

The background of the cover features a close-up, slightly out-of-focus image of barbed wire, with the sharp points of the wire creating a rhythmic pattern. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent red filter, which serves as the background for the text.

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Migration and Forced Displacement

Vulnerability and Resilience - Volume 2

Edited by Samson Maekele Tsegay



Migration and Forced
Displacement -
Vulnerability and Resilience
- Volume 2

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Published in London, United Kingdom

Migration and Forced Displacement – Vulnerability and Resilience – Volume 2

<http://dx.doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.115553>

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First published in London, United Kingdom, 2024 by IntechOpen

IntechOpen is the global imprint of INTECHOPEN LIMITED, registered in England and Wales, registration number: 11086078, 167-169 Great Portland Street, London, W1W 5PF, United Kingdom

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Additional hard and PDF copies can be obtained from orders@intechopen.com

Migration and Forced Displacement – Vulnerability and Resilience – Volume 2

Edited by Samson Maekele Tsegay

p. cm.

Print ISBN 978-0-85014-075-0

Online ISBN 978-0-85014-076-7

eBook (PDF) ISBN 978-0-85014-077-4

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Preface

This book emanates from the ongoing discourses on the concept of “migration,” particularly international migration. Migration has been a hot topic among scholars and politicians in countries with a large number of immigrants. It is also evident that migration issues have been one of the main topics of election campaigns and promises. This book is a continuation of the first book, “Migration and Forced Displacement: Vulnerability and Resilience—Volume 1,” highlighting the socioeconomic and political conditions of refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrants. Similarly, this book aims to explore international migration, focusing on the vulnerability and resilience of refugees, asylum seekers, and other migrants. The book covers the vulnerability of forced migrants and its implications for the host societies. It also addresses the role of nation-states and environmental factors, and the hopes and resilience of migrants. Therefore, it contributes to increasing people’s awareness of the concept of migration and the experiences of migrants, particularly their uncertainty and hopes. In addition, it can serve as a source of academic reference and discussion.

The book consists of 11 chapters from many countries located on six continents. Moreover, the book consists of chapters based on qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods.

Chapters 1 and 2 deal with immigration in the United States of America (U.S.). In Chapter 1, Michelle Yrigollen-Robbins highlights the experiences of Latina immigrant mothers in using their community cultural wealth to settle in the U.S. The chapter reiterates the role of communal capital in ensuring economic and political sustainability of immigrants. Chapter 2, written by Tania Hormozi, discusses first-generation Iranian refugees and their acculturation. This chapter identifies the causes of Iranian migration, the challenges these immigrants face, and the resilience they show during their acculturation in the U.S.

In Chapter 3, Mohammed T. Bani Salameh examines the sociopolitical and economic ramifications of the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan. Chapter 4 deals with the efficacy of social welfare in social policy focusing on young refugee women in Zimbabwe. Tariro Portia Tendengu argues that there is a relationship between social welfare and public policy, which affects refugees’ experiences. In the next chapter, Noor Marji, Lijun Chen, Akshatha Ravi Kumar, Gülbahar Emir Isik, and Michal Kohout examine the dynamic nature of refugee camps within Jordan’s unique sociopolitical context. The chapter unveils transitional typologies that challenge conventional ideas of permanence.

In Chapter 6, Alejandro Fernández analyzes the Argentine state policies that were used to facilitate the transportation of European peasants and workers to the country during the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. In Chapter 7, Abigail Persaud Cheddie traces the chronological migratory narrative of Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean through a selection of 32 poems. Abigail attempts to trace

the migratory journey and experience of the people from the colonial era to the current times. Chapter 8 investigates the challenges of young adults from diverse migration backgrounds in Germany. In this chapter, Sebastian Heidel and Roland Happ seek to identify challenging Western-influenced financial terms and concepts and to present explanatory approaches for these comprehension problems for young adults from the perspective of post-Soviet, Muslim, and Vietnamese migrants.

The three last chapters of the book further discuss the hopes and vulnerability of migrants in their host countries. Chapter 9 deals with the education services of refugee children in primary schools in South Africa. Rasheedah Olufunke Adams-Ojugbele argues that all children, including refugees, should have equitable access to quality primary education. In the next chapter, Suchismita Bhattacharjee, Chie Noyori-Corbett, and Salma Akter provide an overview of literature focusing on the impact of housing on the health and well-being of refugee populations during post-resettlement. In doing so, they navigate the nexus of refugee housing conditions and well-being. The final chapter, written by Mary Olivanti-Duerksen, is an essay regarding 21st-century refugees from a global and literary perspective. The chapter presents a “thousand-mile view” of the present global refugee crisis while stressing the tragic, personal, and traumatic responses of those who are forced to flee their homeland.

Therefore, the book combines interesting chapters related to the nexus between migration and various issues such as culture, gender, and education. Hence, it could be a significant reference for people interested in migration and forced displacement.

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Chapter 1

Navigational Experiences of Five Mexican Immigrant Mothers in U.S. Schools: Introducing Communal Capital

Michelle Yrigollen-Robbins

Abstract

This qualitative study highlights the experiences of how five Latina immigrant mothers use their community cultural wealth (CCW) to settle in metro Atlanta. Data was generated over 3 years through semi-structured interviews. The participants' *testimonios* collected from the interviews were deductively analyzed apriori by focusing on evidence of the six proposed elements of CCW revealed in their immigration stories. I found these women not only used the six components of CCW but also used what I term “communal capital”—the reliance on neighbors as cultivated through their relationships with strangers who lived in the same residential (apartment) dwellings. This study highlights the theory of *communal capital* as a tool that suggests how to research Latino immigrant communities in the United States.

Keywords: Latino immigrants, cultural capital, community cultural wealth, *testimonios*, communal capital

1. Introduction

The 2016 U.S. presidential election affected U.S. globalization and multiculturalism by placing race at the center of politics. Former U.S. President Donald Trump rekindled the struggle for social justice by igniting racial violence and social divisions in U.S. society [1]. Consequently, Mexican immigrants, and Latinos in general, have routinely been victimized under the enforcement of anti-immigration laws through inhumane practices [2]. Images of children in cages, separated from their families, and parents ultimately being deported without their children have perpetuated concepts of race and racism as experienced by people of color in the United States for centuries [3–6]. In particular, Trump undermined all Latino immigrants by referring to them as drug dealers, rapists, and criminals [7]. Critical researchers argue that the research deficit in Latino immigrants' navigational experiences has led to an inadequate understanding of, and increased racism against, Latino immigrants [5, 8–10]. Therefore, in this qualitative study, I examined the *testimonios* of five Latina immigrant mothers, as I sought to understand how they used Tara Yosso's [11] community

cultural capital (CCW) in navigating immigration from Mexico to settling in metro Atlanta, Georgia.

In metro Atlanta, this group of five Latina immigrant mothers has shown the world the power of communal capital in addressing racial inequity and embracing CCW. Through their *testimonios*, I was able to deductively analyze how these women settled in a foreign land using the six components of Yosso's CCW: aspirational, familial, linguistic, social, navigational, and resistant capital. But what I found even more inspiring was the additional component that they possessed—communal capital.

These women relied on their relationships with strangers who lived in the same residential dwellings they lived in, which I refer to as their micro-networks. They nurtured a sense of community among their neighbors, creating a communal capital that would support them as they navigated their new experiences in U.S. schools. This type of capital was essential for them to not only survive but for their children to thrive.

It is through this study that I highlight the potential of communal capital as a tool for addressing Latino immigrant communities in U.S. schools. Cultivating a sense of community within these groups provides Latino immigrant families with the necessary resources to succeed.

This study proves that embracing cultural capital and CCW, coupled with communal capital, can reduce racial inequity and help these immigrant communities settle into their new life. The women in this study have shown the power of unity, and educators should strive to follow their lead in creating communities that uplift and support each other in U.S. schools.

This study is significant, for not only have few studies focused on Latino immigrants in the U.S. South [12–15], but it also expanded on the understanding of CCW. Although the women in this study heavily relied upon the six components of CCW, it soon became apparent they used what I term, communal capital—the reliance on neighbors cultivated through intersectionalities of immigration, language, and place of residence. As a result, not only does this study add to the paucity of Latino research, but it also expands the components of CCW, and thus the understanding of how Latinos counter the dominant narrative.

2. Literature review

Pierre Bourdieu [16] has long been the seminal work on cultural capital. His work, however, is derived from a Eurocentric perspective and is limited to members of privileged groups who have access to capital (education, financial assets, the dominant language, and other material possessions). Yosso [11] maintained that Latinos' community cultural wealth (CCW) extends beyond tangible forms of cultural capital and includes *aspirational, familial, linguistic, resistant, navigational, and social* capital. Per Yosso's definition, aspirational capital is the ability to maintain futuristic hope even in the face of adversity. Linguistic capital is the intellectual and social skills acquired in bilingual acquisition. Resistant capital refers to the "skills fostered through oppositional behavior" [11] that challenge injustices and inequality exercised on people of color. This form of cultural wealth is grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination by developing courage, resilience, and the ability to resist forms of racial oppression. Navigational capital is the ability to transverse dominant social institutions. Familial capital is cultural knowledge acquired through kinship. And lastly, social capital is the network of human and community resources [11].

Unlike social capital, which is often built through formalized networks like workplaces or professional organizations, communal capital is an informal, but no less essential, bond between people who live in common residential dwellings. Latino immigrants rely on their communal capital to help each other navigate the United States.

The Theory of Communal Capital refers to the development of social and cultural ties in an immigrant community, where residents living together not only establish connections with their neighbors but also contribute to a pool of shared resources, services, and mutual support. This “communal capital” or collective resource emerges through long-term residence and continual social interactions, fostering trust, social networks, and a distinct sense of community among neighbors.

Under this theory, it is believed that the better the neighbors’ relationships, the higher the levels of communal capital, which results in more resources and opportunities for all residents. The theory extends to cover not just the neighbor-to-neighbor relationships but all types of relationships within a shared dwelling or community—including with strangers. Latino immigrants often come to rely on each other for assistance in daily living, safety, emergency help, childcare, and even emotional support.

Moreover, this concept is essential in understanding urban community dynamics, social sustainability, and neighborhood development. Communal capital, as theorized, has potential benefits such as enhancing residents’ quality of life, improving community safety, enabling effective collective action, and increasing resilience in times of social or environmental crises.

While the theory underscores the value of co-residential networks and connections, it also raises critical issues around inclusion, equity, and power within communities, the boundaries of communal resource sharing, and the potential for exclusion and conflict among community members.

3. Methodology

This qualitative study used *testimonios* to collect data. *Testimonios* are narratives of members of oppressed groups [17]. These narratives are inherently transformative in their aim to undo forms of oppression. The definition of *testimonios* as “a verbal journey of a witness who speaks to reveal the racial, classed, gendered, and nativist injustices they have suffered as a means of healing, empowerment, and advocacy for a more humane present and future” [17], makes *testimonios* a powerful method of data generation.

The *testimonios* voiced for this study were from five Latina mothers (which is part of a larger study [18]) who had settled in metro Atlanta. Each mother self-identified as an undocumented, Latina woman from Mexico. The participants were randomly selected at a parents’ meeting for an afterschool program specifically developed to aid Latino children. The stories of this study’s five participants specifically reveal components of CCW in their *testimonios*.

I had a personal history of involvement with the afterschool program for Latino families, which allowed me to become acquainted with many local Latino immigrant families with school-age children. In addition, my relationship with the program’s director contributed to my ability to gain access, establish rapport, and earn the participants’ trust [19]. The relationship I developed with the participants allowed us to engage in honest discussions about their immigration experiences, their perceptions of local schools, and their use of CCW.

The Latino families in this study live in a metropolitan city in Atlanta referred to as Windy Lakes (all names used in this study are pseudonymous). Like many cities

across the United States, Windy Lakes is racially segregated. Latino immigrants primarily live in the southern part of Windy Lakes; Blacks live in the northern part of the city, and Asians live between the two. Whites are dispersed throughout the city. The racial makeup of Windy Lakes is approximately 67% White, 18% Black, 14% Latinx, and 7% Asian [20]. In Windy Lakes, multiple-family dwellings (apartment complexes) are vast, and most Latino immigrants reside in these communities. In Windy Lakes, most Latino immigrant laborers predominantly work in the service and construction industry, thus largely contributing to the city's economic development. Hence, Spanish is commonly used in public businesses and restaurants, and many street signs and advertisements are in Spanish or bilingual. Religious enclaves and after-school programs are the main community centers for Latino immigrant families in Windy Lakes. However, even though the community at large provides resources for Latino immigrants, schools in Windy Lakes have not always welcomed Latino families. One school district, for example, approved the re-zoning of Windy Lakes in an area where White families were encountering an increased number of Latinos who moved there. The approval of re-districting schools caused Latino children to have to attend a non-White, school miles away from their place of residence [21].

Data for this study was generated over a three-year period (beginning of 2016 through the end of 2018). The local Institution's Review Board (IRB) approved the study and consent forms were given to the participants in Spanish. Each participant chose a pseudonym to protect their identity. All recordings and transcripts were destroyed (per the Institution's policies) after 3 years. Three informal, semi-structured interviews were conducted in late 2016 to early 2017. Lasting 2 hours, the face-to-face interviews consisted of questions and answers regarding (1) participants' background, (2) crossing the border, and (3) settling in metro Atlanta. A reflective journal and memoing were also used to collect data. A third phone interview was conducted to serve as a member check. These phone conversations served as an auto-analysis of my role as a researcher [22] and as a clarification of narratives that were consistent with CCW and the forms of capital outlined by Yosso [11]. As a native Spanish speaker, I was able to conduct all interviews in Spanish. However, to preserve objectivity, I used a third-party certified translator to transcribe and translate the interviews.

The *testimonios* were deductively analyzed and organized using the six components of CCW. In combination, *testimonios* and the analytic focus on CCW were powerful in their potential to undue oppression through empowerment. The analysis not only illuminated the prevalence of Yosso's CCW but also brought to the fore the use of communal capital.

3.1 Data

3.1.1 Lidia's *testimonio*

I begin with Lidia's *testimonio* because, unlike the other participants who planned their migration, coming to the United States was not something Lidia had ever imagined she would do.

Lidia lived at home (with her divorced father and sisters) until she married her husband at age 23. They had their son soon after. Lidia's *navigational capital* emerged when her son was born with Type 4 microtia (a birth deformity of the ear), which affects his hearing and speech. Although Lidia never mentioned the illness by its name, she talked about her son being a unique child. Lidia's *aspirational capital* was

motivated by her decision to migrate to the United States, where she could find resources unavailable in Mexico.

By the time Lidia's son was 4 years old, Lidia's sister (Ana) and brother-in-law were living in Windy Lakes. During the first 6 months Ana lived in Windy Lakes, she shared her nephew's condition with her neighbors and found that schools in the United States provide special services for children in need. As a result, Lidia and her family migrated to Windy Lakes in 2005. Lidia's sister relied on her communal capital to find information that would benefit Lidia and her family. Thus, communal capital was key in Lidia's decision to migrate to the United States. This is the level of trust and social cohesion that develops when Latinos come together in close-knit communities, like apartment complexes or neighborhoods, and learn to rely on each other for support and assistance.

3.1.2 Claudia's testimonio

Claudia came to the United States in 2006 from Monterrey, Mexico with her husband Filiberto and their two oldest daughters. They own a business in Mexico, a house in a gated community in Monterrey, and a car that they keep at home. Claudia was an engineer and worked at a U.S. company in Monterrey, Mexico for 2 years as a production supervisor. During that time, she married and had her first child. After the birth of their first daughter, Claudia stayed home until the child grew older.

Claudia shared that crime in Monterrey was escalating, and when they had their second daughter, Claudia and Filiberto decided to move to the United States. The girls were 5 years and 1 year old. Claudia and her family took a 36-hour bus ride from Monterrey, Mexico to Windy Lakes. In Windy Lakes, they stayed with Claudia's sister-in-law, who was already living there. After they arrived, it took them just a few weeks to find work and to move into their apartment.

As Claudia faced the daunting task of enrolling her children in school, she turned to her neighbors for guidance. This act of trust is not uncommon among Latino immigrants living in apartment complexes, where communal capital is a crucial aspect of survival.

3.1.3 Cati's testimonio

Cati, a participant from Veracruz, Mexico, has been in Windy Lakes since 2004. Cati came to Windy Lakes with her husband, Luis. Their journey began in a small town in Veracruz, where they met at a neighborhood dance. Cati said that Luis had lived in Windy Lakes and therefore suggested moving back to Windy Lakes because he was familiar with the city.

Upon their arrival, Cati mentioned that surprisingly, Luis struggled with adapting again. However, Cati and Luis were determined to educate their children in the United States. Cati's first evidence of communal capital was evident when she described herself as someone always willing to ask questions and find the answers she needs to adapt to a situation or environment. When their oldest son turned four, Cati had to enroll him in prekindergarten: "He was four years old in August, and at around the same time, I knew he had to start school. Then, I had to register him, and to find out how I could do it I asked my neighbors. The neighbors told me how."

As Cati stood outside her apartment building, wondering which school her children were supposed to attend, she turned to her neighbors for help. This simple act of

reaching out to the community is an example of communal capital, which is a crucial component of CCW.

In talking to her neighbors, Cati demonstrated an understanding of intersectionality, recognizing that her identity as a parent was intertwined with her community. She utilized language, speaking to her neighbors in Spanish, which helped to bridge any communication barriers. And by seeking out her neighbors, she showed her communal capital was essential for navigating the complex systems in metro Atlanta.

Cati's experience is not unique, and others in her apartment complex also rely on communal capital to navigate their lives. By sharing their *testimonios*, it is evident that communal capital was integral to their success. From pooling resources to help a neighbor in need, to sharing information about available services, communal capital allowed for a network of support and collaboration.

3.1.4 Lola's testimonio

Lola attended *la preparatoria* (the equivalent of a vocational high school in the United States) in Mexico. Lola worked as an accountant assistant, which was part of her vocational training. She started working when at the age of 15. Lola received training for almost 4 years. However, she described the job market in Mexico as difficult and without the possibility to advance and make a decent living.

During that time, Lola had been dating David (her husband) and discussed leaving Mexico for the United States. They wanted to give their future children the opportunity to have a better education and, consequently, better jobs. They made the journey across the U.S./Mexican border in 2004 when they arrived in Georgia. After settling in Windy Lakes, Lola and David had four children: a girl, a boy, and twin girls. All children were born in Windy Lakes.

When their oldest daughter turned four, the neighbors, whom Lola and David had befriended, took it upon themselves to tell Lola and David what they needed to enroll their oldest daughter in prekindergarten. Lola said that the network of friends she had developed in her apartment complex showed them how to navigate the registration process. Lola also mentioned that her neighbors provided her with information about the school bus, the hours, the route, and everything else they needed to navigate the process. As they watched their daughter board the school bus for the first time, Lola and David could not help but feel a sense of security. They had made it this far, thanks to the help of their communal capital: the relationship they had developed with their neighbors.

3.1.5 Costeña's testimonio

Costeña is originally from Guerrero, Mexico, and came to the United States in 2004. Costeña's immigration is unique because she is the only participant who came to the United States by herself. She initially flew from Mexico to Los Angeles, California. She lived with a relative in Los Angeles and shortly after her arrival, she met her husband. Tired of the rigor of living in a large city, they decided to move and metro Atlanta presented that opportunity. They moved to Windy Lakes because they had distant relatives living there at the time. Costeña and her husband had four children born in Georgia: three girls and a boy.

Costeña and her family were living in an apartment dwelling in Windy Lakes when their oldest daughter turned four. Costeña and her husband were giving their daughter a birthday party that the neighbors attended. It was at this party that the

Costeña first learned about enrolling her daughter in school. It was a neighbor who told Costeña that she needed to enroll her daughter in prekindergarten.

The neighbors told Costeña about the enrollment process; explained that every family was assigned a specific school, based on their address; and also explained transportation: that her daughter would be taking the school bus every day. Costeña, who was unfamiliar with the entire process, relied exclusively on the communal capital she found in her neighbors to learn about the U.S. school system.

4. Discussion

Communal capital refers to the resources Latinos share and utilize to promote their common welfare and prosperity. It consists of networks of relationships, shared values, trust, and cooperation developed exclusively within their neighbors. Communal capital consists of non-material assets such as information, shared skills, and knowledge.

The communal capital Latino immigrants develop is essential to their opportunity to navigate schools and institutions in metro Atlanta. The *testimonios* presented in this study serve as an example of how participants relied on the communal capital they found in their network of neighbors to navigate the community and the local school systems. For instance, Lidia befriended her neighbor Olivia, with whom she became close and who was indispensable in aiding Lidia to navigate her son's school. Before Lidia's arrival, Olivia had a neighbor she befriended while living in her previous apartment complex who showed Olivia how to navigate the school's registration process. Evidence that communal capital is not limited to the dwellings where the participants for this study reside.

Lidia's *testimonio* shows evidence of how communal capital is transferred within Latinos' micro-networks found within their apartment complexes. Thus, the process of developing communal capital is seamless and transferable to one's neighbors. Specifically, the micro-networks found in the apartment complexes serve as a platform where Latino immigrant communities in Windy Lakes develop communal capital.

When Claudia arrived in Windy Lakes, her sister-in-law helped her navigate the community. However, once Claudia and Filiberto moved into an apartment, they soon reaped the benefits of communal capital. Claudia and Filiberto befriended their neighbors, and soon the neighbors introduced Claudia and Filiberto to their bosses and were offered jobs. When I asked Claudia how she found out what schools to enroll her children in, she responded that she had relied on the neighbors who lived in the same apartment complex. "Well, I usually discuss it with my neighbors, the friends from the apartments, and they tell me that this is the school [your child is] supposed to attend. There are many schools here, but because we live in these apartments, [your kids] have to go to this school" [18].

Claudia also shows evidence of communal capital by explaining that all the neighbors would go out and wait for their children at the bus stop every day. Furthermore, Claudia and Filiberto made connections with their neighbors and developed a communal capital that helped them navigate their children's schools. Although Claudia said that Filiberto always accompanied her to school-related activities, Claudia's communal capital helped her find ways to navigate the school. When Claudia was asked what advice she would give to recently arrived Latino immigrants, she said she would encourage them to seek out the micro-networks found among Latinos who live in the same apartment complex. Claudia's reference to micro-networks supports the idea of communal capital.

Cati's story also shows evidence of communal capital, which she used to learn about schools her children could attend. Cati explained that the information she

received from her neighbors gave her the confidence to go to the local school and inquire about her child's enrollment requirements. At the school, Cati received a checklist that showed the required information and documentation. "I did not even know what documentation was." However, Cati did not hesitate to ask her neighbors what those things meant. Cati's relationship with neighbors allowed her to extend the communal capital without constraints.

Lola and David accompanied their daughters to the bus stop, where they gathered with other parents/neighbors. Lola said that although her daughter was initially scared to get on the bus, once she saw the other children, she happily followed them, "because we lived in an apartment complex, she did not go alone. She was with other friends who also lived in the same apartment complex and whom she already knew. She went happily."

The first time Lola received a note from the school was approximately 6 months into the school year. In the note, the teacher asked parents to "participate." Lola did not understand what the teacher meant; therefore, she reached out to a neighbor and asked her to explain what it was to "participate" in her daughter's education. She recalls:

I called a neighbor that I had, and, well, we had—our children were in the same classroom. We helped each other: "Uhm no—it says that we have to do this." You know what I mean? Then, we were already helping each other. Sometimes I understood, sometimes they understood; that is, we were helping each other. Due to that, we became friends, and we are still friends today. So...we are three friends. All three of us, we got together and no, well, this is the homework. And...we helped each other with that too.

Lola mentioned that they all helped each other translate notes from school. She also recalled that both mothers had to help each other do their children's homework before they could help their children. Lola and her neighbors navigated the children's school using their communal capital, even though they had language limitations and were unfamiliar with the school's communications and procedures.

In conclusion, the original six components of CCW are insufficient by themselves. The participants in this study showed evidence of communal capital to navigate metro Atlanta schools and institutions. In this study, the Latina mothers' *testimonios* illustrated their use of CCW. These forms of cultural capital helped them navigate their experiences in metro Atlanta. The participants in this study relied on communal capital—the trust placed on neighbors cultivated through the relationship Latino immigrants develop within their dwelling communities.

Communal capital, although unnoted until this study, was extremely important in the lives of these Latino immigrant families as they navigated the metro Atlanta area. Communal capital was essentially a pool of resources that allowed members of a community to contribute, share, and distribute wealth and knowledge. In the Latino community, communal capital meant that they could work together, pool their resources, and share their skills and knowledge to create new opportunities.

A strong communal capital allows for increased mobilization, which could lead to improved socioeconomic outcomes for Latino immigrant families. Furthermore, it fosters a sense of community identity and belonging, which can enhance social cohesion and resilience against external threats.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

The Latino participants in this study are resilient immigrants who are aware of the importance of their families' and friends' economic and political sustainability [23]. They were determined to provide their children with the educational opportunities

they believed were essential to their children's success, despite the risks. To this end, these women relied heavily on communal capital. They formed bonds by sharing their collective communal capital. They came together in a micro-network that is part of the ethnic, cultural, and social landscape that embodies Latinos in the United States. Their experiences were enhanced by micro-networks of newly formed friendships in their shared apartment dwellings. Since every participant was connected to Windy Lakes through a relative or close friend, their familial and social capital designated Windy Lakes as their destination. However, each of the relatives and friends who encouraged the participants to move to Windy Lakes had previously developed communal capital. Once the participants arrived in Windy Lakes, they expanded their CCW into a communal capital identical to how their predecessors developed theirs within the micro-network of neighbors found in their new place of residence.

The relationships the participants formed within their micro-networks in metro Atlanta reaffirm that communal capital is evident in the trust developed among Latino immigrant neighbors living in the same apartment dwellings. For immigrants, communal capital is the glue that holds their lives together in a foreign land. It is the neighbor who always offers to watch the kids when they need to work late or the neighbor who shows others how to navigate the school system. Communal capital is the understanding that in a world that so often feels fractured and divided, it is heartening to see that something as simple as neighborly kindness could have such a profound impact on people's lives.

Latinos are not individualistic groups, and therefore, their sense of community reflected in communal capital should be replicated in schools to help these immigrant communities navigate U.S. school systems successfully. For school officials, understanding the importance of communal capital is critical in comprehending how Latino immigrants navigate the United States. Latino immigrants' use of communal capital can translate into a better understanding of how these populations should be approached by school officials, and that is as a community. For instance, the *testimonios* hereby presented reveal that Latino parents will unlikely attend school functions by themselves. Therefore, I recommend that school officials should reach out to Latino families as a group, fostering a sense of community reflected in communal capital, will be more effective in encouraging Latino parents' participation in schools.

Windy Lakes, one of the 20 fastest-growing cities in the U.S. South, mirrors many Latino immigrants' social realities across the United States [24]. Understanding how Latino families in this city use communal capital to empower themselves and their children gives insight into Latino immigrants across the country. Hence, I suggest not only gain a better understanding of how Latino immigrants use communal capital to navigate U.S. institutions but also reach out to these communities one micro-network at a time.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Kristen Buras for always believing in the capital of the Latino communities in Atlanta and for supporting this study.

Conflict of interest

The author declares no conflict of interest.

Thanks

I want to thank the women in this study for sharing their stories of courage and resilience with me. Their trust in me and their commitment to this study were an integral part of the validity of this work. Furthermore, their courage and resilience are examples of the character of many other U.S. Latino immigrants who seek a better education for their children by risking their lives to come to the United States.

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Chapter 2

First Generation Iranian Refugees and Their Acculturation in the United States

Tania Hormozi

Abstract

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the causes that Iranians migrate out of their country, as well as the struggles and strengths of acculturation for first-generation Iranian refugees in the United States (U.S.). Many individuals and clinicians are unaware of how to work with certain immigrant and refugee populations, and this review will inform those individuals and clinicians of ways to work with, treat, and help these families upon arrival and acculturation into the U.S. Ten participants were interviewed to share experiences of their acculturation process in the U.S. Themes were found from the interviews to include language barriers, isolation from families, and lifestyle changes. This chapter will include additional research about why Iranian refugees fled Iran, historical information about the Islamic Republic and its regulations on its people, as well as the acculturation process for Iranian refugees in the United States.

Keywords: Iranian refugees, refugees, acculturation, first generation Iranians, Iranians in the United States, Iranian human rights, Iranian women, Iranian women's rights

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the acculturation of first-generation Iranian refugees in the United States (U.S.). In my research I focused mostly on adults who sought asylum for political or religious persecution in Iran to come to the U.S. and live a better life [1]. A refugee is an individual who left his or her home country fearing persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a social group, or political opinion. Some of the Iranian refugees were forced to provide for themselves after reaching the designated destination and had to deal with many obstacles and barriers that came with acculturation [2]. Many of the obstacles that refugees faced while acculturating into the new country were learning a new language, finding jobs, or attending school to be able to build a new life [3]. There have been over 65 million globally-displaced individuals around the world, 38% are externally displaced whether they are asylum seekers or refugees [4].

This chapter is reviewing Iranian refugees who had to leave their home country due to persecution. The Islamic Republic of Iran discriminates against Iranian citizens

who do not practice Islamic traditions and values; therefore, Iranians are forced to leave their home country or stay and be punished by death and fear their lives daily in the country [5].

There are many Iranians who are not following any of the Islamic practices despite their religion or beliefs. Iran today is witnessing the highest rate of Christianity in the world; many of the Iranians who continue to live in Iran are also converting to Christianity despite the increase in executions and punishments of Christian pastors, restrictions on church activities, arrests, and persecution of these individuals who are against the Islamic Republic [6]. In addition to religious changes, approximately 44 years passed since women have been fighting for rights in their own country of Iran. Women have suffered fines, insults, jail, and even death due to their dignity and rights as women in this patriarchal country [6]. A lot of women are now defying the regime's dress code and removing headscarves despite the security forces demands and threats. Many women are casting aside their scarves and headwear as protest to the regimes' claimed authority that is imposing religious codes onto them.

There is minimal research on Iranian immigrants and acculturation, as well as refugees in the U.S. The goal of this chapter is to fill the gap in literature and explore the struggles first-generation Iranian refugees in the U.S. endured and the strengths that they exhibited during the acculturation process.

2. Methodology

This chapter is drawn from my dissertation: First Generation Iranian Refugees' Acculturation in the United States: A Focus on Resilience. The methods used for this research study was a transcendental phenomenology approach to focus on individual experiences of refugees who have faced a similar and specific phenomenon [7]. Data was collected utilizing interviews from 10 participants who had endured similar experiences with acculturation. There were eight steps in this method to obtain information and analyze data to identify themes [8]. The steps were: Epoche to help with biases of the researcher, transcendental phenomenological reduction which looked at each experience and described it by itself, and imaginative variation which used researchers' experience to view the experience differently [8]. Then the data analysis steps included: Horizontalization to identify significant statements from participants, Clusters of Meanings to organize and categorize statements into themes, Textural Descriptions to summarize the themes, Possible Meanings and Structural Descriptions helped with interpreting and analyzing the themes as a whole.

For the purposes of this chapter, a thematic analysis is utilized to identify, analyze, and interpret patterns of meaning within the qualitative data from the dissertation [9]. The themes identified in the original dissertation were analyzed in this chapter and discussed using further research related to this topic to fulfill the objectives for this chapter review.

3. Iran: country context

3.1 History

In 2008, Iran was home to approximately 69 million people who were ethnically, religiously, and linguistically diverse [10]. Between 1941 and 1979, King Mohammad

Reza Shah Pahlavi reigned Iran's government and modernized the bureaucracy, as well as the educational system, economic development, and social reforms. Reza Shah believed that women should be educated, have access to the workplace, and have the same basic rights as their male counterparts [11]. The turmoil of political and religious structures in Iran were prevalent to be against the Shah's monarchy [2].

The Iranian Revolution in 1979 brought down the regime of King Mohammad-Reza Pahlavi, and Ayatollah Khomeini returned from his exile and led the newly established government. Since the revolutionary war, women faced a lot of changes that significantly affected their way of life, including mandatory veiling, lacking freedom of speech, inability to vote, being separated from boys in classrooms, and not being able to attend college or higher education [12, 13]. Post 1979 downfall of Pahlavi monarchy, the Islamic regime replaced it with a period when human rights abuses and executions became more prevalent in the country [14]. Not only were there state-sponsored assassinations, but women were also singled out as symbols of dissipation and consumerism under the Shah's monarchy and became the brunt of social and gender reconstructing [14]. Many women had a hard time participating in politics within their country, and others remained silent for fear of persecution. Women and younger individuals carried the mantle of opposition, by battling with the 'morality police' regarding headscarves and allowing for co-ed public spaces in major cities. Following the establishment of the new Islamic government, Assyrians, along with other groups such as Kurds, Armenians, Jews, and Baha'i, became targets of the new regime and social system [14].

3.2 People

In 1935, the country's name was changed from Persia to Iran to show the progress and unification of a variety of ethnicities, tribes, and social classes [15]. The Indo-European group were known as the original Persians and the Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great in 559 BC covering what is now Afghanistan all the way to Egypt. Many Iranians are proud of their heritage including the ancient empire, including the Zoroastrian religion [15].

Iran is bordered by the Caspian Sea on the north and the Persian Gulf on the south. Its neighboring countries are Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Many agricultural communities, nomadic tribes with livestock, and several industrial regions are located in Iran. The population in Iran is over 89 million, and millions of the population practices Shiite Islam; however, there are other religious faiths practiced, such as Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrian, and Baha'i to name a few [15, 16]. There are many regions in Iran inhabiting people with different ethnicities and traditions. Iranian Turks live in the northwest, Kurdish Iranians live in the western borders, and Arabic-speaking Iranians live in the south and southwest. Iranians are resilient and have developed an uncanny ability to assimilate without the complete loss of the collective self or their nationalities [15]. Iranians continue to fight for their rights and their ethnicities to be able to live a better life in their country.

3.3 Human rights

The Iranian police, intelligence and security forces, and prison officials have committed many shocking acts of human rights violations. Some of these acts include detention, enforced disappearance, torture, and other ill-treatment against many

of the individuals detained in the Iranian prison due to the nationwide protests of November 2019, followed by the death of Mahsa Jina Amini [17]. Other victims include children and injured protestors and bystanders that were taken in while they were seeking medical care. Human rights defenders were also arrested, such as minority rights activists, journalists, and those who were attending memorial ceremonies for those who were killed previously during the protests.

The Iranian government denies any of these violent acts and identifies excuses for what has occurred to these individuals. Iranian police and security forces do not investigate the allegations of enforced disappearance, torture, and/or other ill-treatment of these individuals; yet they punish them for wanting to exercise their rights of freedom of expression and association and peaceful assembly [17, 18].

Since the torture and death of Mahsa Jina Amini, Iranian security forces continued to kill at least 326 people nationwide due to the protests of their human rights [18, 19]. From this number, 43 were children, and 25 were women. Iran is facing one of the biggest and most unprecedented shows of dissent since Amini's death for not wearing her hijab appropriately according to the Iranian morality police [19].

Since 2022, there have been many other individuals including boys and men that have been detained, tortured, imprisoned, and killed due to their support for women and children, as well as basic human rights within their own country. Iranian celebrities and athletes have stepped forward to support the anti-regime and have also been faced with consequences despite their reputation [20].

In addition to the torture and persecution of its people, the government has also monitored and controlled the accessibility of internet, social media, television, and other ways of news and entertainment the Iranian people maintain. Authorities have censored media, jammed satellite television channels, and have blocked their people from Instagram, WhatsApp, and other social media platforms to stop them from communicating to other countries about what is occurring in Iran [20].

Basic human rights are being threatened daily, the government has repeatedly shut off or disrupted the internet and phone network during the protests. The basic human rights of the people of Iran have been taken hostage and even men and boys are protesting in the streets for their own rights, as well as their female loved ones.

The Iranian government and its male representation hold very rigid views of women's roles and rights within their country [21]. Especially post the Pahlavi monarchy downfall, the Islamic Republic of Iran removed and decreased women's rights tremendously. Women are seen as caring and nurturing, but also sexualized beings capable of inflicting confusion if not controlled by men or their male counterparts [21]. As mentioned before, the headscarf or 'hijab' is one way that the government has deemed segregation and necessary to tame the dangers of female sexuality and maintain social order in the country. Men in Iran see women only to obey their roles in marriages with wifely obedience, maternal responsibilities, and nothing else. Furthermore, Mohsen Kadivar, an advocate of human rights sees gender equality as one of the main pillars of human rights regime and a democratic order [21]. Some clerics such as Abdulla Nuri, a minister of interior under President Khatami has a very strong stance on the issue of the 'hijab', despite the taboo subject for many, he argues that wearing a headscarf should be voluntary and not mandatory [21].

3.3.1 Women rights

Many women in Iran have always tried fighting for more rights and power as other individuals in the country. They are viewed as having domestic and parental

responsibilities for the care of others, rather than having any control for quality leisure [22]. There is a systematic force in society to understand the different forms of power that is connected to women's lack of leisure experiences in Iran. There has always been an unequal distribution of responsibility given the power differences [22]. There are however many Iranians who feel that men and women need equal access to leisure activities; however, due to the traditions, rules, and the patriarchal society, men will always have more freedom than women [23]. Researchers argued that women in Iran live in an environment of fear about what to do and not do consistently; whether they should be afraid about where to go, when to do something, who is safe, and who is dangerous from their male peers in their own country where it is supposed to be safe and comfortable [24]. Women's lack of safety is prevalent in many instances in Iran, and it is readily available for media reporters to share the information of women being attacked all the time for a variety of reasons. Many studies on women's safety and discrimination have been present not only in Iran but other developing countries as well [24].

According to official statistics, more than half of Iran's population of 89 million are women [16]. Women's participation in society is valuable because it provides the basis for sustainable development [25]. Therefore, one of the important development goals is denying class, ethnicity, gender, and human inequalities to achieve development. The elimination of inequalities between men and women has become a key issue among several countries, as well as recognizing women's overall status in their country [24]. Women have many roles, as a wife, mother, and housekeeper; yet women are not active in their societies. Their role in political, social, economic, and cultural development needs to be more welcomed given their education and literacy development [24].

As mentioned before, for more than 40 years after the Iranian revolution, women have been fighting for their status to change in their own country. Women have been involved in certain socio-political programs; however, they are not recognized for their achievements. Studies in Iran have discovered that the patriarchal culture, negative attitudes, and the prejudice against women prohibit women from reaching specific organizational goals and positions [23].

The Islamic Republic regime of Iran has forced many women to cover themselves, they have barred women from judiciary, segregation in transport, sports and public places, including all discriminatory laws. The government believes that men and women are created differently and are suitable for different gender roles in their social and private lives. However, they do not see that they are seeing men and women not only different in sex and gender, but also threatening their equality that is then projected as injustice [26]. Women continue to fight for their rights and want the government to change its mindset.

On September 16, 2022, a young 22-year-old Kurdish woman Mahsa Jina Amini died in the custody of the 'morality police' in Tehran, Iran. In a matter of days, waves of protest increased all over the world, an average of 160 cities opposing the regime. Many women removed their mandatory headscarves during protests in the street fighting to end the dual life forced upon them for more than 40 years [21]. More than 500 demonstrators were killed by the end of December 2022, including 67 children [17]. An estimated 15,000 people were arrested and indicted, 26 people charged against them with a wage of war against God; in Iran this carries a death penalty [17, 18].

The law in Iran for headscarves ("hijab") is mandatory for every woman in the country [27]. Women are required to also wear loose-fitting clothing covering their

arms and legs, as well as have their hair always covered when present in a public setting [27]. The Islamic Republic of Iran forced women to wear a headscarf and long dark attire, including girls nine years of age and older starting in April 1983.

