

GLOBAL REFUGEE CRISIS AND SYSTEM REFORM: NATIONAL RESPONSE
COMPARISON OF THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

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ABSTRACT

Migration policy faces the new challenges of the 21st century such as civil unrest, climate change, and health concerns. Nearly 26 million people were refugees in 2019 (UNHCR, 2020), which showcases the human rights and political magnitude of the situation. The purpose of this study is to evaluate the policy initiatives taken by the United States and Germany in response to increased numbers of refugees and concerns about opening borders to determine ways to improve the refugee intake and resettlement process. Varying nations have differences in policy and acceptance of refugees. Nations need to determine where they lie in the spectrum concerning acceptance or denial of refugee entrance to their borders. By focusing on the United States and Germany, the study aims to assess government responses to the situation and determine whether there are ways to improve policies that impact the current resettlement model. Interviews of key informants in the refugee resettlement process in the United States and literature review of both the United States and Germany will be conducted. In this way, the experiences of service agencies will serve as feedback to determine ways that policy can address gaps in the system and policy implications. An approach of literature review analysis and interviews will allow the audience to gain perspective on a critical examination of German and American immigration law and policy and suggestions to improve the current scheme.

Keywords: Refugees, Resettlement, Public Policy, Germany, United States, Government Response

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF GRAPHS	iv
Chapter I Introduction.....	1
Chapter II An Overview of Immigration & Post-World War II Impact	3
Chapter III Historical Analysis, Public Policy & Modern Implications	5
Chapter IV Sociological Perspectives of Migration	13
Chapter V Economics of Refugee Migration.....	16
Chapter VI Refugee Integration.....	20
Chapter VII Methodology.....	23
Chapter VIII Interview Results.....	24
Chapter IX Proposed Methods for Follow-up Study	27
Chapter X Discussion	28
Chapter XI Recommendations & Conclusion.....	30
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	32

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A conceptual framework for the study of immigration policy

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 1: Share of asylum seekers accepted as refugees or entitled to asylum in the total protection rate in Germany from 2005 to 2021

Graph 2: Social protection, education and housing spending at the sub-national level

Chapter I

Introduction

Worldwide the refugee crisis is a contested issue that raises questions regarding borders and ethical responsibilities to the security of fellow human beings. Visible images of the plight of refugees have led to outcries to reduce the number of individuals enduring deplorable and dangerous conditions. However, countries have often been hesitant to accept those seeking assistance over fears of cultural transformation and the notion that an influx in outsiders may result in their dependence on welfare. Exasperated political rhetoric over ‘protection’ of the nation’s culture has added volatility to the fostering of acceptance to help these individuals. In turn, both internally displaced persons and refugees live through a limbo period where they await the next steps in their journey to acquire security and opportunity. During this stage, an indefinite period of not knowing next steps, lack of access to employment, and no certainty for future protective status are sustained by refugees. Seeking economic opportunity because of impoverished conditions is not usually sufficient to cause individuals to flee their homeland, rather external factors such as persecution and insurrection are major contributing factors. Understanding the reasons people become displaced and developing strategies that tackle the global dimensions of the refugee crisis is the key to creating a comprehensive geo-political response.

To understand the refugee resettlement process, it is important to identify failures and successes of immigration government policies and their implementation. Successful integration of refugees relies on inclusive public policies and harnessing their human capital potential.

Varying country levels of resources creates distinctions in terms of the refugee burdens of wealthy countries compared to periphery countries. For this reason, there is no clear way to outline a predetermined response to the refugee crisis. Rather, formulating guiding principles and drawing from the experiences of other countries by speaking with those who see the implementation of policies will allow for mutual understanding and learning. With 79.5 million forcibly displaced persons in 2019 of which 26 million were refugees, imagine what the untapped potential of these individuals would create in the world (UNHCR, 2020).

By drawing comparisons between the United States and Germany, this study aims to compare shifts in immigration policies and its impact on the refugee community for governments to consider when developing future system reform policy. Linkage between perceived refugee burdens and governance policy has resulted in decisions that can be more restrictive towards the acceptance of refugees. This study draws upon previous assessment of the refugee crisis to showcase the responsibility of governments to create amicable solutions. The purpose of this study is to re-evaluate public policy that deals with resettlement while determining the ethical responsibility of nation-states in assisting refugees. Policies are constantly evolving, and the transnational nature of migration requires further coordination from nation-states in order to respond to changing political and economic landscapes.

Chapter II

An Overview of Immigration & Post-World War II Impact

Distinct approaches to immigration have taken place throughout the centuries where varying policies have either accepted or heavily vetted potential newcomers to a nation. International law guarantees refugee status and has specifications for whom it considers to be a 'refugee' as the term has legal implications based on the principle of non-refoulement expressed in the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Whereby, members to the Convention are not to forcibly expel or return a refugee to a territory where their life or freedom would be at risk. However, the ultimate decision to grant asylum falls under the state as to protect their sovereignty. The Convention does not make it obligatory for states to examine asylum claims and take in asylum seekers, which impacts their desire to take in refugees given the legal implications of that process. Every government implements refugee law differently and has distinct practices for recognizing official refugee status. The legal processes and bureaucratic systems in world governments can shape public perception of refugees due to the interwovenness of laws and politics.

