Defining Key Related Terms

Literature Review: Refugee Urban Integration

A FEINSTEIN INTERNATIONAL CENTER BRIEF

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This is a section of a broad literature review on refugee urban integration that was conducted by the Refugees in Towns Project (RIT) at Feinstein International Center, Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University beginning in December 2017 and being continually updated with new publications. It was conducted to inform the public, academics, and policymakers about the state of refugee urban integration, and to prepare the RIT project for analysis of original data on refugee integration collected from towns around the world.

All references that are available online have a URL link provided in text. Full citations are in the Works Cited document.

It is widely recognized that the terms "refugee," "urban," and "integration" are not clear-cut or universally defined.[1] There are ongoing debates and inconsistent definitions found in the literature as well as among policymakers and practitioners. The following section will discuss contested definitions of various related terms in the literature and in practice.

Defining "Wellbeing"

The term wellbeing is often used similarly to the terms "integration,"[2] and "living standards."[3] While "integration" describes migrant and host populations being connected, the term does not explicitly make any claims about whether being integrated makes migrants and hosts better or worse off.[4] Using the term "wellbeing" in connection with integration allows a description of not just the level of connectedness but also *how* that connectedness has impacted quality of life.

Steuer and Marks (2008) define wellbeing as "a positive physical, social and mental state; it is not just the absence of pain, discomfort and incapacity. It arises not only from the action of individuals, but from a host of collective goods and relationships with other people. It requires that basic needs are met, that individuals have a sense of purpose, and that they feel able to achieve important personal goals and participate in society. It is enhanced by conditions that include supportive personal relationships, involvement in empowered communities, good health, financial security, rewarding employment, and a healthy and attractive environment."

The concept of wellbeing is "tied to past refugee experience and trauma" and "emphasizes the concept as a subjective experience of satisfaction with life or the 'good life,' which can be shared among groups of a mutual background."[5] Integration is then one "factor that affects the wellbeing of refugees,"[6] who may find it difficult to adapt to a new environment.[7] In terms of measuring wellbeing, as with integration, there is a tendency to focus on quantifiable material measures rather than qualitative psychological or social measures.[8]

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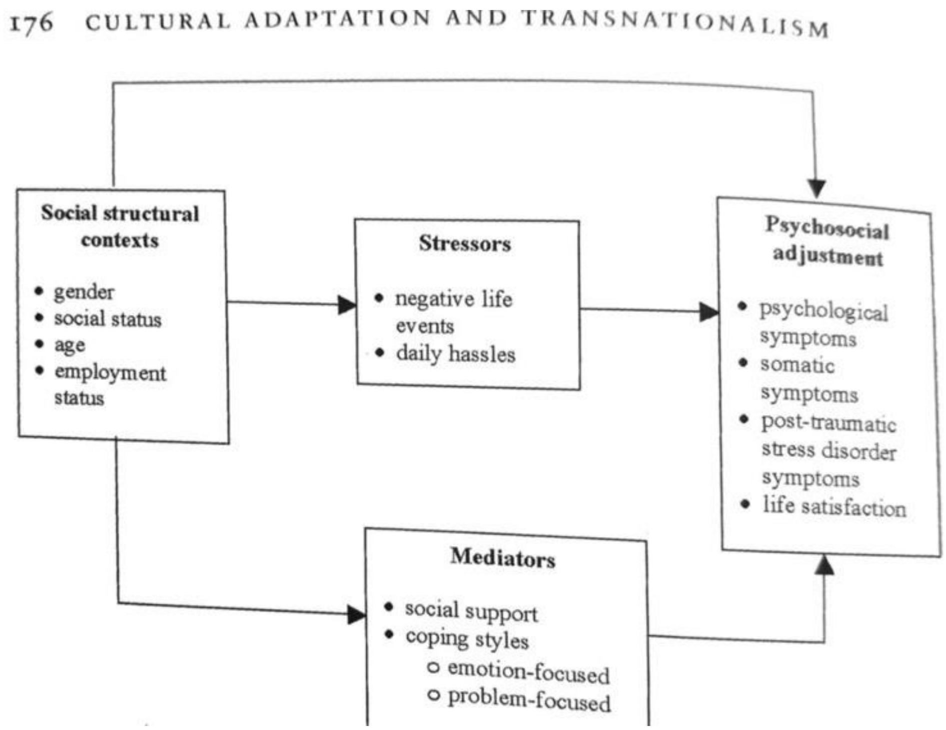
[1] Council of Europe 2000
[2] Huppert et al. 2008; Steuer and Marks 2008
[3] Grosh and Glewwe 1995
[4] Although most research carries the implicit assumption that achieving integration is a positive outcome for all populations involved.
[5] Mzayek 2018
[6] Mzayek 2018

