

A Literature Review on the Economic Integration of Resettled Refugees: Executive Summary

The New School UNSS Team 2015

Draft prepared for the The International Rescue Committee
June 2015

Executive Summary

The New School Summer Team has chosen and divided seventeen pieces of literature into five categories, by geography: Australia, Canada, Europe, The United States, as well as additional research on the subject of refugee economic integration. The literature reviewed covers a wide variety of indicators, factors, and methodologies. The subject groups range widely in size from study to study, with a diverse set of countries of origin. In total, within the literature there is an approximate sample size of 547,329 individuals represented, ranging from fifteen to sixty years of age, originating from: Southern Africa, Central Asia, South East Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America.

Through our research we have come to find that there is no one standard definition of economic integration. However, when comparing the seventeen pieces of literature there are threads of commonality throughout the studies in regards to their definitions of economic integration. Most studies qualify integration not solely in economic terms, but as a multidimensional process that begins with the refugee's arrival in the host country and develops over time. This 'multidimensional process' characterized as: the capability of refugees to adapt to the lifestyle of the host country, and in turn the host country's capability to facilitate the integration of incoming refugees (See Bakker, Dagevos, and Engbersen, 2013). Additional definitional components have included: the refugee's acquisition and maintenance of employment status, as well as the malleability and capability of the host country's labor market to adapt to an influx of labor, and whether or not the refugee is a recipient of aid.

The factors cited as contributing to refugee economic integration (and considered the most crucial) include: if the resettlement community is metropolitan or rural, and the length of time in host country. The location of the refugee resettlement is an important factor because some local infrastructures are better suited to receive refugees than others. For example, a study conducted in Australia (See Hugo, 2011) cites that typically, refugees have showed a pattern of urban resettlement. Today, however, evidence shows that the pattern is changing because non-metropolitan areas in Australia are experiencing labor shortages, especially in unskilled and low-skilled work, which is the type of jobs refugees typically get. Therefore, settling in non-metropolitan areas allows refugees to compete for jobs more readily and increases their ability to contribute to the economy.

In addition to the factors associated with refugee economic integration, varied sets of indicators of refugee economic integration are analyzed. Those that we have identified as the most important as well as most prevalent throughout the research are: participation in the labor force/current employment status, employment income levels, and developing economic links with country of origin (sending remittances). Whether or not a refugee is currently employed is the most basic indicator of their ability to contribute to the economy; without it, contribution and integration are not possible. Developing economic links is an indicative measure because it suggests some sort of substantial income. Sending remittances suggests that individuals have enough to not only support themselves, but also support their loved ones back home. Basically, income exemplifies that an individual has money to spend and contribute to the economy, albeit their country of origin or country of resettlement.

Additionally, it is our understanding that there are a number of contributing, although not crucial, factors to be considered influential in the process of economic integration. Firstly, exit conditions factor into the rate of economic integration. When analyzed it was found that situations from which refugees were fleeing factored into their qualifications, mental and physical health condition, as well as ability and motivation to quickly find work after resettling (See Waxman 2001). Secondly, it was found that gender can play a crucial role. Female refugees were more likely to be placed into stereotypical household roles, while their male counterparts obtained out of the home employment. Thirdly, in one study, the country of origin was found to influence the rate of participation in the labor force. The greater the socioeconomic cultural distance between the native and host country, the more difficult it is for refugees to assimilate to the labor market. (See Waxman, 491).

Furthermore, some of the factors commonly studied proved to have little influence on economic integration outcomes. The most notable is the statistically small influence of the skill sets, (prior education and professional experience) refugees arrive in the host country with. The exception being the influence host country language capability has on integration. Overall, education and previous professional training and experience played statistically minor roles in economic integration.

We also believe that while the literature has provided great insight into the indicators of, and factors contributing to economic integration there are gaps in the assessments performed. We believe that the following factors are also significant in the study of economic integration: the

economic and social environment of the host country (local infrastructure, racial biases, local economic conditions, etcetera), the mental as well as physical health of the refugee, and the influence of religious beliefs and practices of the refugee. Of the seventeen reviewed studies few discuss the economic and social environment of the host country, one discusses mental health of refugees, and one mentions the religious practices of refugees as something questioned in the interview process. Those that did consider these factors found that they do contribute to economic integration rates. (See Bloch, 34)

The total findings of our literature review, both factors/indicators identified as well as those neglected will be useful in creating our own methodological tool. In regards to methodology, the most commonly employed methodology throughout the compiled literature is a multi methodological approach that combines interviews, and/or surveys and secondary data analysis or a secondary literature review. Top methodological processes that we believe will be most useful in our fieldwork engagement are:

- *Face-to-Face Interviews*: Constructed using open-ended questions of respondents classified as both refugees and refugee stakeholders. Questions being inquisitive of economic factors and indications as well as of the opinions and life of the respondent, and if possible administered in the refugee's native language. Furthermore it is shown that inquiring into the respondent's perceptions of their economic integration and integration barriers is beneficial. Ideally for a higher respondent sample pool an incentive would be offered.
- *Secondary Data Analysis*: Possible sources of data analysis listed in the research that could prove useful in our project furthering are as follows: The Office of Refugee Resettlement in the United States, the most recent census data, Department of Labor, the International Socio-Economic Index, and Immigrant Data Systems.
- *Surveys*: Ideally surveys are to be anonymous with an incentive conditional on its completion. Constructed of fixed response as well as open response questions that touch upon a range of experiences and diverse opinions.
- *Participatory Action Research (PAR)*: Although PAR is a methodology that may not be possible for the purposes of our project; we found that ideally, with a long-term outlook, PAR is the best method of data collection and analysis. Under refugee administration of interviews patterns and trends are more easily identified, which can have more valuable information about the future prospects and policy implications.

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The factors cited as contributing to refugee economic integration (and considered the most crucial) include: if the resettlement community is metropolitan or rural, and the length of time in host country. The location of the refugee resettlement is an important factor because some local infrastructures are better suited to receive refugees than others. For example, a study conducted in Australia (See Hugo, 2011) cites that typically, refugees have showed a pattern of urban resettlement. Today, however, evidence shows that the pattern is changing because non-metropolitan areas in Australia are experiencing labor shortages, especially in unskilled and low-skilled work, which is the type of jobs refugees typically get. Therefore, settling in non-

metropolitan areas allows refugees to compete for jobs more readily and increases their ability to contribute to the economy.

In addition to the factors associated with refugee economic integration, varied sets of indicators of refugee economic integration are analyzed. Those that we have identified as the most important as well as most prevalent throughout the research are: participation in the labor force/current employment status, employment income levels, and developing economic links with country of origin (sending remittances). Whether or not a refugee is currently employed is the most basic indicator of their ability to contribute to the economy; without it, contribution and integration are not possible. Developing economic links is an indicative measure because it suggests some sort of substantial income. Sending remittances suggests that individuals have enough to not only support themselves, but also support their loved ones back home. Basically, income exemplifies that an individual has money to spend and contribute to the economy, albeit their country of origin or country of resettlement.

Additionally, it is our understanding that there are a number of contributing, although not crucial, factors to be considered influential in the process of economic integration. Firstly, exit conditions factor into the rate of economic integration. When analyzed it was found that situations from which refugees were fleeing factored into their qualifications, mental and physical health condition, as well as ability and motivation to quickly find work after resettling (See Waxman 2001). Secondly, it was found that gender can play a crucial role. Female refugees were more likely to be placed into stereotypical household roles, while their male counterparts obtained out of the home employment. Thirdly, in one study, the country of origin was found to influence the rate of participation in the labor force. The greater the socioeconomic cultural distance between the native and host country, the more difficult it is for refugees to assimilate to the labor market. (See Waxman, 491).

