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The Filter Function of Border Control and Refugee's Own Censorship

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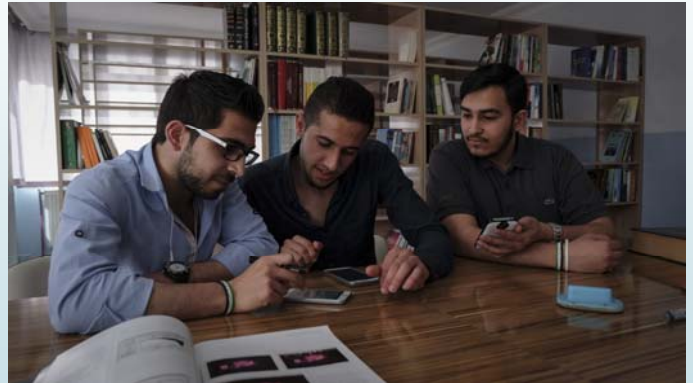


Recently, we pay attention to people moving over the borders, immigrants or refugees. The 2015 European Refugee Crisis, Rohingya refugee problems, and the wave of immigration caravan to the United States came us as a shock and brought any reactions like the 2016 Brexit, the UK defection from the EU.

The Brexit and the political turmoil in the UK might be typical incidents to more dynamic moving of the people than it in past.

The numbers of refugee studies about Syrians are increasing until now then the large amount of publications would contribute to understand the recent trend of Syrian refugees.


Introduction: Two Extreme Images



George Borjas, an outstanding migration economist, introduces two somewhat extreme cases of migrants in the US; first case represents exhausted, unlearned, and poor people. They are just burden for the US administration as well as the citizens to absorb immigration from the developing countries. From the first viewpoint, poor immigrants seem to come to the developed countries in order to be dependent on the welfare service. The viewpoint is easily connected with welfare chauvinism; the citizens are angered with poor migrants who consume the social service provided by the developed welfare system.

The second case gives us another image represent ambitious, vital and educated people. They would contribute to the national economy and interests from the viewpoint of the citizens in the US.

According to the case of Indian immigrants in Borjas (2016), “The average person in India has less than six years of schooling, but over 70 percent of Indian immigrants in the United States have a college or graduate degree.”



RQ: Which type of Syrian refugees and why they tried to go to Sweden?

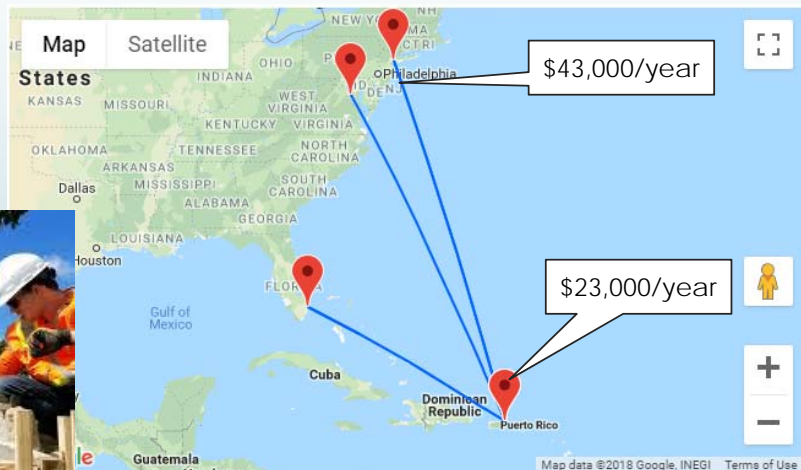
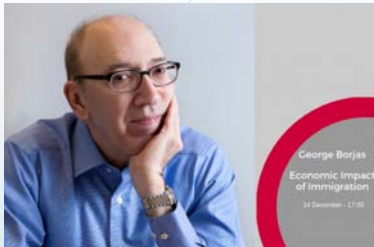
- (1) This research shows some features of Syrians in Sweden in comparison with them in the neighbor countries.
- (2) It shows how were Swedish seeing the refugees in comparison with other Europeans.

The research question of the study is to inquire the reason why Sweden was chosen as one of the final destinations for which type of Syrian refugees.

The TV news on the media had reproduced a miserable image about Syrian refugees who went into and went out from the refugee camps in Jordan or Turkey. We got an alternative image of Syrians in the unfamiliar societies who were also miserable and sympathetic figures in Europe.

It is obvious that Sweden is a popular host countries for international migration and has absorbed migrants from other European countries and refugees from motherland in armed conflict.

