in
Pakistan that has helped to create an urban refugee population. The second part will first provide an overview of social capital theory, including an explanation of the general assumptions of the theory and the “networks view” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 230) of social capital. Finally, the literature review will present the existing literature regarding the use of social capital among migrants and refugees, and the community organizing efforts of urban refugees.

The methodology chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the qualitative methods employed to investigate how the Pakistani urban refugee communities have used various types of social capital to create more opportunities for education, as embodied by the CLCs. More specifically, the methodology chapter will discuss the sample, the instrument, the steps for data collection, and process of data analysis. The section regarding the sample will include the criteria for all subjects and an explanation of how the nine participants in this thesis were identified through purposive sampling and snowball sampling. This is followed by a presentation of the instrument utilized, which is an interview schedule for the semi-structured interviews. The third part of the chapter will describe the interviews, such as the location for the interviews, their length, and any challenges that arose during data collection. Lastly, information about the data analysis conducted for this thesis will be provided, which includes the process of identifying patterns from the interviews through open coding and axial coding.

After the methodology chapter, a presentation of the findings will follow. This chapter will introduce the major findings of this study according the following major themes: the internal bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups, their external bridging social capital, the gaps in their external and internal bridging social capital, and the gaps in their linking social capital. Major findings include the CLCs’ and the communities’ primary external networks, the support provided by these external connections, and the main contributions of the Pakistani urban refugee groups toward the CLCs. Other findings reveal the internal conflicts that exist among a few CLCs and the effects they have had on the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups in their surrounding areas. These and the other major findings will be examined in the subsequent chapter.

The discussion and conclusion chapter will explore the research findings in light of the existing literature and answer the question of how Pakistani urban refugees are able to
address the issue of education through their use of social capital. The CLCs’ and the communities’ internal and external bridging social capital are instrumental to the establishment of the CLCs, and the CLCs have a substantial impact in creating educational opportunities where little or no access existed. However, the gaps in the CLCs’ and the communities’ bridging and linking social capital can ultimately stunt or damage the community organizing and development work of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups. This chapter will also discuss the significance and limitations of this thesis, any recommendations for future studies, and the implications of the thesis findings on immigration policy and the work of NGOs, other humanitarian actors, and urban refugee groups.

**DEFINING URBAN REFUGEE & OTHER TERMS**

According to the UN Convention and Protocol, a refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3). Urban refugees are simply refugees who live in an urban setting instead of a camp or shelter sanctioned by UNHCR or the host country (Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004; Landau, 2006; Thomas, Roberts, Luitel, Upadhaya, & Tol, 2011; UNHCR, 2009). On the other hand, camp or shelter-based refugees are refugees who live in a camp or a shelter that is mandated by the UNHCR and the host country (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Cheung, 2012; Jacobsen, 2002, 2004; UNHCR, 2009). Asylum-seekers have yet to be officially recognized by the UNHCR as a refugee and are thus going through the refugee status determination (RSD) process (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Palmgren, 2013). For this thesis, the term urban refugee will include asylum-seekers and refugees who live in an urban setting. The term refugee will be used when referring to refugees in general, which includes urban refugees, camp or shelter-based refugees, and asylum-seekers. The terms urban refugee, camp-based refugee, shelter-based refugee, and asylum-seeker will be utilized when referring to these specific populations of refugees.

The term humanitarian actor is employed in this thesis because of the various individuals and groups who are involved with the Pakistani urban refugee population. These
individuals and groups include service providers from formal NGOs, nonprofits, religious organizations that are either registered in Thailand or in another country such as the U.S. This term also includes individuals who are employed in other fields, such as school educators and administrators, individuals with various religious affiliations, and individuals with various backgrounds such as volunteers, landlords, neighbors, and friends. The latter group can be seen as individuals who do not have a mandate to work with refugees, but have chosen to help from their own motivations. The term humanitarian actor encompasses these individuals and groups with various backgrounds, intentions, and affiliations by highlighting their common humanitarian acts for the benefit of the Pakistani urban refugee population.

CLCs are places for informal education among the Pakistani urban refugee communities. Due to the security concerns and personal preferences, Pakistani urban refugee groups do not all live in the same area of the city and, thus, there are pockets of communities throughout Bangkok. Consequently, the CLCs are also located in various parts of the city and are often housed in an apartment complex that is accessible to a few or many families because they reside nearby. Depending on the resources of the community, the CLC is either held in a family’s home or in apartments that are reserved for the CLC. The size of the CLCs also varies from ten to approximately 100 students. At the time of the interviews, various terms were used to refer to the CLCs, such as the term school and community-based schools. This is reflected in the interview schedule. The term community learning centers or CLCs began to be exclusively used among the CLCs and humanitarian actors after the interviews. This change in terminology is reflected in the formal presentation of this thesis.

The Bangkok CLCs began to emerge because most Pakistani urban refugees are unable to access formal education through public and private schools (see Footnote 1). Most CLCs have been initiated and are coordinated by members of the Pakistani urban refugee groups, but there are a few that are primarily run by individuals outside of the communities. While some CLCs collaborate by sharing ideas, connections, and resources, all CLCs are independently managed and thus, they vary in their educational goals and may offer different...
classes. For example, all CLCs provide English and Math classes, but one CLC may have an Urdu language class and another has a Bible class. The CLCs that offer a religious class tend to be managed by Pakistani urban refugees. Most teachers and staff in the CLCs are members of the immediate community of Pakistani urban refugees, with the exception of the few CLCs that are managed by individuals outside of the communities. For the latter, each CLC consists of one class that is taught and coordinated by a foreigner, who is neither Pakistani or Thai.

Social capital theory asserts that the social arrangements of networks and norms are resources that can be converted into capital for an individual or a group’s benefit or goals (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Newton, 1997; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Social networks are the main vehicle for social capital to occur and to be utilized (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993, 1995; as cited in White, 2002). The theory of social capital and the role of social networks within the theory will be further explained in the literature review. For now, only an explanation of the use of the terms social capital and social networks will be given. The term social capital will be used when referring to the resources converted from networks and norms. The term social networks will be used when referring to the networks aspect of social capital, and the terms connections, relationships, ties, and their synonyms will be used interchangeably with the term social networks since they all point to the same social arrangement among individuals and groups.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how social capital is employed by the Pakistani urban refugees to address the issue of education through the creation of CLCs, as perceived by local and international humanitarian actors in Bangkok, Thailand. By exploring how these urban refugees have utilized social capital to increase access to education, this thesis will also look at the community organizing and development efforts of these groups. It will be important to gain an understanding of prior research regarding the situation of urban refugees, Pakistani refugees and the context for their flight, social capital theory and how it has been applied to refugee communities, and, finally, past community organizing efforts by urban refugees in order to obtain the proper context for this thesis. While it would be best to explore these topics among urban refugee communities specifically, the available literature concerning urban refugees is not as abundant or comprehensive. Research about Pakistani urban refugees is even more limited. A discussion of the topics of social networks and community organizing among Pakistani urban refugees or urban refugees in general will be included wherever possible.

URBAN REFUGEES

In 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that nearly half of the world's refugees lived in cities rather than in designated camps (UNHCR, 2009). Urban refugees come from various parts of the global South, such as Afghanistan, Burma (Myanmar), Ethiopia, Pakistan, Sudan, and Vietnam (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Jacobsen, 2004; Palmgren, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011). Many have sought asylum in cities due to their destination's proximity to their country of origin, the perceived ease of entering the host country, and the possibility of employment, among other reasons (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Cheung, 2012; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen, 2004). These receiving cities include Bangkok, Cairo, Kathmandu, Kampala, Kuala Lumpur, and Nairobi (Briant &
Kennedy, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Cheung, 2012; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004; Palmgren, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011). The urban refugee population consists mostly of single young men in some host cities and in others, a more diverse population that includes families with children, elderly, and disabled individuals can be found seeking asylum (Cheung, 2012; Jacobsen, 2004; UNHCR, 2009). Sometimes referred to as “irregular” (Landau, 2006, p. 315; Palmgren, 2013, p. 7) migrants or “self-settled” (Brees, 2008, p. 380; Dryden-Peterson, 2006, p. 381) refugees, these refugees enter and live outside of designated areas of protection for refugees that generally have a basic welfare infrastructure for food, shelter, healthcare, and education (Jacobsen, 2004). While many urban refugees enter a host country without documentation endorsed by the host state or UNHCR, others enter through prescribed legal points of entry, such as through a tourist visa or a one-day pass (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013). Many urban refugees in the latter case, however, eventually default to an illegal immigration status while seeking asylum because the legal points of entry are either temporary or are inaccessible due to their requirements and restrictions (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013). Since urban refugees often enter and live outside of areas designated for state or UNHCR protection and because most have illegal immigration status, urban refugees face many legal, economic, and social challenges that are unique to their specific population.

**Legal & Economic Conditions**

The legal and economic situation of urban refugees is precarious and unstable. Due to the illegal immigration status of many urban refugees, they are barred from formal employment in many host countries and must find alternate work in the informal sector (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen, 2004; Thomas et al., 2011). Employment in the informal sector offers inconsistent hours and income, low and insufficient wages, and for refugees with professional backgrounds, work that does not match their skills or education (Brees, 2008; Jacobsen, 2004; Jacobsen et al., 2014). Examples of employment in the informal sector include domestic work in private homes, cooking or janitorial work in hotels, selling products such as food on the street, construction, and prostitution (Brees, 2008; Jacobsen, 2002; Jacobsen et al., 2014). Urban refugees are vulnerable to exploitation, extortion, physical and sexual abuse, and harassment in the workplace and have little or no
legal recourse because of their illegal immigration status and, at times, local law enforcement are either responsible for such abuses or are compliant (Brees, 2008; Jacobsen, 2004; Jacobsen et al., 2014). Urban refugees are also vulnerable to these abuses outside of the workplace and are also at risk for arrest, deportation, and detention (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen, 2004; Landau, 2006). While some urban refugees have completed the RSD process and as a result, are officially recognized as refugees by the UNHCR or the host country, a host country may still place restrictions on their ability to work, their movement, and may continue to treat them as illegal migrants with no or little repercussions (Brees, 2008; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013).