The emphasis on wellbeing is found mostly in anthropological forced migration research that focuses on the domains of cultural and social integration. However, wellbeing is also connected to other domains, such as economic integration, expanding the measure of integration to go beyond just economic self-sufficiency and employment to also include "decent employment…that meets people's basic aspirations, not only for income, but for security for themselves and their families, without discrimination or harassment and providing equal treatment for women and men."[9]

Defining Psychological Terms: "Happiness," "Satisfaction," and "Trauma"

The literature on integration and wellbeing regularly stresses the importance of subjective experiences[10]—including happiness, satisfaction, and trauma—as conducive or resistant to effective integration (see for example the "Khmer Psychosocial Adjustment Model" linking psychological conditions and integrative outcomes below), but does not always clearly define these relevant terms or state what measures or indicators to use.

The literature on positive psychology offers useful terminology. Here, academics distinguish between "pleasure," which is short term and hedonistic, and "happiness" or "satisfaction," which more closely converge with "wellbeing" as deeper, underlying, and long-lasting emotional states that are associated with prosocial behavior,[11] and therefore may be theoretically linked with capacity for integration among individuals and groups. The pursuit of happiness is then a "vehicle" of migration and a determinant of integration: "happiness shapes what coheres as a world and…is always anticipated, rather than actual…migration, instead as simple crossing of the border and settling for 'better life', is an on-going mental process."[12]


176 CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM
Social structural contexts
• gender
• social status
• age
• employment status
Stressors
• negative life events
• daily hassles
Psychosocial adjustment
• psychological symptoms
• somatic symptoms
• post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms
• life satisfaction
Mediators
• social support
• coping styles
○ emotion-focused
○ problem-focused

On the other end of the psychological spectrum is the related term "trauma," which is associated with antisocial behavior and may make individuals or groups resistant to integration.[13] "Cultural bereavement" describes trauma that refugees might experience during integration, and which—as opposed to post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)—gives space for acknowledging culturally specific ways of reacting to traumatic events.[14]

(Left) "Khmer Psychosocial Adjustment Model," source: Pho, Gerson and Cowan 2008: 176.

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[7] Phillimore et al. 2007
[8] Chernoff 2002
[9] Date-Bah 2001
[10] Huppert et al. 2008
[11] Ebert, Gilbert and Wilson 2000; Lyubomirsky 2008
[12] Dantzer 2017
[13] Varvin 1998; see also Joly 2002: 7; Miller et al. 2018; Montgomery 2008
[14] Eisenbruch, 1991

Defining "Human Security"

Even when the term "human security" is not explicitly used, the literature on refugee integration frequently describes the goal of an integrated society in human security terms as a condition where "individuals" (as opposed to states) have "political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity."[15]

Defining "Social"

The term "social" is a contested term but is generally used to describe an arrangement of actors—i.e., entities with more agency than natural causal arrangements—living together.[16] There are numerous social terms used in integration research that are helpful to define:

Social Cohesion and Social Inclusion

Social and community integration are the least clearly defined domains of integration within the literature.[17] Typically, "social integration" is spoken about as a hodgepodge construction of borrowed concepts from sociology, including "social cohesion" and "social inclusion." Social cohesion is defined loosely as the "nature and set of relationships between individuals and groups and between those groups and the institutions that govern them in a particular environment."[18] Social inclusion may be defined as "the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper;"[19] however, the term lacks a universal common definition.[20] Government models of social integration tend to look at social cohesion vertically as adherence to a set of national values or norms,[21] while at the individual or local level, social cohesion is examined more horizontally, looking at behaviors among spatially similar groups.

Prejudice and Social Hostility

Opposite social cohesion are "prejudice" and "social hostility," widely described as conditions resistant to social integration. Parens (1979) defines collective prejudice as a condition that is universal in all people, with gradations: it "can be *benign*, *hostile*, or even *malignant,*" and the "focus is not on pairs of individualized sameness or differences, such as black and white, female and male, gay and straight, rich and poor, but rather on *us and them*. …situations where tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, or even millions of people *share* the same or similar prejudice against another large group."[22]

Social Capital

Another interrelated concept is "social capital," often described as the currency through which social integration might be pursued. Breaking up the term into its two component parts, "capital," is defined as "an accumulated stock which requires an investment and from which a stream of benefits flow…it can accumulate as a result of its use, and its creation and activation require more than one person."[23] Social capital is then defined as: "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition."[24]