Furthermore, some of the factors commonly studied proved to have little influence on economic integration outcomes. The most notable is the statistically small influence of the skill sets, (prior education and professional experience) refugees arrive in the host country with. The exception being the influence host country language capability has on integration. Overall, education and previous professional training and experience played statistically minor roles in economic integration.

We also believe that while the literature has provided great insight into the indicators of, and factors contributing to economic integration there are gaps in the assessments performed. We believe that the following factors are also significant in the study of economic integration: the economic and social environment of the host country (local infrastructure, racial biases, local economic conditions, etcetera), the mental as well as physical health of the refugee, and the influence of religious beliefs and practices of the refugee. Of the seventeen reviewed studies few discuss the economic and social environment of the host country, one discusses mental health of refugees, and one mentions the religious practices of refugees as something questioned in the interview process. Those that did consider these factors found that they do contribute to economic integration rates. (See Bloch, 34)

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Introduction

In 2005, Karen Jacobsen wrote: “There is now a burgeoning literature on refugees in protracted situations, addressing issues like urbanization, conflict resolution, repatriation, gender inequity, and violence. But there are relatively few studies that probe deeply into how refugees pursue livelihoods.”¹ A decade later, increased attention has been devoted to the economic integration of resettled refugees, as well as to the local economies of which they are attempting to integrate into. The purpose of this literature review is to provide an overview on the topic of economic integration as it pertains to resettled refugees with sources with derived from over the past decade.

We have divided the seventeen pieces of literature into five categories, by geography: Australia, Canada, Europe, The United States, as well as additional research that does not fit within these geographical categories. The literature within the ‘additional research’ section of this review is also dissimilar from the other studies in that it is focused on the myths and stereotypes within the discourse of refugees and the economy, rather than particulars of a certain refugee group or host country.

The literature that we have reviewed covers a wide variety of indicators and factors, examples including, but not limited to: education, gender, local and national policy, theories on human capital, and economic impacts of refugees. The subject groups range widely in size from study to study, with a diverse set of countries of origin. In total, within the literature there is an approximate sample size of 547,329 individuals represented, ranging from fifteen to sixty years of age, originating from: Southern Africa, Central Asia, South East Asia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America. Additionally, methodologies that are utilized within the following literature are: interviews, surveys, secondary data analysis and literature review, and participatory action research. Participatory action research with the studies is used in two ways: refugees as interviewers of refugee and refugee stakeholder respondents, and refugees

¹ Jacobsen, Karen. "Preface." In *The Economic Lives of Refugees*, 1st ed., vii. Bloomfield, CT: Cumbrian Press Inc., n.d.

as recruiters of refugee respondents. We will then discuss the findings, as well as conclusions and notable limitations of the literature.

We will lastly conclude with our thoughts on the reviewed literature as a whole, extrapolating the threads of commonality in regards to hypothesis, methodologies, findings, and overall biases. We will additionally discuss our thoughts on the reviewed literature as it relates to the economic integration of refugees.

Australia

“A Significant Contribution: The Economic, Social and Civic Contributions of First and Second Generation Humanitarian Entrants: Summary of Findings” -Professor Graeme Hugo, for Department of Immigration and Citizenship of Australia, 2011.

Methodology

In 2011, Graeme Hugo was commissioned to do research on a variety of areas related to humanitarian entrants in Australia.² His findings from the research have been used to inform government decision-making in a variety of areas related to Australia’s refugee program. The report is divided into sections on population, workforce participation, economic contribution beyond labor force participation, and social and community participation. Professor Hugo analyzed data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) Settlement Database and conducted interviews with 649 families who are admitted as humanitarian entrants, along with discussions with 70 people and groups who provide services, employment and education to refugees. The 649 families were analyzed on the basis of arrival period (‘waves’) and area of origin. There are four waves that are broken up as follows: 1946-1960, 1960’s-1970’s, 1980’s-1990’s and lastly, recent arrivals. Professor Hugo uses waves to identify if the entrant is a first or second generation refugee, which allows for a longer-term perspective and analysis of how patterns emerge and change over time.

Findings

² In this report, the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘humanitarian entrant’ are used interchangeably.

People coming to Australia through the Humanitarian Program are considerably younger (mean age: 21.8) than the national Australian population and arrivals under other migration categories (mean age: 36.7). Other categories are family migrants and skilled migrants. Furthermore, humanitarian arrivals are made up of proportionally higher amounts of children than other groups. Hugo finds that refugee entrants are more likely than other migrant groups to raise children who will spend most of, if not the entirety of, their working lives in Australia, which maximizes their potential to contribute to the economy. Refugees have the lowest rate of settler loss, at almost half of that of other visa categories, “because of the very reason for them leaving their homeland—the fact that they were forced out by the threat of persecution and fear returning” (16).

Location of settlement influences the extent to which a refugee can draw on services as well as their access to work and the extent to which they can contribute to the economy (17). Migrants and refugees have tended to settle in metropolitan areas, but Professor Hugo shows how this pattern is changing. For example, between 1996 and 2009 the proportion of humanitarian arrivals who indicated that they intended to settle outside of Australia’s capital cities increased from 4.8 to 12.1 percent. Non-metropolitan areas in Australia are experiencing labor shortages, especially in unskilled and low-skilled work, which is the type of jobs refugees typically get, therefore settling in non-metropolitan areas allows refugees to compete for jobs more readily and increases their ability to contribute to the economy.

Based on the interviews he conducted, Professor Hugo identified barriers in both the pre-arrival period and settlement period that may hinder entry into the workforce.³ According to the 2006 Census data, Hugo found that, with greater proficiency in English came lower levels of unemployment rate (23). Hugo found an overall trend that humanitarian refugees have a higher level of unemployment, a lower level of employment in full-time work, and a larger proportion that are not in the labor force than other migrant categories. However, as time goes on, the level of workforce participation rises towards the national average. Hugo deduces this from his finding

³ Hugo, Graeme. *A Significant Contribution: The Economic, Social and Civic Contributions of First and Second Generation Humanitarian Entrants: Summary of Findings*. Canberra: Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2011. See page 23, Table 4.

that second generation refugees have a higher employment rate than first generation refugees. Professor Hugo suggests that there is a significant “mis-match” between skills and occupation, because refugee’s skills are not being utilized or recognized (28). This study found that refugees with higher levels of education still experienced higher unemployment rates compare to Australian nationals with the same qualifications. Because economic integration is a multidimensional process, we must remember that the length of time a refugee spends in their new country is a multifaceted as well, and is related to societal integration, education, skill-set improvement and other factors.

Measuring contributions beyond labor force participation involves investigating the extent to which humanitarian refugees set up new businesses, fill particular niches in the labor markets and develop economic linkages with their countries of origin. Professor Hugo found that humanitarian entrants display significant entrepreneurial qualities compared with other migrant groups. They have a higher than average proportion engaging in small and medium business enterprises.

Another economic contribution that refugees make is filling particular niches such as, labor shortages in low skill, low status and low paid occupations (39). Refugees interviewed for this study made it known that non-metropolitan centers provided key benefits and opportunities that were not as available in large urban centers, including “affordable housing, employment opportunities (albeit in low skilled and unpopular jobs), smaller community settings and a farming context which remains appealing for many who have come from rural areas prior to migration” (40). Settling in rural areas allows refugees to fill particular niches in these areas, where job opportunities abound and employment is found more readily. Location of settlement is important because it can determine how fast a refugee can get a job and start contributing to the economy.