It is important to note that there are some host countries that offer urban refugees legal immigration status and the ability to find legal employment, but this is not the norm for most of the world's refugees, despite the protections and rights outlined by the UN Convention and Protocol (Jacobsen, 2004; UNHCR, 2010). Furthermore, there continue to be barriers toward obtaining legal immigration status and employment that can make these options irrelevant (Jacobsen et al., 2014; Landau, 2006). Jacobsen et al. (2014), for example, found that 79% of their 565 Sudanese participants had some type of legal status in Cairo. This legal immigration status consisted of asylum-seeking cards and refugee cards for the vast majority of this legal-status group (Jacobsen et al., 2014). However, no refugee is able to seek citizenship in Egypt because it is only granted according to descent and, thus, it is unclear if the asylum-seeker or refugee cards afford the same legal protection and rights available to locals or those promised by the UN Convention and Protocol (Jacobsen et al., 2014; UNHCR, 2010). According to Briant and Kennedy (2004), refugees in Egypt, whether or not they are recognized by UNHCR, simply do not have the legal protections and rights given to locals. Additionally, not all groups of urban refugees have equal access to legal employment. For Sudanese and Palestinian urban refugees, the cost of a yearly work permit is 200 Egyptian pounds, whereas for other urban refugee groups, the cost is about 22 times as much (Jacobsen et al., 2014). Despite this, all urban refugees have difficulty maneuvering through the complicated processes, requirements, and restrictions of the work permits and, thus, very few urban refugees are able to obtain a proper work permit despite their availability in Egypt (Jacobsen, 2004; Jacobsen et al., 2014).
Access to Social Services & Social Challenges

Urban refugees also have difficulty accessing social services such as education and proper health care. They also face several challenges in building relationships that can help with adjusting to the host country. Education is a priority for many urban refugees but formal education remains inaccessible for several reasons, including their lack of legal rights, bureaucratic procedures, racial discrimination, financial costs, an insufficient number of qualified teachers, and systemic discrimination (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013; Refugee Law Project, 2003). When formal education is possible, only the primary level is perceived as a universal right for most host countries and few educational opportunities are made available for youth, young adults, or adults (Grabska, 2006; Refugee Law Project, 2003; Thomas et al., 2011). Thus, for many urban refugees who are unable to receive formal education, the educational environment is usually a patchwork of fragmented options: unaccredited and inconsistent core subject classes, language skills courses, and vocational classes offered by community members, NGOs, and local and international organizations (Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Sinclair, 2001; Thomas et al., 2011). The outcomes of education can be tremendous. It can not only help reduce poverty for the individual and their family, but it can contribute to the economy of host countries and the overall development of the country of origin (UNHCR, 2011). Consequently, impediments to education for urban refugees can be costly on an individual, community, and societal level.

Access to proper health care is also a challenge for many refugees in urban areas. According to a recent study of noncommunicable diseases (NCDs) among urban refugees in the global South, the most common are hypertension, musculoskeletal disease, diabetes, and chronic respiratory diseases (Amara & Alijunid, 2014). NCDs, as the major cause of death in the world and in the global South, are a growing concern in urban areas and thus, among urban refugees (Amara & Alijunid, 2014). Other prevalent health problems faced by refugees, in general, include psychological disorders, injuries, infectious diseases, under-immunization, and chronic illnesses (Amara & Alijunid, 2014). It is important to note that in their study of research findings from 1980 to 2012, Amara and Alijunid (2014) found that urban refugees essentially had good access to primary health care. However, the lack of legal rights, cost of health care, discrimination, xenophobia, language and cultural
differences, geographic inaccessibility, and security risks in host countries that do not differentiate between refugees and other migrants are still named as significant obstacles for urban refugees (Amara & Aljunid, 2014; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013). Furthermore, the majority of the studies considered in their research either only accounted for Iraqi refugees in two host countries or those urban refugee groups who benefitted from UNHCR and partner services (Amara & Aljunid, 2014). In cities such as Kathmandu, Cairo, Bangkok, and Johannesburg it is noted that access to adequate health care is uneven and limited (Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Landau, 2006; Palmgren, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011).

Urban refugees also face challenges in building relationships in the host country. Xenophobia and discrimination against refugees in the urban setting is recognized as a significant problem in cities such as Cairo, Kathmandu, Johannesburg, and Nairobi (Campbell, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Landau, 2006; Thomas et al., 2011). Xenophobia and discrimination pose obstacles to local integration, affect the psychosocial well-being of urban refugees as an additional source of stress, and color daily activities such as shopping in markets (Campbell, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Thomas et al., 2011). Additionally, xenophobia and discrimination can bar urban refugees from much needed services such as basic healthcare and public education (Grabska, 2006; Landau, 2006). These strained relationships between locals and urban refugees in host countries have negative and practical implications for the lives of refugees, and can hinder any movement toward the realization of the rights outlined in the UN Convention and Protocol (UNHCR, 2010).

Thailand

Much like most countries in Southeast Asia, Thailand is not a signatory of the UN Convention and Protocol, and its approach to refugees tend to be the result of ad hoc policies instead of general established domestic laws (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNCHR, 2010). Thailand utilizes the Immigration Act of 1979 (amended in 1992) in its dealings with refugees and asylum-seekers (Cheung, 2012). The Act stipulates that migrants can only enter through routes determined by the Ministry of Interior and those who do not enter through these prescribed channels and those who aid them are subject to arrest, prosecution, detention, and deportation (Cheung, 2012). However, Thailand can
accept refugees according to the special consent of the Ministry of Interior and the Cabinet based on extraordinary circumstances; thus, with each new wave of immigration due to persecution, Thailand can choose to enact or ignore this procedure (Cheung, 2012). The acceptance of refugees and their consequent treatment are contingent upon the discretion of Thai government and law enforcement officials rather than on a formalized process (Cheung, 2012). This lack of a legal and political framework results in the labeling of urban refugees as illegal because they do not live in the formal UNHCR camps and they have either entered Thailand illegally or have overstayed the terms of their visas (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Palmgren, 2013). Urban refugees do not have a legal right to healthcare, education, or employment (Brees, 2008; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). Their illegal status also leaves them vulnerable to arrest, indefinite detention, deportation, refoulement, exploitation, extortion, and poverty (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). Furthermore, Thailand recognizes resettlement and repatriation as the only viable solution for refugees; local integration is currently not a legal or political option (Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012).

**Pakistan**

The current instability and political, legal, and social environment in Pakistan creates several push factors for many Pakistanis, particularly its religious minorities. Pakistan’s religious minorities are composed of the following groups: Christians, Hindus, Zikris, Ahmadiyya, Sikhs, Baha’i, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Mehdi Foundation, and Jews (Gregory, 2012). Out of the 175 million people in Pakistan, roughly three to five million are Christian, two to four million are Hindu, 700,000 are Zikris, 285,000 are Ahmadiyya, and the Sikhs number at about 50,000 (Gregory, 2012). All other groups fall below 50,000 (Gregory, 2012). During the emergence of Pakistan, religious freedom was an integral part its political leaders’ vision, including its founder, Muhammed Ali Jinnah (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003; Malik, 2011). This priority to safeguard religious freedom made sense in light of the minority status of Muslims in India, pre-partition (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003). A few years after Pakistan’s founding in 1947, however, Muslim fundamentalist leaders and groups began to exert their dominance in the new government and country (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003). Their influence permeated in all areas of government and society in Pakistan, and eventually...
cemented their control over the country and its religious minorities (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003).

Religious minorities face various forms of religious persecution inflicted by the state, communities, and individuals. Legally and politically, religious minorities are marginalized through Pakistan’s anti-blasphemy laws embedded in the Pakistan Penal Code and Constitution (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003; Malik, 2011). The anti-blasphemy laws assign various years of imprisonment and fines to any who makes derogatory remarks or blasphemes (Gregory, 2012; Khan, 2003; Malik, 2011). Defiling the Qur’an leads to life imprisonment and derogatory remarks about the Prophet Mohammed results in death (Gregory, 2012; Malik, 2011). Furthermore, the enactment of the Shari’a Act in 1991 expanded the influence of shari’a or Islamic law in the courts by requiring that all laws are implemented through shari’a (Gregory, 2012). The influence of shari’a in the courts has resulted in the exclusion or undervaluing of testimonies from non-Muslims and harsher penalties for non-Muslims (Gregory, 2012). Muslims have also taken advantage of these legal and political inequalities by taking land and property from religious minorities and submitting them into bonded labour (Gregory, 2012). While religious minorities are marginalized in several ways, the centrality of Pakistan’s anti-blasphemy laws and of shari’a in its courts and government has legitimized other types of persecution (Foster, 2015; Khan, 2003).

Socially and culturally, religious minorities are vulnerable to many forms of persecution from individuals, groups, and from the state. For example, Gregory (2012) describes how the violence inflicted on Christians has been spontaneous, organized, and at times, encouraged by local and national government officials either through direct participation or by remaining idle. The oppression of Christians in Pakistan includes grenade attacks on churches, beatings, murder, attacks on schools, setting fires to private homes, displacement, gang rape, forced conversion, and accusations of blasphemy, among other forms (Gregory, 2012). Other religious minorities are vulnerable to persecution as well, such that women of other religions are targets of rape and sexual violence (Gregory, 2012). Mosques belonging to Ahmadiyya communities have been burned, graves defiled, and Ahmadis accused of blasphemy with the possible sentence of life imprisonment or death (Khan, 2003).
The rise of extremist, militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups in Pakistan has led to the destabilization of the country for its general population and has compounded the marginalization of its religious minorities. Since the U.S.-led war against terrorism began after the September 11 terrorist attacks, the influence and presence of militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups like the Afghan Taliban, Pakistan Taliban, the Kashmiri-Punjabi extremist groups, and other groups that have connections with Al-Qaeda, have grown in Pakistan (Fair & Jones, 2009; Gregory, 2012; Javaid, 2010). Key leaders from the Afghan Taliban and Al-Qaeda fled to Pakistan from Afghanistan due to the war against terrorism, which resulted in increased militarism in the tribal areas of country, such as the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA) and the Pashtun tribal areas (Fair & Jones, 2009; Gregory, 2012; Javaid, 2010). Eventually, these militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups began to infiltrate other parts of the country as well, resulting in a general rise in violence (Fair & Jones, 2009; Gregory, 2012; Javaid, 2010). For example, between 2005 and 2008, the number of attacks by terrorist, insurgent, and sectarian groups in Pakistan escalated to 2,148, a 746% increase (Fair & Jones, 2009). With the financial support of the U.S., the Pakistani government has primarily responded with military operations such as Operation Sher Dil, Rah-e-Haq, and Rah-e-Rast (Fair & Jones, 2009). The military’s practices, which have included a “shoot on sight” (Fair & Jones, 2009, p. 176) policy, a “collective punishment” (p. 174) approach, the leveling of villages, and the seizing and razing of homes, have directly harmed Pakistani civilians. The cost of this internal war has also included the killing of civilians, the loss of their traditional tribal structures, and the displacement of many civilians (Fair & Jones, 2009). It is estimated that from the Swat district alone, three million people were displaced and forced to find shelter in camps, among host families, and other accommodations (Fair & Jones, 2009). Furthermore, the marginalization of religious minorities has worsened as a result of this war against militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups inside Pakistan (Gregory, 2012). In areas controlled by these groups, a more severe form of shari‘a is implemented, which has resulted in the taxation of religious minorities, forced displacement, the desecration of religious buildings, violent attacks, and forced conversions that have at times ended in executions (Gregory, 2012). Recent reports of suicide bombings by militant groups at Christian churches and Shiite mosques confirm the increase in violence against religious minorities (Chaudhry & Khan, 2015; “Deadly blasts,” 2015; Masood, 2015).
According to the UN Convention and Protocol, a refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country ... owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3). The violence inflicted by the various extremist, militant, sectarian, and insurgent groups and by the Pakistani military on the general population, along with the nation’s political, legal, and social persecution of religious minorities, not only create many push factors, but give many in Pakistan a well-founded fear to flee their country.