A Story of Puerto Ricans in construction: Barriers to migration

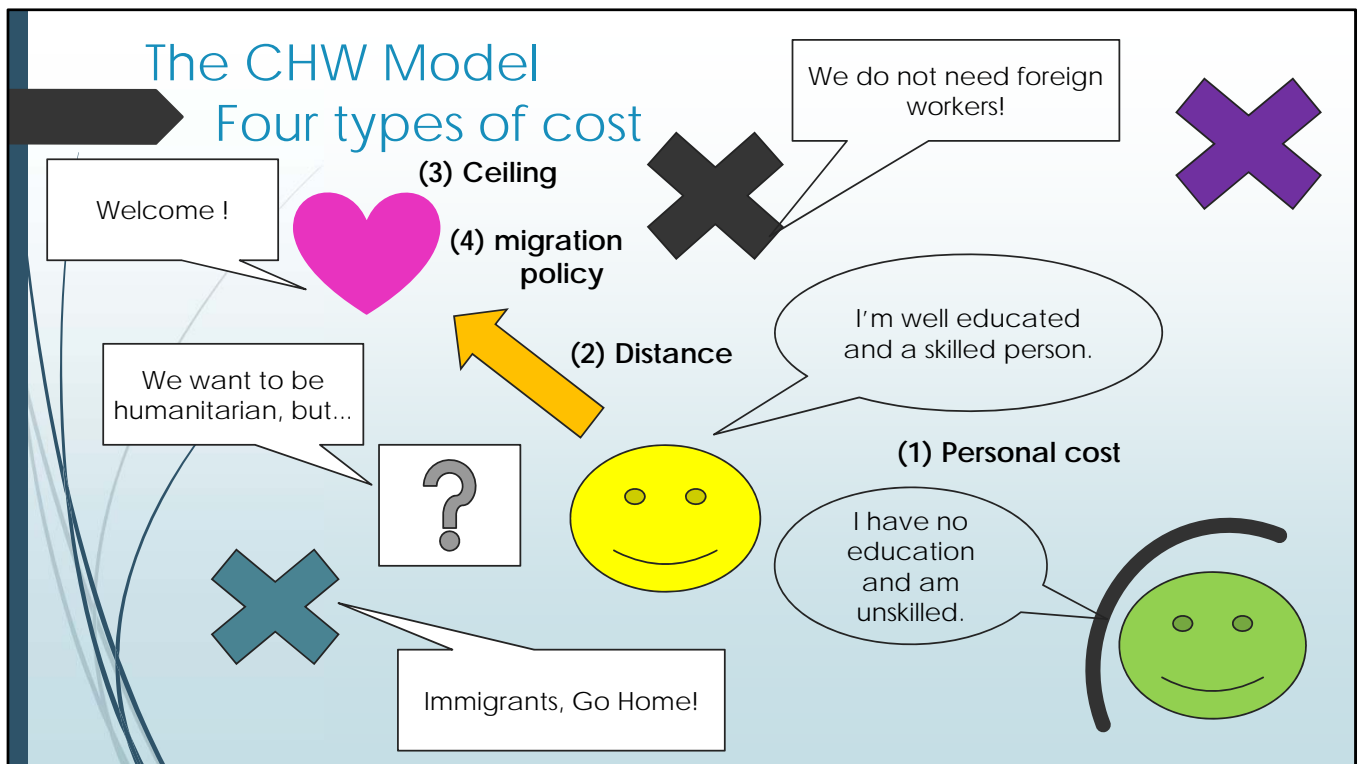


George Borjas argues that the cost of moving is an important constraint on migration in the case of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Ricans need just one-way ticket of airplane to migrate to the US.

Labor workers would get more 20 thousand dollars by working in construction in the US than by working in Puerto Rico.

Despite this, two of three Puerto Ricans do not go, because they sense the high cost of the migration.



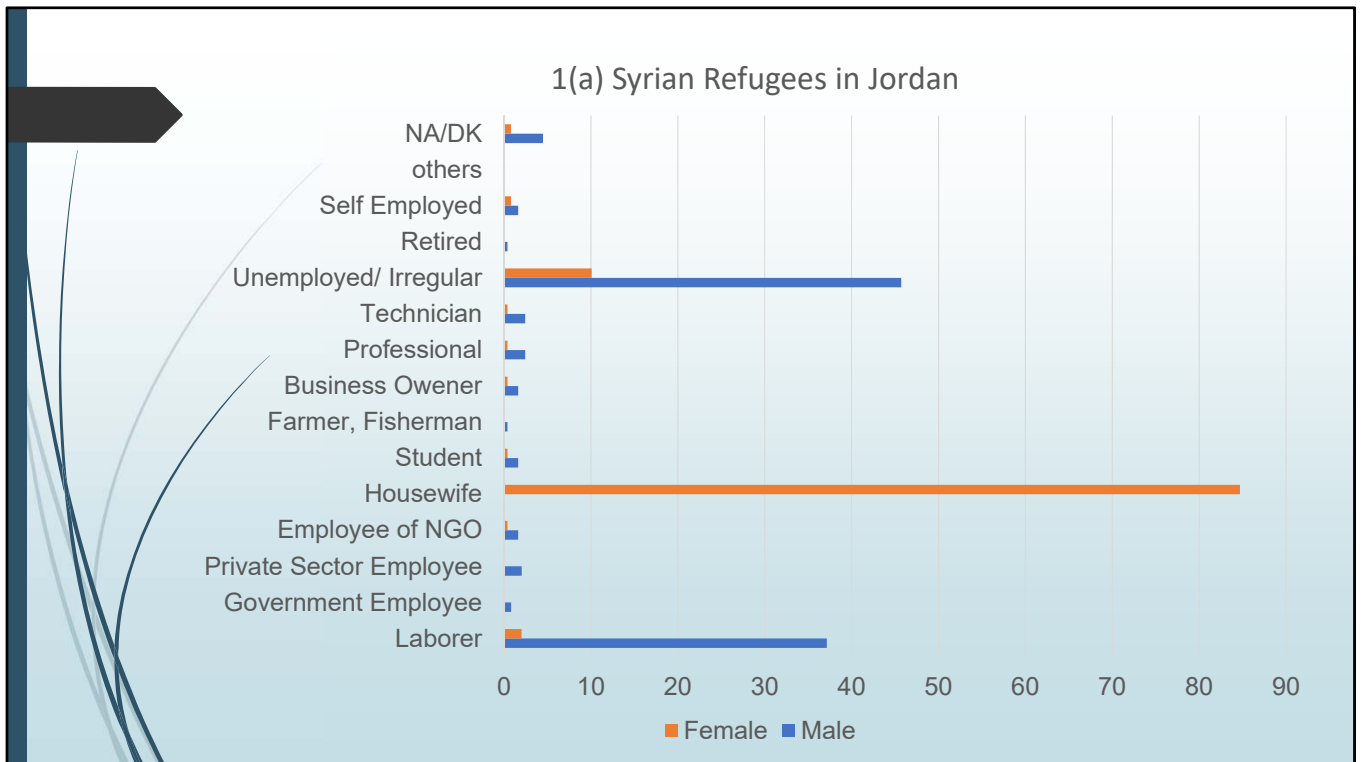
The Clark, Hatton, and Williamson model, thereafter CHW model, points out four type of the migration cost; (1) personal cost of moving like their own connection in departure, (2) distance, (3) ceiling of acceptance, and (4) migration policy. If migrants had their own resources, e.g. comparatively higher skill level than natives and/or asset stock, their skill level and asset stock might depress the migration cost of type I, II in general, and type IV in some cases.