In addition to contributing to Australian society, refugees directly develop the economy and society in their home countries through sending remittances and transferring technology and skills to those back home. For example, in 2008, the official outflow of remittances was US\$3.05 billion, or 0.03 percent of GDP. Furthermore, 69.7 percent of those surveyed have sent money to their homeland. Sending remittances suggests that individuals have enough to not only support themselves, but also support their loved ones back home.

“The Economic Adjustment of Recently Arrived Bosnian, Afghan and Iraqi Refugees in Sydney, Australia” -Peter Waxman, 2001.

Methodology

Peter Waxman collected empirical data on the early post-arrival experiences of Bosnian, Afghan and Iraqi refugees in Australia. Through questionnaire results and the application of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) results, Waxman attempts to understand how pre-migration and post-arrival experiences impact the initial post-arrival economic adjustment of these three groups of refugees in Sydney, Australia. The purpose of this study is to find whether or not pre-migration experiences have a significant impact on the long-term adjustment in the receiving country.⁴ The author contextualizes this research: the interrelated and multidimensional nature of the adjustment experience involves examining three major facets of adjustment, including social, health and economic. Successful adjustment is not possible if not realized across these three dimensions. Economic adjustment, in this study, is defined solely on the basis of current employment status (whether or not the refugee is currently employed). The fact that refugees and immigrants unevenly develop in the economic sphere requires an understanding of the variables that impact labor force status (475). Based on Waxman’s evaluation of these variables and his own literature review, he developed two propositions and analyzed his collected data to test them:

- Proposition 1: The Pre-migration Background of the Humanitarian Entrant Affects the Initial Post-arrival Economic Adjustment Experience.
- Proposition 2: The Post-arrival Experience Influences the Economic Status of Recently Arrived Humanitarian Entrants.

Waxman’s study draws on previous research done by various scholars as well as original data collection through questionnaires that were conducted using the ‘snowball’ technique, which involves respondents and interviewers recommending others for participation.⁵ Since

⁴ Waxman, Peter. "The Economic Adjustment of Recently Arrived Bosnian, Afghan and Iraqi Refugees in Sydney, Australia1." *International Migration Review* 35, no. 2 (2001): 473.

⁵ “Interviewers were selected on the basis of their wide acquaintance with members of the target population and, as a consequence, they were able to provide a range of snowball starts beyond their own intimate circle. Therefore, this

Waxman found that some surveyed refugees were uncomfortable with disclosing information to strangers, an individual of similar language and cultural background to the refugee respondent administered the survey. All but three interview administrators were of refugee background and most had been living in Australia for less than two years. Budget constraints limited the target area to the Sydney metropolitan area, despite the fact that a majority of subject refugee populations lived in the western suburbs of Sydney.

The original intent was to study an equal number of recently arrived refugees from countries representing three continents, but there was difficulty in accessing the necessary number of Africans (specifically Somalis in Sydney) to complete the survey, in large part because there was an “absence of monetary remuneration to the participants” (481). Afghans were chosen as a replacement group, but there was a fair amount of difficulty in finding the required number of Afghans, so only 35 were interviewed. The Iraqi community completed 77 questionnaires and the Bosnians completed 50.

The study population included the principal applicant (PA) – “the individual to whom approval to immigrate was granted” – who were living in Sydney and were admitted as refugees between 1994 and 1996, plus four Afghan respondents who arrived under the family reunification category (480). The PA was chosen as the respondent because it was assumed that the PA would hold primary responsibility for financial support of the household.

The study identifies a total of 29 variables that affect the early economic adjustment of refugees. The author examines only nine in this analysis, based on their relevance to Propositions 1 and 2, including exit conditions, age, socioeconomic background, education, overseas qualifications/experience, English language competency, interpersonal relationships, residential location and period of residence.

Findings

The exit conditions analyzed include whether or not the respondent was/had spent time in prison, tortured, physically/mentally ill-treated, members of family in prison, family members

selection technique would not lead to the patchy results likely in cases where each snowball start was linked to a very limited chain of potential respondents” (480).

still in prison; family members die as a result of conflict; family members left behind; or had to escape when exposed to extreme danger. It was found that current employment status was negatively affected by the time spent in detention camp. Waxman attributes this to erosion of job skills and elements of self-doubt that arise while detained for several years (486). Refugees who had been imprisoned were more likely to be actively looking for work than those who did not suffer the same pre-exit conditions, which implies “the tenacity and survival instincts of the internees has been translated into their determination to find employment” (487). Exit conditions do not have a statistical relationship to employment status, even though some exit conditions may increase the refugee’s determination to find employment.

Age is found to be relevant only in that the older the refugee was, the less likely they were to be employed or looking for work. Socioeconomic factors, for example, having prior work experience in the country of origin, were not found to have any impact on whether or not the PA found employment. Education in the country of origin was found to have no impact on current employment status.

Holding a job and having work experience in the country of origin did not have an impact on current employment status. Additionally, lack of English language skills was found to be the major reason for being unemployed. Although English language competency increases the likelihood of having one’s overseas qualifications assessed, being proficient in English does not enhance employment prospects. The next factor assessed, interpersonal relationships (having family and friends in Australia), was found to have no influence on the refugees current employment status. Residential location was analyzed on the basis of On-Arrival-Accommodation. Waxman found that refugees in federal government OAA are no more likely to be employed than those living elsewhere (492). Lastly, it was found that the longer the term of residence for the refugee, the greater their likelihood of being employed.⁶

Waxman’s study shows that no pre-arrival experiences influence a refugee’s employment status. Although one exit condition, being held in a detention camp, may motivate a person to look for work more vehemently, it does not enhance job prospects (494-5). Overseas qualifications, whether job training or higher education, are generally not recognized by

⁶ The author does not explain what a “long” or “longer” period of time means.

employers. Only two factors will improve job prospects for refugees: being a resident of Australia for a long period of time, and English proficiency. These two factors are related in that the longer time spent in Australia, the better a refugees English skills will be, and the more in-country training they will receive, which suggests that a certain level of social integration is necessary before economic integration is possible.

Canada

"One's Bad and the Other One's Worse: Differences in Economic Integration Between Asylum Seekers and Refugees Selected Abroad"-Jean Renaud, Victor Piche, and Jean-Francis Godin, 2003.

Methodology

The article co-written by authors Jean Renaud, Victor Piche, and Jean-Francis Godin, published in the 2003 volume of Canadian Ethnic Studies examines the differences of economic integration between those seeking refugee status overseas and those with asylee status within Canada. The study defines economic integration in two terms: first as "the time of acquiring first employment" and second as "employment status after one-and-a-half years and after two-and-a-half-years." ⁷

This study uses a longitudinal approach to investigate the differences between these two groups of people and seeks to show whether those seeking status endure more challenges in the Canadian labor market than state recognized refugees/asylees. The hypothesis of the study is that asylum seekers face more difficulty than those who have been granted status.

The study analyzes two main data sources. The first data source used is a longitudinal survey of an immigrant cohort who arrived in Montreal in 1989. The total number of refugees whose information was used for the first data source is 113. The second focal data source is a survey of people who sought status in Quebec in 1994. The second data source consists of a sample comprised of 407 asylum seekers who were later granted status at the time the study was

⁷ Jean Renaud, Victor Piche, and Jean-Francis Godin. "One's Bad and the Other One's Worse: Differences in Economic Integration Between Asylum Seekers and Refugees Selected Abroad." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 35, no. 2 (2003): 86

conducted, therefore the results from the second data source does not include asylum seekers who were not granted status.

Findings

The study found that immigrants who arrived with refugee status as opposed to asylum seekers were much more likely to have employment during each time period. Other factors such as gender, age, being bilingual and national origin were also fundamental variables. Additionally, the study found that after two and a half years, refugee claimants were still less likely to be employed than those who had been granted status.