**Social Capital Theory**

Social capital theory asserts that the social arrangements of networks and norms are resources that can be converted into capital for an individual and a group’s benefits and goals (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Newton, 1997; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). A simple example of social capital is an individual calling upon a friend when moving apartments. Instead of hiring a moving company or renting a moving truck, this individual utilizes his friendship with a truck owner to save money and to meet his goal of moving apartments. The idea of social capital and its role in civil society was first explored by Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*, who believed that various types of associations created closer relationships and strengthened norms and values such as trust, compromise, and reciprocity among the citizenry — all of which are important for a vibrant civil society (as cited in Newton, 1997; as cited in Putnam, 1993, 1995). More recent and significant developments in social capital theory can be attributed to the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), and Robert Putnam (1993, 1995) (Lin, 1999; Newton, 1997; White, 2002; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). These three social scientists differed in their perspectives about social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993, 1995; as cited in White, 2002). Bourdieu (1986) discusses the downsides of social capital: how social capital is generated for the benefit and exclusion of some, the resulting uneven distribution of power that exists in society, and the reinforcement of these inequalities through social capital (as cited in Morrice, 2007; as cited in White, 2002). On the other hand, both Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 1995) emphasize its advantages but differ on who the primary benefactors are (as cited in White, 2002). Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 1995) agree that social capital occurs between
individuals and in communities (as cited in White, 2002). However, Coleman (1988) mainly focuses on how the gains of social capital are reaped by the individual, whereas Putnam (1993, 1995) views the community, and ultimately society, as the main benefactors (as cited in White, 2002). Despite how their views differ, Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1993, 1995) all agree that social capital can affect the mobility and development of individuals and communities through the utilization of norms and networks as resources for advancement (as cited in White, 2002).

**Social Networks**

According to social capital theory, social networks are an essential part of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1993, 1995) perceive social networks as the main vehicle for social capital to occur and to be utilized (as cited in White, 2002). Bourdieu (1986) considers social networks as the source and channel through which benefits exchange (as cited in White, 2002). Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993, 1995) view social networks similarly but understand them as a way to move toward positive advancement, rather than the inequalities and exclusion that Bourdieu (1986) also observes through social capital (as cited in White, 2002). However, Putnam (1993, 1995) again diverges from Coleman (1988) by emphasizing the potential use of social networks for collective action, which results in the collective benefit of communities and societies, instead of merely the individual (as cited in White, 2002).

Simply put, social networks and social capital are intrinsically linked, and social capital cannot exist without social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

More recent work on social capital has resulted in the classification of different types of social capital. Dubbed as the “networks view” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 230) of social capital, several social scientists cite bonding, bridging, and linking social capital as a helpful way to understand the negative and positive types of relationships that can exist among individuals and communities and how they affect access to social capital (Korac, 2003; Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). Bonding social capital encompasses closer relationships such as those between family members and friends, while bridging social
capital is more distant relationships like those among coworkers and associates (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). Linking social capital is the relationships with individuals in positions of power and are outside of the community, such as an executive director of company, a court judge, or a bank manager (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). These classifications of social capital can be particularly useful in understanding the networks among refugees, as social scientists have found that bridging and linking social capital is often necessary to move beyond poverty (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

**Community Organizing**

For Putnam (1993), the possible gains of social capital are not to be reserved for those who are able to utilize it and directly benefit from it, but rather any profits from social capital are meant for society. Good social capital should yield to more effective government, economic progress, and development (Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 2001). Due to these potential benefits of social capital and the manner in which social capital resides and occurs in social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993, 1995; as cited in White, 2002), social capital naturally lends itself as a platform for community organizing. For example, the model of consensus organizing requires the community organizer to help the marginalized community to create relationships with businesses, law enforcement, schools, and other organizations, institutions, and individuals who have a vested interest in their cause (Eichler, 2007). These diverse relationships, which can be classified as bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Korac, 2003; Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001), offer different resources that can be converted into useful capital for a cause (Eichler, 2007). In summary, social capital is an important aspect of community organizing, where the ability to build networks and utilize the diverse skills and resources of individuals and groups toward a common initiative is central to any community organizing initiative.

**Migrant & Refugee Livelihood**

In order to understand how the Pakistani asylum-seeking communities address the issue of education through the use of social networks, it is important to first consider how social capital theory has been applied to migrant populations, to refugees, and to urban refugees specifically. For migrant populations in general, social capital theory helps to
explain the reasons for migration and the ability of immigrant populations to thrive in their new environments. Palloni, Massey, Ceballos, Espinosa, & Spittel (2001) utilize the network hypothesis of social capital theory to explore patterns in international migration. The network hypothesis asserts that those who have social connections with migrants are more likely to migrate as well, such that these relationships turn into a type of capital by offering potential migrants greater access to foreign work (Palloni et al., 2001). For example, in their study of the influence of family networks on individual migration, Palloni et al. (2001) found that a younger sibling is essentially three times more likely to migrate when they have an older sibling engaged in migration. Similarly, Kandel and Massey (2002) determined that for Mexican students who are consistently exposed to the option of working and living abroad by family members, this choice not only became more plausible but more attractive. The influence of these familial networks was significant and their effects were not only evident in the increased likelihood for individual migration but a “culture of migration” (Kandel & Massey, 2002, p. 983) eventually developed in particular areas in Mexico, creating communities that expected to live and work abroad.

The economic benefits of social capital for migrants in general can be substantial. For example, by analyzing past work in immigration studies, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) have observed that the use of social networks to share resources, to support and protect each other, and to start initiatives such as small business enterprises has been instrumental to the survival of various migrant communities. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) however, have also identified negative aspects to social capital, which include exploitation through social obligations and networks, exclusion through social ostracization and reprimands, and self-enforced isolation or detachment from networks as a protective response to social pressures. This kind of social capital can control individual and group mobility, preventing advancement (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). Portes’ and Sensenbrenner’s (1993) observations of social capital as an avenue for shared resources and gain, as well as for reinforcing inequality and exclusion, echo the assertions of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), and Putnam (1993, 1995) (as cited in Morrice, 2007; as cited in White, 2002). This points to the complexity in which social networks and norms can be utilized and highlights the importance of exploring how social capital can be both a
hindrance and an advantage in order to better understand how it can be developed and harnessed.

Research that explores the function of social capital prior to the flight of refugees is limited. However, available work such as that of Allen and Hiller (1985) underscores the significant role of social networks in normalizing the option of flight for refugees and in the logistics of fleeing. Similar to the “culture of migration” (Kandel & Massey, 2002, p. 983), Allen and Hiller (1985) have found that social networks created a “flight perspective” (p. 443) among prospective Vietnamese refugees. Social interactions with family, friends, and other community members normalize an illegal act—leaving one’s country of origin to enter another without prior authorization—and make it a socially acceptable, viable option during the preflight process (Allen & Hiller, 1985). While Allen and Hiller (1985) do not use the term social capital, the social connections that help to normalize flight also become the vehicles for capital, which can be employed throughout the flight process. For example, these networks provided individuals, families, and groups information about possible routes, financial help for the costs of fleeing, and practical items such as a boat and supplies (Allen & Hiller, 1985). Allen’s and Hiller’s (1985) study of Vietnamese refugees shows that the movement of refugees is in some ways deliberate, made possible by their economic resources and their social capital.

Current studies of urban refugees illustrate the usefulness of social capital for their livelihoods. In his research about urban refugees in Bangkok, Palmgren (2013) observed how they utilized social networks to enter Thailand without proper documentation, secure food, find shelter, gain employment, and obtain information about NGOs, other available humanitarian aid, and security concerns. Researchers have found that Sudanese urban refugees in Cairo gained access to financial resources in the form of remittances through social networks abroad (Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen et al., 2014). Social networks in Cairo also provided protection from the xenophobic acts of locals and allowed Sudanese urban refugees to borrow money from counterparts, employers, shops, and money lenders (Jacobsen et al., 2014). Lastly, Thomas et al. (2011) have found that Somali and Pakistani urban refugees in Kathmandu used social networks for social and emotional support, to minimize stress and anxiety, and as a source of motivation to continue working toward goals such as language proficiency. It is important to note that while social capital has been shown to be
instrumental in the livelihoods of urban refugees in the global South, these studies do not explore how social capital can be utilized by urban refugees to not only cope, but to begin to change their environments. These studies also do not differentiate between bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, but their findings appear to largely focus on bonding social capital and do not examine the linking social capital of urban refugees in the global South, which is important for social and economic mobility (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). A closer look at the community organizing and development work of urban refugees will follow.

**Urban Refugees & Community Organizing & Development**

While few studies explore the role of social capital in the livelihoods of urban refugees in the global South, research focusing on the impact of social capital in the community organizing and development work of urban refugees is largely absent. Research touching on the community organizing initiatives of urban refugees, however, illustrates the ability of urban refugees to address issues such as access to education. In her research of an urban refugee-initiated school in Kampala, Dryden-Peterson (2006) found that contrary to the idea of being societal burdens, urban refugees exercise self-reliance and have the capacity to transform their environments. The Kampala Urban Refugee Children’s Education Centre (KURCEC) was founded by two urban refugee teachers from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and it served 40 children regularly (Dryden-Peterson, 2006). The student population was primarily from the DRC, but one student came from Rwanda and seven were Ugandan nationals (Dryden-Peterson, 2006). The author does not focus on the resources employed by the KURCEC teachers to initiate and sustain the school and does not cite social capital as a resource (Dryden-Peterson, 2006), but there seems to be evidence of social capital. For example, Dryden-Peterson (2006) mentions the use of community members’ homes for teaching, the role of a local church in eventually hosting the school, and a wealthy Ugandan offering a significant donation for a more permanent location. All of these resources point to social capital, though inconclusively. In order to further encourage the community organizing and development efforts of urban refugees in the global South, more research is needed to understand how social capital is harnessed.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this thesis employs qualitative approaches in order to explore the occurrence of CLCs among the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok and the various types of social capital utilized by these groups to increase their access to education. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of nine subjects; nearly all of whom have participated with at least one CLC for a minimum of one year. All subjects were recruited through purposive and snowball sampling. The semi-structured interviews covered a range of questions according to the main aspects of social capital theory, including the types of connections established by the CLCs and the resources they have obtained from these relationships. The interviews were then transcribed and subjected to open coding and axial coding for data analysis. More detailed information about this thesis’ sample, instrument, data collection, and data analysis will be provided.

SAMPLE

This thesis attempted to recruit 10-15 subjects for semi-structured interviews. A total of 16 prospective participants were contacted during the recruitment process. Nine individuals agreed to being interviewed and no response was received from the remaining seven individuals; a non-response was considered declining to take part in this thesis. In order to be included in the sample, potential subjects had to have the following characteristics: are over the age of 18, are fluent in English, have been involved with a Pakistani CLC for at least one month as a coordinator, volunteer, funder, donor, founder, consultant, or trainer, and are not an asylum-seeker or refugee. The group of potential subjects included male and female individuals and all who were contacted were over the age of 18 at the time of the interview and can sufficiently communicate in English. None of the prospective participants were asylum-seekers or refugees. All but one interviewee had actually been involved with at least one CLC for about one year, either formally (e.g. through
a paid position) or informally. This recognizes that the social networks of Pakistani urban refugees consist of a diverse group of humanitarian actors.

Possible interviewees were identified through purposive sampling and snowball sampling. CLCs must remain hidden due to the security concerns of urban refugees and, thus, detailed information regarding the CLCs, such as a directory of staff, partners, or donors, is often not available beyond the CLCs’ immediate communities. Purposive sampling and snowball sampling were considered to be the most appropriate sampling techniques given this context (Berg, 2007; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). The PI interned with a local NGO called Thai Committee for Refugees Foundation (TCR) prior to the start of this thesis and with their assistance, individuals who have been contributing to the CLCs in Bangkok were identified for this study. Individuals who agreed to be interviewed were asked for recommendations for other prospective participants and these potential subjects were subsequently contacted.

