Burden or Blessing? The Impact of Refugees on Germany’s Labor Market

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Germany is in the midst of a heated discussion: Are refugees a burden or a blessing for the German labor market?

Supporters of the “blessing” camp argue the country’s aging society is in urgent need of young workers to make up for millions of retiring Germans. Around one third of the 1 million migrants and refugees who entered Germany in 2015 are under the age of 25[1] and their labor will help maintain the generous pension and benefits system Germans hold dear. The integration of refugees, the argument goes, may be costly for Germany in the short run, but refugees’ contributions will outweigh these start-up costs after a few years, leaving the German economy better off.

In line with this thinking, a recent study of the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), a think tank in Berlin, finds that the net impact of refugee inflows on the German economy will be positive in any case, with benefits outweighing costs for the economy already after five to ten years. The study concludes that the question is when, not whether, refugees will prove to be a long-term gain for the German economy. The blessing, they claim, is assured in any case.[2] The European Commission also takes a carefully optimistic view, with their European Economic Forecast stating that refugees’ impact on Germany’s economy by 2020 will likely be small, in the order of 0.2-0.3 percent of GDP, but positive even if most of them turn out to be low-skilled.

Such affirmative views are supported by survey findings of the UN Refugee Agency UNHCR that nearly nine out of ten Syrians arriving in Greece report high levels of education, with 43 percent holding a university degree, and another 43 percent a high school diploma.[3] Nearly eight out of ten surveyed Syrians (78 percent) were under 35, and half of them said they wanted to go to Germany, citing employment and educational opportunities among their reasons.[4]

What is the counter-narrative to the optimistic camp? Proponents of the “burden” camp cite competing studies that warn nearly two-thirds of Syrians cannot read or write fluently and have trouble with basic math, as PISA and other international comparative educational studies find.[5] A survey conducted among Syrians in Turkish refugee camps draws similar conclusions, finding that
80 percent of Syrians bring less than a high school education.[6] Germany’s Office for Migration and Refugee (BAMF) finds that around half of surveyed Syrians in Germany reported having either university degree or a high-school diploma—but that asylum seekers from other countries brought on average lower levels of education.[7]

Other studies focus on the high cost of refugees. For instance, the Institute for the Global Economy (IfW) in Kiel projects the annual cost of refugees to Germany’s economy in the coming years to range between €25 million and €55 million—a burden difficult to debate away, even if the economy does well.[8]

**Why Is It So Hard to Estimate Refugees’ Impact on the Labor Market?**

Why is this question so controversial? Why do we see so many competing studies with widely diverse findings? The answer lies in what we do not know. The economic impact of refugees depends on how well they integrate into the German labor market—and that depends on a lot of factors we do not yet know enough about to make solid predictions. For instance, Germany does not know how many arrivals it will see in the future, nor which countries they will come from. We have estimates, of course, but as flows and origin countries change and as Germany’s and its neighbors’ policies start to take effect, estimates change. Even if we know which countries people come from, and even if know how old they are and whether they went to school or university, we do not know how those schools’ curricula compare to Germany’s, and how able and willing each person will be to learn German and apply him or herself in the labor market.

The predictions in studies we currently read are based on widely varying assumptions or, less euphemistically, guesswork. Predicting accurately the impact of the migrant and refugee flows on Germany’s labor market in the future is like trying to accurately predict precipitation: Experts come up with generally good estimates, based on factors they can measure and experience they have with weather patterns, but in the end, sometimes there is a 50 percent chance of rain: It may rain, experts say—but it also may not. This does not discard or discredit the studies we have so far, but simply acknowledges their inherent limitations. Experts’ predictions are only as good as the data sources they are based on.

**Five Factors That Influence Labor Market Integration**

The silver lining is not far, though. While there is a lot we do not know, we do know that refugees’ integration into the labor market depends on at least five factors.

1. **Language** — Successful integration hinges on language learning. Gaining and keeping a job, let alone climbing a career ladder, depends on refugees’ ability to communicate in German. In many jobs, that does not just include basic language skills to get by, but also profession-
specific language, such as medical or technical terms doctors, nurses, or metal workers need. [9] Germany's government promotes language classes as the main element of its federally funded integration courses, providing at least 600 hours of language instruction to new arrivals, [10] and new projects combine profession-specific language training with internships to allow refugees to learn specialized terminology while already gaining work experience.[11] While the existence of such courses shows Germany's political and financial dedication to tackling the language challenge, critics lament an insufficient supply of these courses.

