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**The Glass Menagerie of Refugee Resettlement: Securitization post 9/11 and Refugee
Resettlement Regimes in Germany and Canada**

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Abstract

This research aims to demonstrate how 9/11 in the United States impacted the international securitization of borders movement and served as a push factor for an influx of displaced people from the regions affected by the War on Terror and its expansion.

Through the case studies of Canada and Germany, this paper addresses how the two developed countries handled the growing demand for resettlement programs to accommodate and integrate displaced people, such as refugees and asylum seekers after 9/11, into their social and economic spheres through resettlement programs. This paper analyzes the successes and shortcomings of these two refugee resettlement regimes in accommodating the resettled refugees in their country.

This research reveals that the current approach taken by more developed nations, specifically by Germany and Canada, are praiseworthy due to their open and swift resolutions of taking on migrants from the regions of the world that often pose a threat to many western nations due to preconceived notions and stereotypes. The two countries, effectively understand their responsibility as members of the international community and hence adequately address the needs for growing changes in their immigration policies despite the domestic political upheaval any immigration legislation might cause in the future.

The shortcomings of the two case studies I review are imbedded in the alarming deficiency in the refugee resettlement regimes that serve as a model for the rest of the world on handling and resettlement of millions of forced migrants that are displaced due to the indirect but clear causal relationship of 9/11 wars, especially War on Terror. Under these regimes, it is

clear that main points of deficiencies arise from inadequate accommodations of resettled migrants in not just socio-political integration but also in economic integration, which restrains their ability towards upward social mobility in the states that they have emigrated into.

As a way forward, and a potential solution to the shortcomings that I have found through my research, I recommend that an international organization such as the UN be actively involved in providing a blueprint on refugee resettlement programs that member states adopt or have in place both on a domestic and international level. Through integrating bodies like the UN, there could be room for creation of recommendations, best practices, model legislations, training, research, and guidelines on how to better accommodate refugees into host states and promote sustainable development and upward mobility for those getting resettled as well as the host states themselves. These recommendations must be taken into consideration when thinking about potential solutions to the problems the international community has in hand.

Introduction

This thesis examines how 9/11 and War on Terror in Afghanistan served as push factors for the displacement and forced migration of millions of people from the country and the region. By examining these phenomena, I analyze how developed countries like Germany and Canada took international securitization movements post 9/11 to address growing immigration issues and created resettlement programs for the refugees that served as a blueprint for how many other nations handle the influx of refugees. The two case studies I focused on, strengthened the already existing refugee resettlement regimes they had in place pre 9/11 and created robust legislation that directly categorized each type of migrant entering the countries. By doing so, they placed emphasis on the type of accommodations each category of migrant would be receiving under the new immigration and securitization of borders agenda, which in turn led to mixed and inadequate

I have broken down this research into seven sections, including a background section where I will provide a brief synopsis of 9/11, the beginning of the war on terror, and the impact the War on Terror had on the Middle East, specifically concentrating on Afghanistan and the post 9/11 international concerns that initiated the international border securitization movement in the face of modern terrorism anxieties. I have also provided a high-level literature review that explores different theoretic frameworks offered by scholars and the existing research on the topic. The theory section explores the arguments I will be making throughout this research. I have included two case studies focusing specifically on Germany and Canada, respectively. There is also a final discussion and analysis section to conclude my findings and of course a conclusion section to offer recommendations on what may or may not be needed regarding the advancement of research on this topic.

Literature Review

The theoretical literature and frameworks surrounding displacement post 9/11 and the impact the tragic event had on the resettlement process of displaced people within developed nations offer competing theories over the causes of migration. They suggest multiple lenses through which readers can understand the role national public opinion had on the creation of legislation to address the growing immigration concerns, such as the creation of refugee quotas and resettlement programs to receive and integrate displaced people from the region of the world that caused many concerns in the face of the rise of modern terrorism. The types of theoretical frameworks I rely on for this research utilize two distinct lenses: economic and social theories.

A sample theoretical framework includes the economic theories offered by the “Cost of War” project conducted by the Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs at Brown University. This project studies the costs of 9/11 wars both on a budget level as well as civilian costs of life. The economic theories offered by the project demonstrate that the international and specifically U.S spending on the War on Terror did more damage than good in the long term to the United States’ reputation, economics, and social status as well as to the security of the Middle East region, especially to Afghanistan¹.

Other theoretical frameworks, such as the social theories offered on specific case studies I chose, articulate how there was a wave of international border securitization after 9/11. According to the Council of Council's Global Perspectives from the Council on Foreign Relations, many experts believe that 9/11 served as a catalyst for border securitization, which in turn created a state of surveillance under which the international community monitored not just the movements of civilians but also their digital and data footprints. Under these new circumstances, experts argue, there was a “promise of greatly enhanced border security that

¹ *Cost of War*. Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. (n.d.). Retrieved November 11, 2022

exposes politically moderate governments to constant right-wing populist pressure to demonstrate control.”² These pressures, and constant internal instability, led to the inability of many states, especially countries within the EU to evaluate migration related concerns adequately, resulting in the restricted access to asylum and then later massive refugee crises that bear consequences to this day.

Existing theoretical frameworks also highlight how refugee resettlement programs vary from region to region but almost always they have been created through immense socio-political turmoil. Many resettlement programs around the world, notably the refugee quotas and resettlement programs initiated in Europe, in countries like Germany, underwent massive public debate during their initiation processes. According to many scholars, including Judith Kumin of Centre for Refugee Studies at York University, the refugee resettlement and refugee protection regime on which many displaced people heavily rely has the potential to degenerate into a two-tier system. According to Kumin, “This system would have one standard of behavior for countries in the developing world, expected to host most of the world’s refugees and to keep their doors open, albeit without any guarantee that other countries will share this responsibility. Another standard would apply to the industrialized countries, most of which have the good fortune to be far-removed from refugee-producing areas.”³ And this creation of the two tier system is largely because of the lack of international legislative oversight on refugee resettlement all together. Resettlement of refugees is not an obligatory responsibility under any international legislation, with an exception of the non-refoulement clause which prohibits all states from sending back asylum seekers and refugees to the countries from which they are escaping

² Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *The 9/11 Effect and the Transformation of Global Security*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 11, 2022

³ Kumin, J. (n.d.). *New Approaches to Asylum: Reconciling Individual Rights and State Interests*. Refugee. Retrieved November 11, 2022

persecution. And because of such limited oversight, countries often hesitate taking the first step to accept refugees as they know the responsibility to share the social economic weight of reinstating refugees into a society and community are not always understood or shared by neighboring countries, that in many instances, face their own sets of social, political, and economic instabilities in the discussion of immigration.

Theory Section

The existing literature and research on the impact of 9/11 on the displacement of people affected by the War on Terror highlight that there is limited data available due to the diaspora created by the war and its lasting consequences. The theoretical frameworks offered do a great job holistically at highlighting the impact securitization movements post 9/11 attacks had on the change in the legislation concerning immigration policies in Germany and Canada.

The backbone of my research and the theory by which I will be providing my analysis will be that the world was vastly underprepared for the consequences of the War on Terror on immigration and the resettlement of millions of forced migrants from the regions effected by the war, mainly Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and others. The securitization of borders as well as immigration and refugee flows led to millions of refugees to be imagined as direct national security threats, which in turn, placed extreme emphasis on host states like Germany and Canada to strengthen their anti-terrorism legislations and create new oversights on migration flows and structures that existed prior to 9/11.

Germany and Canada, in regards to refugee resettlement, took on the mantle and did the right humanitarian thing that every nation that has the capacity must do to accommodate the international community and live up to their status and the responsibility that comes with it. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that even the most praised refugee protection regimes, such as those implemented by more developed countries like the ones I will review, Germany in the EU and Canada in North America, have their own sets of shortcomings that do not fully accommodate, integrate, and strengthen the potential of the refugees that need all the support that they can get after years of experiencing the horrors of war and displacement.

The point of view from which I write aims to highlight how these deficiencies, unless fully addressed by host countries, demonstrate the faults in the same resettlement systems that many others are trying to mimic based on the models provided by Germany and Canada. These deficiencies must be corrected to guarantee that there is no social and economic deprivation and that there is a clear pathway for self-sufficiency that all forced migrants need in any new state in which they settle.