The word ‘hijab’ is defined by an outfit that a woman needs to wear covering her whole body to present herself as modest. Her face, hands, and sometimes feet are permitted to show [27]. Many women do not adhere to the direct law of wearing their headscarves properly; some women show partial hair, as well as certain fashion trends with the hijab have come to be more prevalent in the country, despite its illegality. Any woman, including individuals with religious beliefs outside of Islam were required by law to wear the headscarf in public settings [27]. This fight for women’s rights has been ongoing for 44 years. According to recent surveys more than 66% of the Iranian population explicitly rejects state enforcement of the mandatory headscarves in Iran. This includes a quarter of those who believe in the practice of veiling for religious reasons [27]. Therefore, many of these women and their families look into ways of leaving their country if their human rights are not protected.

4. Migration: fleeing Iran for security

Iranians who were interested in seeking asylum have often escaped their country due to violence and persecution. They have lost everything including their homes and families. They have no chance to work or send their children to school or live a meaningful life. They yearn to live in peace, yet only a small number of refugees obtain refugee status; others are living in desperate conditions waiting for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to process their cases [28]. Many Iranians practice their freedom of speech and hit the streets to protest what they truly want from the Iranian government.

Documents have surfaced that clearly show Khamenei giving direct orders to deal harshly with demonstrators [28]. They were shot at, arrested, tortured, raped, and executed. Many have fled Iran in fear of arrest, imprisonment, and execution since the regime has labeled them as traitors, working with foreign governments, to overthrow the regime. After the June 2009 election, the regime launched a series of operations to identify and track down those who participated in demonstrations. Worried that stories of torture, rape, and harassment might reach a wider audience, the regime has positioned thousands of plain-clothed intelligence officers throughout Turkey and neighboring countries to actively track, attack, and intimidate Iranian refugees [28]. Those who manage to avoid detection live in destitution, fearful, and in miserable conditions [29]. Despite these reports, the UNHCR continues to tell Iranian refugees that they are protected and safe, when they are not [29]. Yet, many have managed to leave the country and flee for safety, security, and stability elsewhere.

5. Iranian refugees in the United States

The U.S. Bureau of the Census of 2010 estimates the number of Iranians in the United States is at 400,000 [30]. Unofficially, the estimate is closer to one million. The political climate discourages Iranian immigrants from disclosing their native origin; hence, they self-identify as “other” or “Caucasian.” The 2010 Census described the California Iranian American population as largely concentrated in the Los Angeles area, which consequently has the largest concentration of Iranians outside

of Iran [30]. Totalling 159,016 persons, this population is larger than the combined number of Iranians in 20 other states. The Los Angeles population is ethnically and religiously diverse. Although Muslims are still the majority, the Armenian, Jewish, and Baha'i communities have a strong presence as well [30]. Divided by political, religious, and social class differences, most live in small social networks [30].

There were three waves of Iranians that fled Iran and headed to the U.S. The earliest wave in 1950–1979 was the young Muslims who wanted to better themselves educationally and economically; they spoke good English and wanted graduate degrees [13]. The second wave of Iranian migration began after the Iranian Revolution of 1979, and included individuals who were unable to live in the new regime because of persecution and lack of freedom. This group was mostly elderly, with lesser knowledge of the English language; including academics, professionals, and business owners who moved to the U.S. to build upon what they originally started in Iran [31]. The third wave occurred in the early 1990s until the present, and it consisted of high-skilled, educated, and working-class individuals and families. The third wave consisted more of the refugee population who were forced to migrate to European countries before arriving in the U.S. [14]. These individuals were mainly refugees fearing persecution and or were forced to leave Iran [13]. Some of these Iranians had to leave their families behind, while others were able to migrate with them.

The 2010 Iranian Count U.S. Census Coalition aimed to address the limitation of the racial classification system of the Census goal. The goal was to attain a more accurate count of the Iranian American population which has been historically under-represented in the Census data [30]. An estimated “289,465 individuals responded to the race question by marking ‘some other race’ and writing in Iranian/Persian” [32]. Many of these Iranian refugees were the ones that were forced out of Iran after the Revolutionary War because of their religion, and their beliefs against the Islamic Republic about their identities.

Many refugees came as persecuted intellectuals, oppressed minorities, rich professionals, and educated workers; even though their religion may have been the reason for their flee from Iran [32]. Researchers called Iranian refugees who migrate to the U.S. the *Iranian Diaspora* [32]. Researchers described the diaspora as starting with the revolutionary war and the various reasons that Iranians started to rebel against the government and way of life. The researcher found that the diaspora could also consist of a group of individuals who were forced to mass migrate and leave their native country and construct new identities abroad [32]. The researcher argued that despite experiencing prejudice, demeaning stereotypes, or discrimination from the American people, Iranian refugees have been able to successfully acculturate into the U.S. Successfully acculturating means to be able to assimilate into a new host country and culture when migrating from a completely different culture and country. Some refugees are able to acculturate into the new host culture by learning the language, finding jobs, attending school, and building their new lives within the host country.

When the Islamic government's political regime reigned the country after the first war in 1979, it forced many Iranians to flee the country due to the threats that were rising onto their families [20]. These refugees and immigrants were working individuals, but not of high-ranking. They owned businesses and worked for other companies. They were not fluent in the English language and had a harder time acculturating to the new culture and lifestyle in the U.S. [20]. Most of these individuals also consisted of the older generations who knew they needed to leave Iran for their safety, protection, and a better life for their families, but also knew they would have a hard time transitioning.

By the year 2000, many academics and industrialists had left Iran towards the U.S. and knew they were not going to return to their home country. Post the 2009 presidential election, many Iranians fled towards the U.S. and European countries. Not only were the Iranians fleeing, but Iran also became a country that hosted other immigrants and refugees from Iraq and Afghanistan, as well. Individuals and families were trying to leave the Islamic Republic behind in any way possible, from all aspects and countries [29, 33].

6. Acculturation of Iranian refugees in the United States

When individuals leave a country and culture that they were raised in, it becomes a challenge when they are forced to leave due to religious and/or political persecution. Once the Islamic Republic of Iran took reign over the country of Iran, it came with many prohibitions for the people, especially the minorities within the country.

One of the many common themes among immigrants and refugees who were born and raised in collectivistic cultures is that they migrate to more individualistic countries despite uncertainty of the lifestyle and living environments. Many individuals and families experience initial culture shock because of the quantity and size of the necessities and things in daily lives. Many families are shocked by the casual lifestyle of Americans, the apparel, how many stores there are, and the large streets and freeways. Language barriers are also a cause for concern when it comes to refugees acculturating into the new host country. Depending on when the individuals and families left Iran, some of them had knowledge of vocabulary words in English, while others did not know any, and the professionals and academics were proficient which helped them acculturate easier.

When individuals enter an unfamiliar culture, they undergo some degree of cultural learning, regarding food habits, and festival celebrations [34, 35]. Acculturative stress is a result of reactions that are found to result in high levels of depression, anxiety, and stress. These reactions are linked to the experience of cultural loss and hesitation regarding the ways in which one should get involved as a new member of the new culture and society [32]. Acculturative stress is experienced by many refugees given the fact that they experience feelings of marginality, anxiety, self-esteem issues, and identity confusion [36]. The inability to communicate well, assimilate into daily living tasks, and finding resources for jobs and attending school are all aspects of acculturative stress [37]. Acculturation is not an easy task, particularly considering the conditions of the Iranian refugees. Many individuals faced various obstacles upon entering the U.S. and acculturating into the lifestyle. Gender roles were very different in the U.S. than in Iran, and it was especially difficult for women to respond to their new cultural environments. In Iran as mentioned, the government reigns over the majority and patriarchal views are portrayed onto its people. Men are not only breadwinners in Iran, but they also have the dominance over all the rights in a familial situation. In the U.S. once women realized that they have more rights, power, control, and can be independent of their male counterparts, they were able to acculturate a lot faster and easier than their male partners [37]. Women were able to find jobs, go to school, and decide what they wanted to do for themselves. However, since men were not used to the gender differences in the U.S. it affected them with their self-esteem, control, and independence; as well as not being able to control their female partners and children.

The acculturation process for Iranian refugees meant that they had to start over, learn a new language, find jobs, go to school, and adapt to the new daily life in the U.S. Iranian refugees had some options to learn English in Iran while they were in high school, but most of them explained that it was all grammar, or just vocabulary. None of them were able to use what they were taught in English classes in Iran to the U.S. and converse with people and be understood. After some time, Iranian immigrants and refugees were able to acculturate and conform to many lifestyle changes in the U.S., with the strengths and skills they learned from growing up in strong and resilient families back home [38]. Language was one of the first items on the list for refugees to learn in order to successfully acculturate. Below are the main challenges that Iranian refugees face to acculturate in the U.S.

6.1 Language barriers

Many refugees based their success of acculturation and cultural adaptation on the way they spoke the new language. Speaking English is an essential part of integrating into the workforce, academics, and overall involvement in American society [39]. The data from the 2010 U.S. Census reported 289,465 Iranians over the age of 18 currently reside in the U.S. [30]. Approximately 60 percent of this population reported speaking English very well, and about 24 percent stated that they speak English well. Around 12 percent reported speaking English not well, and 4% do not speak English at all [38].

English and Farsi are very different, it is not similar to any other languages that may use a similar alphabet or different spelling such as English and Spanish. Farsi contains unusual characters, left to right writing, and grammar that is dissimilar and opposite from English. Many Iranian refugees that arrived in the U.S. without English proficiency, had a hard time learning how to read and write; but were able to learn how to speak the language quicker. Adaptation and flexibility to the differences of their home country to the host country were some of the characteristics that refugees employed during the acculturation process.

Language learning and national identity development were not isolated in the process. Language and identity have a lot in common when discussing refugees and acculturation. The language of any culture and country is the first initial way to acquire cultural information and adapt to the lifestyle, as well as communicate with individuals within that host country [40].

6.2 Isolation from family members

Loneliness is a risk factor for many mental health issues, such as depression. Refugee families who arrive later in life may experience higher levels of loneliness than those who may arrive at younger ages. The unfamiliarity of the environment, the language, culture, and lack of community increases the risk of depression and other mental health issues for the elder generations. Relationships with family and those who have migrated together play an important role in the acculturative process and managing overall wellbeing [41].

Immigration is a stressful life event, and refugees commonly experience loneliness as part of their acculturation journey. Loneliness in this realm is defined as an unpleasant feeling or dissatisfaction that arises when one's network of social relationships is considered deficient in quantity or quality [41]. Aside from loneliness from not having all their family members with them in the new country, many individuals

also experience insecurity with residency which also results in isolation and exclusion from the host society. Many families experience shame from others by being labeled as ‘asylum seekers’ which then causes Iranian refugees’ anxiety for being judged and stigmatized. Many individuals who are confused which identity they want to embrace—Iranian or American—find themselves isolating from both communities which also results in loneliness [41].

Acceptance of the new host country is paired with all the obstacles refugees initially face upon arrival to the U.S. After they have been living in the U.S. for a while and have obtained a job, attended school, and had more security with residency, then they are able to focus on other areas of their lives. Many Iranian refugees are not fully acculturated or accepting of the new culture until after they are Naturalized as Citizens, which is after 5 years of residing in the states. Citizenship is an important milestone for many refugee and immigrant families as part of the acculturation process. Many families do not choose to naturalize; however, the majority of refugees who sought asylum to the U.S. became citizens after their five-year mark of living in the states [42]. Refugees who had to leave due to violence and suffered trauma in their country of origin, have differentiating cultural values that affect the need for naturalization due to the potential inability to obtain dual-citizenship. Other refugees who do not naturalize have not accepted their new host country and have difficulty adapting to the new cultural lifestyle and regulations [42].

Among other foreign-born populations, eight to 19% of Iranians were more likely to naturalize than others in the same category. It is also discussed that the longer the refugee families stay in the host country, they have been able to learn more about the culture, learn the language, improve their economic and/or academic situation, and are more likely to acquire citizenship [42].

7. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the historical context of Iranians, experiences they endured in Iran, reasons they fled to the U.S., as well as their acculturation in the new country. The research provided three themes that were discussed in the chapter. The themes were language barriers, isolation from families, and lifestyle changes. Iranian refugees experienced acculturative stress and obstacles they did not know they would face, and were able to eventually experience the benefits of living in the U.S. as naturalized citizens. First-generation Iranian refugees had a distinct experience after they arrived in the United States. Many Iranian refugees experienced a lot of discrimination and struggles living in their native country, which were reasons they fled. In this chapter, researchers found that political and religious refugees had similar experiences leaving Iran and acculturating into the U.S. The general population needs to be aware of the different struggles but also the strengths that many Iranian refugees brought with them to help acculturate into the new culture. Many Iranian refugees and immigrants continue to grieve and mourn not only the many men, women, and children who have been punished, beaten, prosecuted, and persecuted; but also continue to fight for basic human rights and for the regime to change to protect Iran and its people. This chapter provided information for people who may not understand the obstacles Iranian refugees face migrating and acculturating, and the continued issues they may face living away from home. Further research is needed in understanding statistics of Iranian refugees’ naturalization status, whether they continue to stay in the U.S., as well as research on success rates of becoming professionally and academically accomplished in the new host country.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Additional information

Parts of this chapter were previously published in doctoral dissertation by: Dr. Tania Hormozi, Dr. Marianne Miller, and Dr. Alyssa Banford: *First Generation Iranian Refugees' Acculturation in the United States: A Focus on Resilience*, Alliant International University, 2016.

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Beyond Borders: Impacts of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on Jordan

Mohammed T. Bani Salameh

Abstract

This study examines the profound socio-political and economic ramifications brought about by the Syrian refugee crisis in Jordan, a nation at the forefront of Middle Eastern hospitality toward displaced populations. With the influx of over 1.4 million Syrian refugees, Jordan faces unprecedented challenges that test its economic resilience, social fabric, political stability, and national identity. The research highlights Jordan's commendable humanitarian response despite its limited resources, emphasizing the strain on public services, infrastructure, and the labor market. Furthermore, the study examines the international response to the crisis, critiquing the adequacy of global aid and the effectiveness of international policy interventions. It proposes a multidimensional approach to refugee support, encompassing immediate humanitarian aid, long-term development strategies, and policies that foster social integration and economic inclusion. This article underscores the need for a coordinated and compassionate international effort to alleviate the burdens on Jordan, encouraging a shift toward sustainable solutions that benefit both refugees and host communities. By highlighting the critical challenges and proposing actionable recommendations, this study contributes to the ongoing discourse on global refugee crises and their impact on host countries like Jordan.

Keywords: the Syrian crisis, socio-political effects, Jordan, Arab Spring, national identity

1. Introduction

The Syrian refugee crisis, which began in March 2011, has emerged as one of the most significant humanitarian challenges of our time. Its ramifications extend far beyond the borders of Syria, impacting neighboring countries and the global community at large. Jordan, in particular, has been at the forefront of this crisis, grappling with an unprecedented influx of refugees.

Since the outbreak of the Syrian crisis in 2011, Jordan has emerged as a beacon of refuge for those fleeing the conflict, hosting over 1.4 million Syrian refugees to date, including approximately 660,000 Syrian refugees registered with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 524,475 thousand Syrian refugees live in urban areas in Jordan, while another 135,547 thousand refugees live in camps designated for Syrian refugees, according to statistics from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [1].

The crisis has deeply influenced Jordan's socio-economic fabric, testing the nation's infrastructure and public services to their limits. The country has witnessed a significant impact on its education system, healthcare services, water supply, and housing. The burden on Jordan's economy is palpable, with unemployment rates climbing and public expenditure soaring to accommodate the needs of refugees. The social fabric of Jordan is also under strain, with tensions occasionally arising between host communities and refugees due to competition for jobs, resources, and services.

Nevertheless, Jordan's approach to the crisis has been marked by an emphasis on solidarity and compassion, guided by its historical legacy of providing refuge to those in need. The government, along with local and international partners, has implemented various measures to integrate refugees into society, improve living conditions, and ensure access to education and healthcare. These efforts underscore Jordan's commitment to upholding human dignity and providing a safe haven for displaced individuals.

Jordan's response to the Syrian refugee crisis is a testament to its commitment to humanitarian values, despite the overwhelming challenges it faces. This includes economic strains, social and political upheaval, and increased pressures on infrastructure and resources. As the Syrian conflict continues, the number of refugees seeking safety in Jordan has surged, bringing the country's capacity for support to its limits.

This study aims to explore the socio-political, economic, and humanitarian impacts of the Syrian refugee crisis on Jordan, leveraging a comprehensive analysis of secondary data complemented by available primary sources. The study utilizes a wide range of secondary sources, including peer-reviewed academic articles, reports from international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government publications, and media outlets. Primary sources include government reports, official documents, and available statistics, ensuring a robust foundation for analysis. Selection criteria for these sources include relevance, credibility, and recency. The integration of diverse data sources aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the crisis's multifaceted impacts.

Thus, this study explores the multifaceted impacts of this crisis on Jordan, a country that has shown remarkable resilience and adaptability in the face of such adversity, and provides a comprehensive analysis of the socio-political and economic consequences of the refugee influx in Jordan. Also, it seeks to understand how the crisis has reshaped Jordan's national identity, its socio-political landscape, and its economic stability. In doing so, the study will offer insights into the broader implications of large-scale human displacements in the region. It will also explore the resilience and adaptive strategies employed by Jordan in managing the crisis, highlighting the lessons that can be learned from its experience. The findings of this study are not only significant for understanding the current situation in Jordan but also for informing future responses to similar crises globally.

2. Jordan's role in refugee asylum and integration: a historical overview

Jordan, nestled in the heart of the Middle East, has long been recognized for its pivotal role in providing sanctuary to refugees. This tradition of asylum and integration is deeply rooted in the country's rich history, geographical position, and the humanitarian ethos of its people and governance [1]. From the late eighteenth century, Jordan emerged as a refuge for those fleeing persecution and conflict, beginning with the waves of immigrants from the Caucasus region escaping Russian occupation [2].

As the twentieth century unfolded, Jordan continued to open its doors, notably to Syrian and Palestinian refugees, during key moments of turmoil and displacement

in the region. The collapse of the Ottoman state and subsequent imposition of the French mandate on Syria catalyzed one of the first major influxes of refugees into Jordan. This period marked the arrival of significant figures and revolutionaries seeking asylum from political upheaval, who would later play pivotal roles in Jordan's own political landscape [3]. The establishment of the modern state of Jordan further solidified its commitment to offering refuge, exemplified by the creation of the Ministry of Refugee Affairs in 1951. This initiative was aimed at providing support to refugees, a commitment that Jordan has steadfastly maintained through various regional conflicts, including the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, conflicts in Lebanon, the Gulf Wars, and the Syrian civil war. Jordan's approach toward the Palestinian refugees has consistently been one of integration, offering Palestinian refugees the chance for a new life with full citizenship rights, while also preserving their rights to return and compensation [4].

The presence of Palestinians in Jordan is a significant aspect of the country's refugee narrative. Palestinians in Jordan primarily include those with refugee status and Jordanian citizens of full Palestinian origin. The waves of Palestinian refugees began arriving in Jordan between 1947 and 1967, leading to a significant portion of the population being of Palestinian descent. Today, Jordan stands unique in the Arab world for having fully naturalized the Palestinian refugees of 1948, demonstrating its commitment to integrating refugees into the fabric of society.

Jordan's experience with Palestinian refugees has been marked by efforts to provide stability and integration despite the challenges posed by limited resources and the influx of refugees from multiple regional conflicts over the past 70 years. The kingdom's approach to the Palestinian refugee situation underscores its broader commitment to humanitarian principles and solidarity with displaced populations, while also highlighting the ongoing challenges of resource scarcity and the need for sustainable solutions.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, through its historical engagement with refugee crises, exemplifies a model of resilience and adaptability. Its policy toward Palestinian refugees, characterized by efforts toward full integration and naturalization, sets a precedent for refugee treatment that balances humanitarian assistance with national security and social cohesion. As Jordan continues to grapple with the consequences of hosting refugees from four regional wars (the 1948, 1967 Arab-Israeli Wars, and the Gulf Wars of 1990–1991 and 2003), its story offers invaluable insights into the complexities of refugee integration and the importance of international support in addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by host countries.

Jordan's refugee policy, however, is not without its complexities. It is shaped by a myriad of factors including humanitarian considerations, political dynamics, social harmony, and economic sustainability. Despite these challenges, Jordan has upheld its tradition of asylum, driven by a deep-seated belief in Arab solidarity and humanitarian values. This commitment has positioned Jordan as a key player in regional stability and humanitarian response, even as it underscores the need for increased international support to shoulder the burdens of hosting large refugee populations [5].

The ongoing challenges of the Syrian civil war highlight Jordan's critical role and the lessons it offers in international cooperation, solidarity, and sustainable solutions to refugee crises. Jordan's history of providing sanctuary emphasizes the importance of a global response to the needs of displaced populations, advocating for a collective effort to support host countries like Jordan in their mission to offer refuge and integration.

In conclusion, Jordan's experience with refugees is a testament to its resilience, adaptability, and enduring commitment to humanitarian principles. As the kingdom

continues to navigate the complexities of modern refugee crises, its history serves as a reminder of the critical importance of compassion, solidarity, and international support in addressing the needs of those displaced by conflict.

3. The Syrian upheaval: echoes across borders

The Syrian crisis, originating from the Arab Spring that engulfed the Arab world in 2010 and 2011, has become a defining moment in modern regional history. This wave of revolutions, beginning in Tunisia and quickly spreading to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and, to a lesser extent, Jordan and Bahrain, was driven by the common goal of dismantling authoritarian regimes, marking a period of significant political upheaval [6]. Syria's story within this broader narrative is particularly notable due to its deeply rooted authoritarian governance under the Assad family. The regime, established by Hafez al-Assad in 1970 and continued by his son Bashar, has been characterized by its repression, lack of freedoms, and continuous state of emergency, setting the stage for widespread calls for change [7].

The catalyst for the Syrian uprising was the harsh response to anti-government graffiti in Daraa in early 2011, which sparked protests across the nation. What began as peaceful demonstrations rapidly transformed into an armed conflict, exacerbated by severe crackdowns by Syrian security forces and their allies. This shift led to an enduring and bloody struggle, with the Syrian people's demands for reform met with violence [8].

International attempts at mediation, led by the Arab League and the United Nations, faced significant obstacles due to strong support for the Assad regime from Russia and Iran. This support, which included military and economic assistance as well as diplomatic protection through Russia's UN veto, has greatly complicated the conflict's resolution. Now, in its Fourteenth year, the Syrian war has escalated into one of the most severe humanitarian crises in recent history, with devastating human costs including over half a million deaths, millions displaced, and extensive destruction of infrastructure. The ensuing refugee crisis has heavily impacted Syria itself, as well as neighboring countries like Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Turkey, placing immense strain on these nations amidst limited international support.

Jordan, in particular, has faced significant challenges as one of the largest refugee-hosting countries globally, considering its refugee-to-population ratio. The influx of Syrian refugees has led to increased demands on resources, changes in demographic composition, and heightened security and political pressures. These challenges have necessitated a delicate balance between humanitarian responses and the socio-economic and security implications of hosting such a large displaced population. The situation has also exacerbated existing socio-political issues within Jordan, including debates over national identity, political reforms, and social cohesion, further testing the country's resources and social fabric [9].

Ultimately, the Syrian crisis underscores the intricate dynamics of regional politics and the interconnectedness of Middle Eastern nations. Jordan's experiences offer critical lessons on resilience, adaptability, and the vital role of international cooperation in addressing unparalleled challenges. As the conflict continues with no end in sight, the urgency for sustainable solutions to the refugee crisis and broader regional conflicts remains paramount.

4. Political repercussions of the Syrian refugee influx in resource-constrained Jordan

The unprecedented influx of hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees into Jordan over the past years has significantly impacted the kingdom on multiple fronts. This movement has strained Jordan, a country already grappling with limited resources, and compounded existing political, economic, social, and environmental challenges.

4.1 Security and political stability concerns

Civil conflicts and internal crises are a significant catalyst for the escalation of terrorist activities worldwide. The Global Terrorism Database reveals a stark correlation, indicating that 88% of terrorist incidents in the past quarter-century occurred within countries embroiled in prolonged conflicts. This statistic highlights a disturbing trend where nations torn by war and strife become fertile grounds for terrorism, exacerbating an already volatile situation [10].

The Syrian crisis exemplifies the dire consequences of such conflicts on neighboring countries, with Jordan bearing the brunt of the spillover effects. Jordan's proximity to Syria has made it vulnerable to the conflict's repercussions, manifesting in military skirmishes along the border and missile strikes on Jordanian soil. The rise of the Islamic State (ISIS) near Jordan's borders marked a significant increase in terrorist threats, leading to numerous casualties in several attacks across the nation.

Notably, the period following March 3, 2016, witnessed a surge in terrorist operations in Jordan, including the dismantling of a terrorist cell in Irbid that resulted in the death of eight security personnel. Subsequent attacks targeted intelligence offices and military positions, highlighting the growing audacity and capability of terrorist groups. The attack on Karak Castle and the thwarting of a major terrorist plot in 2018 underscores the persistent threat faced by Jordan, despite a temporary decline in attacks due to ISIS's diminished power in the region [11].

Therefore, Jordan has faced direct attacks from ISIS, leading to casualties and highlighting vulnerabilities along its borders. The chaotic border situation, characterized by smuggling and unauthorized crossings, has heightened security challenges, necessitating increased vigilance against potential threats from radical organizations and militant sleeper cells. The Jordanian army frequently engages in armed confrontations with factions associated with Iran and Hezbollah, as these groups and drug traffickers persist in their efforts to penetrate Jordan's borders [12].

The infiltration of ISIS/Da'esh ideology among Syrian refugee groups and returning Jordanian fighters from Syria and Iraq remains a significant concern. Attacks on security forces and tourist sites underscore the ongoing risk to internal security and the potential for future sectarian conflicts. Moreover, the perception of insecurity, exacerbated by terrorist activities, has adversely affected Jordan's tourism industry, further highlighting the extensive implications of the Syrian crisis on Jordan's societal and security landscape [13].

Prior to the Syrian crisis, Jordan faced challenges with extremism and terrorism, notably the 2005 Amman hotel bombings. The state responded by targeting at-risk youth through various means, addressing poverty, unemployment, failed development, lack of social justice, and corruption. However, post-Syrian revolution, extremist ideologies, particularly from ISIS, found fertile ground in Jordan, drawing hundreds into their ranks. This included Jordanians from various backgrounds, not

limited to the uneducated or economically marginalized but also middle-class individuals and even those from areas traditionally supportive of the regime. With jihadism (spreading through mosques, schools, and universities), extremist groups have appealed to a broad swath of society, some of whom have been indoctrinated, trained, and deployed in combat roles in Syria and Iraq [14]. Jihadism refers to militant Islamic movements aiming to establish Islamic rule through jihad. It embodies extremist ideologies promoting armed struggle against perceived enemies of Islam, influenced by historical and modern interpretations of jihad.

The Syrian crisis has significantly heightened security concerns within Jordan, leading to increased incidents of cross-border violence and necessitating a greater security burden due to smuggling and infiltration attempts. This situation has necessitated a shift toward increased militarization, with the Jordanian ruling elite prioritizing military strength as essential for maintaining national security and stability. However, this emphasis on militarization has been to the detriment of civil institutions, particularly in sectors such as education and health, thereby undermining their effectiveness and further entrenching the military as one of the few institutions that retain public trust.

Jordan's counter-terrorism efforts have been partly successful, with a significant reduction in terrorist incidents from 2019 to 2021. This success is attributed to the effective strategies implemented by the Jordanian General Intelligence Department, disrupting ISIS operations and preventing further attacks. However, the continuous threat of terrorism, fueled by the ongoing Syrian conflict, underscores the need for sustained vigilance and international cooperation to combat these challenges.

The correlation between civil wars and the rise in terrorism demands a concerted effort from the global community to address the root causes of conflict and instability. Strengthening governance, promoting social cohesion, and investing in economic development are critical to mitigating the conditions that foster terrorism. Moreover, supporting nations like Jordan, which are on the frontlines of this battle, is imperative to ensuring regional stability and security.

The analysis underscores the intricate link between internal crises and the proliferation of terrorism, highlighting the importance of a multifaceted approach to counter-terrorism that goes beyond military interventions. Addressing the socio-political and economic grievances that fuel conflicts is crucial for a long-term solution to terrorism and ensuring a safer world for future generations.

4.2 Impact on Jordanian national identity

Jordan's national identity, deeply rooted in tribal affiliations, commitment to Arabism, allegiance to the monarchy, and a distinction from Palestinian identity, risks dilution amid the demographic changes brought by the refugee influx. The dilution of the multiethnic Jordanian population in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis can manifest through various socio-political and cultural processes. The substantial influx of Syrian refugees has not only altered the demographic landscape but also introduced complex dynamics that could potentially dilute the traditional Jordanian national identity. These dynamics include intermarriage, the introduction of different ideas and cultural practices, and the possible shift in political power dynamics.

Intermarriage between Jordanians and Syrian refugees can lead to a blending of cultures, traditions, and identities. Such unions may contribute to the emergence of a more diverse societal fabric, where the distinctions between Syrian and Jordanian identities become less pronounced over time. While intermarriage can foster

integration and social cohesion, it also poses questions about the preservation of distinct Jordanian cultural and tribal identities.

The influx of refugees brings different ideas, values, and cultural practices, further diversifying Jordan's already multiethnic society. These new influences can enrich the Jordanian cultural landscape but also challenge traditional norms and values. The integration of diverse cultures requires careful navigation to ensure that it contributes positively to society without undermining the existing social cohesion and national identity.

Political power dynamics could also shift if refugees are integrated into the Jordanian political system. Allowing Syrian refugees to participate in political processes might lead to changes in policy directions and national priorities. While this could democratize the political landscape and bring fresh perspectives, it also raises concerns about the potential for refugees to influence political decisions in ways that might not align with the interests of indigenous Jordanians. This scenario necessitates a balanced approach to political integration, ensuring that the rights of refugees are respected while safeguarding Jordanian national interests.

The Syrian crisis has sparked debates on the need to reevaluate Jordan's open-border policy, highlighting the balance between maintaining hospitality and preserving national interests and security. This situation demands a strategic rethinking of asylum and migration policies to safeguard Jordan's national identity without forsaking its humanitarian legacy.

The demographic landscape of Jordan has been profoundly transformed by the influx of Syrian refugees, marking a significant shift in the country's social fabric. Historically accustomed to waves of refugees, Jordan faces a new challenge with the Syrian crisis as the population balance tilts dramatically. The arrival of 1.4 million Syrians, as reported by U.S. ambassador to Amman Alice Wells, has notably altered the demographic composition, with indigenous Jordanians now constituting as little as 27% of the total population. Indigenous Jordanians, often known as Trans-Jordanians, are defined as the populations residing in the modern-day territory of Jordan prior to the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in 1946 and before the arrival of Palestinian refugees in 1948, along with later refugee influxes from Syria and other regions. This term distinguishes these communities by their historical and cultural roots in the land east of the Jordan River, setting them apart from groups that have migrated or sought refuge in the region over subsequent decades. Indigenous Jordanians include not only the tribal and Bedouin populations traditionally inhabiting this area but also the urban and rural communities that have cultivated a unique Jordanian identity through time. These communities are marked by enduring social, cultural, and political connections to what is now the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Despite significant demographic shifts brought about by the arrival of Palestinian and Syrian refugees due to regional conflicts, the term "indigenous Jordanians" continues to refer to those with an ancestral and cultural heritage deeply ingrained in the area's premigration history. This distinction is vital for grasping the contemporary demographic and social dynamics of Jordan amid the challenges of integrating diverse cultures and maintaining national identity in the face of refugee influxes. Therefore, indigenous Jordanians, or Trans-Jordanians, are integral to discussions surrounding national identity, social unity, and the kingdom's future trajectory.

The sense of a diluting national identity is palpable among Jordanians, who increasingly fear becoming a minority in their own country. This demographic imbalance has not only stirred societal unrest but also intensified discussions on the preservation of Jordan's cultural heritage and the principles that have historically defined

Jordanian identity. The challenge is further compounded by the deeply ingrained importance of tribal identity in Jordan, which plays a crucial role in social cohesion and political life. The growing presence of outsiders, including Syrian refugees, has tested the limits of social integration, revealing resistance to subcultural identities that diverge from the traditional Jordanian ethos.

The consequences of this demographic shift extend beyond social tensions, touching on issues of governance, public policy, and the capacity of civil institutions to adapt to a rapidly changing society. The Jordanian government is tasked with navigating these complex dynamics, striving to maintain social harmony while ensuring the effective integration of refugees into the broader community. This situation underscores the need for a balanced approach that respects Jordan's rich cultural heritage and tribal traditions while embracing the diversity brought by new arrivals [15].

As Jordan continues to grapple with the impacts of the Syrian refugee crisis, the questions of national identity and social cohesion remain at the forefront of public discourse. The country's experience offers valuable lessons on the challenges and opportunities of integrating large refugee populations, highlighting the importance of fostering an inclusive national identity that can accommodate the complexities of a diverse society.

The influx of Syrian refugees into Jordan, a consequence of the Syrian crisis, has significantly impacted Jordan's socio-political landscape, particularly challenging the preservation of its national identity. Jordan, known for its historical hospitality toward refugees, faces a new test with the Syrian crisis. This challenge is not solely due to the sheer number of refugees but also arises from the refusal of a portion of the Syrian refugee population to return to their homeland, thereby intensifying the national identity crisis in Jordan.

The ongoing settlement of Syrian refugees under international pressure complicates the narrative of Jordanian national identity. Historical openness to refugees is scrutinized as the government faces calls for a zero-immigration policy amid growing disillusionment among Jordanians. The issue of national identity becomes further tangled with the challenges of social integration, reflecting a broader identity crisis within Jordan. This crisis impedes progress and political reform, underlining the necessity for a nuanced approach that aligns government policies with homeland interests [16].

Moreover, the phenomenon is not new to Jordan, having hosted numerous refugee waves historically, yet the Syrian crisis presents unprecedented challenges. The presence of Syrian refugees has escalated concerns regarding Jordan's demographic composition, sparking debates over national identity. The situation underscores the urgency of addressing this delicate issue, as the identity crisis could hinder Jordan's socio-political stability and reform efforts. A reconsideration of the open-door policy is deemed essential for maintaining societal security and the integrity of Jordanian national identity.

The enduring presence of Syrian refugees in Jordan, a result of ongoing conflict and instability in Syria, has prompted significant discourse regarding the impact on Jordanian national identity. This scenario has unfolded against the backdrop of Jordan's long-standing tradition of welcoming refugees, which has been a hallmark of its foreign policy and humanitarian approach. The kingdom's identity, historically characterized by a mosaic of tribal, regional, and national elements, faces unprecedented pressures as it seeks to accommodate the needs of refugees while preserving the cohesive fabric of its society [15].

Jordan's national ethos, which emphasizes unity, hospitality, and Arab solidarity, has been tested by the realities of hosting a large refugee population. The integration

of Syrian refugees into Jordanian society poses both opportunities and challenges. On one hand, it reflects Jordan's commitment to Arab brotherhood and humanitarian values; on the other, it raises concerns about the long-term implications for social cohesion, economic stability, and the preservation of cultural heritage. The government and its citizens are thus caught in a delicate balancing act, seeking to uphold their humanitarian obligations without compromising the essence of Jordanian identity.

The complexity of this situation is further compounded by the economic strains placed on Jordan's infrastructure and resources. The influx of refugees has led to increased competition for jobs, housing, and public services, exacerbating existing economic challenges and fueling tensions within communities. These dynamics not only affect the day-to-day lives of Jordanians but also influence the broader discourse on national identity as economic realities become intertwined with questions of belonging and citizenship.

4.2.1 Jordan's open-door policy reconsideration

Jordan's reputation for hospitality toward refugees now faces a critical test, as the continuous open-door policy may no longer be sustainable without compromising national interests. The need for a strategic approach to asylum and migration is evident, requiring a balance between generosity and the preservation of national identity and security. The government's response to public calls for a zero-immigration policy has been lukewarm, leading to growing disillusionment among Jordanians with their government's handling of the crisis.

In response to these challenges, there have been calls within Jordan for a more nuanced approach to refugee policy, one that aligns humanitarian assistance with national security and economic priorities. This includes exploring sustainable solutions for refugee integration that can contribute positively to the Jordanian economy and society, while also considering the rights and needs of refugees. The debate over national identity and refugee policy is thus not just about the immediate challenges of integration but also about envisioning the future of Jordan as a diverse, inclusive, and resilient society.

Ultimately, the Syrian refugee crisis offers Jordan an opportunity to redefine its national identity in the twenty-first century, embracing a more inclusive and multifaceted understanding of what it means to be Jordanian. This redefinition requires thoughtful engagement with the complexities of identity, migration, and integration, grounded in a commitment to social justice, economic development, and political stability. By navigating these challenges with foresight and compassion, Jordan can strengthen its national identity, ensuring that it remains vibrant and relevant in a changing regional and global context.

4.3 Weakening national sentiment and strengthening narrow sub-affiliations in Jordan

Since its establishment in 1921, Jordan has embodied a Pan-Arab ethos, positioning itself as a beacon of Arab unity and nationalism. This identity, deeply ingrained in the state's philosophy, has been significantly challenged by the Syrian crisis. The influx of Syrian refugees into Jordan has not only strained resources but has also led to a noticeable shift in the national sentiment among Jordanians. This shift is evident in the growing disconnect between the political elite's narrative of brotherhood and solidarity toward Syrian refugees and the broader societal concerns regarding the pressures on economic, social, security, and health systems [17].

The Syrian crisis has illuminated and, in many ways, accelerated the retreat into narrower tribal and regional affiliations, overshadowing the once dominant Pan-Arab identity. This retreat signifies a profound transformation in Jordanian society, where narrower identities are being strengthened at the expense of collective national sentiment. This phenomenon is not isolated to Jordan but echoes across many Arab states, where the challenge of forging a cohesive national identity has long been contentious. The Syrian refugee crisis has significantly impacted Jordanian society, particularly in terms of national identity and social cohesion. With over 1.4 million Syrian refugees, including about 660,000 registered with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), their presence has prompted debates about Jordan's national identity. Syrian refugees in Jordan reside in both urban areas and designated refugee camps. Urban refugees integrate into local communities, while those in camps, such as Zaatari, have access to shelter, education, and healthcare but face restrictions on movement and employment.

The influx has accentuated challenges in forging a cohesive national identity within Jordan, a country already navigating complex demographic dynamics with previous waves of refugees. The presence of a large number of Syrians has led to a reevaluation of Jordan's open-border policy and sparked discussions on balancing hospitality with national interests. This scenario tests the resilience of Jordan's social fabric and raises questions about the integration of diverse cultures within its borders, echoing broader concerns across many Arab states about the difficulty of forming a unified national identity amidst significant demographic shifts.

The declining belief in Arab nationalism, compounded by the economic and social pressures of hosting a large refugee population, has fostered feelings of injustice, exclusion, and marginalization among Jordanian citizens. This situation has underscored the fragility of national ties, exacerbating societal divisions and highlighting the complexities of identity and loyalty in a multiethnic society. The crisis has not only marked the beginning of the end of an era for Pan-Arab ideology but has also raised questions about the sustainability of such an identity in the face of demographic and political shifts.

Furthermore, the crisis has spotlighted the historical complexities of Jordan's national identity, which has been a delicate balance between native Jordanian and Palestinian identities, further complicated by the influx of Syrian refugees. The Syrian refugee crisis had introduced new dimensions to the discourse on national identity, political loyalty, and citizenship rights within Jordan [18].

The situation is further aggravated by the absence of a clear national strategy to manage the refugee crisis, leading to a widening gap between the government and its citizens. This gap reveals a deep-seated mistrust toward the state, which is perceived as corrupt, inefficient, and unresponsive to the needs of its people [19]. The ongoing debate over national identity reflects the broader challenges faced by Jordan and other Arab countries in navigating the intricacies of identity, loyalty, and citizenship in a rapidly changing Middle East [20].