The CHW model predicts immigrants to developed countries are comparatively higher skilled persons than brethren staying in, because non-migrants apply their own self-censorship, in other words, lack of abilities, on their decision to give up moving.

Hypothesis I

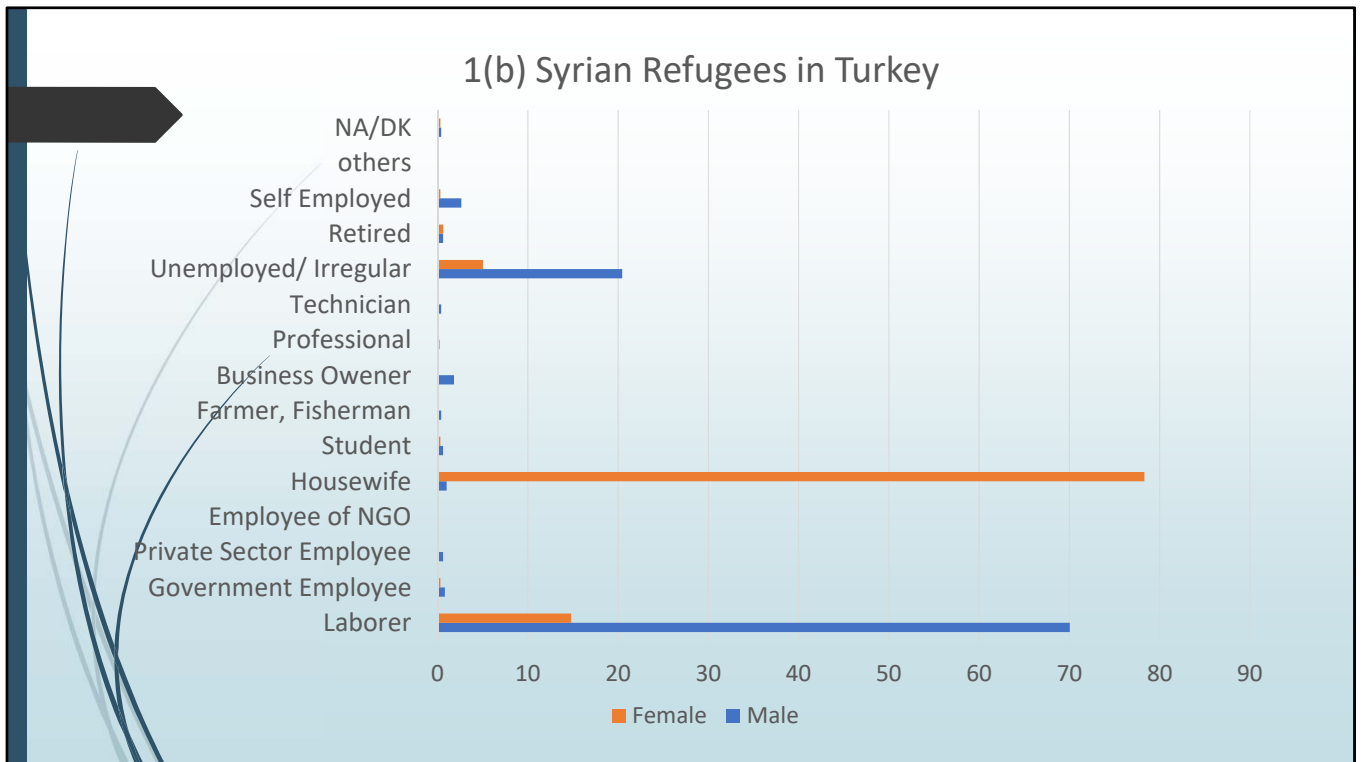
Syrian refugees in Europe are comparatively higher skilled persons than brethren staying in neighbor countries.

First, I draw my hypothesis from theoretical considerations; Syrian refugees in Europe are comparatively higher skilled persons than brethren staying in neighbor countries.



