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COUNTRIES: A RESEARCH MODEL**

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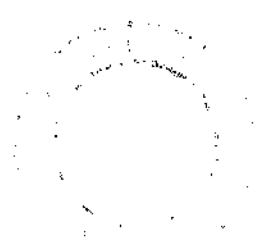
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For the vast majority of refugees in the Third World, integration in the country of first asylum is the only feasible durable solution - barring decisive improvements in their home countries which alone would permit voluntary repatriation. In recent years there have been a number of empirical studies on refugee integration, and these have increased our knowledge of what happens when a large influx of refugees takes place; but there is still a lack of conceptual clarity on the issue. Definitions of integration are sketchy or altogether absent, and there has been little theoretical reflection on how to measure integration or on the factors that determine it. Consequently, our understanding of the integration process remains incomplete. Without such understanding, the valuable experiences gained from empirical research cannot be extrapolated, as each case is studied in terms of its own specific setting.

Refugee studies can be seen as part of the wider field of migration studies, in which there has been much more theoretical development. However, most theories relate to voluntary migration only and are of limited relevance to the study of involuntary migration.¹ Where there has been intensive research of refugee integration, it has taken place mostly in developed countries - such as the studies on Indochinese refugees in North America. The problems surrounding a large refugee influx in countries such as the Sudan or Pakistan are altogether different - the most significant difference being that in the latter cases the refugees are desperately poor and the host country's capacity to provide for them is severely limited.

This article is an attempt to formulate a theoretical framework for the study of refugee integration in developing countries. It is based on the limited number of theoretical publications in this field as well as on some of the insights developed in migration and acculturation studies in general. It was inspired by field research on Eritrean refugees in the region of Kassala (Sudan) in which the author participated (Kuhlman, 1990), and in which the ideas elaborated here were used in a crude form.

The concept of integration is a highly problematic one. Hence, the article begins by examining the merits of the concept and formulating a definition. Next, a preliminary model for integration is designed, specifying different dimensions of integration and the factors that influence it. The model is simplified in that it does neither take feedback into account, nor the interrelationships between the various dimensions of the integration process. For a more detailed picture it is appropriate to concentrate on one dimension, and then specifying those interrelationships. In this article a more specific and operational model is proposed for the economic dimension, which was the primary interest of the Kassala research.

While the economic aspect is only one among many, it is nonetheless an important one in a situation characterized by extreme poverty. However, it must be seen as part of an overall process of integration.

Other dimensions of that process are considered insofar as they affect economic integration. Something similar could be done for the cultural or the psychological aspect of integration.

1. What is integration?

Integration in the country of first refuge is considered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as one of the three possible durable solutions to refugee problems. It may thus be regarded as the goal of the settlement process: if it is achieved, the refugee problem can be considered solved. This makes it imperative to define integration, and to define it rigorously enough to permit assessing whether a refugee is truly integrated, comparing whether one group is more integrated than another, and measuring the progress of integration over time. Within the field of refugee studies we find ourselves here on relatively untrodden ground, as there has been little theoretical reflection on this issue. Most of the interest in refugee integration has come from practitioners, and few attempts have been made to define the term with any degree of precision. Two examples of the inadequacy of official definitions are cited below.

- (1) The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees defines integration as "the process by which the refugee is assimilated into the social and economic life of a new national community" (UNHCR, undated: 5). This definition is clearly unsatisfactory: it is tautological, as it merely replaces the term to be defined with another word which is presumed to be synonymous. What, then, is assimilation? The criticism can be moved a step further: is integration really the same as assimilation? As we shall see below, a distinction between the two concepts makes sense.

It may be noted that integration is not formally defined in the principal legal instruments that govern UNHCR policies: the 1951 Convention and the UNHCR Statute. Article 8 of the Statute, which specifies the duties of the High Commissioner, includes promoting the "admission [of refugees] to a new national community" (United Nations, 1950). That can hardly mean anything else than their naturalization, and this is confirmed in Article 34 of the Convention, which states that the state of asylum "shall facilitate the naturalization of refugees" (United Nations, 1951). While this is an important aspect of refugee integration, it is not generally accepted in Africa and certainly not in the Sudan.² Nor is it mentioned in UNHCR publications nowadays, undoubtedly because it would not carry any favour with countries of asylum. International hospitality has changed since the 1950s.

- (2) The government of the Sudan regards integration as economic self-sufficiency: once refugees have become independent of external assistance they are regarded as integrated into national society. Although limited in scope, this may seem a useful and practical aim for the government of a host country. However, while it can be of

some use in the organized settlements (where people depend partly on aid), for the self-settled refugees it is a conditio sine qua non of their existence: virtually all refugee households are economically self-sufficient - or their members would not have survived. There are few exceptions to this rule: some refugees are supported by others because they have arrived recently, because they are incapable of work and have relatives looking after them; but the refugee community as a whole supports itself. Therefore, the self-settled would be integrated by definition.

The concept of integration in refugee studies

Among the few scholars who have grappled with defining refugee integration, Harrell-Bond suggests that it refers to "a situation in which host and refugee communities are able to co-exist, sharing the same resources - both economic and social - with no greater mutual conflict than that which exists within the host community" (1986: 7). However, she immediately rejects this definition as too simple: access to resources may be unequal, one group may be exploited by another, and conflict within the host society may have increased due to the pressure of the refugees' presence (ibid.). Yet this definition has at least the merit that it looks at integration as something that happens not only to refugees, but also to the host society. I shall return to that issue later.

Another student of refugee integration is Wijbrandi, who claims adherence to the UNHCR definition but operationalizes it in a way which makes it much more sophisticated. He measures integration in terms of (a) income-generating activities of refugees; and (b) their social and economic position in the host country compared to that of the local population (1986: 17-18). This definition has the merit of being clearheaded enough to be used for field research (as Wijbrandi did), yet it also has serious shortcomings. I already rejected the usefulness of participation in the national economy as a criterion for integration. The second criterion suffers from the absence of a realistic standard by which the positions of refugees and nationals can be compared. This requires some explanation.