All of the initial contact with possible subjects was conducted through emails. All individuals were given a brief introduction to the PI and the thesis, along with a description of the activities participation entailed and how the data collected would be managed and utilized. Prospective participants were given the parameters of the interviews: subjects will be asked a series of set questions with some possibility for unscripted questions, interviews will last 30 minutes to an hour, they will take place at a mutually agreed-upon location, the cost of travel will be covered if necessary, and no cost will be incurred by those who agree to be interviewed. Potential interviewees were also assured that their involvement in this thesis was voluntary, that it would not affect their relationships with TCR or other organizations, and that their participation would remain confidential. Lastly, plural pronouns are utilized in the findings chapter when referring to interviewees to refrain from using gendered singular pronouns and to further ensure the confidentiality of subjects.

**INSTRUMENT**

Data for this thesis was collected through semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews offer the researcher and the subject guidance through a series of set questions while allowing the interview to develop naturally, which may lead to information unanticipated by the researcher but is otherwise significant to the research question (Cohen &
Crabtree, 2006a). This flexibility was helpful when other questions such as clarifying questions arose during interviews. While most interviews lasted for about an hour, three interviews lasted for approximately an hour and a half. Eight interviews were conducted in-person and one interview was conducted over Skype, which is a web conferencing platform.

The interview schedule was divided into four parts and was informed by social capital theory, existing research, the PI’s four-month internship with TCR, and the main research question of how the Pakistani urban refugee groups utilize social capital to address the issue of education. The main aspects of social capital theory include the relationships and norms of the groups, the individuals involved, and the resources that are derived from and exchanged through these connections. The first part concentrated on the subject's own involvement in the CLCs, with questions such as: Which schools are you and/or your organization currently working with? and How did you first learn about this school(s)? The second part looked into other individuals and organizations that, in addition to the subject, are a part of the Pakistani groups’ external social capital. Questions utilized in this section include: Are there any groups or individuals who you work with for the benefit of the school(s)? Can you share about other groups and individuals who have helped with the school? and In what ways have these other groups and individuals supported this school(s)? The third part of the interview schedule examined the Pakistani urban refugee communities' internal social capital by asking questions like: From your observations, in what ways do members of the Pakistani communities contribute to these schools? and How would you describe the Pakistani communities' ability to work together? It was important to ask subjects about the external and internal social capital of the Pakistani urban refugee communities in order to gain an understanding of the groups' bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. The last part of the interview schedule asked general questions about the benefits and challenges of the CLCs and gave subjects an opportunity to express any additional comments about the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities. To review the full interview schedule, please see Appendix A.

DATA COLLECTION

The locations of the interviews were the subjects' homes, offices, and public places such as restaurants and coffee shops. All interviewees chose the location of the interview,
which was preferable because this could help participants feel comfortable during the interview. The PI met four subjects in their homes and one of these interviews was conducted over the web conference platform, Skype. Three subjects chose their work offices for the interview location, while one participant chose a restaurant and another chose a coffee shop. Interruptions were either non-existent or were minimal, and all interruptions were short-lived and did not cause any problems for the interviews or the subjects.

The main challenges that arose during data collection were an under-estimation of time for interviews, a subject's inability to meet in person, and one participant's limited English. Subjects were informed that interviews were to take only 30 minutes to an hour. While most interviews lasted for about an hour, three took an hour and a half, showing that the anticipated time for interviews was underestimated by the PI. This, however, did not seem to pose a problem for interviewees, as all subjects who had interviews that lasted more than an hour confirmed their extended availability during the interviews. Another challenge was an interview that was conducted over Skype. The bulk of the interview can be transcribed without any issues but there were a few parts of the interview that were inaudible because of static. The inaudible segments have either been supplemented by the PI's interview notes and interview schedule, or are omitted. Fortunately, many of the inaudible parts were from the PI’s questions which were easily supplemented by the interview schedule and notes during transcribing. Lastly, one of the subjects did not have the fluency of a native speaker but had enough command of English to comprehend the informed consent form and the interview questions. This participant was identified through snowball sampling and while the subject admitted their limited English in their email correspondence, the subject and the PI decided to try an interview. The PI, having years of experience working with second-language learners, mitigated possible language barriers by slowing the pace of the questions, articulating questions clearly, rephrasing questions into simpler terms, and by asking the participant if the questions were understandable. This subject's interview will be included in the data analysis because participation in this thesis poses little risk, any existing risks are not increased by an English-learner's proficiency, the participant expressed understanding of the informed consent form and the interview questions, and the subject was able to provide helpful information for this thesis.
**DATA ANALYSIS**

In order to increase the trustworthiness, credibility, and transferability of this thesis, data triangulation was utilized to gain a wider range of perspectives from the different individuals involved with the CLCs (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006b; Guion, 2002). Data triangulation takes members of different stakeholder groups and observes any agreement among their points of view (Guion, 2002). These areas of agreement are more likely to be true because these patterns or themes are confirmed by different individuals (Guion, 2002). The PI was able to identify three main stakeholder groups among the CLCs’ external networks through the PI’s internship: professionals with ties to international schools, NGOs, and religious institutions. Stakeholder groups from the Pakistani urban refugee population were, unfortunately, not included due to the safety concerns of urban refugees and their greater vulnerability as perceived illegal immigrants in Bangkok. Nevertheless, the diverse sample of humanitarian actors from the CLCs’ external networks offered rich data in which varying observations revealed the complexity of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups, while consistent responses verified certain trends and occurrences among the CLCs and the communities (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006b; Guion, 2002). For example, the most visible type of support from the Pakistani urban refugees is their general leadership, commitment, and initiative in establishing the CLCs, which includes their willingness to volunteer to be a CLC board member or teacher. Many interviewees described these particular resources when asked about the contributions of the Pakistani urban refugee communities for the CLCs. This agreement among the majority of the sample increases the likelihood that these are indeed the main ways that members of the Pakistani urban refugee population are involved in the CLCs.

Upon the completion of the interviews, the PI transcribed all of the interviews from digital audio recordings. All transcriptions have been subjected to open coding and axial coding. This process of open coding involved identifying codes, which are key words, phrases, and concepts in each transcription (Berg, 2007; Biddix, 2009; Gallicano, 2013; Rubin & Babbie, 2008). This information was then organized into a matrix, showing all of the codes associated with a particular interview question, across all the interviews. The codes were further organized into categories during axial coding, which helped to reveal the larger patterns that arose from the interviews (Berg, 2007; Biddix, 2009; Gallicano, 2013;
Rubin & Babbie, 2008). For example, the theme of limited bridging social capital emerged through this process of open and axial coding. Codes such “religious institution,” “NGO,” and “donations” continued to emerge in regards to the external social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities. The frequency and consistency of these codes shows the tendency of the CLCs and the communities to establish connections within the particular circles of religious institutions and NGOs. The types of support the CLCs received also tended to be the same across the interviews, which was evidenced by the code “donations.” The process of reviewing the data and identifying and organizing codes was considered to be the appropriate method for exploring the themes that arose from the interviews. By locating these patterns, the researcher has not only been able to examine how these themes relate to the main research question, but has also been able to explore the larger question of how urban refugees can organize and use their social capital toward community development.

The PI’s internship experience with TCR is also utilized as a point of reference for data analysis. The PI gained a general understanding of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok through this internship, which, together with the interviews, provides a fuller depiction of the CLCs.
CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter will present the major findings of this thesis through the following themes: the internal bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups, their external bridging social capital, the limitations in their external and internal bridging social capital, and the gap in their linking social capital. The main tenet of social capital theory asserts that the social arrangements of norms and networks are convertible resources which can be used for the benefit and goals of individuals and groups (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Newton, 1997; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok demonstrate the advantages of social capital and its essential role in their efforts to provide education to their children. However, there were also gaps in the bridging and linking social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups which limit the types of resources and support they can access. These gaps can ultimately stunt or damage the growth of the CLCs and their future community organizing and development work. The crucial impact of social capital for the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities, along with the limitations in their bridging and linking social capital, is explored.

BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL & INTERNAL SOCIAL NETWORKS

Before the internal bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities is examined, the application of the term bridging social capital rather than bonding social capital will be explained. Bridging social capital comprises the resources that come from more distant and diverse relationships such as colleagues and associates (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). On the other hand, researchers have defined bonding social capital as the resources that come from closer relationships, such as those that exist among families and friends (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). Some social scientists also
have defined bonding social capital as encompassing connections among individuals and
groups who have similar demographic characteristics (Boateng, 2010; Morrice, 2007). The
latter part of this definition, however, is not applicable to Pakistani urban refugees as a
population because their backgrounds are not homogenous. Within the Pakistani urban
refugee population were individuals, families, and groups of different religions, professions,
socio-economic backgrounds, political affiliations, and regional associations. An interviewee
highlighted this diversity as they described the participation of various individuals from the
Pakistani urban refugee population in the CLCs:

The individuals involved, you got ones who are poorer and uneducated, you’ve
got ones who are gifted and skilled, these sorts of divisions … something that hit
me when I was talking to somebody—regional differences. When I was talking to
one, “Well aren’t you all Pakistani?” He immediately said, “But they’re from the
Punjab.” Pakistan’s made of four provinces, it’s like … I’m trying to deal with
someone who comes from Mongolia or something.

The subject identified some of the differences that exist within the Pakistani urban refugee
population, but also compared the differences within the communities, and the consequent
challenges of working together, to the experience of working with someone from an entirely
different country and culture such as Mongolia. In the context of such diversity, it is
detrimental to assume that Pakistani urban refugees shared connections akin to the
relationships that exist among families and friends simply because of demographics.
Relationships in the context of this diversity are more comparable to those one may find in
settings such as a company or a university; physical and social spaces where individuals and
groups of different backgrounds come together. These types of relationships, therefore, are
comparable to those encompassed by bridging social capital (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock,
2001). Much like in a work setting or among a student population, some differences cannot
be bridged and relationships cannot be forced among the Pakistani urban refugee groups.
Other differences can be resolved, but require more concentrated efforts before any
community organizing initiatives can begin to be effective. Therefore, it is more appropriate
to view the relationships among the CLCs and segments of the Pakistani urban refugee
population through the lens of bridging social capital because it accommodates the diverse
backgrounds, connections, and social capital that exist within these communities and does
not assume a familial closeness due to demographics (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001).
The Pakistani urban refugee groups’ ability to create connections within their own communities and to harness the resulting internal bridging social capital for the CLCs is demonstrated in several ways. According to the interviewees, the most visible contributions made by the Pakistani urban refugees were toward the starting and organizing of the CLCs. This included forming and volunteering for the school boards, volunteering to be teachers, and the leadership, commitment, and initiative it took to establish the CLCs. The Pakistani urban refugees’ contributions covered a wide range of support that included the manual labor required to move donated books and furniture into a CLC, volunteering as nurses for dispensaries, and financial contributions. These other types of support were not any less important but were perhaps less visible to the interviewees because the subjects had varying levels of access and relationships to the different CLCs, the other types of support were only offered for a period of time, a particular type of support was not available in all CLCs, or some CLCs publicized the types of support they received and their services differently than others. Since the Pakistani urban refugee groups’ most visible contributions across most of the CLCs were their ability to start and organize the CLCs and their willingness to volunteer for the board or teaching positions, these are the types of support that are discussed.