2. **Education and Skill Levels** - Germany's labor market needs skilled workers, some university-educated, some with a vocational or technical education. Refugees that bring these skills, especially in growth occupations with likely high demand in the future (such as health care and geriatric care workers), have better chances of finding employment and integrating successfully. Those without sufficient education levels need to catch up, by going back to school, updating their skills, or participating in so-called bridge programs that aim to fill the gaps between the skills a person has and those needed to enter employment. Social and cultural skills also matter. Recognizing authority of female bosses, punctuality, and reliability are soft skills German employers expect their workers to have. Unlike thematic knowledge and technical skills, cultural skills need to not just be understood, but internalized.[12]

3. **Qualifications Recognition** - Even if refugees bring qualifications well matched to the needs of employers, they often need to take the additional step of having them recognized before they are allowed to work. Rigorous recognition processes are a mechanism to protect the public, especially for licensed professions like healthcare workers. Patients seeing a Syrian dentist breathe more freely knowing that she has passed comparable training and exams as a German dentist would have. Germany's foundational law to address this challenge is the so-called Recognition Act of 2012, which mandates that migrants who apply for recognition of their degrees and education in Germany have to receive a decision within three months. A webpage guides applicants through the process and draws a path through the complex jungle of regulating bodies and certificates needed to access different professions. In spite of this progress and success stories of the last years, getting qualifications recognized remains a long and often arduous process.[13] Long wait times lead to de-skilling and lengthen the time refugees depend on government support.

4. **Legal Right to Work** - Withholding a work permit from refugees is one of the most effective ways to slow down their integration. During the last big refugee wave in the early 1990s, Germany deterred labor market participation of asylum seekers, arguing it would incentivize more people to come. Today's policies do the opposite: they encourage asylum seekers to participate in Germany's labor market, citing the need for early integration, refugees' desire for self-sufficiency, and the high cost of prolonged government support. Asylum seekers receive labor market access after three months, a marked decrease from the nine months they had to wait prior to the so-called asylum compromise of 2014. Their access is non-preferential until 15 months, though, meaning they can only be hired if the Federal Employment Agency gives its
okay, which it generally only does if no Germans or EU citizens are available for the job. Full access is gained at the end of 15 months, once more a marked decrease from the four years asylum seekers waited beforehand.[14] These changes are an improvement for asylum seekers’ ability to enter the labor market early, but critical voices, including the new head of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, argue the one year period of non-preferential treatment should be decreased or temporarily abolished to avoid unnecessary delays.[15]

5. Employer Openness – Without German businesses willing to employ asylum seekers and refugees, labor market integration remains a pipedream. The good news is that German employers have shown increasing openness to hire refugees, and have launched numerous initiatives to integrate them into their workforce. Multinational car manufacturers like Porsche and Daimler offer vocational training programs for refugees, and Germany’s Mittelstand, the countless SMEs revered as engine of the country’s export power, has also jumped on the bandwagon.[16] Early experiences with these programs have shown that refugees need not just a job, but special support systems. The Munich Chamber of Skilled Crafts, for instance, established a mentoring system to support refugees with challenges of daily life, such as finding an affordable apartment in notoriously expensive Munich, which helped reduce dropout rates from vocational trainings.[17] Since most of these initiatives of German enterprises are only a few months old, it remains to be seen how many refugees will be able to benefit from them and how well they manage to prepare refugees for the demands of German work life.

How to Make Things Better: Recommendations for Germans and Refugees in Germany

So what should we do with this knowledge? How do we influence these five factors positively so they help not hinder refugees’ integration?

Overall, German policymakers have launched a host of policies and programs to address these five challenges in recent months and years. But since most of these initiatives are still in their pilot phases, we do not yet know how well they work, nor do they reach enough people. Due to this fact, the recommendations put forward here focus on continuing the first promising steps Germany has made, evaluating them carefully, and scaling them up when possible. Concretely, here is what the German government, businesses, and civil society can do to improve integration of refugees, and what refugees themselves can do.

