

## Indian Migrants in Brunei: The Role of Social Networks

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### Abstract

*Indian immigrants have emerged as a dominant community in Brunei nowadays. Since the colonial period, there has been an influx of Indian migrants to Brunei. This research investigates the social networks that Indians used to get to Brunei. Evidently, there has been little research on these group of people in Brunei. This study employs a sample of 17 low, semi, and unskilled Indian migrants chosen on snow-ball basis. Face-to-face interviews were conducted. According to the findings of this study, social networks played a significant role in making the decision to migrate over to Brunei. We found that chain migration mechanism has been active in the India-Brunei migration domain since long. As a risk diversification approach, migration networks act as a web of interpersonal connections that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in their origin and destination countries via relationships of kinship, friendship, and common community origin.*

**Keywords:** Social Network; Migration; Indian migrants; Brunei; Chain migration

### Introduction: Indian migrants in Brunei

The India-Brunei [trade] relation was instituted as early as the 15th century. Contributed by the early Indian explorers who travelled by land and sea, the Indian cultural influence (literature, religion, art, architecture and customs) has been evident in most parts of Southeast Asia (High-Level Committee of the Indian Diaspora, 2001). The earliest mobility of Indian migrants on a large scale to Brunei occurred during the colonial period (Ullah and Kumph, 2018). They were brought by the British to work in their colonial territories (Kesavapany, Mani and Ramasamy, 2008; Arnold, 2012) in British-owned rubber plantation estates and in Public Works Department (Mani, 1993). Along with the labourers, some Indian entrepreneurs migrated during 1929, after the discovery of oil in Brunei, to set up their business in the growing urban centre of Seria, Kuala Belait and Brunei Town.

Owned by European companies, the rubber estate generated a profitable source of economy for Brunei in the mid-1920s. However, locals were reluctant to work in the plantation industries as compared to other professions (Horton, 1984), which created a demand for overseas workers. According to King (2001), there had been about 10,000 Indians in Brunei during the colonial days. However, these influxes of Indians stayed temporary. The declining demand for rubber and its price had resulted in the low demand for production. This marked the end of the rubber industry in Brunei. By 1968, most of these Indian migrants were sent back home. After World War II, the revival of the Brunei economy began with the reconstruction of Seria's oilfields. As a result, between the 1950s and 1960s, the community of Indian migrants in Seria grew (Menon, 2016). By the 1960s, labour redundancies occurred and by the 1970s, there was an increasing number of local Chinese, Malays and Eurasians

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resulting in a decline of the Indian labour force. However, by the mid-1980s, the demand for labour grew with Brunei's booming economy and a declining fertility rate (Arnold, 2012). This called for increasing labour demand to work in Brunei, and Indians responded to this growing opportunities.

Today, Indian migrants are one of the distinctive groups among the migrant community in Brunei. Their occupations range from professionals (doctors, engineers and professors), to low and semi-skilled workers (Shah & Menon, 1999). Mani (2008) suggests that there are four different categories of Indians residing in Brunei. Firstly, the highly successful entrepreneurial Indians who eventually obtained permanent residency. Nazir Ahmad of Nazmi textiles and Haji Mohammed Yunus of Bismi Trading are notable examples from this group. Secondly, successful entrepreneurs in private sectors such as shop keepers, restaurant owners and minimart operators are potential permanent residents. Thirdly, professionals in the public sectors such as teachers, engineers and doctors. They are temporary as they will potentially be replaced by well-trained local Bruneian over time. The other category is the low, semi and unskilled labourers who work in constructions site, and shops including barbers, restaurants, and as cleaners and tailors. This group competes with other low-paid labourers mostly from Indonesia, Bangladesh and the Philippines. Most of the small retail businesses in Brunei, such as minimart, barbershop, tailor shop, restaurant and dhobi are often owned or run by the Indian diaspora. These businesses are usually found scattered across Brunei.