Refugees are defined as those who have a "well-founded fear of being persecuted" as a result of varying identities like race, religion, political opinion or other events beyond their control (UN Refugee Convention, Article I, p.14). War in the early 1900s resulted in the inception of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in December 1950. Europe was suffering from the economic and human element aftermath of World War II. Western governments created the UNHCR to protect and provide solutions to the refugee crisis at the time. States did not wish to have the responsibility to fund its programs or relinquish their sovereignty.

In this way, fallacy based on moral dispositions can influence the makeup of a legal framework as well as the systematic structures that impact the everyday life of people, particularly vulnerable or oppressed groups like refugees. The fact that governments create laws on the basis of their domestic interests can also result in the dilemma on whether a state will take on the burdens of refugee protection and assistance. For instance, back in 1950 the United States perceived the refugee problem as a source of instability in European nations and decided that stepping up and helping these nations through a foreign policy centered around development assistance and refugee resettlement would ensure its place as the world hegemon. Today, foreign policies of most governments have incorporated elements that address the need for relief aid and cooperation amongst nations to alleviate the massive crisis of displacement worldwide.

Nevertheless, refugee status determination (RSD) is based on decision-makers assessing the circumstances for which a person is claiming asylum and the clear present danger someone may be in that does not allow them to remain in their country of origin. Many refugees flee to neighboring countries and remain in temporary resettlement camps for years before being granted official asylum or remain internally displaced. Thereby, the entire bureaucratic process of being granted refugee status is tedious and complex. When countries who have more resources like Germany and the United States are able to intervene in this process, then the opportunity for a greater rate of resettlement becomes a possibility.

Chapter III

Historical Analysis, Public Policy & Modern Implications

United States of America

When individuals think about the United States, they often conjure up an image of the American Dream and the land of immigrants, which can be misleading. Immigration law and limitations of who was able to enter the country solidified in the 1700s and 1800s and is intrinsically connected with refugee law. The influence of Massachusetts and New York state immigration laws would come to be the foundation federal immigration laws modeled in the future (Hirota, 2017). With an influx of Irish migration in the nineteenth century to the United States, anti-Irish sentiment would arise based on stigma surrounding the famine and economic conditions the Irish were fleeing. Many immigrants arriving to the United States in its early years were left to the sentiments of officials to determine whether they would be admitted or denied entry. The low economic condition of the people labelled “paupers” would come to influence the creation of laws for regulating poor foreigners arriving in the United States. Immigration policies and laws would then evolve to reflect a deterrence approach with certain groups having more preference than others.

Local authorities in New York and Massachusetts would begin delaying the admission of foreign travel passengers to the United States given the costs that would be associated with bonded paupers that arose due to the failure of municipal officials to secure bond payment for their entry (Hirota, 2017). Thereby, perceptions of under deserving poor Irish people arriving to the United States inspired formal creations of immigration control through deportation and

exclusionary policies. In fact, the Immigration Act of 1882 was the first general national-level immigration law that excluded the entry of pauper alien passengers into the United States if they could not financially support themselves and prohibited criminals (Hirato, 2017). This restrictive act would arise out of the New York and Massachusetts officials as well as public sentiment against Irish poverty, which would in turn shape the federal immigration regulation control in the nation.

The presence of a surge in Chinese nationals resulted in the Chinese Exclusion Act, which was modelled over the state immigration policies of New York and Massachusetts officials that sought control the influx of immigrants who were considered a danger to the economic and moral life of American society (Hirato, 2017). Notably, the Supreme Court ruling in *Henderson v. Mayor of the City of New York* would allow for the further establishment of federal immigration law through the confirmation that passenger taxation was the domain of Congress's power over foreign commerce (Hirato, 2017). This ruling would allow for further advancements in national immigration policy based on the power it gave Congress.

State-immigration laws in the United States in the 1800s and its influence on national immigration created the framework from which modern U.S. immigration laws are based. The concept of police power and aggressiveness towards removing foreigner paupers remains relevant in the United States as seen through the creation of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Central Americans at the United States-Mexico border represent a new class of people seeking refuge in the United States as result of both external dangers and economic factors. However, the exclusionary concept continues as the American government has not labeled these individuals who are fleeing violence like extorting gangs as asylum seekers or refugees and seeks to deter them from arriving to the United States borders. The restrictiveness

of immigration policies in states during the beginning stages of America would also result in the unintended consequences of a surge in illegal expulsion and coercion of those seeking to arrive to the nation (Hirato, 2017).

During the 1900s, the United States would also engage in isolationist policies because of the aftermath of World War I and World War II. Through the Emergency Quota Act 1921, the nation set quotas on the number of individuals who were able to enter the nation based on their country of origin (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). No distinction between immigrants and refugees were made and the temporary measure was effective in reducing numbers of individuals entering the nation. The Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act or the National Origins Act, would favor European immigration through a quota cap of 164, 667 people per year (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). It reflected the feelings at the time that were anti-certain immigrants from the less wealthy European states. In the year 1948, individuals suffering from the Holocaust and Soviet control would continue to seek assistance. The United States Congress would pass the Displaced Persons Act, which authorized 200,000 displaced persons to enter the United States with restricted eligibility to those who had entered Germany, Austria, or Italy before 1945 (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum). From President Truman's criticisms against the geographical limits set by the Act as well as public opinion allowed for Congress to amend the Displaced Persons Act to remove the limits that had been considered discriminatory in 1950.