Many African societies are of a plural nature in the sense Furnivall (1939) used the term: they are not only ethnically heterogeneous, but there is a strong correlation between ethnicity and socio-economic stratification. Each ethnic group has its own place in the social structure, and therewith its own role in the economy. As a consequence, income levels vary significantly with ethnicity, and the average income level (Wijbrandi's main indicator for economic position) has little relevance in social reality. The refugee population may be made up of different ethnic groups too, each finding a niche in the host society. If their positions are generally low on the socio-economic scale (which they usually are), it could be maintained that the refugees are not well integrated. But then many ethnic groups composed of nationals would not be integrated either. In the type of society found in most Western countries, where a large majority belongs to one ethnic group and where there is a dominant belief in equal opportunities, Wijbrandi's criterion would be adequate; in such a society (which may be called monist), if a group distinguished by ethnic, religious or

gender criteria has economic positions that deviate systematically from the average, one can say that this group is not integrated - and possibly discriminated against. In a plural society, however, one would have to say this about all groups and thus the term loses its meaning as a distinctive characteristic of particular groups (such as refugees).³

Evidently, we must look beyond the field of refugee studies for a proper definition. The Oxford English Dictionary is of little help: "integration" means "the making up or composition of a whole by adding together or combining the separate parts or elements; combination into an integral whole; a making whole or entire" (1970 edition). I think something may be added to these semantics: integration carries the connotation that the separate parts, while being incorporated into a larger whole, do not therewith lose their individuality. Components are integrated into an automobile, but a lump of sugar is not integrated into a cup of coffee. This is of some importance, as will become clear below.

Integration as a concept in migration studies: modes of acculturation

In sociology, the concept of integration is rooted in the ideas of Emile Durkheim on how a society keeps together. These ideas were developed further by Talcott Parsons; in his view, "integration refers to (a) the compatibility of the components of the system; and (b) maintenance of the conditions of the distinctiveness of the system within its boundaries over against its environment" (Parsons, 1951: 36n). Part (a) of this regrettably ineloquent statement appears the most relevant to the adaptation of refugees or other migrants to a new situation; evidently, Parsons' concern (typical of the functionalist school) is with how a social system can maintain itself, while the central question of the present study has to do with how people fit (or fail to fit) into a social system - of which the economy is one aspect.

In migration studies, however, the term was not used until the late 1950s. Instead authors spoke of acculturation, defined as culture change resulting from continuous, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936); or of adaptation: "the mutual interaction of individuals and collectivities and their response to particular physical and social environments" (Goldlust & Richmond, 1974: 195). Others used terms such as assimilation or absorption (Eisenstadt, 1954). These latter terms, however, are less neutral as they imply that migrants become an indistinguishable part of the host population. In the discussion on acculturation processes, there are three orientations: those who want all immigrants to adopt the dominant majority culture, the advocates of a 'melting-pot' (i.e. the blending of cultures and races to produce a new national culture), and those who favour ethnic pluralism in which communities retain much of their original culture and the country becomes a federation of nationalities (Price, 1969:183). It is this latter option that has been labeled integration, in opposition to assimilation as referring to the other possible outcomes of the acculturation process, (in both cases, the emergence of a homogeneous society). This use of the term seems to have originated with the 1956 UNESCO conference (Borrie, 1959), and it accords well with the semantic

meaning to which I pointed. An example of this kind of definition is Bernard's: "integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behaviour patterns and participate freely in its activities, but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity." (1973: 87).

Bernard's definition is preferred by Bulcha (1988: 85), one of very few refugee students who seriously address the problem of defining integration. He thinks that it describes reality in Africa better than concepts such as assimilation or absorption do, in view of the plural nature of most African societies. In Bulcha's words, integration "implies a mutual 'live and let live' attitude based on tolerance of differences, solidarity and positive interaction. This is not to suggest a harmonious equilibrium or a static balance between the different groups. Conflict is naturally part of the relationship" (1988: 86).

This may well describe loosely what happens to refugees in Africa, but how are we to measure integration in this sense, to what can it be opposed? Bulcha opposes 'integration' to 'marginalization', the latter meaning "withdrawal of the minority group into certain occupations, separate areas of residence or an inferior status"; it also involves "a limited degree of tolerance and acceptance ... towards the minority ... [which] must learn to survive under extreme social stress." (ibid.) However, the concept of marginality - as is clear from Bulcha's own account - is the opposite not of integration but of assimilation: he quotes sociologists such as Park, Stonequist and Merton who all refer to 'marginal man' as an individual who fails to become a member of the community into which he has migrated. Bulcha's own formulation of the concept of integration is vague and contradictory: there may be solidarity and positive interaction, but also disequilibrium and conflict. When is a refugee integrated and when marginalized? Bulcha seems to suggest that the former applies to refugees in Africa and the latter to migrants from Third-World countries in Europe (1988: 86), but this is too facile: in Europe migrants can be marginalized because they could also be assimilated, whereas in plural societies there is nothing they could assimilate to.

The terms integration, assimilation and marginalization have been cast into a model by the social psychologist John W. Berry, who has been concerned with acculturation among immigrants into Canada and among Canadian Indians (Berry, 1988). He distinguishes four possible outcomes of the acculturation process, and one of these he calls integration. The distinction is based on two factors: whether the acculturating group maintains or loses its own cultural identity, and whether or not it engages in social relations with the dominant society (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Berry's acculturation model

		Maintenance of cultural identity:	
		YES	NO
Relations with other groups:	YES	integration	assimilation
	NO	separation	marginalization

Source: Modified from Berry, 1988: 45.

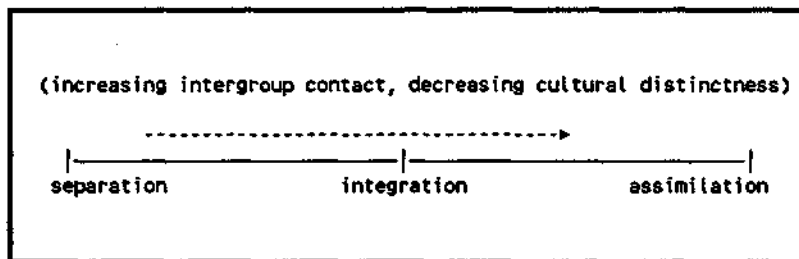
A situation where the group becomes submerged into the dominant society is labeled assimilation; the opposite, where there are no relations with the larger society and the group sticks to its own identity, is called separation (or segregation, where it is imposed by other groups). There is also the possibility that the group loses its own culture yet does not become part of the dominant society; this is termed marginalization. Finally, a group may maintain its identity but also interact with society as a whole; which is what Berry calls integration.