It is outside of the goals of this thesis to try to understand the connections within the Pakistani urban refugee groups prior to arriving in Thailand, but it was clear that many of the CLCs have had to create relationships within their communities to employ bridging social capital for their community organizing and development work. For example, before one CLC started, members of the Pakistani urban refugee groups in one area had to first collect information about the available resources within their communities:

I know from [one CLC] that they found out from each other, “Well, what are you a professional at?” “Well, I’m a photographer,” or “I’m a teacher.” They collected all of their job options together and they figured out, “Well we’ve got ten teachers and, so let’s see, are you wanting to do lower grades, upper grades?” They put that together themselves, which took lots of initiative, self-initiative. They formed their own board. It was just really inspiring to see how they were working together to make it happen for their students.

As this respondent explained, the Pakistani urban refugees in one area were able to discover the skills and experience present in their communities and utilize them for the development of the CLC. One example of how these skills and experience were applied for the CLC is the formation of the school board and the structuring of the grade levels. This ability to employ...
bridging social capital to establish most of the CLCs and invest in their development demonstrated leadership, commitment, and initiative among the Pakistani urban refugee groups, which were important attributes in an unstable environment that often challenged the existence of the CLCs. According to one participant, many CLCs have had to persevere through adversity:

It’s amazing what they can work with; hardly next to nothing and still have some kind of school. So the schools out here that I know of are working like half day schools. So, they use their facilities to do ... a lower level in the morning and then a higher level in the afternoon so they can use what they have. [One CLC] started out in a garage. … It was just amazing what they can do with what they have. And they’ve since moved now to two nice front rooms of an apartment building.

This subject explained how some CLCs have split their school days to accommodate lower and upper grade levels. With limited resources and inadequate facilities, dividing their school days to include more students was one way some CLCs were able to cope with the large number of Pakistani urban refugee children needing education while only having access to facilities such as garages or apartment buildings. This capacity of the Pakistani urban refugee groups to work through adversity and to apply the leadership skills, initiative, and commitment of some of its members was a common factor for most of the CLCs. This ability to create connections within their communities and to employ the available resources underscores the advantages of bridging social capital for the development of the CLCs.

In addition to starting most of the CLCs, the Pakistani urban refugee communities also contributed to the CLCs by utilizing bridging social capital to recruit volunteers for vacant board member and teaching positions. The capacity to employ bridging social capital for the recruitment of teachers and board members was crucial since these were often the individuals who managed the short and long term activities of the CLC. As one interviewee explained, the responsibilities of board members and teachers encompassed the tasks necessary to keep a CLC operational:

They volunteer to teach, although it’s difficult because they also have—I mean, they’re doing this with no compensation so it’s also hard. So teachers sometimes leave after a couple of months … the board member will be the one to think about management of the school, set up structure, who to hire, who to enroll in terms of students and teachers, and coordinating with all the external parties.

The tasks of board members and teachers included arranging the structure of the CLC, such as adding new grade levels when necessary, managing the daily activities of the CLC, and
working with external partners, among other responsibilities. While compensation for
teachers and school board members occasionally available through fundraising, it was not
guaranteed for all staff in any individual CLC or for all CLCs. If compensation was
available, it may have only been available for a short period of time. Some teachers and
board members, therefore, assumed a large number of responsibilities without immediate
benefits for them or their families. According to the interviews and the current literature,
urban refugees in Bangkok did not have access to legal employment (Brees, 2008; Foster,
2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015) and were, thus, often lacking enough personal funds
to cover expenses such as rent, food, and medical costs. The decision to volunteer for a CLC
instead of trying to enter the informal economy for work was, therefore, significant. The
high degree of commitment required to volunteer for a CLC was implied by the subject's
comment about some teachers’ decision to leave after a couple of months when the incentive
of compensation was not available. Regardless of the turnover, most or all of the staff for
many of the CLCs consisted of volunteer teachers and board members from the Pakistani
urban refugee groups; they gave an essential service to many of the CLCs and their
communities. The communities’ ability to utilize internal bridging social capital in order to
identify and recruit teachers and board members, therefore, was crucial for the establishment
of many CLCs.

**DEVELOPING EXTERNAL SOCIAL NETWORKS**

The CLCs’ and Pakistani urban refugee groups’ ability to develop their social
networks was demonstrated by their external connections as well. As is illustrated in the
following section, these external social networks were converted into bridging social capital
for the benefit of the CLCs. All nine interviewees first learned about the Pakistani urban
refugee population through the common circles they shared with the communities. For five
of the subjects, their religious institution was an important avenue for meeting Pakistani
urban refugee groups and beginning to build relationships. Choosing religious institutions as
a vehicle for networking made sense, since many in the Pakistani urban refugee population
identified as being Christian or Ahmadiyya. Through these relationships, Pakistani urban
refugees were also able to express their need for education, among other needs, spurring
individuals from religious institutions to respond with aid. For example, one interviewee
first became aware of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities after urban refugees in general began attending their church:

How we got started with refugees was some actually came to our church … and that opened our eyes to this whole community that we maybe had heard of, but had never seen a face and it didn’t really click exactly what this was. … After that first Sri Lankan family came and we started, you know, helping them, word just spreads through the [urban refugee] community. I mean we didn’t have to do anything. … So every day, they still come. So how do we find them? We don’t, they find us.

While this respondent and their church first started to help a Sri Lankan family, they began to help the Pakistani urban refugee communities with general aid and a focus on education when Pakistani urban refugees also began coming to their church soon after. The subject alluded to this by describing how the information about the aid provided by their church spread, attracting other urban refugee groups, including the Pakistani urban refugees, to their church. The tactic of visiting religious institutions to develop bridging social capital was not exclusive to the Pakistani urban refugee population but it was one often used by this particular group. As another respondent stated, “Pakistanis will go to any and every church looking for help.”

Pakistani urban refugees also initiated contact with Muslim organizations and international and local NGOs, along with Thai and international churches. Four subjects came into contact with the Pakistani urban refugee population and began supporting their efforts in education due to their professional ties to local and international NGOs or international private schools. One respondent, for example, described how they were first approached by one of the founders of a CLC in a meeting hosted by their employer:

That was the first time he approached me and said he is having a small classroom. … And I visited him there the first time and, after that, he approached me with this idea of having, establishing a school in a condo.

After this initial contact and visit, the interviewee began to gather and direct resources toward the rental costs of the CLC’s facilities. Reaching out to international schools and NGOs in order to develop bridging social capital was also an appropriate choice for the networking efforts of Pakistani urban refugees and many of the CLCs because the objectives and resources of international schools and NGOs were often aligned with the goals of the Pakistani urban refugees and the CLCs.
**BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL & EXTERNAL SOCIAL NETWORKS**

The Pakistani urban refugee groups’ capacity to develop their external social networks and to harness the resulting external bridging social capital was evidenced by the types of support they have received for the CLCs and their communities in general. Most of the nine interviewees helped the CLCs in the following ways: providing education-related activities, consultancy, and networking on behalf of the CLCs. There were certainly other forms of aid for the CLCs, such as advocacy, but the above types of support were the main ways the respondents participated in the CLCs. A number of subjects also offered general support to the Pakistani urban refugee communities, which is also discussed. It is also important to note that the type and amount of support varied between the CLCs because resources were often limited and because each CLC functioned independently and varied in size, structure, leadership, and approach to education, among other features.

For six respondents, the education-related activities provided for the CLCs ranged from teaching a short lesson once or twice a week, arranging activities such as outings and English lessons, to being the sole teacher for a small CLC. While volunteer teachers were often recruited from the Pakistani urban refugee population for most CLCs, utilizing the groups' external networks to recruit other volunteer teachers or to organize education-related activities provided support that would otherwise have been unavailable. This included having Thai and English language lessons from native speakers, having basic subjects taught in English, or activities such as outings, sports, and arts and crafts. The opportunity to learn from native speakers was an important option for some families, as one participant described:

> It’s very important to the dad that the kids learn English. … So that’s a high value for him; for the kids to learn English. I think that some of them feel strongly that they don’t want their kids to learn, to study in Urdu; they want them to study in English.

This interviewee had been volunteering to teach the children of a few families in different locations approximately once a week. As the subject explained, one of the families they worked with chose not to enroll their children in a nearby Pakistani urban refugee-run CLC and, instead, opted to work with the subject in order to ensure that their children received English instruction. Humanitarian actors, such as this participant, were able to help increase
the number and variety of educational opportunities for the Pakistani urban refugee groups by offering activities that may have otherwise been difficult for the CLCs to provide.

Eight out of nine interviewees also offered consultation for the CLCs. Five respondents had a background in either traditional or alternative forms of education, like self-study and home schooling. The three other subjects had experience in program management and community organizations through their formal employment. Thus, these eight subjects were able to supply advice for a wide range of programmatic areas and educational approaches such as the structure and governance of some CLCs, processes like admissions and enrollment, fundraising, classroom management, and curriculum development. At least six CLCs adopted a board as part of their structure according to the recommendations of various humanitarian actors; as one interviewee communicated, it was one way to encourage trust, inclusion, and ownership among the Pakistani urban refugee communities that surround the CLCs:

Elect a [CLC] board and let the parents of the students who attend there, let them elect their board. Who do they trust? And so that’s kind of what it comes down to in any school any way because the parents are not going to pay tuition at private schools … unless they believe in what it’s doing and they trust the teachers and the administration to get it done.

This respondent expressed how, similar to larger schools such as private schools, parents would likely withhold their investment and participation in the CLCs if they did not know and trust the leadership of the CLCs. Consultation from the communities' external networks tended to be helpful for most CLCs since the educational and professional backgrounds of the volunteer teachers, staff, and board varied, such that the leadership of some CLCs had little to no experience in the field of education. This respondent’s comments regarding the usefulness of a parent-elected school board in garnering trust, inclusion, and ownership is also particularly poignant in the context of the internal conflicts that existed among a few segments of Pakistani urban refugee population, which are explored below through an analysis of the communities’ gaps in their bridging social capital.

Networking on behalf of the CLCs was the one type of aid all subjects provided. The most visible outcomes of these efforts were donations. While some respondents donated directly, most acted as a conduit for donations from family and friends abroad, employers, local contacts, groups, and local and international institutions and organizations. The wide range of donations that were channeled through the interviewees to the CLCs included
monetary support for facilities and teachers’ stipends, furniture such as tables and chairs, equipment like computers and printers, school supplies, and uniforms. These donations were essential for the establishment of many CLCs. An interviewee who was co-managing a CLC with Pakistani urban refugees explained how the support they received from a connection abroad helped them start their CLC: “But at first, [the] church support much help for school, for the deposit and materials. That is why we can start with good condition.” The financial help that came from abroad was not only enough to provide for the initial deposit for their facilities, but it also covered the expenses for their materials, equipment, and furniture, ensuring a good foundation for the start of their CLC. Interviewees also utilized similar networks to gain access to other resources and services, such as volunteer teachers and trainings for capacity building. For example, one subject connected the volunteer teachers of a CLC with a professional educator: “I used to take them to see [an educator] … to ask for [the educator’s] advice about classroom management and whether there is a need for curriculum or what to teach.” Again, this type of capacity building tended to be beneficial for most CLCs, since the experience of some volunteer teachers, staff, and board members was limited in the area of education. The subjects’ ability to be a conduit for resources and connections demonstrated the tangible benefits of utilizing the extended circles of the Pakistani urban refugee communities' current external networks.

