Major Research Paper (MRP)

Conceptualizing Resilience in Refugee Host Communities

(A Case Study of Jordan)

Nicola Musa

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University of Ottawa

Faculty of Social Sciences

School of International Development and Global Studies

Contents

1. Introduction

More than 4.5 million Syrian refugees currently reside in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt, causing enormous pressure on the economic, social and political situation of these countries. The European population is about 750 million[1] and they have received just about one million Syrian refugees, which constitutes a little bit more than what Jordan has accepted. As of February 2017, there are more than 655,000 Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR in Jordan, constituting 10% of the population.

Jordanian international trade has been hit by the loss of key access points to regional trade through Syria and Iraq due to the ongoing conflict. More than 80% of Syrian refugees in Jordan are residing in urban settings while approximately 45% are living across the governorates of Mafraq and Irbid in northern Jordan [2]. This has placed a large strain on host communities that are suffering from the surge in housing prices since the majority of refugees do not live in camps. The strain can be seen in the increased competition with the highly skilled Syrians, increased pressure on already scarce water resources, and incapacitated municipal services.

The Syrian refugee crisis has had an extraordinary social and economic effect on host communities in the surrounding countries, reversing development gains, stressing basic social services, and providing a competitive advantage for the Syrians on the limited employment opportunities. Syrians are competing with the poorest Jordanians for informal jobs that contribute to approximately 44% of employment across the country. More competition can be seen in sectors such as construction, wholesale, retail, food services, and agriculture. Most of the Syrian refugees are working illegally and without Jordanian work permits, willing to accept lower wages and poor working conditions that are deemed unacceptable by their Jordanian counterparts. This is against human rights since it explicitly allows Jordanian employers to exploit needy Syrian refugees, and treat them as inferiors that are stripped of their basic rights. Jordanian host communities perceive competition over the limited job opportunities to be a major source of social tension. According to a recent survey that was conducted in 2015, approximately 59% of Jordanians and 27% of Syrians consider employment as the main reason for tension among them. Other causes of friction include increased competition over housing, land, and access to resources and services. In Turkey, recent reports have indicated the drop of wages and fees to one-fifth of their previous levels, causing further pressure and deterioration in the working conditions of host communities. Turkey has also witnessed improved economic activity, including exports, in the southern provinces that are hosting large numbers of refugees. According to a recent World Bank study that was conducted in Iraqi Kurdistan, economic growth has declined by 5% in 2014 compared to the previous year due to the high influx of refugees, internal displacement, and the loss of fiscal transfers. Similarly, Lebanon has witnessed a drop in annual growth rates from approximately 10% pre-crisis, to 1-2 percent between the years of 2011-2014. Jordan and Lebanon now have the highest per capita refugees' ratios worldwide [3].

[1] Population Pyramids of the World from 1950 to 2100

[2] United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) database, Syria Regional Refugee Response. (2015). Retrieved February 1, 2017

[3] 3RP: Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan." United Nations Development Programme in the Arab States.

From my field experience across Jordanian hosts communities, I have come to comprehend the support Syrian refugees received at the beginning of the crisis, and how that gradually changed. Local community members have gradually become unwelcoming since they believed that refugees are taking up their resources. This can be confirmed by the research of Achilli, which found that job markets were clear points of friction. Syrians are generally not granted work permits due to prohibitive costs and administrative obstacles [4]. Non-Jordanians who have their legal residency and a valid passport can get work permits only if they have an employer that is willing to pay the fee, and that can demonstrate that the job requires experience that cannot be found among Jordanians. According to a recent UNHCR survey report, only 1% of visited refugees' households in Jordan have one family member or more holding a work permit [5]. Irrespective of the official restrictions on working authorizations, many refugees seem to be working informally and are accepting lower wages than their Jordanian counterparts, sparking protests and tensions among the same host community members who welcomed them at the beginning of the crisis.

The Jordanian Government is unsure to what extent the political situation will continue to be sustainable and is worried about resilience among Syrian refugees and host community members and looking into reducing stressors in these communities. This can be seen in the steady decrease in the daily arrival rate of Syrian refugees to Jordan (Achilli, 2015). Also, it can be seen in UNHCR's recent claims that local authorities refused to allow Syrians to cross the borders. Humanitarian organizations like Amnesty and Human Rights Watch have also reported several cases of refoulement of refugees to Syria in evident violation of international obligations [6]. The government allowed approximately 30,000 refugees in 2015 and 2016, compared to hundreds of thousands in previous years (UNHCR Database, Syrian Regional Refugee Response), and denied any change to the open-border policy. Further political and economic deterioration is foreseen since the number of refugees is simply too large for Jordan to handle while both Syrian refugees and Jordanian host communities continue to pay an intolerable price.

At times of adversity, and in the aftermath of humanitarian disasters, communities can be organised, prepared, and ready to better adapt and function successfully immediately after a catastrophic event. Drawing upon literature from different disciplines, the theory of resilience provides a better understanding of adapting, coping, stress relief, and the dynamics of resources. Norris et al. provides a generic and broad understanding of community resilience as a process that links a network of adaptive capacities – Economic Development, Social Capital, Information and Communication, and Community Competence- to adaptation immediately after a disturbance [7].

Over the past two decades, researchers have used a blend of quantitative and qualitative methodological research techniques to understand and measure resilience, yet the concept

[4] Achilli Luigi. (2015) "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check".

[5] United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Living in the Shadow. (2014)

[6] SNAP, Regional Analysis for Syria. (2014).

[7] Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness

remains intangible, fluid, and in need of further conceptualization and adaptation within the context of the trauma or disaster event that is collectively experienced.

2. Overview

This research identifies the significant factors that contribute to the enhancement of community resilience within the context of Syrian refugees' host communities. Some recent attempts have been made to gather relevant data that support the understanding and conceptualization of community resilience in Jordanian host communities, but further research is necessary to understand what constitutes to higher or lower levels of community resilience.

I will evaluate the applicability of Norris et al.'s comprehensive framework of community resilience and compare it with various models that have been developed recently to customize a similar relevant model. It will identify linkages between various types of civic engagement and community participation, social community wellbeing, and the necessary institutional and economic resources to ensure a higher level of resilience and to induce improved coping mechanism for community members struck by the sudden high influx of Syrian refugees. This will be demonstrated in the creation of a customized, improved and refined model of Community Resilience, that builds on Norris et al.'s generic and expansive framework, and adapts it to the context of the Syrian crisis that has struck Jordanian host communities The suggested model modifies Norris et al.'s framework, and identifies the key factors that contribute to the enhancement of the adaptation and resilience of Jordanian host communities in light of the sudden and high influx of Syrian refugees.

These significant key factors will be integrated into the proposed conceptual framework that can be used by local government to have a better understanding and a sense of the growing tension or relief among various community members including Syrian refugees. While the framework will be developed based on experiences in Jordan, it may be considered a starting point for similar tools to be used elsewhere, such as in countries like Canada that are currently accepting Syrian refugees. The goal of the framework is to pre-empt challenges, and implement mitigation measures that can improve levels of community resilience and reduce stressors among various community members.