The Syrian crisis has significantly exacerbated division and polarization within Jordanian society. The Islamist factions have voiced their support for the Syrian revolution, championing the Syrian people's rights to freedom, dignity, and life. In contrast, leftist and Pan-Arab nationalist parties have sided with the Syrian regime, viewing the revolution as a foreign conspiracy designed to weaken Syria for the benefit of imperialist interests, notably Israel, given the regime's refusal to reconcile with Israel and its support for national resistance movements in Palestine and Lebanon. This ideological schism has muddled the Jordanian political arena, potentially laying the groundwork for future divisions, increased tension, and instability [21].

In conclusion, the Syrian crisis has served as a catalyst for a profound reexamination of national sentiment in Jordan, revealing the limitations of Pan-Arab identity in addressing contemporary challenges. As Jordan continues to navigate these complexities, the strengthening of narrow and sub-affiliations at the expense of a unified national identity poses significant questions for the future of social cohesion, political stability, and the very notion of statehood in Jordan and the broader Arab world.

5. Calls for global solidarity and sustainable development

The influx of Syrian refugees has placed immense pressure on the kingdom's resources, infrastructure, and social services, prompting the government to devise comprehensive response plans aimed at addressing the humanitarian and developmental needs of both refugees and host communities. From 2015 to 2023, these plans have sought to secure funding from the international community, with a focus on supporting crucial sectors such as education, healthcare, housing, and employment opportunities for refugees.

Despite the global acknowledgment of Jordan's efforts, the financial support pledged by donors and the international community has fallen short of the actual needs. Out of the estimated \$22.1 billion required to fully implement the nine response plans, only about \$10.3 billion has been received, translating to a 45.9% funding rate. This discrepancy highlights a significant deficit in financing, with an \$11.8 billion gap remaining, underscoring the challenges Jordan faces in sustaining its humanitarian initiatives. The annual analysis of funding reveals a fluctuating landscape of international support. For instance, in 2018, Jordan received its highest funding rate at 63.9%, demonstrating a momentary peak in donor engagement. Conversely, 2023 experienced a low with only 29.2% of the required \$2.276 billion funded, indicating a growing concern over the sustainability of aid amidst the protracted nature of the Syrian crisis [22].

The ramifications of this funding shortfall are multifaceted. On the one hand, Jordan's commitment to providing sanctuary and essential services to Syrian refugees remains unwavering, as evidenced by the government's efforts to include refugees in national schools, healthcare systems, and labor markets. On the other hand, the financial strain of these commitments has led to increased pressure on Jordan's budget and resources, particularly water, which is already a scarce commodity in the desert kingdom [23].

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriate Affairs, Ayman Al-Safadi, has articulated Jordan's position, stating that the nation has reached the "maximum" of its ability to bear the asylum burden. Al-Safadi emphasizes that Jordan has exerted every possible effort to ensure refugees are afforded the essentials for a decent life, advocating that victims of conflict should not become victims of neglect. He urges the international community to take concrete actions to support Jordan and other host countries in providing a dignified existence for refugees [24].

Addressing the dual challenges of refugee assistance and sustainable development requires a concerted effort from the international community. King Abdullah II, in various forums, has consistently highlighted the need for a global partnership to support Jordan's humanitarian efforts. This call for support is not merely a plea for financial aid but a call to action for long-term, flexible funding mechanisms that can adapt to the evolving needs of refugees and host communities. The Jordanian government, through initiatives like the Jordan Response Plan, seeks not only to provide

immediate relief but also to integrate refugees into the fabric of society, fostering social cohesion and mutual prosperity. The international community's response to this call has been mixed, with some countries and organizations stepping up their contributions, while others have lagged behind. The disparity in funding underscores the importance of shared responsibility and the need for a strategic approach to refugee support that balances humanitarian aid with developmental investments. As Jordan continues to bear the brunt of the Syrian refugee crisis, the document emphasizes the critical role of international solidarity in ensuring the sustainability of its response efforts [25].

In conclusion, Jordan's humanitarian response to the Syrian crisis exemplifies its commitment to aiding refugees despite facing significant financial challenges. The prolonged nature of this crisis, now entering its second decade, underscores the pressing need for innovative and sustainable solutions to address the complex issues arising from migration. These challenges not only affect the refugees and their host communities but also pose broader implications for international relations and global humanitarian efforts. To effectively bridge the funding gap and support the affected populations, a concerted effort from the international community is required [26]. This includes increased financial contributions and a commitment to long-term partnerships that prioritize resilience, dignity, and collective action. Addressing one of the most critical humanitarian challenges of our era demands more than temporary fixes; it calls for a strategic approach that encompasses both immediate relief and long-term development strategies.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

The Syrian refugee crisis has unfolded as a formidable challenge for Jordan, presenting a complex array of socio-political, economic, and security challenges. Jordan hosts nearly 4 million refugees of different nationalities, including almost 1.4 million Syrians. All in all, this is over a third of the country's 11 million population. With over 1.4 million Syrian refugees seeking sanctuary, the impact on Jordan's infrastructure, public services, and national security has been profound. Economic strains manifest through heightened unemployment and budgetary pressures, while the social fabric of the nation grapples with the integration and welfare of refugees.

This study underscores the urgency for a comprehensive response strategy, emphasizing the role of both national and international stakeholders in alleviating the crisis's impacts. Enhanced international aid is critical, focusing on healthcare, education, and housing to address both immediate and long-term needs of refugees and host communities. Moreover, Jordan's approach to refugee integration requires innovative policies that facilitate economic contributions from refugees, including job creation and vocational training initiatives. Strengthening the national security framework is equally crucial to ensuring stability and addressing any arising security concerns.

Collaboration emerges as a key theme, advocating for a synergistic partnership between the Jordanian government, international organizations, civil society, and refugees themselves. Such collaborative efforts are vital for crafting sustainable solutions to the multifaceted challenges presented by the refugee crisis. A proactive, inclusive approach can foster resilience, stability, and social cohesion, paving the way for Jordan's successful navigation through the crisis and toward long-term development and peace.

In light of the study's findings on the socio-political effects of the Syrian asylum crisis, a series of targeted recommendations are proposed to harness positive change. Engagement with the study's insights by a broad spectrum of Jordanian and international actors is essential for informed policy reformulation and strategic planning. Further research into the crisis's nuances will bolster Jordan's response capabilities, highlighting the need for a nuanced understanding of the crisis's impact on Jordanian society and governance structures.

Public freedoms and media roles must be amplified to ensure a well-informed public discourse that transcends government narratives, fostering trust and engagement among Jordan's populace. The international community's role is underscored in recognizing and supporting Jordan's humanitarian efforts, with a call for substantial aid and a concerted push toward resolving the Syrian conflict and facilitating refugee repatriation.

Addressing the underpinnings of extremism, terrorism, and corruption is fundamental, with a call for religious and community leaders to forefront a narrative of peace and integrity. Rebuilding national identity and unity is imperative to counteract the fragmentation of societal loyalties, setting the stage for a cohesive national ethos.

Democracy and political reform are highlighted as critical avenues for Jordan's advancement, emphasizing participation, transparency, accountability, and the denouncement of violence and extremism. These recommendations aim not only to navigate the immediate challenges posed by the Syrian refugee crisis but also to leverage this period of adversity as a catalyst for substantial socio-political transformation and enrichment in Jordan.

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The Efficacy of Social Welfare in Social Policy: Challenges, Prospects and a Way Forward in Social Work Practise with Young Refugee Women in Zimbabwe

Tariro Portia Tendengu

Abstract

In the world of social work and related professions and disciplines, policy and welfare provisioning is everywhere. Some would say that over the past 10–15 years there has been a veritable explosion of policy-making. Social policy can be regarded as referring to the actions taken within society to develop and deliver services for people in order to meet their needs for social welfare and well-being. Social policy explores a plethora of social, political, ideological and institutional context within which welfare is produced, distributed and consumed. It seeks to provide an account of the processes which contribute to or detract from welfare, and it does this within a normative framework which involves with broad-based social phenomena is, in principle, no different from putting in place arrangements for dealing with issues at home. A desktop review was used in accordance with the case study for the study, and qualitative and qualitative research methods were used to gather data collected from the research. Data collection methods that were used included observations, focus group discussions and interviews. The study recommends that social workers should be equipped with the practical applicability of social welfare with refugees in policy making, coordination and implementation.

Keywords: social welfare, social policy, social work, refugee women, policy making

1. Introduction

Social welfare remains one of the cornerstones of modern society for the maintenance of order and improvement of livelihoods especially so with global recessions and industrialisation having ravaged the lives of many people. Despite; its importance, social welfare remains an elusive concept to define. Central to the concept is the aspect of having people live within a basic or minimal standard of living. This chapter discusses the concept of social welfare, conceptualise it, analyse social welfare's place in social policy, individual versus social welfare, the welfare state and

the ideologies behind social welfare. The welfare challenges faced by young refugee women will also be discussed.

2. Background to the study

Social welfare is an elusive concept to define. This is in part due to what constitutes the multi-faceted concept of welfare, its various geo-cultural underpinnings of welfare and the debate of what constitutes 'need'. Baldwin [1] opines that there has been interest into research for 'quality of life studies' which seek to comprehend and validate what people perceive to be the main ingredients of their welfare. Social welfare can be interpreted in terms of the concept of individual welfare but it is usually associated with collective forms of wellbeing such as the total or aggregate community and the nation. At the individual level, welfare constitutes what is 'good' for an individual and is within their interest leading to wellbeing; an imbedded connection between welfare and the satisfaction of individual wants exists. Jordan [2] suggests what encompasses interest can be best defined in reference to one's 'life plan' which not only covers current wants but overlaps with what they may also want in the future. Feinberg ([3], p. 32) states that the parameters of individual welfare include physical health and vigour; physical integrity and functioning; the absence of pain or disfigurement; a minimum degree of intellectual activity; emotional stability; the absence of groundless anxieties and resentments; engagement in normal social life; a minimum amount of wealth, income and financial security; a tolerable social and physical environment; and some freedom from interference. This idea of welfare is also supported by Maslow's hierarchy of needs which highlights elements that humanity put as central to their welfare interests ordered in a ranked sequence of prepotency i.e. physiological, safety, love, esteem and self-actualization. However, what constitutes 'need' remains debatable due to geo-cultural differences between the various ethnicities, races and geographical locations people belong to. For example, while the Western world has placed Internet within the auspice of rights and needs, yet it remains a luxury for most African households. More so, failure to attain these needs as, constituent of defining poverty, results in the debate into what poverty is and typifying it for example Rowntree's primary and secondary poverty and Wilson's [4] relative poverty and abject poverty.

Social Welfare, following from the above discussion, can be argued to be nominally the sum of individual welfare as society constitutes many individuals [5]. Social welfare when understood in this sense refers to the provision of social services-chiefly housing, healthcare, education, social security and social work. Welfare attempts to make available to underprivileged segments of society a basic level of well-being through subsidised cost-free supply of goods and social services [6]. Zastrow [7] defines social welfare as a nation's system of programs, benefits and services that help people meet those social, economic, educational and health needs that are fundamental to the maintenance of society. In respect to social policy, it can also refer to the deliberate attempts by the government to support its citizens and residents of society, with the main thrust of such efforts being to ensure that the less privileged can meet their basic human needs. In line with Sen's Capabilities Approach, Internal Revenue Service of the United States federal government (IRS) (2016) postulates that social welfare sector envisages inclusion of the poor in the intervention process for enhancing their upward socio-economic mobility. This

is due in part to the exclusion of recipients of welfare by society resulting in them having fewer opportunities for economic, socio-political and human development. For example, community colleges have been setup in the USA for the purposes of improving capabilities and job opportunities for commercial sex workers, destitute persons and ex-convicts thereby increasing their freedoms.

A migrant is any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary (3) what the causes for the movement are or (4) what the length of stay is (IOM, 2019 cited in [8]). There has been a widespread of armed conflicts, both within and between nations that have created enormous numbers of asylum seekers, refugees and displaced persons since 1945 [9]. As a result, forced migration with contributing factors such as war, political oppression and persecution refugee influx worldwide remains a contested terrain. Millions of people around the world have been forced to flee their homes for socioeconomic and political reasons. However contrary to their hope and expectations some of the circumstances they find exposed them to humiliation, powerlessness, uncertainty and other difficult conditions [10]. According to the UNHCR [11], in 2015, one in every 113 people globally was either an asylum-seeker, internally displaced or a refugee. Among these, less than 1% refugees worldwide had resettled by 2016, with the majority being exposed to harsh conditions and continued displacement in low income countries [11]. As a result, of such events asylum seekers among them being women were often exposed to traumatic events in the process of crossing borders in search of better living conditions. Large movements of people have tended to result in crisis for refugee hosting countries and for the international community, which are sometimes not adequately prepared to protect and assist the refugees. In most cases, some refugees even die before they reach a country of asylum and others perish in poorly prepared refugee camps after they cross national borders [12].

Forced migration among other things has led to various psychological stresses and in most cases women are often exposed to stressful situations which negatively impact on their psychological wellbeing. Walters [13] augments that female refugees, asylum-seekers and other forcibly displaced persons in European countries are typically exposed to multiple traumatic events in the context of war, persecution and displacement. These experiences, which are often prolonged, repeated and interpersonal in nature, can have a profound impact on the individual's mental health. The Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [14] documents that as of 1 July 2020 the global number of international migrants was estimated to be 281 million. The UNHCR [15] indicates that the number of forcibly displaced people, returnees and stateless people in the 16 countries of the southern Africa region is expected to rise to 12.2 million in 2024, mostly people uprooted by the complex emergencies in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

As a result of wars and armed conflict in African countries such as Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC, women were forced to migrate for their safety and psychosocial wellbeing [16]. As a result of brutal attacks and armed in African countries, refugee influx and forced migration has affected women as they are often killed, sexually harassed and tortured as they will be seeking refuge. Taking for example the civil war that raged between 2020 and 2022 in Ethiopia's Tigray region and which spread to other regions of the country, including Amhara and Afar, will continue to have a far-reaching impact for many years to come. It will create profound challenges for Ethiopia's economy, social fabric and intercommunal relationships, its state-building process, and the safety and security of its citizens [17].

In countries such as Mozambique and Angola major causes of forced migration have been attributed to massacres of colonial misrule and civil wars. In his argument on the major causes of contemporary migration in African countries, Walters [13] buttress that, in terms of forced migration, both Mozambique and latterly Angola have experienced major outflows of refugees to neighbouring countries and significant internal displacement. In Mozambique, for example, the civil war is estimated to have produced 4 million IDP's and a further 1.5 million refugees. During the migration process women face challenges as they are often prone to dangerous situations which may affect their social wellbeing. Alter [18] extends that, atrocities committed against women and girls also included sexual slavery, forced incest, purposeful HIV transmission, impregnation, and genital mutilation.

The phenomenon of forced migration has been a major problem for Southern African countries with Zimbabwe hosting more than 8000 internally displaced migrants and refugees at Tongogara refugee camp since independence [19]. Tongogara refugee camp was mainly established so as to accommodate refugees from Mozambique who had been affected by the civil war between Renamo and Frelimo. On a different note, Adepoju [20] observed that since 1992 to 2000 Tongogara Refugee Camp has intercepted quite a number of refugees from different African countries such as Rwanda, Sudan, Mozambique and DRC, probably by the reason that Zimbabwe has become a transit zone of peoples moving from the rest of Africa to the economically able South Africa. According to official UNHCR statistics, as of January 2023 a total of 23,157 refugees and asylum seekers reside at Tongogara refugee camp. Around 12,447 from DRC, 8345 from Mozambique, 831 from Rwanda, 934 from Burundi and 600 from various other countries [21]. Zimbabwe Refugee Act, was passed in 1984 which is keeping its doors open and welcoming all those in need of asylum and assistance. Zimbabwe Refugee Act, was passed in 1984 which is keeping its doors open and welcoming all those in need of asylum and assistance. Zimbabwe is a signatory to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 protocol acceded to on 22 July 1981 and the 1969 OAU and has the responsibility to implement and observe humanitarian principles for the protection of the asylum seekers. However, young refugee women often face challenges in adapting to the environment and in accessing health facilities such as sanitary wear. As a result of this, young refugee women often adapt to negative coping strategies such as prostitution so as to sustain a living in the refugee camp. Veney [12] buttresses that, regardless of the assistance offered in refugee camps to curb challenges faced by young refugee women, little is known regarding the gender specific challenges that they encounter. As such this chapter focuses on the challenges, prospects and the way forward, towards promoting the safety and security of young refugee women in Zimbabwe.

3. Methodology

A desktop review was used in accordance with the case study for the study, qualitative research methods were used to gather data collected from the research. Qualitative research, broadly defined, means any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification [22] and instead, the kind of research that produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the phenomenon of interest unfold naturally [23]. Unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalisation of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and

extrapolation to similar situations. In the study, qualitative research was mainly aimed at understanding the effectiveness of social welfare in social policy making, implementation and co-ordination. On the same note, Borg and Gall [24] observed that, qualitative field research is defined as a disciplined inquiry examining the personal meanings of individuals' experiences and actions in the context of their social and cultural environment.

4. Data collection method

Documentary analysis was used as a data collection method analysing the relevance of social policy in refugee welfare. Mogalakwe [25] argues that documentary research is one research method that is often marginalised or when used, it is only as a supplement to the conventional social surveys. Payne and Payne [26] describe the documentary method of literature search as the techniques used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical. According to Scott [27] a document is an artefact which has as its central feature an inscribed text. Simply put, a document is a written text. Documents are ubiquitous features of social life used by researchers as an important empirical resource for their inquiries [28]. Secondary data or sources including institutional memoranda and reports, census publications, government pronouncements and proceedings were used to research data on social policy and social welfare of refugees.

5. Data analysis

The researcher used qualitative data analysis techniques to analyse data gathered and collected during the research process. Qualitatively, the researcher used thematic analysis in which the themes derived from the research objectives is to be coded and categorised qualitatively. Raw data collected was organised by the researcher into contextual themes and sub themes. Thematic analysis involves isolating the major themes, explanation, meanings and understanding of the respondents' responses.

6. Defining social welfare: individual welfare versus social welfare

6.1 Philosophies behind social welfare policy and approaches of welfare

Utilitarianism, a philosophical doctrine which holds that the promotion of welfare, or 'utility', is the one of the basis of moral decisions around social services provision [6]. Bentham [29] postulates that the convenience of a whole society consists of the sum of the conveniences of its members, that is, the best social welfare policy is one that is favoured by the greatest number of citizens. Some social welfare policies increase the total welfare of people but have the adverse effect of living some people worse off. Based on Cost Benefit Analysis, the best policy alternative is one that produces the most results, in this case more welfare for a greater number, with the least cost. Bentham [29] argues that social welfare should be seen as 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. This formula is superficially appealing, but it is not without its problems. The best choice may have the effect of worsening some people's

	Programme A	Programme B	Programme C
Tom	5	4	12
Dick	5	4	0
Harry	1	4	3
Total welfare	11	12	15

Adapted from Bowie and Simon [30].

Table 1.
The greatest happiness of the greatest number.

welfare. **Table 1** shows a number of programs which are allocated values out of a possible total of 20.

Based on utilitarianism programme C produces the highest welfare given its total score as a sum of individual welfares. Programme A scores higher individual marks and produces greater happiness for a majority of people than B, however programme B produces more total happiness than A does or results in less suffering but less total happiness than C. This presents a dilemma of what can be called the “greatest happiness of the greatest number”. This is due to how the programme which scores highest, C, having Dick score it zero yet the other programs all record scores and never score nil. According to Spicker [6] the problem is that interests of society members may conflict and it becomes difficult for one to state that any resolution ultimately represents the interests of the total society.

7. Common good

This ethical principle states that social welfare policy is meant on the basis of what is right and thereby understands social policy as a duty a rule or common good for the people. The policy option is based on how it is right to support the common interest or good of a group of people. For example, old people may have different individual problems but they share similar concerns for maintenance of health, pensions, and policies around retirement. Therefore their common interests contribute towards welfare consideration, with deontological ethics reigning on policy makers to do what is right for the realisation of these interests. Siegel and White ([31], p. 176) postulates that “society is not a cluster of ‘universalised individuals’ nor is it sum of individuals statistically aggregated”, but happens to be the product of a system of relationships between individuals, classes, groups and interests’ Here in Zimbabwe, the common good principle has worked over concerns for OVCs with National Action Plan for Orphans and other Vulnerable as a mother board for child welfare in Zimbabwe as it is residual in nature.

8. The production of welfare

As earlier alluded to social welfare is usually part of a government’s social policy. The government is the main stakeholder of human welfare but Swaney and Evers [32] postulates that the market and family are also significant stakeholders in the production of welfare. Welfare needs in this sense can have a variety of sources depending on

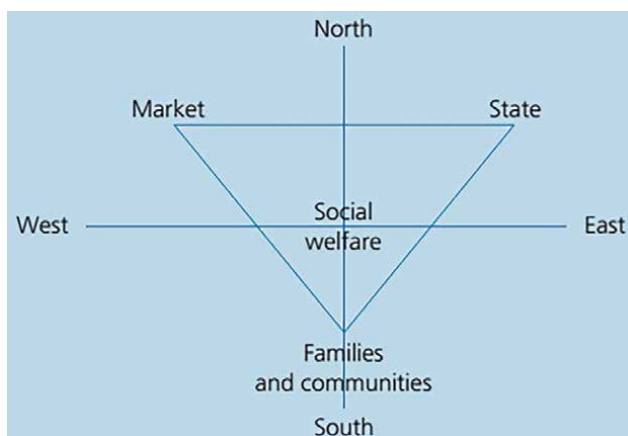


Figure 1.
The production of welfare. Source: Adapted from Swaney and Evers [32].

culture but these can include networks of human relations such as kinsmen & family, communities, religion, workplace, market place, mutual assistance and government. He propounds that the levels of participation of each stakeholders is varied across geo-locations. Esping-Andersen [33] postulates that de-commodification of resources into mainstream welfare services varies from the political economy of the nation in question, that is, conservative, liberal and socialist regimes. In **Figure 1**, West refers to countries in Western Europe and North America such as Britain, France, USA and Canada. The north refers to the Scandinavian nations such as Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. The East refers to nations within the Middle East and Far East of the globe such as Russia, Turkey, India and China. The south refers to countries pre dominantly in Africa and South America, otherwise called ‘third world countries’ like Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Colombia and Argentina.

The **Figure 1** demonstrates the chief cradles from which society realises wellbeing and welfare. The quality of life one has is dependent upon, though in varying extents, one’s links to either the market, family and community or the state. For example, generally human societies determine the role of securing a child’s welfare as a responsibility of their parents and family. Nonetheless in the West, the market through tax returns to the government and individual Cooperate Social Responsibility plays a critical role in the production of welfare. In the East, where the government are predominantly socialist and neo-capitalist such as in Russia, China and Japan, the government plays a significant role in the production of social policy aimed at redistribution of wealth among classes. The North or Scandinavian version of welfare is an amalgamation of efforts from the government and market forces to improve on the welfare of citizens.

9. Ideologies of social welfare provision

There are three dominant perspectives or ideologies that determine the role and function of social welfare according to these are the residual, institutional re-distributive and industrial achievement performance models [34]. However, Meyers propounds another model which has been heralded as being proactive.

10. Residual model

In this model the individual is the concern. Having origins in the Elizabethan Poor Laws, in this model welfare is seen as being for the poor [6]. There is immense belief in the principle of self-determination on the individual's part, with causes of failure attributed to him not the social system he is part of [34]. In this model, the government assumes a gap filling or first aid role to the needs of an individual, only participating where primary institutions like the family or the individual's achievement in the market economy does not warrant a minimum standard of living [7]. Social relationships are the sources of human welfare and Stein [35] postulates that these includes the neighbourhood, the church and ethnic groups one belongs to as such sources. Midgley ([36], p. 60) characterises the residual model as having limited state intervention, an extensive involvement of non-profit organisations, a high degree of personal involvement and a maximisation of locally available resources. Therefore, social welfare assistance seems to be a right but a gift, an act of charity to those who can guarantee themselves of a minimum standard of living.

Central to this model is the performance of social safety nets which target the sections of the population that have the most need with public resources [36]. As such rigorous means testing is done to determine those in need of assistance. In Zimbabwe, the residual model is the most apparent model taken by the government especially in relation to education and medical assistance through the Department of Social Services (DSS) and Department of Child Welfare and Protection Services (DCWPS). The Basic Education Assistance Module has been used by the government to pay fees for OVCs through case management systems albeit it has had its inaccessibility issues. The initiative of strengthening household economies as expressed in the NAP for OVCs shows the interest from the state to develop a system where there is lesser dependency on the state but on the social institutions most immediate to the individual and family.

The residual model is by and large curative as it usually directs efforts at alleviation of the presenting problem. For example, the Assisted Medical Treatment Order that is issued by the DSS only helps the clients to resolve their presenting problems of illness but does not take into account causal issues which may border on housing, water and sanitation at the client's homestead. Therefore this results in efforts not being sustainable and problem recurrence. Another example of recent residual assistance can be traced to the Tokwe Mukosi floods in which government participated by assisting the victims till they were back on their feet. However, it did not participate developmentally to restore their wealth or to strengthen their economic ability. Stigma has also been attached to recipients of residual assistance as being incapable of self-help, taxpayer's money users among others as treasury bills for welfare assistance continue to grow due to economic recession and loss of the industrial base in the country.

11. The institutional model

Based on the principle of social justice and equality, the institutional model is adopted as a remedy to the failures of the residual focus. It is characterised by the 'frontline' role that the government assumes in treating social provisions of welfare as integral and normal part of society [37] it stresses on the responsibility of government to provide services to its citizen regardless of the cost and affordability of such

services. Social Welfare is not for the poor but for everyone. This model is apparent in welfare states such as the United States of America where basic education is free as education is taken to be somewhat a right and not a privilege. The thinking behind this model is that these services when given to the total population are going to foster socio-economic stability and equality in the social system, and counteract the disruptive forces of change [34]. The government is therefore perceived the best entity for the maximisation of public participation, preservation of rights and meeting the needs of the citizens [38]. The participation of NGOs is secondary with a utilitarian understanding of welfare taken as state and NGOs participate to maximise welfare. This mode of welfare has been criticised as creating 'generations of welfare' in which citizens are not proactive in relation to improving their own welfare as they know government is going to chips in anyway. It also latently results in risky behaviours among citizens as the nation will carry costs. For example, in South Africa due to the fact that child support grants are given to mothers who are unemployed, young people indulge in sexual activities knowing that even if they conceive their child will be cared for by the state. Institutional welfare model has also been blamed for the lack of enthusiasm in young people to get jobs as they rely on unemployment grants.

12. The industrial performance/achievement model

The emphasis of this model is that, though the public is obliged to deliver the services, the individuals have to pay for it or benefit from it on the basis of merit, for which they have to work and increase productivity [34]. The person participates in their welfare by paying taxes, occupational welfare services such as insurance, medical aid and other policies that safeguards them and their family. This model has been referred to as the 'handmaiden' of the economy as it stimulates demand when production is low [6]. It helps employers, by preparing and servicing the capacity of the workforce, and it acts as an economic regulator. Based on the Keynesian economics understanding, welfare is understood as helping to create equilibrium in the economy in periods of recession. By promoting the human capital development, social welfare programs of this model help to attain solidarity, unity and commitment of workers. Other forms of income maintenance such as invalidity and disability benefits are also offered in this model of social welfare.

13. Developmental approach

Dubey [39] regards Titmus' models as rather supplementary and corrective. He states that development social policy aims at improving the overall life of people by allocating resources for the production of goods and services to the needy. Weyers [40]'s characterises the residual and institutional approaches to social welfare as loss making models on a country's 'balance sheet'. The developmental model is based on the principle that properly designed and executed welfare agendas may have the effect of enhancing a country's economic development, which has a ripple effect on human development. Debate rages on the types of interventions and programs that will be required. Kirst-Ashman [41] is of the view that by investing in macro social services such as health care, education and nutrition, the state

is profitable by producing a improved and skilled personnel that participates to strengthen the economy. Midgely and Conley [42] opine that social investment into employment placement, small and medium enterprise, skills training, literacy coaching and capacity building empowers societies and eliminates dependency on the state for social welfare and well-being. Applause has been given to this model of social welfare for its pro-active stance on the provision of social welfare and its efforts on minimising the amount of citizens who encounter high risk circumstances.

Evans [43] concurs and alludes that capability-enhancing state should be synonymous with developmental states. Improved well-being should not occur as ripple effects of economic development. Alternatively, the developmental state has to be interventionist to distribute and relay resources to enhance human well being [43]. Such a state seeks to enhance access to elementary social services which enable citizens to meet their rudimentary needs and realise their self-actualization over time. This will help break out of the cycle of poverty. Estels postulates that the developmental welfare paradigm helps people to utilise their strengths as gateways into desired states of welfare.

14. Social welfare challenges faced by young refugee women

Developing countries such as Zimbabwe continue to receive a considerable number of refugees from the region and beyond who flee from wars and other socio-economic mishaps. Among the many refugees who ends up in the country are young women who reside at Tongogara Refugee camp under difficult circumstances. During their transit young refugee women are exposed to traumatic events including, sexual abuse, domestic violence, physical torture and rape. During their stay at Tongogara Refugee camp young refugee women often face challenges in adapting to the environment and in accessing health facilities such as sanitary wear. As a result of this, young refugee women often adapt to negative coping strategies such as prostitution so as to sustain a living in the refugee camp. Veney [12] buttresses that, regardless of the assistance offered in refugee camps to curb challenges faced by young refugee women, a little is known on the social welfare challenges that refugee women face during their transit and stay at Tongogara Refugee Camp. In conjunction with the above scholarly view, reports of physical abuse and welfare deprivation among young refugee women at Tongogara refugee camp is the major challenge faced by refugee women.

15. Violent physical assault among refugee women in forced migration

Refugees face traumatic experiences during the process of migration as they are often beaten and harassed during the migration process. In his argument on the effects of armed conflict on young women and children, Goldstein [44] discovered that throughout the armed conflicts women and girls are abducted and often used as slaves and child soldiers. A research study that was conducted by Bryne [45] further buttressed that, during the migration process in Sierra Lienne women were forced to wage war and they served in guerrilla armies some women became commanders. On the same note, Jallo et al. ([46], p. 169) notes that during the migration process

women witness atrocities and others are forced to take part in killings at gun point. Furthermore, the UNGA [47] conducted a research on the vulnerability of young refugee women during the migration process. Research findings concluded that young refugee women are likely to face risks such as violence, forced military recruitment, abuse and sexual assault. However, some issues pertaining to the physical assaults that young refugee women face in refugee camps have not been highlighted in the above research studies. As a result of this research gap, this study is to focus on the physical assaults that young refugee women face in refugee camp.

Refugee women face violent physical assault which include physical and sexual torture during and after forced displacement. Acts of torture include solitary confinement, often without food or fluids, threats to harm, mock executions, physical beatings or unwanted sexual violence [48]. Hooberman and Keller [49] conducted a research on the traumatic experiences faced by migrants in pre-migration and transition in USA. The research findings concluded that, refugees report high rates of torture, including witnessing torture of family members or others, physical beating, rape/sexual assault, and deprivation of food and water [49]. The research found out that, estimated rates of torture exposure reported by young refugee women living in the United States ranged from 21 to 44%. Survivors of sexual torture may suffer from genital mutilation, sexually transmitted infections including (HIV/AIDS), unwanted pregnancies and other sexual health problems such as avoidance of sexual relations [48]. Contrary to the above research study the research on traumatic experiences of young refugee women focus on women aged between 18 and 25 years.

16. Domestic violence experienced by refugee women

Domestic violence is a traumatic experience that refugee women face in forced migration. When women become refugees and displaced, their vulnerability to problems such as domestic violence and forced rape substantially increases and thus, they are more prone to suffer from trauma and other psychological conditions that stem from gender based violence and abuse [50]. On the same note Veney [12] denotes that, due to certain conditions found in refugee camps such as overcrowding that puts strangers in close proximity to one another, idleness on the part of male refugees who often do not have employment opportunities, high rates of alcoholism and other drug use, gender-based violence that affects women tends to be prevalent. A research study was conducted by the UNHCR [51] on strategies that can be utilised to reduce domestic violence in refugee camps. The research findings concluded that to reduce gender based violence and physical assaults in refugee camps, the camps must be designed in a manner whereby latrines and bathrooms are located near the living spaces of women and these should have secure locks [12]. In addition to that, separate housing should be provided for female heads of households and unaccompanied minors; refugees should not reside in overcrowded facilities; and women should be given direct access to food, water, and firewood [52].

However, radical feminists argue that in refugee camps although women try to practice and maintain their cultures, social positions and lifestyles the exigencies of being refugees force them to re-examine their perceptions and to adopt both social and economic roles which are contentious or counter to their socially and culturally accepted behaviours [53]. In a different point of view, Whittaker [54] observed that, refugee women are often the victims of gender based violence and

other related sexual abuses. In refugee camps women lack a unifying voice when it comes to their predicament in refugee camps [54].

17. Strategies of improving the welfare of women living in a refugee facility

17.1 Empowerment through participating in income generating projects and decision making

The participation of refugee women in community projects and income generating projects improves the welfare of women living in a refugee facility. A research study that was conducted by the UNHCR [55] on the empowerment of Guatemalan refugee women in Mexico concluded that empowerment of women to participate in non-traditional activities such as income generation projects, reproductive health campaigns and the inclusion of forcibly displaced women in political decision making improved their welfare. UNHCR played an important role in the empowerment process, providing training, financial support and support for the inclusion of women in decision-making centers [55]. However, it can be argued that although Guatemalan refugee women have been empowered to participate in political decision making, women have encountered ridicule, criticism and, in some instances, violence when they continued to attend women's meetings. Veney [12] buttress that, refugee women are often excluded from formal peace talks and negotiations, despite the fact that women are actively building peace worldwide through grass-roots organisations and international campaigns.

17.2 Improving access to employment for refugee women

Research on employment for young refugee women in refugee camps as agreed by various scholars denotes that formal and informal employment is crucial for women as it ensures that refugee women are integrated into the development of the host country. The main goals for refugee resettlement, as highlighted in various policies [56] and scholarly point of views [57–60] is refugee employment. In a different point of view OECD conducted a research on labour market integration of refugees in Germany and the findings concluded that, the integration of refugees and asylum seekers into the labour market should also include knowledge about labour market functioning. On the same note, the Australian Refugee Council argued that, the exclusion of asylum seekers from the labour market removes their economic independence, limits their opportunity to plan for the future, reduces the occasions they have to interact with the wider host society and develop language skills, lowers their self-esteem and discourages self-reliance. Hooper et al. [61] observed that in European countries since the peak of the migrant and refugee crisis in 2016, policymakers and private stakeholders in many EU Member States have stepped up their efforts to help refugees integrate into host-country societies by providing them with formal and informal employment. This has facilitated employment creation for refugees and appropriate employment transition through bridging training and internship opportunities. However the above research studies mainly centred on access to formal employment among refugee women, issues concerning to informal employment as crucial in improving the welfare of young refugee women was not addressed. As a result the present study is to explore how informal employment is effective among young refugee women residing at Tongogara refugee camp.

17.3 Providing shelter and housing assistance in case of domestic violence

UNHCR [55] conducted a research on strategies that can be done to ensure that proper housing is provided for refugee women in case of domestic violence. Research findings concluded that, women are often abused and sexually harassed by their male counterparts as a result of the layout and designs of refugee camps. The physical layout of Camps including the location of housing, latrines and other facilities often put them at risk. A survey that was conducted by UNHCR [55] among Afghan refugee women, it was found that young refugee women would not use baths placed along the perimeter of the camp because they were afraid of attacks and harassment. The NGO (UNHCR's implementing partner) changed its plan and built the baths closer to the refugees [55]. In conjunction with the above research study, Oslon [62] buttressed that, substandard housing in refugee camps can increase the need for services and remote housing can decrease the likelihood that refugees can easily access services. Oslon [62] further augmented that, the more comfortable, safe and welcomed a new arrival feels in her new home, the less likely it is that she will require intensive, ongoing support to negotiate the aftereffects of trauma.

17.4 Providing education facilities as a strategy of improving the welfare of refugees

The provision of education among refugees is an essential strategy in improving the welfare of young refugee women living in a refugee facility. Education is a protective factor for young refugee women. Relevant and responsive formal and informal education offers stability and purpose, opportunities to rebuild social capital for refugees UNHCR [55]. On the same note, Mweni [63] in his study on the right to education of Asylum seekers and refugees observed that, the education of refugees gives them the opportunity to maximise their skills, rebuild their lives and enhance long term peace and stability both in their host country and their country of origin. Education also helps to improve the welfare of refugees by providing an environment and structure that generates in them a sense of normalcy despite the fact that they are in an unfamiliar country and had left their home country due to crisis [63]. Furthermore, the right to basic education is stated at Article 22 of the Refugee Convention. The Refugee Convention 1951 provides that, contracting states shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships. However the above studies mainly argued on the provision of formal education as an effective strategy in improving the welfare of refugees. The present study is to focus on strategies than can be done in providing informal education to young refugee women residing at Tongogara Refugee camp.

17.5 Social welfare as a part of social policy: refining refugee policies and legal framework

In his all-important writing on social policy, Titmus [34] describes social welfare as the function of redistribution that public policy achieves. Baldock [64] describes social welfare as partly the product of what the government and policy makers do, a

utility of public funding or public social expenditure. Central to the conceptualisation of social welfare policy is understanding the words constituting this subdivision of public policy. For the purposes of this discussion, policy refers to the principles that govern action directed towards given ends ([34], p. 138) and also to what the government does or does not do; action or inaction as stated by Smith and Larimer [65]. The term “social” conjures up debate but this paper will utilise the UN Social and Economic factors and Development paper (1966) which states, “social is everything that refers to the conditions in which people live” and Kurkuni’s which states that social is everything that is an investment in human resource development. Therefore, social policy is seen as actions and inactions by government that add the value of social function to the project of individual and societies’ economic development to achieve equilibrium between social and economic development. It can be argued that, refugee policies should mainstream the welfare of refugee women in refugee camps in refugee protection instruments. UNHCR [66] observed that, gender and sex are not specifically referred to in the refugee definition but the understanding of how gender is relevant to refugee law. Martin [67] observed that the definition of a refugee as person who is unable or unwilling to return to her country of nationality because of persecution or a well founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion, ignores the wellbeing of refugee women. Furthermore, in some countries, legislation explicitly defines gender-specific persecution as qualifying for refugee status [66].

However, in as much as social policy is redistributive, it should not be understood as only referring to government actions being oriented to people who are within the catalogue of social poverty for example refugees. It may also refer to measures that redistribute authority over material or non-material resources in a bottom up trajectory that is from the poor to the rich or from an ethnic group to another or from the working class to the elderly [34]. Social Protection schemes such as the pensions scheme under National Social Security Authority is one of such measure within the industrial achievement redistributive model that reallocates financial resources from the working class to retired elderly persons. The National Aids Levy is one of the other ways in which the Zimbabwe’s social policy helps the Health sector to attain resources necessary for effective health service delivery in respect to HIV/AIDS management. The thrust of social policy is therefore generally bettering the welfare of a nation’s citizens either as a, collective or as individuals. From a broader perspective, social policy’s goals include aspects such as the pursuit of equality within the society and the maximisation of the welfare to the effect of improved social, economic, psychological and political wellbeing of society and more intrinsically its individual members.

18. Discussion

Findings from the research shows that the government has great impact on welfare provisioning of refugees in developing countries. The study concluded that, social services provision by the government in Zimbabwe is still largely remedial in nature [68]. Traditionally concerned with protecting the rights and entitlements of their citizens [69], countries faced with increasing globalisation and forced migration now focus more on integrating the new immigrants [70]. This shift has been accelerated by worsening refugee crises in both the Global North and the South that oblige countries to accept and provide for ever more people. However, it can be argued that, the government’s social expenditure in recent decades has been historically low with the current budget only

allocating less than 10% of the budget to refugee social services [71]. This social expenditure entails the provision, by private institutions like civil society organisations (CSOs) and public institutions like the Department of Social Services, of benefits to households or persons with a view of improving circumstances that may have had adversative effects on their welfare.