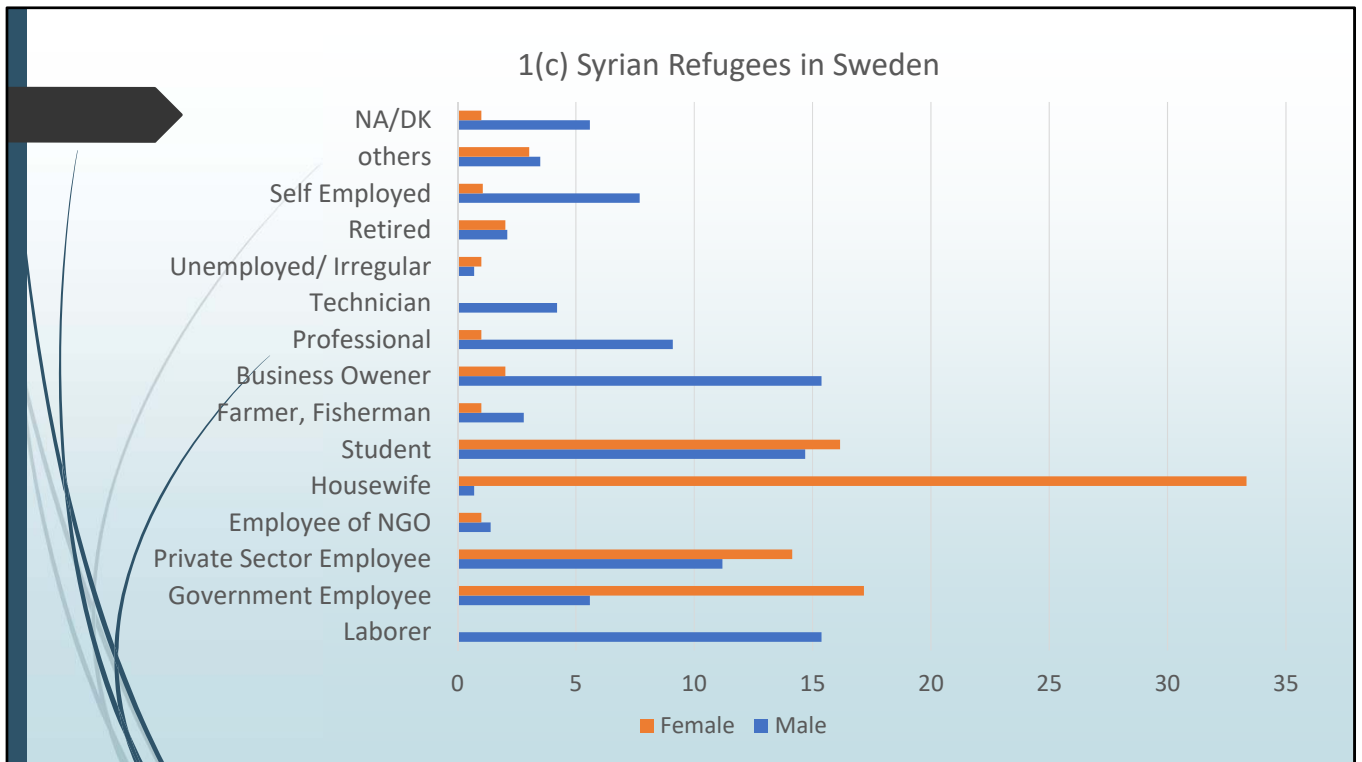
It is very difficult for us to measure the level of skill in persons because there is no commonly shared scientific understanding of measurement of skill. Therefore, we show richness or poverty in diversity of type of business.

You see the distribution of types of job in Syria among the refugees in Jordan. Housewife was typical job in almost all Syrian women, over 80 percent of them. Unemployed, irregular worker or laborer were also representative types of job in Syrian men.



This is the distribution of types of job in Syria among the refugees in Turkey. You can recognize the pattern of it is almost same as the distribution in Jordan.

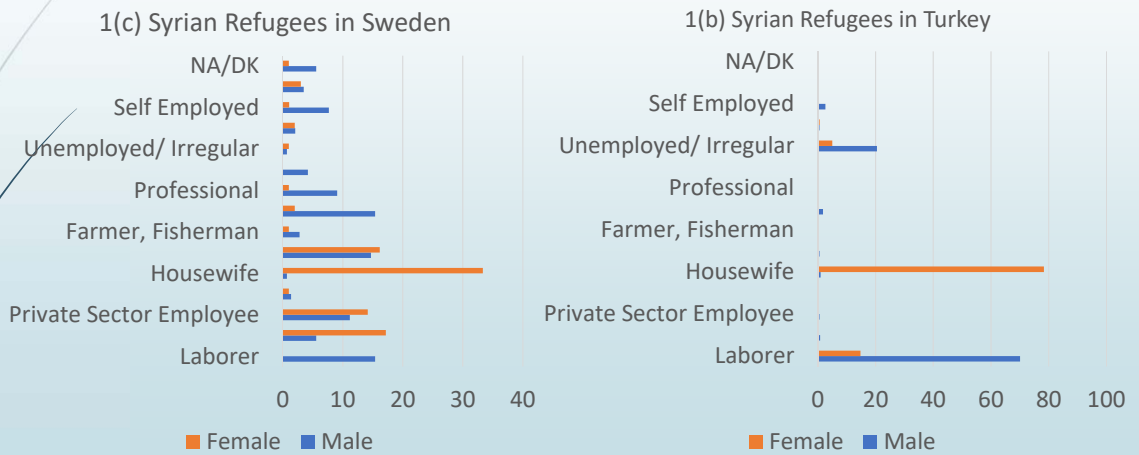
You see the Syrian male in Turkey have higher ratio of laborer than in Jordan, then have lower ratio of unemployed or irregular worker by just that much. Both of them, figure 1(a) and 1(b), were the representative distribution of types of job among the refugees in the neighbor countries of Syria.



You see the distribution of types of job in the motherland among the Syrian refugees in Sweden. Only one of three females were housewives in Syria. The others have a job like an employee in the private sector or public sector.

The types of business in the motherland for the Syrian male in Sweden contained higher diversity than them in the neighbor countries, too. You can recognize the presence of business owner, university students, employees in the private or public sector, or professionals on the figure 1(c).