3. Research Questions

Jordan has provided the necessary protection services to Syrian refugees since the beginning of the crisis. The government has generally allocated the necessary financial and social resources to serve Syrian refugees. As of mid-2014, Jordan has spent approximately US$ 1.2 billion, while the international community did not provide the necessary support through resettlement or other forms of admission, to help alleviate the suffering of Syrian refugees and the community members residing in neighboring countries [8]. High income countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and Russia did not provide any resettlement services. Most of the international and regional support has been purely financial, and the international community is not delivering on its promises [9].

[8] UNDP. (2014). A Resilience-Base Development Response to the Syria Crisis

[9] United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) database, Syria Regional Refugee Response. (2015).

UNHCR developed a regional refugee resilience plan (3RP) with the local authorities to ensure that protection and humanitarian assistance is provided to the Syrian refugees, and to strengthen the resilience of neighboring countries. Consequently, each country developed its own resilience plan in line with the regional plan and expanding on its local pressing needs and priorities. The plan attempts to provide solutions for the long-term socioeconomic effects of the Syrian crisis on the neighboring countries, [10] but the presented framework doesn't offer a comprehensive model and fails to establish linkages with the body of literature.

Establishing linkages with generic resilience frameworks and identifying the relevant factors that can improve community resilience will allow local authorities to redirect their limited resources and reformulate their policies to focus on the significant factors that can improve the adaptability of host communities. The customization and development of existing models of community resilience, to better fit the context of Jordanian host communities can improve aid efficiency and effectiveness, and can be further adapted and refined in the future to serve other similar settings.

Norris et al.'s framework of community resilience includes key elements such as community competence and social capital, [11] that can be linked to civic engagement and community participation. Kulig et al. also reinforces the importance of collective action in her customized framework, and links resilience with positive attitudes of volunteering, working together, and helping each other [12]. Collective participation will improve the ability of community actors (NGOs, Community Based Organizations, government, community members, private sector, etc.) to jointly respond to stressors, and improve their capacity to adapt to the sudden changes arising from the sudden and high influx of Syrian refugees. The question that this research will be answering revolves around the essence of civic and community participation to improve community resilience for the case of Jordanian host communities (including Syrian refugees), and the capacity of these communities to engage collectively on issues of mutual interest, learn to cooperate, respect and help each other, and hence develop positive relationships. The following research questions summarize the areas that will be covered by this major research paper:

1. According to current literature, what are the key factors that contribute to the enhancement of community resilience among community members?
2. How can this literature and its frameworks be related to Syrian host communities in Jordan and possibly other settings?
3. How could studying the case of Jordanian host communities alter or create a new framework for community resilience?

4. Methodology

This research looks at previous and ongoing explorations and studies of community resilience, and builds on similar cases of communal response to sudden and high influx of refugees. It customizes and adapts existing models of community resilience to the context of Syrian refugees

[10] 3RP: Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan." United Nations Development Programme in the Arab States

[11] Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness

[12] Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community Resiliency: Emerging Theoretical Insights

that are currently residing in Jordanian host communities. The research also reviews different online databases from the World Bank and various UN agencies, and hence builds on the integration of second-hand quantitative data with the existing body of qualitative literature, and triangulates with my personal working experience across Jordanian host communities, to deliver a detailed and thorough assessment that answers the above-mentioned two research questions.

I started my research by conducting a thorough and detailed review of existing literature. Norris et al.'s framework served as the key generic framework for this research. The framework was originally conceived as a model for community resilience that highlights the adaptive capacities that are necessary at times of adversity and hardship, and when sudden disasters occur. Then I reviewed and examined various further models, and built on my own experience, observations, interactions and retrospective analysis while I was working across Jordanian host communities. Accordingly, I was able to adjust and adapt Norris et al.'s framework to better fit the case of the Jordanian host communities.

The research focused on specific areas of the adaptive capacities that pertain to civic engagement and community participation, and how these capacities can be linked with the resilience of Syrian refugees and local community members living in Jordanian host communities. The research identifies further evidence and looks at similar examples that might have led to the reduction of tension among community members as a result of increased civic engagement among different community members including the government. The presented information is based on literature review, and it documents my own experience, observations, interactions, and retrospective analysis over the period between May 2013 and August 2014 while I was working as a "Monitoring and Evaluation Manager" for a USAID-funded program that aims at strengthening community engagement in the context of regional volatility, and transitions associated with demographic changes and the difficult social and economic conditions of Jordanian host communities in northern Jordan.

5. Norris et al.'s Framework of Community Resilience

Over the past two decades, many researchers used various techniques to understand and measure resilience. Resilience has been defined in diverse and varied ways, but they all incline toward adaptation against stressors and hardship. Holling defines it from an ecological perspective as the ability of systems to absorb changes of state variables, driving variables, and parameters, and managing to persist [13]. Klein et al. look at resilience from an ecological lens and define it as the amount of disturbance a system can absorb and still remain within the same state or domain of attraction [14].

Masten et al. define individual resilience as the process of, capacity for, or outcome of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances [15]. Butler et al. define individual resilience as good adaptation under extenuating circumstances or a recovery trajectory that

[13] Holling, C. (1973). Resilience and stability of ecological systems. Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics

[14] Klein, R., Nicholls, R., & Thomalla, F. (2003). Resilience to natural hazards: How useful is this concept? Environmental Hazards

[15] Masten, A., Best, K., & Garmezy, N. (1990). Resilience and development: Contributions from the study of children who overcome adversity

returns to baseline functioning following a challenge [16]. Both Buttler et al. and Masten et al. look at resilience at a smaller individual level.

Paton et al.'s definition highlights the essence of the community's capability to bounce back and to use physical and economic resources effectively to aid recovery following exposure to hazards [17]. Brown et al. define community resilience as the ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress [18]. Coles et al. define it as the community's skills and knowledge that allow it to participate fully in recovery from disasters [19]. Pfefferbaum et al. define community resilience as the ability of its members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the impact of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on[20]. Paton et al., Brown et al., Coles et al., and Pfefferbaum et al. have all defined resilience from a community perspective, while each one of them presents a different perspective of community resilience. Townshend et al. stresses on the need of community members' voices to be heard, and the encouragement of public participation to build resilient communities[21].

The preceding definitions provide various perspectives of resilience that range between an ecological descipline, to a smaller individual standpoint, to the collective comunal dimension. Norris et al. defines community resilience as a process that links a set of networked adaptive capacities, to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation in populations after a disturbance[22]. The process of resilience will most likely lead to adaptation, not to an outcome, and not stability, but Norris et al. emphasizes on the likelihood of stress and crisis to induce transient periods of dysfunction until we get to the manifestation of adaptation to an altered environment.

Norris et al. presents a comprehensive general framework of community resilience that was further detailed by different researchers. The framework provides a variety of networked capacities (Figure 1) clustered into four key sets of adaptive capacities: Economic Development, Social Capital, Information and Communication, and Community Competence. Based on my research, I can define community resilience as the lengthy process that creates the communal capacity to identify and use existing resources that allow them to engage collectively on issues of mutual interest, learn to cooperate, respect and help each other, and hence develop positive relationships among one other.

[16] Butler L., Morland L., & Leskin, G. (2007). Psychological resilience in the face of terrorism

[17] Paton, D., & Johnston, D. (2001). Disasters and communities: Vulnerability, resilience, and preparedness

[18] Brown, D., & Kulig, J. (1996/97). The concept of resiliency: Theoretical lessons from community research.