Methodology

My interest in this research stems from my personal experiences as an immigrant from Central Asia and my professional experiences working briefly with different jurisdictional authorities within this country, especially in Homeland Security. I find that migrants have different stories to tell, and each experience might fall into one category, such as the migration experiences of displaced migrants – all differ on an individual level. Furthermore, while I understand this foundational principle regarding migration, I want to explore how one social and historical event, such as 9/11 and War on Terror, caused similar migration issues for the millions of displaced and displaced people within Afghanistan and later other countries affected by the war to experience similar hardships in the migration process. I also wanted to focus on how more developed countries such as Germany in the EU and Canada in North America handled post-9/11 immigration legislation to implement resettlement programs that accommodated these displaced migrants and integrated them into their societies.

It is critical to mention that the case studies I selected are exceptional examples and are not typically found, hence they do not represent the rest of the more developed countries in the current socio political and economic realm. The two countries I picked are considered to be more developed countries who have strong economic resources and a historic connection to humanitarian aid through their complex pasts. These cases are important to analyze because Germany and Canada are two of the countries that are most open to refugee resettlement and receive among the greatest number of applications for resettlement. They have a history of acceptance and resettlement aid which attracts millions of people every year.

The variations between the two cases will be explored in detail in the discussion and analysis section but one of the most important variations remains to be their location and

relationship to the United States. Canada is a close ally of the US, with a civil society that is very similar to that which was directly targeted by the extremists on 9/11. Germany, while also a democratic state, experienced less of a threat due to its part in the European Union which provided extensive support to its member states. It is also important to note that the variations between the two case studies also stem from the way the two countries handled the immigration policies and securitization post-9/11.

This research has many limitations, one of which is the lack of accurate data to capture the true impact the 9/11 wars had on the displacement of civilians within Afghanistan and subsequently the rest of the world where the war expanded. Other limitations include that this research is just a review of existing literature, a theoretical research rather than an empirical study that incorporates the use of data gathered by original experiments and interviews. It is also critical to note that this research is based solely on my investigations, which may have issues with samples and selections made, issues with methods by which the existing literature was analyzed, limited access to data, and finally, extensive time constraints to holistically capture and analyze this topic.

Background

In the wake of 9/11

On September 11, 2001, the United States experienced the deadliest attack on its soil by foreign agents. The attacks were coordinated as four separate but simultaneous suicide attacks on four locations on the East Coast. The perpetrators were later identified as militants from the Islamic extremist network Al-Qaeda.⁴ The 19 hijackers disguised themselves as passengers on commercial airlines flying from New York to California and perpetuated attacks from within the airplane to result in hitting first the two towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. The first crash, the crash of Flight 11, on the Twin Towers took place at 8:46 AM⁵ leading to the immediate death of all passengers on the airplane and trapping all World Trade Center employees and visitors above the 91st floor within the North Tower. The crash of Flight 175 took place at 9:03 AM resulting in nearly the same fatalities.

The attacks on the towers were not the end. The third crash with Flight 77 hit the Pentagon, in Washington, D.C. killing all on board as well as 125 military personnel working on the base during the time of the attack. The fourth attack on Flight 93 was planned to hit somewhere within the US Capitol area, either the White House or another vital federal building but the attack was successfully prevented by the passengers. Flight 93 plowed into an empty field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania killing all on board and leaving no survivors. In the end, 2,977 people died with thousands more injured and still suffering the long term effects of the terror.

The attacks that took place on September 11, 2001 shape modern American foreign relations agenda. Many of the US interventions post 9/11 within those said regions are directly

⁴ Moghadam, A. (2008). *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*. The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks | START.umd.edu. Retrieved November 11, 2022

⁵ Huiskes, K. (2021, October 24). *Remembering September 11*. Miller Center. Retrieved November 11, 2022

connected to the war waged by the attack on the United States and whether those interventions are necessary or justified in any nature, are being debated extensively decades later by analysts and leaders around the world today.

The Announcement of War on Terror

The immediate consequence of 9/11 was announced by George W. Bush on September 12, 2001, just a few hours after the attack took place on the East Coast of the United States.

In his address to the nation and the world, President George W. Bush stated the following: “The United States of America will use all our resources to conquer this enemy. We will rally the world. We will be patient. We’ll be focused, and we will be steadfast in our determination. This battle will take time and resolve, but make no mistake about it, we will win.”

⁶ This address marked the beginning of what is now known as the Great War on Terror (GWOT). With these words America swore to continue to protect its people and democracy from the hidden forces of terrorism. This promise and its consequences continue to impact the lives of millions of people today, domestically and especially internationally.

The War on Terror began in 2001 when the United States launched "Operation Enduring Freedom" in Afghanistan. The U.S. asked its longtime allies, Canada, Australia, Germany, and France, for their support of the war, and the following countries granted it with full effect. NATO also joined ranks and for the first time in modern history invoked its Article 5, the collective defense clause. At the time, and to this day, Afghanistan became the center of the military and political focus of the war “as the Taliban—a socio-military movement that emerged from the ashes of the Soviet-Afghan War—established links with al-Qaeda, allegedly allowing its presence in the country. In 1999, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1267, creating the al-Qaeda and Taliban Sanction Committee, fixing the status of two groups as terrorist entities and imposing sanctions.” ⁷

⁶ Public Broadcasting Service. (2001, September 12). *President Bush*. PBS. Retrieved November 11, 2022

⁷ *War on Terror*. The Organization for World Peace. (2022, September 26). Retrieved November 11, 2022

According to the U.S. Department of State archives from 2006, Operation Enduring Freedom was categorized as:

"a multinational coalition military operation initiated in October 2001 to counter terrorism and bring security to Afghanistan in collaboration with Afghan forces. OEF operations led to the collapse of the Taliban regime and helped bring a measure of security and stability to Afghanistan for the first time in a generation.

- Operation Enduring Freedom involves troops from over 20 nations, including about 19,000 U.S. forces and about 3,100 non-U.S. troops.
- U.S. and Coalition forces continue to engage Taliban remnants and other extremists and coordinate with the Pakistani military to bolster security along the Afghan-Pakistan border.
- U.S. and Coalition Forces operate 14 of 23 provincial reconstruction teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan. The PRTs support the Afghan government through reconstruction and good governance initiatives, including projects that help Afghans rebuild damaged roads, community buildings, and wells.
- During the 2004 presidential election and the 2005 National Assembly and Provincial Council elections, U.S. and Coalition forces partnered with Afghan security forces and other international troops to provide security.”

Of the 20 nations mentioned in the memo, a few key actors continued the War on Terror within different capacities. They dragged it to be an active part of socio-political movements within their countries. Those states include Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, and many more within the Middle East.

The end of Operation Enduring Freedom occurred in 2014, when President Barack Obama, after years of the international and domestic backlash of the U.S. war in the region, handed over the responsibility of protecting and stabilizing Afghanistan to the Central Afghan government. June 22, 2011, a few months into the Libyan conflict, President Obama announced the slow but inevitable complete removal of all U.S. troops from Afghanistan. He addressed the Americans: “Tonight, I can tell you that we are fulfilling that commitment. Thanks to our men and women in uniform, our civilian personnel, and our many coalition partners, we are meeting our goals. As a result, starting next month, we will be able to remove 10,000 of our troops from Afghanistan by the end of this year, and we will bring home a total of 33,000 troops by next summer, fully recovering the surge I announced at West Point. After this initial reduction, our troops will continue coming home at a steady pace as Afghan Security forces move into the lead. Our mission will change from combat to support. By 2014, this process of transition will be complete, and the Afghan people will be responsible for their own security.”⁸ This address sparked many worldwide conversations on whether the U.S. intervention in the region did more damage than good. These conversations also prompted research that indicated the impact the U.S. withdrawal could have on the sustainable stabilization of Afghanistan. It is important to note that the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan occurred just more than a year ago, on August 30, 2021, under the Biden Administration, which picked up the conversation after the Trump Administration signed an agreement with the Taliban in February of 2020 without the participation of the Central Government of Afghanistan, to finalize the withdrawal of the last U.S. troops from the country.

⁸ National Archives and Records Administration. (n.d.). *President Obama on The Way forward in Afghanistan*. National Archives and Records Administration. Retrieved November 11, 2022

Many scholars believe that the Trump Administration's policy regarding Afghanistan determined the fate of the country, which today is under the rule of the Taliban.

“Although the withdrawal agreement the Trump Administration concluded with the Taliban in February 2020 may not have initiated the death spiral for the Afghanistan government and military, it certainly catalyzed it, as I noted above. It did put the Biden Administration in a tough position; the only option would have been to renege on the agreement, leave U.S. troops in Afghanistan, and to seek to renegotiate the agreement. That said, although that may have been a tough position, it was not an impossible one, as evidenced by the fact that the Biden Administration unilaterally changed the agreed upon date by which U.S. forces would withdraw from Afghanistan from May to August.”⁹

⁹ *The U.S. Withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Fall of Kabul: A Q&A with Allen Weiner*. FSI. (2021, August 17). Retrieved November 11, 2022

The Immediate Impact of War on Terror on Afghanistan

Following the Terrorist Attacks, the U.S. The Department of Defense ordered an immediate retaliation, in the forms of airstrikes, to combat Osama Bin Laden and other al Qaeda members that were responsible for the execution and the planning of the attacks that unfolded on 9/11. The Department of Defense and the Bush administration made it clear that if the United States invaded Afghanistan, the Administration wanted the military action to accomplish five goals.