Comparison Syrians in Sweden and in Turkey

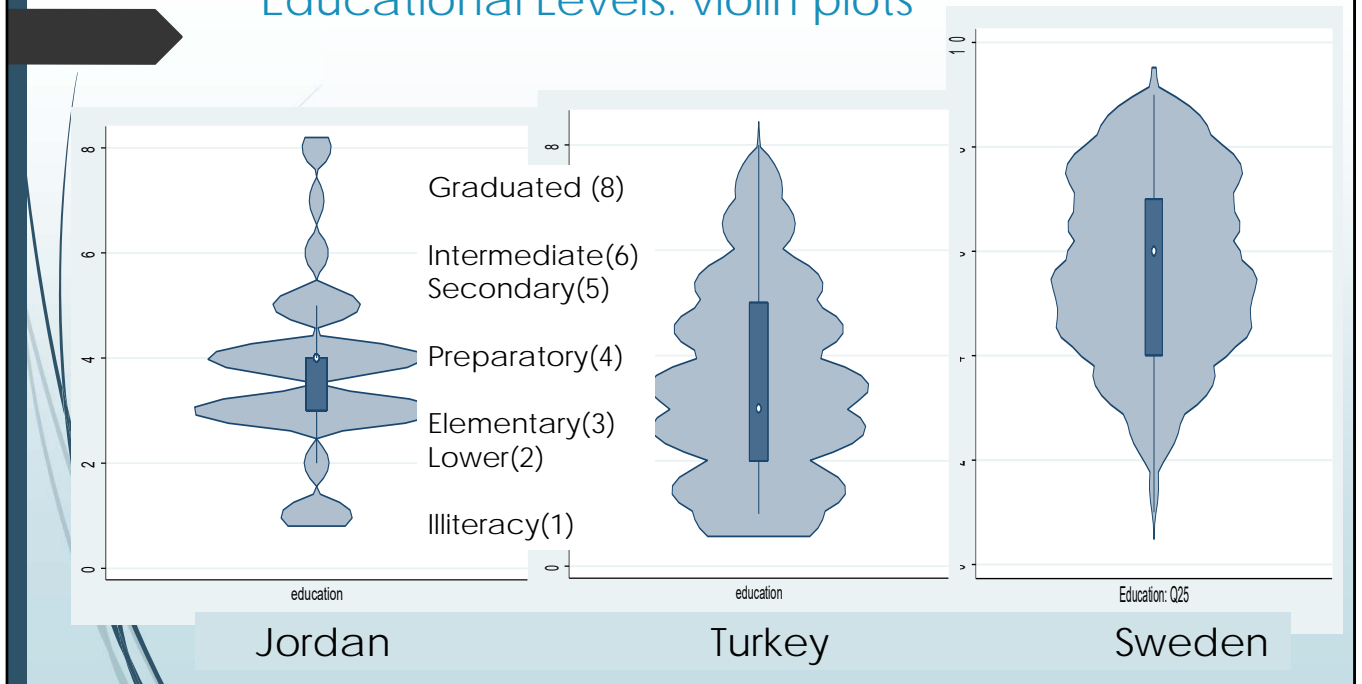


I show the contrast the difference of the diversity of refugee's former jobs in between Sweden and Turkey.

In other words, the Syrian vocational background in Sweden means that a part of them is highly educated and skilled worker.

On an average, a Syrian in Sweden would be able to contribute to the economic growth in the host country than in Turkey.