The merit of this definition is that it allows several outcomes of the process of acculturation. Furthermore, it is attractive in that it implies the possibility of a group maintaining its own identity, and Berry clearly regards it as the most desirable option. This seems to be the main reason why he proposes it: it is a scientific justification for Canada's policy of multiculturalism. That policy aims at maintaining the cultural identity of Canada's many ethnic groups while at the same time fostering national unity; in Berry's terms, its objective is integration rather than assimilation. His definition of integration, like Wijbrandi's, contains a strong normative bias. One may sympathize with this bias; and undoubtedly there is much to be said for a gradual approach to acculturation, where traditional cultural expressions are preserved so as to enhance group self-confidence. In that sense, 'integration' differs from 'assimilation' in degree rather than in kind.

But Berry's model claims something more than this. It implicitly assumes that social interaction between groups and the maintenance of separate cultural identities are independent of one another. I agree that they are not one and the same thing, but I suggest they are closely related. I cannot maintain my own culture without interacting intensively with members of my own group. The time I spend on this cannot be spent on contacts outside the group. The more I interact with members of other groups, the less I shall be able to uphold my own cultural customs. Integration - in the sense Berry uses it - must mean a limited degree of contact with people outside my own group combined with a limited degree of maintaining the culture of that group. Therewith Berry's fourfold model loses its meaning, and I think a continuum from separation to assimilation is more representative of reality (see Figure 2).⁴ The meaning of integration in such a model, however, is not very satisfactory and can hardly be the goal of a refugee policy. The value of such a concept is, I fear, largely a

matter of propaganda: it claims that the negative aspects of both separation (no interaction) and assimilation (loss of identity) can be avoided.

Figure 2. An alternative acculturation model



A further criticism that can be made against Berry's concept of integration (as well as against the policy of multiculturalism) is that a culture can only be maintained to the extent that it does not conflict with the dominant one. Traditional leadership structures, for instance, may have to change in a new environment, and it may not be possible to pursue a way of life based on, say, subsistence-oriented shifting cultivation. Obviously, cultural change will be an inevitable consequence of a refugee situation, and it is only certain elements of a traditional culture that can be retained. This argument is stated by Burnet (1975, quoted in Berry, 1984: 355) and, it must be said, clearly recognized by Berry (*ibid.*). One may say that a cultural identity is maintained, rather than a culture as a whole. It seems that the fundamental incompatibility of separate cultures with national unity has also been recognized by Canadian authorities:

"in the late 1970s, there was a shift in programme emphasis away from the 'cultural' activities (basically own group maintenance and development programmes) toward the 'social' activities (basically, the sharing and tolerance goals). This was probably in response to a perception that some ethnic groups were viewing the policy as a chance to encapsulate themselves within Canada" (Berry, 1984: 365).

An attempt at synthesis

The conclusion seems warranted that the concept of integration as used in migration studies suffers from a lack of clarity, and has been used rather as a fashionable catchword, in order to soothe the feelings of ethnic minorities who are reluctant to be 'assimilated'.⁵ All this is not to say that to strive for pluralism is wrong, and that full assimilation is the only legitimate goal for a policy guiding an acculturation process. On the contrary, a middle way between assimilation and segregation may well be the most desirable form of acculturation - and in a plural society assimilation is impossible anyway, as pointed out above. However, integration can only be a compromise: full participation in the larger society cannot be achieved simultaneously with full maintenance of one's own cultural identity - it can only be a little of both. Integration can then be understood as a process of adaptation where migrants maintain their own identity,

yet become part of the host society to the extent that host population and refugees can live together in an acceptable way. This makes it distinct from assimilation, where group identity is lost, and it constitutes a form of adaptation suited to a plural society. It may be noted that the impact on the host society is included as part of the concept; this is implied in the meaning assigned by Parsons, and justifiably so. In other definitions (including that used by Bulcha) it is commonly left out - a reflection of the fact that refugee studies and refugee policies tend to be concerned with refugees only (cf. Chambers, 1986). However, any concern with refugee problems in poor countries must include not only those experienced by the refugees themselves but also those experienced by the host society.

The above definition is still extremely vague, for what is 'acceptable'? To answer that question entails a value judgment. Values are part of a culture, and every culture tends to have standards of what constitutes a minimally acceptable level of living. These standards and the degree to which they are attained must be the yardstick for integration research.⁶ General criteria, such as those proposed in Dudley Seers' famous definition of development (Seers, 1969) cannot be universally applied, much less specified. Nor can such criteria be designed on the basis of physiologically determined minimum requirements, as these are far below what human beings consider to be a life worth living; and moreover, in many if not all cultures some values are even placed above the biological survival of the individual - as even the most doctrinaire Western neo-classical economist must admit.⁷ Thus, the researcher must attempt to establish the extent to which refugees achieve a standard of living which is acceptable in their own cultural context.

Our definition can now be made more specific. If refugees are able to participate in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their cultural values; if they attain a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements;⁸ if the socio-cultural change they undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and to adjust psychologically to their new situation; if standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society have not deteriorated due to the influx of refugees; if friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host population itself; and if the refugees do not encounter more discrimination than exists between groups previously settled within the host society: then refugees are truly integrated. A durable solution to the problems arising from flight (but not those causing flight) can be said to have been achieved. This may seem a paradisiacal state seldom if ever attained in practice. What matters, however, is that it should give us a yardstick for measuring progress and for comparing the effects of alternative policies.

Integration itself is then defined as the process of change caused by the settlement of migrants in a plural society, if that process is evaluated in terms of the above criteria. It is obviously a process with many dimensions, each of which is the proper field of a particular science. As pointed out in the introduction, in this paper special attention is given to the economic dimension, evaluating the others in terms of their impact on economic integration. That adjective also requires definition, in view of the common confusion between the 'economic' and the 'social'. I define 'economic' as those aspects of

social life having to do with attaining material welfare through the optimal allocation of resources which that are scarce and alternatively applicable. In terms of economic anthropology, in which there has been a heated debate on the meaning of 'economic', this implies a mixed substantivist/Robbinsian sense.⁹

In view of the difficulties and confusion surrounding the term (including its non-neutral nature) it is debatable whether it should be employed at all. An alternative would be to use the word adaptation and abstain from attempting to define it precisely. My reasons for using the word nevertheless are (1) it is the term commonly used by UNHCR, host governments, and students of refugees; (2) it provides a yardstick, however, deficient, for evaluating the process of adaptation; and (3) as different from assimilation, it is well suited to plural societies such as exist in large parts of the Third World.