Data collected shows that, in refugee camps social workers mobilise resources and systems for young refugee women that help them to meet their basic social welfare needs. Non-governmental organisations also assist through providing items such as maize, grain, cooking oil and clothes.

Public social expenditure has cash benefits such as unemployment benefits, pensions and social assistance are also provided to young refugee women. These social benefits include, but are not limited to, medical care, care for persons with disabilities, refugees and the elderly, child care and social oriented tax breaks that contribute to better social welfare (p. 7). These tax breaks may have the effect of availing more funds for health security, whilst tax reductions increase the income earned which favours refugees. During the National Basic Commodities Supply Enhancement Programme or Bacossi era in 2008–2009, the government of Zimbabwe instituted a number of pricing regimes and subsidisation to help citizens including refugees of the nation to get food at a lower cost of USD 4 dollars or \$ 110 billion Zimbabwean dollars for a hamper with 12 basic commodities. (Zimbabwe Independent, July 18 2008).

However, it can be argued that, although some refugees grow crops for food and to sell for extra income, sales are greatly impeded by their restricted movements [72], and the bureaucratic difficulties involved in obtaining movement permits in both countries make the sale of agricultural products cumbersome and minimally profitable. Betts et al. [73] explain that restricting refugees' access to markets denies their integration. Refugees who cannot travel to where prices are competitive must sell their products for whatever people are willing to pay. The Department of Social Services provides befitting applicants of medical assistance with Assisted Medical Treatment Orders to improve access to healthcare for people who cannot afford to pay user fees. Private social expenditure has been the fulcrum of social service production in Zimbabwe due to the government's limited funds, with CSOs such as World Health Organisation, UNICEF and World Vision Inc. being at the centre of food, education, water, sanitation and health programs to improve the living standards of refugees.

This paper shows that, refugees do not have formal access to social citizenship as well as the labour market. According to Marshall the core idea behind the welfare state is social citizenship, that is, social welfare as a social right that comes along with the state of being a citizen. This entails rights and access to the economic welfare and security as well as living in the social birth right and living according to the living standards prevailing in society. Refugees do not have the opportunity to participate in the labour market and are therefore compelled to work in the informal sector, often working under duress, or in jobs presenting special hazards and risks UNHCR [11].

19. Conclusion

To conclude, social welfare is relevant in social policy making, co-ordination and implementation. It is important to consider the significance of social welfare and social policy in Social Work Practise with refugees. This chapter demonstrated the major impact of welfare provisioning on young refugee women livelihood experiences in Zimbabwe. To facilitate and implement refugee programs, policy and social welfare

there is need to decentralise refugee services and integrate them in local development plans. Social welfare provisioning is constantly changing which has been explained throughout this article. From the Victorian days of asylums to the present where social work has a platform and works with society to promote social justice, social exclusion and human rights of young refugee women. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge and understand when changes to policies and refugee welfare occur to ensure that the service continues to be supportive and productive within the standards of legislation and social policy. Policy strategies for refugee welfare are necessary with regard to the integration of refugees in policy making and co-ordination.

20. Recommendations

- Social workers should understand the practical application of theory and ideologies within the law and social policy and how they respond to refugee social issues. For instance, social workers should adapt to changes within the law and social policy in refugee practise.
- Social workers have a responsibility to help the public, including refugees, fully understand the availability of programs for their welfare and impact of human services on the quality of life of all persons.
- Social workers practising within the government fraternity should focus on meeting human needs and promoting social inclusion by influencing the development of positive policies and procedures which promote respect towards individuals' beliefs and lifestyles.
- Social workers should work hand in glove with the government and the Department of social welfare in formulating policy briefs and policy dossiers regarding the social welfare challenges young refugee women residing in a refugee facility face.

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Transitional Typologies of Refugee Camps in Jordan

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Abstract

This chapter critically examines the dynamic nature of refugee camps within Jordan's unique socio-political context. Focusing on architectural, social, and environmental dimensions, the chapter unveils transitional typologies that challenge conventional ideas of permanence. Architecturally, it explores adaptive design solutions, emphasizing flexibility and sustainability. Socially, it delves into community-led initiatives and participatory planning, highlighting the agency and resilience of displaced populations. Environmentally, the chapter investigates the ecological impact of refugee settlements and advocates for sustainable practices. Through case studies and interdisciplinary analysis, this chapter offers insights into the transitional processes of refugee camps from temporary shelters to long-term dwellings, aiming to inform policymakers, practitioners, and researchers on enhancing the dignity, agency, and sustainability of displaced communities in Jordan and globally.

Keywords: refugee camps, transitional housing, shelter typologies, Jordan, humanitarian architecture, sustainable development

1. Introduction

The global refugee crisis has forced countries to welcome a surge of displaced populations, offering safety, security, and respect to individuals seeking a safe haven away from conflict. Jordan has been at the forefront of humanitarian efforts as a host country, providing shelter and assistance to a sizable number of displaced people. The complex dynamics of refugee camps within Jordan's distinct socio-political and geographical context are examined closely in this chapter. With an emphasis on the architectural, social, and environmental aspects, our analysis reveals typologies of transition that subvert traditional ideas of permanence and temporality in the planning and management of refugee camps.

Architecturally, the chapter explores adaptive design alternatives and highlights the importance of flexibility and sustainability when deploying emergency shelters.

Selected case studies from Jordan illustrate how creative architectural solutions can aid the transition of temporary shelters into permanent dwellings.

Socially, through community-led projects and collaborative planning, we investigate the agency and adaptability of displaced communities in their host countries. An investigation of successful projects and initiatives reveals the profound influence that community engagement has on the development of refugee camps. This offers insight into the empowerment of displaced communities and the observable outcomes of participatory planning practices.

Furthermore, our analysis strongly emphasizes environmental issues as we assess the ecological impacts of refugee settlements and promote sustainable strategies. Through examining the environmental issues faced by refugee camps in the Jordanian context, we hope to highlight the necessity of eco-friendly solutions to protect both the environment and the welfare of the people living there.

This chapter provides a thorough overview of transitional processes within refugee camps by utilizing a multidisciplinary approach. Through the integration of social, architectural, and environmental viewpoints, this research offers key insights to scholars, practitioners, and policymakers. Our research contributes to the discourse on refugee camp typologies and provides useful suggestions for improving the sustainability, dignity, and agency of displaced populations in Jordan and worldwide.

2. Methodology

This research bases itself on theory and relies on primary as well as verified secondary sources. The research employs a qualitative approach in the form of a rigorous literature review of previous research on refugee camps in Jordan, as well as primary data collected through field visits, observations, and insights from refugees, camp administrators, researchers, and responsible government officials.

2.1 Literature review

A comprehensive literature review is conducted to understand the history of refugee camps in Jordan, their current state, as well as their transition from temporary shelters to long-term settlements. The review encompasses studies related to urban planning, spatial organization, humanitarian architecture, as well as emerging technology applications, mainly artificial intelligence and digital twins, in settlement and housing development and their potential in humanitarian relief contexts. This review will inform the research context, identify gaps, and guide the understanding of the refugee situation in Jordan.

Based on the conducted literature review, the types and typologies of refugee camps in Jordan are extracted and systematized according to their physical attributes and characteristics. This will inform the stage of data collection in order to relate the transition process to each typology.

2.2 Case study selection

Refugee camps in Jordan are selected as case studies for in-depth analysis. The selection is based on factors such as camp size, demographic diversity, infrastructure availability, and the potential for camp transition to permanent dwellings. Detailed data on the selected camps is collected, including spatial layouts, facility distribution,

population demographics, and available resources. This data serves as the basis for qualitative analysis and is collected from open-source UNHCR databases as well as verified websites and sources.

2.3 Data analysis

Qualitative data from case studies is analyzed using thematic analysis, with a focus on identifying the typologies of refugee camps based on planning and shelter types as well as status. The initial categorization of refugee camps is based on the patterns and themes that emerge from the data analysis. The categorization is validated and refined through additional observations by the authors and feedback from experts in the field of refugee camp planning and policy.

The results obtained from the analysis provide valuable insights into the typologies of refugee camps in Jordan as well as their transition over time. Additionally, they demonstrate the potential benefits of using emerging technologies in understanding and optimizing the identified typologies during the transition from temporary to permanent settlements.

3. Background on the refugee crisis in Jordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has long served as a safe haven for refugees fleeing conflict and persecution in neighboring countries, notably Palestine, Iraq, and Syria. The nation's strategic geographic location, bordering conflict-ridden regions, coupled with its historical commitment to humanitarian principles, has positioned Jordan as a key player in providing sanctuary to displaced populations [1, 2]. However, the influx of refugees has placed immense strain on Jordan's resources, infrastructure, and socio-political landscape, presenting multifaceted challenges to the government, humanitarian agencies, and host communities.

Beginning with the Palestinian Nakba in 1948 and subsequent events such as the 1990 Gulf War and the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Jordan has faced waves of displacement which significantly impacted its demographic composition and socio-economic structure [3]. As a result of the Syrian civil war in 2011, Jordan sheltered over 1.3 million Syrian refugees, which equates to almost 10% of Jordan's population [4]. The prolonged stay of the refugee population in Jordan has led to significant socio-political consequences, impacting public services, the job market, and social cohesion. The strain on essential services, such as healthcare and education, heightens the competition for resources and exacerbates the socio-economic disparity between refugees and local communities [1]. Additionally, the prolonged displacement of refugees raises issues about their integration into Jordanian society as well as the possibility of social unrest and xenophobia [5].

The Jordanian government and international humanitarian organizations have taken several measures, which include setting up refugee camps such as Za'atari and Azraq, providing humanitarian aid, and enhancing access to education and employment for refugees [6].

4. Transitional typologies in refugee camps

Refugee camps can be defined as temporary solutions to humanitarian crises and natural disasters, with a focus on providing basic needs such as shelter, food, and

water. However, these temporary solutions have often lasted for decades, resulting in the development of distinct communities with their own social dynamics and cultural practices [7]. These communities have been shaped by the refugees themselves, who have taken ownership of their spaces and transformed them into livable communities.

Jordan hosts almost 3 million registered refugees from Palestine, Iraq, and Syria [8]. The majority of these refugees live in camps, which have evolved over time from temporary shelters into more permanent settlements which have become home to generations of refugees, with some camps existing for over 70 years.

The current form of refugee camps dates back to the early twentieth century, particularly in response to conflicts and humanitarian crises that resulted in large-scale displacements. Such emergency shelters were deployed based on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) handbook guidelines. These camps, including those in Jordan, have served as essential spaces for providing shelter, protection, and basic services to refugees. Emergency humanitarian settlements as the case of refugee camps aimed to provide immediate relief and support to displaced individuals until they could be resettled or repatriated. The temporary nature of these camps was emphasized, assuming that displaced populations would eventually return to their homelands [9].

Over time, the temporary nature of refugee camps became more complex due to prolonged conflicts, political instabilities, and challenges in finding durable solutions. This shift led to the emergence of protracted refugee situations, where camps continued to exist for extended periods. The Palestinian refugee camps established in Jordan after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1948 are significant examples of such situations [10]. The evolving nature of conflicts and political complexities transformed the concept of temporary camps into long-term settlements, with subsequent impacts on the design and management of such spaces.

The evolving nature of refugee crises necessitates a nuanced understanding of transitional typologies within refugee camps, reflecting the dynamic interplay between socio-political, environmental, and humanitarian factors. Recognizing the temporality inherent in displacement, transitional typologies offer valuable insights into the adaptive strategies employed by displaced populations and the evolving nature of refugee settlements.

The definition of transitional typologies emphasizes architectural flexibility and adaptability in refugee camp settings. Traditional approaches to shelter construction as outlined in the UNHCR emergency handbook [11] often focus on immediate needs rather than long-term sustainability or evolving community dynamics; in contrast, transitional typologies emphasize customizable, scalable, resource-efficient designs which can adapt over time as demographics, preferences, or environmental conditions change.

This notion highlights the agency and resilience of displaced communities to shape their built environment and socio-cultural dynamics. Participatory planning processes and community-led initiatives allow refugees to demonstrate their ability to adapt, innovate, and self-organize in response to changing circumstances. Understanding these typologies challenges conventional narratives of vulnerability and dependency by illustrating how displaced populations have the power to actively contribute in planning, designing and managing their living spaces. Empowering refugees as active participants instead of passive recipients helps build ownership, belonging and dignity within refugee camps.

Moreover, conventional refugee camp infrastructure often fails to take into account environmental sustainability, leading to resource depletion, habitat

degradation and pollution. Transitional typologies offer pathways towards more resilient and environmentally conscious refugee settlements by incorporating renewable energy systems, water recycling mechanisms and eco-friendly construction materials. This approach enables policymakers and practitioners to prioritize eco-friendly interventions which reduce environmental risks while simultaneously improving refugees' well-being and contributing to long-term sustainable solutions.

5. Camp typologies in Jordan

Refugee camps in Jordan have been established since 1948 to accommodate refugees fleeing conflict and persecution in neighboring countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Palestine. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [8], there are currently over 760,000 registered refugees in Jordan living in camps. However, an estimated 1.3 million refugees are unregistered and live in urban areas. This prompts further study of refugee camp typologies in order to understand their shortcomings, and what would constitute an effective or ineffective emergency response.

The first image which comes to mind when imagining a refugee camp consists of standardized cabins laid out along a rigid grid, enclosed with a fence and gated by security checkpoints manned by guards. The 2019 UNHCR handbook titled "The Master Plan Approach to Settlement Planning" [12] provides a basis from which the master plan of refugee camps, as well as the types of different camps could be studied and analyzed on the physical level, which is essential for several reasons:

- Effective response planning: this enables humanitarian organizations and governments to devise and implement more effective strategies to address the needs of refugees. Each refugee camp has unique challenges and requirements, and understanding these distinctions enables the implementation of more targeted and efficient interventions [13].
- Designing an appropriate shelter: the ideal type of shelter for each camp may vary based on factors such as climate, location, and the duration of displacement. Comprehending these distinctions will allow for the development of more effective shelter solutions tailored to the specific needs of each camp [14].
- Promoting dignity and safety: traditional tent camps may not offer adequate protection from extreme weather conditions or other hazards, whereas upgraded/improved camps may provide more durable and secure shelter [15].
- Ensuring sustainable solutions: refugee camps tend to be long-term rather than short-term, and understanding the different typologies allows for more effective planning and design of camps that can fulfill the needs of refugees in the short and long term. Sustainable solutions can also facilitate the integration of refugees into the host community and reduce their impacts on the local environment and resources (**Figure 1**) [13, 15].

The UNHCR categorizes settlement typologies in emergency situations based on their temporary or permanent status, as well as their location in urban or rural areas [11].



Figure 1.

The importance of studying the physical typologies of refugee camps (source: Authors).

While there are several typologies of refugee camps in Jordan, each with its own characteristics and challenges, it is possible to categorize refugee camp systems based on their status and degree of permanence as follows:

- Traditional refugee camps are the oldest and most basic type of camp in Jordan. They consist of rows of tents or makeshift shelters surrounded by fences and are often located in remote areas far from urban centers. These camps lack basic infrastructure such as electricity, water, and sanitation, and an example is Al-Za'atari camp which was established in 2012 to accommodate Syrian refugees [14].
- Informal settlements, also known as “spontaneous settlements” or “unplanned settlements,” are formed when refugees settle (or squat) in areas that are not designated as official refugee camps. These settlements can be found in urban or rural areas and are often characterized by overcrowding, poor sanitation, and a lack of basic services, such as healthcare and education. An example of an informal refugee camp is Al-Baqa'a camp, established in 1949 for Palestinian refugees, which later transitioned into slums and operated under substandard living conditions [16].
- Most unregistered refugees in Jordan are integrated into host communities where they live with host families or are provided housing in existing communities. For instance, Syrian refugees were integrated into villages and cities around camp areas in North Jordan. This approach is preferred to traditional refugee camps because it promotes integration and social cohesion [17].
- Recently, there has been a shift towards establishing refugee camps with improved infrastructure, such as proper housing, schools, and healthcare facilities. An example of this type of camp is the Azraq refugee camp, which was opened in 2014 to accommodate Syrian refugees. The camp was designed to be more sustainable and environmentally friendly, with solar-powered streetlights and water-saving measures [18].

Considering the architectural and spatial quality of these typologies is essential for understanding and optimizing their transition over time. Based on this, refugee camps can also be categorized according to shelter types as follows:

- Tented refugee camps: the tents or makeshift shelters in these camps are arranged in a planned grid and surrounded by fencing. These camps are similar to traditional and formal refugee camps. One example is the Al-Za'atari camp,

which is the largest refugee camp in Jordan and houses more than 80,000 Syrian refugees. The camp initially consisted of rows of tents and caravans, with basic services provided by international aid organizations. Another example is the Al Azraq Camp, which was established in 2014 to accommodate Syrian refugees. The camp, located in a desert, is home to over 30,000 refugees and is comprised of rows of tents and prefabricated shelters. Basic services such as water, sanitation, and healthcare are available in the camp. The camp was similar to traditional or formal refugee camps [19].

- Container or prefabricated shelter camps: the objective of these camps is to offer refugees a permanent housing solution by employing shipping containers or prefabricated materials. A case in point is the King Abdullah Park refugee camp, which caters specifically to unaccompanied Syrian minors. The camp, situated in the northern region of the country, was home to approximately 300 refugees. The living quarters are constructed from repurposed shipping containers, and the camp features facilities such as schools, recreational areas, and sports facilities [20].
- Upgraded or improved refugee camps: these camps aim to offer improved living conditions for refugees by providing more robust and sustainable housing, as well as better infrastructure and services. Marka, a refugee camp established in 1968 to house Palestinian refugees, is an example of an upgraded camp. Located in the capital city of Amman, the camp is home to approximately 15,000 refugees and comprises upgraded shelters and amenities, including schools, health clinics, and community centers [21].
- Slum: the informal camp classification is characterized by makeshift, dilapidated structures that lack essential services, such as electricity, water, and sewage. Since these camps are not recognized by relevant aid organizations or governments, they are not subject to formal regulations, leading to their makeshift appearance. For instance, Al-Baqa'a camp in Jordan is the largest Palestinian refugee camp, housing over 100,000 refugees, and is a prime example of this type of camp. The camp consists of rows of tents and basic facilities such as schools, health clinics, and community centers. Al-Jofeh camp, and most informal Palestinian refugee camps established in Amman are other examples of “slummified” refugee camps [22].

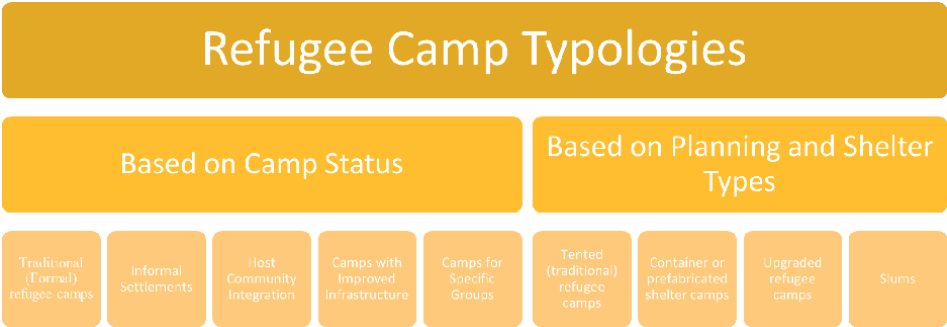


Figure 2.
Refugee camp typologies based on camp status and planning and shelter type (source: Authors).

As with the case of a slum, it is important to note that some camps may use a combination of shelter types or may transition from one type of shelter to another over time as the situation of the refugees changes and the camp status shifts more towards permanence. It should also be noted that the situation of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan differs from that of Syrian refugee camps only in terms of duration, as many Palestinian refugees have been living in Jordan for several generations and have established more permanent communities and structures. However, the same typologies and approaches can still be applied to both groups, since the planning of refugee camps follows the same guidelines (**Figure 2**).

6. Architectural shelter typologies

Refugee camp architectural typologies significantly impact the comfort and physical surroundings of displaced populations. From conventional tents to modular buildings, these typologies reflect migrants' evolving needs, available resources, and goals shaped by socio-political and environmental factors. Understanding these typologies is essential for enhancing spatial planning; guiding design interventions; and promoting the sustainability, dignity, and agency of displaced populations.

6.1 Traditional tented settlements

Characterized by lightweight, temporary buildings made of canvas or tarpaulin, traditional tented settlements represent one of the most prevalent architectural typologies in refugee camps. These shelters enable quick deployment and scalability in emergency scenarios by providing instant relief and weather protection [23]. Tent settlements, however, frequently lack privacy, durability, and insulation, which makes them unsuitable for long-term occupancy and wellbeing [24]. Additionally, tented settlements may have an impromptu or informal spatial arrangement, which can lead to overcrowding, inefficiencies, and safety issues [25].

6.2 Transitional shelter solutions

Transitional shelter solutions that emphasize robust, semi-permanent structures that can suit changing demands and preferences represent a paradigm shift in the design of refugee camps. These solutions cover a variety of design approaches such as modular construction systems, containerized housing units, and prefabricated shelters [26]. Compared to typical tents, transitional shelters provide better insulation, security, and spatial flexibility, helping refugees feel more stable and respectable [27]. Furthermore, these structures are easily expandable, movable, or adjusted in response to shifting conditions, which promotes community empowerment and long-term resilience [28].

6.3 Eco-friendly and sustainable design

The architecture of refugee camps progressively uses sustainable and eco-friendly design concepts to address environmental issues and improve the lives of displaced people. Passive solar heating, rainwater collection, natural ventilation, and renewable energy technologies are examples of sustainable design elements [29, 30]. Eco-friendly shelters improve the general sustainability and livability of refugee

settlements by limiting resource consumption, reducing carbon emissions, and boosting resilience to climate change [31]. Furthermore, the use of sustainable design principles enables refugees to embrace eco-friendly habits and technologies, cultivating feelings of accountability and attachment to their environment [32].

7. Adaptive design solutions for transitional shelter typologies

In light of the constantly changing and developing nature of refugee crises, there has been an increasing focus on investigating adaptive design methods for refugee camps. Such methods involve the use of various architectural approaches that aim to improve the flexibility, sustainability, and durability of both shelter construction and urban planning.

7.1 Flexibility in shelter construction

Constructing shelters that can be easily adapted and modified is crucial for creating effective design solutions for refugee camps. Unlike traditional tented settlements, which may provide only short-term relief and fail to account for changing needs, preferences, and environmental conditions, modular and prefabricated shelters offer greater flexibility and adaptability. These shelters can be easily assembled, disassembled, and reconfigured, making them ideal for accommodating long-term inhabitation and evolving family structures [20].

7.1.1 Case study: Za'atari Refugee Camp

Established in July 2012 in Mafraaq Governorate, Jordan as a result of Syria's civil war, Za'atari camp eventually became one of the largest refugee camps in the world, with over 80,000 Syrian refugees at its peak [8]. The camp has transitioned from temporary tented settlements to a more permanent urban environment, featuring innovative architectural solutions such as prefabricated shelters and community-built infrastructure, as well as participatory planning initiatives such as community centers, schools, and marketplaces that directly involve refugees in shaping their living environments [33].

Za'atari Refugee Camp offers an invaluable perspective on adaptive design methods, community-led initiatives, and sustainable practices that are common in refugee camps' transitional typologies. Through its development over time, researchers can gain insights and develop effective strategies to improve the dignity, self-reliance, and long-term viability of refugee settlements in Jordan and worldwide. Za'atari Refugee Camp has experienced significant architectural transformations since its inception. Initially, it was a vast tented settlement, but it has since been transformed into a dynamic semi-permanent urban environment that includes prefabricated shelters, modular housing units, and communal infrastructure [34].

The architectural landscape demonstrates a blend of innovation, pragmatism, and resilience. The use of prefabricated shelters in the camp provides refugees with a greater sense of stability and ownership over their homes, as these shelters offer better durability, insulation, and security than traditional tents [12]. Containerized housing units allow for greater flexibility in meeting the unique needs of individual residents. The construction of community infrastructure such as schools, health clinics, and marketplaces has fostered a sense of empowerment, belonging, and ownership among

refugees. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the camp have adapted their shelters and the spatial organization of their camps to meet their individual needs, resulting in a non-uniform layout that better suits their daily lives [20].

However, Za'atari continues to pose a significant challenge in maintaining its sustainability and livability. Persistent issues, such as overcrowding, inadequate infrastructure, and limited access to essential services, remain unresolved and require ongoing attention and financial investment [8].

7.2 Sustainable architecture practices

Sustainable architecture practices play a critical role in designing adaptive design solutions for refugee camps, encouraging environmental stewardship, resource efficiency, and community well-being. Eco-friendly features like passive solar heating, rainwater harvesting, and natural ventilation help to minimize environmental impact while simultaneously increasing comfort and livability.

7.2.1 Case study: Azraq Refugee Camp

Opened in April 2014 in Zarqa Governorate, Jordan, Azraq Refugee Camp was established to accommodate Syrian refugees fleeing the conflict in their homeland. Unlike Za'atari, Azraq was designed with a more structured layout based on lessons learned from Za'atari camp, featuring prefabricated shelters arranged in organized decentralized blocks [35].

Azraq Refugee Camp represents a departure from traditional tented settlements, emphasizing the use of durable and weather-resistant shelter structures. The camp's layout facilitates efficient service provision and community cohesion, with designated areas for education, health, and livelihood activities. Moreover, Azraq has implemented innovative energy-saving initiatives, such as solar-powered street lighting and water conservation measures, reducing its environmental footprint [8].

The case of Azraq Refugee Camp illustrates the importance of adaptive design, spatial planning, and environmental sustainability in shaping transitional typologies within refugee camps. By analyzing the successes and challenges of Azraq's approach, policymakers and practitioners can glean valuable insights for improving the resilience and livability of refugee settlements in Jordan and other host countries.

Azraq Refugee Camp in Jordan exemplifies sustainable architecture principles through its use of energy-saving technologies and eco-friendly infrastructure, such as solar-powered street lighting, water recycling systems and insulated shelter designs—reducing operational costs while simultaneously cutting carbon emissions.

8. Considerations for successful transitional typologies in refugee camps

Successful architectural transitions in refugee camps are characterized by innovative, adaptable designs that enhance the longevity, functionality, and resilience of shelter infrastructure. Through the implementation of flexible, sustainable solutions, these case studies demonstrate the transformative impact of architectural interventions on the well-being and dignity of displaced populations.

A successful architectural transition in a refugee camp involves the evolution from temporary, inadequate shelters to more permanent, dignified dwellings that meet the evolving needs and preferences of residents. Key indicators of success include:

- **Flexibility:** the ability of shelter designs to adapt to changing demographic, environmental, and socio-economic conditions.
- **Sustainability:** integration of eco-friendly materials, technologies, and practices to minimize environmental impact and resource consumption.
- **Community participation:** engagement of residents in the planning, design, and implementation of shelter infrastructure to foster a sense of ownership and empowerment.
- **Longevity:** durability and resilience of shelter structures, ensuring their continued functionality and habitability over time.

8.1 Case study: IKEA Better Shelter

The IKEA Better Shelter is a modular, flat-pack shelter designed to provide durable yet dignified housing solutions for refugees and displaced populations around the world. Boasting lightweight yet easy-to-assemble components, its rapid deployment allows it to adapt quickly to different climate conditions and cultural preferences—up to three years of lifespan makes the IKEA Better Shelter an affordable and sustainable alternative to traditional tent settlements, giving refugees a greater sense of stability and security [36].

8.2 Case study: emergency Shelter Kit (ESK)

To aid communities affected by disasters, including refugees, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) created the Emergency Shelter Kit (ESK), a modular shelter system. Its assembly encourages community resilience by involving residents directly in its construction process and satisfying individual or communal shelter needs. It is made up of lightweight prefabricated components that fit together into various configurations to form individual and communal shelters quickly and easily [37].

The reviewed case studies showcase that architectural changes have a significant impact on the lifespan of refugee shelters, extending their occupancy while improving livability. Architectural transitions can enhance dignity, agency, resilience, and well-being in an otherwise challenging process by incorporating creative designs with adjustable features that better withstand environmental hazards, while providing amenities necessary for community cohesion. In addition, the application of sustainable architecture concepts such as waste reduction and energy efficiency enhances the resilience and general well-being of displaced communities by preserving their agency and dignity.

9. Social dimensions

Examining the social aspects of refugee camp typologies reveals the importance of community-led initiatives in helping refugees develop resilience, agency, and self-determination. Utilizing cooperative decision-making and participatory planning, refugees proactively participate in the planning, management, and administration of their living spaces, fostering a feeling of respect, ownership, and inclusion. Through

these programs, displaced populations can take control of their environment and design their living spaces, improving their well-being, self-reliance, and community cohesion.

Community-led initiatives aid displaced people in taking back control of their lives through self-organized activities like income-generating ventures, education programs, and community gardens [38, 39]. These programs not only demonstrate the tenacity and inventiveness of refugees in overcoming the difficulties of displacement, but they also offer forums for dispelling stereotypes and promoting intercultural dialog inside the camp. Furthermore, community input and local expertise are given priority in participatory planning processes that involve meaningful collaboration between humanitarian agencies, host communities, and refugees. This guarantees that the needs of refugees are met, their perspectives are heard, and sustainable, contextually appropriate solutions are put into practice [40]. Refugee settlements that are inclusive, dignified, and sustainable are made possible by the active participation and agency of displaced populations.

Successful community-driven projects within refugee camps exemplify the power of collective action, resilience, and innovation in addressing the diverse needs and aspirations of displaced populations. By tapping into local knowledge, resources, and capacities, such projects empower refugees to take control of their living environment and conditions.

9.1 Case study: women's Cooperative in Za'atari Refugee Camp

At Za'atari Refugee Camp, a group of women joined together to form a cooperative to generate income and foster social cohesion among residents. Through this cooperative, women received training in sewing, handicrafts, and small business management to produce handmade products within and sell outside the camp [41]. Not only was this cooperative an economic opportunity but it was also used as a forum for skill sharing, solidarity building, and empowerment.

Community-led economic initiatives, like cooperatives and income-generating projects, give refugees agency, dignity, and self-sufficiency. Furthermore, they foster social cohesion, trust, and mutual support between residents, strengthening networks and resilience, as projects initiated and managed by refugees themselves tend to be sustainable, contextually relevant, and responsive to local needs and preferences.

However, limited access to funds, materials, and resources can impede the scalability and sustainability of community-driven initiatives; women in vulnerable contexts may face additional barriers to participating and leading in these efforts, including cultural norms, caregiving responsibilities, or lack of education and resources. Therefore, support from humanitarian agencies, local authorities, and host communities is crucial to the success and longevity of community-driven projects.

10. Environmental dimensions

Refugee settlements often face a myriad of environmental challenges stemming from rapid population growth, inadequate infrastructure, and limited access to essential services. Common environmental issues include:

- **Waste management:** inadequate waste disposal facilities and practices contribute to pollution, sanitation hazards, and public health risks within refugee camps.

Improper waste management can lead to contamination of soil, water, and air, exacerbating environmental degradation and health disparities among residents [8].

- **Water scarcity:** limited access to clean water sources and inadequate sanitation facilities pose significant challenges to refugees' health, hygiene, and well-being. Overexploitation of natural water resources and lack of sustainable water management practices further exacerbate water scarcity and environmental degradation in refugee settlements [42].
- **Deforestation and land degradation:** high demand for firewood and construction materials in refugee camps contributes to deforestation, habitat loss, and soil erosion. Unsustainable land management practices, such as overgrazing and soil compaction, degrade natural ecosystems and reduce biodiversity, undermining the ecological resilience of host environments [43].

Advocating for sustainable practices in refugee settlements is essential for mitigating environmental challenges and promoting the long-term well-being of displaced populations, as this aspect highlights the interconnected relations between human well-being, improved livelihoods of vulnerable groups, and environmentally conscious spaces, as well as minimizes environmental impact and promote the well-being of both the environment and the displaced community. Key strategies to address this area include:

- **Renewable energy:** investing in renewable energy technologies, such as solar power and biogas, reduces reliance on fossil fuels, mitigates greenhouse gas emissions, and improves energy access and affordability for refugees.
- **Water conservation:** implementing water-saving measures, such as rainwater harvesting, water recycling, and efficient irrigation systems, helps alleviate water scarcity, reduce waterborne diseases, and protect natural water sources.
- **Sustainable agriculture:** promoting agroecological practices, organic farming, and community gardening initiatives enhances food security, restores degraded landscapes, and strengthens local livelihoods in refugee-hosting areas.

Environmentally sustainable refugee camps offer numerous benefits to inhabitants, including improved health and hygiene, enhanced livelihood opportunities, and increased resilience to environmental hazards. Access to clean energy, water, and sanitation services improves living conditions and reduces the burden on host communities, fostering social cohesion and integration [43].

10.1 Case study: Azraq Refugee Camp

Azraq Refugee Camp in Jordan is a leading example of an environmentally sustainable refugee settlement.

Azraq Refugee Camp is powered by a solar photovoltaic system, which provides clean, renewable energy for lighting, heating, and powering essential facilities within the camp. Solar panels installed on rooftops and in open spaces harness abundant sunlight, reducing reliance on fossil fuels and mitigating carbon emissions.

The camp also features water-saving measures such as rainwater harvesting, grey-water recycling, and efficient irrigation systems. Rainwater is collected from rooftops and stored in reservoirs for use in agriculture and landscaping, while greywater from showers and sinks is treated and reused for flushing toilets and watering plants.

Moreover, Azraq Refugee Camp employs sustainable waste management practices to minimize landfill waste and promote recycling and composting. Residents are encouraged to segregate their waste into recyclable and organic materials, which are then processed and reused or disposed of in an environmentally responsible manner [8].

11. Integration of architectural, social, and environmental aspects

Architectural, social, and environmental viewpoints are integrated in the interdisciplinary analysis used in refugee camp design and management, in order to meet the intricate and interrelated problems displaced people encounter.

The interdependence of built infrastructure, community dynamics, and ecological systems can be considered by stakeholders in refugee camp design and administration through the integration of the aforementioned viewpoints. For displaced communities, designers, planners, and politicians may create more contextually relevant, responsive, and resilient solutions by looking at the interactions between physical spaces, social relationships, and environmental resources [44].

Interdisciplinary analysis facilitates the identification of commonalities and conflicts among different dimensions of refugee camp design and management. While architectural innovations may enhance shelter quality and durability, they must also consider social and cultural preferences to ensure acceptability and inclusivity among residents. Similarly, environmental sustainability measures may conflict with social and economic priorities, highlighting the importance of balancing competing interests and priorities in refugee settlement planning.

Moreover, adopting a holistic approach to refugee camp design and management is essential for addressing the diverse needs, aspirations, and vulnerabilities of displaced populations. By considering these dimensions in tandem, stakeholders can develop more comprehensive, context-sensitive, and effective strategies for shelter provision, community empowerment, and environmental stewardship.

12. Integration of technologies in refugee camp transitional typologies

As society collectively shifts from analog methods to more advanced digital and technological ones, the integration of emerging technologies, namely artificial intelligence (AI) and digital twins (DT), holds significant promise for enhancing the resilience, efficiency, and sustainability of refugee camps.

As technological innovations continue to push the boundaries of human capabilities, more attention is being directed towards employing such technologies in fields where human capacity is limited either by time, access, or economy. In the case of humanitarian response, time and resource constraints pressure actions and result in less-than-satisfactory results that often need to be reworked after their implementation over a multi-year period.

While previous planning methods such as handbooks and guidelines are available, they provide limited knowledge of the status quo and do not consider the context or implications of emergency interventions on a large scale such as refugee camps,

various instances of which have proven that they do not represent an adequate standard of human living. Moreover, the existing guidelines and handbooks do not consider the possibility of permanence, which according to Moore [45] is an inevitable and organic outcome of emergency settlements after an average period of 17 years.

Artificial intelligence and digital twins offer an avenue of research not yet implemented in this sector. As argued by Guo [46], such applications in humanitarian sectors including those of conflict prediction and prevention have the potential to reshape the field but are yet to be sufficiently researched [46].

By leveraging advanced digital tools and data-driven approaches, stakeholders can improve decision-making, optimize resource allocation, and enhance the quality of life for refugees.

12.1 Artificial intelligence (AI) in refugee camps

The integration of artificial intelligence into the study of refugee camp spatial dynamics represents a pivotal advancement that transcends the capabilities of traditional analog methods. AI refers to the simulation of human intelligence processes by machines, particularly computer systems, with the ability to learn, reason, and make decisions based on data analysis. In the context of refugee camp planning and sustainable urbanization, AI offers a range of tools and techniques that substantially enhance the understanding of spatial patterns and morphologies, driving data-driven decision-making and innovative solutions.

Machine learning algorithms have the capacity to analyze vast datasets and identify hidden patterns that may not be immediately apparent to human observers. In the context of refugee camps, AI models can be trained to recognize changes in camp layouts, infrastructure developments, and population distribution over time. This capability aids in comprehending the evolving urban morphology and predicting future growth trajectories [47].

AI-powered predictive models leverage historical data and real-time inputs to anticipate changes and forecast population movements, resource demands, and infrastructure requirements within refugee camps. Scenario-based models can also simulate various development strategies and their potential outcomes, assessing long-term impacts of planning decisions [48]. Platforms like Google Earth Engine and Microsoft AI for Earth provide tools for spatial analysis, leveraging AI to process vast amounts of geospatial data and extract actionable insights.

Moreover, AI algorithms can conduct sophisticated spatial analyses, optimizing the placement of essential facilities such as healthcare centers, schools, and sanitation facilities within refugee camps by considering factors like population density, accessibility, and proximity to resources. This provides a comprehensive view of the camp's spatial dynamics, facilitating holistic analysis and decision-making [49]. Navigating complex dynamics of refugee camps can be aided by harnessing AI tools, thereby catalyzing the transition of refugee camps from slums to sustainable, thriving settlements.

There are various ways in which AI technologies could be applied in the field of humanitarian aid, specifically for studies and analyses aimed at improving the quality of life in refugee camps:

- AI-driven predictive modeling can be used to find trends in data gathered on refugee camps, including population density, demographics, and resource utilization. The geographical organization of camps can be improved with the help of this information, which can also help with resource allocation.

- The planning and design of refugee camps can be improved using machine learning algorithms for example to determine the best places for camps, considering things like resource accessibility, potential natural disasters, and the preferences of refugees and host communities.
- Sensor networks and machine learning algorithms can be used to track and forecast resource usage, such as water and electricity consumption, and improve resource management in general.
- Satellite imagery and other geospatial data can be used to create detailed maps of the camp's layout and infrastructure and identify areas that are overcrowded, underutilized, or in need of improvement. AI-based algorithms can assist in mapping the camps and analyzing the effectiveness of refugee camp layout and organization.

While AI can be a potent tool for improving spatial organization as well as quality of life in refugee camps, it should be utilized with prudence and in accordance with the values of ethics, data privacy, and transparency. Additionally, when designing and implementing AI-powered solutions for refugee camps, input and feedback from refugees, host communities, and humanitarian organizations should be taken into consideration.

12.2 Digital twins for refugee camp planning and management

Digital twins are virtual representations of physical assets, processes, and systems that enable real-time simulation, visualization, and analysis. By creating digital twins of refugee camps, planners, designers, and policymakers can simulate scenarios, test interventions, and optimize decision-making to improve the resilience and livability of settlements.

Digital twins allow stakeholders to simulate various scenarios [50, 51], such as population growth, environmental changes, and infrastructure development, to evaluate the potential impacts and inform strategic decision-making. By visualizing different futures, decision-makers can identify optimal pathways and allocate resources more effectively.

Furthermore, digital twins facilitate community engagement and participatory planning processes by providing residents with interactive tools to visualize and co-design their living environment [52]. By incorporating feedback and preferences from residents, planners can ensure that refugee settlements are more responsive, inclusive, and culturally appropriate.