Educational Levels: violin plots

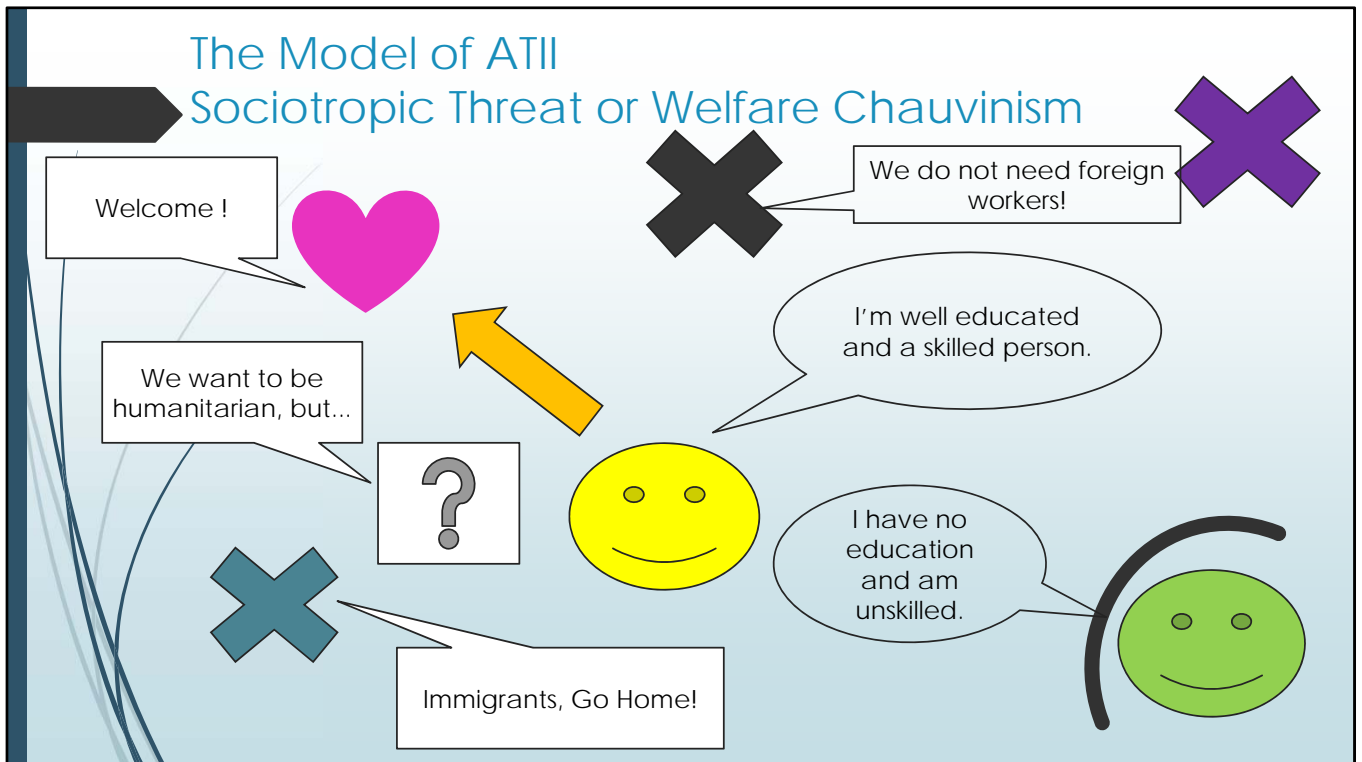


I give you three violin plots describing the distribution of education levels of Syrians in three countries. A violin plot is a method of plotting numeric data.

It is similar to a box plot with a rotated kernel density plot on each side. Violin plots are similar to box plots, except that they also show the probability density of the data at different values, in the simplest case this could be a histogram.

The median of the education level of Syrians in Jordan was preparatory school, the median in Turkey was elementary school, and the median in Sweden was intermediate school.

You can recognize a distinguish characteristic of the height of the education level in Sweden in comparison with it in the neighbor countries.



We go to the next topic; inquiring the reason why Sweden is a popular destination. The studies of attitude toward immigrants and immigration, thereafter ATII, have developed a few theories to explain the difference of attitudes in host countries.

Sociotropic Threat Theory predicts negative attitudes toward migrants speaking different languages or living in different cultures.

The other theory provides a mechanism cause animosity towards migrants because they would be a burden on the welfare system. It is called the theory of Welfare Chauvinism.

The Theory of Welfare Chauvinism



Helsinki: Anti-Immigration
Demonstration in 2015



Malmo: Temporary Medical
Check Service in 2015

Photo by Shingo HAMANAKA

However, the theory shows different welfare attitudes depending on the types of the welfare system.

The theory expects antagonistic attitudes toward migrants, strong welfare chauvinism, if the host country had a selective welfare system like public assistance with severe selective means test.

Otherwise, it predicts to being generous towards migrants, weak chauvinism if the receiving country had an inclusive welfare system, so called the Sweden Model.

Table : Classification of Welfare System

	Sweden	German	Denmark
Selectivity	0.027	0.138	0.555
MIPEX	78 (Ranking-1)	61 (Ranking-10)	59 (Ranking-11)

Selectivity index = the cost of the service with means test / the cost without means test

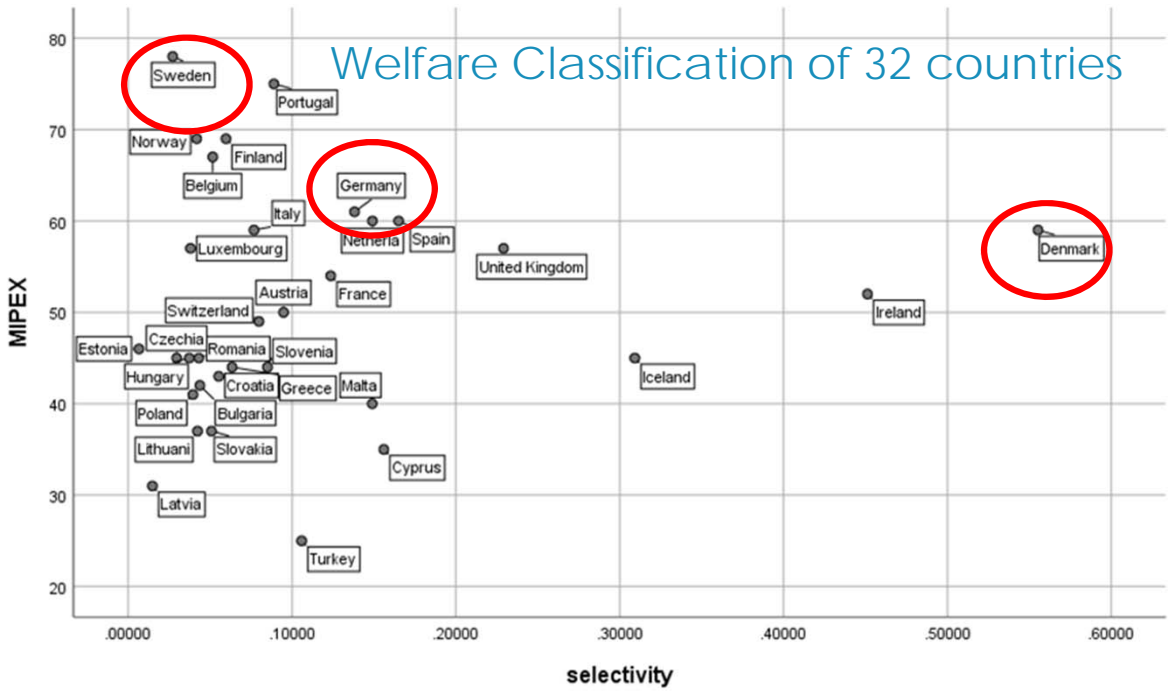
The presenter tried to make up an index to measure the selectivity of the welfare system in several countries in following the method of Nagayoshi (2018).

The method is to divide the cost of the social security service with means test by the cost of it without means test.

The source is the database of the Eurostat. The smaller the index is, the more inclusive the welfare system is.

The MIPEX, means the Migration Integration Policy Index, is developed by the Migration Policy Group.