Even though the presence of Indian migrants in Bruneian mundane life is visible, most Indians do not appear to have developed a clear sense of identity in Brunei (Sandhu and Mani, 1993). This might be because of the temporary nature of their stint. A question, however, could be asked what, in fact, makes Indians choose to get to Brunei? Pieces of evidence suggest that social networks play a significant role in making their decision to move over to Brunei. The assistance extended from the social networks is a valuable capital for migrants in order for them to make the decision to come to Brunei and adapt to a life in Brunei. There are some Indian social organizations in Brunei to help them. Furthermore, the introduction of the Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB) in Brunei does not prevent Indians from visiting the country because their identity survives at the individual and group levels. MIB is made up of three main components: Melayu (Malay), Islam, and Beraja (Monarchy). The term 'Malay' refers to the Malay people, language, and culture. The term 'Islam' refers to the Islamic religion's beliefs, values, and regulations. Brunei's monarchical administration and governance system is characterized by the term "monarchy (Salbrina & Mabud, 2021).

Though the Indian diaspora community is well-established in Brunei and the size is quite big as compared to the total population (3.4%), researches and the body of relevant literature are extremely limited. Hence, this piece adds enormous value to the scholarship. As contended by Tilly (1990), Gurak and Caces (1992), Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino and Taylor (1998), Brettell (2008), Ullah (2010; 2013; 2015; 2018) and Vertovec (2008) that analyzing migration network allows a better understanding about the migration process in this particular context. This research recorded the accounts of these Indian migrants which may be used for future references.

## **Objectives and methodology**

The objective of this study is to delve into the character of the social network of Indian migrants in Brunei through which their migration journey functioned. To that end, the paper



looks into the current flows of Indian migrants to Brunei. This paper examines the personal narratives of the migrants to provide insight into the migrant's accounts about their migration experiences. For this research, we interviewed 17 respondents selected on a snow-ball basis. All of the respondents were males with age ranging from 25 to 57 years old. Choosing the respondents for this research was based on logistical convenience. We have to limit our sample size due to time and resource constraints. The time span in which this group relocated is irrelevant because we have clearly indicated who has been our respondents. We only considered stints ranging from 4 to 31 years. We did not wish to emphasize recent technological revolutions because many of these respondents migrated to Brunei via a variety of networks even three decades ago. Most of the respondents are from the category of low, semi and unskilled workers. Table 1 (in the Appendix) shows the basic profile of the respondents. The respondents come from different parts of India, such as the North part from Delhi, Lucknow and Azamgarh; East part from West Bengal; South part from Tamil Nadu and West part from Mumbai. An overwhelming majority (80%) of the respondents are Muslim, and the rests are Hindus. Six of the respondents are single, while the rests are married and have children.

The respondents shared their stories about their migration journey, working and living experiences in Brunei. Their stint ranges from 4 years to 31 years. Semi-structured interview questions were administered. We depended on secondary data from journals, books, grey literature, websites, embassies and ministries as well. We maintained the anonymity of the respondents. This research was approved by the University (UBD) Ethical Review Committee.

**Table 1.** Respondents profile in this study

Respondents' ID	Age	Occupation	Education*	Marital status**	Length of stay	Network facilitated their migration
Mr IB	26	Driver	T	S	6	Uncle
Mr S	26	Shop keeper	T	S	4	Father
Mr AR	26	Manager	H	S	7	Father
Mr T	50	Operating his own 'buying and selling steel' business	H	M	5	Work agency
Mr G	45	Hardware Business owner	P	M	26	Close relative
Mr MU	45	Sales assistant	H	M	24	Brother
Mr IR	57	Barber	H	M	31	Uncle and neighbour
Mr AF	32	Barber	C	M	4	Neighbor
Mr AJ	48	Tailor	H	M	21	Brother and friend
Mr MI	43	Tailor	H	M	12	Close relative
Mr Hg	26	Sales assistant	P	S	4	Father
Mr Al	50	Barber	H	S	7	Work agency
Mr K <sub>j</sub>	45	Barber	H	M	5	Close relative
Mr RK	45	Tailor	C	M	26	Brother
Mr Jh	26	Sales assistant	H	M	24	Uncle and neighbour
Mr Ru	50	Barber	H	M	31	Neighbor
Mr Pk	45	Shop keeper	P	S	4	Father

Source: Field work 2020

\*T= Tertiary; H= High school; P= Primary; C=College

\*\*S=Single; M=Married

## Underlying conceptual issues

'Migrant networks are the 'sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, a former migrant and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin' (Massey et al., 2005:42). A focus on migrant networks represents a fresh approach to migration research, which, until the late 1980s, had been dominated by economic or political explanations of migration (Sirkeci, 2009; Garip and Asad, 2015). It is widely acknowledged that social networks are extremely important for reducing social, psychological and economic costs for potential and new migrants (Massey et al., 1993; Ullah, 2010; Somerville, 2011).