13. Key research insights

The synthesis of findings from architectural, social, and environmental perspectives in refugee camp design and management offers valuable insights and actionable recommendations for enhancing the resilience, sustainability, and well-being of displaced populations. By integrating diverse perspectives and lessons learned, stakeholders can develop more holistic, contextually relevant, and effective strategies for refugee settlement planning and management, as represented in **Figure 3**.

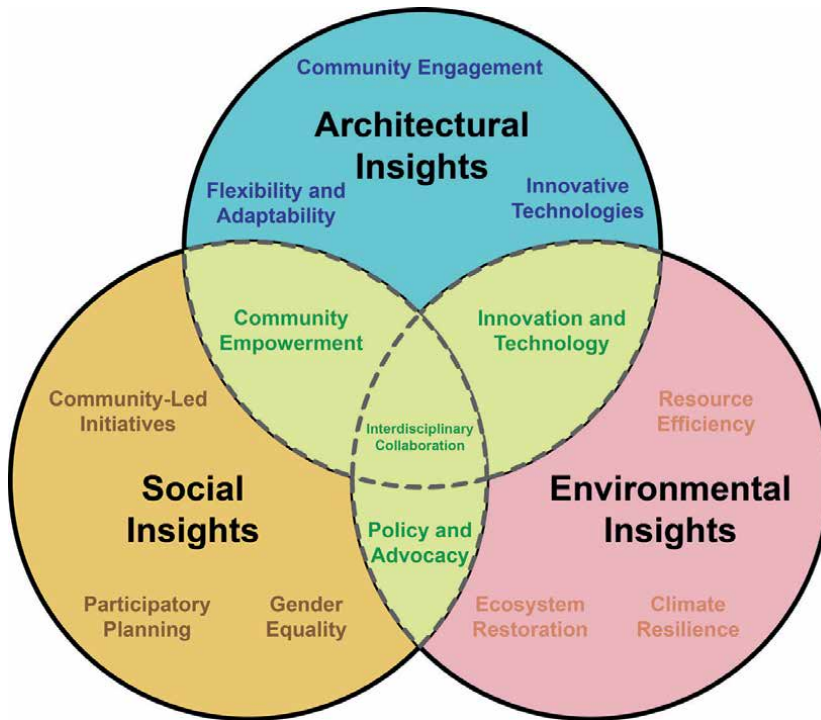


Figure 3.
Synthesis of findings from architectural, social, and environmental perspectives (source: Authors).

13.1 Architectural insights

Architectural interventions play a crucial role in shaping the physical environment and spatial dynamics of refugee camps.

- Flexibility and adaptability: designing shelters and infrastructure with flexibility and adaptability in mind allows for the accommodation of changing needs, preferences, and environmental conditions over time.
- Community engagement: engaging residents in the design and planning process fosters a sense of ownership, empowerment, and cultural relevance, leading to more inclusive and resilient settlements.
- Innovative technologies: leveraging innovative technologies, such as prefabricated construction methods and sustainable materials, can improve the efficiency, durability, and affordability of shelter solutions.

13.2 Social insights

Social dynamics and community interactions are central to the functioning and resilience of refugee camps.

- Community-led initiatives: empowering displaced populations to initiate and lead community-driven projects fosters social cohesion, self-reliance, and agency, enhancing the resilience and well-being of residents.

- Participatory planning: involving refugees in decision-making processes and co-designing their living environment promotes ownership, dignity, and cultural appropriateness, leading to more sustainable and inclusive settlements.
- Gender equality: addressing gender inequalities and ensuring women's participation and leadership in decision-making processes are essential for promoting social equity and resilience within refugee communities.

13.3 Environmental insights

Environmental sustainability is critical for mitigating the ecological impact of refugee settlements and promoting the well-being of both residents and host environments.

- Resource efficiency: implementing resource-efficient technologies and practices, such as renewable energy, water conservation, and waste management, reduces environmental degradation and enhances the resilience of refugee camps.
- Ecosystem restoration: restoring natural ecosystems and integrating green infrastructure into refugee settlements improves biodiversity, mitigates climate change impacts, and enhances the quality of life for residents.
- Climate resilience: building climate-resilient infrastructure and adapting to changing environmental conditions are essential for safeguarding the long-term sustainability and livability of refugee camps in the face of climate change.

14. Key recommendations for practitioners and policymakers

Based on the synthesis of findings, the following recommendations are proposed for enhancing the design and management of refugee camps:

- Interdisciplinary collaboration: foster interdisciplinary collaboration and knowledge exchange among architects, social scientists, environmental experts, and humanitarian practitioners to develop more holistic and integrated approaches to refugee settlement planning.
- Community empowerment: prioritize community empowerment, participation, and capacity-building initiatives to ensure that refugee voices are heard, needs are addressed, and solutions are contextually relevant and sustainable.
- Innovation and technology: embrace innovation and technology, including artificial intelligence, digital twins, and renewable energy solutions, to improve decision-making, optimize resource allocation, and enhance the resilience of refugee settlements.
- Policy and advocacy: advocate for policies and investments that prioritize the dignity, rights, and well-being of displaced populations and promote sustainable and inclusive approaches to refugee settlement planning and management.

14.1 Recommendations for policymakers

Policymakers play a vital role in shaping the design, management, and governance of refugee camps. By prioritizing adaptive architectural designs that prioritize community participation and participatory planning initiatives and implementing sustainable environmental practices that preserve dignity for displaced populations while protecting resilience, policymakers can help improve resilience, dignity, and well-being among refugees.

14.1.1 Integration of adaptive architectural designs

Policymakers should prioritize the integration of adaptive architectural designs in refugee camp planning and construction.

- **Flexibility and modularity:** advocate for modular shelter designs that are easily expanded, modified, or repurposed as needs or environmental conditions change over time.
- **Innovation and experimentation:** engage in research and development initiatives that explore innovative architectural solutions such as lightweight materials, prefabricated components, and unconventional construction techniques that increase adaptability and sustainability of refugee shelters.
- **Capacity-building:** provide training, technical assistance and capacity-building support to architects, engineers, humanitarian practitioners and others interested in adaptive architectural designs and best practices for refugee settlement planning and construction.

14.1.2 Support for community-led initiatives and participatory planning

Policymakers should actively support community-led initiatives and participatory planning processes in refugee camps.

- **Empowerment and agency:** recognize and value the knowledge and creativity of displaced populations by giving them the ability to initiate, lead, and participate in community-led projects and decision-making processes.
- **Inclusive and transparent governance:** establish governance structures that foster meaningful engagement, collaboration, and dialog between refugees, humanitarian agencies, host communities, and local authorities.
- **Resource allocation:** provide resources, funding, and technical assistance for community-led initiatives and participatory planning activities aimed at supplying refugees with the tools, resources, and opportunities needed to shape their environment.

14.1.3 Implementation of sustainable environmental practices

Policymakers should prioritize the implementation of sustainable environmental practices in refugee camps.

- **Renewable energy:** invest in renewable energy technologies, such as solar power, wind turbines, and biomass, to provide clean, affordable, and reliable energy sources for refugee settlements, reducing reliance on fossil fuels and mitigating environmental impacts.
- **Water and sanitation:** promote water conservation, rainwater harvesting, and efficient sanitation systems to ensure access to safe and adequate services for refugees while minimizing water scarcity, pollution, and health risks.
- **Ecosystem restoration:** preserve and restore natural ecosystems, including forests, wetlands, and grasslands, within and around refugee camps to enhance biodiversity, mitigate climate impacts, and provide ecosystem services for residents and host communities.

15. Conclusion

This chapter investigates the dynamic nature of refugee camps within Jordan's unique context, examining architectural, social, and environmental dimensions. Through interdisciplinary analysis, we discuss transitional typologies which challenge conventional notions of permanence, focusing on adaptive design solutions, community-led initiatives, and sustainable environmental practices as key elements in planning and management strategies for improved refugee settlement.

We have explored the significance of flexibility, adaptability, and innovation in refugee shelter design, with modular solutions that can adapt over time to changing needs and circumstances, as well as community-led initiatives and participatory planning processes, underscoring the significance of meaningful engagement and collaboration with displaced populations. Sustainable environmental practices such as renewable energy generation, water conservation, and ecosystem restoration are essential in mitigating environmental degradation while simultaneously supporting residents' well-being in host environments.

Our research on refugee camps in Jordan is transferable and globally relevant, offering lessons for policymakers, practitioners, and researchers alike. Policymakers can improve refugee resettlement by adopting adaptive designs and sustainable practices; humanitarian practitioners can enhance their interventions through collaboration and innovation; researchers should focus on interdisciplinary research to address key knowledge gaps.

Furthermore, digital technologies and their impact on refugee settlements must be explored in more detail. In addition, gender dynamics and their effects on transitional typologies should be investigated in future research. Evidence-based methods coupled with multidisciplinary cooperation and community participation can help further the knowledge while creating resilient and inclusive solutions that improve the lives of refugees worldwide.

Acknowledgements

This research was created with the financial support of the Faculty of Architecture of the Czech Technical University in Prague, and it was funded by the FA Academic Competition 2024.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Chapter 6

The Argentine State and the Transfer of Immigrants to the Country (1850–1914)

Alejandro Fernández

Abstract

Argentina was the second recipient country of transatlantic immigrants until 1930. Most of them arrived through migratory chains of relatives and countrymen, who financed and managed the transfers autonomously without using subsidies. However, at different times in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Argentine state developed plans to finance the travel tickets of emigrants based on the assumption that their future contribution to the national economy as producers and consumers would have to justify the expense incurred. In addition, the state created facilities to house emigrants for a period after their arrival, inform them of work opportunities and transport them free of charge to places in the interior of the country where they wished to settle. In some cases, these plans left the management of the transfer of emigrants in the hands of the state itself, while in others, they proposed using agreements with the shipping companies that covered the South Atlantic route. The chapter will analyze these plans to attract emigrants, investigating the aspects that were put into practice and the reasons why in other cases they failed.

Keywords: immigration, subsidized tickets, navigation, Argentina, agriculture

1. Introduction

One of the first objectives of the Argentine government, after independence from the Spanish Empire, was to promote European immigration. Various reasons explain this interest, from the need to increase a population that was very scarce during the colonial period, to the promotion of economic activities that until then had not been sufficiently developed, such as crafts or agriculture. The improvement of the skills and technical capabilities of the population and the elimination of habits of backwardness that were attributed to colonial rule also contributed to a pro-immigration ideology that manifested itself from the beginning of the independence revolution. However, the wars against the Spanish armies and then the internal political conflicts severely limited the possibility of fulfilling such purposes, which in theory were associated with the incorporation of the European population. From approximately

1830, the political situation began to stabilize, while hostility toward the Spanish decreased. These factors would allow the pro-immigration ideology to gradually provide concrete results, although the amount of foreign population incorporated into the country would only become very significant after 1850.

Between 1830 and 1930, Argentina received some six million transatlantic immigrants, most of them European. If we consider the absolute figures, it was the second recipient country in the world during that period, behind the United States. However, if we consider that the total population of the country in 1869, when the first national census was carried out, only amounted to 1.8 million inhabitants, Argentina was the country in which the arrival of mass immigration had the greatest impact. In the long term, Italians and Spaniards accounted for approximately 80 percent of the total number of immigrants received, followed at a great distance by French, Swiss, Poles, Croatians, Russians, and other nationalities [1]. Most of them arrived in the country through spontaneous mechanisms, such as migratory chains that fulfilled various functions: the dissemination of information among relatives and countrymen about job and accommodation opportunities in the receiving country, the total or partial financing of the cost of the travel ticket and the reception and installation of newcomers.

At the same time, the state and some of the provinces of the Argentine Republic implemented policies to attract transatlantic immigrants. European peasants were the main objective of these measures, as they sought to populate extensive territories with very low demographic density and to develop agriculture through the establishment of settlers as tenants or small landowners. The National Constitution of 1853 even ordered that governments should encourage immigration of European origin, setting as one of its main objectives the colonization of hitherto unproductive territories. For this reason, the distribution of public lands, the delivery of seeds and farming tools, or the advance of sums to finance harvests were instruments used to settle European peasants and their families, considered in the long term as the type of immigration most desirable for the country.

Another resource was to finance the transfers of immigrants through the delivery of subsidized tickets or through agreements with navigation companies. Unlike Brazil, the other major recipient of immigrants in South America, the Argentine Republic did not subsidize tickets on a large scale, trusting that the growth of the economy and the action of spontaneous mechanisms would ensure the continuity of the migratory flow. An exception to this trend occurred at the end of the 1880s, when a significant number of tickets were distributed in different European countries, mainly Spain. At other times, shipping companies received subsidies to transport selected farmers, artisans, or technicians, although in small annual quantities. As should be noted in the debates on the immigration and colonization law of 1876, the Argentine State did not have sufficient financial resources to pay for the transportation of the tens of thousands of annual immigrants that the country was already receiving at that time [2].

This little intervention by the government to subsidize tickets does not mean, however, that the Argentine State maintained a distant or neutral attitude in immigration matters. Different plans aimed at promoting the arrival and establishment of European migrants were proposed, or put into practice, by some of the governments of the first half of the nineteenth century. The potential capacity of these migrants to develop agriculture and other sectors of the economy, and the beneficial effect that their presence could have on Argentine society, were the main objectives pursued by such plans. Furthermore, they constituted a central element in the texts of liberal

intellectuals who recommended leaving the colonial past behind and opening the path to progress, such as *Facundo or civilization and barbarism in the Argentine pampas*, by Domingo F. Sarmiento (1845), and *Bases and Starting Points for the Political Organization of the Argentine Republic*, by Juan Bautista Alberdi (1852).

With slight nuances, all these proposals assumed the need for the state to sponsor European immigration through different instruments and guarantee it the same rights as the native population to carry out their activities in an environment of freedom. One of the problems to be solved was the remoteness of the places of origin of those who had to be attracted, since in the middle of the nineteenth century, the time necessary for the transfer was approximately 2 months of navigation, with a cost of the travel ticket that could be equivalent to 1 year of a worker's salary in Europe [3]. The great advance of maritime means of transport in the following decades, with the transition from sail to steam, and the appearance of large ocean liners, made it possible to reduce the travel time by two-thirds, also reducing the cost. Even so, the issue of financing migrants' travel remained more problematic than for destinations located in North America.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the policies of the Argentine State aimed at facilitating the transportation of European peasants and workers to the country during the period of mass immigration in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. It will begin with a brief presentation of the main problems that Argentina faced as a receiving country during the pioneering stages of the arrival of European immigration. Below, we will devote particular attention to the proposals to subsidize tickets put forward during the debates of the Immigration and Colonization Law in 1875–1876. Finally, we will see the options considered by the Argentine State in the stage of mass immigration, that is, between 1880 and 1914, and their results. The chapter is based on review of different primary and secondary sources, which are partly published, such as the session diaries of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of the Nation, or the annual reports of the General Department of Immigration, and other cases unpublished, such as the correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the offices installed in Europe to promote the transfer of emigrants.

2. Moving migrants to Plata

The governments that emerged in Buenos Aires and in the interior of the country after independence had to face the problem of the very small population of the territory. The density, of less than one inhabitant per square kilometer, was insufficient for the development of activities intensive in the use of labor, such as agriculture or crafts, except in some regions during the colonial period or at the beginning of the nineteenth-century production centers had been established that worked for the world market or for that of neighboring cities. The consumption that could have constituted a greater incentive for these sectors of the economy was also very limited, not only due to the small number of inhabitants but also due to the low average purchasing power. The enormous distances between the cities and the small number of intermediate towns made communications and trade difficult, so some of the inland regions were more connected with neighboring countries, such as Chile or Bolivia, than with the province of Buenos Aires and the Atlantic coast.

The immigration of the European population then appeared, from very early on, as the best option to overcome such inconveniences and transform society in a

dynamic sense. Added to this were racial considerations associated with the ideal of incorporating white population into a territory that had a significant proportion of indigenous people and African Americans, or utilitarian considerations, in the sense of perceiving transatlantic immigrants as the most capable, disciplined, and laborious to modify the habits of the period of Hispanic rule [4]. However, the projects to promote immigration had to face some very important obstacles from the beginning. On the one hand, the War of Independence (1810–1825) and the successive civil conflicts that devastated the country during the following decades did not contribute to a climate conducive to the settlement of foreigners. Furthermore, the Argentine State, or that of the province of Buenos Aires, the largest and richest of all those that make up the country, did not have sufficient resources to finance the transfer of potential emigrants when military spending absorbed the majority of available funds.

These reasons meant that the first experiences of transferring immigrants from northern Europe were financed by individuals, either by transport businessmen or by rural owners, who wanted to hire agricultural settlers from the British Isles and northern continental Europe. The state, for its part, undertook to deliver farming instruments and public lands to some of these families in the decade of 1820–1830, a resource that, unlike cash capital, was abundant at that time and could contribute to the consolidation of the southern border against the indigenous populations. The political instability of the period determined that such initiatives did not achieve continuity, so only about two hundred families could be incorporated [5].

Despite the failures, the image that some of these pioneering efforts left in liberal thinkers and reformers was very positive and would generate a long-lasting mark. In a passage from his *Facundo*, for example, Sarmiento favorably compared the colonies of German or Scottish immigrants that emerged in the province of Buenos Aires with the villages populated by natives. While the former would stand out for their order, cleanliness, and the development of new activities, such as the making of cheese or butter, the main characteristics of the latter would be poverty, dirt, carelessness, and the lack of expectations of their inhabitants [6]. Civilization and progress would thus be associated with transatlantic immigration, while backwardness and barbarism would be linked to the native population and the colonial heritage.

The next stage of paying for tickets was different, since in it the state intervention was more direct, and the recruitment of immigrants was not mainly oriented toward agricultural colonization. Between 1827 and 1860, the province of Buenos Aires was separated from the rest of the country, operating with political and economic autonomy. In this situation, immigration began to recover through spontaneous means. On the other hand, the difficulties of the public sector in recruiting employees and servants due to constant military conflicts and the small population made the provincial government decide to dedicate resources to finance the arrival of poor European workers who had to return in some years the amount of the tickets. Thus, during the decade of 1840–1850, a local shipping company, which had two ships previously used for the slave trade, carried out expeditions to recruit labor [4]. These immigrants, mostly of Spanish origin, were employed as cleaning staff in hospitals, as police assistants and night watchmen, or as day laborers in road construction. After a few years, in which they paid with their work the cost assumed by the state to transport them, these immigrants were free to be employed in the private sector of the economy [7].

From the decade of 1850–1860, European immigration gained impetus due to different causes, such as a more solid integration of the Argentine economy into the international one, the sanction of the National Constitution of 1853, which granted civil rights and guarantees for foreigners, and a more determined pro-immigration

policy, both on the part of the national government and some of the provinces. One of the first measures adopted consisted of installing agents in Europe to promote the country's qualities for immigration, although these agents did not have the power to hire immigrants or pay for tickets [7]. In 1869, Sarmiento, then President of the Republic, ordered the construction of an asylum for the free accommodation for a few days of those who had just disembarked. He also ordered the health inspection of the ships that transported the immigrants, when they arrived at the port of Buenos Aires [8]. The asylum would have a post office so that they could send news to their relatives in Europe, transmitting their impressions about the new country, which demonstrates the trust that the state already placed at that time in the ability of the immigrants themselves to establish networks of information that would allow the population flow to continue and expand.

3. The immigration and colonization law and the problem of subsidies

In 1875, President Nicolás Avellaneda, Sarmiento's successor, sent to Congress a bill that would be known as "immigration and colonization", which integrated and expanded the previous provisions, aimed more clearly at attracting European settlers through the distribution of public lands. He did so in the context of an international economic crisis, which began 2 years earlier and was causing very negative effects for Argentina. Export prices, mainly those of raw wool and other livestock products, had collapsed. This also contracted the country's ability to import and the collection of customs taxes, the main resource of the national state, forcing a sharp reduction in public spending. However, Avellaneda maintained that the two areas in which spending should not be reduced were the promotion of immigration and the expansion of the railway network due to the great importance they had for economic growth.

Nevertheless, the expectations placed by the Argentine government on the recovery of the economy were based on another important change that was occurring in international trade: the transition from sail to steam in ocean navigation. While maritime traffic remained in charge of sailboats, even in their most modern and fastest versions, Argentina was not able to add several of its export items. The limited carrying capacity of such means of transport, their slowness, and the high cost of freight meant that trade from America to Europe was essentially composed of high-priced products per unit of volume or weight, among which the only ones exported from the Río de la Plata were cowhides [9]. With the large-scale incorporation of steamers, other items were able to be added to Argentine exports, such as wheat in the 1870–1880 decade and frozen meat some years later. The increase in navigation that this would entail could also imply a growth in immigration, encouraged by the reduction in travel time and the cheaper tickets.

The latter had also suffered the impact of the international economic crisis, since the annual record of 1872, with more than 50,000 new admissions, had been followed by a drop to less than half that figure 3 years later [10]. The national government considered it appropriate in this context to present a project to boost the arrival of immigrants, understanding that this would be one of the main incentives to recover production, consumption, exports, and state resources. In other words, the law was part of a counter-cyclical policy aimed at returning to the path of sustained growth. As some provinces had already determined, the attraction of European farmers would be linked mainly to the distribution of public lands in small ownership or lease, in the so-called "national colonies" to be created [11]. For that reason, it was both an

immigration law and an agricultural colonization law. The law maintained the right of immigrants to free accommodation for a certain number of days after their disembarkation, to which it added the offer of jobs, the transfer to the places in the interior of the country where they wished to settle, and the delivery of seeds and farming instruments. It also expanded the functions of propaganda agents established in Europe, since they could sign contracts with shipping companies that were licensed to transport agricultural settlers [12].

The project also included the distribution of free transatlantic tickets or at least the advance of the amount thereof, to be later returned in installments by the immigrants. Despite the interventionist spirit revealed by all these measures regarding immigration, the economic situation did not allow to think about financing a large mass of full travel tickets from northern Europe, which was the origin that was most strongly promoted. In the debates in the National Congress, the issue was therefore oriented toward other options. The most discussed was that the state would finance the difference between the cost of tickets from a certain European port to Buenos Aires and the cost of the trip from that same port to New York, the destination that, by far, dominated the market of transatlantic emigration. According to this formula, migrants who chose to go to Argentina instead of the United States would have the right to be reimbursed by the state for the difference in the cost of the tickets between both destinations. It was no small expense, considering that this difference could be more than 50 percent of the total price of the tickets due to the great distance of the South American country from the main departure ports in Europe.

While some legislators strongly defended the use of this resource, others raised criticism or raised serious doubts about the idea. One of them arose from comparing what the payment of that difference in the cost of tickets would have meant with other items in the state budget that were inalienable, such as the payment of schoolteachers or hospital doctors, showing that it was a burden impossible to assume with the available resources. If, on the other hand, it was a matter of financing the travel tickets through the issuance of new public debt securities, as was contained in the bill, the entry into the market of the new bonds would have caused, with great probability, the fall in the price of existing ones, generating distrust among European investors. The latter was precisely what the government tried to avoid, considering that the recovery of the economy depended heavily on the maintenance of foreign investment [13].

Another criticism, even more forceful, emphasized that the higher cost of tickets was not the only reason – or even the main one – why migrants tended to prefer North America as a place of settlement rather than Argentina. According to this opinion, the British, Scandinavians, or Germans chose the United States or Canada due to the greater similarity of these societies with those of origin of the emigrants [9]. The problem would be difficult to solve for a country like Argentina, which has Hispanic roots and whose main contingent of recent population was made up of Italians. Since the government's position was in the minority during the debate in the Senate, it failed to maintain the original version of the project regarding the financing of transatlantic tickets. The compromise solution that was achieved, therefore, was that all other rights that the bill established for immigrants were confirmed, but transatlantic tickets would not be subsidized on a large scale [14].

The distribution of tickets was limited to those farming families who would settle in the “national colonies.” The latter were agricultural farms that would be directed by the national state on public lands that were not yet part of the provinces, that is, in the territories of the south (Pampa and Patagonia) and the north of the country (Chaco

and Misiones). These were regions far from the main population centers, poorly communicated, and, in most cases, provided with inferior-quality land. The colonies would be made up of parcels of lands that could be sold or leased to foreign farmers or internal migrants, as well as others that were planned to be left in the hands of aboriginal families for farming. The multiple inconveniences that arose from the full incorporation of these extensions into agriculture made the project almost completely fail, except in some specific sites, which had better communication possibilities or where it was possible to adapt substitute crops that had a sufficient market. In fact, at the beginning of the decade of 1880–1890, the functions of the Bureau of Lands and Colonies, a public agency that would oversee the administration of these exploitations, were separated from those of the General Department of Immigration, which was in charge of everything related to the arrival of the transatlantic settlers [15]. Therefore, the financing of travel tickets for farmers, as incorporated in the 1876 law, did not achieve the practical application that was originally envisioned.

This aspect of the law was not the only one that remained inactive, since other provisions contained in it also lacked effectiveness. The intervention of agents based in Europe in the signing of contracts between private parties for the recruitment of emigrants to Argentina was a purely theoretical attribution, since their countries of origin did not recognize foreign power over agreements signed in their territories. For its part, the health inspection of ships continued to be mainly in charge of the countries to which the shipping companies belonged and those in which the stops where emigrants embarked were made. The physicians who traveled on the ships were not designated by the Argentine government, which had to limit itself to controlling the conditions in which they arrived at the port of Buenos Aires. Eventually, it could sanction fines for those shipping companies that did not comply with the provisions on safety, hygiene, and available cubic capacity per passenger [11]. As some of the legislators had already pointed out in the debate on the law, it would be very difficult for Argentina to impose rigorous health control criteria during the transatlantic journey when it did not have its own merchant navy to transport emigrants, as was the case of the United States. On the other hand, excessive zeal in control could lead to an increase in the cost of transportation, which is the opposite effect sought by the government.

4. Immigration and shipping companies

From the beginning of the decade of 1880–1890, transatlantic migration to Argentina once again showed sustained growth, encouraged by the recovery of the economy and exports, the great expansion of the railway network during that decade, and the growth of public works and private construction [9]. The large-scale emergence of American grains into European markets also caused many peasant farms on that continent to go into crisis, encouraging emigration. Italian origin was more dominant than ever, reaching almost 80 percent of the new arrivals to the country in 1885. Although the Argentine State was fulfilling the main obligations assumed with immigrants under the law of 1876, the bulk of the flow was financed and materialized through the micro-social mechanisms in which the Italians were in the lead due to the influence that this community had achieved in Argentina. More than 80,000 new immigrants entered in some years of the first half of the decade [10]. They were not only attracted by employment opportunities in the large cities and Pampa's agriculture but also by other regions, such as Cuyo, in the extreme west of the country, which, since the arrival of the railroad, became the main producer of wines.

This firm recovery of the immigration flow made the urgency that had led to the approval of the law in the previous decade lose relevance, especially regarding state intervention in the financing of travel tickets. The agents installed in Europe received the order to continue promoting the arrival of farming families who would be given facilities for access to the exploitation of the land, but it was clarified that the payment of the tickets had to be at their own expense [16]. The agreements with the shipping companies also did not contemplate subsidies on a significant scale for the transfer of immigrants. The companies that had a license to transport peasants to the “national colonies” were obliged to embark six of them free of charge on each trip, but this was a meager figure if we take into account that by then, each steamship could transport 300 or 400 passengers per trip [17].

Another novelty of this decade consisted of the opening of new transatlantic routes from European ports to the Río de la Plata, which did not always lead to the formation of a solid migratory current between both extremes. This is what would be demonstrated in the case of Bremen, which, despite being connected to Buenos Aires since 1880 with a regular line, did not generate a sustained flow of Scandinavian or German emigration [18]. Similarly, in 1887, a route was inaugurated by the *Compañía Trasatlántica*, until then, specialized in navigation between Spain and the Caribbean Sea, from the port of Barcelona to Buenos Aires, including stops in Mediterranean ports, in Recife and Santos (Brazil) and Montevideo (Uruguay). However, Spanish emigration to Argentina continued to come mainly from the Atlantic and not from the Mediterranean, meaning that it did not receive a perceptible boost with the newly inaugurated line. The Atlantic route was already controlled by German and British shipping companies, while the Mediterranean route, with epicenters in Genoa and Marseille, was in the hands of the French and Italian [19].

Competition for cargo freight and emigrant tickets became more aggressive, so some of the companies tried to obtain special conditions from the Argentine government, including the granting of monopolistic positions. During the government of Julio A. Roca (1880–1886), some of these shipping companies presented projects to introduce immigrant settlers through consortia to be formed between two or more of them. One of the proposals took up the idea of paying the difference in tickets with New York that had been debated in 1875–1876, suggesting that emigrants pay the equivalent of the price of the trip to that port and the Argentine State take care of the remaining cost to Buenos Aires [15]. Other presentations by the companies proposed the transfer of a certain number of immigrants for a period to be agreed upon, with payment of the tickets at the expense of the state and return by them once settled in the country. When it came to transporting farmers, some of these projects once again linked the transportation subsidy with the delivery of land free of charge or to be paid in installments, despite the fact that, as already seen, this alternative was only possible in marginal areas [20].

None of these projects achieved practical results due to opposition from state officials who decided on their viability. Some of the proposals were attractive because they offered the possibility of incorporating in significant quantities a type of immigration, such as that from northern Europe, which was desired by the ruling groups. However, they presented inconsistencies regarding the reimbursement of the amounts that the state would advance because this aspect was left to the economic solvency that the settlers would have achieved when the time came to start paying the installments. Nor was the idea of forming consortia accepted because these would be made up of two or more existing shipping lines that covered the South Atlantic route. If this claim had been admitted, these companies would have stopped competing

without increasing the number of ships available for the transport of emigrants, but rather the opposite. Finally, in the case of the proposals that aimed to charge a certain sum of money to the Argentine State for each emigrant transported, the real risk was that the companies would try to recruit the largest possible number of candidates in Europe, regardless of their abilities or occupations, which could lead to detriment for the receiving country and greater integration difficulties for those who arrived through this system.

5. Spontaneous immigration and intervention policies

Although spontaneous immigration, without contracts on a significant scale with shipping companies or the direct intervention of the state in transportation, was achieving the arrival of a number of immigrants never reached before, General Roca's successor as President of the Republic, Miguel Juárez Celman (1886–1890), decided to introduce an important change in the current modality, resorting to subsidizing tickets. Different reasons may explain this option, but it is difficult to justify due to its costs and possible results. First, the fact that Brazil, in its transition toward the abolition of slavery, was already subsidizing passages and planned to do so on a larger scale [21]. With this, there was fear that the largest country in South America would displace Argentina as a recipient of immigrants. Second, the expectations that the national economy, which in the mid-1880s-1890s was already growing at a rate of more than 6% annually, and we would not be able to maintain that pace of growth without a rapid and substantial increase in the number of immigrants received [22]. Finally, the strong predominance, noted above, of Italians in the group of migrants suggested the need to diversify origins through a more interventionist policy of the state.

Thus, the number of immigration promotion offices in Europe substantially increased, and their functions were expanded, allowing them to intervene directly in the delivery of subsidized tickets or in agreements with companies for the recruitment of immigrants. Between 1887 and 1890, the state delivered, by such means, or distributed in the country itself, some 133,000 subsidized tickets, the largest amount granted in the entire history of transatlantic emigration to Argentina [23]. Regarding origins, the purpose of this policy, again, was to expand the proportion of northern and central Europe. Hence, offices were set up in cities such as Copenhagen, Berlin, Bern, London, and Brussels. The results in this sense were meager since, except for the arrival of a few thousand Dutch and Belgian immigrants, it was not possible to alter the traditional link of such origins with North America [16].

An appreciable change was due to the large contingent of Spanish immigrants during that 4-year period (around 60,000, or almost half of the total subsidized tickets) [23]. Within it, there was also an important modification in the regional origin. Since the end of the colonial period, Spanish emigrants heading to the Río de la Plata came mainly from the northern regions of the peninsula (Galicia, Asturias, the Basque Country, Catalonia). On the other hand, subsidized immigration opened the possibility of joining the southern regions of Spain, dominated by non-land-owning day laborers, who would have been unable on their own to finance the expenses associated with moving to America. This would have immediate repercussions, since the arrival of subsidized immigrants practically coincided with the beginning of a serious crisis in the national economy, leading to recession and increased unemployment. These immigrants, who did not have micro-social protection networks, unlike their peers

from northern Spain, suffered the consequences of the crisis in conditions of helplessness and the impossibility of immediate return to their country of origin [24].

In the original version of the project, subsidized tickets would not be granted permanently but rather would be a temporary resource directed toward those countries or regions that had not registered sustained emigration to Argentina. The idea was that they would serve in the first stage to create communities of immigrants who, once settled and working, would send information and remittances of money to their relatives, which would constitute an incentive for a part of them to decide to join the crossing of the Atlantic. The director of the propaganda office in Copenhagen, for example, maintained in 1888 that the almost a thousand subsidized tickets that had already been given to the Danes would allow the start of a trend in which the emigrants themselves would later be the protagonists, as was already happening in the case of the Italians [25]. The climate of the economic crisis, however, meant that this optimistic scenario did not materialize because the immigrants who arrived through subsidies did not transmit encouraging news to their families nor were they able to generate savings to ensure the continuity of the emigration flow from their places of origin.

In addition to the difficulties immigrants suffered, the subsidized ticket system completely altered the budget of the national state. In 1889, the total amount spent under the heading “immigration” was multiplied by ten if we compare it with the average of 1880–1885 [26]. To the payment of the tickets, which was already very onerous, the cost of operating the propaganda offices in Europe and the reception hotels was added, which had to be expanded due to the large increase in the number of people to be accommodated. It should be considered that, under the subsidized ticket system, the proportion of those who used hotels and other services provided by the state was much higher, since they generally did not have countrymen or relatives to house them or help them travel inside to other provinces of the country. In theory, it was planned that immigrants would reimburse the amount of their tickets in four semiannual installments. However, the economic crisis meant that the returns were meager, less than two percent of the total paid by the state.

Finally, it should be noted that the activity of propaganda offices installed abroad was not always accepted by European countries. Switzerland, for example, accepted the propaganda of countries that tried to promote emigration but rejected any form of recruitment by agencies, in particular the payment of subsidized tickets [27]. The Swiss government’s argument was that those who emigrated through this system were generally indigent people or people with low job qualifications who would not have protection mechanisms in case of difficulties, so they would end up constituting a burden for the Swiss consulates or for the communities of that origin installed in the countries that promoted such practices. The Argentine office installed in Basel was accused of distributing tickets among potential emigrants, in complicity with a French shipping company, which created a bilateral dispute. Finally, the Argentine government chose to close that agency and move it to Geneva, where its functions were significantly reduced [27].

In 1890 the Argentine state stopped paying subsidized tickets. As has been pointed out, the main reason why this decision was made was not a change in the pro-immigration policy, in a more restrictive sense, but rather that the economic crisis prevented the continuity of payments [28]. Added to this were the diplomatic problems indicated and the integration difficulties of the immigrants who arrived through this system, whose occupations were in many cases not the most necessary for the country’s economy. Argentina would no longer pay subsidized tickets on a scale similar to that achieved in the 4-year period 1887–1890. The benefits of spontaneous immigration were once again exalted, even more so after 1892, when the “billetes de

llamada” came into effect, that is, tickets that were paid in Buenos Aires by foreigners already settled to finance the trip of other members of their families [23]. Within this panorama, Italian immigrants gained consideration because they were the ones who most resorted to self-financing mechanisms to emigrate, the most oriented toward work in the countryside, and those who presented the best possibilities of integration into Argentine society.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, emigration from Spain grew strongly, again driven by the northern regions and particularly by Galicia, which came to represent approximately half of the Spanish total in terms of new arrivals to Argentina. Due to its geographical location, Galicia provided an excellent stopover opportunity for the ships of German shipping companies (such as Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt and German North Lloyd) and British shipping companies (such as Royal Mail Steam Packet) on their routes to the South Atlantic [29]. The Galician shipowners, who until then had participated on their own in the emigration traffic, became representatives of these large shipping companies [3]. Two French shipping companies (Chargeurs Réunis and Messageries Maritimes) also joined this transatlantic itinerary. If we consider the number of immigrants transported, the route that stopped at the ports of Galicia managed to compete on parity of conditions since the beginning of the century, and even surpass, at times, the one that originated in the Mediterranean ports (Genova, Naples, Marseille, Barcelona), in which two Italian companies (Navigazione Italiana and La Veloce) and one French (Transports Maritimes) prevailed.

In regions of high emigration from Italy [30] and from Spain [3, 31, 32], departures mainly affected families of small landowners, regardless of the inheritance system. The possibility of mortgaging the land to pay for the ticket of the family member who emigrated, or of selling a part of the crops or livestock for that purpose, was an alternative that was not available to non-owners or agricultural workers without their own land. The emergence of large ocean liners, which could cover the routes from Italian and Spanish ports to Buenos Aires in less than 3 weeks, facilitated the spread of these migratory strategies and the increase in the returns to the country of origin in the case of those who emigrated to maximize their incomes in short periods of time. The existence of large groups of immigrants, already consolidated in Argentina at that time, as well as the improvement in navigation conditions and the sustained growth of the economy of the receiving country, are factors that came together to allow the financing of self-sustaining and spontaneous immigration.

The prolonged predominance of this kind of immigration over directed immigration meant that some of the services offered by the Argentine state were used by only a portion of the foreigners who arrived in the country. Accommodation in immigrant hotels, for example, peaked in 1888–1889, with 58% of newcomers, only to decline between 1891 and 1914 to an average of 41% [23]. That is, more than half of the immigrants did not use it because they arrived through micro-social networks that provided them with accommodation and food in their first days in the country. For the same reasons, obtaining their first job through the state-sponsored job bank only benefited a third of immigrants in the same period. A similar percentage obtained free passage, by train or river steamer, to the inland towns where they planned to settle [23].

6. Conclusions

During the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, the notable growth of the Argentine economy, the availability of land, the

difference in salaries with a significant part of European countries, and an open and tolerant policy toward foreigners were factors that attracted a massive immigration flow to the Argentine Republic, particularly when compared to the pre-existing native population. As time passed, the immigrant communities themselves also operated in the same direction, through the circulation of information about employment opportunities, the reception and support of newcomers, and the payment of tickets from Buenos Aires. The Argentine case cannot be, therefore, characterized as that of a country of immigration mainly induced by impersonal mechanisms, such as the direct action of the state or shipping or colonization companies.

Nevertheless, the notion that the state should intervene to ensure the continuity of Argentina as a country of immigrants remained a long-term ideal and efforts were made to put it into practice through different instruments. Advertising in European countries, the accommodation of new arrivals in public hotels, free transportation to the inland places where they would reside, and employment exchanges were the most used for this purpose. Direct payment of tickets, or subsidies to navigation companies, on the other hand, were much less used resources than in Brazil, the other major South American recipient of immigrants. The failed experience of the late 1880, in which enormous state funds were spent to finance the arrival of tens of thousands of immigrants, without producing a perceptible beneficial effect on the economy, discouraged any possible continuity of such large-scale policies. On the other hand, what happened then and in subsequent years would clearly show that the immigrants who best adapted and integrated into Argentine society, and generally the most productive, were those who arrived through contact with their relatives or friends who had preceded them on the transatlantic voyage.

In a way, these primary networks functioned not only as a mechanism of attraction for new immigrants but also of selection, to the extent that they tended to discard those who did not have enough contacts and reception environments to successfully carry out the decision to emigrate. The action of these networks was added to the chronic difficulties of the public treasury to pay expensive tickets from European ports, providing new reasons for the option of spontaneous immigration that had already been recommended, in the mid-nineteenth century, by some of the liberal intellectuals of the national organization, such as Juan Bautista Alberdi. The predominance of this last modality, in short, was not produced by the lack of will of the Argentine ruling class to intervene openly in the transfer of immigrants, but by the ability of the economy to attract them without the need for subsidies or paid tickets and due to the financial difficulties that the application of a more active policy would have implied.

