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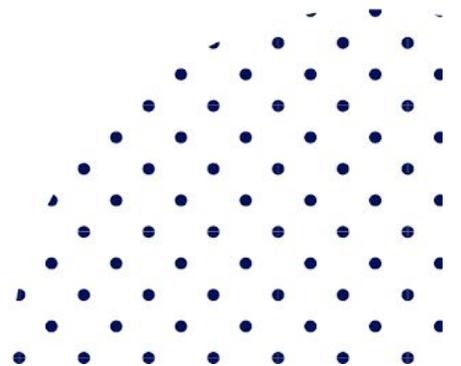
**AN EXPLORATION OF THE
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND
STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES OF
REFUGEE INTEGRATION**

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ABSTRACT

Refugees are not a monolith of people who share a single identity, and the ways in which various refugee groups integrate within a host nation will vary greatly. Refugees organize, assimilate and integrate through a combination of social, economic, and political factors, the result of which establishes a unique framework with its own challenges for both host nations and refugees themselves. This paper outlines several factors of refugee integration and through the use of case studies, empirical data, and political theory examines the successes, shortfalls, and possibilities for understanding and improving the lives of some of the most vulnerable people on earth.

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	3
INTRODUCTION	4
DETERMINING THE FRAMEWORK OF REFUGEE INTEGRATION	6
Economic Considerations	16
Political Considerations	24
Health Considerations	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY	35

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"You develop a team to achieve what one person cannot accomplish alone. All of us alone are weaker, by far, than if all of us are together"

INTRODUCTION

With tensions rising between countries across the globe, refugee numbers are rising and as of 2018, there are over 65 million displaced people globally. While many of these refugees are hosted by developing nations, statistics show a sharp uptick in the number of refugees claiming asylum in other countries. This has prompted a renewed interest in the economic and social effects of refugees, necessitating a more complete understanding about the effects of various systems for refugee integration in refugee hosting nations. While much of the existing information is focused around rich and developed nations, the fact remains that over 80% of the world's refugees are settled in low income or developing countries, which often lack the capacity to provide basic services to their own citizens, let alone deal with an influx of refugees. These nations are faced with unique challenges and opportunities that are presented by large groups of refugees who bring with them a vast variety of skills, education levels, and international assistance. While resource availability will be different from country to country, developing a framework of refugee integration will require a careful analysis of systems and policies that are employed in both developing and developed nations.

As an early caveat for this paper it is important to note that regardless of a countries' beliefs, they are required as signatories of the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention and Protocol of 1967 to help with the resettlement of refugees.¹ The

¹ Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016

purpose of this thesis is to explore the implications and successes of refugee integration and movement into host nations, in relation to other local populations and migrant types. This is achieved through an analysis of various aspects of integration such as social, economic, and political factors, the use of historical case studies, and the examination of nation specific policies. It can be better determined how refugees fit into host nations and what the long-term implications will be.

Historical examples of refugee movements (situations where large numbers of refugees were relocated to a different country) have their own underlying flaws and errors in methodology. Each refugee group and situation are objectively different in various countries and even within different parts of the same country. Therefore, it is difficult to draw a universal conclusion based on results from a single specific historical situation. Yet, it is reasonable to utilize historical situations to better understand how refugees impact nations around the world. The information presented is constructed through the lens of political science. Therefore, it will construct each of the points discussed with a framework based on a combination of political theory as well as periphery aspects of economics. This will allow for better understanding and development of the discussed structural challenges towards integrating refugees in host nations.

DETERMINING THE FRAMEWORK OF REFUGEE INTEGRATION

Economists assert that freedom of movement and trade between countries leads to a greater exchange of goods and labor. This phenomenon is likely also applicable to the free transfer of persons between nations. In these situations, individuals ideally would be able to “self-select” the country in which their own skills would be the most applicable and provide the greatest economic output. Therefore, a richer country that receives immigrants would experience a phenomenon known as an “immigration surplus,” where the overall economic prosperity in that country is increased through the integration of migrating populations. By reducing the barriers for these groups of people it is possible to create an immigration surplus in developed countries receiving immigrants so long as the populations are properly able to assimilate and integrate within the existing structures of a new country.

The above statements are primarily made with the assumption that these individuals are able to move freely and that there are no other circumstances which apply. In reality this is not the case and therefore it is important to understand that many theories on immigration, while benefits or disadvantages, can only be validated through the use of case studies and data - much of which does not distinguish between certain immigrant groups and refugees. However, it is important to remember that there exists a great deal of difference between immigrants and refugees. Given the closely related nature of some aspects of these groups it is possible to reconcile their differences when making a comparison. It is also important to note that there exist fundamental

differences between immigrants, economic migrants and refugees. Refugees are oftentimes fleeing persecution and due to the obligation that the host country has to settle them; they are not exactly “mutually selected” for their skills in the same way that other migrant groups might be.