Therefore, social network has occupied an important space in the domain of migration studies. Potential migrants' resort to interpersonal ties that provide sociability, support, information, a sense of belonging and social identity. Friends or community members of migrants, former migrants and non-migrants that connect their place of origin and destination are the key players (Wellman, Carrington and Hall, 1988; Boyd, 1989; Massey, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Faist, 2000; Wellman, 2001; Quan-Haase and Wellman, 2002; Ullah, 2010; Poros, 2011; Ullah and Haque, 2020;) in the decision-making process for the migrants. Social network helps in influencing potential migrants' decision to migrate based on the information and social support they receive to evaluate the risk and the cost of migrations.

The social network has often been related to the idea of the continual flow of migration which was known as chain migration in the 1960s and 1970s (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1993). This is associated with close family members related by kinship and friendship that share emotional ties that play a role in the migration process (Granovetter, 1973; Boyd, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992). These members are generally previous and return migrants or diaspora communities in the host country with experience and knowledge in migration. Once migration starts, potential migrants usually follow procedures taken by the previous migrants that create momentum eventually become a cycle that continues throughout time and sustain on its own at a point of time (Boyd, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Castles and Miller, 1998; Castles, 2002; Dekker and Engbersen, 2012). This is how the chain effect of migration develops and spreads.

The literature on social capital is plagued by two major difficulties. To begin, a definition of social capital remains elusive, and there is no universal assessment method or underlying indicator that is universally recognised in the literature, in part due to a chronic shortage of adequate data. Second, because social capital is a diverse concept, it is still unknown which component of social capital may have a positive impact on various areas of growth (Sabatini, 2009). According to Durlauf and Fafchamps (2006), social capital is not a concept, but a code term used to federate varied but related research interests and to allow idea cross-fertilization across disciplinary boundaries. Individuals gain from a range of norms and values supported and developed by a social network, such as trust, reciprocity, information, and cooperation. These norms and ideals lay the groundwork for collective action. According to the social capital literature, employees who use networks have a better chance of finding work (Granovetter, 1973; (Sabatini, 2009; Fernandez et al., 2000). Boorman (1975) pioneered the use of a formal network model to capture the information structure connected with job searching in economic theory. Not only are social networks a patterning mechanism for migration, but they also have larger ramifications for migrants and non-migrants equally. Despite the fact that the network nature of migration processes has long been acknowledged



in migration research, Social Network Analysis has been mostly ignored for a long period of time (Bilecen, Gamper, & Lubbers, 2018).

By the 1980s, there was an increasing body of scholarship focusing on social networks in migration (Boyd, 1989). The migrant network assists potential migrants in three ways (Dolfin and Genicot, 2010): first, by providing information on the migration process; second, by providing information about jobs in the host country during the integration process; and finally, by financially assisting migrants with the cost of migration, settling down, and adaptations. Social network nodes and linkages are ingrained in the concept of social capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The individual relationship with the informants determines the quality of this social capital. The greater their link, the deeper their trust, resulting in high resource reliability and value. As a result of this interpersonal bond, potential migrants feel safer and more secure, minimizing the risk and expense of moving (Massey, 1988; Light, Parminder and Stavros, 1990; Hollifield, 2004; Ullah, 2010; Poros, 2011).

Weak ties have often been used to broaden up the discourse in the study of social networks (Granovetter, 1973). Granovetter suggests that weak ties act as a bridge linking social groups and acquaintances to access information circles or social capital. He goes on to explain that exposing oneself to a larger social capital and circle of acquaintance offers access to information from a distant part of the social system. Limiting oneself to close friends limits the opportunities beyond their comfort zone (Boyd, 1989; Poros, 2011). Therefore, migrants who explore networks outside their self-network are not trapped in ethnic enclaves of job selection once migrated. The dynamics of the social network itself is constantly being developed and influenced by the changes in the way we operate as a society. Inevitably, it changes our social norms in the way we socialize and communicate with each other. Modes of transportation and communication have emerged, supporting distant interactions that remove people from their immediate vicinities and, ultimately, creating sparsely-knit communities (Quan-Haase and Wellman, 2002:2). Not only it helps to maintain the existing social network but amplify to a greater social circle.