[19] Coles, E., & Buckle, P. (2004). Developing community resilience as a foundation for effective disaster recovery

[20] Pfefferbaum, B., Reissman, D., Pfefferbaum, R., Klomp, R., & Gurwitch, R. (2005). Building resilience to mass trauma events

[21] Townshend, I., Awosoga, O., Kulig, J., & Fan, H. (2014). Social cohesion and resilience across communities that have experienced a disaster

[22] Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness

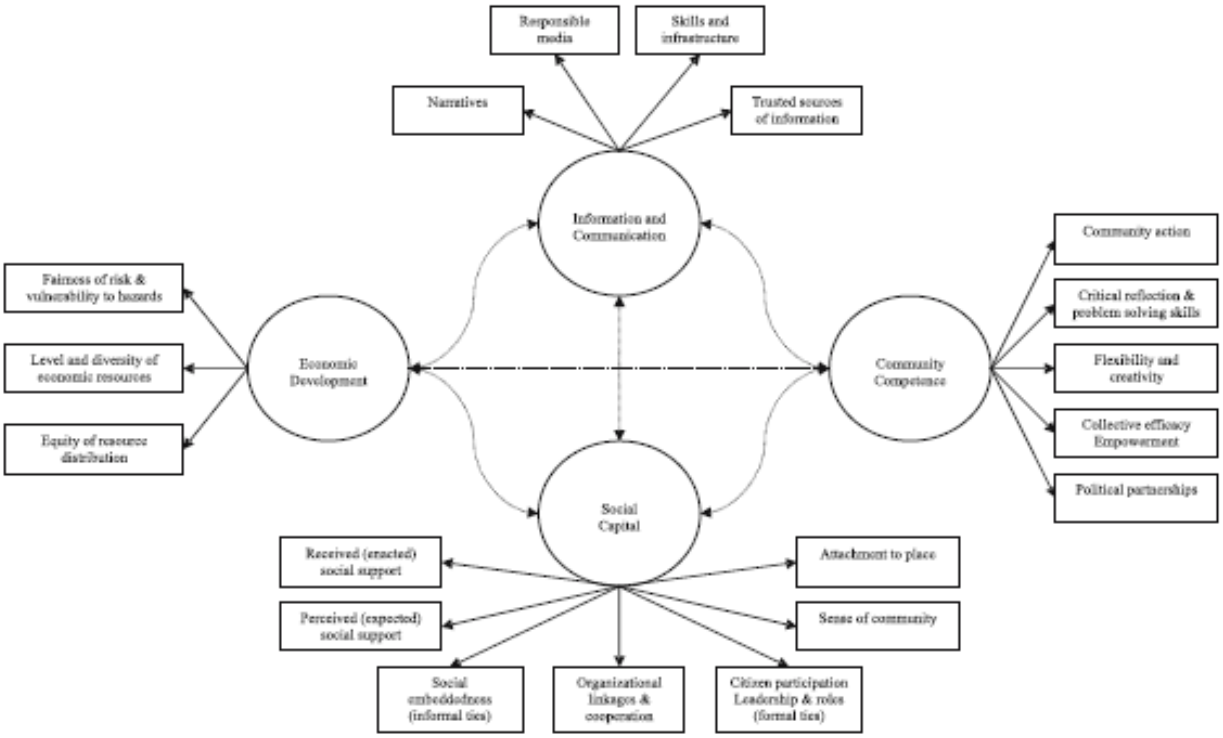

Fig. 1: Norris et al.'s Framework of Community Resilience

5.1 Community Competence

Norris et al. views community competence as the networked equivalent of human agency[23].Many researchers and academics expanded on Norris et al.'s community competence cluster of adaptive capacities in their models of community resilience. According to Kulig et al., the main focus of community competence needs to be on collective action and decision making, which is rooted into empowerment and collective efficacy. This can be clearly seen in the results of her assessment that linked resilience with positive proactive attitudes of working together, volunteering, helping others, having available gathering places, planning community events to allow people to get together, and providing a supporting political environment [24]. Townshend et al. also indicates the correlation between social cohesion and resilience that can be seen in the willingness of residents to help one another in rebuilding their community following a disaster by collaborating and volunteering [25]. Cohen et al. define collective efficacy as social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene for the common good, he then discusses the critical role of collective efficacy in improving the role of community to cope with disasters [26]. As we can see, collective action coupled with a progressive political environment

[23] Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness

[24] Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community Resiliency: Emerging Theoretical Insights

[25] Townshend, I., Awosoga, O., Kulig, J., & Fan, H. (2014). Social cohesion and resilience across communities that have experienced a disaster

[26] Cohen, O., Leykin, D., Lahad, M., Goldberg, A., & Aharonson-Daniel, L. (2013). The conjoint community resiliency assessment measure as a baseline for profiling and predicting community resilience for emergencies

and the sense of collective efficacy can foster community competence adaptive capacities of community resilience.

5.2 Economic Development

Economic development is considered to be one of the key elements of community resilience in Norris et al.'s framework. It encompasses three key dimensions that relate to the level of economic resources, equality and equity in resource distribution, and the scale of diversity in economic resources (Norris et. al, 2008). These different elements affect both the physical and human capital and they signify the economic infrastructure of businesses and industries, as well as the competencies, skills and knowledge of the human resources that support these structures [27]. In other words, economic development can be seen as the interconnectedness between the economic structures that exist within the community, and the capacities that support them.

The first key element of economic development is the level of resources or the wealth that a country or region has available for its citizens. The most common measure of wealth is the gross domestic product (GDP) that estimates the total dollar value of economic production in a given area in a year. GDP can be used to compare wealth across countries but it will be difficult to apply it on smaller geographical locations such as counties or cities. Anderson et al. argue that social indicators that measure general areas of finance, the environment, and the human characteristics of the economy will present a more realistic measure of the level of economic development within a region. These social indicators may include employment, literacy, and other human aspects of the economy such as access to safe water, adequate nutrition and even having telephones at home [28]. Horn questions if a single indicator such as GDP can effectively measure economic development. He argues that the measurement of economic development should include social and technological development measures. Relevant indicators may include infant mortality rate, life expectancy, population protein consumption, literacy, access to cars, steel and energy consumption, and the size of exports/imports [29]. The Human Development Index (HDI) has also been used by the United Nations Development Programme to measure economic development across different countries since 1990 [30]. I strongly believe that a blend of social and financial measures is necessary to measure the level of resources or wealth within a community.

The second key element – according to Norris et al. – of economic development is resource equity or the fair distribution of resources. Indicators of economic development can be misleading and may possibly hide inequalities that exist by gender, racialised groups, or income. Hence, it is essential to stratify resource indicators by various demographic groups to identify levels of inequality [31]. Scholars seem to recognize a positive relationship that exists between economic growth and social indicators such as employment, literacy, and other human aspects of

[27] Ekins, P., & Medhurst, J. (2006). The European structural funds and sustainable development: A methodology and indicator framework for evaluation

[28] Anderson, V. (1991). Alternative economic indicators

[29] Horn, R. V. (1993). Statistical indicators for the economic and social sciences

[30] United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (1990). Human development report

[31] Sherrieb, K., Norris, F., & Galea, S. (2010). Measuring capacities for community resilience

the economy [32]. This positive relationship is highly dependent on regional inequality. For elevated levels of income inequality, economic growth is unlikely to cause social progress in a specific region or community. The presence of inequality reduces the likelihood of distributing the resources of growth in a way that benefits the poor and marginalized members of the community[33]. The most commonly used measure of income inequality is the Gini coefficient or index. It presents a descriptive measure of the difference between the ideal distribution of income, and the actual one within a given population [34].Kainsty and Norris argue that the "rule of relative need" should be used in the mobilization and distribution of support after a disaster. Most of the time, the "rule of relative advantage" supersedes the rule of need in the distribution of resources simply because accessing resources is highly reliant on connections and social class within the community[35]. Thus, in the presence of high inequality, economic growth will not likely be distributed in a way that benefits the common good of the general population and that ensures higher levels of community resilience.