Additionally, as it will be later discussed, refugee groups also suffer from worse health outcomes compared to other populations, and this could likely be attributed at least in part to the trauma that was faced when leaving their origin country. Finally, it is important to note that there may be specific policies concerning settlement, or access to labor markets, etc. While each of these factors may explain why refugees perform worse when compared to other types of migrants it is currently impossible to evaluate the performance of these refugees in the absence of these factors. Still, when examining case studies or the associated data present it is important not to lose sight of the fact that behind each piece of data and figures there exist people who cannot be summed up through a simple analysis. In this regard, there should be an understanding that the data should be used not to draw conclusions about refugees but instead serve as a document that might offer insight, explanations, and examples on how to better serve the needs of these groups and better inform the political discourse about refugee issues.

The question of what it means to successfully integrate is a complex question that has answers which can vary from country to country. For this paper the idea of

integration is going to be determined by using a theoretical framework that was developed by Alastair Ager and Alison Strang, which is measured by using empirical markers such as housing, employment, education, and health.² These four markers are the principal ways in which refugees form social and economic bonds within the host country, and are going to be the basis of metrics that will be used to measure refugee integration. Additionally, the four factors proposed by Ager and Strang will be supplemented through an analysis of various political considerations relating to the effect that refugees may have on the host nation. The goal is that each of these differing factors and markers can be taken together as a collective and when combined with other forms of empirical evidence, help to draw conclusions that can be referenced by the general population of a host nation to create a basis for how well refugee populations are “integrated.”

Housing Considerations

The first thing many refugees seek when arriving in a new country is a safe place to stay. The geographic location of refugees is an important component in their ability to integrate, as the location in which refugees live can impact factors of education, employment and political involvement. For many, choosing where to live is a choice that is determined by the prevalence of these factors. Safe housing not only provides one access to resources, but also dictates how a refugee might interact with the larger community. Refugees often initially have to rely on government cash assistance and

² Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework

housing, limiting their geographic mobility. There is much work that suggests that a key indicator of refugee success in the workplace is their ability to foster and develop a “local network” of resources. This local network is largely dependent on the number of individuals within their community that share a similar background and/or cultural experiences as the targeted individual. The prevalence of “ethnic enclaves” allows refugees to create a “network [that] disseminates valuable information on, e.g., job opportunities, and constitutes an environment where the immigrant is less exposed to the discrimination encountered elsewhere in the labor market.” Evidence supporting this comes from studies exploring the Swedish policy of housing immigrants from 1987-1991 and asserts that “when accounting for the endogeneity of residential choice, we found that earnings rise with increases in ethnic concentration”.³ This conclusion indicates that government housing, which pays special attention to the existing communities of ethnic groups, can provide migrants with access to local networks that improve labor market outcomes.

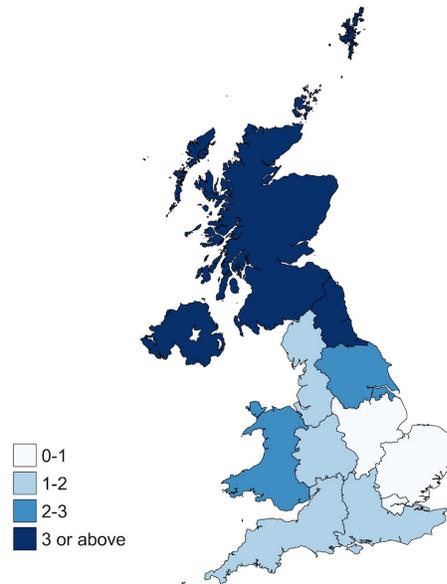
While it would make sense that refugees are distributed in a way that allows them to create or maintain some form of community identity the truth is that oftentimes host countries do not consider the prevalence of an ethnic enclave during the distribution of housing. Instead, the criteria often becomes one of housing availability and cost. This is the case in the United Kingdom where in a 2018 report by the House of Commons stated: “asylum accommodation tends to be concentrated within those

³ Ethnic enclaves and the economic success of immigrants

dispersal areas, and parts of dispersal areas, where accommodation is cheap and more readily available.”⁴ This highlights the connectedness between a nation's economics and its ability to house refugees. The British approach which is based on the economic availability of housing migrants means that the majority of refugees are settled in the northern portion of the country as they await the processing of their applications.⁵ Migrants

How do the regions compare?

Syrian refugees per 10,000 population



Source: Home Office Syrian Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme



in those areas have fewer resources than those placed in larger urban centers to the south of the country (such as London). Yet sometimes neither cost nor the outright “integration” of the refugee population are the goals of a host nation’s government. Instead, it may be elected by those in power that refugees be dispersed in a way that specifically discourages the formation of ethnic enclave, and forces refugees to assimilate at a faster pace with the local population through the prevention of traditional practices and customs and the denial of a formation of a community to perpetuate traditional customers. By preventing the formation of large local enclaves, refugees will be forced to have a greater number of forced interactions with the local populace and develop local ethnic and cultural ties sooner.