The study concludes that the Canadian government should attempt to reduce the length of time to be recognized as a refugee/asylee from the time of application for status. The study also hypothesizes that the persistence of the differences between the two groups is in part due to the mental and physical stressors that predicate a claim for asylum after having been forced to quickly flee from their countries of origin. For refugees who are selected abroad, the “process of reconciliation” may have begun prior to their arrival in Quebec whereas for asylum seekers arriving without status it likely began later. This is important because recent traumatic events may impede economic integration. A second hypothesis suggests that claiming refugee status in Canada can have a marginalizing impact on the refugee and the study suggested a scenario where a refugee, holding a temporary work permit for a prolonged time period can lead to marginal quality of work that can be difficult to leave once their refugee status has been granted. The study also suggested that accepting lower status employment could disqualify claimants from utilizing professional skills they acquired in their country of origins. The study concludes with the recommendation that further research be conducted with a focus on the differences in resettlement between in country asylum seekers and refugees with legal status, and that the Canadian government should focus its efforts on shortening the administrative timeline for refugee claimants.

“The Employment Experiences of Canadian Refugees: Measuring the Impact of Human Social Capital on Quality of Employment” - Navjot K. Lamba, 2003.

Methodology

The article by Navjot K. Lamba was published in the Canadian review of Sociology and Anthropology in 2003. This study included 525 adult refugees in the process of resettling in Canada and utilized a multiple regression approach to explore the impact of social and human capital on the quality of employment achieved by refugees.⁸ The refugee’s places of origin included Africa, Central and South America, East Asia, and what the author cites as former Yugoslavia (50). More than 61% of those interviewed were from former Yugoslavia (article was not more specific) due to a relatively recent arrival of refugees from the former Yugoslavia to Alberta at the time of the administering of this survey (50).

The interview format included multiple fixed-response questions, and various open-ended questions that were meant to touch upon a range of experiences and diverse opinions. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with bilingual interviewers for the majority of the refugees who were living in Alberta.(50) Two thirds of the out-of-province interviews were conducted by telephone, and approximately one third of the interviews were conducted in English.(51)

An index was then created in order to assess the effects of social and human capital upon the quality of refugee employment via the data extrapolated from the survey. The index measuring quality of employment included six dimensions: current occupational status, full-time/part time status, temporary or permanent status, promotion status, over-qualification status and employment satisfaction. In addition, indices were created for human and social capital variables titled “human capital” and “network ties respectively (51).” Four predictors were considered when measuring refugees’ human capital: former occupation, former education, length of English language training, and months of training/education received in Canada (52).

⁸ Navjot K. Lamba, “*The Employment Experiences of Canadian Refugees: Measuring the Impact of Human Social Capital on Quality of Employment*,” Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology 40, no. 1 (2003): 45-64.

Indicators used to measure social capital included: proximity to close family members, and the presence of extra-familial connections (52).

Findings

The study found that 82% of adult refugees were able to find employment, but that 79% were not satisfied with their occupation, 60% stating that they felt overqualified for their jobs. Only 7% of the 39% who were had training in professional or managerial careers in their countries of origin were able to gain comparable employment in Canada (52). The study also found that three quarters of the refugees interviewed were working in jobs below their education level and had not received promotions. The article finds that refugees integrating into Canada used both familial and ethnic-group connections as a tool for finding employment. However, the article also found that many refugees believed their human capital to be of little value in the Canadian labor market and that their familial and ethnic-group connections were insufficient to achieve upward employment mobility (57). The article calls for Canadian policy makers to enable service providers to supply refugee network ties with information about the Canadian labor markets and support the construction of ethnic based group resources to assist with career advancement.

“The Economic Experiences of Refugees in Canada” -Don DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, and Mortan Beiser, 2004.

This discussion paper by Don DeVoretz, Sergiy Pivnenko, and Mortan Beiser was published in 2004 and uses economic indicators from Canada’s immigration database to analyze the economic experience of refugees in Canada post-1981. Using the standard human capital model, the study investigated the length of time required for the economic integration of refugees, their use of Canada’s social safety net, poverty levels of refugees, and the economic performance of refugees when compared to Canada’s immigrant family class.⁹

⁹ Don DeVoretz, Segiy Pivnenko, and Morton Beiser, “The Economic Experiences of Refugees in Canada,” *IZA Institute for the Study of Labor*, Discussion Paper No. 1088 (2004): 1-31.

Methodology

The study relied heavily on two Canadian administrative databases for their study. The first database is known as the Landed Immigrant Data System (LIDS), and contains information about specific immigrants upon arrival in Canada and the second, the Longitudinal Immigration Data Base (IMDB), records the immigrant's economic performance while they are in Canada (9). Information on most immigrants since 1980 is available in LIDS and over 4.1 million people have been entered between 1980 and 2001. Through use of the IMDB data the authors identified a class or type of earning (such as employment income or social assistance) and looked to see how the refugee group performed compared to other entry categories. The authors also analyzed refugees' total incomes by combining employment earnings with other sources of income such as social assistance as an indicator of economic integration.

In order to measure the degree of refugee economic integration over time they compared refugee economic performance to family class immigrants. A family class immigrant is a person who is sponsored by a Canadian citizen or permanent resident on the basis of close familial ties such as a spouse or child. The primary indicator of economic integration was employment income over years since arrival. Employment income was not defined in the study. The study also examined wages earned by refugees in comparison to family class immigrants by age group such as 15-24, 25-34, etcetera (19). Additionally, the study sought to answer if there were significant regional variations that impacted refugees' economic performance, such as, entrance category and the place of settlement.

To address this issue the authors compared three immigrant cohorts divided between family class immigrants and refugees and looked at the employment earnings and total income of the six groups in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and Canada as a whole and ultimately found that Ontario offered superior income prospects for both family class immigrants and refugees (23).

Findings

The discussion paper found that Canadian refugees who were able to find employment earned an equal amount to the 1980-2001 family class reference groups at both the time of arrival and in each successive year. The study also found that employed refugees on average

have economically integrated into the Canadian economy (29). Lastly, while looking at refugees' use of Canada's social security net the study investigated the utilization rates of welfare by Canadian dollars amounts by age group. The study found that refugees were at the greatest risk of needing welfare benefits than any other foreign-born category (24).

A significant strength of the discussion paper "The Economic Experiences of Refugees in Canada" is that it pulls from such large databases to paint a picture of wide-scale refugee trends and patterns over two decades.. A limitation of this paper is that the information assessed ends in 2001, and September 11th held implications for the resettlement of refugees in Canada and the United States by both slowing down security investigations and increasing discrimination towards many immigrants. Despite these limitations, because this study offers such a large-scale representation of refugee trends with regard to the length of time required for the economic integration of refugees, it is valuable for the purposes of our project.

Europe

"Economic Participation and National Self-Identification of Refugees in the Netherlands"- Thomas de Vroome, Marcel Coenders, Frank van Tubergen, and Maykel Verkuyten, 2011.