“First, the invasion had to destroy the existing al Qaeda terrorist network in Afghanistan, including eliminating bases and training facilities. Second, bin Laden and other senior al Qaeda leaders had to be killed or captured. Third, a moderate, pro-Western, democratic government had to be established in the hope that it would prevent future terrorist activities. Fourth, U.S. casualties had to be kept to a minimum. Fifth, and finally, the invasion had to provide humanitarian assistance to the Afghan people and create the conditions for future economic development”¹⁰

After a few months into the campaign, the Bush administration worked with organizations like the UN to develop food assistance programs throughout Afghanistan to ensure that starvation rates go down. This was the first and most impactful introduction of humanitarian assistance into Afghanistan.

Within a few months of the military intervention, the Bush administration began Operation Enduring Freedom in coalition with the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance movement already present in Afghanistan pre 9/11. As part of the military operation, the U.S. Department of Defense and the Army Special Forces

¹⁰ Lansford, T. (n.d.). 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: A chronology and reference guide. *The SHAFR Guide Online*

“Would provide weapons, training, and advice to the local troops. Operating in small groups, they would also provide state-of-the-art communications and intelligence capabilities. Their presence would allow the outnumbered and outgunned Northern Alliance to call on precision aerial and cruise missile strikes by coalition aircraft and ships. The anti-Taliban forces would also benefit from advanced satellites, reconnaissance aircraft, and other intelligence capabilities.”

The military support provided by the US allowed others, such as the British and the French, to join ranks and work actively with the Northern Alliance to overthrow the Taliban through on ground and air offensives.

“Taliban strongholds crumble after coalition and Northern Alliance offensives on Taloqan (November 11), Bamiyan (November 11), Herat (November 12), Kabul (November 13), and Jalalabad (November 14). On November 14, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1378, calling for a “central role” for the United Nations in establishing a transitional administration and inviting member states to send peacekeeping forces to promote stability and aid delivery.”¹¹

See Figure 1 for a more detailed overview of the on ground attacks besides the ones listed above conducted by Special Forces and the Northern Alliance throughout Afghanistan from 2001-2002.

The results of the immediate retaliation the United States and its allies took in Afghanistan was witnessed by the escape of Osama Bin Laden from the country into a hideout and the temporary collapse of the Taliban, which was of course caused by the first round of “airstrike” attacks initiated by the United States and allied military.

¹¹ Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *Timeline: U.S. War in Afghanistan*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved November 11, 2022

Recent research conducted by the Brown University titled “Cost of War” reports the shocking yet realistic consequences of War on Terror on the civilians of Afghanistan. The report indicates that a number of human casualties from Afghanistan alone is estimated to be 176,000 out of which 46,319 were directly civilian lives lost (see chart below for more details).¹² Out of the 46,319 dead in Afghanistan, the authors reiterate that these numbers are “tallies reported deaths caused by direct war violence. It does not include indirect deaths, namely those caused by loss of access to food, water, and/or infrastructure, war-related disease, etc.” and within these categories fall those who have suffered from airstrikes, which remain the dominant war strategy utilized by the United States within the region. Recent investigations conducted by journalists like Azmat Khan of the *New York Times* reveal the heartbreaking experiences of those who live in the war zones and have directly felt the impact of the U.S. airstrikes. One story that I want to highlight is of Abdul Younes Mohammad Sultan, who in one night lost 12 grandkids, 3 children of his own, and 3 daughters-in-law. During the interview with Khan, Mr. Mohammad Sultan stated: “If it weren’t for her clothes, I wouldn’t have even known it was her,” he later told me. “She was just pieces of meat. I recognized her only because she was wearing the purple dress that I bought for her a few days before. It’s indescribable. I can’t put it into words. My wife — she didn’t even know whether to go to her daughter, or the rest of the family first. It is just too hard to describe. We’re still in denial and disbelief. To this day, we cannot believe what happened. That day changed everything for us.”¹³ Khan then went on to investigate the otherside of the story, namely the reasoning behind why the United States and the Pentagon took this measure. She writes: “As I previously reported in *The Times*, over the past three years, I obtained more than 1,300 of these credibility assessments through the Freedom of Information Act. The reports cover allegations

¹² *Human Cost of Post-9/11 Wars: Direct War Deaths in Major War Zones, Afghanistan & Pakistan (Oct. 2001 – Aug. 2021); Iraq (March 2003 – Aug. 2021); Syria (Sept. 2014 – May 2021); Yemen (Oct. 2002-Aug. 2021) and other post-9/11 war zones.* The Costs of War. (n.d.). Retrieved November 11, 2022

¹³ Khan, A., & Prickett, I. (2021, December 20). *The Human Toll of America's Air Aars.* *The New York Times.* Retrieved November 11, 2022

surrounding airstrikes that took place between September 2014 and January 2018. What I saw after studying them was not a series of tragic errors but a pattern of impunity: of a failure to detect civilians, to investigate on the ground, to identify causes and lessons learned, to discipline anyone or find wrongdoing that would prevent these recurring problems from happening again. It was a system that seemed to function almost by design to not only mask the true toll of American airstrikes but also legitimize their expanded use”. The assessments and the past report to the times she refers to indeed reveal an alarming pattern of negligence on the part of the U.S. government, which, with a promise of “precision,” frequently directly hit civilians in airstrike attacks.

Many people, as a result of the violence unleashed by the war, experienced displacement and inevitably applied for asylum. In 2002, UNHCR reported that humanitarian aid in Afghanistan had to be reduced significantly due to the return of repatriated refugees back into the country from neighboring countries like Iran.¹⁴ This grueling beginning of how refugees were handled by nations, did not bode well for years to follow.

¹⁴ Kessler, P. (n.d.). *UNHCR - Afghanistan Humanitarian Update no. 64*. UNHCR. Retrieved November 11, 2022

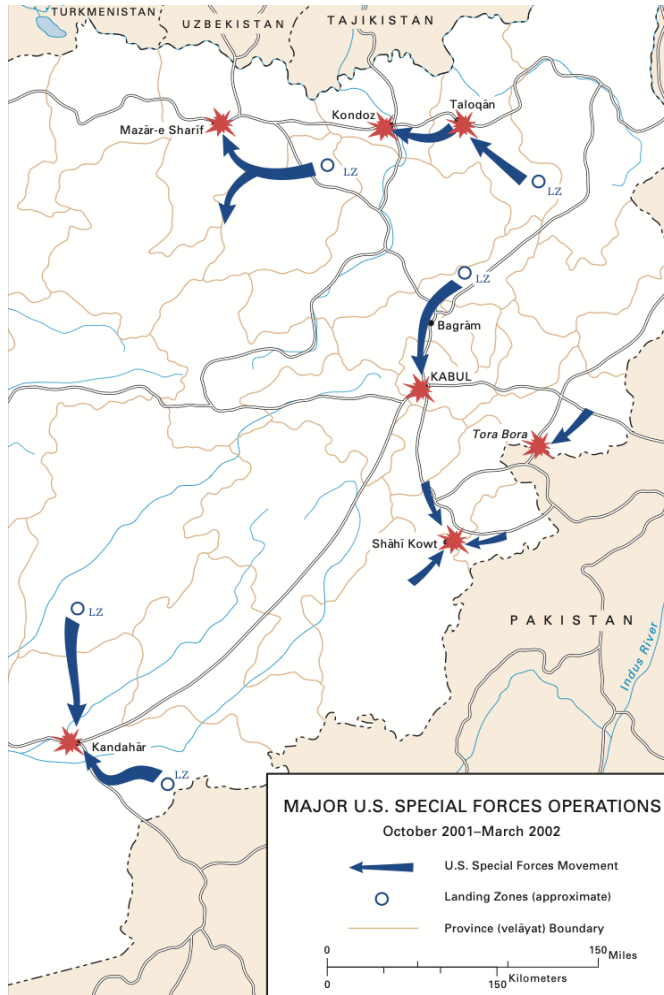


Figure 1: Major U.S. Special Forces Operations since October 2001-2002.¹⁵

¹⁵ *The U.S. Army Operation Enduring Freedom*. www.army.mil. (n.d.). Retrieved November 11, 2022

EU's Response to 9/11

The European Council met on September 30, 2001, to discuss their support to the U.S. and new initiatives to combat terrorism and the spread thereof within the EU borders by urging the member states to recognize that “these attacks are an assault on open, democratic, tolerant and multicultural societies. They are a challenge to the conscience of each human being”. These remarks were followed by calling for the creation of coalitions to combat terrorism with the joint forces of the UN, OECD, and other countries like Russia, the Arab nations in the Gulf, and Muslims worldwide. The exact meeting began a primarily developed program utilized by the global society today known as the CFT (Combating the Financing of Terrorism), which outlines the responsibility the international community has towards detecting and preventing terrorist financing by financial institutions and people.