⁴ House of Commons Report: Asylum Accommodation (2018)

⁵ BBC: Where have the UK's 10,000 Syrian refugees gone?

Another useful case study for refugee housing issues can come through an examination of the situations of refugees in both Tanzania and Turkey. While neither of these countries rank in the very high portion of the HDI, they can serve as useful examples of regions which receive significant amounts of aid and influence from other nation states. Turkey in particular receives a significant amount of aid and other forms of goodwill through other European member states. Similarly, the situation of refugees in Tanzania has been given prominent media attention and organizations such as the international refugee committee (IRC) are able to contribute numerous resources to help with refugee resettlement. Due to the external monitoring measures that have been put in place there, data is collected despite the fact that the majority of refugees are housed in camps that are located close to the border region and these locations are home to refugee populations that have received widespread media coverage and support from international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Due to the geographic location of these two countries compared to the source country, they were unable to quickly develop countrywide dispersal programs and thus utilized a policy of housing in which camps would provide most of the housing. Given the relatively large and sudden influx of refugees being housed in these areas it is important to analyze the primary impacts of refugees on existing natives in the areas as a result of this housing method.

The native group that gains most significantly from the presence of refugees are highly educated individuals living in close vicinity to areas of refugee settlement/camps. The construction and creation of camps not only involves a large number of people but also requires the support and investment from internationals coming into the region. For an impoverished nation, these internationals can help to create a market for skills and goods that would not have otherwise existed. In Tanzania, most refugees are housed in a region of the country with relatively low economic activity (and a large number of nomadic people). It appears as if the establishment of these “city sized” camps, hosting individuals in the tens of thousands, allows for new economic opportunities to take place. Researchers found that “the expatriate population might create a demand for household help and the aid agencies themselves constitute a new source of labor market demand particularly for skilled and semi-skilled individuals.”⁶ Furthermore, due to the long-lasting nature of many refugee situations (on average protracted refugee situations last 25+ years), there is an incentive for people to abandon nomadic and pastoral livelihoods in favor of other forms of subsistence which rely on interactions with refugee camps as well as international aid workers. This is evidenced by findings which show that “households around the camp are substituting semi-nomadic pastoralism with other economic activities.” Indeed, this change in lifestyle is also representative with a significant increase in income for those in this educated class.

⁶ Do refugee camps help or hurt hosts? The case of Kakuma, Kenya

The positive effects of refugees on educated individuals is also readily apparent in Turkey. A study by Mathis Wagner on Turkey shows “an increase in the supply of informal labor increases the demand for formal jobs for Turkish workers.”⁷ Meaning that the presence of refugees lead to an abundance of low skilled labor and subsequently a shift in marketplace preferences towards workers with more skills and training. This is slightly different from the Tanzanian context because in Turkey there is a large shift of “moderately educated” individuals who were once working in irregular informal sector jobs that now have the opportunity to transition into industries which offer stable regular employment. The study also indicated that “formal jobs on average pay double as much as informal jobs”. This transition to formal high skilled jobs indicates a strong benefit can be accrued to natives who possess or are able to acquire education and skills.

In addition to highly skilled individuals, the other major group to benefit from the presence of refugees are producers. In the Tanzanian situation, this is evidenced by an increase in agriculture, entrepreneurship and husbandry close to the refugee camps.⁸ In particular, producers in agriculture can take advantage of the increased demand of food that tends to be sourced locally. In the state of Turkana (where refugee camps are present) agriculture is not generally a large part of the economy. Yet, data shows that the “the camp has clearly generated demand for products grown locally, belaying the dynamic where food aid drives down local food prices, thus discouraging production”.⁹

⁷ *The impact of Syrians refugees on the Turkish labor market.*

⁸ *Winners and losers among a refugee-hosting population: consumption, economic activities, and agglomeration.*

⁹ Do refugee camps help or hurt hosts? The case of Kakuma, Kenya

In fact, due to the increased demand, price increases take place across the board.

While this can be detrimental to certain groups, it is a signifier of economic prosperity for individuals who control the means of production in a region and are able to benefit from increased profit margins.

In Greece, refugee camps such as those in Turkey are also used. However, restrictions on entry into the labor market combined with other integration challenges mean that even as an OECD nation, Greece faces similar challenges with ensuring that the conditions in its own camps are sufficient. The Greek island of Lesbos is home to the Moria Refugee Camp, a camp that was initially designed to hold approximately 3,000 refugees, that has turned into the largest refugee camp in Europe now holding over 17,000 migrants. The massive overcrowding at this refugee camp indicates that oftentimes it is just not possible to quickly integrate refugees within subsets of the host populations, even when such a situation is desired. Moria Refugee camps indicate a need for better infrastructure to be able to house a sudden influx of refugees while they are being processed.