Regardless of whether their initial support solely focused on the CLCs, five of the interviewees also supplied general aid to members of the Pakistani urban refugee population. This aid included donations, advocacy, social and emotional support during particularly challenging situations, connecting families and individuals to service providers, and networking on behalf of the communities. The type of support given varied according to the capacity of each interviewee, since providing aid to the Pakistani urban refugee communities was often in addition to their full-time roles and the needs of the communities could easily become overwhelming. One participant, for example, supported the small business of a Pakistani urban refugee by selling products on her behalf: “Another friend, I help her with doing a food business, where she makes the food and I help her collect pre-orders and then we go to [a location] and we sell them every week.” By establishing a simple system for pre-orders and by utilizing the interviewee’s networks, this urban refugee and subject mitigated the risk of arrest and detention while still pursuing an income for the urban refugee. Many of
the Pakistani urban refugees feared the risk of being arrested and detained by the police or immigration officials, which deterred some from pursuing any type of work. Another participant described how they helped with other needs among the Pakistani urban refugee groups:

The kids are hungry, so we always have to have lunch. We don’t have to. We always have peanut butter and jelly. Those kinds of things that everyone can eat lunch if they need to. All kinds of needs they have. When kids need glasses, we end up taking them and getting them glasses. I think 3 of our students have maybe glasses. Various things that they experience, we try to help.

This subject did not restrict their support to the area of education, since they recognized how other needs such as medical and nutritional needs are intertwined with the children’s educational needs. In addition to providing lunch and glasses, this respondent also helped with the distribution of basic supplies and items that were specific to many of the Pakistani urban refugees’ culture. This included cooking oil, toothpaste, laundry detergent, chickpeas for daal, and some of the spices they used regularly for cooking. Due to the large extent and diversity of needs among the urban refugee population in general, many humanitarian actors who supported the CLCs also supplied general aid to the Pakistani urban refugee communities.

**GAPS IN BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL**

The internal and external bridging social capital of the Pakistani urban refugee groups has proven to be fruitful. Segments of the Pakistani urban refugee population were able to expand their networks by establishing relationships within their own communities and by taking advantage of common circles like religious institutions and NGOs to gain external connections. The resources from these relationships were extensive for the CLCs and for the communities in general. They included the work of volunteer CLC board members and teachers, donations, consultancy, and other forms of support. The CLCs helped to transform the environment of Pakistani urban refugees by creating greater access to education when there were little to no educational opportunities for the vast majority of the population. However, the bridging social capital of the Pakistani urban refugee groups was limited in several ways, which may ultimately stifle or damage their community organizing efforts around the issue of education and their goals for further community development beyond education. The limitations in their bridging social capital were the tendency to reach out to
the same common circles of religious institutions and NGOs, weaker ties with the local Thai population, and internal conflicts in some parts of the Pakistani urban refugee population. Each gap will be explored separately.

**External Networks**

Eight out of nine interviewees first learned about the Pakistani urban refugee population through the common religious and NGO circles they shared with the communities. When questioned about other individuals or groups whom they work with for the benefit of the CLCs, all nine subjects mentioned individuals and groups who were a part of their own networks such as local contacts, family and friends abroad, international schools, and local and international religious institutions and NGOs. Since the Pakistani urban refugee communities tended to reach out to groups and individuals from religious institutions and NGOs, and these contacts tended to work with others from their own networks, the bridging social capital of the Pakistani urban refugees tended to be confined to a few specific circles. For example, one subject described one of the main networks of the CLCs, which resulted from the communities’ common connections with religious institutions and NGOs:

> It tends to be people already involved professionally as educationalists. They’re international; they work in international schools. These schools seem to have as part of their program outreach to community. So, maybe it’s coming together naturally of school program with the gifts and interests of the ones who are involved.

The networks of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups were instrumental in general, but their networks with religious institutions and NGOs seemed to produce the same resources. As the earlier discussion demonstrates, most interviewees contributed by providing education-related activities, offering consultancy, and networking on behalf of the CLCs. The provision of donations was the main type of support from the CLCs’ extended external networks, based on the responses of eight interviewees. These resources produced through the Pakistani urban refugee communities’ bridging social capital had a substantial impact, but perhaps a wealth of other resources could be obtained from local and international businesses, local community-based organizations, local civic associations, or local government agencies.
Local Thai Communities

An important gap in the bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups was their weaker ties with the local Thai communities. When asked about any Thai organizations or individuals who contributed to the CLCs, the responses of participants were diverse though inconsistent. Five subjects mentioned the work of a Thai foundation, two respondents described the contributions of another Thai foundation, and others commented on the general aid offered by some individuals and groups to the Pakistani urban refugee communities. Of the latter, two subjects acknowledged the general help of Thai churches, two identified the Thai friends and neighbors of a few Pakistani urban refugees, and three interviewees spoke of the connections they brought to the Pakistani urban refugee groups. Regardless of the diverse but inconsistent responses of subjects, it was clear that the general aid of local Thai groups and individuals could be vital for the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities. One participant identified the contributions of a building manager and landlord toward the safety of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups in the area:

They’ve been quite supportive in terms of keeping the police off. As far as I know, they also pay some money to the police; so I think they stay away. … For security and all of that, most of the support is coming from the landlord and the building manager.

This respondent illustrated how the help of this Thai landlord and building manager had been crucial for the protection of the CLCs and for the Pakistani urban refugee communities in the area. The CLCs were able to offer education for their communities with the help of these individuals and they, along with the families who lived in the same area, were able to avoid arrest, detention, and extortion. According to the other subjects, the two Thai foundations mentioned also supported the CLCs by providing resources such as volunteer Thai language teachers and uniforms for students. Thai churches, friends, and neighbors offered various types of general aid to the Pakistani urban refugees such as social support, donations of food and home appliances, and warning Pakistani urban refugees when police were in their area. The help of local Thai organizations and individuals was essential for the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups because they offered specific types of resources and support that others would be unable to offer due to their fluency in the Thai language and culture, their familiarity with the location, and their local connections. The story of the landlord and
building manager's ability to negotiate with law enforcement and immigration officials for the protection of the CLCs and the urban refugees residing in the same area is an example of the specific support members of the local Thai population can provide. However, as the diverse but inconsistent responses of the interviewees showed, the CLCs' and the Pakistani urban refugee communities' bridging social capital regarding the local Thai population was limited. This gap was further highlighted by one respondent, as they shared about one of the CLCs' main challenges:

Another challenge they have—they might not realize they have it—is they need to learn [sic] Thai language. Most of them come with a mindset that, "We’re from Pakistan and we’re going somewhere else. Thailand’s just a stop off point.” They don’t realize how long they might be here and how empowering and safe it can make it for them if they learn the language.

According to this participant, the ability to communicate in the Thai language grants an entry way toward empowerment and protection for the CLCs and Pakistani urban refugees. Some of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugees this subject had encountered, however, did not perceive the ability to communicate and build relationships with the local Thai population as a need. This limitation in the CLCs' and the groups’ bridging social capital, much like their tendency to focus on networking within their common religious and NGO circles, may ultimately hinder their endeavor to increase their children’s access to education and to implement other community organizing and development initiatives.

**Internal Conflicts**

When asked to describe the groups’ ability to work together, the internal conflicts that were present in segments of the population seemed to be at the forefront for many of the interviewees. “Jealousy” and words such as “conflict,” “fighting,” “tensions,” “division,” or “bad actions” were consistently expressed by eight interviewees in regards to a few CLCs. There were two identified cases of disunity among four CLCs at the time of the interviews; eight subjects either referred to one or both cases when describing internal conflicts among the CLCs. The internal conflicts that were present among portions of the population were complex and cannot be fully explored with the specific aims of this thesis. However, the two expressed cases are further examined in order to gain an understanding of the different types of conflict that existed and the various effects of division for the bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups, and for their community organizing and
development work. Reviewing the data for these two particular cases also discourages generalization across the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities.

As one interviewee communicated, the extent and consequences of disputes varied from one CLC to another: “Conflict is real and it can do everything from split a school, as it’s done to two schools, to just cause quiet rumblings and discontent.” The CLCs’ internal conflicts could range from small, short-lived disagreements between CLC staff and parents to more severe disputes with longer-term effects, such as the severing of a CLC. This range of consequences was exemplified in the two identified cases of four CLCs. The first case refers to the two CLCs mentioned in the above comment. The two CLCs originated from one CLC, but due to long standing hostility toward some of the leadership in the original CLC, some of the parents chose to separate and start another CLC. Fortunately, the creation of the second CLC gave the Pakistani urban refugee groups in the area more access to education: “In one of the splits down there, it actually created space for more students. Now more students are getting an education because of the break-off. That’s not the way we like to do things, but….” This subject recognized that while the second CLC was conceived out of conflict, the division and subsequent creation of the second CLC has resulted in a greater capacity to admit more students in the area. It is important to note that while increased access to education was an advantage, it is unclear if these two CLCs were able to maintain a neutral, if not amicable, relationship. Therefore, the outcome of this internal strife was mixed. While the immediate conflict was largely resolved and the conflict resulted in expanding education in the area, the relationship between the two CLCs may have remained somewhat strained.

For the second case, the hostility and its consequences seemed to be more severe for the two CLCs involved and the Pakistani urban refugee groups in the area. One CLC identified as a learning center specifically for Christian Pakistani urban refugees and the other CLC drew in students from different religious backgrounds. Both CLCs shared similar facilities for their classes, educational activities, and community events. While some interviewees attributed the disputes to religious differences and the social and historical context of religious persecution in Pakistan, other subjects claimed that the disunity is rooted in the leaders’ desire to gain positions of influence for their own benefit. Still other participants cited the social, economic, and psychological pressures of seeking asylum in Bangkok as contributing factors to the hostility. Regardless of the reasons for the conflict,
the two CLCs grew to be antagonistic of each other. A respondent shared their observations when they were invited to join an activity that was arranged by another humanitarian actor: “So they were having fights on that day because the [one CLC] doesn’t want their own children to join, even though the other group, they don’t have a problem.” This respondent spoke of how the leaders of each CLC argued during the activity, with the leaders of one CLC refusing to allow their students to participate because of the divisions that existed between the two CLCs. Another interviewee commented: “And there are fights every day, as far as I know. … There’s a lot of aggression there when you go there. It’s really hostile.” Another subject stated that it was “absolutely impossible” for the two CLCs to work together and described the conflict as “destructive.” According to the observations of these subjects, the disputes between these two CLCs were consistently contentious and more acute than the conflict that existed between the two CLCs in the first case. The conflict in this second case was ongoing at the time of the interviews but had already led to a few serious consequences for the two CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities in the area.

The main outcomes of the hostility between these two CLCs were the gaps in their internal and external bridging social capital and the increasing security concerns. Five subjects described at least one negative consequence for the CLCs’ internal bridging social capital; as one participant explained, one of these costs was the inability to share resources:

They’re trying to run a Christian and Muslim school separately, simultaneously, and it sounds very complicated and it doesn’t sound frankly to be the most cost-effective way of doing that. … If they could be more united and all on the same page, they’d be able to accomplish more. … They need to have lessons at different times of the day; they need to develop two different sets of curriculum. It makes everything substantially more complicated and difficult. If everybody can work together, then it would be way less complicated to manage access to limited resources that they have and we could develop one curriculum stream. They wouldn’t have to have two different things going on.