First, the federal government should continue to expand its language course offerings, both the basic language classes and those teaching profession-specific vocabulary. In the first nine months of 2015, nearly 1,400 language course providers conducted more than 8,000 courses, up 15 percent from the same period in the year prior.[18] Given the parallel increases of arrivals, this development
should continue. At the same time, the countless civil society initiatives that bring together volunteers to teach German in the classroom or through language tandems are indispensable in cementing the language skills newcomers learn in the classroom.

Second, carefully evaluate and, if found successful, expand pilot projects that screen asylum seekers’ skills already while their claims are processed. Existing evidence, for instance from the “Early Intervention” pilot project the Labor Ministry and Federal Labor Agency (BA) conducts in collaboration with the BAMF, shows that assessing asylum seekers’ skills and abilities at an early stage not only allows them to find employment or training more quickly, but also boosts asylum seekers’ self-esteem and integration motivation.[19]

Third, continue to provide and expand support to undergo the complex process of qualification recognition. A government webpage helps applicants find the right agency in charge of recognizing their foreign degrees and experience, and another pilot project called “Prototyping Transfer,” this time by the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB), allows refugees without written proof of their qualifications to take tests or provide work samples to prove their skills and knowledge instead. These are steps in the right direction, but they need to continue much further to impact more than a few hundred pilot participants.

Fourth, German policymakers and media should discuss the pros and cons of decreasing or abolishing the non-preferential access period. Critics say it effectively keeps many refugees out of the labor market for 15 months, an unnecessarily long time. Supporters are concerned about social tensions if newcomers stiffen labor market competition and are perceived to decrease wages. Reforms to labor market access need to guard against compounding an “us versus them” mentality that can be fueled by granting benefits too quickly and independently of the validity and outcome of asylum claims.

Fifth, the numerous integration initiatives started by German employers are good steps in the right direction, but would benefit from coordination and evaluation. The recently founded network “Enterprises integrate refugees,” supported by the Ministry for the Economy, brings together more than 300 German businesses to exchange good practices and provide practical advice on how to integrate refugees in employment and vocational training.[20] Since many firms’ initiatives are recent, they would benefit from advice on how to overcome common hurdles.

Last, the best integration intentions get stretched to breaking point if the number of entries increases unabated, and the German people gets the impression that the many integration resources spent are nothing more than a drop in the bucket. Policymakers across the political spectrum acknowledge that limiting the number of additional entries is desirable to facilitate the successful integration of asylum seekers and refugees already in Germany.
What about the refugees themselves? Having arrived from a long journey to Europe, they have to find the motivation and willingness to dive into a new life in a culture different from their own, including a different work culture. Skilled workers need to accept that they often start at a lower level. Doctors should not work as taxi drivers, but some may end up having to work as nurses or care workers, at least in the beginning. And many refugees will have very low or no relevant skills, or reject basic principles of German society, including gender equality and freedom of religion. Their integration will take much longer, if it succeeds at all. Both sides, Germans and refugees, need to manage their expectations. Integrating the hundreds of thousands of arrivals who will receive protection and stay in Germany will take a long time, and frustrations on both sides are guaranteed.

Growth, personal and societal, always comes with pain. The migration and refugee crisis has triggered a growth spurt of German society, as it has unleashed a wave of controversial discussions about the country’s identity. While the rising popularity of the AfD and anti-immigrant movements is often interpreted as a regression of Germany’s debate to worse times, it can also be seen as a sign that Germany’s migration debate is maturing and becoming more complex. Germany’s discussions, which focused mostly on integration concerns during the last decade, are now pushed toward a more diverse conversation, and that includes extreme views any democracy has to be able to withstand.

Integration, the platitude goes, is a two-way street. Both host society and migrants need to adapt their ways for successful integration. Whether refugees turn out to be a burden or a blessing to the German labor market is not a given, it is not yet decided. It is a process in the making—a process both Germans and newcomers can and should shape.

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How the world sees Germany a year into the refugee crisis

Berlin's refugee policies made headlines around the globe in 2015, and the world has been watching ever since. Kathleen Schuster looks at how the crisis has shaped Germany's reputation abroad.