2. A model of integration

Having defined integration, the next step is to identify the factors that influence it. A starting-point can be found in Lee (1966). Lee suggests that migration processes are determined by four groups of factors: origin-related (push factors), destination-related (pull factors), personal factors and intervening obstacles (such as the cost and difficulty of transport). Lee's article, like most migration theory, is concerned with explaining migration rather than examining its consequences. Yet the four groups of factors he proposes can be used for the latter as well as the former - even better, in view of the criticism that has been raised against the distinction between 'push' and 'pull' factors.¹⁰ Lee's model inspired one of the first attempts to formulate a theory of refugee movements, that of Egon F. Kunz. After conceptualizing patterns of flight (1973), Kunz designed a theoretical framework for explaining what happens to refugees on resettlement (1981).

Kunz distinguishes three categories of factors, which he calls home-related, displacement-related and host-related (Figure 3). Within the first group, three subcategories of attitudes among refugees are distinguished: towards the situation from which they fled, towards their flight and their perspectives. Some refugees identify with the majority, which means they perceive a commonality of feelings between themselves and the people at home; others belong to a persecuted minority and may not feel any inclination ever to return; the self-alienated are similar, but their reasons are ideological or personal. Attitudes to displacement vary between feeling a passive victim of events and actively planning for a goal that cannot be achieved in the country of origin. The third subcategory refers to refugees' perspectives after they have obtained asylum: whether their goal is the overthrow of the government from which they fled, becoming citizens in the country of asylum (either fully assimilating or maintaining their own identity), or just coping as best as they can with whatever situation develops. Obviously, these three subcategories are of great

view of the fact that in his earlier article he did formulate some hypotheses on the correlations between flight-arrival patterns and individual characteristics: sex, age and education level (Kunz, 1973: 143). Such correlations could also be postulated between these characteristics and integration. In my view they are important enough to warrant a separate category of factors, to be called refugee characteristics.

The conceptualization of displacement-related factors is, I think, Kunz' strongest point. He introduced the notion of 'vintage groups' of refugees: a refugee population may consist of various groups that have each migrated under different circumstances at different times, and hence may embrace very different goals. Each vintage may be the result of particular negative events affecting that groups in the country of origin. A distinction is also made between 'acute' and 'anticipatory' movements: the former take place under the impact of an emergency requiring immediate flight, the latter have been more carefully planned and are carried out by those who are farsighted enough to flee before the need to do so is imminent; in anticipatory movements, a home in the country of settlement may often be prepared prior to flight. As Figure 3 shows, it is particularly in acute movements that vintages can be distinguished, as anticipatory movements tend to be spread out over a longer period. The latter may superficially resemble voluntary migration, but in fact the distress which is the hallmark of involuntary migration is clear when the situation at home is taken into consideration. As Kunz says, it is determined more by push factors plus the chance (permit) to go somewhere than by pull factors (Kunz, 1973: 132); Kunz therefore regards refugee movements as 'kinetic' rather than 'dynamic', i.e. governed largely by external forces. Even more evident is the push factor in acute movements, not only in flight itself but also in the resettlement process which is often governed by pressure exerted on the refugee. He reacts to this pressure by moving on ('plunge'), by staying where he is, or even by returning to his homeland; on the other hand, there may also be a certain freedom, in which case his eventual settlement may be influenced by pull factors. In Kunz' model, the various types of flight, vintages, and asylum experiences ultimately crystallize into what he terms resettlement cohorts.

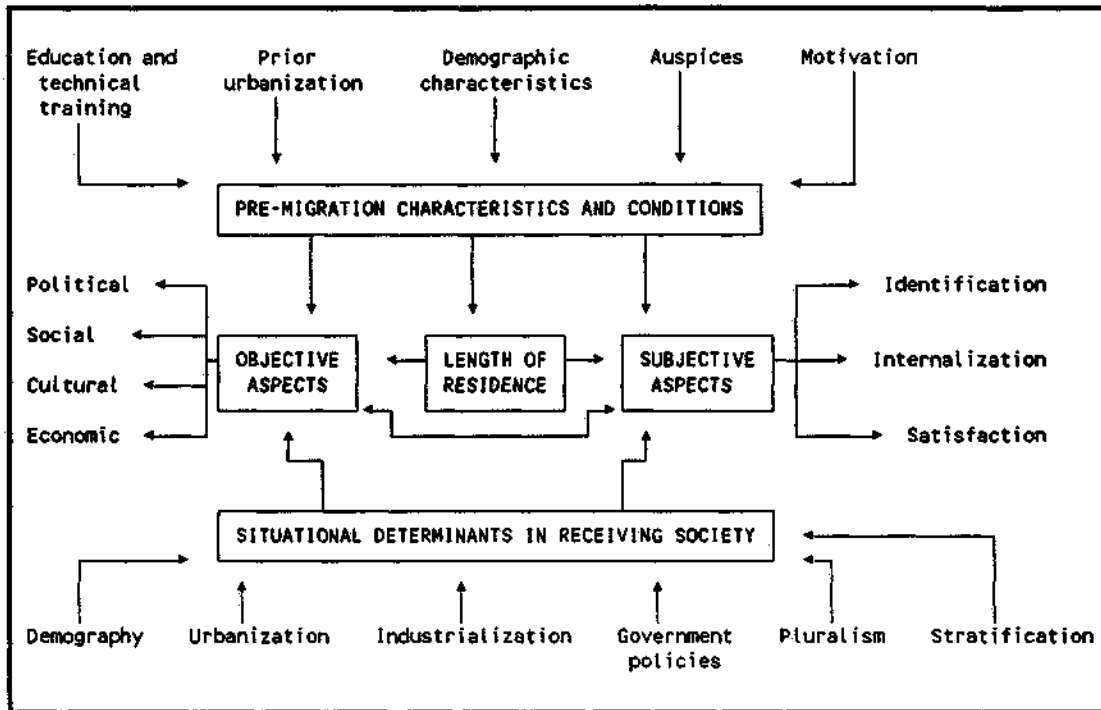
It is clear that Kunz' home-related factors are closely related to the left-hand part of his displacement-related factors: they all have to do with the attitudes and circumstances relating to the actual flight. Therefore, I shall include these under a single heading. The right-hand part of Kunz' category has to do with what happens in the country of asylum and therefore it would be more logical to subsume them under the host-related factors. That last category, in Kunz' model, contains three subcategories: the degree of cultural compatibility between refugees and host population; whether the host country encourages immigration in principle or accepts immigrants only reluctantly; and whether it expects people to assimilate the culture of the host or tolerates diversity.