In Germany, the largest host of Syrian Refugees in Europe, refugees are distributed using the “Königstein Key,” a formula that takes population and tax revenues of a district to determine the number of refugees assigned and spreading them relatively evenly across the country.¹⁰ These varied approaches to distributing migrants have long term

¹⁰ Initial Distribution of Asylum Seekers

effects on an individual's ability to integrate. At the same time, it is important to recognize that even with such systems in place, oftentimes there will be a significant delay between a refugee's arrival in the country and their subsequent integration into a more "permanent" housing solution. This can lead to situations where refugee camps are situated in major metropolitan areas, which might not fit into the traditional perception of what a refugee camp should be. An example of this is what has become of Berlin's famous Tempelhof Airport situated in the heart of Berlin. While it was originally built by the Nazi's, it has served the city on numerous occasions before being decommissioned and turned into a public space in 2008. The airport was declared a refugee camp in 2015 and serves as temporary housing for thousands of refugees. This occurred despite the presence of the Königstein Key formula, which was dictated by the central government to more evenly distribute the burden of refugees. The challenges of increased cost of living as well as a lack of existing resources for many regions to accommodate refugees in Germany means that displaced refugees will have to find shelter in semi-permanent structures (like those built in Tempelhof) deemed as adequate. While officials recognize that the situation of hosting refugees in these self-contained but still isolated camps is dire, there exist few other options. Refugee "camps" which are formed not on the outskirts of countries but are created through the appropriation of existing buildings, such as the situation in Berlin Tempelhof and other structures, is likely to become increasingly common.¹¹

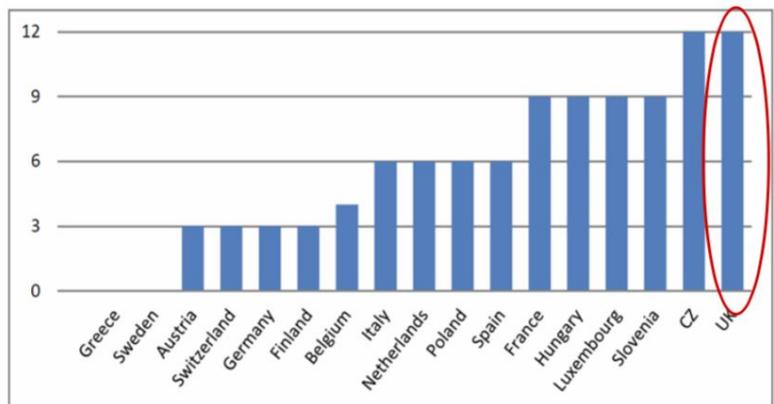
¹¹ "Appropriating buildings to house refugees: Berlin Tempelhof."

Economic Considerations

After accommodations, one of the most important factors for integration within a host country is the ability of a refugee to join the labor force. Finding employment not only reduces a person's dependence on government welfare programs but also increases the likelihood that they will be interacting with members of the host country in productive ways.

A very specific issue for many refugees is the lack of evidence or paperwork for qualifications that could be used to gain employment. In many European countries, certification, as well as proficiency in the local language, are considered prerequisites. Testing and apprenticeship programs provide refugees with qualifications that can be received through educational programs. Refugees also face a significant amount of uncertainty while their applications are processed. This uncertainty prevents refugees from choosing to invest in human capital skills (such as language and apprenticeships) as they exist in a state of legal limbo. Studies from Sweden show that “one additional year of waiting for an asylum

Minimum waiting periods for accessing the labour market for asylum seekers (months)



OECD Questionnaire on the integration of humanitarian migrants, 2016

decision reduces the future employment rate of refugees by 4–5 percentage points.”¹²

Many European countries utilize long application processing times as a means to disincentivize migrants from seeking asylum. The relatively long period of uncertainty created during this time leads many migrants to attempt to migrate to a country with faster processing times and begin to learn the needed language and job skills more quickly.

In addition to processing times, many countries also impose waiting periods for refugees to enter the labor market. These limits can range from a few months to even a year for countries such as the United Kingdom.¹³ These bans are in place despite widespread knowledge of the detrimental effects of waiting periods caused by the deterioration of skills and psychological discouragement. Thus, the decision to restrict access to labor markets can be used by governments as a means to discourage immigration to the host country by refugees. Unlike housing dispersal effects, which are primarily driven by a cost benefit analysis of housing refugees, developed countries create policies related to employment that are not economically motivated and are designed to specifically increase the obstacles for integration in order to discourage migration.