To put the current information and technological revolution into the domain of migration studies, Hiller and Franz (2004) suggested three stages on how these revolutions ease the migration process: pre-migration, post-migration and settling in (integration process). Firstly, in the pre-migration stage, obtaining first-hand information of the destination such as the weather, type of governance, political stability, and the working environment is crucial. Potential migrants can refer to the official government website to find any jobs available and the steps that need to be taken to apply for the job. A potential migrant can use social media to engage with other migrants in a similar circumstance. In the virtual world, social networking allows for global connection, establishing a platform where people with similar interests can exchange information across time and distance (Hiltz and Turoff, 1993; Baym, 1997; Jones, 1998; Wellman, 2001; Horrigan, 2002). Interaction with potential migrants results in the development of an emotional connection that develops a sense of belonging to a community, resulting in the development of trust among them. Making social capital from traditional physical networking of family members possible as a result (Dekker and Engbersen, 2012). Second, in post-migration, the internet serves as a tool for maintaining social relationships with family and friends in origin nations, which helps to alleviate homesickness. Migrants exchange their transnational life experiences with one another to alleviate loneliness. By forming new ties with one another, it is possible that a sense of togetherness and community

will emerge in the virtual world. Lastly, the internet helps re-discover their lost ties with family member in their origin countries.

We investigate the links between sociological and economic elements of migration, as well as the role of social capital in migration decision-making and chain migration processes, using the rational choice approach and economic sociology of migration. To quantify these effects, a number of empirical migration study initiatives have been done. The major result is that whereas social capital in the destination country influences emigration intentions and return migration, social capital in the home country has the opposite effect (Ullah, Hossain, Azizuddin and Nawaz, 2020).

In the case of migration, it is a social product in which family and household members participate in decision-making by acknowledging that the act is a means of optimizing and diversifying revenue streams (Castles, 2002). Because of this, migrants make rational decisions in order to minimize the cost, the amount of time spent on it, the amount of work put in, the amount of resources used, and the level of difficulty involved with the decision-making process (Carl and Fetzer, 2001; Ullah, 2010). The neoclassical economic perspective, on the other hand, holds that migratory decisions are impacted by factors such as attraction and detraction.

### **Social network and migration journey**

Indian population began to be counted in the Brunei census from 1947. In 1971, Indians made up 1.6% of the population. The share of Indian nationals (Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs) in Brunei kept growing since 2009. Islam is the dominant religion amongst the Indian community; however, Hinduism also forms a significant portion of the belief systems amongst the Indians (Mukhopadhyay, 2010). Once pioneer migration takes place, potential migrants between the origins and destinations get connected, where perceived employment opportunities are anticipated. Given the access gained through social networks with previous migrants, the flow continues beyond the 'pioneers' as previous migrants mediate the migration of newcomers (De Haas, 2010).

India has been the leading source country for international migrants for the last many years. Today, about 18 million strong diaspora/migrants from India living around the world, who send about \$78 billion per year to India (The Economic Times, 2021). People move over from their place of origin to their destination country for a better future (Borjas, 1989; Boyd, 1989) and Indians are no exception. Of course, the drivers for which Indians move to Brunei, according to our interviews, overlap with each other. The major driver for them to migrate to Brunei is the betterment of their family for the future. The easiness in migrating to Brunei due to the presence of existing social network contributed to the factor. Social networks act as a stimulator in facilitating migration as well as providing emotional and financial support for the migrants during the challenging part of the journey. Migrating to Brunei to many of our respondents was an overwhelming process.