Moreover, the year 1951 marked the adoption of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The United States did not sign the law at the time and instead passed its own domestic laws that were tailored towards specific groups of refugees. Organizations were also able to cover the travel and resettlement costs of individuals to decrease the taxpayer burdens. Cubans

who were fleeing the Fidel Castro regime were given entry to the United States in the late 1950s with the expectation that they would not permanently stay in the country. Under the 1962 Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, \$260 million for support benefits such as health, education, and employment were provided until 1967 (Mushaben, 2018). This allowed for better integration of refugee arrivals.

Former U.S. President Donald J. Trump issued a Border Wall executive order to respond to what he deemed a national crisis with the migrants at the U.S.-Mexico border. This exclusionary policy would have rippling effects with the expansion of immigration detention centers and separation of children from their families. Deportations and exclusionary would come to dominate much of the actions undertaken by the former administration as mirrored in the Muslim Bans and separation policies. Many Central Americans attempting to gain admission into the United States are also refugees who are fleeing country violence with well-founded fear but are not labelled as refugees as that would mean that the United States would need to fully respond to the crisis. Just as states sought to reduce the financial burden that they perceived as being brought on by Irish paupers, economic concerns over new forms of immigration remains a prevalent concern in America today.

Federal Republic of Germany

Rhetoric around Germany has painted the image of an anti-immigrant nation, but the reality is that for most of the twentieth century Germany has been a land where immigration took place. Notwithstanding, labor shortages and a desire to increase the economy resulted in a pattern of importation of immigrant labor in the country (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Workers were recruited to conduct agricultural and mining duties in East Germany between 1900 and

1914 through a pull-migration of foreign workers (Rotte, 2000). These foreign workers arrived through seasonal temporary work permits and were often *aussiedlers*, descendants of colonists who moved eastward from German lands in the twelfth century (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). They were considered sources of cheap labor and desire for the nation's economic growth.

However, the desire to maintain homogeneity would result in the development of policies of compulsory return and repressive regulations such as the 1913 Imperial Citizenship Law. Whereby, it was an effort to prevent the naturalization of foreigners by deeming them inadmissible and culturally inferiors instead of focusing on integration (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Measures to homogenize and constrain non-German identities living within the borders of Germany resulted in problematic results at the time of the German Empire (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). For example, policies to eliminate the use of religious instruction and restrictions on the use of the Polish language would ultimately result in Poland wanting to be its own independent state (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009).

Notably, the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) is the constitution of the nation that went into effect in 1949. Within Article 16(2) of the Basic Law, there exists a provision that promises persons being persecuted on political grounds anywhere in the world a right to political asylum (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). By taking on this promise, Germany hoped to mitigate harm caused by Nazi atrocities and uphold standards of asylum in the event of the eruption of future conflict (Momin, 2017). As the source of asylum seekers entering Germany in the late 1980s and 1990s came from former Yugoslavia, Germans were already accustomed to seeing them as a source of workers (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). The Article 16a (2) right of asylum clause of the Basic Law resulted in Germany becoming a

major destination for asylum seekers as the nation was perceived to have “liberal” asylum laws and being a wealthy nation (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Following, German reunification in 1992 the German Basic Law was amended and those seeking asylum were not guaranteed help on the basis of political persecution over anti-foreigner sentiments.

With the development of the 1965 Aliens Act, a uniform procedure to address both Convention and Constitution categories of refugees was created. However, the Federal Administrative Court objective concept of the meaning of ‘political persecution’ that is different from UN Refugee Convention’s ‘well-founded fear’ element. By eliminating the element of fear from a claimant who seeks refuge, the FRG then rests on a notion of potential threat through an examination process where a claimant must pass a ‘political persecution’ test (Marx, 1992). German asylum law does not consider the claimant’s individual statement and external factors that may be harming them such as the environment and circumstances of their country of origin. Instead, through a focus on the persecutor’s motivation is the central focus where they must clearly demonstrate intent to target a claimant (Marx, 1992). In this manner, the sentiments of the claimants are no longer given as much consideration and power and instead the political intentions of the persecution are at the focal point. This marks a divergence from the humanitarian focus of the UN Refugee Convention to a more political intention focus. Given the importance of the well-founded fear concept, the German Jurisprudence definition distinction has grave consequences for refugees due to shifting the focus to the state rather than the claimant.

As the European Union (EU) was formed proceeding World War II to ensure that another major war did not break out in the continent, the fact that no unified EU response existed was alarming at the time. The FRG felt that the burden of resettlement rested on them as eastern state nationals sought to come to Germany, while other EU states were not receiving the same amount

of pressure. However, the definition of citizenship in the FRG has centered around an ethnonational idea of what it means to be German (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). The desire for homogeneity that had been heavily present during Nazism would continue to exist and several politicians would seek to call for more restrictive policies when non-ethnic Germans and those from developing nations sought refuge.