The Mariel Boatlift is a historical example of refugee migration that allows one to explore the impact on local labor markets. Between April and October of 1980, over

¹² When lives are put on hold: Lengthy asylum processes decrease employment among refugees

¹³ Differences in labour market outcomes between refugees and other migrants

120,000 Cubans were taken in by the United States as a result of improved relations between the U.S and Cuba. These refugees were termed “Marielitos” and settled primarily in Miami. The majority of these individuals were low skilled laborers and (57%) did not have a high school diploma. The question for many was how this population affected the economic outcomes of native citizens. Harvard Economist, George Borjas, utilized a cross-sectional approach to the issue. Instead of looking at the overall employment outcomes, he focused on low skilled workers in Miami, which was the group that was most likely to face direct competition from the Marlititos. In this study, he concluded that the influx of refugees “lowered the wage of high school dropouts,” while at the same time stating that “wage gains accrue to those workers who complement the skills brought in by the refugees.”¹⁴ This meant that while some workers were displaced as a result of the Marielitos, new opportunities were created for natives whose skills differed from that of the refugee population. Indeed, the conclusions that were drawn by Borjas also mirror findings of Professor Patricia Cortes who noted that access to low skilled labor in the form of childcare creates new opportunities for highly skilled women to reenter the workforce.¹⁵

The results of the Borjas study indicated the challenges that arise when trying to accurately measure the economic impact of refugees. The answers concerning the impact of refugees tend to be much more nuanced and require research of specific methodologies to understand how populations will experience benefit or loss from

¹⁴ The labour market consequences of refugee supply shocks

¹⁵ Low-skilled immigration and the labor supply of highly skilled women

refugees. In the Borjas study, a result of the migration was that there were native populations who were certainly negatively impacted, yet at the same time, there were those who saw their conditions improve. While some may argue that this could lead to long term economic gains, it is necessary to understand that at the very least the influx of refugees resulted in a significant disruption of the labor force.

Similar conclusions can also be determined when referencing back to the labor force disruption that takes place in Turkey and Tanzania. Both of these cases were discussed earlier and are again referenced to highlight the additional human considerations of changes in workforce composition as a result of refugees. In both nations, low skilled laborers and women (particularly low skilled) are the “target” populations which face the greatest disruption as a result of refugee migration. It is important to understand that both Tanzania and Turkey have strict regulations that limit refugee employment into local markets, but enforcement is not always effective. Turkey in particular experiences very substantial levels of labor force participation for Syrian refugees. As a result of refugees not legally being allowed to work it is observed that the vast majority of those individuals take part in the informal labor market. Resultingly, there is much displacement of this market, and as discussed above individuals with slightly higher levels of education have the ability to transition out of the informal labor market and into other types of jobs. Unfortunately, this is not the case for some of the least educated members of society who have no means to progress upwards, and because of the high substitutability between groups of low skilled natives and refugees,

they are oftentimes displaced and choose to drop out of the workforce. Ultimately, “the inflow of informally employed Syrian refugees leads to large scale displacement of Turkish workers from the informal sector, around 6 natives for every 10 refugees.”¹⁶ Similar findings also exist in Tanzania where the inability to effectively moderate the employment of refugees leads to “cheap labor that generates a downward pressure on the wages of agricultural workers... [leading to] wages paid to casual laborers dropping by about 50% in many areas”.¹⁷ This is particularly damaging as increases in the number of refugees can also create an increase in prices for certain household goods. This combined with lower wages means that natives are increasingly unable to make ends meet.

The outlook for women in refugee situations seems similar to the effects of low skilled laborers, in that the arrival of refugees seems to disproportionately affect them as a population, because they constitute a large portion of irregular or low skilled laborers in these countries. Wagner’s findings indicate that unlike many male counterparts “women see no gains in formal regular employment.” As a consequence, Turkish women experience large scale net displacement - much of which can be explained by a decrease in part time work and the net displacement effects are very large: 7 women for every 10 refugees. This data indicates that there may be other social challenges that are preventing women from ascending to formal employment, but still it is undeniable that working class women are at the greatest risk of displacement. Even in Tanzania

¹⁶ *The impact of Syrians refugees on the Turkish labor market*

¹⁷ *Winners and losers among a refugee-hosting population: consumption, economic activities, and agglomeration.*

findings indicate that refugees have very unique effects on women beyond employment and the presence of large refugee camps can also make daily life more difficult for tasks that are dominated by women (such as fetching water and firewood). As a result of the environmental degradation from the construction of camps, women now have to dedicate more time to collect firewood as it constitutes the main energy source for cooking.¹⁸

Refugees' impact on natives within a country is not the only factor that must be considered. A country that chooses to accept refugees loses out on the potential of other types of immigrants, particularly economic migrants, and this must be accounted for. Looking at the research gathered about the economic performance of refugees in the U.K by Dr. Isabel Ruiz it is possible to see how refugees compare to other groups. In her research, she concludes that “refugees have worse labor market outcomes than natives and other migrants. In particular, those who migrated to the UK with the intention of claiming asylum are less likely to be employed, have lower weekly earnings, and earn less per hour and work fewer hours than natives and those who migrated for work reasons.”¹⁹ While some of these factors between other migrant groups and factors converge over time, not all do. Additionally, the conclusions that are made for the U.K. seem to also hold true for much of Europe where it is estimated that “refugees in the EU are close to 11 percentage points less likely to be employed than economic (Non-EU15) migrants”.²⁰

¹⁸ The impact of hosting refugees on the intra-household allocation of tasks: A gender perspective