Kunz' model appears to have been designed with the problems of refugees in developed countries in mind: his main concern is with the social and cultural adaptation of refugees. However, with some modifications and additions the model can be made highly useful also to the study of refugees in developing countries. As stated above, this

means economic factors must receive greater attention. Wijbrandi sketches such a modified model, distinguishing four groups of factors determining integration: (1) characteristics of the conflict(s) in the country of origin; (2) characteristics of the country of first asylum; (3) characteristics of the refugee population; (4) characteristics of refugee assistance (1986: 19-20). With this latter category I cannot agree: in that way, undue importance is given to refugee assistance. This factor is not by far as crucial to integration as the aid community likes to believe; it is certainly less important than the refugee policy followed by the host government, which Wijbrandi includes under category (2). Yet, there is a case for considering at least refugee policies (including foreign assistance) as a separate factor in integration, to the extent that policy alternatives can be said to exist and research is aimed at examining the consequences of policies.

An alternative model, used in modified form by Bulcha (1988: 90), is that of Goldlust & Richmond in an article on the adaptation of voluntary immigrants in metropolitan Toronto. This model distinguishes only two groups of determinants, namely 'pre-migration characteristics and conditions' and 'situational determinants in the receiving society'. Together with length of residence, these determinants influence adaptation, in which objective and subjective aspects are distinguished. Among the former we find the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions, while the latter are of a socio-psychological nature: the degree to which the immigrant identifies with the host society, internalizes its norms and values (rather than just outwardly conforming to them), and experiences satisfaction. Not included in the model is ethnicity (including language, race and religion), which is treated by the authors as a residual factor explaining differences in adaptation that cannot be explained by the model (ibid.: 200). It is depicted in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Goldlust & Richmond's model of immigrant adaptation



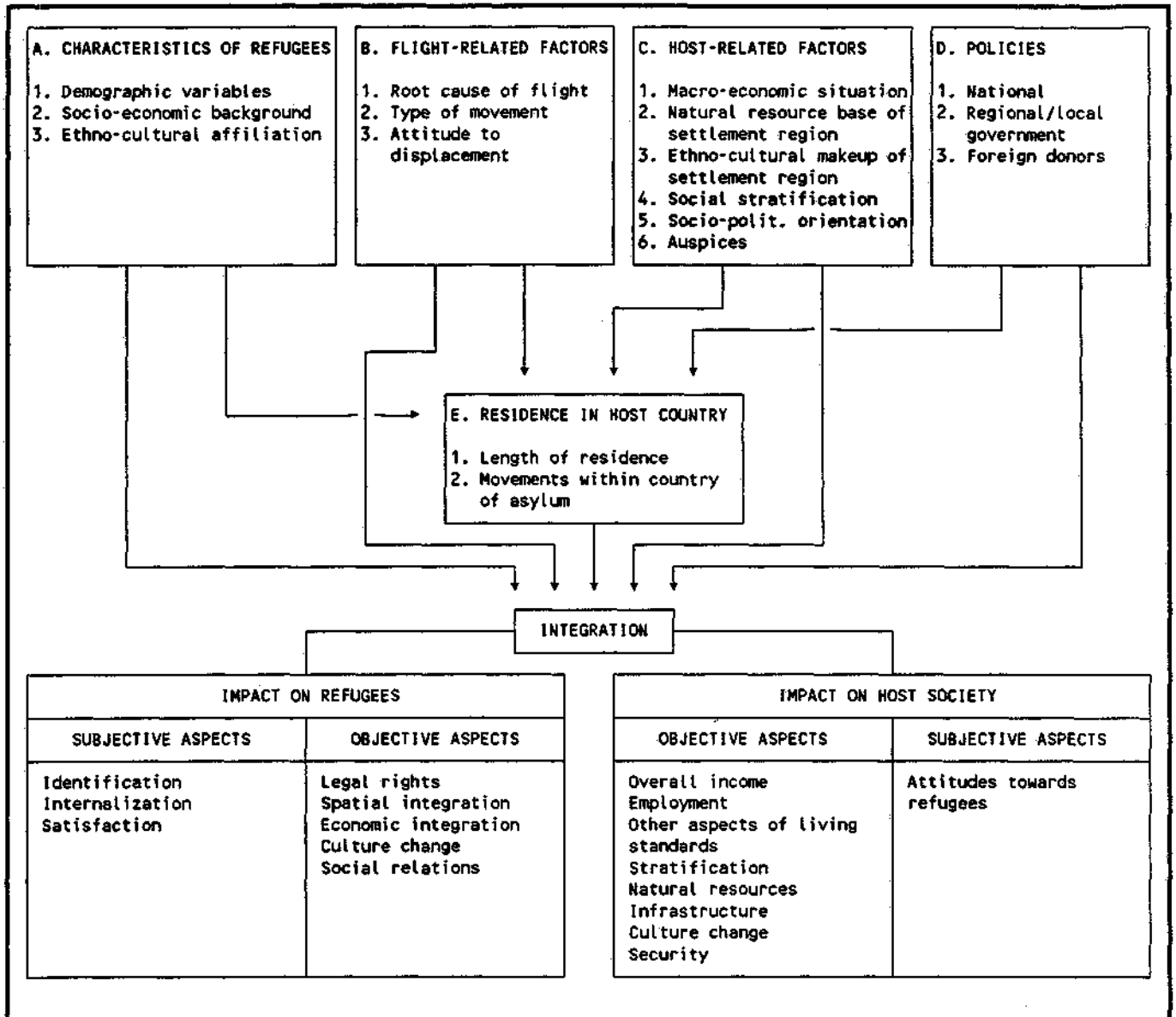
Source: Goldlust & Richmond, 1974: 198.