In comparison to immigrants, little information is known about the integration of refugees. Unlike immigrants, refugees have distinct motives for migration and within their host country are generally at a socio-economic disadvantage.¹⁰ Thomas de Vroome, Marcel Coenders, Frank van Tubergen, and Maykel Verkuyten examine self-identification and economic participation of refugees within the Netherlands. They question whether refugees' self-identification as a member of the host society follows the same pattern found amongst immigrants, and whether their socio-economic position in their host society affects their national self-identification (616). It is hypothesized that self-identification, which is the act of defining oneself as a member of a particular social group, is determined by: economic participation, discrimination by majority, and social ties (618). Specifically, economic participation is divided

¹⁰ Vroome, Thomas De, Marcel Coenders, Frank Van Tubergen, and Maykel Verkuyten. "Economic Participation and National Self-Identification of Refugees in the Netherlands1." *International Migration Review* 45, no. 3 (2011): 615.

into two parts: economic position and integration. Economic position is refugees' post-migration education, proficiency in host country language, employment, and occupational status. Integration is the participation in structures and institutions of the host society, directly (the labor market) or indirectly (language and education) (618).

Methodology

In their study, Vroome, Coenders, van Tubergen, and Verkuyten, gather statistical information from the 2003 UNHCR to include the four largest refugee groups in the Netherlands: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian, and Afghan. Then they base their analysis on the 2003 Social Position and Use of Provisions by Ethnic Minorities (SPVA) survey, which provides insight on the socio-economic position of refugees. Within this study, they also conducted personal interviews in order to determine language proficiency, refugees' self-identification, and organizational membership. Lastly, they used the International Socio-Economic Index (ISEI), an international measure of occupational status, to measure economic position. Respondents were asked where they received their education, were tested for their host country language proficiency, and were asked if they were employed (621-623).

To analyze the relationship between economic positions, national self-identification, the role of refugees' social ties, and perceived discrimination, the study used two different models to provide direct relationships between variables. Model one includes economic participation and economic position in the country (post-migration education, language proficiency, employment, occupational status in their host country, and education in country of origin) and perceived discrimination. Model two includes social ties and its relating variables (organizational membership, contact with natives, etcetera.).

Findings

Both models concluded that employment, language proficiency, and occupational level are significantly related to national self-identification. Refugees who are employed have about a 1.3 time higher chance of identifying themselves with their host country. The higher the economic participation a refugee has in their host country, the more likely they will self-identify with the host country (627-629). While economic integration indirectly fosters host country

identification it also stimulates a sense of belonging (635)

"The Importance of Resources and Security in the Socio-Economic Integration of Refugees" -Linda Bakker, Jaco Dagevos, and Godfried Engbersen, 2013.

Linda Bakker, Jaco Dagevos, and Godfried Engbersen argue that the definition of refugee, as defined by the United Nations, affects the integration process within the host country. Not only are there pre-migration stressors for refugees, but also there are also post-migration factors that affect refugee integration. Refugees' are a distinct group because they have a different migration motive and history when compared to labor migrants. Refugees experience traumatic occurrences from their country of origin and it has been shown that during their flight into their host country that their traumatic experiences have an impact on their mental health, which subsequently hinders their integration¹¹ Bakker, Davevos, and Engberson define integration as a multidimensional two-way process that starts upon arrival in the host state (432). Integration divides into four parts: culture nation, position, integration, and identification. Culture nation is the acquisition of knowledge and skills (e.g. language of host country), skills that help refugees find their way around their host society. Position refers to the status refugees have come to possess in terms of social stratification determined by employment, education and housing. Integration is the extent of social contacts (e.g. friends, neighbors, spouses) and identification as an indication of the emotional bond a refugee has with their host country (433). Overall, there is an important relationship between integration and the mental health of a refugee. Refugees diagnosed with a mental health problem, struggle to engage in activities that lead to integration (e.g seeking employment and developing relationships) (432). Mental health is argued to be a prerequisite for attaining other types of resources. Thus, Bakker, Davevos, and Engberson argue that mental health serves as a mediator between the post-migration stressors and socioeconomic integration

¹¹ Bakker, Linda, Jaco Dagevos, and Godfried Engbersen. "The Importance of Resources and Security in the Socio-Economic Integration of Refugees. A Study on the Impact of Length of Stay in Asylum Accommodation and Residence Status on Socio-Economic Integration for the Four Largest Refugee Groups in the Netherlands." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 15 (2013): 432.

Methodology

Specifically, the study analyzes socio-economic integration of refugees and the impact of their length of stay in asylum accommodation and residence status on their mental health. Using the SING2009, a dataset collected by The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, containing information on the different dimensions of integration for the four largest refugee groups: Iraqi, Somali, Iranian, and Afghan in the Netherlands. The study interviewed about 1000 refugees from each group from the age of 15 and older. To provide a better representation of the refugee groups, each group was broken down into three divisions: second-generation refugees or those who came for work and study purposes, those who did not stay in asylum accommodation, and respondents over 65 years old, in order to account for the working population (437-438). The Structural Equation Modeling (SEM)^{12 13} was used to analyze more accurate categorical and dichotomous of the dependent variable socio-economic integration. Socio-economic integration represents employment status, social benefits dependency, occupational status, and type of contract. Employment and social benefits dependency, examine socio-economic integration and occupational status and type of contact to examine more of the economic integration of those employed (439-440).

Findings

The results of the analysis indicated that a temporary refugee status, a refugee with who is granted with a five year or less stay within the host country, negatively relates to employment but positively relates to social benefits dependency. For those refugees with a temporary status, there was a significantly negative correlation to employment (-0.17) whereas their social benefits dependency was positive (0.14). Then those refugees who have fully been granted citizenship had a positive correlation to employment (0.20) and negative correlation to social benefits dependency (-0.18). It was also found that mental health is an important predictor of socio-economic integration. A good mental health is positively related to employment and negatively

¹² SEM is a multivariate analysis technique that is commonly expressed as path diagrams. A hypothetical model is first created through a path diagram, then the collected data is analyzed to see if it is in agreement with the hypothetical model.

¹³"Structural Equation Modeling - Statistics Textbook." Technical Documentation. Accessed June 19, 2015.

related to social benefits dependency (442). Thus, it is concluded, having a refugee status hampers the socio-economic integration of refugees (443). It was also deduced that residence status has a clear effect on socio-economic integration. Citizenship of the host country and a good mental health status is a prerequisite to successful refugee integration (445).

"Social and Economic Integration of Refugees Into the Host Society: A CASE STUDY." - The Portuguese Refugee Council, 1998.

The Portuguese Refugee Council (PRC) conducted a study on sociological analysis on the social and economic integration of refugees who attend a Portuguese Language and Computing Course. Their main focus was to assess the level of integration of the sample population into the Portuguese labor market. The refugee population within Portugal is mostly active within the informal labor market and is subjected to unemployment, descending mobility, and unstable employment. With the informal practice of employment, refugees are 'inserted' into the labor market. Insertion is the first level of integration within the labor market. Insertion is the practice of informal labor, which means irregular and unstable employment. Then integration as defined by the PRC, is a bi-dimensional process implying not only the refugees' adaptation to the host society but also the malleability and the capacity for change of the host country for the reception of new groups. Ultimately, the PRC study is dated but significant with its definition of integration, as a bi-dimensional process that begins with insertion, an informal labor practice. This study offers a unique perspective to the economic integration of refugees.¹⁴

Methodology

A total of 30 participants completed a closed-ended questionnaire. The participants have either been in Portugal for over two years with no recognition of refugee status or have a temporary residence permit. The closed-ended questionnaire and sample size of the study is only

¹⁴ The Portuguese Refugee Council. "Social and Economic Integration of Refugees Into the Host Society: A CASE STUDY." The Portuguese Refugee Council. Accessed June 10, 2015. 1

a representative of the group of refugees who attend the Portuguese Language and the Computing Courses taught by PRC.

Findings

The authors conclude that all respondents perform activities that are not within their professional qualifications. At their time of unemployment, 42% of the sample resorted to informal networks of labor to overcome financial difficulties, with some even obtaining up to three jobs. Overall, within the sample, formal and informal networks of the labor market, their integration into informal economy happens in a larger extent from their informal networks. However, as concluded, the sample remains inserted within the informal labor market with unstable and inconsistent activities, which ultimately leads to inconsistency of their economical status.