As we noted at the beginning, among the American countries that received European immigration, Argentina was the most transformed by its presence, due to the very high percentage that it represented with respect to the native population. It is not possible to understand the formation of modern Argentina without taking into account immigration, especially in large cities, such as Buenos Aires or Rosario, or in regions where agriculture mainly dedicated to export was established. Promotion policies constituted a very significant factor in achieving this result, along with others such as the growth of the economy or the availability of land to settle immigrant farmers. This chapter has tried to contribute to the discussion of one aspect of these policies, associated with the transfer of immigrants, about which there are still issues to be known in depth. In particular, an analysis from the perspective of the shipping companies would be interesting, using sources from their archives, in order to confront that of the state receiving the immigrants, as has been our objective.

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Chapter 7

Poems of Migration from Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean

Abigail Persaud Cheddie

Abstract

Fictions of migration from Guyana and the Caribbean hold space for migrants' emotions. Some analyses have been done on longer works of migrant fiction. However, since poem forms are convenient to write when "on the move" it seems like poems of migration from the region should abound. This is sometimes true, especially as regards the volume of poems of departure. However, this is not the case when it comes to poems written by and about those remaining within the region, those who directly bear the effects of emigration. This chapter traces the chronological migratory narrative of Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean through a selection of 32 poems, first by grouping these poems into four categories, and then by applying some aspects of Kevin Potter's theory of kinopoetics to the analysis of these poems in order to examine the function of each category to the larger migration narrative of the region.

Keywords: migration, poems, Guyana, Caribbean, migrant-adjacent, kinopoetics

1. Introduction

There are two sides of every migration story—the side of the emigrant and the side of someone from the home country who is bound to that emigrant. Usually migrants learn how crucial it is to their survival to occupy narrative space in telling their side of the story either orally or in writing. Within the last half century, emigrants from Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean have built up a considerable body of fictions of migration, impactful in both content and form. Migrant poetry, specifically, by emigrants from the region, has gained a global voice through the pathos of the multi-dimensional experiences of the migrant personae. On the other hand, the other side of the story, the side from the person who is bound to the emigrant, has not yet occupied enough narrative space.

Surely, for every emigrant, there is someone remaining behind who is bound in some way to the migrant in motion—bound to that migrant's current challenges and achievements in his adopted home; bound to their shared memories of the past; bound to their shared ownership of local life, no matter how geographically out of reach it is to that emigrant. The person bound to the migrant learns to hold space for the migrant relative, the migrant friend, the migrant love, the migrant colleague; the person bound to the migrant learns that his survival is dependent on embedding

the migrant's narrative into his own story, but often never tells a story of his own. After all, he thinks—what is there to tell? And now that he is carrying in his heart the migrant story to which he has become bound, who does that make him? His identity now becomes dependent on the migrant to whom he is bound; he cannot hear his own story clearly, without the story of his emigrant counterpart; and he cannot re-tell any aspects of his emigrant counterpart's story, because that would be inauthentic, fraudulent. It is not his story to tell. He is now an imposter in his own story. He does not even have a generic title such as “migrant” under which to file his story. He is a static local, often third world non-migrant; he carries a migrant story, often multiple migrant stories within him, without being a migrant. So who is he? Perhaps the time has come to give him a name. Let us call him the migrant-adjacent.

The migrant-adjacent is the non-migrant whose life intersects with and is connected to the migrant in motion. Firstly, he is a participant in the narratives of the emigrant or emigrants in motion, even though they may not know it. Secondly, he must also be the agent of his own life—which has been emptied of the physical presence of his migrant relatives and friends. Because of this, he probably has an equivalent psychological burden to his migrant counterpart(s). It is little wonder then that the migrant-adjacent does not feel stable or empowered enough to tell the migration story from his own side. And yet, he must. The migrant-adjacent must find ways to come alive in his own poetic space and the narratives of the migrant-adjacent must take their place amidst the larger conversations of migrant poetry. Otherwise, emigrant poetry, though liberating and empowering for the migrant on the move, becomes a new type of mechanism of dominance and silencing of the migrant-adjacent.

Before we can examine the plight of the migrant-adjacent and understand why he must tell his side of the migration narrative, we must first take a broader view of the migrant realities of Guyana and the Caribbean.

The International Organization for Migration's (IOM) Regional Data Hub, San José report, deriving their data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), estimates that there are “9.84 million Caribbean migrants living abroad in 2020, the majority of which (8.94 million) resided outside of the region” (p. 6) [1]. Guyana, though physically located in South America, is also accounted for in this data, as Guyana's historical and cultural ties are more bound to the Caribbean than to South America. By extension, this is why Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean share common space in their literatures of migration. Guyana's unique migration situation was further highlighted in November 2022, when *Forbes* magazine “revealed that Guyanese account for the largest diaspora population when compared to the rest of the world” [2]. The daily realities of Guyana and the Caribbean, therefore, are centered around our migration journey(s). Carole Boyce Davies, on analyzing Kamau Brathwaite's “The Arrivants: A New World Trilogy,” sums up the migration journey of the Caribbean in the following way: “The doubly and triply diasporized Caribbean subject is shown as being created through a series of migrations” (p. 509) [3]. These migrations to which she refers are all a part of a long journey that began from the moment of colonial conquest and continue today.

To understand the scope of this long collective journey, and in particular the first leg of the journey, we can consider David Chariandy's ideas in “Migration and Diaspora in Contemporary Caribbean Literature – ‘No Nation Now but the Imagination.’” Chariandy explains that the Caribbean itself is a diaspora of all the peoples who arrived in the region. We see this highlighted in the literature that engages in the writing “home” of places of ancestral and cultural but no physical

connection; these writings, while Caribbean, can also be framed as belonging to the African, South Asian, Chinese, Portuguese, Syrian and French diasporas (248-249) [4]. Further, Chariandy expands his definition to consider Robin Cohen's "provocative description of Imperial Britain as a diaspora" (p. 249) [4]. To help us to appreciate Cohen's idea better, perhaps we can reflect on the unique plight of Jean Rhys' white creole character Antoinette in *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Additionally, Chariandy draws from an idea by J. Edward Chamberlin that includes the indigenous or aboriginal in the conceptualization of diaspora in the Caribbean. They "suffered catastrophic displacement and, in some cases, near annihilation on a scale that matches (and perhaps exceeds) the most traumatic and mournful iterations of 'diaspora' known to humankind" (p. 249) [4]. In short, we must understand that to chart the collective migration journey of the region, we must begin with the premise that the first leg of the journey entailed the historical arrivals, displacement and re-settlement of all the peoples in movement to and within Guyana and the Caribbean.

Therefore, in this chapter, the two first categories of migrant poetry discussed will be called Poems of Arrival and Poems of Settlement and Patriotism. The next category of migrant poetry is derived from the second leg of the journey and will be called Poems of Departure. As Chariandy observes: "...Caribbean culture and literature has been powerfully shaped by a series of 'secondary' migrations by Caribbean peoples to countries like Britain, American, and Canada – 'secondary' migrations that might consolidate or shift the 'old' diasporic identities and/or introduce a new array of diasporic identities into the mix" (p. 250) [4]. These secondary migrants include those from the Windrush era, as well as second-generation "immigrants"—that is, children born to first-generation migrants. Finally, the remaining category of poetry will be called Poems of the Migrant-adjacent Figure. For as Dohra Ahmad says: those who do not "... emigrate are part of the story of migration as well" (p. xvii) [5].

This chapter then, attempts to trace the migratory journey(s) of the Guyanese and Anglophone Caribbean peoples from the moment of colonial conquest to the current experience of the migrant-adjacent, by categorizing and observing the workings of four categories of migrant poems. This chapter will also observe how these categories of poems relate to each other, in particular, how the category titled Poems of Departure weighs against the poems of migrant-adjacent experiences. To accomplish these objectives, some aspects of Kevin Potter's recent theory of kinopoetics will be applied to investigate why all the categories of migrant poems are crucial to the survival of the respective migrants, but why now, more than ever, it is essential to focus on the development of Poems of the Migrant-adjacent Figure.

2. Kevin Potter's kinopoetics applied to migrant poems from Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean

While in the last half century, the category of Poems of Departure has cemented itself as a vibrant and respected global movement, the migrant-adjacent at home, has in comparison, suffered silently. This can only mean that the time has come for the definition and dynamics of poems of migration to expand.

Kevin Potter's timely new theory of kinopoetics in his *Poetics of the Migrant – Migrant Literature and the Politics of Motion* is useful in searching for new ways of defining and reading migrant poetry. Potter proposes that the migrant has usually been seen as "a subject consigned to the margins of history, relegated to a secondary political status" (p. 9). However, by building on Thomas Nail's (2015)

conceptualization of kinopolitics—the reinterpretation of the migrant as having a great deal of agency and much more power and influence on the social landscape than previously assumed, Potter asserts that migrant literature can, in turn, also be reinterpreted (p. 9). He suggests an interplay of kinopoetics and kinopolitics (p. 10) and defines kinopoetics as functioning in two ways:

... kinopoetics reconsiders the migrant as a subject with their own affirmative, transformational potential. In this sense, migrant literatures can be seen as providing an index of movement, deterritorialisation, creative becoming, and pedetic force. Second, kinopoetics insists on what the migrant literary text does; that is, migrant literatures produce affective, relational and epistemological flows of intensive movement (p. 11) [6].

Potter's definition here is useful as it can be layered on to poems of migration from Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean. When read "kinopoetically" migrant poetry from this region would therefore show how the personae in the poems take space, agency and power through movement from one landscape to the next and also show how the poets and poems themselves are inherently the movement.

It must be noted that in his extended conceptualization of kinopoetics, Potter is careful to point out that though diasporic, transnational and other migration literatures are related to migrant literature, what he sets up kinopoetics to mean is the focus on one singular migrant figure and that figure's subjective negotiation of his experience (pp. 14–18) [6]. And in his approach to his literary analysis, Potter asserts that a kinopoetic analysis moves to view the migrant character less through his "outsider" status and more through his status as agent. To conduct such analysis, Potter favors vocabulary such as "create," "experiment," "invent," "activate" to observe the migrant's motions (p. 115) [6].

Additionally, Potter demonstrates analyses of migrant literature through three types of kinopoetics that he calls Destructive, Wandering and Stuttering poetics, in which he observes the use of magic realism, the trope of the city and language use, respectively. More so, for each of these types, he assigns to the characters/personae/voices the labels of nomad, vagabond and barbarian, respectively, in order to examine the impact of their actions on moving them out of the "margins" and "secondary" status [6].

In this chapter, I will occasionally employ Potter's lens by adapting some of his vocabulary relating to his own literary analysis—that is, terms such as and similar to "pedetic force," "transformational," "inventive," "reconstructs," "motion" and even "vagabond" and "barbarian."

While I may not always be using this terminology in the exact way that Potter himself does, I take up his invitation in the conclusion of his book, to "creatively (and productively) combine, rework, and reconsider kinopoetics for wider expansive purposes" (pp. 348–349) [6]. Therefore, in this chapter I will apply the aspects of Potter's kinopoetics that I perceive to frame and elevate the understanding of a selection of 32 poems of migration written by Guyanese and Anglophone Caribbean poets.

3. Poems of arrival

One of the first poems of the long collective migration narrative of Guyana and the Caribbean to which young students are introduced is J.C. Squire's "There was an Indian." Though not a Caribbean poet, Squire manages to convey with sensitivity that the story of the indigenous figure "who had known no change,/Who strayed content along a sunlit beach/Gathering shells" is irreversibly bound to the narrative of Columbus's arrival with

his “doom-burdened caravels” [7]. This poem illustrates that Caribbean history begins with an unusual dynamic of migration, in which the arrivants, the physical migrants establish themselves as the mainstream population and the indigenous residents are forced into the “outsider” role of “migrants” in the land of their birth.

From there on, Guyana and the Caribbean become synonymous with “El Dorado” and the region’s history of colonization, and the arrival of the region’s ancestors through various global migratory routes which encompass sordid aspects of the first leg of the migration journey. The speaker in Olive Senior’s “Meditation on Yellow” enacts a retrospective resistance:

*At three in the afternoon
you landed here at El Dorado
(for heat engenders gold and
fires the brain)
Had I known I would have
brewed you up some yellow fever-grass
and arsenic
but we were peaceful then
child-like in the yellow dawn of our innocence (p. 11) [8]*

Though there is no changing history, no retroactive power with which to award the speaker’s docile people, the speaker inserts himself into the narrative and irritably assumes the role of vagabond in which his poetic criminal intent becomes the momentum for telling his migration story. In this way, read kinopoetically, Senior’s indigenous “migrant,” unlike Squire’s, assumes some power and edges himself out of the margins and into the poem.

Similar approaches are shown in migrant poems that correlate the personae’s current empowerment to their reclamation of the stories of the first leg of the region’s migration journey. In Martin Carter’s “Fragment of Memory,” for instance, the speaker affirms that all forward motion in Guyana and the Caribbean is marked by “the ships coming” (p. 42) [9]. Likewise, the speaker in Mahadai Das’s “They Came in Ships” emphasizes the ship motif: “They came in ships/From far across the seas/Britain, colonizing the East in India” (p. 25); she establishes why the link of the first migratory journeys is crucial to the life of the descendent of an immigrant: “Coolie woman./Was your blood spilled so that I might reject my history?” (p. 26) [10]. Similarly, in Rajkumari Singh’s “Per-Ajie – A Tribute to the First Immigrant Woman” the speaker shows how the palimpsestic presence of her migrant ancestor is layered upon her psyche:

*Per Ajie,
In my dreams
I visualise
Thy dark eyes
Peering to penetrate
The misty haze
Veiling the coast
Of Guyana. (p. 115) [11]*

Once this historical connection is established, the speaker is better able to explore her own identity. The importance of this continuity of self is also seen in Grace Nichols’ “One Continent/To Another” as the speaker affirms that agency can be claimed by conceiving of the journey through the middle passage as a type of birth:

*Child of the middle passage womb
push
daughter of a vengeful Chi
she came
into the new world
birth aching her pain
from one continent/to another
moaning (p. 388) [12].*

Similarly, in “The Emigrants” Edward Kamau Brathwaite shows how the forced migrant route of the first leg of the journey begets the voluntary migrant route of the second leg of the journey. Each leg is filled with its challenges and the form of the poem suggests that one leg cannot be narrated without the other. Both of the journey’s legs are told in an intertwined fashion: In Part 1, we see the emigrants:

*On sea-port quays
at air-ports
anywhere where there is ship
or train, swift
motor car, or jet
to travel faster than the breeze (p. 51).*

But instead of their stories of departure continuing chronologically, there is a major historical flashback in Part 2, suggesting that their migrant journey is not independent of the earliest of migrant journeys, for suddenly, the speaker narrates:

*Columbus from his after-
deck watched stars, absorbed in water,
melt in liquid amber drifting
through my summer air. (p. 52) [13]*

The poem then flows forward again to the new world migrants, trying to survive in the Global North. This poetic motion suggests that it is difficult for the migrant journey of the Caribbean to be told in segments. There is a psychic continuity in the movements emanating from the Caribbean, regardless of the geographical location in which one stands. And perhaps there is agency and empowerment in acknowledging this continuity or relationship. To use Potter’s vocabulary, the texts themselves function as “epistemological flows” and indices of growth.

4. Poems of settlement and patriotism

The second category of migrant poems may seem a misfit, as they are not poems of motion but stasis, settlement and more so, patriotism. Yet, they are still a part of the migration narrative. Guyana and the Caribbean, in the Poems of Arrival, start off as a diaspora. And as time progresses settlement brings stability, stability brings growth, growth brings connection, loyalty and love. Settlement creates a new home that becomes a part of the grand migratory narrative. Carole Boyce Davies in “‘Triply Diasporized’ – Literary Pathways of Caribbean Migration and Diaspora” observes that “What is different perhaps in Caribbean migration is that the idea of home has shifted from the original distant homeland (Africa or India) to the Caribbean nation-state and region” (p. 509) [3].

On one level, the poems may be read relationally, as making peace with the first leg of the migratory journey and affirming stability by praising the diasporic region as home—regardless of if one becomes an emigrant or remains a migrant-adjacent. Take for instance, poems such as Walter Mac A. Lawrence’s “O Beautiful Guyana” which function as iconic patriotic verse. Guyana in purest fashion receives a love song, beginning:

*O beautiful Guiana
 O my lovely native land
 More dear to me than all the world
 Thy sea-washed sun-kissed strand*

And concluding with the impassioned: “I love thee, O I love thee” (p. 86) [14].

Similar sensitivities about the land are also expressed in A.J. Seymour’s “There Runs A Dream” [15] and Cyril Kanhai’s “The New Land” [16].

On another level, this category of poems or the sentiments which they express are often employed in song or recitation, by Caribbean emigrants residing in the Global North, as coping strategies for their migration challenges.

We see this technique occurring in Claude McKay’s “My Native Land My Home,” where the speaker affirms about Jamaica that:

*Dere is no land dat can compare
 Wid you where’er I roam;
 In all de wul’ none like you fair,
 My native land, my home. (p. 64) [17]*

These patriotic poems may be read kinopoetically as providing affective sustenance to destabilized emigrants, allowing them to reconstruct national or existential territory by psychically layering one landscape over the other. Tom Redcam’s (Thomas MacDermot’s) “My Beautiful Home” does the same. He links the love of country to being the sustenance for further migrant journeys. In the first stanza, the speaker, like Lawrence and McKay’s speakers, has a love fest for his country of birth at the expense of his country/countries of residence, nay—the whole globe!

*I sing of the Island I love,
 Jamaica, the land of my birth,
 Of summer-lit heavens above,
 An Island the fairest on earth.*

In the final stanza he asserts: “Wherever I wander, for thee/My love is abiding and strong” (p. 45) [18].

This category of poems creates territory. Yet ironically, when layered on to the emigrant’s experience if he so chooses, the poems can also function to theoretically and psychically deterritorialize the new country of residence by embedding positive emotions about the emigrant’s country of birth into his current emotions about his country of residence.

5. Poems of departure

This group of poems from the second leg of the grand migration journey can be sub-divided into four categories. There are the poems written by the Windrush

generation, or written by first-generation migrants from Guyana and the Caribbean. These are the poems usually written in North America or Europe. Then there are poems of internal migration, in which the emigrant moves away from home but stays within the Caribbean region. There is also the sub-category of the poems written by second-generation migrants—that is, those born in Guyana and the Caribbean and migrated as children or those born abroad but by their connection to their parents bear strong ties to the land(s) of their parents' birth. Finally, there are poems of the migrant's return journey(s) to Guyana and the Caribbean for vacation or re-migration.

Each sub-category has its own dynamics and its own tropes.

This section of the chapter will focus mainly on a selection of poems written by first-generation migrants away from home, with a cursory glance at the other three sub-categories.

To continue tracing the great migration journey, it is easy to notice that while one main trope of the poetry of early migration is the ship, one main trope of the second leg of migration is airports—sites of great anxiety and ambivalence for the migrant. In A.L. Hendriks' "The Migrant" the traveler experiences a complete loss of memory at the airport: "She could not remember anything about the voyage,/Her country of origin, or if someone has paid for the passage" (p. 70) [19]. Her displacement and disorientation are magnified during her in transit stop. Airports become a site of emotional destabilization and of identity questioning. If the migrant does not apply some active measure of creative coping, then she assumes a secondary status, if not to the airport officials, to herself.

John Agard's "Limbo Dancer at Immigration" actively works to subvert the secondary status that the airport officials attempt to assign him. The limbo dancer has a "hassle" and a "battle"; he is scrutinized and "sniggered" at many times, and his artistic identity is made invisible by the authorities. However, unlike the disoriented subject of Hendriks' poem, the limbo dancer, with much "pedetic force," disrupts the authorities' conceptualization of him:

*So limbo dancer bent over backwards
 & danced
 & danced
 & danced (p. 245)*

He is almost even vagabond-like. Rather than subscribing to the authorities' disparaging dismissal of him, he extends and expands himself to their discomfort:

*until from every limb
flowed a trail of red
 & what the authorities thought
was a trail of blood
was only spilt duty-free wine
so limbo dancer smiled
saying I have nothing to declare
 & to the sound of drum disappeared (p. 245) [20]*

Rather than absorb the sniggering and the dismissiveness of the world stage, the limbo dancer clears the customs queue with a high-spirited performance. The act of passing through airports and going through immigration, therefore, does not have to be processed as a passage of erasure, dismissal or criticism. The migrant can train himself to have as much or as little agency as he chooses.

Poems of departure present varying degrees of this agency. The speaker in Arnold Itwaru's "arrival," for instance, has more agency than Henriks' disoriented migrant. In "arrival," the speaker is fully prepared for the default erasure of living abroad: "there are special songs here/they do not sing of you/in them you do not exist" and yet, he grapples with this experience by using a survival tactic of somewhat reluctant but cautious and conscious almost satirical assimilation rather than victimhood: "but to exist you must learn to love them/you must believe them when they say/there are no sacrificial lambs here" (p. 189) [21]. A similar tone exists in John La Rose's "Not From Here," as the speaker reminds his son that both of them were born outside of the land of their residence. By doing so, he equates the sovereignty of their current territory to the sovereignty of the territory in which they were both born. Therefore, this constant lesson about the land of their birth functions as a relativistic force to emphasize that they are equal in sovereignty, regardless of any forced secondary status they may encounter on their landscape of residence. He is adamant that their migration was not their salvation: "We were not in the exodus,/there was no Moses/and this was no promised land" and he affirms that physical migration does not exclude the migrant from where he previously belonged: "...what we leave/we carry" (p. 102) [22]. Here, the speaker elevates migrant duality as a creative force, rather than a marginalizing one.

The element of migrant duality is explored more in depth in Grace Nichols' "Wherever I Hang" as the speaker shuttles back and forth between missing home and adapting to English life. She moves from one state of mind: "I leave me people, me land, me home/For reasons, I not too sure" to the next: "...little by little/I begin to change my calypso ways"; she shuttles more intensely as the poem progresses: "Now, after all this time/I get accustom to de English life/But I still miss back-home side" (p. 169). Finally, the speaker is so "divided" that she must either come to rest, or split in two, and she rests in a state of migrant duality: "Wherever I hang me knickers-that's my home" (p. 170) [23]. Another poem that broaches the issue of migrant duality is Fred D'Aguiar's "Home." D'Aguiar presents a speaker who is ready or is more mature and has trained himself to be much more at ease in his adapted landscape. Still, no matter how expertly he comes to terms with his own dual existence, he is brought to dis-ease by external forces, rather than his own psyche. The airport officials, the cab driver, even the door lock seem to be too eager to force him out of a space that he has come to "miss" and "love" and call "home." In an unusual burst of affection for a migrant speaker, he exclaims: "Grey light and close skies I love you./Choky streets, roundabouts and streetlamps/with tires round them, I love you" (p. 105).

This migrant is no longer overtly and solely singing of love for the Guyanese or Caribbean landscape. He is creating a new song, aligned with his new experience. And yet, there is an undertone of the old home and the struggle to merge the new love to the old life: "Robin Redbreast; special request: burst/ with calypso.../..../We must all sing for our suppers or else" (p. 105) [24]. It seems like his accepted migrant duality was as imposed as it was chosen, for his survival.

The theme of duality is also aided by the tropes of letter writing and the figure of the "expert." Through letter writing, the complexities of making a new home and missing the old home are explored either through baring the soul or hiding the truth. In James Berry's "Lucy's Letter," Lucy confesses to her friend back home that in the new land, she engages in "halfway intentions" and "halfway smiles" (p. 381) [25], while the letter writer in David Dabydeen's "Coolie Son (The Toilet Attendant Writes Home)" lies about his prospects: "Soon, I go turn lawya or dacta" (p. 63) [26]. Then there are the letters received by the migrant such as in Faustin Charles' "Letters

from Home” in which the speaker though abroad is viscerally invested in the hardships experienced back home: “The wind writes to me/Of a storm brewing in the Caribbean” (p. 48); his imagination intensifies his anxiety through a mental montage which he builds up from the letters—either real or imagined, and he tortures himself with the montage of: “heads rolling,” “eyes blinded,” “screams,” “Grenada choking” (p. 48) [27]. Despite the imagery of disaster in his homeland, the speaker does not let go of the connection. Letters, therefore, are symbols of connectivity, lifelines and media of survival.

Another trope which shows the migrant surviving his duality is the figure of the expert. In John Agard’s “Palm Tree King,” like the limbo dancer, the subject also seems to have vagabond-like qualities in assuming the stance of an expert on palm trees: “Because I come from the West Indies/certain people in England seem to think/I is a expert on palm trees” (p. 2). Yet, he only assumes this stance because he is expected to; so he entertains people’s expectations by subverting them, especially through his barbarian-like stance as a kinopolitical figure, creating space for himself by using his Creolese to address their expectations of him. He subverts their stereotyping by first performing as the stereotyped figure:

*I does smile cool as seabreeze
and say to dem
which specimen
you interested in
cause you talking
to the right man
I is palm tree king (p. 2)*

Then, instead of providing them with the answers they expect, he turns the tables on them and asks impossible and satirical questions:

*If 6 straw hat
and half a dozen bikini
multiply by the same number of coconut tree
equal one postcard
how many square miles of straw hat
you need to make a tourist industry? (p. 3) [28]*

This strategy allows him incredible pedetic force in breaking through the stereotype.

In similar fashion, so does Una Marson’s Quashie in “Quashie Comes to London.” Incredibly enamored by London life, he makes himself a free agent who investigates the theaters, parks and a restaurant. In his letter home, he presents himself as an investigator of the city. And Creole language use is maybe somewhat akin to what Potter calls “Stuttering kinopoetics”—because of his language, at first he seems foreign to his English environment. Yet, Quashie is not a pitiful migrant figure on the fringes of the city’s narrative. He enjoys in the city what the others are enjoying in the city—the shows, the music, the parks. He does not sideline himself. Instead, he sees the city as being lucky to take on a new narrative through his voice. It is true that his presence benefits the city for the enriching experience that he creates by bringing his Caribbean interpretation of the city to his migrant narrative—he compares the police officers’ height to coconut trees; he feels disappointed that the women’s

bodies are hidden beneath cloaks, which is not common in tropical climates; and he publicly bawls his eyes out while he joins his fellow Caribbean people in appreciating Paul Robeson's singing. However, though Quashie transforms London through his Caribbean-styled navigation, he loses ground when it comes to the food. Irritably, he registers that his Caribbean stomach is not aligned with the restaurant food: "It's den I miss me home sweet home/Me good ole rice an' peas" (p. 136) [29]. Since the narrative unfolds in 42 stanzas, the reader could not help but wonder when Quashie's high-spirits and pedetic force would be impeded. Food is his "weak spot" as it is for many migrants. Consider, for instance, Louise Bennett's speaker in "Home Sickness," who also uses food to register her migrant anguish: "...me belly dissa holler/Fi a plate a rice an peas" (p. 11) [30].

This longing for home often propels a great deal of return journeys. Migrants constantly return to Guyana and the Caribbean and every return journey allows the opportunity for a shift and re-focus of self, for better or worse. As Dohra Ahmad observes: the "continual and multidirectional nature of migration, ... is not a discrete process but an ongoing condition" (p. xxvii) [5]. Consider for instance, Dionne Brand's poem "Return" [31]. Along the same vein, migration can also be considered "continual" for second-generation migrants, whose literatures are now in their blossoming stage, which bears closer study. As David Chariandy says:

A relatively new but perhaps no less urgent challenge in Caribbean writing abroad is to address the 'diasporic' identities that may be developing among the children and grandchildren of Caribbean migrants, particularly those whose 'race' may not enable them to be read automatically in their land of birth as British, American or Canadian. (p. 251) [4]

These literatures, as well as poems of internal migration—consider, for instance, Derek Walcott's "The Schooner 'Flight,'" [32], require specialized study.

Altogether, the poems from this category, those mentioned and unmentioned in this section, must be appreciated for their individual impact, while the poems as a collection must be lauded for the transformative work that they continue to do for the migrant's narrative.

6. Poems of the migrant-adjacent figure

Finally, we come full circle to the category of poems with which we began our reflections in this chapter—the poems of the migrant-adjacent figure. One of the reasons for the chronological build-up toward this section is to illustrate how each category of poems has its own unique function and to emphasize that this category must also have its own function. Another reason is to highlight the volume of poems that can be readily assigned under the first three categories in comparison to this category. It is much more of a challenge to find poems written by migrant-adjacent poets living in the region, who write about migrant-adjacent concerns from the region and who have been published in popular, accessible and academically reviewed collections, possibly by, dare we say—migrant-adjacent-friendly publishing houses. After all, as J. Dillon Brown asserts:

Critics have thus come to accept the slightly discomfiting fact that the remarkable post-World War II efflorescence of the region's literature, animated as it was by a

deep-seated opposition to colonial power, paradoxically emerged out of the institutional networks centred in London, the city at the heart of that very same colonial power. (p. 193) [33]

Michael Bucknor similarly shares that David Chariandy once pointed out to him that Canadian publishing houses were instrumental in the publication of literatures from the Caribbean (p. 209) [34]. It is true, that Guyanese and Caribbean migrant poems mostly derived from outside the region have been given a voice through the migrants' new countries of residence. This, on its own, is a credit to the migrant literature from the region as a whole, and a testament to the new bonds which have been forged in the diaspora.

Yet, with all of these fictions of migration, there still remains much room for migrant-adjacent poems—that is the category of writing from the “inside” or writing from home and about home, to take their place alongside the other categories. And in much more robust fashion than its current state. Writing poems from within the region, writing about our thoughts and feelings about migrant-adjacent experiences are also crucial to the survival of the migrant-adjacent population. For as Grace Aneiza Ali says: “...Guyanese people have long known migration as the single most defining narrative of our country. We are left to grapple with the question: When we have more Guyanese living outside the country than within its borders, what becomes of our homeland?” (p. 16) [35]. Moreover, as Ali re-emphasizes: “There are two spectrums of the migration arc: *the ones who leave and the ones who are left*. The act of migration is an act of reciprocity—to leave a place we reconcile that we must leave others behind. Yet, the narratives of the ones who are left are constantly eclipsed” (p. 87) [35].

Therefore, while it is a win for the entire region that migrant poems from the diaspora and the last generation are celebrated, it is necessary to remember that migrant-adjacent narratives from the inside must exercise their own agency and fight to be constructed and heard; they must not become unhealthily “eclipsed” and dominated by narratives from the outside.

A comparison of poems by Grace Nichols, Peggy Carr and Olive Senior allows us to see the emotional impact borne by migrant-adjacents of three different generations. More so, they each show how the stories of the migrant-adjacents inadvertently escape from their bodies, despite their attempts to suppress their side of the story or despite the fact that their stories might have been “eclipsed.”

Nichols' grandfather in “Old Cane-cutter at Airport” suffers an emotional breakdown after his only grandson has safely departed. The old man's body can no longer hold the overwhelming emotions and his only remaining survival tactic is to allow his body to tell the story that he has been suppressing:

sinking to his knees on the grass.
...
his voice cracked as he wails
what his bones know for certain;
'Nevaar to meet again
Nevaar to meet again' (p. 159) [36]

This is more than just an average farewell; this is a permanent farewell disguised as a practical goodbye. This is a farewell that marks initiation of the embedding of the migrant's story in the migrant-adjacent's story, and it is crucial to the grandfather's survival for him to release these raw emotions in such an uninhibited and public way. We see a similar response through another subject from another

generation in Carr's "Flight of the Firstborn." After the son has migrated to a foreign college, the parent feels the sense of loss in her body as she becomes frozen in time "still reaching/to wipe the cereal from his smile" (p. 298) [37]. Her body's freeze-response is a part of her survival mode and she must let her body go through the process of longing for and missing her son. We also see the impact of emigration on yet another subject from another generation in Olive Senior's "Hurricane Story, 1951." Parental migration traumatizes the little son causing him to lose his speech. Like the Nichols' grandfather and Carr's mother, the boy too releases his anguish through his body, though the anguish is initially trapped there. After the boy himself migrates in silence, the deep anguished longing for his mother forces sounds up through his voice box: "Ah-o/Ah-o/Ma-" (p. 39) in an attempt to aid his survival. But tragically, it is his new-found survival mode that causes his demise, "...without conscious intent/he started walking" (p. 43) [38] to meet his mother in the rebounding sounds he hears across the ocean. This ending has a particularly startling effect on the reader, emphasizing the reality that sometimes the outcome of the migrant-adjacent's life can be tragic.

Still, while some experience tragedy, other migrant-adjacents learn more sustainable coping techniques to survive the absence of their migrant counterpart(s). Yet, coping strategies in no way completely alleviate emotional distress. In Mervyn Morris' "To an Expatriate Friend," for example, though the speaker understands that his friend's migration is forced, he is conscious that he must still leave room to tell his own side of the story—that he is in anguish, even though he understands the reality of the racial push factors. It is crucial to his own survival to say: "It hurt to see you go; but, more,/it hurt to see you slowly going white" (p. 283) [39]. The speaker's wholeness is dependent on his friendship and their sameness, in spite of their differences. Here, where the migrant's differences are being chosen and adapted, rather than being natural, the speaker becomes wounded and has the courage to say so. Most migrant-adjacents do not have the courage to engage in such self-expression—to point out that the migrant stories of the strange new accents emerging from their friends' mouths or their friends' new appearance is unsettling and painful for the migrant-adjacent to integrate into his own side of the story. What is there to admit? Is it even important? And what is socially acceptable vocabulary to express such emotions? It is little wonder then, that migrant-adjacents end up being passive in the expression of their feelings, especially when mixed with love for the migrant, who the migrant-adjacent knows is also trying to survive. The migrant-adjacent concludes that to support his migrant counterpart, his feelings must come second place and his side of the story minimized or untold. More of these types of narratives need to take up space in the canon of migration poems.

Finally, apart from the migrant-adjacent poems with overt themes of the psycho-social consequences of migration, there are also poems from within the region that are subtle expressions of placid formidability in the face of constant comings and goings upon a landscape. Such expressions, for instance, appear in Lorna Goodison's "Survivor." The female survivor becomes iconic as she demonstrates fortitude despite the way that various movements and forces from the various legs of the migration journey have been "for years/laying waste the countryside," taking "living things," taking "rare species" (p. 132). Despite all this, she still:

*has some seeds stored
 under her tongue
 and one remaining barrel
 of rain (p. 132) [40]*

In much the same style, the iconic mystical woman in Ian McDonald's "It is Good to Look Out on Great Rivers" who has "not left the river all her life" (p. 125) remains constant despite the many comings and goings and changes over the long history of the landscape. Though "she's seen it all before" (p. 126) and for better or for worse, the landscape has its own motions, "still she sits and watches" (p. 127) because, as the narrator concludes in formidably comforting tones, "it is good to look out on great rivers" (p. 127) [41].

7. Conclusion

Poetry, being one of the shortest forms of literature, remains accessible to migrants on the move and migrant-adjacents alike. Emigrants from Guyana and the Caribbean have written at length about both their own experiences as well as the experiences of their immigrant ancestors to the region. It is true as Anke Birkenmaier says:

As a region that for better or worse has experienced waves of colonization and decolonization since the sixteenth century—a region that therefore has always depended on travelers and migrants—we believe that the Caribbean holds lessons for those seeking to understand the political, social, and cultural consequences of migration (p. 3) [42]

And now, the time has come for even more lessons to be shared from the category of growing migrant-adjacent poems. Migrant-adjacent poets writing from home or about home must not be afraid to express their own brokenness, bitterness, anger, passive-aggression, cultural hostility, sadness, loneliness, disorientation, stationary displacement or feelings of invalidation, neither should they withhold expressions of love, personal growth and their maturity about viewing all sides of the regions' multi-directional and multi-dimensional migration journeys. These are feelings and thoughts that must be named and brought to the forefront of our poetry without shame, so that we can formulate new and healthier paradigms of migrant relationships and trajectories—social, cultural and psychological. In short, it is crucial for migrant-adjacents to grow their own body of migrant-related poetry. Additionally, the time has come for new frameworks and new theories to be explored in order to allow migrant-adjacents to continue to constantly re-evaluate the cadence of their own "migrant" stories. From the standpoint of this chapter's cursory survey, these are the current conditions and possible future trends of migrant poems from Guyana and the Anglophone Caribbean.

Appendix of poem titles

Arrival by Arnold Itwaru
Coolie Son by David Dabydeen
Flight of the Firstborn by Peggy Carr
Fragment of Memory by Martin Carter
Home by Fred D'Aguiar
Home Sickness by Louise Bennett
Hurricane Story, 1951 by Olive Senior
It is Good to Look Out on Great Rivers by Ian McDonald

Letters from Home by Faustin Charles
Limbo Dancer at Immigration by John Agard
Lucy's Letter by James Berry
Meditation on Yellow by Olive Senior
My Beautiful Home by Tom Redcam (Thomas MacDermot)
My Native Land My Home by Claude McKay
Not from Here by John La Rose
O Beautiful Guyana by Walter Mac A. Lawrence
One Continent/To Another by Grace Nichols
Old Cane-cutter at Airport by Grace Nichols
Palm Tree King by John Agard
Per-Ajie – A Tribute to the First Immigrant Woman by Rajkumari Singh
Quashie Comes to London by Una Marson
Return by Dionne Brand
Survivor by Lorna Goodison
The Emigrants by Edward Kamau Brathwaite
The Migrant by A.L. Hendriks
The New Land by Cyril Kanhai
The Schooner 'Flight' by Derek Walcott
There was an Indian by John Collins Squire
There Runs a Dream by A.J. Seymour
They Came in Ships by Mahadai Das
To an Expatriate Friend by Mervyn Morris
Wherever I Hang by Grace Nichols

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Financial Terms and Concepts: Challenges for Young Adults from Diverse Migration Backgrounds in Germany

Sebastian Heidel and Roland Happ

Abstract

Making sound financial decisions based on an adequate level of financial literacy (FL) is crucial for financial well-being. This is particularly challenging for people from a migration background. Results from large-scale quantitative studies on FL in Germany indicate that people with a migration background perform worse on tests of FL than people without a migration background. However, these studies do not provide sufficient insights into the underlying migrant-related causes of deficits in FL. Therefore, this study examines young adults with migration backgrounds from three main groups (post-Soviet, Muslim and Vietnamese). We present the results based on a two-part qualitative interview design, which consists of a guideline and a cognitive interview to identify difficult financial terms and concepts and the reasons for these (perceived) challenges. In this chapter, we will provide an overview of the results and thus contribute to a better understanding of migration-specific challenges in teaching-learning processes.