Social capital is further subdivided by "its scope (micro-, meso- and macro- levels), its forms (structural and cognitive) and the channels though which it facilitates development (information sharing, collective action and decisionmaking, and reduction of opportunistic behavior)."[25] Social capital can be subdivided further into "bonding social capital" that creates strong emotional ties, "bridging social capital" that weakly connects individuals and groups horizontally, and "linking social capital" that connects individuals and groups vertically to more powerful actors in the sociopolitical space.[26] Social capital might also be subdivided into four aspects: personal relationships, social network support, civic engagement, and trust and cooperative norms.[27] Finally, there is differentiation between "thick" and "thin" social connections depending on the strength of the social bonds between individuals.[28] Prior to the emergence of social capital terminology in the 2000s, terms such as "entrepreneurial social infrastructure" were used and developed to describe how community development came about through the "linking" of resources and leadership.[29]

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[15] UNOCHA 2009: 6
[16] Latour 2005
[17] Council of Europe 2000
[18] Guay 2015
[19] Stanley 2003
[20] Richmond and Saloojee 2006
[21] For example, Stanley 2003: 12
[22] Volkan 2017: 79
[23] Grootaert and van Bastelaer 2002
[24] Aldrich and Meyer 2015: 256
[25] Grootaert and van Bastelaer 2002

Collective Efficacy

Collective efficacy, taken from urban studies and similar to social capital, is defined as "the process of activating or converting social ties among neighborhood residents in order to achieve collective goals, such as public order or the control of crime,"[30] which predicts spatial distribution of crime, poverty, and residential turnover rates.[31] The collective efficacy of groups and urban areas will change over time.[32]

"Critical consciousness" is a particular form of collective efficacy, defined as a condition where "marginalized or oppressed people's analysis of societal inequities and their motivation and actions to redress such inequities."[33]

Social Networks

Increasingly, urban studies has moved toward thinking not about groups but about "social networks," defined as "a structured set of social relationships between individuals."[34] The notion of social networks is helpful for considering how individuals in urban spaces may form communities that are not spatially bounded or linked to any neighborhood or physical area.

Ethnic Identity

While social network theory has come into vogue in urban studies, group theories are still widely used, such as ethnic identity, defined as "the extent to which a person identifies with and positively regards his or her ethnic group."[35]

Defining "Development"

From a policymaking perspective, refugee integration is closely aligned with the international development agenda,[36] with "development" defined as a "lasting…improvement in people's well-being."[37] From this vantage point, refugee integration is linked with the struggles for development of other groups of urban poor,[38] with impermanence making several aspects of development more difficult, including complicating efforts to build relationships, reducing sense of ownership for public space, causing inconsistencies in employment, and keeping children out of regular school attendance.[39] While some policymakers at the municipal level have recognized the overlap between refugee integration and development,[40] at a national or supranational level this convergence has led to turf wars between development and humanitarian actors.[41]

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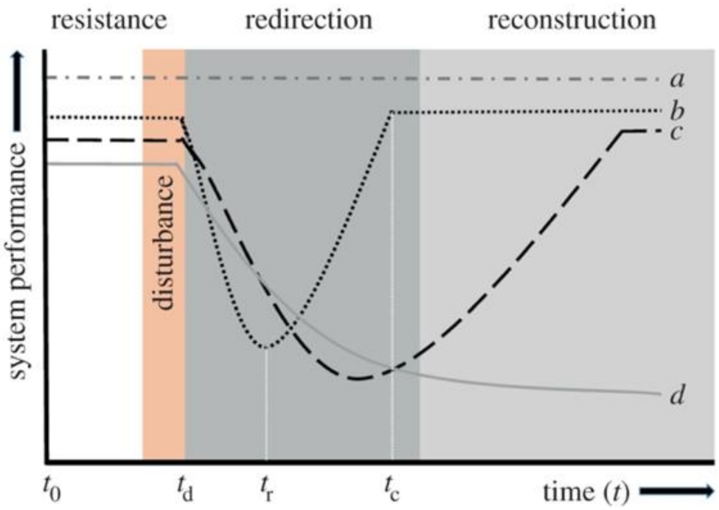
[26] Aldrich and Meyer 2015: 258-259
[27] Siegler 2014
[28] Atfield, Brahmbhatt and O'Toole 2007
[29] Flora and Flora, 1993
[30] Sampson 2010
[31] Sampson 2010; Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997
[32] Hipp 2016
[33] Diemer et al. 2016
[34] Gurak and Caces 1992
[35] David 2013
[36] den Hollander 2010: 58-59; World Bank Group 2017
[37] Barder 2012
[38] Tang 2015
[39] Desmond 2016
[40] Balbo and Marconi 2005: 9
[41] Ferris 2008

Defining "Resilience"

The concept of resilience gives a useful framework for thinking about the capacity of urban spaces to integrate new populations. While resilience has become a haphazardly thrown-about buzzword, it *does* have a clear definition: "the ability to prepare for and adapt to changing conditions and withstand and recover rapidly from disruptions. Resilience includes the ability to withstand and recover from deliberate attacks, accidents or naturally occurring threats or incidents."[42] Resilience may apply to any system at any level: individual, local, or national.[43] Resilience can also be visualized as below, with a more resilient system (line b) returning to full functionality (y axis) in a shorter period of time (x axis) than a less resilient system (line c or d) after a stressor event or "disturbance."[44]