The third key element of economic development is economic diversity. Diversity implies balanced employment across various sectors or industries [36]. In diverse environments, if one industry fails or weakens due to unforeseen events or disasters, others can continue to offer employment opportunities that will sustain the regional economy [37]. Common measures of economic diversity include measuring exported goods, identifying sector shares of economic activities that relate to the national average, and measuring economic activity across various sectors within the region (Sherrieb et. al, 2010). The Herfindahl Index (HI) measures the degree to which the workforce is distributed across various industries within a specific region. As HI increases, the workforce becomes more concentrated into fewer industries and consequently less diverse [38]. As for the business size, it appears that larger businesses and industries are better placed to cope with sudden changes, even if that could lead to specialization, higher concentration, and potentially less diversification [39]. Thus, economic resilience is improved in areas that have higher business diversity and a wider range of sizes, within a given industry.

5.3 Social Capital

Social capital is considered to be a fundamental component of community resilience within Norris et al.'s framework. It encompasses three key dimensions that include social support, social participation, and community bonds (Norris et. al, 2008). Uphoff divides social capital into structural and cognitive categories. The structural category of social capital refers to the existing forms and variation of organizations and networks, that contribute to the improvement of social capital and represent patterns of behavior, that facilitate existing and future mutually beneficial collective action. The cognitive category of social capital refers to the mental process and the perceptions resulting from values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs that contribute to

[32] Harkness, S. (2007). Social and political indicators of human well-being

[33] Allison, P. D. (1978). Measures of inequality.

[34] Dorfman, R. (1979). A formula for the Gini coefficient

[35] Kaniasty, K., & Norris, F. 1995, 2004.

[36] Attaran, M. (1986). Industrial diversity and economic performance in U.S. areas

[37] Safford, S. (2004). Why the garden club couldn't save Youngstown: Civic infrastructure and mobilization in economic crises

[38] Bollman, R. D., Beshiri, R., & Mitura, V. (2006). Northern Ontario's communities: Economic diversification, specialization and growth

[39] Johnson, P., Conway, C., & Kattuman, P. (1999). Small business growth in the short run

mutually beneficial collective action [40]. Both the structural and cognitive categories of social capital can relate to each of the three different dimensions of social capital presented by Norris et al..

The three dimensions of social capital contribute to community resilience in diverse and dissimilar ways. Social support is the first dimension that can be represented by informal ties or networks with family and friends. Through these relationships and networks, individuals engage in social relationships that provide them with different types of social support (Norris et. al, 2008). The second dimension is social participation that includes the formulation of formal social networks with organizations or groups that can foster professional, social, economic and possibly health-related participation. Social participation can also occur at the organizational level to generate, sustain and modify the structural needs of various individuals and diverse groups (Sherrieb et. al, 2010). The third dimension is the provision of community bonds through participation in community activities. This may include formal and informal networking to meet specific and unique needs of the community at times of stress and uncertainty. These social relationships inherently include elements of trust, reciprocity, shared norms and values, and the establishment of rules and obligations that render social capital as a beneficial resource for the community [41]. The various dimensions of social capital all recognize the necessity for collective action to enhance community resilience at times of hardship.

There are different measurements of social support, social participation, and community bonds, but recognizing the measures that relate to each of these dimensions is less clear in social support than with the concept of economic development. Measurements of social capital can be derived by aggregating specific measures found in survey data. For example, Kawachi et al. used measures from the general social survey, with a representative sample at the national level of the United States, and that was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center to measure social trust and organizational participation at the state level. Cognitive social capital indicators included measures of social mistrust, perceptions of helpfulness, and the lack of fairness. Structural social capital measures included the number of groups and associations such as churches, non-governmental organizations, or labor unions per capita [42]. Putnam included structural indicators to measure volunteerism, voting, participation in clubs, local organizations and community projects[43].

The Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT) is used by the World Bank to compare social capital across various countries and operationalize theories of social capital, by creating indicators that can measure the different levels of social capital, and establish a relationship with other development indicators such as inequality, poverty, and economic growth. SOCAT includes measures at the community level and produces a community profile, conducts a household survey, and delivers an organizational profile within a defined geographical location, while the data is collected by using interviews, focus groups, score sheets, or mapping [44]. Grootaert recommended using proxy indicators that include memberships in organizations,

[40] Uphoff, N. (1999). Understanding social capital: Learning from the analysis and experience of participation

[41] Hobbs, G. (2000). What is social capital? A brief literature review

[42] Kawachi, I., Kennedy, B. P., Lochner, K., & Prothrow-Stith, D. (1997). Social capital, income inequality, and mortality

[43] Putnam, R. (2000). Bowling alone. New York: Simon & Schuster.

[44] Krishna, A., & Shrader, E. (2002). The social capital assessment tool: Design and implementation. In C. Grootaert & T. Van Bastelaer (Eds.), Understanding and measuring social capital: A multidisciplinary tool for practitioners

indicators of trust and adherence to social norms, and measures of collective action that can be measured through surveys [45].

In general, structural social capital can be measured using archived secondary data since the concept reflects on the local level formal and informal organizations and networks that lead the process of collective participation for the purpose of local development. Kawachi et al. measured structural social capital through secondary measures to produce indicators such as per capita number of groups and associations (i.e.: churches, sports groups, etc.). The cognitive aspects of social capital may require interviews, focus groups, or survey data collection since the concept is qualitative, less tangible, and refers to values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors including perceptions of trust and solidarity that allow communities to mutually work together for the benefit of the common good [46].

5.4 Information and Communication

Different researchers focused on the cluster of information and communication adaptive capacities in Norris et al.'s framework. According to Longstaff, a local population that has swift and immediate access to a trusted source of information will be able to act without taking the time to verify the information, and will more likely bounce back from a crisis such as natural disasters or terrorist attacks quickly [47]. Reissman et al. highlight the significance of establishing a communication infrastructure that ensures risk reduction, and offers information aimed at reducing anxiety, improving positive coping mechanisms, and promoting early intervention screenings immediately after a disaster has occurred [48]. Houston et al. revised different models from a communication perspective and developed a community resilience model that underlines information and communication necessity for traditional and social media, communication infrastructure (including internet and cell phones), official sources of information, community organizations, and residents. These different communication systems and sources represent a reservoir of community information exchange that ranges from formal communication systems such as media to less obvious sources of information such as interpersonal communication occurring between individual residents of the community [49]. Ensuring access to a blend of formal and informal trusted channels of information, and establishing proper communication infrastructure, will enhance the chances of community members to rapidly bounce back from a disaster and will contribute to the improvement of community resilience.