In 1987, the Single European Act marked the first steps towards a unified response by EU states toward the refugee crisis. Ultimately, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 would become an important framework for developing common EU refugee policy (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). The Treaty formed the European Union along with several policies that would influence the social system, common currency, and central banking system. Once the Schengen Agreement and Dublin Agreements were developed, there was a codification of the European Union refugee laws. The Dublin Agreement created an asylum processing procedure, and the Schengen Agreement eased the facilitation of travel in the European Union in regard to border entry (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009).

Despite more open asylum seeker policies, Germany has long struggled with the concept of mass cultural movements within its nation and this engrained system of beliefs continues to exist with the rise of the Alternative for Germany party. Chancellor Angela Merkel took office in 2005 and made it a priority to achieve an agreement on refugee reform. This resulted in the passing of the 2005 Migration Act where long-term permanent residency for migrants and integration efforts were considered (Gesley, 2017). In fact, it enacted the Residence Act and Nationality Act that allowed child of foreign parents who was born in Germany to obtain citizenship (Gesley, 2017). The Act was amended several times but allowed for more opportunities for integration of refugees. Since then, Germany has passed policies that are more

open to immigration compared to other European States. Albeit the Alt-Right movement remains in full-force and anti-immigration (Art, 2018).

Chapter IV

Sociological Perspectives of Migration

According to dependency theory, poor individuals were not always poor, rather they were made poor. Periphery nations became dependent on core nations as a result of resource extraction. Whereas world systems theory stipulates that that there exists an inter divide as colonial powers created a world economic system that enriched the core nations at the expense of the periphery (colonies) to create a flow of resources from the periphery to the core. Thereby, both these theories translate to refugee migration patterns as deprivation of basic needs that pertain to poverty can trigger further instability in nations that pertain to power and violence. Once individuals begin to migrate, further investigation and tracking of the poverty and livelihood of individuals who remain in a conflict-ridden area as well as the people who leave the country and are displaced are needed to obtain data that will help from a perspective beyond humanitarian assistance. Ensuring that public policy has intakes for the largest percentage of individuals is important to provide the most assistance to individuals.

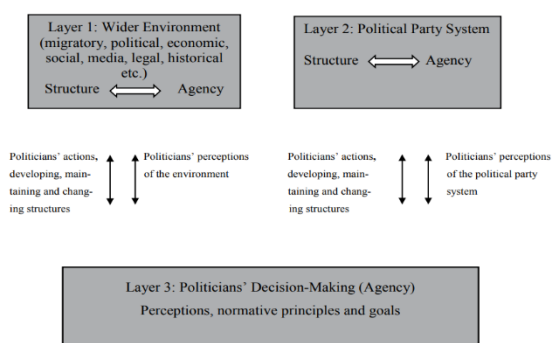
Moreover, the refugee crisis can be termed a ‘wicked problem’ as it involves different stakeholders. Coined by Rittel and Webber, wicked problems refer to a unique problem whose causes are uncertain and complex that can only be partially or temporary solved like poverty, climate change, human trafficking, and refugee migration (Raadschelders, 2019). In this manner, creating a new refugee global response requires a conceptual framework shaped around the idea of a wicked problem: types of policies, levels of government (in refugee receiving countries), and causes for refugee migration. The common narrative about refugees fails to address modern international and economic unrest, which makes understanding types of policies relevant to refugees important. Typically, policies are centered around governance and incorporation, but

they can range from *controlling policies*, where the focus is on the regulation of the inflow of refugee migrants, to *palliative policies* that aim to alleviate difficult circumstances of refugees in transit and in a host country, or *stimulating policies* centered around government encouraging emigration (Raadschelders 2019). These varying policies dictate nation-state response to the crisis alongside arrangements made by institutional and administrative actors from the international community. For instance, the Cuban Adjustment Act (1966) and the Indochinese Immigration and Refugee Act (1975) were in place in the United States prior to the comprehensive 1980 Refugee Act, whose definition of refugee includes those displaced by natural disasters (Raadschelders, 2019). Thereby, it becomes clear that regulatory control of the number of refugees are largely determined by the grounds under which they become displaced and the policies by which a country has legally agreed to follow (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1: A conceptual framework for the study of immigration policy

Source: Schneider, 2017, p.45

Fig 1: A conceptual framework for the study of immigration policy
(adapted from Schneider 2006, 2009)



Approaches of nations to immigration in general tend to reflect the rhetoric and socialization process that individuals have experienced, which shape their perception of others and the world around them. Fears of

migration posing an existential threat can be used to regulate international law obligations. Mushaben (2018) argues that leaders who intend to secure populist majorities, “conflate security and migration problems at the expense of safety” (p.246). In fact, sociologist Erving Goffman described the impact of collective and individual action in creating social reality. Government leaders may put on a front towards citizens to make them believe in the politicians’ desired perception to ensure re-election through impression management. The arrival of refugees in turn

becomes perceived as a threat to national identities and presented through military metaphors or physical safety threats (Mushaben, 2018). These abstract fears develop the security-safety-paradox, where countermeasures that increase the troubles for those truly in need of physical safety since host nation individuals fear a loss of their western identity (Mushaben, 2018,).