The EU continued its efforts by focusing internally on its borders, raising a set of public debates in each member state. The EU issued the Title “Measures at Borders” to strengthen control measures at the external borders, to quickly survey the situation about countries and regions at risk of producing large-scale population movements and subsequent use of temporary protection, and for the Commission to examine urgently the relationship between safeguarding internal security and complying with international protection obligations and instruments. These amendments introduced in Luxembourg made refugee and asylum applications more complicated by urging states to re-examine refugee statuses granted and to reconsider asylum and refugee protocols in place for each member state to ensure a maximum level of securitization for the EU. This new title passed by the Extraordinary Justice and Home Affairs Council began a round of unprecedented public debate on the status of Muslim immigrants in the member states

and a wave of continuous negative opinions on refugee resettlement quotas in nearly all EU member states.

Xenophobia rose due to 9/11 and past fundamentalist terroristic attacks throughout Europe. However, it was further strengthened by the increased state insecurity and the sudden urge for broader border security within the EU that the attacks on the U.S. perpetuated.

CASE STUDY GERMANY

Germany after 9/11 – The rise of right-wing public opinion on immigration and the controversy of the Immigration Law of 2005

Prior to 9/11, Germany underwent a set of migration reform initiatives with the introduction of the "Green Card" policy, aiming to reintroduce more labor migrants into the economy with a demographic of now older and less active population residing in the state.

To better understand what type of immigration reform was needed, the government, under a conservative interior minister, Otto Schily, utilized the Süssmuth Commission¹⁶ to conduct mass research on immigration.

The Commission's finding included a report indicating that not only does Germany need immigrants, but it also needs to better integrate migrants into the society by creating effective resettlement programs to accommodate the "skilled" and all migrants coming into the country. "The Commission's three key goals—fulfilling Germany's humanitarian obligations, ensuring its prosperity, and fostering better coexistence between Germans and immigrants through better integration—were to be achieved by opening Germany up to entrepreneurs and highly qualified workers, establishing clearer application criteria, actively recruiting desirable migrants, improving asylum procedures and implementing a comprehensive integration programme."¹⁷

To the conservative majority parties like the CDU/CSU, this report was seen as a proposal to expand immigration rather than limit it, so the parliament began to expand its debates with aims of finding a political consensus on how to proceed with the reforms. As 9/11 came into

¹⁶ The Independent Commission on Immigration (UKZu for short; mostly after the chairman of the Süssmuth Commission) was convened on 12 September 2000 by the Federal Minister of the Interior, Otto Schily (SPD).

¹⁷ Angenendt, S., Imke, K., & Owen, H. E. (n.d.). *The failure of immigration reform in Germany*. Taylor & Francis. Retrieved November 11, 2022

the global picture, Germany, along with the rest of the EU, committed to anti-terrorism laws and reforms for securitization of the state.

The German government, however, aimed to increase the number of immigrants but created a specific narrative to limit the “types” of migrants it would accept. Interior Minister Schilly was quoted during a press briefing stating the following: “The security problem associated with immigration is not primarily a problem of labor migration, which we seek to steer and regulate. Rather, it is a question concerning those persons who come to us under refugee and asylum protection. Unfortunately, some of these persons abuse these rights.”¹⁸The conversation surrounding migration policies with the enactment of anti-terrorist laws then changed into the discourse surrounding whether or not refugee resettlement programs needed reform.

The anti-terrorist legislation proposed and passed by the EU denied entrance and residency to individuals deemed “demonstrable” threats to European society. Kruse and the team perfectly categorized what demonstrated a tangible threat.

“In particular, persons guilty of committing or supporting violent acts are barred. And any person misrepresenting facts ‘pertinent to security’ in visa proceedings before the Foreigners’ Authority will now likewise face deportation. Asylum consideration proceedings themselves have also become much stricter under the new legislation. Speech analysis may now be used to help determine immigrants’ regional origin. And in the future asylum seekers’ fingerprints will be taken and stored in a central database for comparison with data from the Federal Criminal Justice Bureau”.

While the German government battled with its immigration reform internally, there was a wave of a public movement called *Zuwanderungsbegrenzung* (limitation of immigration) from

¹⁸ Speech of the Interior Minister, Otto Schilly (SPD), 19. Sep. 2001

2001-2005 that argued that policies like the Green Card would threaten the citizens in the job market and prevent the decrease of unemployment rates in the state.

The Madrid bombings on March 11, 2004 reintroduced heated debates in the German Parliament and delayed the discussed legislation to be passed in 2005. With the new immigration law intact, Germany introduced a set of laws that would strictly welcome asylum seekers and protect refugee rights within its borders.

The new law “explicitly recognizes that victims of persecution by entities other than a recognized state apparatus, as well as victims of gender-specific persecution, fall within the protection scope of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. Close family relatives of those already recognised as Convention refugees (so-called core family) will automatically be granted the same legal status.”¹⁹ The concerns that UNHCR, as well as the international community, had regarding this legislation included instances where an asylum seeker's failure to comply with tightened registration obligations could lead to the “rejection of his or her asylum request, irrespective of the actual merits of their claim to be recognised as a refugee.”

The number of refugees accepted after 9/11 in Germany remained relatively the same but with some instances of decrease with now an extensive vetting process both by the EU standards and Germany's new legislations after 2005. The new legislation accepted asylum seekers who obtained the status of refugees under the Geneva Convention and allowed them to access the labor market and obtain a permanent residence permit after three years, on the condition that the situation in their respective countries of origin is still dangerous.

¹⁹ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. “New German Immigration Law Includes Advances in Refugee Protection, Says UNHCR.” UNHCR

Refugee Protection Regime in Germany post 9/11

After 9/11 and its new immigration legislation in 2005, the number of refugees granted asylum in Germany remained relatively low, as demonstrated by the chart below. There was no drastic growth or a decrease in number to sustain a political consensus within the already clashed parliament and design adequate internal controls to integrate and accommodate the existing number of refugees within the German border.



Figure 2: Number of Refugees in Canada from 2001-2022. Source: World Bank

To address the question of integration and accommodation of refugees, the German government utilized the existing legislation called “Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz,” otherwise referred to as the “Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act of 1993.” Under this legislation and its amendments that passed the consensus in 2015 and 2016. The German government and the municipalities that are within the federal government, grant benefits to those requesting asylum.

Those benefits include coverage of necessities like food; accommodation; heating; clothing; personal hygiene and consumer goods for the household; healthcare benefits for acute illnesses, pregnancy, and birth among many others.²⁰ According to the new amendments and revisions of 2015, “Asylum seekers are now entitled to standard social benefits and full healthcare after 15 months of receiving benefits under the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act,”²¹ which they were not receiving or could apply to in the past. Under these new provisions to the existing legislation, state level agencies have control over what benefits to finance in detail. See Figure 3 for a sample of Basic Benefits for Asylum Seekers provided.²² It is also important to note that the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act was revised in 2016 to include relevant clauses on furthering integration of asylum applicants and refugees. These clauses specifically included the need to improve the social and legal standings of asylum seekers and refugees within the country and to provide “early stage integration act” which requires taking German language classes as well as classes on how the German society functions.²³

²⁰ *Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz (asylblg)*. AsylbLG - Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz. (n.d.). Retrieved October 29, 2022

²¹ MacGregor, M. (2018, May 30). The Asylum Seekers' Benefits act. InfoMigrants. Retrieved October 29, 2022

²² Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, ‘Neue Leistungssätze nach dem Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz’, 16 November 2021

²³ *Germany - new act to aid Refugee Integration of vocational training*. European Center for Development of Vocational Training (2021, June 17). Retrieved October 30, 2022

As of January 2022, the monthly rates are as follows:

Basic benefits for asylum seekers							
	Single adult	Single adult in accommodation centre	Adult partners (each)	Member of household 18-24	Member of household 14-17	Member of household 6-13	Member of household 0-5
"Pocket money"	€163	€147	€147	€131	€111	€109	€105
Further basic benefits (excl. costs related to accommodation)	€204	€183	€183	€163	€215	€174	€144
Total	€367	€330	€330	€294	€326	€283	€249
Regular Social Benefits	€449	–	€404	€360	€376	€311	€285

Figure 3: Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs.