6. Strengths and Weaknesses of Selective Models of Community Resilience

Norris produced the most powerful paper of community resilience that presents a high-level broad, comprehensive framework that was customized, hypothesized and translated into various models and measures by different researchers. The most prominent adaptations of Norris et al.' framework can be categorized into few groups and in accordance with the adaptive capacities that they were trying to operationalize. The first group includes Kulig et al.[50] and Cohen et al.,[51]

[45] Grootaert, C. (2002). Quantitative analysis of social capital data. In C. Grootaert & T. Van Bastelaer (Eds.), Understanding and measuring social capital: A multidisciplinary tool for practitioners

[46] Sherrieb, K., Norris, F., & Galea, S. (2010). Measuring capacities for community resilience.

[47] Longstaff, P. (2005). Security, resilience, and communication in unpredictable environments such as terrorism, natural disasters, and complex technology

[48] Reissman, D., Spencer, S., Tanielian, T., & Stein, B. (2005). Integrating behavioral aspects into community preparedness and response systems

[49] Houston, J., Spialek, M., Cox, J., Greenwood, M., & First, J. (2015). The centrality of communication and media in fostering community resilience: A framework for assessment and intervention

[50] Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community Resiliency: Emerging Theoretical Insights

that both focus on social capital and community competence adaptive capacities. Kulig et al. developed a strong index of perceived community resilience that mainly operationalizes specific areas of the social capital and economic resources. Kulig et al. utilizes the specific capacities that were considered relevant to the context of her research, where she was trying to measure community resilience for evacuated communities because of wildfires. Her index measures the level and diversity of economic resources, organizational linkages and cooperation, the sense of community, perceived social support, leadership, community action, and citizen participation. Cohen developed another measure of community resilience that is focused on six factors of social capital and community competence adaptive capacities that include leadership, collective efficacy, social trust, social relationships, attachment to place, and preparedness.

The second group that I researched include scholars like Sherrieb et al.[52] and Mowbray et al.[53] that operationalized their own versions of Norris et al.'s social capital and economic resources adaptive capacities. Sherrieb et al. developed an index that measures community resilience by using secondary data. She developed an index that measures economic development through the employment/population ratio, median household income, number of medical doctors per 10,000, tax revenues per 1,000, percent of creative class occupations, income equity, racial differences of percent with less than a high school education, net business gain/loss rate, occupational diversity, and urban influence. She also measures social capital through the percent of two-parent families, the number of sports/arts organizations and of civic organizations per 10,000, voter percent in the presidential election, religious adherence per 1,000, net migration rate per 1,000 over a three year period, and property crime rate. Mowbray et al. developed a model that describes the strengths of neighborhoods, and that focuses on social capital, economic and institutional resources while highlighting community risks from an economic, social and environmental perspective. According to Mowbray et al. social capital includes promotive and protective influence that can be established through growing relationships among community members. These relationships establish shared values, mutual trust, and accordingly, can build the quantity and quality of collective action. Economic resources build on community strengths such as the availability of employment opportunities, family income and assets, land use and property values, availability of housing, and the investments in local infrastructure. As for the institutional resources, they include available and accessible local organizations that serve the community.

Other researchers like Houston et al.[54] or Townshend et al.,[55] provide a different perspective of Norris et al.'s adaptive capacities. Houston et al. reorganized Norris et al.'s framework from a communications perspective and developed an expanded model of community resilience that is focused on communications. Townshend recognized the significance of establishing an association between cohesion and resilience to ensure that community activities that foster cohesion can indirectly stimulate resilience. These models were all effective in introducing and highlighting specific dimensions of Norris et al.'s inclusive framework for the purpose of operationalization or reorganization.

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[51] Cohen, O., Leykin, D., Lahad, M., Goldberg, A., & Aharonson-Daniel, L. (2013). The conjoint community resiliency assessment measure as a baseline for profiling and predicting community resilience for emergencies

[52] Sherrieb, K., Norris, F., & Galea, S. (2010). Measuring capacities for community resilience

[53] Mowbray, C. T., Woolley, M. E., Grogan-Kaylor, A., Gant, L. M., Gilster, M. E., & Shanks, T. R. W. (2007). Neighborhood research from a spatially oriented strengths perspective

[54] Houston, J., Spialek, M., Cox, J., Greenwood, M., & First, J. (2015). The centrality of communication and media in fostering community resilience: A framework for assessment and intervention

[55] Townshend, I., Awosoga, O., Kulig, J., & Fan, H. (2014). Social cohesion and resilience across communities that have experienced a disaster

Norris et al.'s framework is criticized by academics for being too broad, conceptual, and unclear at specific instances making it difficult for researchers to operationalize it completely[56]. The concept of "networked adaptive capacities" suggests an interdependency among the different variables, making it impossible to test the validity of any suggested hypothesis. Kulig et al. developed a measure of community resilience but it can be easily criticized for its entire dependency on respondents' perceptions which needs to be supplemented at least by measuring behaviors and requires to be implemented more than once to generalize results[57]. Sherrieb et al. has also tried to operationalize Norris et al.'s model, but her adaptive model has chosen specific clusters of adaptive capacities based only on available data since she relied on secondary databases[58]. Mowbray et al. also presented a different framework that is very limited and focused on various risk factors, which did not necessarily provide a comprehensive framework of resilience[59]. Houston et al. presented another iteration of Norris et al.'s broad framework of community resilience that is criticized for being abstract and unreasonably general[60]. Other researchers developed their models that hypothesized on Norris et al.'s framework, but they had to focus their attention on specific dimensions since the framework is too broad to be operationalized. Our model is a customization of Norris et al.'s generic framework to the context of Jordanian host communities but unlike these different prototypes, the proposed model uses all Norris et al.'s clusters of adaptive capacities. It also works on the identification of specific key capacities in each cluster capacities that best fit our context and that will contribute significantly to the improvement of community resilience within the context of Syrian refugees residing in these communities.

7. Refugee-Host Relations and Community Resilience in Jordan

This section describes the dynamics and relationships among Jordanian host community members and Syrian refugees within the context of community resilience. It documents my own experience, observations, interactions and retrospective analysis. Over the period between May 2013 and August 2014, I was working as a "Monitoring and Evaluation Manager" for a USAID-funded program. The program aims at strengthening community engagement in the context of regional volatility, and transitions associated with demographic changes and the difficult social and economic conditions of Syrian host communities in northern Jordan. As a result, I was able to customize and adapt Norris et al.'s model to the Jordanian host communities.

[56] Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness

[57] Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community Resiliency: Emerging Theoretical Insights

[58] Sherrieb, K., Norris, F., & Galea, S. (2010). Measuring capacities for community resilience

[59] Mowbray, C. T., Woolley, M. E., Grogan-Kaylor, A., Gant, L. M., Gilster, M. E., & Shanks, T. R. W. (2007). Neighborhood research from a spatially oriented strengths perspective

[60] Houston, J., Spialek, M., Cox, J., Greenwood, M., & First, J. (2015). The centrality of communication and media in fostering community resilience: A framework for assessment and intervention

7.1 Rapid Start-up of the Project

In May 2013, Global Communities hired me to provide necessary support and technical assistance for the implementation of the "Community Engagement Project" in Jordan. Within the first 90 days, I had to identify with my team the communities that were facing the worst economic and social challenges. We picked Irbid, an urban and densely populated city that has experienced a high influx of Syrian refugees, as well as strikes and protests around the lack of government transparency, provision of services, and economic opportunities. We also decided to work in Mafraq, where Syrian refugees have swelled the population by more than 30%, crippling basic services and increasing unemployment in an already poor city. Within the same period, we were able to conduct outreach activities and attract a total of 66 small grant applications from interested NGOs, and award 29 grants to address growing community stressors such as youth unemployment, incapacitated healthcare services, and the rapidly deteriorating infrastructure.