According to the website, the MIPEX is a unique tool which measures policies to integrate migrants in all EU Member states, and ten highly developed countries.





Hypothesis II

The national attitudes towards Syrian refugees are different by the types of the welfare system in host countries.

Experimental Design: the European Social Survey conducted a randomized experimental questions...

CARD 42

[country's] policy should be to...

- Allow many to come and live here
- Allow some
- Allow a few
- Allow none

D30 STILL CARD 42 Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals¹² from [poor European country] providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

D31 STILL CARD 42 Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow professionals from [poor country outside Europe] providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

D32 STILL CARD 42 Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor European country] providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

D33 STILL CARD 42 Using the same card, please tell me to what extent you think [country] should allow unskilled labourers from [poor country outside Europe] providing largest number of migrants] to come to live in [country]?

Why Denmark? The Case Selection Strategy

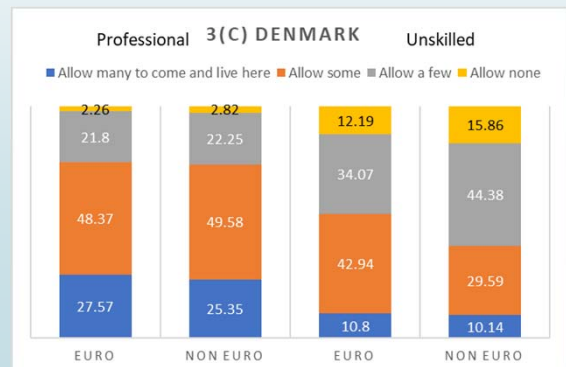
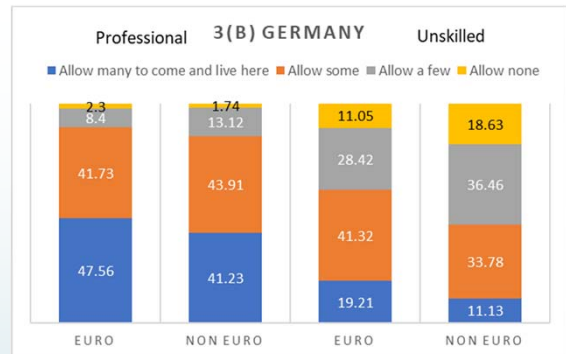
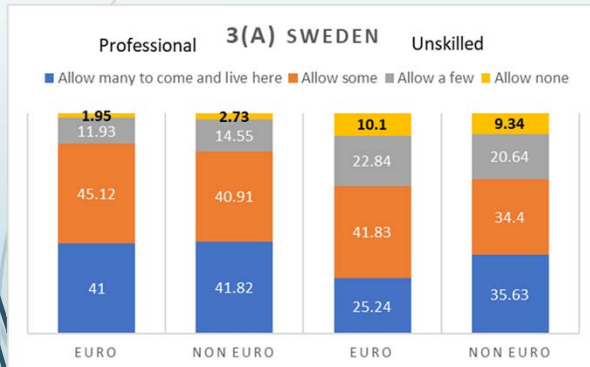
Table 1 Countries used in the ESS7 origin and skills experiment (items D31-D33).

ESS Country	Poor European country providing the largest number of migrants (D30 + D32)	Poor country outside Europe providing the largest number of migrants (D31 + D33)
Austria	Serbia	Turkey
Belgium	Poland	Turkey
Czech Republic	Ukraine	Vietnam
Denmark	Poland	Turkey
Estonia	Belarus	Vietnam
Finland	Estonia	Somalia
France	Portugal	Algeria
Germany	Poland	Turkey
Hungary	Romania	China
Ireland	Poland	Nigeria
Israel	Ukraine	Ethiopia
Latvia	Belarus	Vietnam
Lithuania	Belarus	Turkey
Netherlands	Poland	Turkey
Norway	Poland	Somalia
Poland	Belarus	Vietnam
Portugal	Ukraine	Brazil
Slovenia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	China
Spain	Romania	Morocco
Sweden	Poland	Somalia
Switzerland	Portugal	Turkey
UK	Poland	India