"Employment Integration of Refugees: The Influence of Local Factors on Refugee Job Opportunities in Sweden." -Pieter Bevelander and Christopher Lundh, 2007.

Refugees have been found to poorly integrate into the labor market. The weaker labor market integration of refugees is normally explained through differences in human capital, discrimination within the labor market, economic transformations, institutional conditions, and the changing composition from origin country. Human capital, which is a person's connections and networks, the discrimination of refugees, within the labor market and adapting to a new society (economy, educational standards, language) all cause for a weak integration of refugees into the labor market. Thus, integration is the differences in human capital, discrimination in the labor market, changing composition of sender countries, economic transformation or institution conditions.¹⁵

In its early research, the study found that the discrimination of refugees and institutional factors have an important effect on the labor market (7). Simply stated, it was found that there was a racial bias based on appearance, and those that have trouble assimilating because of, or due

¹⁵ Bevelander, Pieter, and Christopher Lundh. "Employment Integration of Refugees: The Influence of Local Factors on Refugee Job Opportunities in Sweden." Discussion Paper Series, no. 2251 (2007): 2.

to institutional factors have a harder time integrating into the labor market. This study focused on the importance of the local labor market conditions for the probability of obtaining refugees' employment and asked what factors explain the variation in employment chances of refugees (2). Essentially, the study tests if the probability of obtaining employment is dependent on individual characteristics, conditions of the municipality in which the individual is living, and the labor market condition of the municipality (9).

Methodology

Conducted in 2003, the samples of individuals are native and foreign born between the ages of 25 and 60. Bevelander and Lundh posited four models for the study: individual variables, municipality variables, labor market variables, and economy variables. Within the individual variables model, it includes age, marital status, children, year of arrival, and educational level. The municipality variable model captures other effects at a local level, not measured in terms of the labor market, such as municipality contribution, municipality type, and municipality tax level. The labor market variable model reflects the conditions of the local labor market, with variables like unemployment level. Then the economy variables model measures geographical differences in the economic structure and economic activity, with variables such as relative size of the public sector and entrepreneurial climate (10-13). Through all four models, the study analyzed their information by comparing the natives to refugee groups.

Findings

It was found that all refugee groups have a considerable low probability of being employed over natives. It was also concluded that some refugee groups have an advantage over others. In their study, it was found that 71% of men from Bosnia were employed compared to 39% of Iraqi men, and 65% of Bosnian women were employed compared to 29% of Iraqi women in Sweden (15). Also, the employment chances of refugees depended on their municipality. There were higher chances of employment in bigger cities. Overall, it became clear that human capital and individual factors like such as the economic structure, affect the ability of refugees to integrate into the labor market (19). As the study concludes, both employment and

unemployment levels, size of the local labor market, all show a significant effect on refugees' employment (20).

“Refugees in the UK Labour Market: The Conflict between Economic Integration and Policy-led Labour Market Restriction” -Alice Bloch, 2008.

This article was written by Alice Bloch in 2008, and published in the Journal of Social Policy. Ms. Bloch's article looks at the restrictive government policies which impact access to the labor market, and their contradiction with the employability of refugees in the United Kingdom.¹⁶ The author lists three government policies that have had harmful consequences for the economic integration of refugees: the inability of asylum seekers to apply for work permission unless their case has been pending for more than 12 months, the administration of on employers who hire refugees without the correct documentation, and the introduction of the five-year rule in 2005 which removed the long term security of refugees by giving only “temporary leave for those granted refugee status rather than permanent status.” This policy being similar to Temporary Protected Status (TPS) in the United States (22).

Methodology

This study utilized re-assessed data from six focus groups and also utilized a survey of 400 refugees from five communities who have permission to work. The ethnic backgrounds of the five communities are Somali, Tamil, Kosovar, Turkish and Iraqi. The interviews were conducted face-to-face using translated questionnaires. Eighty interviews, forty of which were with men and forty of which were with women were included in the final sample and included were people from each of the five listed communities.

Findings

The article examines employment within refugee integration policy and also investigates the significant factors that impact refugee employment with a focus on human capacity and personal characteristics. In the study, gender, age, training in the UK, English competency,

¹⁶ Alice Bloch, “Refugees in the UK Labour Market: The Conflict between Economic Integration and Policy-led Labour Market Restriction,” Journal of Social Policy 37, no. 1 (2008): 21.

qualifications, length of residence in the UK and main activity before coming to the UK were all considered when assessing human capacity. Gender was included within the framework of human capacity and personal characteristics, showing that refugee women have made up consistently low levels of participation in the labor market (27). Ms. Bloch's article also explores refugees' own perceptions of their barriers to economic integration. In the survey, refugees were asked what they thought was their main barrier to meaningful employment. The options were lack of English training, lack of work experience in the UK, and not having qualifications ranking the highest (31). The study also looks at fluent English speaking refugees who are highly skilled to uncover how UK refugee integration policy is failing to address underemployment due to discrimination (33). The article concludes with a call to action to create a national strategy to help refugees into employment, which fully utilizes their skills and qualifications, as well as, challenges employer discrimination and other policy-rooted obstacles to economic integration (34).

The United States

"Benefit or Burden? Social Capital, Gender, and the Economic Adaptation of Refugees" - Ryan Allen, 2009.

Methodology

The focus of Allen's study is *social capital*, which drawing on similar studies he defines as "the ability of an individual who is part of a social network with access to various resources that reside within that social network..."¹⁷ With respect to refugees resettling in the United States and integrating into a new geographic and social environment, social capital is best defined as one's access to non-monetary resources from friends and acquaintances such as transportation help with household tasks, child care, and help with obtaining employment. The study primarily measures yearly earnings in both a refugee's first year of employment in the U.S., and their most recent year of employment. The key independent variables are whether the refugee is a "free case" or "reunification case;" and the individual's gender (male / female). Refugees who resettle

¹⁷ Portes, A. and P. Landolt, "The Downside of Social Capital." 1996 *The American Prospect* 26:18-22.

Putnam, R. D. "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community." 2000 New York: Simon & Schuster.

within a community (reunification) typically make use of relationships with other more established refugees to garner favors, advice, help in navigating their host society, or employment recommendations. Some of these uses of social capital can be beneficial, while others may in fact be detrimental.

Allen's study focuses solely on the city of Portland, Maine using a non-random sample of qualitative and quantitative data from interviews, tax records, and the U.S. Census. Since respondents were hesitant to mention earnings, the study used employment and earning data from the Maine Department of Labor to indicate how many employment occurrences each refugee had, and how much they earned. Later, the detailed data in earnings that was collected from the Department of Labor was made anonymous. Within Allen's study, a sample of 42 refugees from the Catholic Charities Maine Refugees and Immigrant Services (CCMRIS).¹⁸ Respondents were at least 18 years old were interviewed on aspect of their: social capital, faith, and adherence to religious practices.

Findings

Allen's study found that an individual's level of English language proficiency, as well as their level of education are not statistically significant in predicting a refugee's first year earnings for both males and females. The author suggests this may be because on the labor market, refugees are an undifferentiated pool of unskilled workers who compete for the same low-wage jobs and rely little on English and social skills, but rather manual labor - citing data showing manufacturing as the largest employer of refugees in Portland.

The study also finds that secondary resettlement refugees, who have relocated to Portland from another city, earned less on average and accumulated fewer quarters of employment than those who resettled there initially. It hypothesizes that these secondary resettlement cases likely took more time to adjust to an unfamiliar labor market, and the disadvantage in earnings may be due to self-selection by workers who were unable to find work in another city, possibly due to lack of skills.