In September 2013, we started preparing for household surveys to identify and prioritize community needs in partnership with the local government. I was leading the enormous collective efforts to survey more than 2,500 households, which presented me with an extraordinary opportunity to interact with all facets of these communities, and further understand the dynamics, interactions, and specifics of the utterly complicated relationships among the different elements of Syrian host community members. Whereas previous programs focused on building the capacity of municipalities and government representatives, this program devoted most of its attention to the collective participatory process that allowed NGOs and community members to interact with the government at the municipal level, produce long-term community development plans, and eventually address the specific prioritized needs of community members.

7.2 Help, Care and General Dynamics of Jordanian Host Communities

The discussions I have had among the different elements of Jordanian host community members regarding the current nature of family and social relations (parents, neighbors, friends, etc.), revealed that relationships were still strong due to similar religious and tribal affiliations. People follow Arabic and Islamic norms that inspire them to offer support and assistance. Community members share their concerns and anxieties regarding the increasingly growing detachment from religion, and how they feel this could weaken their relationships since they consider religion to be a significant part of their identity. Some people were scared of globalization and the enormous technological developments that have affected social relations negatively from their viewpoints, especially among youth, who tend to spend most of their time on the internet and social media. A lot of people seemed to be scared from the new trend of consumerism affecting Jordanian societies which have become a financial burden on their families. I also noticed that people care about owning specific brands of mobile phones or luxurious expensive cars, or even bragging about costly wedding arrangements, but my general observation about these communities was the pervasive importance of community interactions among the various members of the society which contributed positively to community resilience.

The high influx of Syrian refugees over the past few years affected the social and demographic makeup and led to a change in relationships among the different members of the community. People could hear and see bombings in Syria and have witnessed incidents of bombs falling close to their homes. Many Jordanians told me that at the beginning of the crisis, their families supported Syrians and welcomed them as guests, but they all agreed that exploitation of refugees started later knowing that the crisis will not be ending anytime soon. Syrians who have lower wage expectations, and that are sometimes more skilled than their Jordanian counterparts, have taken their jobs. In addition, the financial aid allocated to Syrian refugees by the international community seemed to have changed the views of Jordanians because they felt that they deserved similar support, since the Syrian crisis has affected them negatively. Some people seemed to defend increasing unethical behavior toward refugees, and they even justified it with poverty or the lack of resources. However, they all seemed to believe that these immoral behaviors were confined to a minority, while the majority of Jordanians opposed the exploitation of Syrians, and were supportive of their difficult humanitarian conditions.

My observations are similar to the work of Achilli[61] that described a deteriorating relationship between Syrian refugees and their Jordanian hosts and considered markets as points of friction. This can also be confirmed by Bank[62] who discusses the increasingly competitive climate among Jordanians and Syrians, leading gradually to deep feelings of prejudice, but apart from few accidents, tensions did not escalate into violence thus far. Bank attributes the stable situation to the feelings of empathy towards Syrians who are simply victims of a brutal war, who fled their country, and who are experiencing great suffering.

7.3 Trust, Respect, Shared Values and the Sense of Community

Trust and respect contribute positively towards the improvement of community resilience. Syrian host communities have elevated levels of trust among members of their families and tribes, then amongst citizens of their neighborhoods and cities, but perceptions of trust appear to be poorer between Syrians and Jordanians. I remember a Syrian telling me that he doesn't trust his Jordanian neighbor who exploited him and asked him for a higher rent than market value at times of hardship. Increased levels of respect for older people can be observed and perceived within these communities which is similar to other Jordanian communities. People seemed to respect the tribal law and favor it more than the formal judicial system; they perceived it as a guardian for their rights that guarantees respect and improves relationships among community members. Tribal law was replaced with the Civil law in 1976, but the Jordanian tribes have continued to resolve their conflicts through tribal traditions. Government judges will decide a case that involves tribespeople only after their conflicts have been resolved by customary means such as: calling a truce, appointing guarantors, assessing fines, and hosting a formal tribal reconcillation[63]. Some Syrians used to complain about the lack of respect from their Jordanian neighbors. I recall them telling me how they were harassed and that they sometimes used to hear inappropriate remarks such as" You came here, ate our food, took our water, and stole our jobs", but the vast mainstream of Syrians seemed to sustain a respectful and trustful relationship with Jordanians which contributed to maintaining these communities relatively resilient.

[61] Achilli Luigi. (2015) "Syrian Refugees in Jordan: A Reality Check"

[62] Bank, A. (2016). Syrian Refugees in Jordan: Between Protection and Marginalisation.

[63] Abu Hassan, Muhammad. (1987). Turath al-badu al-qada'i. Amman: Da'irat al-thiqafa wal -fanun

The most common shared value and source of pride of these communities is their belonging to Islam, which they considered as the most important tie that binds people together. Common traditions and customs were also recognized as key modules that harmonized people from different origins and religions. As for Syrians, they shared religion, language, customs, and traditions with their Jordanian counterparts, which contributed to the formation of a sense of community among Syrians and Jordanians that were somehow forced to live together for an extended and unexpectedly prolonged period of time.

7.4 Poor Governmental Response

An extraordinarily substantial feature that I observed during my tenure in host communities was the general consensus among the public on the fundamental challenges that needed to be resolved. The general population appeared to have a mutual agreement on the competing priorities that they were facing, but they provided different possible solutions. More universally, they would complain about the gap between people and the government. There was a mutual consensus that citizens cast their votes poorly, but they used to stress on the significant

importance of "Political Money" (bribery and buying votes) in elections. They also agreed that parliamentary representatives usually forget about constituents the moment they get elected. I recall a group of people telling me how they have continuously tried to describe their deteriorating conditions to various government officials, and that the response was always slow and did not meet their expectations. They shared with me their feelings of despair, and inability to create a positive change.

Many Syrian refugees expressed their frustration from the absence of a government entity that could respond to their needs and anxieties. Overall, government response appeared to be poor

and ineffective which affected relationships among Syrians and Jordanians, and contributed negatively towards community resilience.

7.5 Basic Governmental and Municipal Services

Jordanians residing in host communities were disappointed with the deteriorating quality of governmental and municipal services. In the education sector, community members were unhappy with the rapidly declining quality of teaching at public schools. Faculty members were incompetent due to the unfair hiring process that relied mainly on nepotism and favourism. Students of Ramtha and Mafraq suffered from crowdedness and the limited number of classrooms due to the rising Syrian crisis, not to mention the shortage of books and school supplies. As for healthcare, people described the situation to me as "tragic" where medications were mostly unavailable, waiting times were long, and private healthcare services were unaffordable. Municipalities were incapacitated and unable to deal with the rising issue of waste management due to the sudden surge in local population that was driven by the Syrian crisis. Local municipalities lacked the financial capacity to acquire the necessary equipment, and recruit sufficient human resources to deal with garbage collection while Jordanians blamed Syrians for improperly tossing their trash on the streets. Syrians seemed to be generally more satisfied with the quality and availability of healthcare services offered to them by the Jordanian government and various international organizations but when it came to education, they seemed to both suffer from the same stressors. The strong belief that Syrian refugees are living on the limited and scarce local resources among an increasingly dissatisfied Jordanian population, calls for improving access to basic governmental and municipal services to ensure the continuation of the existing acceptable levels of community resilience.