From this perspective, refugee integration is a mechanism through which a "system"—in this case a population of migrants and hosts in an urban area—may over time return to full "functionality" or "performance" after the "stressor" or "disturbance" of displacement and settlement.[45] Here, "functionality" may describe any function of urban spaces including but not limited to critical infrastructures, public health services, livelihoods, security, and economic production. "Capacity" describes any number of services or functions of urban areas including transportation infrastructures, affordable housing, and job opportunities.[46] As Bose (2017) describes, the availability of low- and middle-income housing, the condition of transportation infrastructures, and economic performance of the host community all have profound implications for capacity to integrate.



Source: Middleton and Latty 2016

The resilience perspective places immigration within a wide spectrum of overlapping stressors that urban spaces experience,[47] including water shortages, high unemployment, and lack of public health services.[48] The resilience perspective also moves refugees from being viewed simply as stressors or "burdens" to recognizing refugees' role in building capacity in urban systems, for example by creating new jobs.[49] Ultimately, a well-integrated city will develop beyond the capacity it had before migrants arrived and will even become able "to deal with stressors and efficiently resume the rhythms of daily life through cooperation following shocks."[50]

The resilience perspective also provides a bridge between the humanitarian and development agendas, as modeled below in a "community resilience" conceptual framework.

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[42] The White House 2013
[43] Kalogerakis 2017
[44] Middleton and Latty 2016
[45] For more theoretical overview see Aldrich and Meyer 2015: 255; RAND 2015; Southwick et al. 2014; World Bank Group and GFDRR 2015
[46] Zetter and Deikun 2010: 5
[47] Aldrich 2012: 2-3
[48] As an example, see 100RC
[49] Borjas 2003
[50] Aldrich and Meyer 2015: 255; see also Aldrich 2012: 7

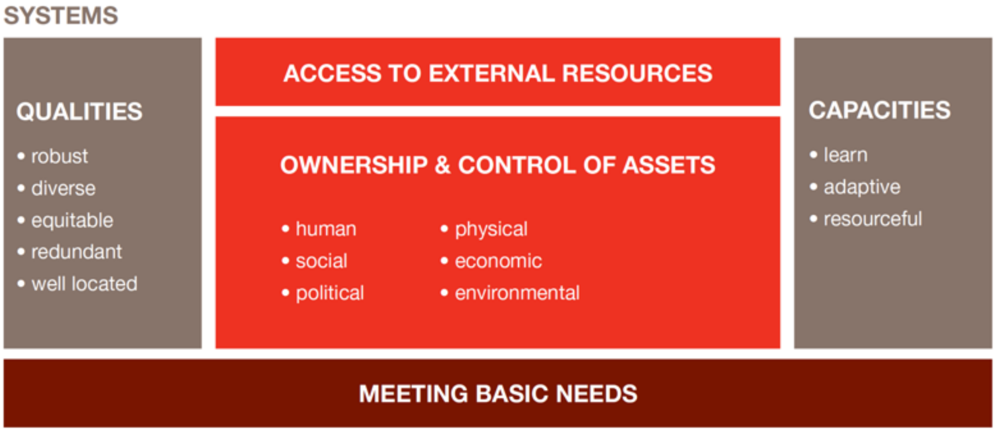
SYSTEMS
QUALITIES
• robust
• diverse
• equitable
• redundant
• well located
ACCESS TO EXTERNAL RESOURCES
OWNERSHIP & CONTROL OF ASSETS
• human
• social
• political
• physical
• economic
• environmental
CAPACITIES
• learn
• adaptive
• resourceful
MEETING BASIC NEEDS
DEVELOPMENT

Figure 2: A conceptual framework for community resilience [51]

Defining "Sustainability"

Integration also has intersections with the discourse on sustainability,[52] which is similar to resilience but differs in its emphasis on *preserving* systems by preventing stressors, rather than emphasizing *adapting* systems to withstand and recover from stressors.[53]

Defining "Protracted"

The term "protracted" is now a phrase in common usage describing displaced persons living for an extended period of time away from their place of origin, yet it "has never been formally defined or elaborated."[54] However, an adequate working definition for "protracted" is that it applies to individuals who "have lived in exile for more than five years, and when they still have no immediate prospect of finding a durable solution to their plight by means of voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement."[55]

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[51] IFRC 2012: 6
[52] Ferrão and Fernández 2013
[53] McPhearson 2014
[54] Crisp 2002
[55] Crisp 2002