¹⁸ Allen, Ryan. "Benefit or Burden? Social Capital, Gender, and the Economic Adaptation of Refugees." *International Migration Review* 43, no. 2 (2009): 344. Accessed June 17, 2015. JSTOR.

Allen's major finding is contrary to the study's initial hypothesis, which was that reunification cases did not experience a statistically significant advantage over free case refugees, who had fewer connections in the community and access to social capital. Allen makes another significant finding in the data, which he explains with a hypothesis drawn from his qualitative research. Female free case refugees did, however, fare better than female reunification case refugees by a significant margin. The author describes that this negative impact of social capital may be due to the effect of community's adherence to traditional gender roles, burdening female refugees with additional household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, and taking care of children, which take away from her time on the labor market, and thus her earnings.

Conclusions

With different economic conditions and institutional environments in smaller cities, rural areas, and large cities within the United States, refugees may have significantly different experiences with co-ethnic social capital from previous refugees. Ryan Allen aims to answer, if access to co-ethnic social capital upon arrival of the host city provided refugees with an advantage in the labor market, compared to those who did not have access to co-ethnic social capital upon arrival. Using a sample of 42 refugees in Portland, Maine, Allen focused on how respondents used social capital in their lives. While conducting interviews, the study found that refugees were subjected to social norms that ultimately define their social capital.

“Economic Impact of Refugees In The Cleveland Area” -Chmura Economics & Analytics, 2013.

Methodology

The purpose of this report is to show that along with a humanitarian aspect to welcoming refugees, there is also an economic side. Refugees can contribute substantially to the economy, especially in areas suffering issues related to population decline; such is the case in the

Cleveland area.¹⁹ Chmura begins with a literature review in which it was found that refugee resettlement in advanced economies can be costly in the short-term, but once refugees have adjusted they can substantially contribute to the workforce and economic development in the long-term, specifically at the regional level. Specifically, after two years, 73.5% of refugees were employed and showed less likelihood to take public assistance (24).

The impact of refugees is measured from three sources: household spending of the refugee families, refugee owned businesses, and refugee service organizations, and are considered to be directly impacting the economy. In order to measure this factor, Chmura distributed a survey to the eleven refugee service organizations in the Cleveland area to obtain data from the refugee service organizations on their budget and spending activities. The survey also collected information on the refugees these organizations served, the percentage of refugees that obtained employment, and the number of refugees that started their own businesses. After the direct impacts were identified, induced and indirect impacts were identified. The latter two are ripple effects from the direct impacts and include “jobs and spending that result from supply chain (indirect impact) and consumer spending effects that occur when the employees of the direct source or suppliers spend their income in the region (induced impact)” (4). After the identification process was complete, indirect and induced impacts were estimated with IMPLAN Pro® software. The estimated impacts and direct impacts were aggregated to “yield the estimates of the overall economic impact” of the refugees *and* refugee services in the Cleveland area. To be consistent, the study used 2012 as a benchmark year to measure the impact of refugees and refugee resettlement organizations.

Findings

The authors contextualize this study and note that Cleveland is in a period of population decline, rendering it is suited to absorb the refugee population, which in Cuyahoga County, is around 600. The study concluded that refugees as well as refugee service organizations have made substantial contributions to the local economy, and these contributions continue to grow as more refugees arrive to Cleveland. The total annual economic impact (direct, indirect or induced)

¹⁹ Chmura Economics and Analytics. "Economic Impact of Refugees on the Cleveland Area." HIAS. Last modified 2013. 3.

of refugees for 2012 sits at an estimated \$33.3 million, which is the approximate cost of 386 annual wages within the Cleveland area. Specifically, of this spending, \$22.2 million was attributed to direct economic impacts, \$5.2 million contributed to indirect impacts and \$5.9 million to induced impacts. Lastly, the arrival of refugees in Cleveland has boosted the area's population, as well as increased the demand for local goods, services, and housing. This increase in demand has also generated approximately \$1.8 million in tax revenue for the Cleveland area (31). It was also found, that the refugees within the Cleveland area are less likely to request public assistance after two years of labor market participation. The Chmura survey also boasts that the 2012 refugee population of Cleveland “have a comparable or better labor market performance than refugees in other areas of the nation that have been studied” (35).

With their new jobs comes new spending power, and Chmura finds that refugees contribute a considerable amount of revenue for the Cleveland region, both in tax dollars and local business profits. The study finds that once refugees have adjusted to their new life after resettlement, they provide substantial contributions to the workforce and economic development in the long-term. Refugees typically find a job in the Cleveland area within five months of their arrival, despite lacking English language skills.

Additional Literature

“Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions” -Alexander Betts, Louise Bloom, Josiah Kaplan, and Naohiko Omata, 2014.

“Refugee Economies” is a study published June 2014 and authored by four individuals for the Refugee Studies Centre, at the University of Oxford’s, Humanitarian Innovation Project. Researchers carried out an ethnographic and participatory action model of research on a sample of 1,593 refugees within three resettlements within two refugee settlements and one town in Uganda. The purpose of this study is to analyze the concept of refugee economies²⁰ and the following five myths that exist within the discourse of refugee economies. These five myths being: ²¹

²⁰ The authors define a “refugee economy” as the “resource allocation systems relating to a displaced population. (6).”

²¹ Refugee Studies Centre, Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions, 5 June 2014. 5.

- Refugees are economically isolated.
- Refugees are a burden on host states.
- Refugees are economically homogenous.
- Refugees are technologically illiterate.
- Refugees are dependent on humanitarian assistance.

This study is written with the aim to dispel these myths and depict how refugee communities, who are unable to wait for state solutions, are “doing it for themselves” when it comes to seeking solutions to their own economic challenges (6).” Through this study it is anticipated that there will be a new potential realized for the transitioning of “humanitarian challenges into sustainable opportunities (4)”. Furthermore, these opportunities have the potential to benefit refugees, host states, donors, and private sector entrepreneurs. The area of economic lives of refugees and displaced populations, according to the authors, has been lacking conceptual clarity and good data.

Methodology

Field research was carried out within three target sites, Nakivale and Kyangwali settlements, and the urban Kampala, on a sample size of 1,593 individuals, during 2013. Researchers used a variety of qualitative research techniques including:

“...unstructured and semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, transect walks, and participatory mapping. [Researchers also conducted]...livelihood mapping and wealth breakdown exercises to understand general and specific features of refugees’ economic activities in relation to their socioeconomic status” (7-9).

The sample of 1,593 individuals was composed of: Congolese, Rwandan, Somali, Burundian, South Sudanese, Ethiopian, and Eritrean refugees. For both rural settlements (Nakivale and Kyangwali), a random sampling approach was used, using interval selection of households by nationality and across a distribution of villages (7-9). Furthermore, included within the sample were wide range of non-refugee stakeholders, including Ugandan nationals, Ugandan government representatives, staff of the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and UNHCR implementing partners. Additionally, the authors placed a high value on

a participatory approach and employed forty refugee researchers, enumerators and assistants through a rigorous application process.