Most of our respondents endorse the fact that social networks played roles in their migration decision and, later, their journeys. Return migrants shared information of their migration experience through personal migration stories about and in Brunei. Success stories are often measured by better working conditions and better earning than working in their home country. Most of these return migrants were the close ones of the potential migrants' social

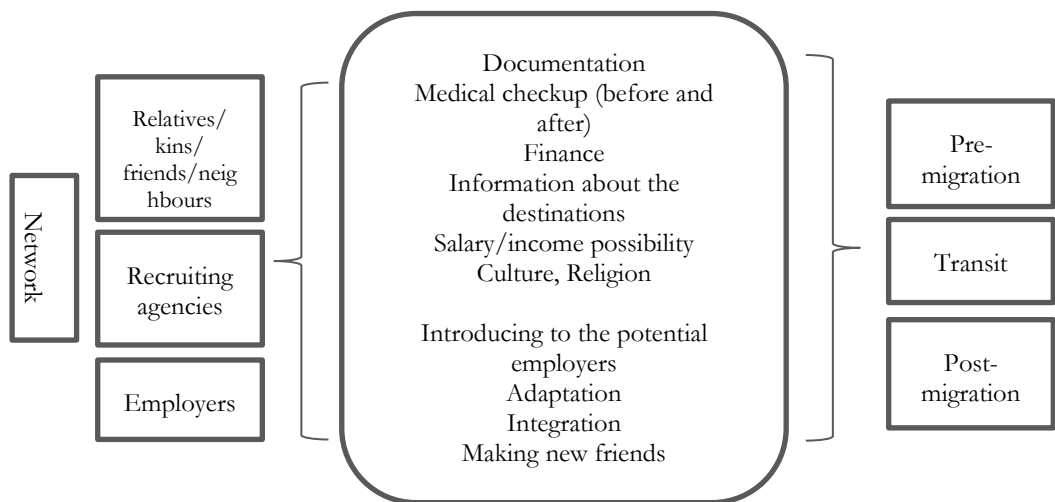




circle. Therefore, the interested people in moving over to Brunei sought information about job opportunities, life and ways to migrate to Brunei from the return migrants. The potential migrants constantly build new ties in new environments as well as negotiate with the existing long-distance ties (Bilecen and Sienkiewicz, 2015). Some of the respondents offered some fascinating facts, such as how individuals with little information and financial means were cautious to avoid high-risk situations and resorted to a stepwise migration method (Paul, 2011; Garip and Asad, 2015). Network heavily supports stepwise or multistage migration technique (Liu, 2013). Thereby, our respondents agreed that the use of social network in migration had offered enormous help to stay-put. Their social network even recommended the respondents for jobs to their friend (locals or Indians) who owned business in Brunei. Recommendations made by the previous migrants are usually taken into consideration by the business owner.

According to most of the respondents, the social network played a huge role in assisting them in migrating to Brunei. As the migration journey begins, most of the respondents said, they received assistance from the return migrants in the pre-departure preparation (i.e., documents for their travel such as valid international passport, approval of pre-entry visa documentation (travel and working permit) and medical checkup) and upon arriving in Brunei with all the documentation process with the Indian Embassy, obtaining the Brunei green smart identity card and taking them for medical checkup (Figure 1). The collective response to the questions 'how were you assisted' was by obtaining a survival level of Malay language, introducing to other Indians, showing locations of everyday necessities such as mini mart and restaurants, and having a phone sim. For some, they also received financial supports by their social network in times of need, such as paying for rentals and buying food, especially during their early months in Brunei

**Figure 1.** Network-migration-support



Brunei was not the only choice for most of the respondents to migrate over. Most of them claimed that they were replanning to move elsewhere, such as Malaysia, Singapore or any country in the Middle East. Some mentioned that Brunei was not a well-known destination to migrate to. However, they calculated that migrating to elsewhere might have been more expensive and riskier than going to Brunei. They ended up in Brunei as they claimed that their

social capital from their social network in Brunei determined their destiny. Their friends and relatives galvanized confidence in them to move to Brunei. For the Indian Muslims, Brunei's Muslim identity was another point of additional attraction. For instance, Mr IR explained how social network influenced his migration motivation. However, his uncle who was working in Brunei at that time offered him support to migrate to Brunei. To him, uncle's intervention helped lower the migration cost and risk, and eased the hassle of handling the necessary documents.