According to data from Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, otherwise known as BAMF (Federal Office for Migrations and Refugees), the country granted residency to “266,000 refugee claimants from 2006 to 2015 and within the 2012-2015 interval it accepted more than 40,000 refugees through resettlement and humanitarian admission programs (BAMF, 2016; 2017; Grote, Bitterwolf, & Baraulina, 2016). In 2015, more than 890,000 asylum seekers were registered in Germany (BMI, 2016). The largest group of refugee claimants by far came from Syria both in 2015 (35.9%) and 2016 (36.9%). Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, the Balkan region and Pakistan are other prominent origins of the refugee claimant population. A total of 22,255 claims were filed by unaccompanied minors in 2015 (BAMF, 2016; 2017)”²⁴.

The German humanitarian admissions process allows refugees from conflict-torn regions to apply for “temporary residence permits,” and the German Federal Ministry of Interior provides this opportunity in partnership with UNHCR. Under the guidance of the German government, UNHCR and other relevant entities receive a quota of how many applicants they

²⁴ Korntheuer, A. (2022, January 19). *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany* (eds. Annette Korntheuer, Paul Pritchard, Débora B. Maehler). Academia.edu. Retrieved November 11, 2022

can process. Today this process involves actual citizens of Germany applying for half of the relatives who reside in regions of conflict and sponsoring them into the country financially.

The refugee protection system of Germany, under the purview of the German Federal Ministry of the Interior and the BAMF, determined that those who are protected under the Geneva Convention and recognized as refugees could apply for the German permanent residence permit “after three or five years of residence depending on their language proficiency; they are also entitled to family reunification programs. Claimants that are granted subsidiary protection and deportation prohibitions can only apply for a permanent residence permit after five years. Merely the permanent residence status constitutes a secure legal status. Other permits might be affected by revocation proceedings”²⁵. Studies also found that within the ten month period in 2016, the “acceptance rate for asylum claimants was 63.3%”, with Syrians having the acceptance rate of 100% and claimants from Afghanistan having only 55% acceptance rate within the application pool. (SVR, 2016)”.²⁶ This interesting dynamic demonstrates the extensive requirements each refugee must meet in order to obtain needed permits that grant them protection from deportation.

²⁵ Korntheuer, A. (2022, January 19). *Germany's Refugee Protection System*. Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany. Retrieved November 11, 2022

²⁶ SVR (Sachverständigenrat deutscher Stiftungen für Integration und Migration). (2016). *Fakten zur Asylpolitik 2016*. 16.12.2016, aktualisierte Fassung. (Kurz und Bündig). Berlin

Refugee Resettlement and Accommodations in Germany: Education, Housing, and Social Integration

After 2005, under programs like humanitarian admissions, in country-asylum claims, and the national resettlement program, Germany has slowly built its state capacity to integrate migrants into the country's socio-economic system. As one of the initial steps of integration, Germany intensified its legislation regarding the compulsory need for education, especially for refugees and asylum seekers who fell into the category of minors. "In nearly all 16 states of Germany, children and young people whose asylum requests are in-process or who have the so-called "tolerated" status (temporary leave to remain) are included in the requirement for nine or ten years of full time compulsory schooling, with the opportunity of obtaining an official school certificate."²⁷ These requirements extended to cover the mandatory requirements of taking language classes for those attending German schools. This mandate allows students to learn German while still taking regular classes alongside their peers. This system can be compared to the English Second Language Learning programs initiated by the Department of Education in states like New York in the United States.

The educational opportunities provided to forced migrants also expands to vocational training. Many German schools allow refugees to take vocational courses in addition to academic and language classes in preparation to enable these students to join the German workforce after graduation. "The Federation, the states and the local authorities agreed in 2014 and 2015 that asylum seekers and persons with so-called "tolerated" status should be entitled to a work permit if they wish to take up vocational training in a state recognised trade. Anyone who starts qualified vocational training before the age of 21 can have their so-called tolerated status

²⁷ Schroeder, J & Seukwa, L.H (n.d). Access to Education in Germany. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*. Retrieved November 11, 2022

extended one year at a time, provided their vocational education is completed within a reasonable period. If after completion of the vocational training a person with “tolerated” status cannot secure a job sufficient to earn a living, he or she may be granted a time limited residence permit.”²⁸

The German integration of forced migrants and their housing accommodations can be categorized as one broken down into state systems within a federal government. Each state within the country administers its structure to the accommodation system and finances it accordingly. “The federal government does not set minimum standards for forms of housing. Instead, these vary state by state from no regulations to recommendations, to requirements, and finally to direct control of compliance with the minimum standards. It should be noted that no regulations do not mean that the housing conditions are necessarily poor. Rather, no regulations can lead to a wide heterogeneity of conditions concerning furnishing and the qualification of housing staff. If regulations exist, they can affect housing size, the possibilities of having a self-contained dwelling, the maximum number of persons per room, the common rooms, the minimum living space per person.”²⁹ While there are no regulations on a minimum level, the whole concept of federal regulation of housing allows municipalities to share the responsibility of accepting and accommodating refugees evenly.

Under the municipality system, each state can choose to structure its housing structures however they see fit. The three that remain to be popular in Germany since the initiation of the program are the following: shared accommodations, decentralized forms of housing, and the

²⁸ Schroeder, J & Seukwa, L.H (n.d). Access to Education in Germany. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*. Retrieved November 11, 2022

²⁹ Schmid, V., & Kück, S. (n.d.). Access to Housing in Germany. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*. Retrieved November 11, 2022

private housing market with sometimes special housing units given to those that require a certain level of accommodation, including but not limited to victims of human trafficking. Moreover, “while municipalities operate in the direct order of the federal state authorities, decision-making processes of local authorities in the field of migration and refugees are also dependent on the involvement of civil society, volunteers, and specific structural conditions, such as the position of the topic within the local self-government.”³⁰ This phenomenon is true because civic engagement has a significant impact on the public’s attitudes towards refugees in host states which then direct the immigration policies of the country, which directly impact the future of these forms of programs. To go back to the three forms of housing structures provided in Germany, it is critical to note that they survive based on the support of not just civic engagement but also welfare organizations, private donations, and collaborations between the volunteers, locals, and refugees themselves.

The negative side to having no minimum federal standards on housing accommodations and integration, in general, includes the lack of support on the part of the state to provide psychological services that many who live as refugees and asylum seekers desperately require due to the stressful nature of their past and current conditions. The lack of psychological services can lead to minimal societal participation of asylum seekers and refugees, resulting in displaced people feeling unsafe and insecure in an already decentralized system. I will circle back to this topic in the discussion and analysis section of this paper.

³⁰ Schroeder. J & Seukwa. L.H (n.d). Access to Education in Germany. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*. Retrieved November 11, 2022

CASE STUDY CANADA

Canada after 9/11: Immediate Impacts and State Securitization Movements

The terrorist attacks had an immediate impact on Canadian civil society and its economy. For the sake of this research, I will focus on briefly exploring the impact that the 9/11 attacks had on the social and political systems of this close neighbor and a long-time ally of the United States. The first and most devastating impact the attacks had on the country was the death of twenty-four Canadian citizens who lost their lives directly as a result of the terror. The second and by far the most politically significant effect was the fact that, as a result of the terror attacks occurring in the United States on September 11 and the days following, nearly all Canadian airports served as destination spots for hundreds of planes flying from all around the world that were supposed to land in JFK International and other international airports in the United States.

“Planes with enough fuel were told to return to their airport of origin, and the rest were diverted to airports across Canada. Fearing the attacks may not be over and worried that other planes could be turned into “destructive missiles,” Transport Canada instructed NAV CANADA (the agency that handles air traffic control) not to redirect planes to large urban areas, such as Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. Canada says 224 flights carrying 33,000 passengers landed on Canadian soil, while NAV CANADA says 238 planes landed. Flights originating from Asia were diverted to Vancouver and other airports in western Canada, while planes on the busy transatlantic route were diverted to airports in Atlantic Canada. Halifax International Airport received the largest number of flights (47 planes carrying more than 7,000 passengers), while Vancouver International Airport received the highest number of passengers (34 planes carrying 8,500 passengers)”³¹.

³¹ *9/11 and Canada*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). Retrieved October 30, 2022

The influx of passengers and flights led to the involvement of the Canadian army which under the state of emergency utilized the help of civilians. Once each passenger underwent a series of screens, the local officials, charity organization, and volunteers worked closely with airport officials and the army to find accommodations such as housing, food, and personal hygiene items for those stuck in the state of limbo.