The division between the two CLCs have produced a gap in their internal bridging social capital, in which relationships in the communities were either prevented from forming or were damaged and, thus, there was little avenue for the exchange of capital between the two schools. Consequently, they were unable to share their limited resources and support in more cost-effective and efficient ways, which may have been detrimental for the Pakistani urban refugee communities in the area. Having two CLCs multiplied the work of creating daily classroom lessons, designing the curriculum, and teaching, for example. Furthermore, the
earlier observation about a fight during an activity demonstrated the students’ inability to access the same resources or opportunities due to this hostility and resulting gap in internal bridging social capital. The CLCs’ inability or unwillingness to share limited resources and support resulted in this inequality among students and prevented the CLCs from functioning more effectively, which undermined the central mission of the CLCs to provide education to children.

The consequences for the two CLCs’ internal bridging social capital were mirrored in the negative impact on their external networks. Only two interviewees commented on the effect of the disunity on the external bridging social capital of the CLCs, but both discussed the withdrawal of support from external connections. One of these respondents explained the reason they had decided not to support one of the CLCs:

If both are open, I feel like people will want to help both. … I feel like, if I support them, will they really think for the benefit of the kids? … Then I feel like, ok, you’re not thinking for the benefit of the children or the people.

This subject recognized the effect of the conflict on the students’ ability to access the same resources and opportunities and declined to further offer their aid as a result. The CLCs’ unwillingness or lack of openness to collaborate and the resulting inequality among the students also led this participant to question the motivations and actions of the leadership. Furthermore, this subject alluded to the lack of openness as the reason for the hesitation of other humanitarian actors to aid the two CLCs. The earlier discussion about the CLCs’ external bridging social capital illustrates the significant role of external networks for the CLCs’ establishment. External networks aided the CLCs through education-related activities, consultancy, and by networking on their behalf. External networks also supplied other forms of support to the Pakistani urban refugee communities, such as donations, advocacy, and social and emotional support. Due to the division between the two CLCs, some external networks developed a sense of suspicion toward these CLCs and started to withdraw their support. The negative impact on these external networks not only further limited the amount and type of support these two CLCs receive, but it may increase the gap in their external bridging social capital because their current connections and any secondary relationships may very well cease.

Compounding the negative effects on the two CLCs’ internal and external bridging social capital, the overt nature of the conflict between the two CLCs has also led to increased
security concerns. Five respondents highlighted safety from arrest and detention as a general concern for the Pakistani urban refugee population and all the CLCs, but one of these participants identified a link between the ongoing division and an increase in security concerns for the CLCs and the communities in the area. This interviewee expressed this issue while they described the hostility between the two CLCs: “But I also know that the building manager has a lot of concerns about the constant fighting going on there, which is a security threat, especially since things explode there.” According to this participant, the explosive conflict between the two CLCs could draw the attention of nearby police and immigration officials or could give Thai neighbors reason to call law enforcement. This was a serious problem due to the illegal status of many individuals and families in the Pakistani urban refugee groups. They would all be at risk for arrest, indefinite detention, extortion, and other harm if discovered by police or immigration officials (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). Furthermore, the CLCs’ existence depends on the sympathy of their landlord and building manager, who provided protection by negotiating with local police. This sympathy was not guaranteed and the landlord and building manager could decide to no longer offer this support if the impact of the conflict outweighed the benefits of allowing the CLCs to continue. The hostility between the two CLCs and the consequent security concerns not only jeopardized the existence of the CLCs, but endangered the safety of the Pakistani urban refugee communities in the area.

The internal conflicts among some CLCs were complex and ranged from minimal disagreements to more severe divisions with varying consequences. Disputes among communities and organizations are common and the Pakistani urban refugee communities were not immune to this. It is also important to note that these particular cases of conflict are not generalizable to the Pakistani urban refugee population, but serve to inform on the various repercussions of conflict on the groups’ social capital and community development work. The dispute that existed between the two CLCs in the first case ended with mixed outcomes and it was difficult assess their working relationship. The hostility between the two CLCs in the second case, however, was more serious and has had negative consequences for the surrounding communities’ internal and external bridging social capital. Relationships or collaboration cannot be forced and would not lead to the effective use of social capital, but it is clear that any type of hostility that can harm the students’ access to education, a
community’s organizing and development work, or endanger the safety of communities ought to be avoided or resolved in order for the CLCs to be effective.

**ABSENCE OF LINKING SOCIAL CAPITAL**

Eight subjects first learned about the Pakistani urban refugee population through the common religious and NGO circles they shared with the communities. All nine interviewees networked on behalf of the CLCs but mentioned individuals and groups who were already a part of their own networks, such as local contacts, family and friends abroad, international schools, and local and international religious institutions and NGOs. Participants also referred to other humanitarian actors whom they did not directly collaborate with but who also helped the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee communities; however these humanitarian actors were limited to the same categories already mentioned by the interviewees. Furthermore, the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups had weaker ties with the local Thai population. The CLCs’ and the Pakistani urban refugee groups’ tendency to reach out to the same circles not only shows gaps in their external bridging social capital, but it also points to an absence of linking social capital. It is understandable that few, if any, relationships between Pakistani urban refugees and individuals or groups of power in Thailand existed, given the precarious environment of urban refugees and their illegal status in Bangkok. The absence of linking social capital, however, is unfortunate because of the potential and specific resources it can provide the CLCs. The need for more consistent and reliable protection, for example, is an issue that may be mitigated or resolved by linking social capital.

All CLCs needed to hide their existence to some extent and most relied on the sympathies of local Thais, such as neighbors, landlords, building managers, and police and immigration officials to have a minimal level of protection from arrest and detainment. This instability can be disruptive and perpetuates the CLCs’ marginalization. As one interviewee mentioned, the students they were working with had to move to a different location when immigration officials began to visit their apartment building frequently:

Some of the students got moved out of the building where we were teaching due to complications with immigration. … Many people in that building found that the immigration was visiting quite regularly and, so, they got to the point that they didn’t feel it was safe to stay there anymore.
This not only disturbed their education, but the students simply had to seek another option for education that was closer to their new location. The lack of consistent and reliable protection required all of the CLCs to hide their existence. This limited their ability to pursue legitimacy and other sources for funding or resources, which ultimately prevents the further growth and development of the CLCs. As another subject expressed, legitimacy in the form of accreditation was important for CLC students: “All of those kids are getting an education but since it’s not accredited in any way, it may not necessarily even be recognized by other institutions when they go somewhere else.” Linking social capital is not a guaranteed solution for these challenges, but it may be able to help the CLCs move out of the margins by offering creative and alternative solutions for the safety concerns and formal legitimization of the CLCs.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

According to social capital theory, the resources that can be converted from the social arrangements of norms and networks can be used for the goals and benefits of groups and individuals (Coleman, 1988; Lin, 1999; Newton, 1997; Putnam, 1993, 1995; White, 2002; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Social capital can help to create resources in conditions where little exists and aid the movement of marginalized individuals and groups out of poverty (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). An investigation of its application among urban refugees is, therefore, appropriate given the precarious and resource-scarce environments of urban refugees (Brees, 2008; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Foster, 2015; Jacobsen, 2002, 2004; Landau, 2006) and the advantages and possibilities of social capital (Morrice, 2007; Putnam, 1993, 1995; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Research regarding the use of social capital among urban refugees, however, is limited. Existing research has demonstrated how social capital can normalize the option of flight among potential asylum-seekers, offer vital resources for the logistics of flight, and provide essential support for the livelihood of urban refugees in the country of first asylum (Allen & Hiller, 1985; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Palmgren, 2013; Thomas et al., 2011). However, there is only inconclusive evidence for the employment of social capital in the community organizing and development work of urban refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2006). Therefore, more research focusing on the role of social capital in the community organizing and development initiatives of urban refugees is needed in order to understand how social capital can be harnessed.

This thesis hopes to begin bridging this gap in research by examining the Pakistan urban refugees’ application of social capital to address the lack of education in their communities through the creation of CLCs in Bangkok, Thailand. Through nine semi-
structured interviews with humanitarian actors, this thesis sought information about the external and internal networks of the Pakistani urban refugee groups and the CLCs, the types of support they received through these relationships, the benefits of the CLCs, and the challenges they currently face. Almost all of the subjects have been involved with at least one CLC either informally or through their employment for at least one year, which underscores the sample’s familiarity with the CLCs, the Pakistani urban refugee population, and the general and education-specific challenges they encounter in Bangkok. All interviewees were recruited through purposive and snowball sampling, and data triangulation was utilized with some limitations. While a wider range of perspectives from the different stakeholder groups were obtained, not all stakeholder groups were able to participate. The stakeholder groups from the Pakistani urban refugee communities were not included due the risk of arrest and indefinite detention for urban refugees and their greater vulnerability as perceived illegal immigrants (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). After the period of data collection, each interview was transcribed and all the transcriptions have been subjected to open coding and axial coding. This data analysis allowed for specific themes to emerge: the internal and external bridging social capital of the Pakistani urban refugee communities. While the social capital from these groups has been shown to be essential for the CLCs, the data analysis also revealed gaps in the CLCs’ and the Pakistani urban refugee communities’ bridging and linking social capital.

Many of the CLCs have emerged and persevered through adversity with the leadership, commitment, and initiative of various members of the Pakistani urban refugee communities in Bangkok. With limited material and financial resources, one of the ways the Pakistani urban refugee groups have been able to establish the CLCs is through their ability to create social networks within and outside their groups and by harnessing the resulting bridging social capital toward the CLCs. The use of bridging social capital for most of the CLCs has enabled the Pakistani urban refugee communities to obtain resources that would otherwise be unavailable: volunteer board members, volunteer teachers, facilities, and materials and supplies such as donated computers and textbooks. These resources are in addition to the free consultations many of the CLCs receive from individuals with professional backgrounds in education, program management, and community organizations, and the extended networks they are given access to through their existing connections with
religious institutions and NGOs. The CLCs’ bridging social capital with external networks has also been demonstrated to be generally beneficial. In addition to aiding the CLCs, many of the CLCs’ external networks have also helped with needs that intersect with students’ educational needs or overlap with the communities’ well-being. This general aid includes donations, advocacy, and social and emotional support during particularly difficult situations.

According to social capital theory, social capital can generate resources for individuals and groups that may otherwise be unavailable (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The CLCs’ and Pakistani urban refugee communities’ utilization of social capital offers evidence in support of this theory. The CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups have been able to create more educational opportunities for their children by establishing internal and external relationships and by utilizing the available resources from these networks. The Pakistani urban refugee groups in Bangkok live in a precarious and unstable environment because as illegal immigrants, they have no legal claim to healthcare, education, or employment (Brees, 2008; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). This environment can also be hostile because their legal status leaves them vulnerable to arrest, indefinite detention, refoulement, exploitation, and extortion (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015). The existence of the CLCs challenges this marginalization. By harnessing the available resources through social capital, the CLCs and Pakistani urban refugee communities exercise their self-determination and capacity for community organizing and development, thereby helping to transform their environment.

While the role of the CLCs among the Pakistani urban refugee population is substantial, it is also important not to romanticize the CLCs or the Pakistani urban refugee groups’ community organizing and development initiatives. The CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups have developed external networks through common circles such as religious institutions and NGOs. According to Tocqueville (as cited in Newton, 1997; as cited in Putnam, 1993, 1995) and Putnam (1993, 1995), having common political or social circles is crucial for the development of social capital because it is in these avenues that individuals are able to meet, build relationships, express ideas and needs, and share resources. These avenues can even become places of mobilization for larger group efforts (Eichler, 2007; as cited in Newton, 1997; Putnam, 1993, 1995). By taking advantage of common circles, Pakistani urban refugees have extended their networks to include
humanitarian actors external to their population, however, the CLCs and the communities continue to have gaps in their bridging social capital while their linking social capital appears to be nonexistent.