¹⁹Differences in labour market outcomes between refugees and other migrants

²⁰On the economics and politics of refugee migration

While overall developed countries may be able to see “net gains” in employment or production it is necessary to understand that these results cannot be attributed to the whole population. As it has been shown, refugees can create significant negative change for populations in host countries. Generally speaking, it appears as if policies that are designed to help education and aid in the transition of native workers from areas where they are easily substitutable to more specific professions can help with a reduction in unemployment. Training and internship programs are available to teach natives useful skills where a protracted refugee situation has taken hold. Additionally, these programs can help with alleviating the immediate shocks following an influx of refugees, but at the same time a greater emphasis on education and schooling starting from a young age in developing nations will make it likely that natives will have the ability to more easily transition jobs. This is much easier said than done as developing nations often struggle with education and literacy on the whole. These issues are often amplified by the fact that refugees are settled in some of the poorest regions of these countries. Therefore, the time required to source teachers and set up such programs will be tremendous.

An overhaul of programs which limit refugee access to labor markets might also be necessary to ensure that an entire population is not seeking employment in specific categories. While this may lead to greater impacts of unemployment as a result of competition, these effects may spread amongst several groups and not concentrate on some of the weakest rungs of society. Still there is some concern by legislators who fear

that by offering immediate employment opportunities and full labor market integration it could create certain “pull” factors for refugees. These concerns have been partially validated by research on the rise in Syrian refugees attempting to gain access to better social welfare programs in the European Union after finding safety in Turkey.²¹

Women in particular have been identified as vulnerable and therefore may require specific types of programs to alleviate the negative impacts. Non-governmental organizations could create specific internships or basic courses which are targeted specifically for women. Therefore, giving women a more direct opportunity to participate in the new jobs that are being created. Governments could also look into establishing price controls and working with international organizations to create programs that could limit the prices of food and also provide basic necessities (such as firewood) that have experienced price increases or a change in availability to the local population. Any of these program suggestions would require a significant amount of capital and funding, which is not available at the present. The UNHCR, which is the paramount organization for assisting refugees, already struggles to meet its budget and for the last 4 years they have fallen short, for the budget gap for 2018 was over \$300 million dollars.²² None of the suggestions mentioned above are easy, and in particular when working with developing countries there are significant barriers to effectively implementing these programs.

²¹Refugees, asylum seekers, and policy in OECD countries.

²² UNHCR Financials

Political Considerations

In addition to strong economies, many developed countries rely on having a strong political and social framework for society. Many developed countries are able to prosper because its citizens have grown accustomed to long-standing political institutions and a political framework that tends to prioritize stability over risk. Exploring the influence that refugees have on shifting a country's political system is challenging because it is difficult to isolate variables that serve as a catalyst for that change. By looking at the historical data from the influx of East German refugees into West Germany one can observe the political burden of refugees. Many East Germans were escaping from living under Communist countries (welfare states) and therefore flocked to the new and democratic capitalist West Germany. Afterward, it was noted that “areas with higher refugee inflows increase taxation for businesses and farms, they reduced spending on infrastructure and housing, and instead raised welfare expenditures.”²³ This shows that a potential risk of the refugee population is that the political ideas they carry with them might not match the political institutions and ideals of the host country. In this case, it is shown that more left-leaning ideology is being pushed rather than free-market ideas. Another example showing the power of refugees on the political outcomes of their host countries is the failed 1848 democratic revolutions in the German states, whose followers sought asylum in the USA. In this case, refugees had an 80% higher enlistment rate for the army and where refugees led a regiment there were markedly lower desertion rates. This example shows that “forced migrants carried their political

²³ Immigrant voters, taxation and the size of the welfare state

ideas into the New World, and how they inspired others to fight for them.” While one might argue that the difference in political thought that is brought by refugees may be beneficial to a country, in the long run, it is evident that differing with native-born persons in political thought it creates a greater strain on existing institutions due to the creation of a political divide.²⁴

Another concern surrounding political institutions comes into play when refugees are oftentimes scapegoated by rhetoric from right-wing or populist movements in host countries. Even though refugees represent a very small number of immigrants within a country they are oftentimes disproportionately represented in the media, for example, Syrian refugees during Brexit, and the U.S. 2016 election. While this is not directly tied to refugees’ actions, one must consider the long-term implications of the scapegoating of such people for political gains. A study on the impact of Syrian refugees in Greece showed an increase in shares of votes to the far-right Golden Dawn Party - a 44% percent increase when compared to the average vote share the party typically receives.

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These political considerations are also impactful especially when it comes to metropolitan spaces, where the presence of refugees is likely to be much more noticeable. During the European Refugee Crisis, there was much political discussion concerning housing and where refugees will be kept as they await more permanent settlement. After it quickly became apparent that existing facilities would be insufficient

²⁴Consequences of forced migration: A survey of recent findings

²⁵Does exposure to the refugee crisis make natives more hostile?

to host all of the new arrivals it was suggested that the recently defunct Tempelhof Airport become a temporary staging ground. During discussions about the future of the airport riots and protests broke out about the use of the space, which prior to the proposal had been a popular park in the city.²⁶ Riots such as these resulted in greatly increased publicity and discussion about the refugee crisis during a pivotal time.