Keywords: migration, ethnicity, financial knowledge, financial literacy, challenging terms and concepts, cognitive interviews

1. Introduction

Around 281 million of the world's population (3.6%) are migrants¹ [2]. Since the beginning of migration movements, migrants have made significant socio-cultural, civic and economic contributions in their countries of origin and arrival, for example, through increased entrepreneurial activity or a higher number of innovations [2]. In addition to many reasons at an individual level that lead people to leave their country of birth, there are also reasons from a German economic perspective to encourage migration to Germany. From a fiscal point of view, there are several

¹ According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the term migrant is not uniformly defined under international law and is used as a generic term for people who have left their original place of origin within a country or across borders for a specific or indefinite period of time for various reasons [1].

reasons for demographic change in Germany: the expansion of the labour force potential, the avoidance of ageing population and the associated massive challenges for the social security systems in their current form [3]. Despite the long history of migration and the economic necessity of continued immigration to Germany, migrants² are still disadvantaged in many respects—even if they are already the second or third generation to live in Germany [7]. Migrants in Germany tend to have a significantly higher risk of poverty, unemployment, a lower income and a lower level of education [7]. In addition to disadvantages in general education [8], Arnold et al. [9] count the level of financial education among migrants as a factor for social and economic participation. With regard to FL studies show not only for Germany but also internationally that migrants perform worse in FL/financial knowledge tests than non-migrants [10–13]. These findings are worrying not only in terms of the social and economic participation of migrants but also for their personal financial situation. To make independent and competent financial decisions a certain level of FL and in particular, financial knowledge is essential as a crucial basis for action [14]. FL is particularly important given the fact that more and more countries are cutting back on social benefits and transferring financial provision and security to individuals [15]. In addition, the complexity and diversity of the financial markets and of financial products and services are increasing, which is why people are taking greater personal responsibility for insuring themselves against various risks, making provisions for old age and making informed decisions on the financial market [15]. A lower level of financial knowledge has an impact not only on individuals but also on economic stability [16, 17]. If a large number of individuals in an economy make poor financial decisions, it can lead to suffering for the entire economy. As a result of various recent economic and financial crises (e.g., the 2008 financial crisis), many countries have stepped up the development of national financial education strategies to better educate their populations on financial issues [18]. This was accompanied by research that focused on vulnerable groups, including people with a migration background [11, 19]. These primarily quantitative studies on the connection between lower financial knowledge and a migration background have been proven several times both internationally and nationally [10–13]. Language barriers or cultural and religious differences are often cited as the main reasons [11]. Socialization processes [20–22] and a poorer starting level of FL due to differences in the political, economic and social system between the country of origin and the country of arrival [23–26] are further explanations for a lower level of financial knowledge compared to people without a migration background. However, these approaches have only been marginally researched to date. There is almost no study in Germany that deals with

² In Germany, the term “person with a migration background” was defined by the Federal Statistics Office in 2005, in order to more appropriately reflect the migration history and family background of individuals [4]. According to the Federal Statistical Office in Germany, people with a migration background include people who did not have German citizenship at birth or for whom at least one parent did not have German citizenship at birth [5]. Under this understanding of people with a migration background, migrants are included according to the definition of the IOM [2]. Since this chapter focuses on people with a migration background according to the definition of the German Federal Statistical Office, the term “people with a migration background” will be used throughout this article. The term migration background is a statistical category and an external attribution to the individuals subsumed under it [6]. The statistical category does not do justice to the heterogeneity of the group described and is increasingly the subject of critical debate [4, 6].

financial knowledge in relation to specific migration backgrounds. Previous studies investigating financial knowledge are almost exclusively quantitative and collect the characteristics of the migration background in general and no specific information on the country/region of origin or further information on the background (such as financial socialization processes, and financial habits). The findings obtained provide little to no information about the reasons for the deficits in financial knowledge and the particular challenges faced by young adults with a migration background in understanding Western-influenced style financial concepts. A closer look at the causes of these deficits is important for Germany, not only because of its long history of migration but also above all because a quarter of the German population now has a migration background [5]. Of these, people with a migration background from predominantly Muslim countries [27] and people from the former Soviet and post-Soviet republics form the two largest groups [28]. These two groups are very heterogeneous simply because of the diversity of their countries of origin. Furthermore, there are ethnic and religious [25] as well as social and economic differences [23]. In addition to these two groups, people with a Vietnamese migration background play a special role, particularly due to the migration history of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in today's eastern part of the Federal Republic. The aim of this chapter is to identify challenging Western-influenced financial terms and concepts from the perspective of young adults with migration backgrounds in Germany and to present explanatory approaches for these comprehension problems for young adults from the three groups of migration backgrounds mentioned. In order to investigate the reasons for the quantitative correlations and to obtain more explanatory insights directly from those concerned, a qualitative research design is advantageous. The research design developed for this study consists of a two-part interview study.

2. Financial knowledge: theoretical framework and influencing factors

2.1 Financial knowledge and related concepts

The OECD [29] lists financial knowledge as a fundamental facet and basis for financial action alongside other elements. Atkinson and Messy [30] define FL in an OECD report as “a combination of awareness, knowledge, skill, attitude and behaviour necessary to make sound financial decisions and ultimately achieve individual financial well-being”. Wuttke and Aprea [31] choose a competence-oriented approach for a definition and define FL “as the potential that enables a person to effectively plan, execute and control financial decisions”. There are other definitions of FL, which sometimes differ greatly in what they understand by the term FL or what content or concepts they assign to it [32, 33]. In some cases, the terms knowledge and literacy are used inconsistently and associated with other terms such as capability, numeracy, competency and inclusion [32]. Despite the conceptual diversity, it can be stated that many definitions and understandings are based on the fact that FL consists of several facets such as knowledge, behaviour and attitudes, in which knowledge forms the central basis of financial action [34]. Due to a lack of clarity and differentiation, the relationships between financial knowledge and FL and the classifications of economic knowledge and economic literacy are not clearly named and are the subject of controversial debates [32, 35, 36]. This chapter follows

Happ's [35] integrative framework model when categorizing the various concepts and defines financial knowledge as a component of basic economic knowledge.³

The previous observations were primarily made on a theoretical-conceptual level. The content components are explained below, as knowledge is modelled through a combination of content and cognitive processes [38, 39]. The diversity of definitions is also reflected in the diversity of content areas (for individual contributions: [40–45]). This chapter is based on the content areas developed by the Council for Economic Education (CEE) [41] as content standards for American education based on American laws and the American financial market.⁴ Förster et al. [42, 47] have adapted and consolidated these areas for use in Germany. The content areas have been operationalized using a test instrument (Test of Financial Literacy (TFL)) to assess financial knowledge and have already been validated internationally [47].⁵

The content areas of financial knowledge were developed on the basis of Western economic and financial systems [41]. Economic and financial systems from the countries of origin of the two largest groups with a migration background (post-Soviet Union and Muslim background), such as Riba, the ban on interest from Islam [25] or state insurance and state credit institutions as in former Soviet republics, represent conceptual contrasts to these contents [23]. Due to the (i) difference in economic and financial systems between the countries of origin and Germany and (ii) the lack of study findings on challenging Western-influenced financial terms and concepts in the understanding of young adults with a post-Soviet, Vietnamese migration background and Muslim background, the first research question for the study arises.

Research Question (RQ) 1: Which challenging Western-influenced financial terms and concepts can be identified in the understanding of young adults with a migration background (post-Soviet, Vietnamese or Muslim) in Germany?

2.2 Factors influencing financial knowledge

There are mainly quantitative studies from various countries that have identified factors influencing the financial knowledge of people with a migration background [11, 50]. Cultural differences [12], personal experiences with financial products [26], familiarity with products and services of the financial system in the destination country, socio-economic reasons [51], parents' educational background and one's own level of education [11, 50] have been identified as significant factors. There are some

³ Economic knowledge forms a content-related framework for financial knowledge and contains conceptual foundations that also affect financial knowledge. Economic knowledge serves as a basis for understanding microeconomic and macroeconomic processes and concepts and incorporating them into decision-making [35]. In terms of content, the Council for Economic Education (CEE) has developed standards for economic education in the USA that reflect 20 core concepts of economic activity such as allocation of goods, market and price and competition [36, 37]. However, these core concepts are based on the functioning and principles of Western economic systems [36]. Sometimes these core concepts are contrary to other economic forms such as the planned economy (in the former Soviet republics [23]) with which, for example, people in the former Soviet Union or the People's Republic of Vietnam grew up.

⁴ Other measurement methods are less detailed and sometimes consist of only three ("Big Three") or self-reports or Likert scales, which appears problematic with regard to the validity of the data [46]. The differentiated TFL, which has been adapted and used in several countries (Germany [47], South Korea [48], Ukraine [49]), given this context is particularly suitable for challenges in understanding various Western-influenced financial terms and concepts.

⁵ (i) daily money management, (ii) banking, (iii) insurance [47].

studies that deal explicitly with young adults in individual countries, where parents are often cited as an explanatory variable for their financial knowledge [11, 12, 52]. With regard to the special role of parents, the research by Danes [20], Gudmunson and Danes [21] and Jorgensen and Savla [22] in general and Heidel, Schmidt and Moschner [53] specifically for Germany provides insights. The authors [20–22, 53] conclude that the family is the primary agent of children's financial socialization. Danes [20] argues that children already have ideas about money before they can take advantage of formal learning opportunities. Jorgensen and Savla [22] suggest that the attitudes, values and financial behaviour of parents and children are very similar. In the course of socialization, financial experience, that is, the actual handling of financial products or services or the experience of economic and financial situations, plays a positive role in the acquisition of financial knowledge for both parents and children [26]. Especially in light of this economic processes are or were organized differently in other parts of the world (e.g., other financial products and services (cf. [23] for the former Soviet Union states; cf. [54] for Vietnam) or prohibitions due to religious regulations (cf. [25] for Riba and Gharar as Islamic financial concepts)), the lack of experience in dealing with Western-influenced financial concepts of parents or young adults with migration experience can be an explanation for the lack of financial knowledge of people with a migration background in Germany. Studies show that FL (for Muslims: [24, 25], for people with a post-Soviet migration background: [23], and for young adults with a Vietnamese migration background: [54]) is in many cases below the level of Western countries [55, 56]. In addition to these factors mentioned, Klapper and Lusardi [57] cite cultural, linguistic and historical aspects as influencing factors, referring to findings by Chen [58], who describes culture as a composite of beliefs, norms and preferences that are passed on “unchanged” from generation to generation and thus also influence knowledge facets such as financial knowledge. Due to the lack of a national financial education strategy in Germany [59], young adults have almost no opportunities to acquire financial knowledge through formal channels. Informal learning opportunities, such as those within the family, are therefore increasingly coming into focus [58]. Children primarily come into contact with the financial knowledge, experiences, attitudes and behaviour that their parents have acquired from their countries of origin or from their own parents. One starting point for researching challenging financial terms and concepts from the perspective of young adults with a migration background is therefore the starting conditions of the parents in their countries of origin. For an initial exploration, the two largest migration groups in Germany (post-Soviet and Muslim; [5]) and, due to the special historical and political connections between Vietnam and the former GDR [60], the group of Vietnamese people with a migration background were selected. There are at least a few basic facts about the influencing factors from the home countries; excerpts are summarized in **Table 1** and serve as a basis for the explanations of the individual groups.

2.2.1 Post-Soviet migration background

The category of post-Soviet migration background subsumed here can include people from all former Soviet republics (Azerbaijan, Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, etc.) [28]. The Soviet Union was a multi-ethnic construct [28, 63], which from the perspective of financial education can be characterized more uniformly by its planned economic system and the state-controlled financial sector. Students from Russia and Turkey performed better

Migration background	Authors/year	Influencing factors
Post-Soviet migration background	Cwynar [23]	• Historical developments and the resulting different economic and financial systems • Lower development and differentiation of economic and financial systems and their products and services
	Ergün [24]	• Financial crises (high inflation)
Muslim migration background	Worthington and Marzuki [25]	• Less development and differentiation of economic and financial systems and their products and services • Distance to Western financial concepts through religious prohibitions such as Riba and Gharar
	Ergün [24]	• Financial crises (high inflation)
Vietnamese migration background	Xiao [54]	• Male, urban dwellers between 30 and 60 achieve higher results in FL
	Morgan and Trinh [61]	• Pronounced attitude towards informal saving habits
	Tue [62]	• Financial crises (e.g., inflation) lead to greater knowledge in precisely this area

Table 1.
Overview literature about FL regarding the respective groups.

on questions about inflation rates than students from other countries [24]. This is explained by the fact that students are more frequently affected or exposed to higher inflation rates in their countries than students from other countries [24]. Cwynar [23] points out that FL is strongly positively correlated with income, highest educational attainment and market development. People in many countries of the former Soviet Union now have the same access to financial products and services, yet people from the West use these products to a greater extent and with greater variation [23]. A higher level of education is also highly correlated with a higher socio-economic status and, in combination, tends to have a higher level of financial knowledge [23], which in turn is less likely to be passed on to children. Investigations [23] also state that the poorer results in surveys are due to the fact that test takers have knowledge that they acquired in planned economy times, which consisted of the daily lack of private property, private companies and financial institutions, as well as a state-controlled economy that did not know any of today's financial products and services. Findings also show that the level of FL in different post-Soviet states depends on the implementation of the transformation processes [23]. For example, countries that have implemented the transformation processes towards a free market economy faster and more radically, whose population has a higher level of participation in financial products and services and has thus been able to acquire financial knowledge through financial experience, perform better [26].

2.2.2 Vietnamese migration background

According to Nguyen and Doan [64] and Nguyen et al. [65], there has been little research on FL in low or lower-middle-income countries in general and Vietnam in particular. Similarly, there is no national financial education strategy in Vietnam [54]. This poses a particular challenge, especially in light of the fact that Vietnam successively introduced the planned economy with initial reforms in 1986 and started the

transformation into a social market economy, and people are confronted with many new economic and financial concepts [66]. Sometimes, however, the economy is still under the influence of the one-party state [66]. Liberalization was accompanied by an increase in welfare and at the same time developed greater social inequality [66] and massively changed the realities of local people's lives. Decades of social security were lost, and the economic and financial system changed. There is no national financial education strategy in Vietnam [54] that prepares local people for these transformation processes and new circumstances. The few surveys on FL in Vietnam show that the country achieves rather low scores in regional and international comparison [54, 61]. A striking feature of the country is the pronounced attitude towards informal saving habits [61]. Up to 48% of Vietnamese people store their money at home or do not save it at all [54]. Furthermore, patterns familiar from Western studies are also evident: the urban population, men and people aged between 30 and 60 achieve a higher level of FL than the rural population and women and people younger than 30 or older than 60 [54, 62]. Contrary to other surveys, the results of Morgan and Trinh [61] based on the OECD questionnaire show no significant difference between men and women in the overall view of FL in Vietnam. However, the differences are significant in the financial knowledge sub-area [61]. Whether these results can be explained by the non-significant gender differences found by Bucher-Koenen [67] in the former GDR and the non-significant gender differences mentioned by Cwynar [23] in the former socialist states of Eastern Europe due to socialist policies is not discussed. Nevertheless, it is also argued that the older generation has less financial knowledge, as they also tend to be less financially educated [61]. Morgan and Trinh [61] identify education level, income, age and occupational status as determinants of FL. Findings by Tue [62] build on the statements by Frijns et al. [26] and emphasize that participants answer the question about inflation correctly more often than average compared to the other questions. Tue [62] argues that this can be explained by the Vietnamese population's experience of higher inflation rates. Married people perform worse than unmarried people because those living alone care more and cannot rely on anyone [62]. People who are decision-makers in families do better than those who are not [62]. People with higher incomes and greater expenditure do worse than people with lower incomes and less expenditure [62]. In summary, it can at least be assumed that the migrated Vietnamese left the country with a worse starting level than the current generations would do. As a result, these generations also have less knowledge, which they can pass on to the next generation via socialization processes [20–22].

2.2.3 Muslim background

In contrast to the previous two migration backgrounds, Muslims cannot refer to national borders but rather religious orientation and therefore also not to state laws that regulate economic and financial activity; instead, Muslims are guided by the Islamic finance guidelines of the Qur'an, Shari'a and Sunnah [25]. Just as with other people with a country or group of countries of origin, it is not possible to speak of uniform structures among Muslims. The awareness of and attention paid to Islamic financial concepts by Muslims and Muslimas is highly individual [cf. [68]]. Compared to Germany, financial institutions, the government, society and religious institutions (e.g., mosques) play a greater role in financial education [25]. Studies on the level of FL in the respective countries are rare and only transferable to a limited extent due to the distance in terms of content to Western financial systems [25]. For this reason, the important Islamic financial principles of Riba and Gharar, which the Islamic holy

scriptures prescribe for believers, are presented here. A brief mention of the function of money is helpful for a general understanding and differentiation from Western financial systems. According to Islamic finance, money is not used as an asset to generate profits, but exclusively as a medium of exchange to create social value [25]. Riba and Gharar are the two concepts of Islamic finance and economics that show the greatest distance from Western financial concepts [25, 69]. The prohibitions of Riba and Gharar are intended to prevent social inequality, injustice and the exploitation of vulnerable groups in order to promote the well-being of all [25].

Riba can literally be translated as increase, surplus or supplement and is understood in Sharia as a supplement to capital, which in Islam represents an unjustified increase and unequal distribution of income and leads to social inequalities [70]. It is forbidden in Islam to pay interest and to demand interest [70]. The prohibition is based on the fact that personal enrichment of one's own wealth without a reward is unlawful and not in the interests of general prosperity [70].

Gharar is translated as a transaction with an unacceptable or unacceptable degree of uncertainty or deceptive uncertainty [25] and is connoted with the terms misleading, deception or fraud [70]. The prohibition of Gharar is primarily intended to ensure transparency, fairness and calculability in business activities [70]. In relation to German financial transactions, as an exemplary representation of the Western-influenced economic legal system, this primarily affects transactions in stock exchange trading [71], investment transactions, in particular with futures or options transactions in the stock market [69] and insurance [70].

2.2.4 Interim conclusion

The state of research on all three groups shows that there may be various reasons for a lack of financial knowledge due to the different prerequisites and circumstances. The different financial systems in the countries of origin can be cited as examples. On the one hand, the development of financial systems and the diversification of financial institutions and products and services play a role. On the other hand, different financial experiences and financial socialization are further reasons for a lower level of FL. In order to find an answer to this, the second research question was developed to determine the reasons for the challenges in understanding Western-influenced financial terms and concepts that arise from the different backgrounds of the individual groups mentioned above.

RQ2: What reasons can be identified for the challenges in understanding Western-influenced financial terms and concepts among young adults with a migration background in Germany?

3. Method

The majority of studies worldwide investigated the factors influencing financial knowledge quantitatively and with corresponding variables such as migration background, country of origin, migration experience, ethnicity and rarely religion [11–13, 16, 50]. However, the participants rarely got around to explaining why terms or concepts cause them difficulties and why understanding the terms and concepts is perceived as challenging. Especially for pedagogical-didactic work, knowledge of comprehension difficulties is of enormous importance for the target group-oriented design of teaching-learning measures [72, 73]. Qualitative methods are suitable for

identifying possible causal contexts for these challenges [74]. Considering the diverse factors influencing FL and in order to investigate the cognitive processes involved in answering financial questions, a two-part interview procedure was developed. The first part was a guided interview consisting of six blocks: (i) educational background and interest in economic and financial topics, (ii) family and socio-demographic background, language and educational background of parents, (iii) household size and family caregivers, (iv) values and religion of participants and parents also in connection with financial and economic behaviour, (v) news and media consumption and (vi) personal finances and family financial socialization. The think-aloud interview [75] is suitable for revealing cognitive processes in solving economic and financial questions. The think-aloud interview as the second part of the interview was also divided into two consecutive parts. In the first part of the think-aloud interview, nine questions were selected from the TFL (three questions from each area according to Förster et al. [47]). The selection was based on test results from earlier studies by Happ and Förster [11] on the influence of migration background on financial knowledge. The questions were selected according to whether they had a high, medium or no response difference between the subject groups with and without a migration background in Happ and Förster [11]. The questions were arranged according to test-theoretical characteristics [76]. There were simpler introductory questions at the beginning, while difficult items were arranged in the middle of the interview and a simpler level was chosen again at the end.⁶ The second part of the interview was used for retrospective consideration of the solution processes. For this purpose, two fixed items were determined in advance for all participants, and the subjectively most difficult item was selected. The subjectively most difficult item was chosen by the participants based on their perceptions while solving the nine items from the first part of the think-aloud interview. The guided interview and the think-aloud interview were conducted with every participant on two separate days, taking into account the cognitive load theory [77]. Both interviews were scheduled for 45 minutes each. The interviews were then transcribed [78].

The evaluation is based on a combination of an arithmetic analysis of the given answers to the multiple choice questions and the statement as to which item was perceived as the most challenging. The arithmetic analysis exclusively serves for prevailing first tendencies regarding the existence of challenges. In order to identify possible underlying reasons, which is the focus of the study, the transcribed interviews were additionally analysed through a consensual coding procedure [79]. The consensual method is orientated on the qualitative content analysis according to Kuckartz [80].

Between the ages of 18 and 25, young adults make their first independent financial decisions [19]. In this age range, the family socialization influence is still most strongly attributable to or shaped by the parents [81]. For this purpose, subjects between the ages of 18 and 25 were interviewed who had a post-Soviet, a Vietnamese migration background or a Muslim background (an overview of the participants and their characteristics is provided in the appendix in **Table 4**).⁷ In order to approximate comparability in terms of educational qualifications, students were selected who were enrolled at a German university and were not studying a major or minor subject in

⁶ The rating for the questions followed the results of correct responses in the investigation of Happ and Förster [11].

⁷ A mean part of the participants was acquired through personal announcements in various faculties and lessons at a German University. The ethical committee of Leipzig University had no objections regarding the study.

economics, had not completed commercial vocational training and had not graduated from a business high school. Findings from methodology research indicate that 8–10 participants deliver a minimum level of around 82% identified problems to the research question [82]. Regarding to this, we targeted to interview eight participants per group. At the end, we interviewed nine from the post-Soviet, seven from the Muslim and seven from the Vietnamese Group. Due to the great heterogeneity within the respective groups (e.g., different countries of origin within the post-Soviet and Muslim group and the country-specific particularities or different grades of religiosity), it is hardly possible to determine a degree of saturation [83].

4. Results

The following first part of the results serves to answer the first research question. To this end, the answers given are evaluated and aggregated. In the second part of the presentation of results, the second research question is answered with reference to the identified challenges and statements made. The results presented are not to be understood as comparative. The results serve to identify challenging terms and concepts in the various content areas of economic and financial knowledge for the respective group. **Table 2** shows the average correct response rate per migration group and content area. In addition to the respective answers to the questions and the subjectively most difficult perceived questions, the mean values serve as a source for identifying the possible challenges in the subject groups and thus for answering the first research question.

Based on the guidelines of the OECD [29] and Lusardi and Mitchell [16] for a minimum level of financial knowledge of almost 70 and 66%, respectively, the participants in all groups do not meet these threshold values for the two areas of banking and insurance. Based on these comparative values, the participants in the banking and insurance areas achieve a low level. In the Everyday Money Management [EDM] content area, the correct response rate of young adults with a post-Soviet migration background is below the minimum level. The content area of banking also appears to be particularly challenging for young adults with a Vietnamese migration background. Here, all groups are below the defined minimum level, and on average, only 49% of the answers given were correct. The results also correspond with the subjective perceptions of the participants. A total of 79% of participants stated that the questions they perceived most difficult were in the areas of banking and insurance (see **Table 3**). Insurance is the area perceived as the most difficult, but banking is

Migration background	Participants (in total 23)	TFL-EDM (%)	TFL-Banking (%)	TFL-Insurance (%)	Mean (%)
VMB*	7	71	39	62	57
PSMB	9	63	52	59	58
MMB	7	81	52	62	65
Mean		72	47	61	

*VMB—Vietnamese migration background, PSMB—post-Soviet migration background, MMB—Muslim migration background, TFL-EDM—Test of FL-Everyday Money Management.

Table 2.
Average correct response rate for content areas and migration background.

Subjectively most difficult perceived questions and areas*		
TFL-EDM	6	21%
(TFL-EDM) Question 8	4 (1x EEMB, 2x IMB, 1x VMB)	14.29%
TFL B	11	39%
(TFL B) Question 2	7 (4x EEMB, 1x IMB, 2x VMB)	25.00%
TFL I	12	39%
(TFL I) Question 3	6 (2x EEMB, 2x IMB, 2x VMB)	17.86%
(TFL I) Question 4	3 (2x EEMB, 1x VMB)	10.71%
(TFL I) Question 6	3 (1x IMB, 2x VMB)	10.71%
Sum	28	
*—Questions 1 and 7 were mentioned one time each and questions 5 and 9 twice each.		

Table 3.
 Most difficult perceived questions.

the one with the fewest correct answers. The result is contrary to those of Happ and Förster [11]. In this study, the participants gave the most correct answers in the area of banking. In Happ and Förster [11], insurance is the area with the fewest correct answers. A total of 25% of participants named question 2⁸ as the most difficult of the nine questions. A total of 17.86% named question 3⁹ as the most difficult. This was followed by question 8¹⁰ with 14.29%. Interestingly, the results from the perceived difficulty and the actual results only coincide with question 2 (**Figure 1**). Only 29% of respondents answered this question correctly. It is noteworthy that 11 incorrect answers were given assuming that the state guarantees a minimum return on occupational pension provision. A total of 30% answered these questions correctly, question 6¹¹ and question 7.¹²

The most difficult perceived question (2) is also the one with the fewest correct answers within the sample. Question 2 is also the one that received the fewest correct answers from the group with a migration background in the study by Happ and Förster [11]. Given this context, the identification of the reasons for the challenges in understanding Western-influenced economic and financial concepts of young adults with a migration background (RQ2) is initially based on the statements made by the participants on the questions they subjectively perceived as the most difficult. It can

⁸ The questions were posed in German. These questions are subject to copyright and cannot be published. The original TFL is available in English and can be accessed freely on the Internet. Subsequently, questions with regard to the analyses were paraphrased in the following.

Question 2: Asks about the advantages of company pension schemes compared to private pension insurance (content area banking (TFL-B)).

⁹ Question 3: Asks what instruments insurance companies to minimize the risky behaviour of policyholders (content area Insurance (TFL-I)).

¹⁰ Question 8: Asks about economic developments with an impact on employees' salaries (content area Everyday Money Management (TFL-EDM)).

¹¹ Question 6: (Asks about which type of car insurance covers the damage for a self-inflicted dented mudguard (content area TFL-I)).

¹² Question 7: Asks about items that should be deducted from income to reduce income tax (content area TFL-EDM).

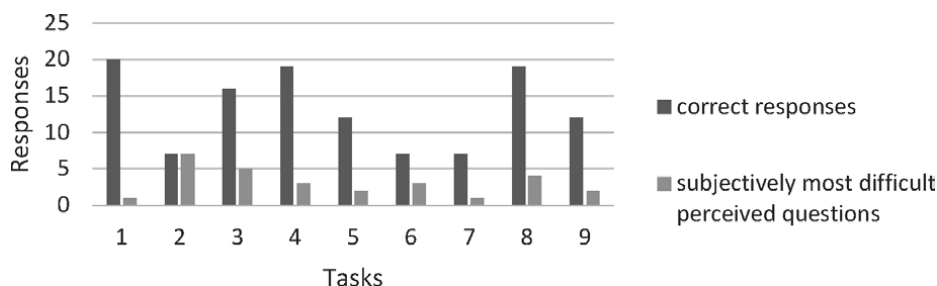


Figure 1.
Correct responses versus subjectively perceived most difficult questions.

be stated that the areas of insurance and banking in general, and questions 2 and 3 in particular, represent the greatest challenges for the participants. In the following, the reasons for the challenges are identified in order to answer the second research question. The analysis is based on the respective groups.

4.1 Post-Soviet migration background

Participant (P) 2 calls question 2 the most difficult and at the same time mentions that all questions with an insurance reference cause difficulties because the insurance systems and types of insurance differ greatly between the country of origin, Russia, and Germany. In contrast to Russia, there is compulsory insurance in Germany, which must be paid for in order to receive benefits. In Russia, health insurance is free for every citizen (P2, TAI). In addition, there are insurance policies that can also be taken out privately, such as liability and car insurance. However, P2 mentions that these insurance policies should not be trusted, as in the event of a claim, the agreed amount is often not reimbursed or not reimbursed at all. The insurance companies justify the non-payment or underpayment by saying that this or that case is not covered by the insurance. For this reason, P2 and his mother in Russia had not taken out any insurance. With regard to occupational pension provision in particular, the statements make it clear that the three pillars of pension provision in Germany cannot be clearly separated from one another. Thus, occupational pension insurance is mixed up with statutory pension insurance. The confusion is expressed by the fact that P2 has heard that employers and employees pay into the pension insurance scheme in Germany. However, it is not clear from P2's statements that there is a distinction between occupational and statutory pension insurance. P2 justifies this by stating that there is only one state pension system in his country of origin.

P4 names question 2 as the most difficult question because the topic of old-age provision is not one that he has dealt with before. The principle of old-age provision is known, but the various pillars of old-age provision and their advantages and disadvantages are not known. The information that is known on the subject of old-age provision comes largely from various informal sources and has been gathered out of personal interest.

For P8, 2 and 3 are the most difficult questions. Question 2 is difficult because there were language barriers and the content of the concepts is not known in the home language. Question 3 was difficult because there was a lack of specialist knowledge on the subject of insurance. They had not spoken to their parents about the topic and had no previous experience with insurance due to the lack of insurance products in their home country. The answer was nevertheless correctly adapted to the concept based on the technical expertise from medical studies.

P10 explains the difficulty of the question by saying that the topic of old-age provision has never been an issue before. Information on all other questions was obtained from various sources. The distinction between old-age provision and pension insurance and the various forms cannot be made. "Germany as an insurance country" is not understood. Furthermore, the topic of old-age provision has not yet been given any importance because it seems too distant and has not been discussed with the family or among friends.

P14 explains the difficulties in understanding mainly by the fact that there are different insurance systems between the country of origin (Belarus) and Germany. Many insurance policies in Belarus are free of charge for the population, and people are automatically insured without any self-determined selection process, while other insurance policies, such as disability insurance or various forms of pension insurance, do not exist in Belarus. P14 has his own migration experience and does not yet have an overview of the different types of insurance in Germany. P14 had been living in Germany for 5 years at the time of the interview and had migrated to Germany alone to attend a preparatory college in preparation for studying at a German university.

4.2 Muslim background

P20 chose question 3 as the most difficult because no content could be associated with the terms. No logical connotation emerged from the word analysis that could be answered when solving the question. According to P20, the gap is due to the fact that they have hardly ever dealt with the construct of insurance.

P27 found the setting of the question particularly difficult and therefore chose question 3. However, P27 added that he could only answer the question based on his own experience. P27 is familiar with the terminology because he owns his car and has a friend who works in the insurance industry. P27 adds that there are hardly any other points of contact with insurance and justifies this with the different insurance system in his country of origin (Syria) where only a few people, including his parents, had no health or pension insurance and people have to pay the bills in the event of a claim. This is in line with guidance from Islamic finance [25] on divergent principles of finance and provision. P11 explained question 8 as difficult because it involved topics unknown to P11, which are presented in a situation and for the solution of which several economic laws and relationships have to be linked together. The wage increase in the construction industry with increased demand was compared with the increased demand in the care sector. Whereby, P22 assumes that wages have not risen in the care sector with increased demand. What is missing here is the realization that the care sector is a partially regulated sector and that salaries have nevertheless risen in recent years. In addition, there is the media influence of P22 by reporting on foreign workers who reduce the wage level and therefore do not increase salaries. With regard to the prohibitions of the Islamic financial law of Riba and Gharar, there were no direct problems in understanding the concept of interest, insurance or stock market trading. Regarding the theoretical foundations about Riba and Gharar (given in 2.2.3) as prohibitions for Muslims and their enormous distance to the Western-shaped economic and financial concepts [25], in this study, it shows not an inhibiting influence on the understanding of the concept's interests and insurances. P20 and P22 indicated that due to the prohibitions, products affected by Riba and Gharar are not used. So, if it is possible, they use products and services from Islamic finance institutions in Germany. If they are not accessible, they try to use products with low interest. However, the lack of compensatory measures may well result in disadvantages for the participants in the future, for example, in terms of retirement provision or protection against risks.

4.3 Vietnamese migration background

P23 came to Germany in 2015 (P23 was 15 when he came to Germany). Until migrating to Germany, P23 did not have his own bank account, and his parents kept P23 away from all financial discussions, matters and decisions within the family. The parents wanted to protect P23 in all financial matters. In addition, P23 realized through socialization that the family plays the most important role in society and within the family. The parents save and spend most of the money on the children. As a result, P23 argues that, through these socialization processes, the family also became the most important for P23, and the family is seen as protection against financial emergencies and as a form of retirement provision. In other words, family members will look after each other financially.

P28 has problems with the terminology and the method and, above all, has not yet had any contact with insurance companies in any form. P28 is the second generation to live in Germany and, despite German being their mother tongue, had difficulties linking concepts with the terms private pension insurance, minimum return and occupational pension provision. Furthermore, they have not yet had any contact with forms of old-age provision. Communication with parents at home is in Vietnamese, and certain traditional values such as great respect for older people are practiced and demanded. With regard to financial issues, the most that is discussed with the parents is whether they can help out financially to a small extent in the short term. Investment and pension issues were not discussed. Although the parents own several houses, these were not explicitly named as assets by P28 and were not discussed by the parents as a form of retirement provision.

4.4 Summary of results

In summary of all groups, the second research question can be answered with the following identified reasons: the differences between the country of origin and the country of arrival in the area of insurance, a lack of trust in insurance companies and their contracts, a lack of necessity to deal with insurance and old-age provision either due to a lack of interest or a lack of knowledge, the time lag between insurance and retirement, language barriers but also a lack of knowledge about basic financial knowledge concepts such as return on investment are the main reasons for the challenges in understanding Western-influenced financial terms and concepts. In particular, the differences between Germany and the country of origin were often attributed to a lack of knowledge about key aspects of terms and concepts. Especially when there is no corresponding concept in the country of origin, the participants have difficulties getting an idea of the specific concepts in Germany. However, the lack of interest in financial issues, especially when they only become due in a longer period of time, does not pose a particular challenge for young adults with a migration background. It is only noteworthy that they are usually unfamiliar with the concepts of old-age provision in Germany.

5. Conclusions

Migration background is a factor that studies have shown can tend to have a hindering influence on their financial knowledge [11]. Financial knowledge plays a crucial role in integration and active participation in the arrival of society [9]. So far, there have mainly been quantitative studies that provide information and

assumptions about how the factors might work. The aim of this study was to identify specific financial concepts that are challenging for people with a migration background. On top of that, the study seeks to explore possible causes for those. RQ 1 asks for challenging financial terms and concepts for people with migration backgrounds. The results of the investigation identified challenges that exist primarily in the area of banking and insurance. Here, it was shown that country-specific characteristics are particularly challenging.

RQ 2 asks about the reasons for the perceived and concrete challenges.¹³ The results provide evidence of a composite of various reasons, rather than a single reason. The results show a lack of experience in dealing with financial products and services due to age, parental care or lack of communication with parents can be identified as one reason. The differences in financial products and services or social benefits between the country of origin and Germany play a further role and are cited by test persons. In addition, there are co-migrated trust gaps in financial products or services. Linguistic reasons were also cited. However, to put this into perspective, it can be said that it is not just a lack of knowledge of the German word that is decisive, but rather that the meanings behind the native-language vocabulary are often not known. Religious prohibitions only play a role to the extent that products that do not comply with religious guidelines are avoided. A comprehension problem with the forbidden concepts, for example, interest, could not be identified. In case of the reasons which are caused by a lack of experience with financial products and services, there can be drawn parallels with findings from Frijns et al. [26], who investigated the impact of financial experience on FL between domestic New Zealand students and students from abroad. Additionally, the findings from these studies can be put in reference to arguments from Cwynar [23] or Worthington and Marzuki [25]. Cwynar [23] for the post-Soviet countries and Worthington and Marzuki [25] for the predominantly Muslim countries stated that different financial systems, different diversified markets for financial products and services or religious prohibitions lead to a lower FL level of people from these states compared to people from Western states. These circumstances tend to play a role while the parents are less familiar with the Western-influenced financial terms and concepts, which subsequently leads to less treatment for the children, who do not get in contact with these terms and concepts and cannot acquire knowledge and make less likely experience with financial services and products.

The research design is qualitative with a small and, moreover, extremely heterogeneous sample. The study is exploratory in nature and was intended to identify initial reasons. With regard to the individual groups, it was found that there are specific challenges depending on their background (e.g., insurance – post-Soviet migration background avoiding the use of financial products that violate Riba and Gharar – Muslim background). In this respect, more in-depth research is needed in the respective migration groups to further differentiate and develop findings.

The introductory interview is not yet differentiated enough in many areas, despite the diverse areas. More in-depth questions could be asked in the area of family financial socialization or in other areas of family life in order to cover further processes and facets of family financial socialization. Furthermore, a change of perspective would be beneficial, and parents of the respective participants could be asked about the family socialization processes. Intra-family relationships play a particularly important role in families

¹³ RQ 2 is answered by a combination of perceived challenges mentioned by the participants in response to the question about the most difficult perceived issue and the specific challenges resulting from the analysis of the answers given.

with a migration background. The think-aloud interview is cognitively demanding [75]. Not all participants feel comfortable in this setting and are able to perform to their full potential, meaning that cognitive processes may remain undetected [75]. It could be beneficial for the interviewer not to sit in the same room as the participants. The retrospective part could have been designed more freely with regard to the two fixed questions. In retrospect, it turned out that the two fixed questions were not very challenging and were only of limited help in answering the research questions.

The pedagogical implications of the increasing proportion of people with a migration background require appropriate consideration in the education system in order to prepare young adults for future challenges. To date, there has been neither adequate teacher training [84] with regard to the needs of people with a migration background, nor has this been adequately addressed in the classroom. In addition to the introduction of a national financial education strategy (there are current initiatives by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the German Federal Ministry of Finance), older people with a migration background need to be addressed so that they are not simply left to informal channels.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful for the support of the Leipzig University. This publication was supported by the Open Access Publication Fund of Leipzig University. We would also like to thank the Joachim Herz Stiftung for funding the research project.

A. Appendix

No	Name	Age	Gender	Level of Education	In Germany since	Language skills
<i>Post-Soviet migration background</i>						
1	P2	22	male	In Russia up to the 11th grade, High School Diploma* in Germany	2019	L1: Russian L2: German (C1)
2	P3	21	male	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German
3	P4	18	male	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: Russian and German
4	P5	24	female	High school in Ukraine, High School Diploma in Germany	2014	L1: Ukrainian L2: German (C1)
5	P6	21	female	High School Diploma	2004	L1: German
6	P8	21	female	In Kyrgyzstan up to the 11th grade, High School Diploma in Germany	2017	L1: Russian and Kyrgyz** L2: German (C1)
7	P9	24	female	High school in Latvia	2016	L1: Latvian and Russian L2: German (B2/C1)
8	P10	20	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: Russian and German

No	Name	Age	Gender	Level of Education	In Germany since	Language skills
9	P14	22	female	In Belarus up to the 11th grade, High School Diploma in Germany	2017	L1: Belarusian and Russian L2: German (C1)
<i>Muslim background</i>						
10	P11	21	male	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German
11	P12	25	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German
12	P17	25	male	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German
13	P20	21	female	High School Diploma	2015	L1: Arabic L2: German (B2)
14	P22	22	female	In Libya up to the 12th grade, High School Diploma in Germany	Birth (migration to Lybia and remigration to Germany)	L1: Arabic L2: German (C1)
15	P27	21	male	High School Diploma	2011	L1: Kurdish L2: German (C1)
16	P31	19	female	High School Diploma	2012	L1: German and Arabic
<i>Vietnamese background</i>						
17	P13	25	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German and Vietnamese
18	P15	19	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German and Vietnamese
19	P19	21	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German and Vietnamese
20	P23	22	female	High School Diploma	2015	L1: Vietnamese L2: German (B1)
21	P28	19	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German and Vietnamese
22	P30	21	male	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German
23	P34	20	female	High School Diploma	Birth	L1: German and Vietnamese

**The High School Diploma is referred to as the Abitur in German. The Abitur is the highest school-leaving qualification in Germany. Among others, it qualifies students to study at university. Depending on the federal state in which the Abitur is taken, students are awarded the Abitur, which corresponds to A level, after successfully passing year 12 or 13 and the final examinations.*

***In some countries more than one language is official and was used by the participants as a first language. The announcements were based on the statements of the participants.*

Table 4.
Overview about participants and their characteristics.

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Sustainable Education: Unlocking Hope for Refugee Children

Rasheedah Olufunke Adams-Ojugbele

Abstract

This theoretical paper critically examines the education of refugee children in primary schools in South Africa. Early and primary education plays a pivotal role in equipping children with essential skills for future academic success. Therefore, it is essential that all children have equitable access to quality education, facilitating their optimal development without encountering barriers along their educational journey. This lays the foundation for their subsequent education and overall development. This article operates under the premise that despite existing policies, including national and international legal frameworks, advocating for equal educational access and quality provision for refugee and asylum-seeking children, the historical and ongoing challenges faced by this demographic, alongside instances of insufficient access and inadequate quality of provision affecting a broader refugee population, necessitate immediate attention. Failure to address these issues could have adverse effects on the academic attainment and future prospects of refugee children.