The specific limitations in the CLCs' and the communities' bridging social capital include their tendency to target the same common circles of religious institutions and NGOs, their weaker connections with the local Thai population, and the internal conflict that exists within parts of the Pakistani urban refugee population. By primarily focusing on their relationships with religious institutions and NGOs, the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups limit their ability to access a diversity of bridging social capital. This is especially true for their weaker connections with the local Thai population, which can restrict their ability to access the specific types of bridging social capital that Thai organizations and individuals can offer through their fluency in the Thai language and culture, their familiarity with the location, and their local connections. The divisions among some of the CLCs and segments of the Pakistani urban refugee population are of particular concern. While antagonism can range from small disagreements to outright hostility with various outcomes, more severe conflicts can have destructive consequences for the bridging social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups involved. These consequences include damaging possible and existing relationships internal and external to the Pakistani urban refugee population, and increasing the current security concerns regarding arrest and detention.

In addition to these gaps in the CLCs' and the Pakistani urban refugee communities' bridging social capital, their linking social capital seems to be nonexistent. Due to the illegal status of the Pakistani urban refugee population, and thereby the majority of the CLCs' students and staff, the CLCs cannot pursue official accreditation and formal protection from arrest and detention. The CLCs, therefore, largely remain in the margins because of a lack of legitimacy, resources, and stable protection from arrest and detention. Linking social capital is certainly not a panacea for these challenges, but it may offer alternative routes toward legitimizing the education provided by CLCs and lead to more consistent protection. According to the networks view of social capital, a diversity of social networks that include an abundance of bridging and linking social capital are crucial to progress beyond poverty (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Linking social capital can
be defined as the relationships between the poor and individuals in positions of power (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). The latter group is outside of the marginalized community and includes individuals like an executive director of company, a court judge, or a bank manager (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001). These types of relationships, coupled with bridging social capital, are often essential for the marginalized to move beyond poverty because bridging and linking social capital can offer the specific types of resources that can directly improve their socio-economic status (Morrice, 2007; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). The limitations in the bridging and linking social capital of the CLCs and the Pakistani urban refugee groups can stifle the CLCs’ progress and may eventually harm their ability to continue their community organizing efforts around the issue of education and their goals for broader community development.

**Significance of Research**

The significance of this thesis is its contribution to the limited existing research regarding urban refugees. This thesis focuses on a sparsely studied urban refugee population, demonstrates community organizing and development among an urban refugee population, and illustrates the essential role of social capital in such initiatives. In Thailand, Pakistanis are the largest asylum-seeking population and the second largest refugee group (UNHCR, 2015). Most, if not all, live in urban areas (Foster, 2015; UNHCR, 2015). It is also a growing population, with a 52.5% expected combined increase in Thailand by the end of 2015 (UNHCR, 2015). The existing literature about urban refugees, however, provides very limited information about Pakistani urban refugees. By studying the social capital of Pakistani urban refugees and their efforts to increase their children’s access to education, this thesis offers information about the community organizing and development efforts of this particular population, as well as information about some of the dynamics that exists in the Pakistani urban refugee groups. This information may be helpful for governments, NGOs, and other humanitarian actors who are working with this growing population.

Other research has illustrated the community organizing and development work of urban refugees, establishing their ability to exercise self-determination and disproving the notion that urban refugees are solely a drain on the social and financial resources of host countries (Dryden-Peterson, 2006). This thesis is in agreement. Through the CLCs, the
Pakistani urban refugee communities have transformed their environment by creating educational opportunities where little to no access to education exists. These urban refugee groups have also introduced additional resources such as experienced teachers in their new host country and are helping to meet the need for education; a responsibility which may otherwise solely fall on their host country, NGOs, or private schools. The capacity of the Pakistani urban refugee communities to utilize social capital to create avenues for education and to offer additional resources to their country of first asylum underlines the potential of these urban refugee groups. If these groups can further access the support and resources essential to their community organizing and development initiatives, these communities can not only continue move toward self-reliance but they may be able to expand the benefits of their efforts directly to their country of first asylum.

The findings of this thesis are also significant because they illustrate the potential of social capital for the community organizing and development efforts for urban refugees in the global South. Past research has primarily presented the benefits of social capital for urban refugees on a micro level, such as the procurement of food, shelter, remittances, employment, and information (Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Palmgren, 2013), which is in addition to the use of social networks for social and emotional support and protection (Jacobsen et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2011). Research concerning the role of social capital in community organizing or development initiatives of urban refugees, however, is limited. This thesis shows that in the precarious and resource-scarce environments of urban refugees, social capital can be utilized by urban refugees to achieve more than subsistence living standards. Social capital is not only applicable for the community organizing and development work of urban refugees, but it has an essential role.

LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

The primary limitation of this thesis is the lack of direct participation from the Pakistani urban refugee population. While almost all of the interviewees have participated in at least one CLC for one year and are, thus, familiar with the CLCs, this thesis would have benefited from the inclusion of the various stakeholder groups from the Pakistani urban refugee communities. For example, information about the groups’ bonding social capital could have been obtained, along with the specific perspectives of students, parents, volunteer
teachers, and board members regarding the bridging and linking social capital of the CLCs and their communities. The lack of direct participation from the Pakistani urban refugee population also limits the credibility and transferability of the results since not all stakeholder groups were incorporated. The sample’s length of experience with the CLCs, the agreement within the responses of the sample, and the ways in which many of their observations about the conditions for urban refugees agree with the existing research and data (Brees, 2008; Cheung, 2012; Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013; UNHCR, 2015) validate the trustworthiness of the sample, but having a wider range of perspectives to further confirm themes or reveal the complexity of the subject would have strengthened this thesis.

**RECOMMENDATIONS & APPLICATION**

Future research can investigate how the bonding social capital of urban refugees influences their community organizing and development work, the extent to which security concerns and xenophobia affect urban refugees’ ability to build social capital, and the impact of urban refugees’ community organizing and development work for their own communities and for their country of first asylum. Information about how the bonding social capital of urban refugees affects their community organizing and development initiatives may reveal the extent of which pre-existing relationships among urban refugees can hinder or encourage community organizing and development initiatives. Similarly, a study that examines how an environment that expresses xenophobia and threatens urban refugees with arrests and detention impacts the ability of urban refugees to build social capital can also show other factors that restrain or support the community organizing and development work of urban refugees. It would also be beneficial to evaluate the actual impact of the community organizing and development work of urban refugees for their own communities in order to identify areas of improvement. This may also give interested groups such as NGOs and other humanitarian actors more information about how they can better partner with urban refugees. Lastly, a study about how host countries may benefit from the community organizing and development endeavors of urban refugees may encourage collaboration between host countries and urban refugees, as well provide further evidence against the xenophobic image of refugees as social and financial burdens (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012).
According to its findings, this thesis recommends that host countries revisit their immigration policy to encourage the community organizing and development work of urban refugees, and for NGOs, other humanitarian actors, and urban refugee communities to incorporate the use of social capital in their approaches. Through the creation of the CLCs, the Pakistani urban refugee groups have demonstrated their capacity for community organizing and development. However, their lack of legal status in Thailand hinders any meaningful progress for the CLCs and these communities. The CLCs cannot seek official accreditation or the resources they require to operate formal schools because of their illegal status. This is counter-productive. Many countries of first asylum are reluctant to admit urban refugees partly because they are seen as a social and financial burden (Brees, 2008; Campbell, 2006; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Sunpuwan & Niyomsilpa, 2012) and, yet, urban refugees are often barred from accessing the resources and support necessary to exercise self-reliance and to create services and mechanisms to meet their own needs. Host countries ought to revise their immigration policies concerning urban refugees and create environments that are supportive of community organizing and development among urban refugees, which can ultimately benefit the countries of first asylum as well.

Furthermore, this thesis recommends the utilization of social capital among NGOs, other humanitarian actors, and urban refugee groups. Through the collaboration between humanitarian actors and Pakistani urban refugee groups, Pakistani urban refugees have not only been able to seek out resources for their livelihood, but have begun to exercise community organizing and development. It is true that many needs continue to exist in the Pakistani urban refugee population and other urban refugee populations in Bangkok, and not all of the basic needs are being met consistently for all urban refugees (Foster, 2015; Palmgren, 2013). This lack of sufficient resources and services is also not exclusive to Bangkok, as past literature has illustrated (Amara & Aljunid, 2014; Briant & Kennedy, 2004; Dryden-Peterson, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004; Jacobsen et al., 2014; Landau, 2006; Refugee Law Project, 2003; Thomas et al., 2011). However, given the capacity of the Pakistani urban refugees for community organizing and development, and given the potential of social capital in difficult conditions, further attention can be drawn toward the utilization of social capital in education and other areas of need. Are there ways to help meet the gaps in the Pakistani urban refugee communities’ bridging and linking social capital to increase
educational services, and how can NGOs and other humanitarian actors partner in this? What other resources exist within and outside the urban refugee communities, and how can social capital be facilitated and harnessed to help meet other needs? Humanitarian actors and urban refugee groups ought to incorporate social capital into their approaches in order to further seek the development and empowerment of urban refugee communities.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PART 1. For the first part of the interview, I’d like to ask about your involvement with the community-based schools among the Pakistani asylum-seeking communities.

1. Which schools are you and/or your organization currently working with?
2. How did you first learn about this school(s)?
3. I understand that different individuals and organizations have been able to offer help for different periods of time - anywhere from a few weeks to close to a year. How long have you been involved with this school(s)?
4. Some people support these schools by volunteering their time and others through donations. How about you. How do you support this school(s)?
5. Can you share your motivations for supporting this school(s)?

PART 2. Thank you for sharing about your involvement in this school(s). I’d like to now ask you some questions about the school's other volunteers and contributors.

1. Since you’ve shared about your (organization's) involvement with this school(s), I'm wondering about others who have become a part of this school's efforts. Are there any groups or individuals who you work with for the benefit of the school(s)?
2. Can you share about other groups and individuals who have helped with the school?
3. If no Thai organizations or individuals are mentioned, ask: Do you know of any Thai organizations or individuals who have helped? Can you please share about them?
4. Has anyone from these groups shared with you the reason(s) why they got involved? If they did, can you summarize their reason(s)?
5. In what ways have these other groups and individuals supported this school(s)?
6. For some volunteers and contributors, their relationship with the school is strong and positive and for others, the relationship is distant and strained. How would you describe the school's relationship with these groups and individuals?

PART 3. Now that we've gotten to talk about the school's external community, I'd like to ask you few questions about its internal community.

1. From your observations, in what ways do members of the Pakistani communities contribute to these schools?
2. I understand that for some communities, there is a sense of togetherness or a feeling of being "in it together" and for other communities, there are more challenges to working together. How would you describe the Pakistani communities' ability to work together?
3. Based on response, ask: Can you describe some positive ways they work together? OR Can you describe some challenges in the ways they work together?
4. Based on response, ask: In your opinion, how do you think the Pakistani communities’ ability to work together affect these schools?

**PART 4.** Thank you for all of your time. I just have a few more questions about the schools in general.

1. From your observations, do the schools provide more than education, such as a place to meet or a place to get information?
2. What are the other benefits of these schools for the Pakistani asylum-seeking communities?
3. For one community, a lack of finances for school materials has been a challenge and for another, the security concerns from the area have been a challenge. In your view, what are the main challenges that these schools face?
4. Lastly, is there anything that you'd like to add?