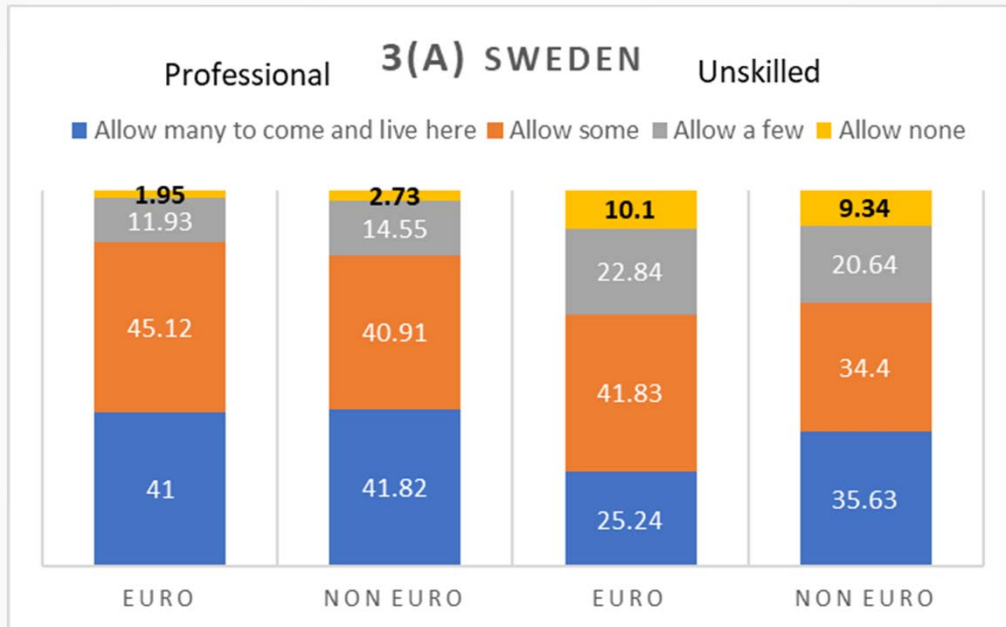
Same Pattern

Comparative

Attitudes to Professional and Unskilled migrants



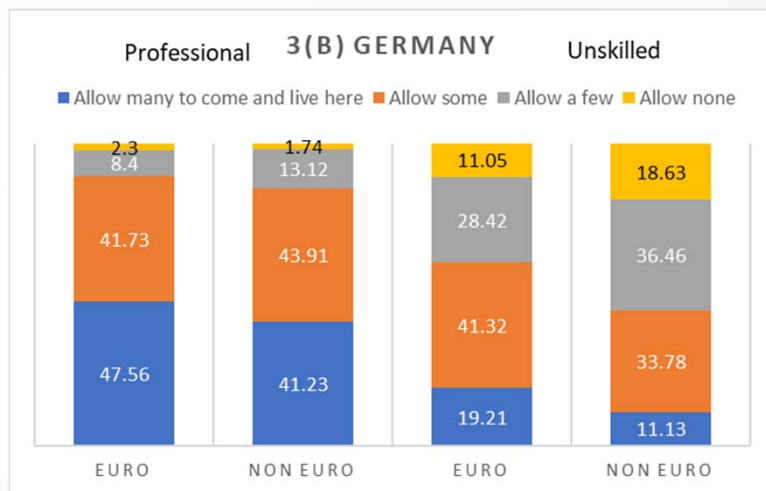
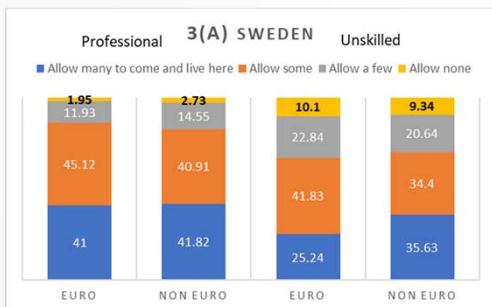
Attitudes toward Professional and Unskilled migrants



You can find in the figure that Swedish people seems indifferent to ethnicities who are professional workers. Sweden has low selective and highly open welfare system. Swedish may look not at their ethnicities, Polish or Somalian, but at their vocational capabilities.

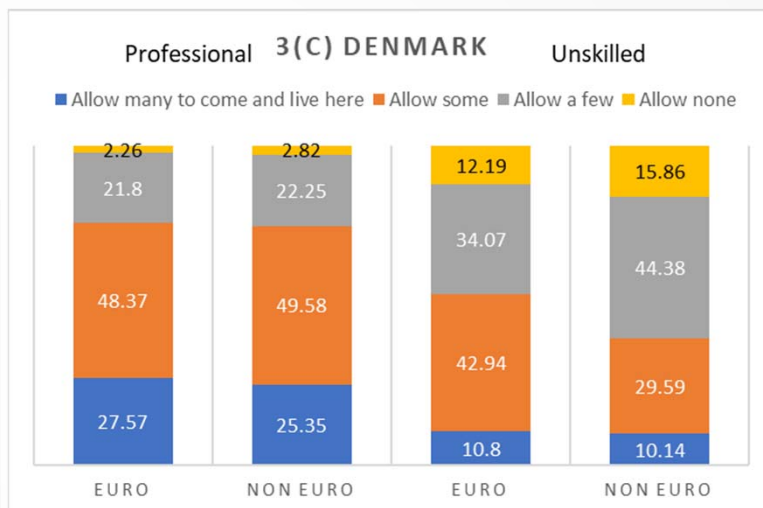
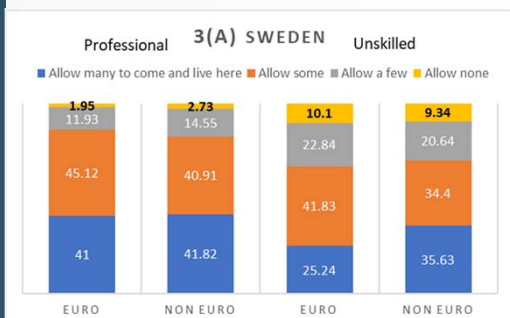
What is interesting that Swedish prefer Somalian to Polish unskilled workers. The difference is statistically significant at conventional levels (z-value .0172) by conducted a Mann-Whitney test.

Attitudes toward Professional and Unskilled migrants



Germany welfare system is the middle level of selectivity and openness. Germans prefer the EU migrants to non-EU people in the both cases of professional and unskilled labor. In specifically, Polishes are better than Turks for Germans.

Attitudes toward Professional and Unskilled migrants





Concluding Remark

- **Hypothesis I:** Syrian refugees to Europe are comparatively higher skilled persons than brethren staying in neighbor countries. ⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒ **Supported by data**
- **Hypothesis II:** The national attitudes towards Syrian refugees are different by the types of the welfare system in host countries. ⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒ **Supported by data**



Concluding Remark

- RQ: Which type of Syrian refugees and why they tried to go to Sweden?
- Answer: On an average, educated and skilled Syrian refugees chose proactively Sweden as their host country because of feeling its welfare generosity with warm welcoming eyes to themselves.

My research limitation is to use the 2014 European Social Survey data. Why 2014? Because only the 2014 survey applied the experimental method. However, the year was before the European Refugee Crisis. Therefore, the crisis might change the attitudes of Swedish people toward the refugees.