7.6 Social and Economic Anxieties

The majority of Syrian host community members stressed the lack of social and psychological security in light of the regional turmoil and the ongoing Syrian crisis. This has become increasingly an urgency as they watched the spread of violence and unjustified horrific killings of innocent civilians in neighboring countries. The most pressing negative phenomenon in host communities was the rapid spread of illicit drugs that were being distributed and used largely at schools, threatening families and society as a whole. Prostitution was another emerging phenomenon that further developed with the increasing number of Syrian refugees that were trying to find sources of income to sustain their lives. Many of the conversations I have had with Jordanian women as part of focus groups or informal discussions revealed how threatened and insecure they felt from Syrian young women. In more than one instance, people used to describe the situation to me as a "timebomb" due to their deteriorating economic and social conditions, not to mention the poor response from the government.

Syrians expressed their concerns about the future, not knowing whether they can sustain their precarious (without a work permit) sources of income or not, while the government continuously

refused to issue them work permits in an attempt to protect Jordanians. Syrians also felt like they were threatened by their property owners, who were capable of evicting them at any moment due to the lack of legal safeguards that could preserve their rights. This elevated level of social and economic anxiety across both refugee and host communities and within the context of regional turmoil, threatens to further deteriorate and weaken community resilience to a breaking threshold that can eventually induce violent unrest across these fragile communities.

8. Customized Model of Community Resilience in Host Communities

Syrian refugees' host community members continue to survive with their limited economic resources and the deteriorating and incapacitated municipal services that are making their lives increasingly intolerable and unbearable. These communities are currently undergoing a transient period of dysfunction until they get to the point of adaptation, which is part of their coping mechanism and an ongoing process of resilience.

This research proposes a customized model of community resilience within the context of Syrian refugees host communities that hypothesizes and builds on Norris et al.'s framework and other similar models. The introduced model identifies key factors in each of the four clustered adaptive capacities originally introduced by Norris et al., to best fit the context of the sudden and high impact of Syrian refugees that are currently residing in Jordanian host communities. The model can contribute to the integration of lengthy and extended refugee conflict setup in Jordan, and can possibly be adapted to other global settings that are similar in nature to the Syrian refugee crisis.

The suggested model below (Figure 2) consists of three components that include social wellbeing, institutional and economic resources, and collective action. Social wellbeing will be shaped through the behavioral manifestation of trust and respect, help and care, the sense of community, and having access to trusted sources of information. Institutional and economic resources will be measured through available measures of local economic development, and the level of access to basic services. Community collective action will be measured by looking at the strength of community leadership, community action and the sense of collective responsibility, and political participation in taking decisions that affect daily lives of the community members.

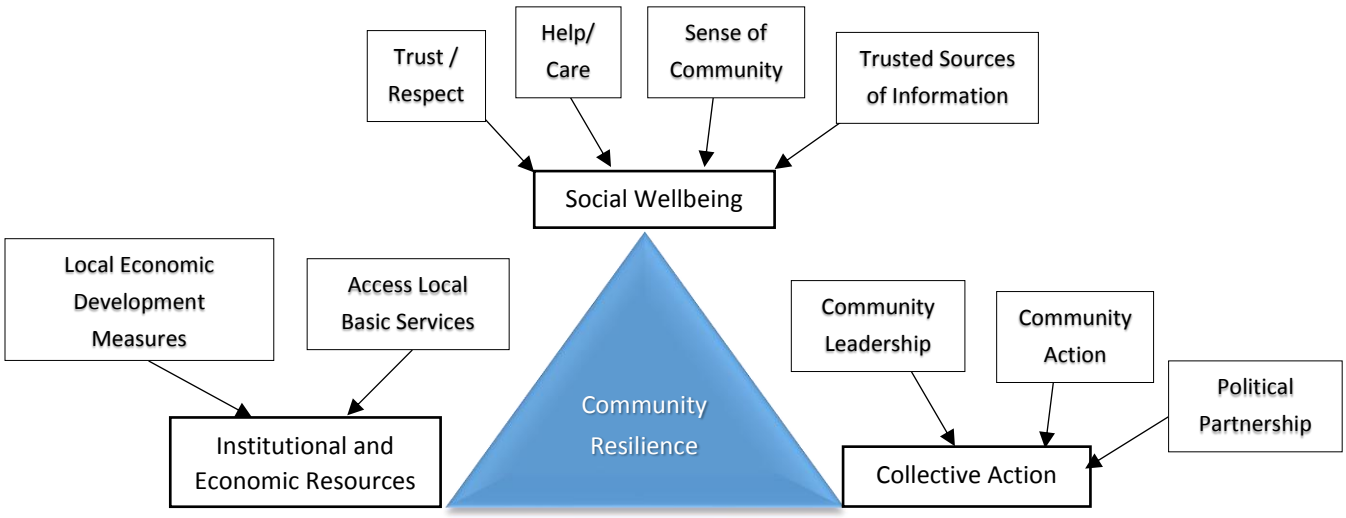

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework of Community Resilience

8.1 Social Wellbeing

The relationship between Syrian refugees and host communities in Jordan continues to deteriorate (Achilli, 2015) yet, they need to preserve different elements of social wellbeing since they will continue to live together for many years before the conflict is resolved. Norris et al. conceives the sense of community as an attitude of bonding that requires mutual trust, and as a sense of belonging characterized by mutual respect. She also underlines the significance of identifying trusted sources of information around behavioral options and potential sources of danger (Norris et. al, 2008). Kulig et al. developed an index of perceived community resilience that measures linkages and cooperation among community members helping one other and sharing similar values and ideas (Kulig et. al, 2013). Mowbray et al. highlights the essence of shared values and mutual trust by providing examples of social interactions between neighbors, or at churches (mosques in our case), and neighborhood centers (Mowbray et. al, 2007). Cohen et al. established a measure of community resilience that includes a component of social trust that relies on interpersonal relationships and ties that need to be nurtured since they do not emerge overnight (Cohen et al., 2013). The suggested model of community resilience below (Figure 2), links social wellbeing with trust and respect, the sense of belonging to the community, helping one another, and the trust in the different formal and informal sources of information.

Within the context of the preceding conceptual understanding of social wellbeing, the suggested model has identified specific communal capacities as key necessary features of the psychological drivers and effects that result in healthy relationships among Jordanians and Syrians residing in host communities. The identified significant characteristics (under Social Wellbeing in Figure 2) can be utilized to measure the communal capacity to cope and deal with the emerging social and economic stressors. Social wellbeing relates to the perceptions and behaviors of community interactions, and looks at how community members perceive themselves to be part of the community and accordingly behave with other members of the same community. If Jordanian host community members start helping, caring, trusting, and respecting one another, then social

relations may improve, possibly leading to an improved sense of community and eventually an enhanced social wellbeing. The proposed model of social wellbeing can be utilized to develop a quantitative and/or qualitative tool that can measure the various elements of social wellbeing. While this could be challenging to measure, tools (like surveys) could be developed to assess perceptions of (and actual) willingness to help and care for community members or neighbors, association and friendships among people living within the same community, perceived levels of trust and respect among community members, the sense of belonging to the community, and the levels of trust perceived in the different sources of communication and information. Such measures can be used to identify behaviors that need to be improved through other elements of the model such as collective action.