Another critical immediate impact of 9/11 on Canada was the impact the attacks had on Canadian foreign policy, which alongside the United States as its closest ally, signed up to join the coalition of nations in the War on Terror. In the War on Terror, Canada played a central role as one of the first to dispatch support to the United States. "In October 2001, Canadian naval ships were dispatched to the Arabian Sea off southwest Asia to patrol the seas for vessels engaged in illegal activity. In December 2001, commandos from Canada's elite Joint Task Force 2 (JTF2) were sent to Afghanistan to join American, British and other international forces fighting the Taliban. More soldiers soon followed and Canada would stay in the region until 2014. By the time the operation ended, 40,000 Canadian Armed Forces members had served in Afghanistan and 158 soldiers had lost their lives."³² Canada joined the United States and the coalition from 2001 until 2014, the official end of the War on Terror as announced by President Obama. During its time, "More than 40,000 Canadian Armed Forces members served in the Afghanistan theater of operations" and amongst those "158 Canadian Armed Forces members died in the cause of peace and freedom in Afghanistan"³³.

Shortly after the 9/11 attacks on the United States, Canada began to feel the threat of Islamic extremism terrorism through its association with the American way of life. The attacks of Al-Qaeda were directed toward the "*American* civil society." The attacks were aimed

³² *9/11 and Canada*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). Retrieved October 30, 2022

³³ Canada, V. A. (2022, October 24). *The Canadian Armed Forces in Afghanistan*. Home - Veterans Affairs Canada. Retrieved November 3, 2022

specifically at the "liberal, capitalist, 'infidel' democracy," which, through the perspectives of extremists, served as the root of evil. Furthermore, as a closely connected ally to the U.S., which in many ways resembles the U.S. in nearly all sectors but especially in its social and economic makeup, Canada felt the threat close to its doors. "Canada is obviously implicated as a target of radical Islamist terror. The apparently authentic statement issued by Osama bin Laden in the fall of 2002 specifically threatened Canada along with other Western states associated with the United States. As primary targets are hardened by tough security measures, it is always possible that softer targets will be sought by the terrorists, even in other countries."³⁴ This fear of being the next potential target of extremism drew the Canadian government, to issue amendments and continuations to the existing legislation that touched upon anti-terrorism. Specifically "the government undertook an evaluation of existing federal legislation including the *Criminal Code*, the *Canada Evidence Act*, the *Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) Act*. It was assessed that current legislation had to be amended in order to combat terrorism."³⁵ These new amendments serve as a part of the greater Anti-Terrorism Plan launched by Canada which had four key objectives.

- To prevent terrorists from getting into Canada and protect Canadians from terrorist acts;
- To activate tools to identify, prosecute, convict and punish terrorists;
- To keep the Canada-U.S. border secure and a contributor to economic security; and
- To work with the international community to bring terrorists to justice and address the root causes of violence.

³⁴ Burch, B. E., & Larsen, N. (2006). *Keeping Up with the Neighbours: Canadian Responses to 9/11 in Historical and Comparative Context*. Osgoode Hall Law Journal.

³⁵ Anti-Terrorism Act. Government of Canada, Department of Justice, Electronic Communications. Retrieved October 30, 2022

Refugee Protection Regime in Canada post 9/11

Alongside the amendments to the Anti-Terrorism Plan, Canada began a series of other amendments to combat other terrorist related issues including financing of terrorism, security of information, surveillance, and of course immigration. The Canadian government, after a few months of amending the new Anti-Terrorism Act, began to draft new immigration legislation, which replaced the *1976 Immigration Act* that was relevant until the threats of terrorism post 9/11. In 2002, Canada launched its *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, which, while sounding very open to immigration and refugees, was the opposite. *The Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*,³⁶ which continues to be amended and expanded to this day, introduced the notion of detaining and deporting immigrants deemed to be a threat to the national security of the country. Under this regulation, anyone who posed any suspicion to the government was vulnerable to the possible revocation of their legal status as residents and naturalized citizens of Canada. With regulations like the few mentioned above, Canada was on its way to create the securitization regime that the rest of the world implemented after the United States and its creation of Homeland Security and legislations like the *USA PATRIOT ACT*, which placed many restrictions on economic, social, and political movements of not just immigrants but anyone who may be a threat to national and international security.

It is also important to mention that Canada played a vital role in shaping modern refugee politics post 9/11 with its United States partnership. “In 2004, Canada and the US banned the practice of allowing migrants to enter one country on a travel visa and claim refugee status at the border of the other via the *Canada-United States Safe Third Country Agreement*. However, this policy has been criticized with many critics arguing that the US is not a “safe third country” for

³⁶ Branch, L. S. (2022, October 28). *Consolidated federal laws of Canada, Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations*. Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. Retrieved November 6, 2022

migrants because of the US' more hostile approach with migration.”³⁷ With these regulations in place, Canada was among the countries to receive much criticism for the limitation of free movement of forced migrants, and among its biggest critics was the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which argued that the Safe Third Country Agreement poses a high potential for the violation of *1951 Convention of Refugees* which protected non-refoulement of refugees under international law.

Facing a lot of scrutiny within the international arena, scholars have found that the refugee protection regime of Canada is lacking due to this agreement. In a report from 2005, shortly after the full operation of the STCA “only 303 claims out of a total of 19,735 claims, 4,033 of which were made at the border, were declared “ineligible” to make a refugee claim in Canada because of the agreement. In 3,254 cases, claimants at the border were able to invoke an exception in the agreement, such as the presence of a family member residing in Canada”³⁸ With such little margins the operation and implementation of the STCA was viewed and is to this day continued to be criticized as a waste of economic resources that could have been used to strengthen the immigration regime of Canada all together.

Since 9/11, the number of immigrants coming to Canada has been increasing despite the securitization of its borders leading to a need for the better integration and resettlement of

³⁷ *Canada–United States Safe Third Country Agreement*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). Retrieved November 6, 2022

³⁸ *Canada–United States Safe Third Country Agreement*. The Canadian Encyclopedia. (n.d.). Retrieved November 6, 2022

arriving refugees.

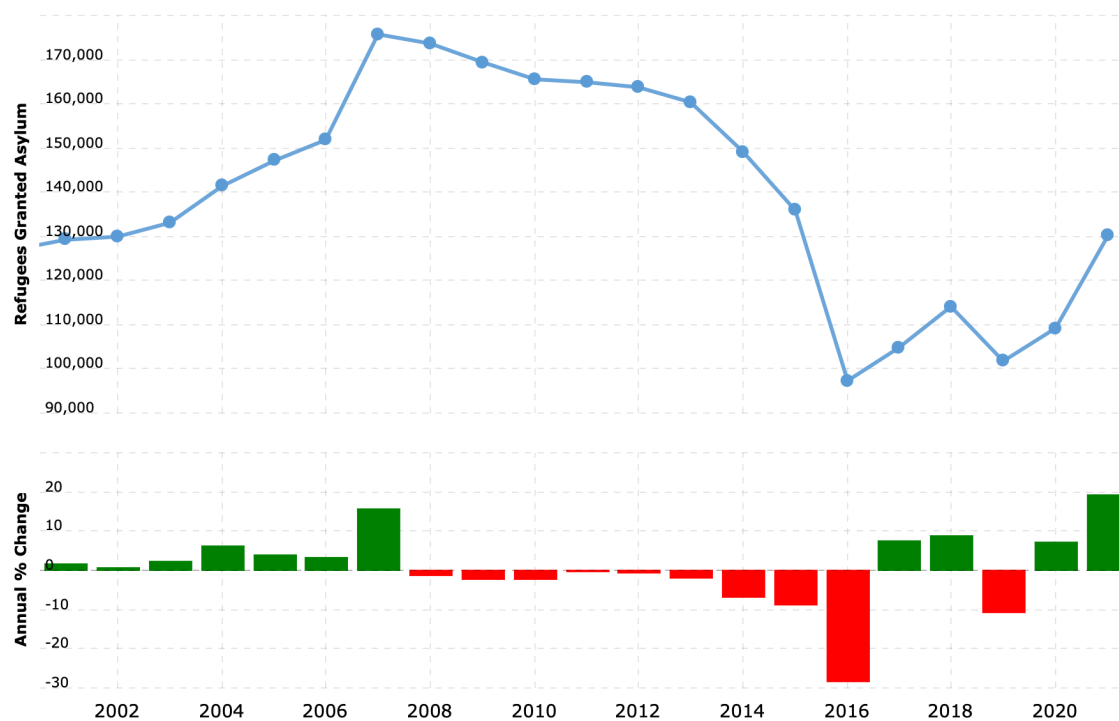


Figure 4: Number of Refugees in Canada from 2001-2022. Source: World Bank

The structure of Canadian Refugee Regime

The refugee protection regime of Canada rests within the federal system that gets its power from the constitution of the country. The federal government is responsible for the classification, number, initial destinations, the selection, the admission, the deportation, the granting and revoking of Canadian citizenship of all refugees within all of its provinces and territories with exception Quebec which holds its own provincial regulations and standards concerning refugees per the *Canada-Quebec Accord on Immigration and Temporary Aliens*, signed in 1991.³⁹