With 'auspices' is meant that an immigrant may be sponsored by relatives or friends who are already in the country of destination. This will obviously facilitate his adaptation. Another factor of great importance is 'length of residence', also included in this model.

Goldlust & Richmond's model is not contradictory to Kunz' but supplements it. Kunz' 'home-related factors' are here summarized as 'motivation', while other personal characteristics are explicitly mentioned as independent variables. More importantly, it spells out the different dimensions of integration. On the other hand, characteristics of the host society are not considered in this model, nor are variables related to the migration movement itself included.

However, when the ideas of both authors are combined it is possible to draw up a more complete model, incorporating also aspects neglected by them - especially the impact of migration on the receiving society. Such a model is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. A comprehensive model of refugee integration



The top part of the model specifies the independent variables, grouped into pre-flight characteristics of the refugees themselves, factors related to the process of flight, characteristics of the region of settlement, and policies related to refugees. The bottom part shows the dependent variable: integration. This is first broken down into (a) integration as it affects refugees themselves and (b) its impact on the host country; within each of these (following Goldlust & Richmond) objective and subjective dimensions can be distinguished. The dimensions themselves are grouped into these four categories. An intermediate category is E, in which are grouped the events since flight - which on the one hand have been influenced by the same factors that affect integration, but on the other hand also influence integration themselves. Logically, this category could be considered a proxy for interrelations within the process of integration. Otherwise, such interrelations are not depicted in the model, although they obviously exist: the various groups of factors in the top part of

the model affect one another, as do the different dimensions of integration. In this study these interrelations will be discussed at various points in the text, but the focus is on the relationships shown above. The model is simplified in that only the effect of an entire category of determinants on the whole of integration is shown; in reality, of course, the various dimensions of integration also influence one another. Moreover, it must be recognized that each determinant acts differentially on each dimension of integration. An explanation of the meaning of each variable specified in the model is given below; some first intimations of how they could be studied are also given.

A1. Demographic characteristics of refugees. These include such criteria as age, sex and household composition.

A2. Socio-economic background of refugees. Educational level, occupation before flight and a distinction between rural and urban refugees can be specified in this category.

A3. Ethno-cultural affiliation of refugees. Where ethnicity can be unambiguously identified, it can be used as an indicator for the cultural background of the refugee. In many cases, however, it is necessary to measure specific variables such as native tongue, religion and place of birth.

B1. Cause of flight. Ideally, this ought to be studied by means of a typology of the conflicts that cause flight. Such a typology does not exist. Gordenker (1987: 62-86) proposes a classification of four basic causes of flight, namely, international war, internal turbulence, deliberately undertaken change of social structures, and international political tension. Within each of these categories, he specifies actions that are likely to lead to refugee flows. At a more fundamental level, we may ask why these actions occur and why they lead to refugee flows especially in the Third World, which produces at least nine out of every ten refugees in the world today. This question is asked by Zolberg, Suhrke and Aguayo, whose book is based on the assumption that "refugee flows, like other international population movements, are patterned by identifiable social forces and hence can be viewed as structured events that result from broad historical processes" (1989: vi). While their book is patterned on a broad idea of causation of refugee flows, it does not provide a ready basis for classifying refugee-producing conflicts. This makes it difficult to analyze the effect of this factor in a systematic and comparative way. However, studies of refugee issues should wherever possible pay attention to the nature of the 'root cause' and examine its effect on the integration process.

B2. Type of movement. Acute, anticipatory and intermediate movements can be identified here, and acute movements may be classified further into categories such as mass flight, deportation, flight of soldiers, etc.

B3. Attitude to displacement. This category corresponds with Kunz' 'home-related factors': a distinction can be made between majority-identified, events-alienated and self-alienated refugees; into

reactive-fate groups and purpose groups; and into the passive hurt, integration-seeking realists, eager assimilationists, restoration activists, revolutionary activists, and founders of idealist colonies. Naturally, in any one population of refugees only a few of these types will actually occur.

C1. Macro-economic situation in the host country. This is an important determinant of the capacity of the country to integrate an influx of refugees. Moreover, economic data on the country or region of settlement have to be collected in order to assess the impact of refugees. A distinction may be made between structural and conjunctural characteristics of the host economy.

C2. Natural resource base of the settlement region. This factor refers to the capacity of a region to receive refugees without suffering environmental deterioration. Its effect largely depends on the type of economic activities carried out by the refugees, the access of different groups to productive resources, and the available technology to exploit them.

C3. Ethno-cultural makeup of the settlement region. The ethnic composition of the region hosting refugees must be studied in order to assess cultural compatibility with the different groups of refugees.

C4. Social stratification in the settlement region. A classification must be designed to show the stratification of the population in the host region. This will make it possible to assess an important aspect of refugee integration, namely in what socio-economic classes they are found. Furthermore, the impact of refugees is likely to be different for the various groups; for this reason too, it is important to know the stratification. As I argued above, in plural societies C4 is correlated to C3.

C5. Socio-political orientation of the host society. This refers to variables mentioned by Kunz: whether the host society welcomes immigrants in principle or accepts them only reluctantly; and whether it tolerates cultural diversity or is monistic in tendency. I prefer to regard this as a characteristic of the host society rather than as a policy matter, for these orientations usually spring from national consensus; government policies tend to reflect rather than create these prejudices.

C6. Auspices. I prefer to treat the availability of assistance from kin or coethnics as a characteristic of the host country rather than of the refugees themselves.

D1. National policies relating to refugees. These are partly to be found in legislation relevant to refugees (including alien laws), and partly in official government statements.

D2. Policies followed by regional or local authorities. At local or regional level, the policy may differ from that enunciated by the national government. This is either because these authorities may have a certain independence and are inclined to respect local sensitivities, or because national policies as interpreted and implemented in practice may deviate from what is pronounced for public consumption.

D3. Policies of aid agencies. Here we may distinguish the policies of UNHCR, and of other international agencies insofar as they have a bearing on the integration of refugees; those of bilateral donors; and those of non-government organizations (NGOs).