German immigration laws have centered around an ethno-nationalist approach, where being of ethnic German descent meant one was given admission priority. After the unification of eastern and western Germany in 1990 showed the idea that *what it means to be German* could limit meeting national needs, public policies became less restrictive for those seeking to gain mobility access (Mushaben, 2018; Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). In comparison, the United States has become more isolationist and continues a practice of police assertiveness that has existed since the inception of its immigration policies. Race has played a prominent role in the American immigration framework, while ethnicity has been at the forefront of German immigration laws. These politically constructed ideas of categorization of certain groups translated to the access that individuals receive for rights and resources. Improving the refugee admissions and resettlement programs requires that the relationship between structure and agency be incorporated. Donna Hick's work on dignity acknowledges its importance in creating meaningful relationships. This in turn translates to the ways in which public policies must recognize the external factors that lead people to flee their countries of origin in a way that preserves their dignity when coming into a host nation. Leaving everything one believes to adjust to the norm can be a degrading process if there are attempts to eliminate aspects of one's culture, which has sometimes occurred in the resettlement process.

Chapter V

Economics of Refugee Migration

Nation-states must consider the advantages and disadvantages of allowing for the intake of refugees based on associated screening and hosting costs. These costs vary across countries depending on the services provided such as asylum application processing to long-term integration. Taxes and expenditures vary across countries, which accounts for additional expenses that nations seek to mitigate when possible. However, fiscal costs associated with the asylum procedure itself do not on the integration policy implemented. The German Council of Economic Experts estimates public costs of refugees are: “800 EUR per asylum applicant plus 6,600 EUR welfare benefits per year for successful applicants” (Kancs & Lecca, 2018, p.2610). These public administration costs did not include the application processing asylum expense for each asylum seeker. Within a nation, tasks and functions can be divided between the central and sub-central governments depending on the social structure. The sub-central government works primarily with the integration cost and ensuring refugee success (OECD, 2017). Central government focuses on the emergency response costs and services for individuals, such as immediate first aid and refugee camps (OECD, 2017). Short-run costs may be more expensive than what a nation would like to invest for a budget, but increasing administrative funds distributed to nonprofit agencies that serve refugee communities will allow for better integration

(see Graph below). If countries do not invest in successful refugee integration programs, then untapped human capital will exist in the form of the displaced persons in the host country.

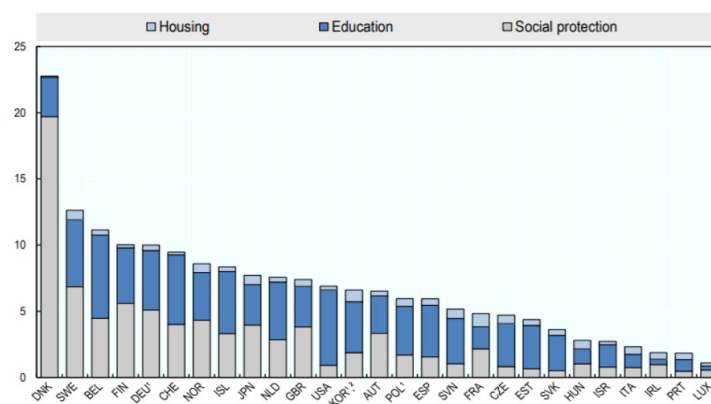
Graph 2 (Figure 1 to the left): Social protection, education and housing spending at the sub-national level

Citizens of host nations may feel threatened by foreigners whom they perceive as a threat in stealing their jobs in the labor

market. In turn, the belief translates to policymakers' willingness to grant or deny refugee entry.

Specific populations, such as those seeking entry to the United States from the Mexico border, are perceived as "economic refugees" who will exhaust state welfare resources or take over domestic jobs. However, this mystery is a misperception because refugees will typically compete among themselves (Kancs & Lecca, 2018). Refugees then commonly compete with other refugees to acquire jobs. Research from economists Ottaviano and Peri (2012) has shown that the general equilibrium effects on the market, depend on the complementarity and sustainability between immigrants and foreign workers (Kancs & Lecca, 2018). There are reasons behind the science. For instance, domestic workers' education and work experience make refugees more marketable in the labor market, and refugees do not need to grapple with learning the language. Domestic workers also can earn more in the long run compared to the newly resettled refugees depending on the acceptance of foreign credentials. Comparatively, economist Borjas found that there may be negative effects on the destination country labor markets (Kancs & Lecca, 2018).

Figure 1. Social protection, education and housing spending at the sub-national level
% of government spending



Note: Non-consolidated data for DEU, KOR and POL. 2013 data for KOR.

Source: OECD National Accounts (2016).

Similar critics to migration in terms of employment state that it reduces average wages and increases unemployment in the short run. Jobs amongst refugees can be more competitive given their limited occupancies.

According to the Migration Policy Debates OECD report (2017), European countries spend an estimated €10, 000 per application for the first year in terms of processing and accommodation. During 2015, Germany had a large number of asylum seekers with as many as 900,000 following the newly passed Migration Law and spent €16 billion (0.5% of GDP) on its migrants in that year (OECD, 2017). This expense demonstrates that refugee resettlement makes up a small percentage of national gross domestic product and does not cause a substantial harm to nations who have the financial capacity to be receiving host nations. The distribution of costs amongst countries varies depending on integration efforts that can determine the actual cost of resettlement.