Some said migrating to Brunei had in their minds for since long. When asked the reason, the common answer was that their relatives lived in Brunei and had heard a lot of glowing stories about Brunei. This means many of them followed the footsteps of their family members.

"... ..for me, since my childhood, I saw my family members used to come back from Brunei and tell us glowing stories about Brunei. I grew with a mindset that there was only one country to migrate over, and that is Brunei" – one of the respondents.

"... .. very useful information came from the networks in the form of knowledge, resources and support that reduce the costs and minimize risks of migration. Therefore, I am here..... "

To the contrast, one of the respondents, Mr. T had working experience in Singapore and Qatar. He had a friend in Brunei, but they were not that close. He was not able to obtain the necessary information or any possible assistance from his friend. Hence, he only had limited to no information about Brunei. As a result, he had to find a job through an agent located in India. He eventually migrated to Brunei with the help of the agent. Mr. T paid a total of BND \$4500 to his agent (BND \$3500 for the process in Brunei and BND \$1000 for a processing fee in India), and in addition to that, he pays and continues to pay approximately a total of \$2000 for visa renewal every two years. This shows without the assistance from compatriots and previous migrants, they had to turn to agency and also had to invest higher amount of money in order to migrate to Brunei. The Indian migrants who used social networks for their migration have confirmed to have spent way less money to finance their migration than those who did not seek to use social networks. The interview reveals the cost using an agent to migrate tend to be 3 times higher than migrating through social network. Another respondents also shares his story about the cost of migration, he said

"... .. I was calculating literally with a calculator. The agent gave an estimate, and I was estimating by myself with potential costs that may incur to finance my migration. I realized I should trust my friends and relatives, and I managed my own migration journey rather than seeking help from the recruiting agencies....."

Some of the respondents were introduced to friends (local or Indian) who are business/company owners in Brunei by their social network. These people usually had their own company's recruiting agent that deal with recruitments (both local and foreigners). Thus, the company's recruiting agent will work alongside the respondents' social network to bring the respondents to Brunei. Respondents said that they were well supported by the employers in many ways. The cost of migration varies depending on the type of assistance provided by the recruitment agent and network. Some migrants had to take care of the costs of the pre-departure process in their home country, such as passport, medical checkup and ticket, while





the costs of pre and reentry visa, medical checkup and documentation in Brunei were handled by the companies. For some, all of the costs of migration were managed by the company at first, but gradually, the migrants had to pay half of the total payment by deducting from their salary. Migrating under the contracts of the company would also come with benefits such as accommodation and food allowances during their contract period.

It is evident that almost all of the respondents had an established social network in Brunei. They migrated to Brunei with the help of a strong social network. They refer to 'strong network' as immediate family members, kin, close friends or neighbours from their origin community. Previous migrants acted as a stimulator in facilitating their migration journey. The emotional linkages and sense of belonging that they gained helped build confidence. Stories carried to the country of origin by return migrants had motivated respondents to migrate.

"... .... we heard that the people in Brunei are good, polite, honest and simple. These were really appealing to me. I made up my mind that no other country I will consider to move over than Brunei ... ..".

However, there are also cases where the labour migrants themselves voluntarily and promise to find jobs just because they wanted to help another family member to improve their living conditions. Most respondents anticipate that their relatives can come to Brunei as well. They said though this is a Muslim majority country, but they do not feel that there is any discrimination against religious minorities here.

A preference for assistance from relatives rather than neighbours was evident. This means that migrants considered kinship bonds stronger than the ties with the neighbours when it comes to assistance for migrants. However, potential migrants tend to contact the neighbours/friends if relatives fail to provide necessary and reliable information. In other word, the respondents preferred assistance from those who they have the strongest ties and trust with first before moving to another. If their social network was unable to assist them, the respondents turned to agencies that offer migration services on payment. Accommodation, food, and job search assistance were the most typical patterns of assistance extended by both relatives and neighbors. However, with the presence of a strong social network, other possible networks, such as weak links, are frequently forsaken by Indian migrants. Help and knowledge provided by their social network are dependable forms of social capital. Newer migrants follow in the footsteps of past migrants, resulting in a continuous flow of chain migration. Interpersonal links, as a result, reduce the danger and cost of migration (Massey, 1988; Light, Parminder and Stavros, 1990; Hollifield, 2004; Ullah, 2010; Poros, 2011). Nevertheless, migrants appreciated the internet revolution as they are able to reach out and maintain their network with their social network in their home and destination countries. Technology also helped ease the process of migration especially when relevant documents needed to be sent to their social network from their hometown during their pre-migration period.