The research conducted and data collected was done so in order to challenge what the authors identified as the five popular myths within the discourse of refugee and economics. Various integration indicators and integration factors were identified in their relation to each myth. They were then measured, analyzed, quantified, and used to either support or challenge one of the five identified myths. The following list are the indicators that were measured for each myth:

- *Refugees are economically isolated*: the percentage of refugee businesses with refugees of other nationalities as the largest customer base, the locations where refugee entrepreneurs conduct their business, the percentage of refugee businesses with Ugandans as the largest customer, and lastly distribution networks.
- *Refugees as a burden on host states*: From whom refugees buy daily goods, from whom refugees buy goods and services for their main businesses, who urban and rural refugees are employed by, the percentage of refugees employing other people outside their household, finally, the refugees provision of human capital.
- *Refugees are economically homogenous*: the diversity of livelihoods and wealth, average monthly incomes, top livelihoods by refugee nationality, and employment type for main income-generating activity.
- *Refugees are not technologically literate*: refugees as users of communication technology, the use of Internet and mobile technology in economic activity, and the use of other economic appropriate activities.
- *Refugees are dependent on humanitarian aid*: the relationship and receiving of aid amongst refugees, community based financial mechanisms for refugee self protection, aid wants and needs of refugees, in a addition to alternate avenues available for self reliance

Findings

The study finds that none of these myths have any strong evidentiary support within the sampled population. The following list identifies the findings as they relate to each myth.

- *Refugees are economically isolated*: Refugees are a part of a vast economic network that spreads nationally as well as transnationally, with a connection shown between Ugandan traders and a broader economic system.
- *Refugees are an economic burden*: Refugees often make a positive contribution to the host state economy. It was also shown that these positive contributions are exemplified in the high level of exchange among

refugees and Ugandan nationals. Additionally it was found that refugee private sector entrepreneurship has been proven to generate local jobs for refugees as well as nationals.

- *Refugees are economically homogenous*: It was found that refugees are economically diverse and have significant levels of internal inequality. They have a range of different livelihood activities; some are successful entrepreneurs, some are deeply impoverished, and some are somewhere in between.
- *Refugees are technologically illiterate*: Refugees are users and, in some cases, the creators of technology. They have high levels of Internet use, and use mobile phones extensively, and frequently adapt their own appropriate technologies.
- *Refugees have a dependency on aid*: It is true that many refugees are recipients of humanitarian or social assistance, but not all are dependent upon it. Many rely on other social relationships, aspire to receive other forms of support, and in many cases create sustainable livelihood opportunities for themselves.

“Are Refugees an Economic Burden or Benefit?” -Roger Zetter, 2014.

This article is unique in that, Roger Zetter, a professor of Refugee studies at the Refugee Studies Center, offers a new methodology to collecting data on the economic impact of refugees through a secondary literature review.²² Zetter states, that in recent years, the notion of ‘refugee burden’ has become rooted in governmental policies. Refugee burden is defined as the perceived burden that refugees place on the host country’s social infrastructure and economy, aspects can be thought of as: imposing additional cost to the public and social welfare budgets, halting economic growth, distorting markets, the causing environmental degradation, and placing of political strains on some already fragile and conflict-affected countries. However, the notion of “refugee burden” does not reflect an alternative view; the economic benefits and developmental potential that refugees bring. Benefits such as: skill sets, expanding consumption of food and commodities, and increase in tax revenue.

Globally donor programs do not regularly analyze the economic outcome of their programs and project investments. However, recently there has been an exception, “In Search of Protection and Livelihoods: Socio-Economic and Environmental Impacts of Daab Refugee

²² Zetter, Roger. "Are Refugees an Economic Burden or Benefit?" *Forced Migration Review* 41 (2012): 50-53. Accessed June 1, 2015.

Camps on Host Communities”²³ is the study that Zetter utilizes in composing his new proposed methodology. “In Search of Protection and Livelihoods”, a study of the economic impact of the Daab Refugee Camps of Kenya, showed a positive economic impact of the refugee camps for the host community. The economic impact was estimated at US \$14 million, which is about 25% of the per capita income of the host community. Income benefits to the host community from sales of livestock and milk alone was US \$3 million and over 1,200 local people benefited from refugee camp-related employment. The Dadaab project’s study is an example of the analysis of the outcomes of program and project investments that is too often missing from the literature. For that reason, Zetter proposes the “Guidelines for Assessing the Impacts and Costs of Forced Displacement”. These guidelines support analytical tools and systematic methodologies that respond to the actual or potential impacts of refugees.

The proposed guideline is divided into three stages: first stage, second stage, and third stage.

The first stage: The aim is to provide a comprehensive account that incorporates: refugees, host population and country, area and country of origin, and providers of assistance to the displaced. The analysis of the impacts within the first stage is for long-term development of the country.

The second stage: The identification of quantitative parameters to measure impacts of income, assets, employment, and access to natural resources, along with other factors (age, gender, length of exile). The importance of including qualitative factors is to capture the household livelihood strategies that are susceptible to adjustment and transformation under a condition of forced displacement (50).

The third stage: Application of the methodology while constructing an overall socio-economic profile. The methodological tools assess the costs and impacts of the international agencies, donors, and other providers (51). Various survey methods are recommended: random sample questionnaire, key informant surveys, focus groups, and the use of statistical data from government and humanitarian sources. Overall, the guidelines are a mixed methodology of

²³ In Search of Protection and Livelihoods: Socio-economic and Environmental Impacts of Dadaab Refugee Camps on Host Communities. Dadaab, 2010. 85.

quantitative and qualitative tools that provides an analysis of different dimensions of impacts and costs.

Concluding Remarks

The aim of all the described studies has been to somehow measure factors pertaining to refugees and the economic relationships they develop within their host state. Economic relationships are here to be defined as the refugee's level and capability to economically integrate in addition to the impact of refugees on the economy of the host state. The studies reviewed have cited numerous factors as contributing to refugees' economic integration: gender, language ability, states of origin, education level, as well as other numerous socioeconomic and demographic variables, are analyzed within the research. Post this observation, many studies do not offer any sort of analysis of the economic and social environment of the host countries, or the capability of entrance and mobility within the host economy. In short, there is the overarching notion of "what is it about them?" (Refugees) instead of a "what is it about us?" (Global North) mindset.

Furthermore, other factors that we believe are in need of attention and were neglected within the reviewed literature are: the influence of religion and the recognition of mental and physical health as consequential factors in economic integration. Of the seventeen reviewed studies: few provide any analysis of social and economic environment of the host country, one mentions mental health, and one mentions religious practices. Our aim after reviewing the literature is to create a tool that will assess similar factors that have been analyzed in prior research, while also placing focus on those factors (health, religion, economic and social environment) that have been neglected in the research.

The methodology of all of the reviewed studies is similar in scope, however the studies can be separated into two categories: the capability of refugees to economically integrate and the impact of refugees on the economy of the host state. The primary methodologies utilized to obtain this information were: open and closed surveys, face-to-face interviews, as well as secondary data analysis and literature review.

The studies also differ in regards to the factors and indicators of economic integration. Each study had its own view of what economic integration is, as well as what hinders or aids the integration of refugees into the economy. There was a vast array of factors included throughout these studies as things to be considered in the economic integration of refugees (refugee entrance into the economy) including, but not limited to: language capability, gender, education, access to technology, networking capability, phenotypical characteristics, humanitarian aid. Factors analyzed pertaining to refugee impact on the market can be thought of as: job creation, tax revenue contributed, homes purchased and money spent.

The studies findings display positive conclusions in regards to the argument for stronger attention to be placed on refugee economic integration. Most significant of these findings is the challenging of the popular myth “refugees are a burden on the economy”, our review of the literature shows that this is simply not true. Refugee populations, may not must, receive humanitarian or social aid, but the economic contributions of refugee populations far outweigh any perceived “burden”. Additionally a significant takeaway from the literature is that there needs to be a shift in the connotation of what it means to be a resettled refugee. Resettled refugees have a great capacity to participate as agents in their own economic integration and should be given the opportunity legally as well as socially.

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