When entrepreneurial refugees who have lived in the host nation like Germany or the United States own businesses, they are able to hire resettled refugees who in turn can rely on themselves to make an income and contribute to the GDP of the hosting nation. An individual's location will depend on the initial placements that the resettlement agencies help refugees find but post the initial resettlement period social networks become important in this process. The easing of integration and lasting economic gain can occur when policymakers provide business incentives and opportunities to already resettled refugees to hire newly arrived refugees (Dagnelie, Mayda, & Maystadt, 2019). Refugees who own their own businesses may not be competing with newly arrived refugees, but other newly arrived refugees may be competing against the same jobs.

Unlike public perceptions, restrictive asylum policies for countries are costly due to increasing costs for border control, administration, and maintenance (Czaika, 2009). By establishing a public policy that focuses on integration and allows mobility on the labor market, lasting gains from refugees and not diminishing returns can be made. Increases in government expenditure to finance perennial investment in refugees would result in downward pressure on wages through continuous integration of refugees in the labor market (Kancs, 2018). If provided with the right assistance and resources to integrate, refugees can help strengthen national economies. Their human capital can provide a labor force to that of nations with aging populations like Germany and the United States. Establishing and implementing an effective integration policy is costly as it requires political, social, and financial resources, but it is a necessary investment that will pay off in the medium to long run (Kancs, 2018).

Chapter VI

Refugee Integration

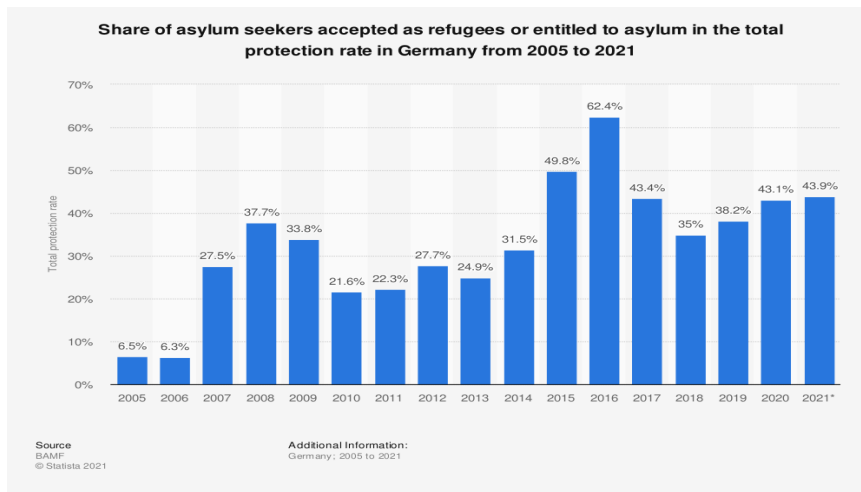
When considering the process of integration, it is important to consider both government involvement in conceptualizing integration and the length of time that resettlement agencies support the refugee community. Integration practices can be bureaucratic nature and have the potential to reflect a distant relationship between the institution and refugee. Stages in the adaptation process for refugees vary and the system in place that is meant to alleviate their stress can determine whether the individual will be supported in adapting to a new host country environment. Refugee input is often left out of the conversation of integration, but organization assessments of gains have been used to determine the success level of integration. If the people who are being affected by policies are not given a chance to vocalize their experiences and voice in relation to the decision-making, then they are getting told what to do without regard to their life experiences and needs.

Markers of integration consist and are not limited to the following factors: language, accommodation, education, healthcare access, justice, citizenship status, employment opportunities, mental health, and social networks (Goodman, 2019). Trauma related experiences can have a detrimental effect on the perspective of refugees towards the world around them, which is why services to assist with mental health can be useful. When people can learn the language of their host country, they are able to be better self-advocates that can advance in the labor and social markets. Areas such as the path of citizenship and anti-discrimination are so relevant in assessing how welcomed refugees feel in a community. Discrimination based on race and religion can make those who are attempting to resettle to feel like less than others, which hinders the likelihood that they will fully integration. Second generation immigrants are more

likely to adapt and financially succeed in the nation compared to the first generation (Wozniak, 2020).

Traditionally, the idea of “inner homogeneity of the nation” was the guiding idea for German citizenship policy (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009, p.45). However, gaps in the economic market led the FRG to take become more accepting of foreigners. Germany passed the 2016 Integration Law (“*Integrationsgesetz*”) with the intent to encourage refugees to learn German to a level that will allow them to find a job (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). An aging population and gaps in the labor force have made Germany rethink the numbers of refugees admitted. The years 2015 and 2016 marked the highest percentage of asylum seekers accepted or entitled to protection in Germany (see Graph 1, p.22). The integration process in Germany involves language courses and obligatory German integration courses about German culture, society, and values. The new system of integration also involves regional government allocation or banning of refugees from certain areas to prevent ghettos, which can pose a lasting challenge to integration. Preventing ghettos can be done through means of workforce programs and an easier path of citizenship. Whereby, people receive training to advance in the workforce and the promise of potential citizenship will be inspired to engage in entrepreneurship.