8.2 Access to Institutional and Economic Resources

The situation of Syrian refugees and their Jordanian host communities, in which scarcity generates friction and conflict (Achilli, 2015), calls for improved access to institutional and economic resources. Mowbray et al. developed a measure of community resilience that includes the provision of institutional and economic resources such as schools, medical services centers, recreational programs, employment opportunities, and the availability of affordable housing (Mowbray et. al, 2007). Sherrieb et al. relies on secondary databases to measure economic development by looking at indicators such as employment/unemployment ratios, net business gain/loss rates, occupational diversity, the number of sports and civic organizations, and crime rates (Sherrieb et. al, 2010). The suggested model of community resilience (Figure 2) creates a discrete component for institutional and economic resources that relies on available local economic development measures (i.e.: unemployment rate), and looks at accessible basic services within the local community.

Accesss to localized institutional and economic development is associated with the improvement of community resilience. The sudden influx of Syrian refugees rapidly and unexpectedly raised the local population of host communities causing an extreme pressure on basic governmental services such as education and healthcare, and essential municipal services such as waste management. The local government has insufficient financial resources to acquire the needed equipment or resources that can serve a rapidly growing population, making it difficult for both Jordanians and Syrians to access basic necessary services. Within this context, and building on Norris et al., Shierrieb and Mowbray et al.'s models, a tool can be developed that measures the various elements of the institutional and economic development within host communities. Local economic development measures will include available data for: unemployment ratios, poverty, availability of housing, local investments in infrsastructure, median household income, tax revenues, income equity, net business gain/loss rate and occupational diversity. Access to local basic services will be measured through available local statistics such as: doctors per 10,000, % of school-aged Syrians and Jordanians attending formal education, the number of sports/arts organizations and of civic organizations per 10,000, processed solid waste per day. These measures will mainly rely on available secondary data. We can also utilize non-numeric qualitatitve means to gauge access to institutional and economic resources which will allow decision makers to identify incapacitated services and accordingly, prioritize and redirect limited resources, and identify sensible solutions that can enhance community resilience.

8.3 Community collective action

Members of communities hosting Syrian refugees cannot work effectively on the identification and resolution of the challenges facing their communities in isolation from Syrian refugees living amongst them, which calls for collaborative collective efforts in prioritizing and implementing necessary actions. Kulig et al. has different indicators that measure community leadership strength, and the ability of the community to take action in adversities. These indicators are all perceptive and include relevant measures that can be utilized within the context of this research such as "My community has strong community leadership" or " When a problem occurs, community members are able to deal with it"[64]. Cohen et al.'s measure of community resilience introduced a separate component of collective efficacy that measures the level of collective action (Cohen et al., 2013). Norris et al. links effectiveness of community's response to threats, with the political process that defines how involved citizens are in the process of decision-making (Norris et. al, 2008). The proposed model of community resilience (Figure 2) establishes a separate component of community collective action that links community resilience, with three subcomponents that include the strength of community's leadership, the ability of the community to collaborate and intervene at times of adversity, and the level of political involvement of community members in decisions that affect their daily lives.

Collective action and civic engagement present the third benchmark of community resilience and can be associated with social wellbeing. Jordanian host communities that have been suffering from the high impact of the Syrian crisis will need to be involved with the government on the identification of their significant and key needs. Accordingly, the community will be able to prioritize these needs and respond in collective participation with the government, the private sector, and civil society. The more the community is engaged with these different stakeholders on issues of mutual interest, the further people will learn how to cooperate and contribute to alleviating the levels of community resilience. Within that context, the suggested component can be operationalized by developing a tool that will measure the various elements of collective action. The tool should measure relevant community perceptions and actual behaviors such as the perception of community leadership, collective participation in community events, providing assistance and support to Syrian refugees, satisfaction with the government's response to the needs of the community, participation in elections, and attending public meetings. Civic engagement and the positive perception of collective participation for the majority of community members can be associated with adequate and satisfactory levels of community resilience.

9. Conclusive Summary

Between May 2013 and August 2014, my career and passion were both directed towards understanding the dynamics of Syrian host communities across northern Jordan. Increasing tensions between Jordanians and Syrians were evident as the livelihoods and living conditions of Jordanians were rapidly deteriorating with the continuous flow of Syrian refugees. At the beginning of the crisis, Jordanians provided unlimited help and support, and trusted and respected their Syrian counterparts, who shared their Arab identity including language, religion, and customs. But the continuous surge in population, coupled with the improper response from the government, crippled municipal and governmental services and resulted in further

[64] Kulig, J. C., Edge, D. S., Townshend, I., Lightfoot, N., & Reimer, W. (2013). Community Resiliency: Emerging Theoretical Insights. P.771.

disappointments and frustrations among the various members of the community. Jordanians and Syrians were competing over the scarce and limited economic resources, while new social issues started to emerge, threatening community resilience, and calling on the local government and the international community to be more responsive and effective in supporting these communities. As a result, Syrian host communities across northern Jordan were unable to bounce back to a stable and functional status and continued to suffer and feel the pain, which posed a significant anxiety to the government that was struggling to find temporary solutions that were not necessarily compatible with the priorities and needs of the Jordanians and Syrians that will continue to live together for a long period of time.

Norris et al. presents a general and comprehensive framework of community resilience that is too expansive to the extent that researchers had to dedicate their attention to specific elements of the model to operationalize it. The framework provides a variety of networked capacities packed into four key clusters: Economic Development, Social Capital, Information and Communication, and Community Competence. The suggested framework in this paper presents an adapted iteration of Norris et al.'s framework to the context of Jordanian host communities. Unlike other researchers that adapted one or two clusters of Norris et al.'s framework, the suggested model identifies the significant factors in each of Norris et al.'s four clustered capacities that are relevant to the context of Jordanian host communities. The model can be picked-up by another researcher, the Jordanian government, civil society, or even adapted to other similar settings and implemented.

Jordanian host community members continue to survive on their limited economic resources and the deteriorating incapacitated municipal services that are making their lives increasingly intolerable and unbearable. These communities are currently undergoing a transient period of dysfunction until they get to the point of adaptation, which is part of their coping mechanism and an ongoing process of resilience. The conceptualized model of community resilience for Jordanian refugee host communities contains three components that include social wellbeing, institutional and economic resources, and collective action. Social wellbeing will be shaped through the behavioral manifestation of trust and respect, help and care, the sense of community, and having access to trusted sources of information. Institutional and economic resources will be measured through available measures of local economic development, and the level of access to basic services. Community collective action will be measured by looking at the strength of community leadership, community action and the sense of collective responsibility, and political participation in taking decisions that affect daily lives of the community members. The implementation of the suggested framework necessitates the development of a measurement instrument (i.e.: questionnaire, focus group, etc.) and collecting the necessary data to measure community resilience and identify fragilities that needs to be prioritized to alleviate the suffering of community members.

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Nicola Musa is an M.A. student at the School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa. His research interests include Human Rights, Community Resilience and Immigration (email: nickmusa@gmail.com)

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