Another example of how refugees can be used to advance a party or policy can be found in Britain ; During the 2016 United Kingdom European Union membership



referendum members of the “Leave Campaign” played up the fears of refugee migration with the public amongst other factors and successfully led the United Kingdom to leave the European Union. This result shocked the political establishment and by some economists estimates “will likely reduce the real per-capita income level in the UK”.²⁷ Such examples of refugees being targeted as a community in the host country illustrates how they can inadvertently create greater political tension and undermine the political stability of a developed country.

²⁶ A Refugee Riot Puts a German Town on Edge.

²⁷"Brexit: The Economics of International Disintegration

While the above examples in the United States, Britain, and Greece showcase that refugees can serve to disrupt internal policies and politics within a nation, it is also possible that a host nation of refugees can use the refugees as political pawns with their neighbors. Turkey for instance has a refugee population of over 3 million and due to its geographic location serves as a gateway to many refugees who wish to settle in Europe. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan recognizes the critical role that his nation plays and has not been shy about leveraging the plight of refugees for his political gain - saying in a 2016 interview “We do not have the word ‘idiot’ written on our foreheads. Don’t think that the planes and the buses are there for nothing. We will do the necessary. ... In the past we have stopped people at the gates to Europe, in Edirne we stopped their buses. This happens once or twice, and then we’ll open the gates and wish them a safe journey, that’s what I said”²⁸ This willingness to politicize the freedom of movement for refugee groups demonstrates that refugees can be used as bargaining chips between nations. While Erdogan’s claims of “opening the gates” might seem quite extreme it is all too common that host nations will almost always sometimes seek stronger assurances from the international community in the form of financial, military, or humanitarian aid being extracted through the hosting of refugees. At the same time a hosting nation can also claim a form of “political moral superiority” by containing refugees within their own borders. This type of political clout has also been used by Turkey as a way of having EU member nations “look past” certain policies and human rights violations that might have usually created a drift between leaders. Dr. Behlül

²⁸ National Rhetorics in the Syrian Immigration Crisis: Victims, Frauds, and Floods

Özkan, a professor at Marmara University notes that German Prime Minister Angela Merkel, who is facing massive political pressure at home to stop the influx of refugees, met with President Erdoğan and former Prime Minister Davutoğlu no less than seven times in 2015-2016 following a summit between Turkey and the 28 EU member states in Brussels, and negotiations about the refugees have now been incorporated into a formal agreement. These negotiations allowed Erdogan to strongarm his European counterparts into a broader discussion of providing visa-free travel to Turks and the reopening of EU accession talks.²⁹

A caveat should be noted that much of the many of the political decisions that are made concerning refugees will often be created without political participation from refugees who are in the process of settling within a host nation. This community of stateless refugees can be actively denied political participation or simply be trapped in the bureaucracy of a host nation. Regardless, most refugees will exist in a country for a period in which they will not have the power to choose their leaders and the subsequent decisions made for them. In the United States, since enactment of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, federal law has prohibited noncitizens from voting in federal elections, with the potential of punishments in the form of fines, imprisonment, and deportation. For many refugees' laws like this means that by the nature of them being "transplants" to a host nation they are denied the right to have rights, which further impact their ability to assimilate politically.

²⁹ Erdoğan's, E. U. "Is Erdoğan Holding Europe Hostage?."

Educational Considerations:

While employment is desirable, the long-term success of a refugee relies on access to education, specifically language education. It is a tool that is recognized as a hugely important means of allowing refugee populations to better integrate within the host country. Language proficiency is often a key barrier that many refugees need to overcome in order to function within society. Lack of adequate language skills not only make it difficult for a refugee to navigate through society but also limit their opportunities to seek employment. In Britain, English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) courses are funded through the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) through the Adult Education Budget. Yet, reports indicate particular struggles related to EOSL for refugees. In particular, a shortage of classes, long waiting lists and lack of suitable teachers make it harder for refugees to learn a language. Cost is clearly an issue for ESOL programs as since 2009 the budget for such programs has been cut down by almost 60% (£ 203M in 2009 vs. £ 90M in 2016).³⁰

The costs associated with educating migrants varies greatly from region to region, and a lack of wide sweeping EOSL policies can be attributed to budgetary constraints by the state. In France, language education is required as part of the Contrat d'Integration Republicaine (refugee integration program) which requires refugees to attend language training. This policy was thought to improve employment outcomes for refugees. Passing rates for refugees enrolled in French language classes

³⁰ House of Commons (2017) English language teaching for refugees

is high, yet evidence suggests that for the majority of refugees the classes have had little impact on the probability of employment. Studies from language courses in France states: “we find suggestive evidence of negative behavioral effects, probably because immigrants are demotivated after they realize the integration policies are not effective in increasing the probability of employment”.³¹ These studies indicate that the basic level of language classes have a low signaling rate to employers and are thus not likely to significantly improve employment outcomes. Such ambiguous results for language training can be used to explain why some European nations do not have widespread language proficiency programs for newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers. With the rapid influx of refugees many governments still struggle to find a way to adequately address the language needs of migrants.