Graph 1: Share of asylum seekers accepted as refugees or entitled to asylum in the total protection rate in Germany from 2005 to 2021



Integration is not explicitly regulated on the American federal level, rather states make their own decisions on the kinds of integration practices that will be implemented. States

fluctuate in terms of having the kind of policies that are aimed towards integrating or restricting immigration. According to Goodman (2019), restrictive laws can either have some benefit to immigrants or place them in situations of further state and local law enforcement security.

Funding organizations is critical to ensuring that services are provided to the displaced individuals who need the assistance. When there are limited or no policies that are labeled as pertaining to integration, the transition and settlement of refugees becomes difficult to ascertain. Through agreements with resettlement agencies, the U.S. State Department provides placement and support for refugees for the first 90 days of their stay (Dagnelie, Mayda, & Maystadt, 2019). Those who have U.S. ties are likely to be placed in an area where similar migrant communities have been established. Strategic action plans for the future of refugees are important through policies that are specific and contain success measurement strategies.

Chapter VII

Methodology

Data for this study was collected by way of one-on-one, personal interviews with refugee resettlement providers in the United States of America. Nonprofit agencies who coordinate efforts for government authorities to manage the refugee resettlement process were interviewed. One of the nine American national agencies that distributes administrative funds was also interviewed. Each service provide was asked open-ended questions regarding their organization practices, experiences with refugee resettlement, and recommendations for government system reform that would best assist in their work. Ethical considerations were also considered through ensuring that interviewees had the option to remain anonymous with their answers. All the names of the participants in the study have been changed to pseudonyms to protect individual privacy. The focal point of the research consisted of a literature review analysis to best understand the evolution of immigration public policies and laws from both Germany and the United States.

Chapter VIII

Interview Results

Upon interviewing service providers in the refugee resettlement sector, it became clear that there are still areas that need to be modified in the resettlement process. In order to best assist individuals, there needs to be collaboration amongst the private, nonprofit, and government sectors. Currently there is a lack of communication amongst the different sectors, and this can result in different needs of refugees and services providers overlapping or not being met. All of the service providers interviewed mentioned that increasing administrative funds is critical to the expansion of available services and support for refugees. Additional resettlement flexibility would also allow for the personalized goals and needs of refugees to be met as there is not sufficient public assistance.

Potential resettlement models vary by the country but moving to a sponsorship track would benefit both refugees and the government as they would not have to worry about the expense to resettle individuals and families as much as the standard government model.

“Elizabeth” a Director of Resettlement Services in the United reiterated that the organization does not want federal dollars to duplicate other programs and that the needs outweigh the funding (personal interview, April 8, 2021).

I think there are a lot of challenges that come with private sponsorship and changing the resettlement program, but that’s where we need to move. More involvement from our people... support from lawmakers.

“Elizabeth” also described the difficulties with the current per capita funding mechanism that are awarded to resettlement agencies. She described how her organization funds four different large grants throughout the network, three federally funded ones and the final is private funding.

The per capita funding mechanism makes it really hard for agencies to plan and to hire staff because the arrivals aren't guaranteed and they need to be ready to accept arrivals at any time, but they just don't get arrivals with any pattern or regularity so it can be really challenging. Even historically in times when arrivals were really high and pretty consistent, there typically was a bulge or push to resettle refugees in the last quarter of the fiscal year. Which makes it really challenging because you know you earn funds per arrival and if you earn a bunch of money in the last quarter of the fiscal year, it makes it really hard to spend it... the way the program is designed currently is not really measured and has a lot of ups and downs in terms of the finance, which makes it really challenging for local offices to administer. One piece of feedback that we have continually given to the federal government is that it would make more sense to create a budget and say we want you to be ready to resettle this number of refugees and the offices can kind of scale up and be ready and have guaranteed funding that they know that they can support staff and other resources that they need to do that work.

Moving to a model of resettlement that considers a spectrum of sponsorship is important as it can allow all types of individuals to get involved in the process. Whether it be community sponsorship, co-sponsorship with a nonprofit agency, or private sponsorship, these models can be useful. The International Institute of New England had attempted to implement a pilot version of this program but ended up spending more than the available time training and being a resource to community leaders. Instead, if there were more funds to hire an individual who is both knowledgeable about community groups and refugee needs then the focus of organization staff would be better distributed. Countries need to get to a point where locals want to get involved in the resettlement process. The involvement of natives of the host country in the resettlement process is important in getting people used to refugees in their communities. This will then allow policymakers to have citizen support for pro-refugee policies.

Ongoing case management access for refugees and ensuring that a post-resettlement plan is in place is also essential. Different refugee clients adapt at varying levels and providing them with support services after their initial resettlement period provides them with a support system that seeks to ensure their success in a foreign nation. Determining the best way to measure the

success of refugee resettlement is also important as without clear identification markers, then there is no opportunity to learn to improve current practices.

“Marisa” has been able to work with various refugee communities in various capacities and currently works in a nonprofit direct resettlement agency. She says that funding is at the forefront of any of the projects that the organization can implement (personal interview, March 26, 2021).

Decoupling administrative funds for nonprofits from the funds that refugees receive, which would be a very positive step. But of course, would love to see the amount of money that both nonprofits and refugees receive go up since it's not sufficient for resettling refugees... There is a growing understanding that refugees and immigrants are critical to the U.S. workforce. Particularly when people are getting older and having fewer kids, if immigrants weren't coming into the region, then there would be no growth and therefore no workforce.