The federal government has implemented two major refugee programs that administer the refugee admission process, the Refugee and Humanitarian Resettlement Program (RHRP)

³⁹ *Canada's Refugee Protection System* by Joseph Garcea

and the In-Canada Asylum Program (ICAP). The RHRP is designed for persons applying from outside Canada for permanent resident status as refugees. “Persons within the RHRP admitted under this program may be resettled from either within or outside a refugee camp to Canada within one of two refugee classes. The first is the Convention Refugees Abroad Class, and the second is the Country of Asylum Class (CIC, 2016a; 2016b).” The ICAP is designed for persons seeking asylum after they have entered Canada. All other refugee claims are processed and regulated by the Canadian Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB).

The refugee resettlement and financial assistance programs within Canada include the Government-Assisted Refugee Program (GAR); the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program (PSR); and the Shared Government-Private Sponsorship Programs (SGPSP). These three programs were designed to provide refugees with all forms of assistance they need during their resettlement period for up to one year or until they are able to support themselves, whichever happens first.

“In some instances (e.g., in the case of refugees with special needs) such support may be extended for a longer period of time. Generally this includes not only basic settlement services, but also income support from their governmental or private sponsors. The basic services they receive include, for example: reception upon arrival at the airport or port of entry; temporary accommodation; help in finding permanent accommodation; acquiring basic household items; general orientation to life in Canada; finding employment; and finding other things they need for settlement and integration purposes”.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *Canada's Refugee Protection System* by Joseph Garcea

These programs utilize the help of both public and private charities and organizations to further the economic support provided by the government. Under these programs, those who no longer qualify for resettlement support get referred to the multitude of social services programs that are available for all permanent residents and citizens of Canada.

All Refugee Assistance programs are responsible for the following commitments in order to ensure the full accommodation of arriving and settling refugees in Canada:

- Meeting refugees at the airport;
- Arranging for temporary accommodation;
- Helping to find permanent accommodation;
- Helping to set up the household with basic items;
- Providing orientation to life in Canada; and
- Delivering the income support provided by the federal government.⁴¹

It is also critical to note that those who obtain a refugee status within any of the Canadian provinces and territories must apply for permanent residency status with the Immigration and Refugee Board. The IRB reviews each individual case and determines whether the refugees are approved for residency.⁴² Those who apply for refugee status through specific programs like the GAR and PSR, obtain residency directly through these programs. There are no strict requirements like language that one must meet in order to obtain a residency status.

⁴¹ Ayattah, N. (n.d) Access to Resettlement Services in Canada. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*.

⁴² Immigration, R. and C. C. (2022, May 18). *Understanding Permanent Residency* . Understand PR Status - Canada.ca. Retrieved November 6, 2022, from

Refugee Resettlement and Accommodations in Canada: Education, Housing, and Social Integration

Under the federal purview, the refugee resettlement programs in Canada include social services and assistance in nearly all vital components of resettlement, including education, housing, and social integration.

In the sector of education, Canada falls behind other western host countries. Recent research indicates that despite being one of the largest countries in the world to accept an influx of displaced people, especially after 9/11, Canada is vastly underprepared for the education of millions of refugee children and adults.

“Currently, the focus is shifting from refugee students' resettlement to refugee students' wellbeing (School Mental Health-Assist, 2016), as schools across Canada are working with refugee students and their families to help strengthen the resettlement process. However, teachers are reporting that "they don't know how to respond" (Dufresne, 2015, para. 4) to refugee children. Ryeburn (2016) stated: "MANY TEACHERS [sic] have many questions. . . what resources and strategies can teachers use to best support their new students, especially in the face of cuts to English language learning (ELL), specialist teachers, and support programs?" The current educational system is ill-equipped to facilitate this transition and combat the socio-psychological challenges refugee students face as they enter Canadian schools (Gagné et al., 2012; Kovačević, 2016). Ratković (2015) argued that understanding refugee teachers".⁴³

⁴³ Ratković, S., Kovačević, D., Brewer, C. A., Ellis, C., Ahmed, N., & Brady, J. B. (2017). (publication). *Supporting Refugee Students in Canada: Building on What We Have Learned in the Past 20 Years*.

Given these statistics and existing literature surrounding the state of educational integration within the country, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada have found that there is a significant “lack of instructional data on supporting refugee students in the Canadian classroom. School systems across Canada welcome refugees but continue to lack cross-cultural competence, a social justice focus, transformative leadership skills, and policy guidance. Psychological isolation at school and discriminatory attitudes from some teachers place refugee students’ self-esteem, social competence, and academic achievements at risk, hindering the student’s social, economic, and political integration in the receiving society”⁴⁴.

Regarding housing accommodations, Canada has a structured system in place which handles housing situations depending on the type of entrance offered to the refugees, which is handled by refugee resettlement programs such as the aforementioned government assisted refugees program (GAR) and the privately sponsored refugees program (PSR). For instance:

“Unlike privately sponsored refugees (PSRs) who move directly into permanent accommodations upon arrival, government assisted refugees (GARs) are provided temporary accommodations in reception centers or hotels until permanent accommodations are secured. GARs receive assistance in identifying and securing permanent accommodations from staff at resettlement agencies and are provided either a basic furniture and household goods package or allowance in order to furnish their home. Refugee claimants are not provided any assistance in locating or securing housing upon arrival, nor are they eligible for temporary accommodations.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ratkovic, S., Kovacevic, D., Brewer, C. A., Ellis, C., Ahmed, N., & Brady, J. (n.d.). Supporting Refugee Students in Canada: Building on What We Have Learned in the Past 20 Years. Retrieved December 14, 2022.

⁴⁵ Sherrell, K. (n.d.). Access to Housing in Canada. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*.

Those who do not receive any housing assistance have limited resources to which they can apply. Usually, these types of refugees end up spending their funds and looking for accommodations which pose a concern to the internal structure of the refugee resettlement administration in Canada, and this is predominantly due to the finite economic resources offered by the federal government to agencies like the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP). “The Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP) is insufficient to obtain good quality, affordable housing that is of appropriate size for the family. Rather families are forced to allocate a significant proportion of their financial support to housing that is often inadequate or unsuitable to meet their needs. Lack of financial means necessitates taking whatever is available; in general, newly arrived refugees do not have the luxury to consider what is safe, healthy, or appropriate.”⁴⁶

It is also critical to mention that refugee housing remains to be very expensive. “Many expensive Canadian cities put resettled refugees at the economic and social margins of society.”⁴⁷ The most popular cities like Vancouver, Montreal, and Quebec,⁴⁸ are the same cities where the most job opportunities are available for refugees with the limited language and skill sets to participate in the economy. These cities are considered some of the most expensive cities in Canada, reinforcing the severity of the internal structural issues with limited financial resources to support the refugees who may need to live in these expensive cities to obtain economic development to support their families in a self-sufficient manner.

When it comes to the social integration of migrants, through health services and cultural participation, Canada does a great job holistically. The Canadian government provides healthcare services through the Interim Federal Health Insurance Plan (IFHP) which is a temporary

⁴⁶ Sherrell, K.M. (2011). Finding a home: The housing experiences of government assisted refugees and refugee claimants in Winnipeg and Vancouver” unpublished Doctoral thesis.

⁴⁷ Hyndman J. (2011). *Research Summary on Resettled Refugee Integration in Canada*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

⁴⁸ *Best cities to live in Canada: Top places to live & work in Canada*. Leap Scholar. (2022, August 19). Retrieved November 7, 2022

coverage that is given for a limited time period. After the said period is over, refugees can apply for provincial insurance coverage from the provinces where they reside, which may have certain requirements such as “three months of residence” prior to the application.⁴⁹ But it is crucial to note that, in regards to mental health services, the Canadian government takes a proactive approach in supporting resettled refugees and successful refugee claimants.