Health Considerations

Similar to a lack of credentials caused by their uprooting, refugees differ from other migrants by having a much higher chance of suffering from PTSD and other mental issues as a result of fleeing their native countries. Members of refugee groups suffer from worse health outcomes than other populations, and there exists little to no convergence over time.³² Given the varying levels of government involvement with healthcare in a given country, it is difficult to pinpoint specific policies that affect refugees. In countries which offer universal healthcare, there may be restrictions on access to doctors during the waiting period for many new arrivals. Initial studies indicate

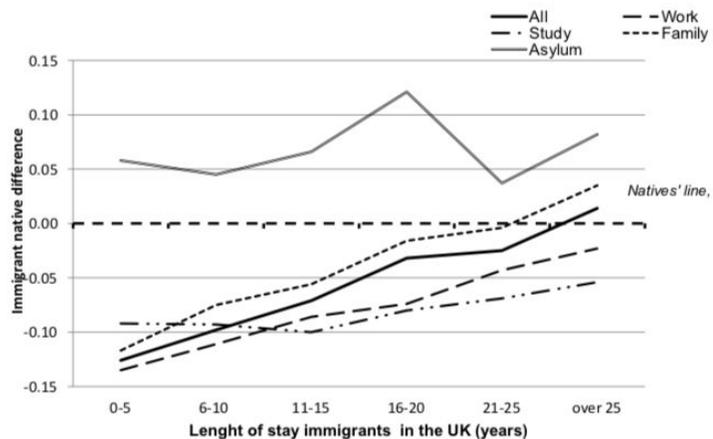
³¹ The effect of language training on immigrants' economic integration

³² Differences in labour market outcomes between refugees and other migrants

that the significant amount of cultural competence, language fluidity and as well as the implementation of Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) within a country's healthcare system has been shown to improve the health outcomes of refugees.³³

Recent events in the first portion of the 2020's also highlights how even modern healthcare systems in developed nations are at an increased risk of being "overwhelmed" by suddenly appearing

Length of stay and Convergence of Health Outcomes



July 9, 2019

Page 80

diseases or viral outbreaks best epitomized by SARS, and COVID-19. Refugee populations with their naturally higher tendency to suffer from underlying conditions as a result of displacement could likely be even more vulnerable because of their preferences to form their own community networks and groups, increasing the likelihood of such diseases permeating through their communities. The broad spectrum of healthcare systems combined with the unique situations for each refugee group means that further work will need to be done to examine what specific policies can help further integrate refugees through the improvement of health outcomes.

³³ Mental health, health care utilisation of migrants in Europe

CONCLUSIONS

Ultimately, factors such as housing, employment, education, and health are all key factors in the ability of refugees to integrate within developed host countries. Each of these factors are heavily influenced by government level policy decisions which are not always clear cut in delivering the desired results. The cost of supporting integration for refugee groups can be considerable in developed countries and vary greatly depending on the refugee population in question. It is important to understand that the vast majority of data available on this topic is taken from individual studies that have conclusions that are very difficult to generalize across borders. The chosen studies have been used to illustrate the broad range of approaches that exist, yet they still only represent a small portion of the hundreds of rules and regulations that are designed for refugees. While budgetary constraints drive a large portion of the decisions, it is observed that some countries may deliberately choose to implement policies to discourage further migration across their borders. Policies relating to housing, employment, education, and health can sometimes prove to be ineffective or detrimental to immigrant groups if the holistic nature of the refugee crisis is not taken into consideration. As noted earlier, the conclusions about the effectiveness of some programs cannot always be transferred to another country. Therefore, more research is needed to better understand the various factors of integration discussed to help governments who wish to better integrate refugees succeed in accomplishing their goal.

Despite humanitarian obligations that countries have to accept refugees, it is apparent that there are a limited number of economic and political factors that the host country would benefit from. Refugees are a burden precisely because there exist other types of migrants that a country could choose to integrate, which would not only have economic outcomes but also pose less of a threat to the political institutions of the host country. It is important to understand that the situation of refugee groups is difficult not only because of the conditions that they are fleeing but also because of the unique challenges that they may face in terms of policy and rhetoric once within the host country. Many refugees face challenges that other migrants don't have to experience. By the same token, refugees are often unfairly targeted in order to create a division that could potentially undermine institutions of stability in developed countries. Many of these factors have little to do with the refugees themselves but unfortunately, they cannot be separated from the study of how refugees negatively impact a developed country. Therefore, refugees are a burden, so long as the world depends on an international system that is unable to quantify the huge moral and humanitarian good that the embrace of such groups allows for and citizens of developed nations are not educated on the holistic nature of the global refugee crisis.

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