Chapter IX

Proposed Methods for Follow-up Study

In a future study, increasing the sample size of interviewed service providers would allow for a more expansive perspective of refugee public policy. Interviewing government agencies would also be useful in gaining information on the challenges and gaps from the policy-making perspective. Speaking with key informants of refugee settlement who implement programs in the Federal Republic of Germany would also provide a clearer indicator of current practices in the field. The literature still does not have sufficient work detailing the effects of increasing asylum seekers and the connections of post-resettlement integration in conjunction with the labor market. Research on integration indicators is not very detailed and should be further explored.

Chapter X

Discussion

The findings of this study reveal the complex nature of perceptions towards refugees and the opportunity for public policy reform. International refugee law has historically centered around a civil and political perspective, but the emergence of general international human rights law has caused a shift in how the public perceives the duty of the state in the refugee crisis. Critics call for a new definition of the term refugee to encompass the problems of the world since 1950. States have the discretion of the types of procedures they will implement to determine who will receive official refugee status recognition. This bureaucratic process often leaves in limbo those seeking to resettle elsewhere. Admissions rates of refugees show that the United States and Germany have switched acceptance roles for refugees in recent years and should continue to consider passing policies that help refugees. The public, private, and government international community must come together and have stronger state commitments to refugee agreements. These agreements should be revised to reflect the ongoing challenges experienced by refugees.

Dependency theory and world systems theory demonstrate how core nations have extracted resources from developing periphery nations, which has left long-term consequences that have created poverty and conflict between groups within nations. Expanding the definition of refugees to reflect modern issues will allow for more effective cooperative efforts. Public policy is often created without hearing directly from the individuals who are impacted the most by decisions. Improving current national and international responses requires ensuring the voices of the displaced are heard and bridging the gap between peace by integrating demobilized armed

elements. Combining foreign policy, security policy, and economic policy will allow for an effective structural response to be implemented. Preventative measures that consider the causes of displacement and maintain the dignity of the multicultural background of refugees is important in the development of policies addressing the situation.

Both Germany and the United States rely on the work of municipalities to distribute resources more accurately to refugees. Overarching immigration law in Germany has a historical basis on ethno-nationalism. While the United States' police aggression and sometimes isolationist approach has reflected in their policy implementation. States may fear the erosion of sovereignty and loss national identity with the intake of refugees. Germany's ethno-nationalist approach to immigration and the United States' police assertive and sometimes isolationist approach has reflected in their policy implementation. Through intentional integration practices refugees can be an economic investment in labor markets with an aging population. Eliminating an attitude of deserving versus admissible in the immigration system is critical to help the refugee community and eliminate racially subordinating attitudes. Chancellor Angela Merkel was fundamental in the passing of policies that were more accepting of refugees. Thereby, it will be important to watch out for who will be elected as Chancellor of Germany next and what approaches to immigration and refugees they will invoke. Moving forward, the Biden Administration plans to increase refugee admissions ceilings, but has a lot of work to do in addressing years of refugee limits and suppression of the former administration.

Chapter XI

Recommendations & Conclusion

This study highlights the importance of investing in refugees and the areas where public policy can be improved in their best interest. Addressing the security-versus-safety paradox will allow for citizens to not fear foreigners who arrive to their nation. Which in turn, will allow for refugees to integrate as they would feel secure and accepted in host communities. Governments have an ethical responsibility to help the most vulnerable who are suffering. Through collaboration amongst all sector types, the refugee crisis can be best addressed. Increasing the freedom of mobility for refugees once they arrive to a host country allows for them to establish a community. By helping them enhance their language skills and learn to leverage their previous work experience, then they will be better self-reliant members of the labor force. Members to the UN Refugee Convention like the United States and Germany getting others to agree to expand the legal status definition of refugee to include things like natural disasters or climate change is important given rising sea levels and changes to the planet that may leave many in dire circumstances.

Increasing integration practices in the long-term will be the central component to allowing refugees to better acclimate to host countries. Focusing on social networks during the integration process allows refugees to connect with entrepreneurial refugees who may be able to help them find jobs post-resettlement. Germany has historically had an ethno-nationalist approach to immigration, while the United States could have isolationist and police aggression involved in the enforcement of policy. Resettlement is a long process whereby not all individuals receive legal refugee status in a foreign country and most remain in temporary transition camps

for years awaiting to be accepted into a stable country. Unlike media portrayal, most refugees go to neighboring low resource countries like Turkey and Pakistan instead of ever reaching developed nations like the United States, Australia, or EU member states (Angenendt, 2016). Government officials often control the narrative regarding refugee political discourse, weather by encouraging or discouraging border openings. Understanding the reasons people become displaced and developing strategies that tackle the global dimensions of the refugee crisis is the key to creating a comprehensive geo-political response. When people fear the deterioration of culture and loss of their national identity, public policies can reflect those sentiments. Yet, it is the duty of wealthy nations to protect refugees as they are one of the most vulnerable populations on the planet. Living in an interconnected and interdependent global community requires that injustices be redeemed through reforming unjust structures (Momin, 2017).

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