E1. Length of residence in the country of asylum. This variable can serve the purpose of identifying 'vintages' of refugees in Kunz' sense (in that case it would more properly belong under category B), but time elapsed can itself also be an important determinant of progress in integration, as recognized by Goldlust & Richmond.

E2. Movements within the country of asylum. The simplest indicators would be whether or not the refugee has lived at various locations prior to staying where he does; and how many movements he has made. More sophisticated studies of mobility could also include data on the different locations where the refugee has stayed in the process; on the occupation followed there; and on the reasons for moving on.

The attentive reader may note that the entries in the bottom part of the model (unlike those in the top part) are not numbered. This is because I am less certain that they are exhaustive. In listing the factors that influence integration I have been able to draw on the contributions of several eminent scholars and I am confident that this part of the model gives a valid picture of the most relevant determinants. Conceptualizing integration is a much more tentative exercise, and a different list of dimensions may be quite feasible.

In integration as seen from the standpoint of refugees, the subjective aspects are those given by Goldlust & Richmond. The objective dimensions are separated into legal integration (i.e. status and rights accorded to refugees); spatial integration (whether refugees live in urban or in rural areas, and the extent to which they live in separate clusters from the indigenous population); economic integration (specified in the next section); social integration (the extent to which refugees participate in local organizations, to which relations at the level of primary groups develop, and the nature of host-refugee relations in general); and cultural integration (i.e. changes in cultural patterns to increase compatibility with indigenous ones, and with the new situation).

The integration of refugees as experienced by the host society includes such aspects as changes in the general level of economic activity as measured by average income and total employment in the host region. As said before, these effects are likely to differ by group, however, and thus the effect on various groups must be studied. It is possible - and indeed likely - that social stratification will change under the impact of refugees if the latter are numerous. Furthermore, there are other aspects of economic wellbeing not directly measured by indicators such as gross regional product: health, availability of consumer goods, housing; these may also be affected by the presence of refugees. Changes in the status of natural resources are a determinant as well as a dimension of the economic impact of refugees: part of the effect is on production potential in the future rather than on present production. The same is true for infrastructure, which is another part of the capital possessed by a society.

All these dimensions can be regarded as economic in nature. The host society may also undergo cultural change as a consequence of a refugee influx, which may be applauded or lamented but in either case needs to be studied. The security of a host country may be affected by the presence of refugees, either because of tensions with the country of origin or because of an increase in delinquency - whether real or perceived. The subjective aspects of the refugee impact are closely related to these last two objective dimensions: antagonism on the part of the host population is an important indicator of integration - or rather, the lack of it.

3. Economic integration

So far, we have been concerned with integration as a comprehensive concept. The model sketched above is a multidisciplinary one, and students from the various disciplines concerned would have to specify those variables which they are qualified to study, but at the same time they must be aware that their analysis is a partial one. When studying one dimension of integration, it is necessary to have a view of its place in the overall social process. Figure 5 is meant to provide such a picture. As explained in the introduction, the purpose of this article is to specify the model for the economic dimension of integration, which is the subject of the present section.

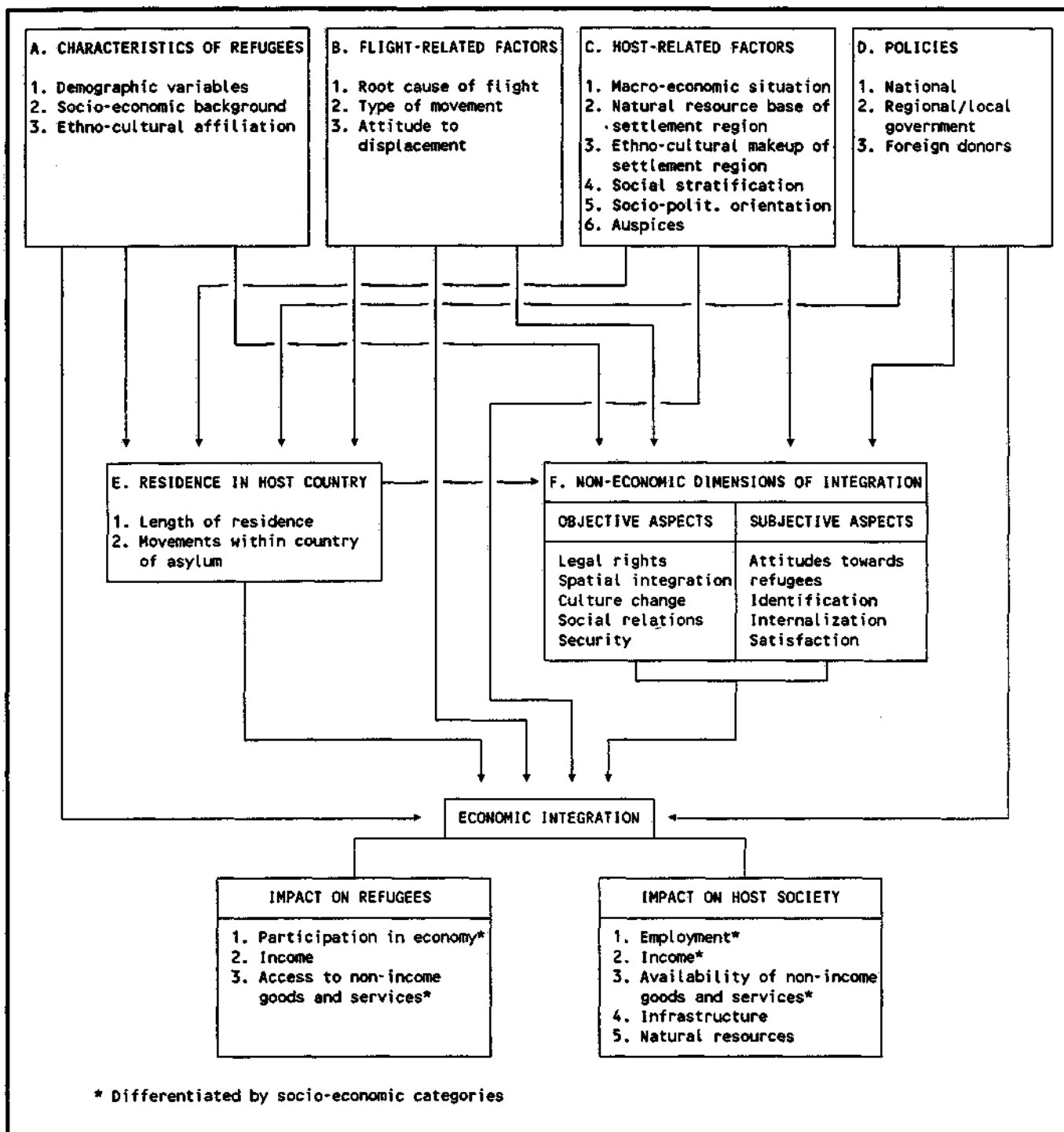
First of all, the economic dimension of integration has to be delimited. Based on the definition of integration formulated in section 1, the following criteria for assessing economic integration are proposed:

- (1) adequate participation in the economy (cf. the definition on p. 8);
- (2) an income which allows an acceptable standard of living;
- (3) access equal to that of the host population to those goods and services to which access is not determined solely by income levels;
- (4) the impact of refugees on the host society having been such that, on balance, the position of the various socio-economic categories within the indigenous population with respect to criteria (1), (2) and (3) has not deteriorated.

The fourth criterion indicates the economic impact of the refugees, and it can itself be split into subcriteria parallel to the other three. Measuring this impact is actually very difficult: out of the total economic change which the host region will have undergone since the influx of refugees began, the effect of this one factor must be separated out. To do this may well mean a general study of economic change, as was done in the Kassala research (Kuhlman, 1990).

With these criteria, a model can be designed for the economic dimension of integration, incorporating the determinants listed in Figure 5. Such a model must include also the effect on economic integration of other aspects of the integration process.¹¹ The model is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. A model for the economic dimension of refugee integration



This model can serve as a framework for assessing and analyzing the economic integration of refugees. It still leaves a number of questions to be answered. Some of these are stated below, although I do not propose to answer them in the present paper.

- (1) The appropriate unit of analysis must be selected. In many cases, the household will be chosen as this is the unit on which 'survival strategies' are based. The economic behaviour of an individual is

explained in terms of the interests of the household to which he or she belongs.¹² However, household analysis has some drawbacks, which render it inadequate in certain situations: firstly, it obscures differences in power and living standards *within* the household, especially between men and women. Secondly, in many societies (especially in Africa) there is no such clear-cut unit with its own separate and comprehensive survival strategy; instead, there are various primary groups with different decision-making powers and responsibilities towards their members (cf. Guyer, 1986).

- (2) The term 'acceptable standard of living' must be operationalized. As stated above, it is culturally determined and is thus likely to be different for groups with diverse cultural backgrounds in a plural society. It will be difficult to determine for all groups concerned. Often, an arbitrary judgment will be inevitable where the standards of a group seem ambiguous, but as long as such arbitrariness is made explicit it is better than applying some supposedly universal standard. Sometimes, moreover, it is possible to observe a shortfall in living standards without actually measuring incomes: if people fail to adhere to cultural practices which they deem essential but cannot afford, there is a strong case for supposing that their income has fallen below the culturally determined minimum. For instance, a family may fail to slaughter a chicken for their guests, although this causes them severe shame; burial rites may no longer be followed because people cannot spare the expense; restrictions on the employment of women may be lifted because their labour-power cannot be missed. In all these cases, using the concept of a culturally determined minimum standard of living can provide information on the degree of deprivation, which is an important aspect of refugee studies.
- (3) Social stratification and its economic consequences are an essential part of the study of refugee integration. Averages say little about the position of different groups of refugees, nor about the impact on the host society - the effects of refugee influx may be positive for one group and negative for another. Moreover, especially in a plural society it is necessary to study just how the refugees fit into the existing stratification. This means a suitable classification of socio-economic groups must be designed as part of the research methodology.

Such tasks may seem daunting. Yet, the complexity of the integration process necessitates a thorough elaboration of one's concepts. The Kassala research has shown that implementing a framework as outlined in this paper is not impossible. Moreover, it is always possible to select a small part of the integration process for a partial analysis, as long as the overall picture is kept in mind.

Notes

1. A pioneer attempt is to be found in the volume edited by Art Hansen and Anthony Oliver-Smith (1982).
2. Rare cases where refugees were offered naturalization by African governments include those of Barundi and Mozambican refugees in Tanzania, and of Angolan refugees in Botswana.
3. It must be emphasized that the term monist does not imply that there is no racism, ethnic discrimination or economic inequality between ethnic groups. What matters is that (a) the belief in equal opportunities for all ethnic groups is dominant, and hence ethnically-based inequality is seen as an aberration; and (b) that the majority of the population actually enjoys freedom from ethnic discrimination; this alone can provide a standard by which discrimination against minorities can be measured. Nor, it may be noted, does the term 'plural society' connote a large degree of tolerance for the customs of others.
4. It may be noted that Berry's category of marginalization has disappeared in this model. I do not believe it is logically distinct from separation: the original culture may have vanished, but there is still a separate identity - even if its characteristics are regarded as undesirable. It has been said that a marginal person defines herself in terms of what she is *not*, but we may still speak of a separate identity.
5. Thus, Australia changed a division in the Department of Immigration from Assimilation Division to Integration Division (Price, 1969: 215).
6. This point was already made by Adam Smith: "By necessities I understand not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but what ever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even the lowest order, to be without". Smith cites as examples the linen shirt and leather shoes, without which to be seen in public would shame even the poorest 'creditable person' - at least in England; in France, on the other hand, leather shoes are not considered a necessity, and in Scotland only for men (1776: Vol. II, 483-84). Cf. also Sen (1981: 17-18), who makes the above quotation.
7. For a discussion of this issue, see A.K. Sen, 1981: 11-12.
8. Standard of living is taken here as meaning not only income (in cash or kind) from economic activities, but also access to amenities such as housing, public utilities, health services, and education.
9. Cf. Robbins, 1932 and Polanyi, 1958. For a more recent view on this debate, see Halperin, 1988.

It can be argued that 'push' and 'pull' are logically the same: positive characteristics of the destination are so only in relation to features of the place of origin. This criticism has been voiced by György Szell (quoted in Wittmann, 1975: 23).
11. The reverse effects also exist, of course, but these are a subject of study for other disciplines.
12. In such a context, the household must be defined in terms of its autonomy in economic decision-making. On the problems of defining the household, see White, 1980.

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