## Conclusions

Having ties to prior migrants with diverse experiences increases the set of options available to potential migrants and thus increases migration propensities in some settings. The stories shared by migrants offer a better understanding of the migration journey of Indians to Brunei and adds knowledge to the migration studies. This research clearly demonstrates that the

migrant networks shaped the Indian migrants' experiences in Brunei. We found that migrant networks have been a crucial determinant of occupations and wages in the destination. We found that Indians with ties to migrants with long experience are more likely to spend less money and waste less time, and obtain a job quicker than others. We observed that those who resorted to social network for their migration felt confident about their future as their migration journey was smooth.

We acknowledge the fact that we were not able to include any female migrants. This is an obvious limitation in this research because migrant networks operate differently for men and women. Of course, migration experiences would be different for different categories (highly professionals, for example) of migrants. Due to the time and resource constraints, we had to limit our study to the low and semi-skilled ones. Therefore, this research has not reflected the experiences of these high professionals. We are led to believe that migrant networks improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the job hunt. This does not benefit only the migrants but also the employers by the fact that they as well can save time and money in recruiting, training and finding replacement workers since socially connected workers support one another.

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## Appendix

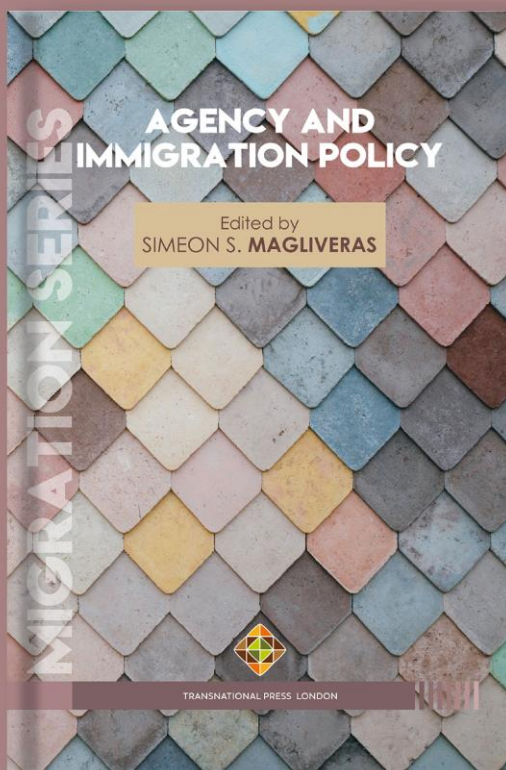
**Table 1.** Respondents profile in this study

Respondent s' ID	Age	Occupation	Education*	Marital status**	Length of stay	Network facilitated their migration
Mr IB	26	Driver	T	S	6	Uncle
Mr S	26	Shop keeper	T	S	4	Father
Mr AR	26	Manager	H	S	7	Father
Mr T	50	Operating small buying and selling steel business	H	M	5	Work agency
Mr G	45	Hardware Business owner	P	M	26	Close relative
Mr MU	45	Sales assistant	H	M	24	Brother
Mr IR	57	Barber	H	M	31	Uncle and neighbor
Mr AF	32	Barber	C	M	4	Neighbor
Mr AJ	48	Tailor	H	M	21	Brother and friend
Mr MI	43	Tailor	H	M	12	Close relative
Mr HG	26	Sales assistant	P	S	4	Father
Mr AL	50	Barber	H	S	7	Work agency
Mr KJ	45	Barber	H	M	5	Close relative
Mr RK	45	Tailor	C	M	26	Brother
Mr JH	26	Sales assistant	H	M	24	Uncle and neighbor
Mr RU	50	Barber	H	M	31	Neighbor
Mr PK	45	Shop keeper	P	S	4	Father

Source: Field work 2020

\* C=College; T=Tertiary; H=High School; P=Primary

\*\*Single=Single; M=Married



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