Keywords: refugee children, sustainable learning, school access, school integration, school participation, supportive learning environment

1. Introduction

Equity and quality education are central to the realization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Education stands as an independent goal within the agenda, comprising seven outcome targets and three means of implementation. These goals intersect with various aspects of the agenda, notably health and well-being, gender equality, decent work and economic growth, responsible consumption and production, and climate change mitigation [1]. The second outcome of the education goal for SDGs focuses on early childhood education and universal basic education, aiming to ensure access for all children regardless of their socio-economic background or disability. This entails providing at least a year of free and compulsory pre-primary education guided by competent and qualified educators.

Furthermore, it is also expected that a safe and child-friendly teaching and learning environment be provided to all children for successful learning and holistic development. Such an environment, according to the developmental goal, is expected to provide support, care, and stimulation for all children without any barrier to unlocking every child's innate potential [2]. The SDGs not only focus on universal access and completion of primary education for all, as indicated in the Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs), but also emphasize the importance of equitable access to post-basic education and training for all [1]. The question that bothers the mind is: Are all children receiving equal access and quality pre-primary and primary education in South Africa, not to mention equitable primary education and training?

A major focus in this review is directed at the refugee population and their educational access. What is the state of the youngest population in their countries of residence? Here, our attention is drawn specifically to refugee children in South Africa. Do these children have access to pre-primary and primary education in South Africa? In terms of their school participation and integration, is the teaching and learning environment inclusive and supportive of the refugee children's needs? In this theoretical paper, the author employs a traditional review method to offer a comprehensive and unbiased overview of the current understanding of the topic. Relevant articles were randomly selected and examined to deepen the author's comprehension of the subject matter under theoretical exploration. Specifically, the review draws from a variety of reputable sources, including articles from accredited journals, select book chapters, and newspaper articles. This meticulous process enables the author to encompass a broad spectrum of perspectives for thorough review and analysis.

The subsequent paragraph delves into the literature review, which serves to explore the breadth of knowledge, thus substantiating the research question posed in the theoretical paper.

2. Literature review

Recent studies have indicated that refugee children in early childhood classrooms struggle to settle into their new learning environment at first but eventually develop resilience, which assists them in integrating into the school environment [3]. Research evidence in the United States of America (USA) has shown that refugee and immigrant children tend to have a lower chance of participating in Early Childhood Development programs compared to children from US-born parents. South Africa is no exception. This body of work provides an analysis and critique of debates and studies around the educational access, school integration, and participation of refugee children in the foundation phase schooling in South Africa.

Equal access to public primary education and learning opportunities for all children is central to the realization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) [4]. Universal education represents a distinct objective consisting of seven outcome targets and three methods of implementation.

Exposing all children to equal learning opportunities gives them a good head-start for sustainable learning and optimal development [5]. This will no doubt promote their socio-emotional, physical, cognitive, and academic well-being [6, 7]. As noted by the United Nations Secretary-General in "Migration, Displacement and Education: Building Bridges, Not Walls," education for refugees or displaced people is their fundamental human right and a revolutionary way for poverty eradication and a viable means for achieving Sustainable Development Goal 4 for 2030: "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all." [8, 9].

The South African Schools Act of 1996, which states that "The state may not discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual

orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, or birth,” henceforth prohibits discrimination in terms of access to educational institutions and also forbids admission requirements that discriminate, compelling the state to consider all rational educational alternatives to ensure equal access to educational institutions. As a result, it is imperative that all children, irrespective of their background, are allowed access to primary education in their countries of residence.

Other studies have also shown that young refugee children are continually exposed to stressful lives and face challenges that marginalize them within society [10, 11]. The situations they experience in their countries of nationality before migration, during migration, and after their arrival in host countries are overwhelming, leading to diverse problems that affect their integration into schools [12, 13]. For instance, the lack of support observed in countries and schools enrolling refugee children leads to limited or absent opportunities [14, 15]. This poor state of affairs in schools admitting refugees might also impact their ability to fully participate and benefit from education [16, 17]. As pointed out by the UNHCR [15] report, basic and secondary school education for displaced persons constitutes a major concern for all stakeholders and authorities concerned. The report emphasizes that children falling into this category should be exposed to equal standards of education without any discrimination [18, 19].

Nilsson and Bunar ([20], p. 400) noted that, “Despite broad agreement on the fundamental role of schools, varied standards of reception for newly arrived students, resulting from a lack of policy, guidelines, and resources, are undertaken, and they seem to be an endemic problem that transcends national borders.” For example, Shuayb et al. [21] found that Syrian refugee children in Germany and Lebanon experienced numerous challenges related to coping and integrating into the educational system of their host countries, negatively impacting their performance and overall success in school. Alkhawaldeh [22] also found that the problems facing refugee children in school stem from difficulties related to their backgrounds and war experiences, which negatively impact their academic achievement and dedication to learning. This is compounded by overcrowded classrooms and a lack of qualified teachers trained to teach children from refugee backgrounds. Busch et al. [23] similarly noted that some of the challenges with the greatest impact on refugee children in Germany relate to poor language proficiency and inadequate parent-school collaboration, affecting their participation and achievement in school.

Refugee children in South Africa face similar challenges. Perumal’s [24] findings indicated that participation in an intervention bridging program provided refugee children with the opportunity to access education when they were denied admission to South African public schools due to lack of required documentation. Other studies by Adams-Ojugbele [25] and Adams-Ojugbele and Moletsane [26] found that refugee children in the foundation phase (Grade R) were unable to access Grade R centers in public and private primary schools due to school fees and documentation issues. Supporting these findings, Meda [12] noted that refugee and asylum-seeking parents find it difficult to secure and register their children in school due to delays in processing documentation, negatively impacting refugee children’s school attendance.

The findings above are in line with recent research by Washinyira [18], which suggests that the education rights of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in South Africa are compromised by public school managements’ lack of understanding of admission policies concerning the refugee population. Despite the South African government’s efforts to resettle refugee families and their children into their new

environment through initiatives such as monthly grants for those with up-to-date papers and the non-encampment policy allowing refugees and asylum-seeking families to reside anywhere in the country with the appropriate permits, unfair treatment and inequality in school admissions persist. Numerous non-governmental organizations, including People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty (PASSOP), have contributed by providing support and raising awareness for refugee families and their children in South Africa.

Despite the legal frameworks and provisions outlined in the framework, many refugee and asylum-seeking families still struggle to secure admission for their children in public primary schools. Furthermore, research evidence has established that the early exposure of children to quality education and stimulation brings about social order and helps to develop an outstanding workforce [27]. Thus, meeting the Sustainable Development Goals for 2030 requires that the early education of all children, including those from refugee backgrounds, becomes a major priority and investment for all countries and the world at large [2]. This will no doubt lead to the actualization of both social and economic benefits for all [28, 29].

3. Theoretical framework

This chapter adopted Chemero's [30] reconceptualization of the affordance theory to analyze the literature. Chemero views affordances as the relationships between the abilities of organisms and features of the environment (p. 189). In this article, the theory was utilized to comprehend the dynamic interplay between refugee children (the organisms) and the features of their environment (their host country and public primary schools). This aims to elucidate the factors within the immediate environment of refugee children that facilitate access to a positive and meaningful integration and conducive learning environment.

Building upon Gibson's initial theory, which emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between organisms and their environment [31], it is understood that an organism must perceive, assess, and attribute meaning to the affordances of its environment in order to adapt effectively. According to Gibson's 1986 version of the theory, the organism and its environment must be complementary due to the objective and physical nature of affordances [32].

In this article, the sustainable learning and experience of refugee children are contingent upon the provision of an enabling and supportive social and academic learning environment conducive and supportive of their overall development. This environment is characterized by qualified teachers who understand the diverse needs of refugee children and are equipped to nurture their resilience and support their holistic development. The analysis operates under the premise that a sensitive and conducive teaching and learning environment, coupled with qualified teachers and targeted interventions catering to the specific needs of refugee children, will positively impact their effective participation, integration, and overall success in school.

Drawing from existing literature that has utilized the affordance theory in various contexts, such as studies exploring environmental psychology, human-computer interaction, and education, further enriches the understanding and application of the theory in the context of refugee education. By integrating insights from these diverse fields, the study aims to provide a comprehensive and nuanced analysis of the relationship between refugee children and their educational environment.

4. Discussion

The major focus of this chapter was to understand refugee children's access to, participation, and integration in public primary schools in the Durban area of South Africa. As expounded in the introduction section, articles were randomly selected from relevant and reliable sources for review. This was achieved by picking on selected articles for review in no order. The findings from this review are presented in three sub-sections, namely Refugee children's access to public primary schools, refugee children's school participation and integration for sustainability and the teaching and learning environment.

4.1 Refugee children's access to public primary schools

Access to public primary school education has been a challenge for refugee children across the globe. As exemplified in this article, available evidence suggests that accessing education for refugee children has been a challenge for most refugee families in their countries of residence [10, 12, 24]. Factors such as lack of proper documentation, family poor socioeconomic situation, and discrimination often meant that refugee children are unable to access primary education in their host countries. Our investigation also revealed that even though some refugee parents do not present the complete documentation as at the time of enrolling their children in the school, some parents were allowed to register their child/ren provided they produce the required document at an agreed time before the session ends. As indicated by Mweni [28], the inability of refugee children in South Africa to enjoy their constitutional right as enshrined in the refugee legal framework, result from issues around school fees, documentations, language and unfair treatment through xenophobic attacks. Further, Koehler [33], noted that the "EU Member States have been facing challenges in providing decent opportunities in education for newly arriving refugees and integrating them into mainstream education (pg. 4). This challenge is not unique to the EU and should be addressed with utmost urgency and commitment worldwide to ensure the equitable and inclusive education of all individuals, regardless of their refugee status."

4.2 Refugee children's school integration and participation

Effective school participation for all children in the primary school is a viable way to improve inclusive education for all [34]. This review is premised on the understanding that children's effective participation and interaction in the social and academic domains of the school is important in ensuring effective integration of all children into the primary school life. This is believed to benefit all learners, including those who experience barriers to learning either due to their social background or a learning disability. Our analysis was based on the understanding that, a successful participation in school will require an effective integration into the social and academic life of the school. This would involve the children's connection and interaction with individuals and learning materials in the contexts of learning. This might be through their formal and informal interactions with their class teachers and peers and the classroom where teaching and learning occurs, including the school environment. The nature and quality of interactions with teachers and peers, and the availability of appropriate teaching resources in the school play an important role in this regard.

As indicated in the South African National Curriculum Framework (the CAPS) documents, and the Developmentally Appropriate Practice Statement [35], one of

the aims of primary school education is to create a firm foundation for later schooling and improve children's school participation [36, 37]. In addition, the core curriculum emphasizes the importance of interaction between children, and between teacher and children as a viable way to ensure children's effective integration into the social and academic domains of the school. On this basis, child centeredness and group work are encouraged as pedagogies for optimal realization of learning outcomes and children's overall development [35, 38].

As enumerated in the Developmentally Appropriate Practice Statement [35], to be effective requires the teacher to be intentional and exhibit the ability to adapt the learning instruction to the developmental needs of the child. One of the responsibilities of the teacher is to tailor the curriculum to individual child's needs, and interest [35]. Although further findings from this analysis suggest that not all the refugee children in schools and classrooms are integrated well into the academic domains of the mainstream school. This affected their participation during their classwork and task completion. As indicated by the educators, some of the refugee children had difficulties adjusting to the school system due to poor language proficiency and probably due to poor learning support from home.

4.3 The social and the academic environment

This article is informed by the understanding that the social and academic environment for school children must support their learning and development. It also argues that a supportive learning environment for refugee children should foster a positive *learning* culture and impact on learners' acquisition of necessary skills needed for optimal development and school success [39–41]. Accordingly, this article examines the nature of the teaching and learning environment and its influence on refugee children's school integration.

As noted by Karp [42], students' social and academic integration is enhanced when they develop a connection with the social and academic life of the school through their interaction and participation in extra-curricular activities and engaging in informal interaction and relations with peers and staffs of the school. Findings from the reviewed articles suggests that the spaces for extracurricular activities for children are somewhat limited and this affects refugee children social development in school.

4.4 Availability of intervention programs for effective integration

The review was premised on the understanding that provision of academic and psycho-social support for refugee children in schools might enhance their school adjustment and subsequently, their academic achievement. Target interventions in schools have been seen as a viable means to achieve inclusive learning and school adjustment for all [43–45]. The findings from the exploratory studies analyzed suggest that the refugee children in their new environment had both positive and negative experiences in the host primary schools. The poor or lack of intervention programmes for children requiring help in the observed classes negatively influenced their school participation and effective integration. Further findings suggest that the lack of learning support from some of the parents of the refugee learners, as well as their socioeconomic circumstances negatively influenced children's school experience and overall development.

This article sought to understand refugee children's school access, integration, and participation in selected public primary schools in South Africa. This analysis was informed by Chemero's re-conceptualisation of affordance theory (2006). The model

explains affordances as in terms of relations between the abilities of the organisms and features of the environment (pg. 189)". The theory of affordance was used to understand the interrelation between the organism (refugee children) and the features of the environment (the host country and the public primary schools). The analysis seeks to understand those factors in the refugee children's immediate environment that supports and provides access to a positive and a meaningful learning and development. The findings suggest that the refugee children in host countries are exposed to equal enrolment opportunity into the public primary school except for those whose document were incomplete. The findings further suggest that in spite of the provisions in the South African School Act of 1996, which promotes enrolment equity and prohibits the state from implementing admission requirements that supports discrimination of any sorts, some schools still ensure that refugee children without the required permits and birth certificates are given ultimatum to provide such document before their admission is completed.

The findings is consistent with previous findings where poor conditions of teaching and learning spaces and high teacher-learnersratio impacted negatively on children's school readiness and overall school participation and integration [16, 17, 26]. Thus, this article argues that generally, in any context of development, children have varied learning interests and needs and abilities, as such, it is imperative that their learning needs and interests are taken into consideration in planning and implementing learning and play activities. Findings from the analysis were not aligned with Chemero's affordance theory which suggest that for an organism to adjust to its immediate environment and appreciate what it offers, it must first understand, appraise, and relate some meaning to its affording qualities [46]. According to this theory, it is important that both the refugee children and the public primary school where children are enrolled are complimentary to one another. For children to benefit from holistic learning and development, it is necessary that the host school provides a conducive and sensitive learning environment that supports the resilience and promotes the learning and developmental needs of all children.

5. Conclusion

The exploratory study analyzed in this article recapitulate on refugee children's school access, integration, and participation in public primary schools in South Africa. Equity in primary school access and quality provision for all children, including those from refugee families are imperative, as this constitutes an important foundation for their success in school (and beyond). This is also important in ensuring that, like all children in society, children from refugee background receive the care and support they need to reap positive educational outcome which constitute one of the major aspects of sustainable developmental goals for 2030.

Of major Significant is nature and quality of interactions children have with their educators (and others) in the teaching and learning spaces of the foundation phase. This is understood to impact on children's leaning and overall development.

Thus, this theoretical paper argues that, for refugee children to effectively integrate and participate in school and succeed therein, quality interactions in the teaching and learning environment must be ensured. Children must be exposed to developmentally appropriate learning materials and teaching practices, including targeted interventions, in an environment that is conducive and stimulating with attention directed at individual learners needs and ability. This is necessary so that host countries can achieve the United Nation's sustainable development goals,

including, among others, providing quality education, ending poverty and hunger, reducing inequality, and ensuring well-being for all. Provision of access and quality primary school education for all children, including refugee children, will contribute to eradicating inequality and ensure that this group are given afforded equal opportunity to educational, social and health programming that caters for their needs.

In spite of the importance of equal and quality education in host countries, this analysis has some limitations. In particular, the analysis focused on selected numbers of articles, book chapters and news paper articles that focus on refugee education and school participation in host countries. Although so much can be learned from the short exploration, more in-depth study and analysis are needed to unravel this topic across board. Such studies could address issues around the educational and developmental school-based interventions for refugee children in South Africa. Addressing this concern would go a long way towards developing curricula that is sensitive to the diverse needs of all children in the primary school and beyond.

Thus, we conclude that, to promote equal access and quality learning experience for refugee children in South Africa, there must be in place, an effective monitoring and supervision process that addresses the specific learning and developmental needs of refugee children and their families putting into consideration their past, present and ongoing experience. Proper implementation of the various legal frameworks that promotes the educational rights of the refugee population across schools, inclusive policies, training and re-training of teachers, stakeholder's collaboration should be ensured. Effort should also be made to review school policies and departmental curriculum to suit the needs of children. These are some of the viable ways to support inclusiveness and provide a life-long learning experience that promotes and supports refugee children's holistic development in their countries of residence and beyond.

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Sheltering Hope: Navigating the Nexus of Refugee Housing Conditions and Well-Being

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Abstract

Housing a crucial social determinant of health and well-being is a fundamental right under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This chapter provides an overview of literature focusing on the impact of housing on the health and well-being of refugee populations, during post-resettlement. Housing is a basic human right, and refugees often face significant challenges in accessing safe and adequate housing, experiencing substandard living conditions in both camp and resettlement settings. Existing research emphasizes the factors influencing refugee housing quality, affordability, and stability, highlighting the need for tailored support services and policy interventions in resettlement countries. Beyond mere shelter, “healthy housing” encompasses safety, privacy, psychological, and physical well-being, fostering development and social integration. Community integration and empowerment emerge as critical factors in fostering positive housing outcomes, with inclusive housing policies and placemaking efforts playing essential roles in promoting a sense of belonging and identity among refugee communities. This chapter stresses the impact of housing conditions on refugee health and well-being, advocating for inclusive policies and community integration efforts to foster a sense of belonging and identity among refugee populations. Recommendations include enhancing housing affordability, improving access to resources and support services, and fostering transparent communication and accountability within housing systems.

Keywords: forced migration, refugee integration, shelter challenges, indoor environmental quality, livable environments community resilience, sustainable resettlement

1. Introduction

Housing stands as a crucial social determinant of health and well-being, as highlighted by various studies [1–3]. It is also recognized as a fundamental right under the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 25 [4]. Beyond mere shelter, ‘healthy housing’ encompasses safety, privacy, psychological, and physical well-being, fostering development and social integration, as emphasized by

the World Health Organization [3]. Additionally, housing contributes to ontological security, representing a sense of identity, consistency, agency, and control, particularly for those in unstable living conditions [5]. This connection between home security, health, and well-being has been extensively documented [6]. Despite being a fundamental right, refugees often lack access to safe and clean housing with adequate facilities [7]. Instead, they are frequently accommodated in various types of shelters, including camps and informal settlements, characterized by poor living conditions across rural and urban settings [8].

A review of the past literature reveals a lack of studies focusing on the quality of refugee housing. Ziersch and Due [9] conducted a literature review study on refugee housing, where they identified 30s that focused on refugee camps or post-resettlement housing and their impact on physical and/or mental health. Several studies have identified that housing quality, affordability, mobility, discrimination, and overcrowding affect the health of refugees in resettlement countries [10–12]. It has been suggested by multiple researchers that unstable housing, overcrowding, and discrimination lead to increased stress and worsened mental health [13, 14], alongside exacerbating physical health issues like asthma and infectious diseases [15]. Thus, access to stable housing is crucial for effective mental health treatment. Furthermore, the study also states that there is an urgent need for research in this field to guide policymakers in resettling countries regarding providing support services tailored to different categories of refugees, addressing housing influencing their health and well-being.

In this chapter, the authors provide an overview of the effect of housing on the health and well-being of occupants as identified in previous literature along with the current condition of housing for refugees around the globe as they resettle. A systematic search across various databases was conducted, and relevant journals were consulted to identify literature on refugee housing. Key search terms such as ‘refugee housing’, ‘forced migration’, ‘refugee integration’, and ‘shelter challenges’ were utilized to ensure comprehensive coverage. Additionally, the reference lists of identified articles were reviewed to enhance the scope of their search. Eligible studies were then reviewed for inclusion, and pertinent details such as study name, authors, journal, research design, and findings were extracted by two researchers. These details were synthesized to inform the analysis, focusing on key aspects of each study including its purpose, methodology, and conclusions.

2. Understanding refugee housing pre- and post-resettlement and well-being

Currently, there are 110 million forcibly displaced people worldwide, including 36 million refugees enduring vulnerability and uncertainty in their living environments [16]. Inadequate living conditions significantly impact physical and mental health, often resulting in mortality, contradicting the World Health Organization’s ‘everyone healthy’ concept and Sustainable Development Goals 6 and 11, which aim for universal access to water and sanitation by 2030 [17]. Refugees face precarious housing crises living in temporary shelters or even after being repatriated to the resettlement countries.

Refugees living in temporary shelters including camps whether it is located in urban or rural areas, the housing crises are enormous including insufficient water, sanitation, and hygiene facilities (WASH), and overcrowding caters to their psycho-physical ill-being. Currently, over 6.6 million refugees and individuals in similar

circumstances reside in camps; of these, 4.6 million are in planned or supervised camps and over 2 million are in self-settled camps [18]. In urban areas, refugees accommodation live in non-functional public buildings, collective centers, slums, or even in informal settlements with poor living conditions. UNHCR and the wider humanitarian communities construct shelters or communal centers in urban areas, while in rural areas, refugee camps serve as critical components of the humanitarian response, especially during crises [19]. These camps are typically managed by national host governments and humanitarian organizations led by the UNHCR, ensuring aid delivery [20]. However, despite their intended purpose of aiding and protecting those fleeing persecution, refugee camps can have negative impacts on inhabitants. Humanitarian aid within these camps may diminish refugees' independence and worsen the trauma of displacement [21].

The security and stability of refugee camps depend largely on their location [22], management [23], and population demographics [24]. Often situated in poor areas away from major cities, these camps lack proper security measures and are prone to armed attacks. While a higher male ratio may reduce the risk of assault, internal criminality, particularly gender-based violence against women and girls, poses significant threats to stability found among Somali Women Refugees In Dadaab Refugee Camp [25]. Refugees face immense challenges in accessing adequate sanitation and housing, essential for their health and dignity [18]. Due to their temporary nature and focus on short-term solutions, refugee camps frequently lack sufficient infrastructure and water supplies [26]. Furthermore, access to education is another obstacle in refugee camps, where children's educational programs are typically provided at no cost, though financial barriers may still arise for supplies, transportation, and other necessities [27]. Limited employment opportunities exacerbate psychological issues, social isolation, and the cycle of poverty among refugees [28]. Restrictions on formal employment and access to financial services hinder refugees' ability to contribute to the economy has been evident in the European countries [29]. Additionally, refugees often face restrictions on their rights and liberties within camp settings, including limitations on movement, access to services, and employment opportunities. Four key aspects—security and stability, housing and hygiene, employment and education, and health—define the quality of living conditions in refugee camps across the globe [9]. However, a large amount of research conducted in low- and middle-income nations revealed that low living conditions in refugee camps are strongly associated with poor physical and mental well-being (**Figure 1**) [17].

Post-resettlement is the final destination of the refugees after residing for a long period in temporary shelters/houses in different neighboring countries as undocumented immigrants or refugees. Housing plays an important role in the successful integration of refugee immigrants into society [30]. UNHCR's role in migration is unique and actively plays a role in nominating refugee titles and resettling refugees in different high-income countries including the USA, Germany, Australia, and Canada [31]. However, past literature found that refugees often face post-resettlement stresses—housing is one of them [32].

Post-resettlement living conditions for refugees present various challenges across resettlement nations like Australia, Canada, the UK, Germany, and New Zealand. These include discrimination, high rental prices, uncertain tenancy, restricted access to public housing, and language barriers. To go in-depth, asylum seekers may also lack the necessary documentation and eligibility for welfare and fear repercussions on their visa applications when raising housing concerns [9]. Past research also found that limited government support and work restrictions further increase the risk of homelessness for



Figure 1.
Rohingya refugee camp, Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh [17].

asylum seekers, underscoring the need for improved housing regulations and support services [33]. Moreover, past studies also claimed that cultural barriers, geographic constraints, and rising costs further hinder access to affordable housing during resettlement, as evidenced in various studies [34]. Furthermore, as noted in a study conducted by Bhattacharjee and Noyori-Corbett [35], inadequate and substandard housing among refugee immigrants post-resettlement has remained a significant public concern, as highlighted by existing literature emphasizing the role of housing in influencing the health and well-being of residents. Moreover, Oudshoorn, Benbow, and Meyer [36] noted in their study that in Canada, while Syrian refugees can find affordable housing, securing units in desirable locations proves challenging. Asian refugees in Australia contend with significant ventilation issues in their resettled housing [37], while in Germany, refugee children lack access to adequate play facilities in their new homes [38], which impacts their well-being (**Figure 2**).

Well-being refers to being physically and mentally comfortable, healthy, happy, and prosperous. It encompasses a holistic sense of contentment, satisfaction, and fulfillment in various aspects of life, including physical health, mental and emotional well-being, social connections, and a sense of purpose or meaning. Subjective well-being (SWB) comprises life satisfaction (i.e., contentment with life overall), emotional well-being (also known as affect or hedonic well-being), and eudaimonia (i.e., self-actualization and finding meaning in life) [39]. It also reflects how individuals perceive their overall well-being within their social circumstances across different domains including housing [40].



Figure 2.
Overcrowded living conditions, refugee family apartment, Dallas TX [35].



Figure 3.
Indoor environmental health and safety issues, refugee family apartment, Dallas, TX [35].

Housing conditions including home ownership and community environment significantly influence health consequences, and the well-being of residents is broadly acknowledged in the existing literature [41–44]. There has been a compelling amount of evidence showing the detrimental effects of indoor air toxins [45, 46], dampness [47], mold [48, 49], cold interior temperatures [50], overcrowding [51], and safety hazards on the physical health of the residents also reflected the refugee studies [52] as well (**Figure 3**).

Given the complexity of the issues encountered by displaced populations, it is concerning that refugee issues receive little attention in the debate surrounding research [53, 54]. Refugees frequently endure trauma, are uprooted, and have trouble getting basic services. Their integration is further hampered by marginalization and discrimination. Refugee studies are neglected due to a lack of cooperation, financing, and global priorities that conflict with one another. To give refugee issues top priority and facilitate efficient responses to refugee crises, more advocacy work and public awareness are required [55].

3. Factors influencing refugee housing conditions

Globally, numerous studies have addressed housing for voluntary immigrants; however, research focusing solely on refugee immigrants is limited [56].

Several researches indicated that refugee immigrants encounter numerous barriers to accessing suitable housing or accommodation upon arrival in resettlement countries [12, 57–59]. The quality of housing among refugee immigrants is influenced by a multitude of factors, including government policies, humanitarian aid efforts, and host community attitudes [60]. Literature indicates that government policies play a pivotal role in shaping the quality of refugee housing through regulations, standards, and funding mechanisms [61–63]. Additionally, government policies impact the availability of suitable housing options and the integration of refugees into existing communities.

Studies conducted in Australia and the UK have identified challenges in securing private rental accommodation due to various factors, such as availability, lack of references, and affordability, making alternative accommodation options difficult to attain [7, 9, 10, 12, 57, 58, 64]. Multiple studies in suburban and urban areas of Canada have identified challenges faced by refugee immigrants in obtaining secure and well-paid employment, which impacts their integration and housing conditions [65, 66]. Lack of knowledge about available and affordable housing, along with insufficient housing services and programs, forces them to rely on their social networks rather than resettlement agencies for housing location decisions [66–68]. Studies in the USA have examined various aspects, including homeownership rates among refugee populations in specific regions [56], housing pathways for immigrants [69, 70], and challenges faced by particular immigrant groups in finding affordable housing [71, 72].

Further, attitudes of the host community toward refugees have a significant influence on the quality of housing available to them. Positive attitudes and welcoming environments facilitate the integration of refugees into local communities and promote inclusive housing policies. Conversely, negative attitudes and discrimination may lead to limited access to housing resources, unsuitable living conditions, and social exclusion for refugees. Discrimination against refugees in countries like Australia and the UK further highlights the housing access issues [12].

Based on the data from the existing literature discussed above, the primary factors influencing the desirability and affordability of refugee housing are related to limited economic stability, availability of housing, poor housing conditions, and cultural and social considerations. Many refugees face economic challenges that limit their ability to afford suitable housing options. Limited access to employment opportunities and financial resources can worsen housing affordability issues. The availability of affordable and suitable housing options is critical in determining housing desirability for refugees. Limited housing supply, competition for rental properties, and restrictive zoning regulations may pose barriers to accessing adequate housing. The quality of housing, including factors such as safety, cleanliness, and accessibility, significantly impacts its desirability. Refugees often face challenges due to substandard housing conditions, overcrowding, and insufficient infrastructure. As cultural preferences, family size, and social networks influence refugees' housing preferences and choices, access to culturally appropriate housing options and support services can enhance housing desirability and result in successful resettlement. Difficulties in securing housing are also linked to other aspects of refugee integration or resettlement, such as education and social connections [11].

4. Impact of housing conditions on well-being

Researchers worldwide have highlighted housing as a key determinant of health and well-being for refugee immigrants during resettlement [9, 58, 73–76]. A healthy living environment should offer safety and privacy and be in proximity to places of employment and essential amenities. However, for refugee immigrants, housing is often situated in stigmatized areas that are in deteriorating conditions [77].

Over the last two decades, research related to housing has been focused on three key aspects, i.e., quality, affordability, and stability. Studies have examined the impact of housing conditions on health outcomes, emphasizing factors such as structural integrity, indoor air quality, and sanitation [78–80]. The affordability of housing is directly related to its quality and accessibility. Research has explored the connection between housing affordability and health, highlighting the financial strain that

inadequate housing places on individuals and families [81–84]. Housing stability, which encompasses factors such as tenure security and eviction risk, is equally important for maintaining health and well-being. Several studies have shown the detrimental effects of housing instability on mental health, stress levels, and overall quality of life of the residents [10, 85–88].

Apart from physical health, numerous studies have highlighted the relationship between housing conditions and mental health. Substandard housing conditions, marked by overcrowding, insufficient ventilation, and safety hazards, have consistently been linked to negative mental health consequences. Singh, Danielle, and Bentley [89] conducted a study examining longitudinal data on the effects of housing disadvantage on mental health. Their findings suggest that previous exposure to housing disadvantage related to tenure, instability, and physical attributes could have lasting effects on mental well-being later in life.

Individuals living in substandard housing often experience increased levels of stress, anxiety, and depression. Previous studies concluded that housing insecurity along with food insecurity was linked to insufficient sleep among adults, while stress from housing or food insecurity may contribute to prolonged psychological distress or depressive symptoms [90–92]. Studies also highlighted the adverse effects of housing insecurity, such as crowding and frequent relocations, on children's psychological well-being, and health [91, 92]. Poor housing conditions, such as lack of safety, high noise levels, and inadequate heating or cooling, may further disrupt sleep patterns that affect both the psychological and physical well-being of occupants [78, 93].

Further, the financial implication of maintaining inadequate housing or struggling with housing affordability can lead to chronic stress and mental health challenges [81]. When individuals are forced to prioritize housing expenses over other essential needs, such as health care or education, the strain on mental health can be particularly acute [94, 95]. Conversely, improvements in housing conditions have been shown to have positive effects on mental health outcomes. Access to safe, stable, and suitable housing can provide individuals with a sense of security, control, and belonging, thereby promoting overall well-being [96, 97]. Recognizing how housing conditions and mental health are closely related is crucial for developing effective interventions and policies for improving both aspects of the residents' lives.

In conclusion, access to quality housing emerges as a major influential factor affecting both the physical and mental health of refugee immigrants [98]. A photo-voice study by Fozdar and Hartley [15] among refugees in Western Australia revealed that homes provided a significant source of ontological security, regardless of whether they were rented or owned, despite challenges in the housing market. An analysis of housing pathways in rural Germany by Weidinger and Kordel [99] found that refugees often relocate after being granted refugee status due to the low quality of housing.

5. Cultural adaptation and housing strategies

Refugee immigrants, when in a new environment, often find comfort in familiarity, connecting with elements that are reminiscent of their roots. This can involve resuming old habits, socializing with similar-minded individuals, or integrating tangible symbols of their heritage or personal aspirations into the physical surroundings. The concept is referred to as placemaking, which plays a crucial role during the resettlement process, as it can either greatly facilitate or hinder the resettlement journey depending on its cultivation. This refers to adapting to the environment, both

physically and emotionally, to align with the cultural pride and identity of its inhabitants. Placemaking involves transforming a generic space that is focused solely on functionality, into a meaningful place that reflects the individual's concept of 'home'.

Placemaking is particularly vital for refugees navigating displacement, providing a means for them to endure the challenges of living in camps, especially in larger ones like Azraq and Zataar in Jordan. In these camps, housing thousands of individuals seeking refuge, a distinct ecosystem has naturally evolved, gradually transforming them from temporary shelters into potential 'cities of tomorrow'. Despite limited construction resources and knowledge, residents have taken it upon themselves to expand, construct, and enhance the camps, significantly improving safety, organization, and overall comfort for everyone involved.

In Canada, a study revealed that despite facing the crisis of adequate housing, poor neighborhood conditions, and procedural barriers preventing them from improving their housing conditions, refugee immigrants are making efforts to adjust their living environments at various levels including placemaking [100].

6. Community integration and empowerment

Integration of refugee and host communities has always been a concern among stakeholders and policymakers, especially in locales where many refugees resettle. Disapproval of refugee resettlement among host community members is usually high where images of immigrants are negative due to a prevailing anti-immigrant political climate. Some believe that the stability of their employment has been threatened by newcomers to their communities, while others believe that crime rates increase when a larger number of refugees are present [101]. Among the several indicators of obstructions to integration between merging communities, a history of systemic racial discrimination within the rental market in the USA, including redlining and steering techniques, presents integration challenges [102].

The divide between the two communities has its most negative impact on the refugee side. Most refugees came from a community where they felt everyone was connected and, in turn, that connectedness made the community strong. They now feel isolated and helpless, as they do not feel part of the society they live in [103]. However, refugees expressed the importance of balancing connections to host community members and privacy when they were asked about their living environment. Willems et al. [103] found this as the balance between the expansion of social capital in a newly resettled community and the preservation of a refugee's particular identity. Refugees also confirmed that both connectedness to the host community and privacy help not only heal their traumas but also the better integration of the two communities. Housing designs and designing processes considering this balance will help create an inclusive and diverse built environment and society.

NGOs play a significant role in supporting refugee housing issues and thus help the process of integration of host and refugee communities. Typically, in the USA, NGOs prepare an apartment unit for a refugee family before their arrival. They also prepare basic furniture and other items such as kitchen utensils and dining sets. Preparation for their apartment after securing the unit for newly arrived refugees is only one of numerous numbers of services local NGOs provide to newly arrived refugees funded by the federal government [104]. Frontline staff are responsible for providing services, such as cultural orientation, youths' enrollment in schools, job orientation, medical services, legal services, and case management.

In preparation for their housing, NGOs also help refugees with challenges refugees face, such as racist discriminatory practices by private owners or real estate/housing companies [105]. In addition, it depends on the role of an employee of the NGO, but an employee can perform a variety of roles, such as finding resources for counseling and support while their housing search continues, as there are many obstacles including discrimination, guarantee owners who are suspicious of foreigner's accountability for payment. This support provided by local NGOs eventually helps communities to achieve integration. The challenges NGO workers face in securing housing for newly arriving refugees are intersectional, depending on the racial, ethnic, and gender background of refugees [106].

7. Policy implications and recommendations

As one of the authors once worked as a social worker serving refugees in a major Southern state, she acknowledges that the responsibilities of the case manager work are diverse. Securing housing is one of the numerous services a case manager needs to complete before the arrival of refugee individuals and families. There is no time for these frontline case workers to advocate for better programs, policies, and governance to help solve the local challenges of securing a place to live for refugees. The challenges refugees face when a case manager searches for new apartment units to rent for refugees speak more to macro issues in our society that individual workers or NGOs cannot solve by themselves.

Byrne et al. [102] conducted community participatory housing research in Utah, USA, and recommended certain tactics for refugees to reduce their mindset of uncertainty and powerlessness when going through their housing search: accessible opportunities and landlords, increased accountability, transparency, and communication. Not only the lack of trust for landlords but also the system itself make refugees feel excluded from their communities. Any newcomers from foreign countries are not used to the U.S. rental market regulations such as extra fees at the beginning and seemingly much larger monthly rates. Auslander [107] discussed the importance of having guidance through which housing policies and the rental market can play a big role in the smoother integration of refugees into host communities. To achieve this, each city resettling refugees should prepare for any future refugee arrival by considering multiple factors, such as population density, availability of housing, and geographic location.

Also recommended is the importance of developing a collaborative strategic plan for refugee accommodation between the city government and the resettlement NGOs [107]. Not only policy but the governance of a coalition of city government and NGOs should be analyzed for the success of refugee housing issues if there are any failures. Governance in this sense includes institutional psychology and practices that might be biased by the major party within it [108]. In the example of Sweden [107], researchers suggested that both housing and resettlement policies need to be considered as a package. Debate in terms of general housing policy and local market dynamics, instead of investigating ideographic cases of specific new refugee groups. If the city government develops a new policy only for a specific new refugee group by creating 'refugee categories' for their smooth resettlement, there will be an issue of integration, as this new refugee housing policy will result in the sacrifice of other vulnerable populations.

The major concern in terms of developing a better policy is the gap between federal policy for refugee resettlement and the capacity of local NGOs active in a

community. As noted earlier, refugees face intersectional challenges when a frontline staff of a local NGO tries to secure housing for refugees without these concerns and obstacles not being discussed in resettlement policies. Specific programs need to be developed, along with a policy related to these specific needs [106].

8. Conclusion

As noted in this chapter, housing is a primary determinant of health and well-being acknowledged both internationally and also by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights [4]. Despite this acknowledgment, refugees in various resettling countries often face significant challenges accessing safe and adequate housing as noted by multiple authors. Current literature on the topic of refugee housing highlights various factors that influence refugee housing quality which includes but is not limited to affordability and stability, underscoring the need for tailored support services and policy interventions in resettlement countries.

Refugee housing conditions, whether in camps or post-resettlement settings, significantly impact physical and mental health outcomes. Several factors such as substandard housing quality, characterized by overcrowding, inadequate sanitation, safety hazards, and housing instability and affordability, contribute to a range of health issues and exacerbate pre-existing conditions including both physical well-being [35, 89] and psychological well-being [81].

It has also been recognized that community integration and empowerment are crucial for fostering positive housing outcomes for refugees, thus influencing well-being. These include but are not limited to positive host community attitudes, support from NGOs, and inclusive housing policies [107]. Furthermore, placemaking efforts and culturally sensitive housing strategies play essential roles in promoting a sense of belonging and identity among refugee communities [103].

Policy implications as described earlier emphasize the need for collaborative approaches between governments, NGOs, and local communities to address refugee housing challenges effectively [107]. Recommendations include enhancing housing affordability, improving access to resources and support services, and fostering transparent communication and accountability within housing systems. Additionally, policymakers should consider the challenges and the specific needs associated with diverse refugee populations when developing comprehensive and inclusive policies prioritizing refugee well-being and integration into host communities.

Conflict of interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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Edited by Samson Maekele Tsegay

Migration has been one of the contested topics among scholars and politicians throughout the world. Similarly, the experiences of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants have been different as they are influenced by race, gender, class, and geographical location. This book explores the experiences of international migrants, including the challenges they face from nation-states, environmental issues, and sociocultural factors. It consists of chapters that discuss the causes and effects of migration, the role of nation-states, and the environment. Moreover, the book covers gender and family relations and the relationship of refugees and migrants with the host population and the socio-cultural and economic integration of migrants. Overall, the book argues that international migrants, particularly refugees and asylum seekers, are among the most vulnerable groups in the world. However, they use various strategies to overcome their vulnerability and become resilient in the face of adversity. Hence, the book contributes to increasing people's awareness of migration and the experiences of refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. It can also be a significant source for initiating further debate and academic discussion on issues of migration and forced displacement, vulnerability, and resilience.

Published in London, UK

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