Groups of migrants have “access to mental health support through settlement services and community or peer support groups, and they have access to primary physician care. Settlement services, including mental health supports or referrals, are offered by more than 550 organizations to help newcomers adjust to life in Canada. The federal government provides a list of the mental health resources and supports available to newcomers, including refugees.”⁵⁰

As noted by the international community and the vast research available, Canada is widely known for its approach of multiculturalism, which has become widely integrated with the fabric of the country’s identity. Multiculturalism is a practice of supporting and encouraging diversity within a society. “Canadian multiculturalism works within a liberal framework to protect minority rights while reaffirming core values of individual freedom and democracy. This is illustrated by the way the Canadian Charter mixes individual rights and group rights within the same document. This means that there are limits to how far Canadians are willing to go to accommodate minority groups and immigrant groups. Accommodation must be reasonable, so that the core values of Canadian political culture should be protected. In other words, if Canadian

⁴⁹ Hyine, M. Qasim, K. Das, M (n.d.). Access to Health Care in Canada. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*.

⁵⁰ Loprespub. (2022, August 22). *Mental health needs of refugees in Canada*. HillNotes. Retrieved November 7, 2022

multiculturalism protects immigrants from assimilation, it nonetheless encourages them to integrate.”⁵¹

In a Canadian model of integration, multiculturalism within immigration, serves as a symbol of the country’s values. Refugees who undergo the resettlement through the three assistance programs like the GAR, PSR, SGPS settle in the large cities that have the organizations and civic resources needed to culturally integrate migrants through ethnic and religious diversity and accommodations. “It is in the ten largest Canadian metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa-Gatineau, Calgary, Edmonton, Quebec City, Winnipeg, Hamilton, and London) that we see refugee integration at work. These cities host a multitude of religious and racial groups, and their urban structure is essential to helping refugees in building social networks, enabling participation in the cultural and political life of the city, and maintaining their cultural and communal ties. In the past decade, close to 300,000 refugees have arrived in Canada, of whom 75% settled in the three largest cities: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2016).”⁵²

⁵¹ Laurence Cros. The Syrian Refugee Crisis, Multiculturalism Issues, and Integration in Canada. The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises, Cecilia Menjivar, Marie Ruiz, and Immanuel Ness eds., Oxford University Press, 2018

⁵² Dib, K. (n.d.). Refugee Integration and Canadian Multiculturalism. *Structural Context of Refugee Integration in Canada and Germany*.

Discussion and Analysis

9/11 remains one of the most devastating historical events that continues to impact nearly all sectors of international relations as well as the economic, social, and political spheres of many countries in the world, especially those in the Middle East but also those in the West, which have become targets of modern extremism due to the rise in democratic liberalism. It is becoming increasingly more apparent that the War on Terror did substantial internal damage to the stability of many countries, but especially to Afghanistan, which led to the domestic and international displacement of millions of Afghans who had to find refuge through the help of the international humanitarian community as well as Eastern and Western nations such as the UNHCR, Pakistan, United States, and most significantly in Germany and Canada.

Recent research by Brown University indicates that the number of people displaced by the War on Terror may exceed 38 million. Those killed within specific regions such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Pakistan may be greater than 929,000. These numbers are astronomical and do not even capture the actual human cost, which may be significantly more than those found by the scarce data available. The same research reveals that the global expansion of the 9/11 Wars led to waves of other social and political conflicts that resulted in waves of migration unprecedented in modern history. One such wave was witnessed mainly in 2015 during the Syrian Refugee Crisis. These forms of migration lead to the need to reexamine what migration and humanitarian aid should look like. They also expose the gray areas in the international community's response and international laws protecting the rights of the forcibly displaced, such as refugees and asylum seekers.

It is also becoming increasingly clear that the current systems in place for the accommodation of forced migrants, such as refugee resettlement programs initiated by the

wealthiest and most progressive countries like Germany and Canada, do not fully provide the necessary services to aid those in need. As discussed in the case studies, each country handles refugee resettlement programs differently. That is an acceptable system of handling refugees, but where the drawbacks of the systems installed come in has much to do with the lack of services and oversight provided to the programs. As briefly mentioned in the case study of Germany, the resettlement program, which is widely recognized around the world as one of the most successful regimes and most generous immigration policies available for forced migrants, fails to adequately support the mental health of refugees that are placed in the system by the German immigration entities in charge of refugee resettlement assistance programs.

The lack of mental health services is just one of many shortcomings of the system installed by the German government, but it remains the most consequential to discuss. Mental health services for forced migrants who arrive from war and conflict-torn regions of the world, who experienced an inexplicable loss of family, home, and many other things, including comfort, is one of the most critical forms of accommodation. Mental health services aid not only the social integration of the forced migrants into the societies in which they are placed but also positively influence their overall health and well-being. The same is true for the lack of resources provided by the Canadian education system, as demonstrated by the research on case study of Canada, that fails to support the transition refugee students face during their time in Canadian schools. As demonstrated by the research, Canada lacks the resources needed to better facilitate socio-psychological support of refugee children in school, which in turn would aid them better integrate socially and culturally into their new host states. This is significant to note because the type of refugees who do not receive the said aid are adolescents who are at a vulnerable age and

need all the social and psychological support that they can receive in order to obtain the security that they have lost during their entire migration and resettlement journey.

Another set of issues with refugee resettlement programs comes from a lack of financial services and support provided to newly settled refugees. As demonstrated by the case study of Canada, the housing accommodation of refugees and refugee claimants in the country extend to only a specific group of people who are categorized through three different assistance programs available for refugees based on their status, their point of entry, and the countries from which they arrive. Those who are part of the government-assisted refugees program (GAR), privately sponsored refugees program (PSR), and shared government private sponsorship program (SGPSP) usually receive the aid needed to settle down for at least the first year or until the employment of refugees. However, those who do not fall into the categories of these migrants and cannot apply to be part of these assistance programs—such as refugee claimants internally that arrive in Canada on their own—have little to no resources to provide them with the financial and social support needed to obtain self sufficiency.

They need help finding organizations in order to obtain housing, healthcare, employment, education, and other vital services. The Canadian federal government has placed an entity in control of aiding those in need called the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP), but it remains vastly underfunded. It is also critical to mention that the refugee housing unaffordability remains a big issue in Canada. According to the research provided in the case study, it is reported that refugees only receive financial and social assistance for the first year of their time in Canada or until they can support themselves. Those who need further help must find employment opportunities, which tend to be concentrated in big cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, and Quebec, the most expensive cities in which to live in the country. These migrants who need jobs

to support themselves after their government assistance programs are over have limited financial resources to support their living expenses, notably their housing costs.

Conclusion

It is evident that both Germany and Canada have yet to perfect their approach to the social integration of migrants into their societies. These two case studies are significant to note because of their value in the international community. Both states are praised for the generous immigration policies that they have towards forced migrants and often represent the best integration and resettlement programs in the world. It is also clear that the system is vastly defective if the two case studies are a microcosm of the world's approach to handling refugees and asylum seekers from war-torn regions. It is alarming that with so little research and data available, I can see a deficiency pattern often missed in conversations surrounding the successes of Canadian and German refugee resettlement and integration processes. It is even more alarming that the rest of the world emulates these two systems for integrating migrants into the host states.

Refugee resettlement programs must offer the refugee community a complete set of accommodations they promise on the world stage. There must be at least a baseline social and psychological services for the better integration of migrants. More funding must be available for states to continue the operations of refugee resettlement assistance programs. The shortcoming of the social and economic integration of forced migrants in countries so dominated by praise must be spoken vocally to ignite change which will have a trickle-down effect to impact those states that imitate their efforts.

As potential solutions to the dilemma in hand, it is clear that an agency or a set of guidelines must be developed for all states participating in refugee resettlement programs for forced migrants arriving from war torn regions. I recommend that we follow the suit of target setting models like the Sustainable Development Growth goals developed by the United Nations

to hold countries that partake in the UNHCR refugee resettlement program accountable for certain benchmarks in sectors of refugee resettlement accommodations. I recommend that an international organization such as the UN be actively involved in providing a blueprint on refugee resettlement programs that member states adopt or have in place both on a domestic and international level. Through integrating bodies like the UN, there could be room for creation of recommendations, best practices, model legislation, training, research, and guidelines on how to better accommodate refugees into host states and promote sustainable development and upward mobility for those getting resettled as well as the host states themselves.

It is also important to note that further research must be conducted to understand the true effects 9/11 had on the world and migration patterns. It is also crucial to continue the research and data hunt on the actual numbers of the human costs of the War on Terror. It would also be interesting to see the connection between the 9/11 wars, the Arab Spring, the Syrian Refugee Crisis resulting from the Syrian Civil War, and the recent Afghan Refugee Crisis of 2021.

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