A year has passed since Germany opened its doors to hundreds of thousands of refugees and Chancellor Angela Merkel uttered her famous mantra - "Wir schaffen das," or "We can do this."

Her critics at home have grown louder over the past year with proof that migrants have overburdened the system, right-wing violence has worsened and Islamist terrorism has finally arrived.

But how has the refugee crisis impacted Germany's international reputation as a steadfast ally, an economic powerhouse and a country with a troubled history?

Finally, a little less European 'hypocrisy'

Europe watched the refugee crisis slowly heat up over several years as unrest and dire poverty in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa drove people to desperate measures in search of safe haven. Summer 2015 was the boiling point.

Regular reports of migrant deaths at sea and on land combined with Hungary's violations of refugee rights prompted Germany, in coordination with Austria, to suspend Dublin Regulations for Syrian refugees last August. The move freed Syrians from the asylum process in their EU country of entry; it was also viewed as a welcome sign to refugees everywhere.

Germany's reputation subsequently improved across the Middle East. According to Mehran Kamrava, who heads the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar, European countries are often considered hypocrites who lecture the Middle East about human rights.

Welcoming refugees and migrants "blunted" the hypocrisy argument, at least for Germany, Kamrava told DW.
Refugees head from Hungary to the Austrian border - scenes like this captured world headlines last summer

But Ibrahim Awad, who heads the Center of Refugee and Migration Studies at the American University of Cairo, emphasizes that there are "those who think that Europe is making too much of the refugee flow to [the continent]."

Eleven million Syrians have been displaced since 2011, 6 million of them internally. Turkey is currently host to 2.5 million Syrians, followed by Lebanon (1.1 million), Jordan (635,000) and Egypt (117,000).

Longing for more

Germany's reputation also received a positive boost in Central Asia and Africa - regions which have contributed high numbers of refugees. Particularly in Africa, Berlin's refugee policies have broadly changed the collective perception of Europe.

"The fortress Europe idea has always been that Europe will do everything to keep migrants out," Liesl Louw-Vaudran, of the South Africa-based Institute for Security Studies, told DW. "This is a change from everything we've known up to now about migration and Europe."

But criticism of border closures touches on the long-standing wish that Europe - especially former colonizers who exploited Africa - do more for organized migration.

Louw-Vaudran adds, however, that African governments who support this argument "would never admit that they encourage migration as an income form."

Germany, the stabilizer

Germany's humanitarian gesture had two main effects on its reputation with its most important allies: it gained respect as a "moral authority" and further proved its leading role in the EU. Whether or not that is a positive development depends on the country.

China - which has fostered closer diplomatic relations with Merkel's governments - has viewed the decision by its most important EU trade partner with both admiration and hesitancy.

Beijing's main worry is the correlation between the refugee policy and weakened security, says Xuewu Gu of the Center for Global Studies at the University of Bonn. It considers Germany a key player in ensuring European cohesion and, thus, a stronger Europe that could help weaken US dominance.
Hillary Clinton, the possible next US president, worked with Merkel as Obama’s Secretary of State

The Obama administration also views Berlin as its most reliable European partner at a time when the US president needs “the cohesion of the West to undergird a lot of policy actions that need to be taken,” says Cathryn Cliver, the director of Harvard’s Future of Diplomacy Project.

Not only has Barack Obama praised Germany for “being on the right side of history,” but the American public broadly appreciates the humanitarian gesture, seeing an overlap with its own migration past.

When it comes to the refugee deal with Turkey, though, China and US are skeptical. Gu says Beijing sees Merkel’s push for the deal as “unwise.”

The good, the bad and the Merkel of German leadership

To the world, Merkel is a fascinating politician whose name become synonymous with Germany. She is, for some, the quiet preacher’s daughter with a conscience, the meticulous physicist, the cool “empress of Europe.” To others, she’s a power-drunk fool.

Her three governments have shaped Germany’s reputation in the EU over the past decade. Facing national elections in 2017, her third time in office could be her last depending on developments in the refugee crisis.

The past year of migration, terrorism, right-wing sentiment, and the Brexit has drawn Berlin out as a multi-tasking crisis manager, to the chagrin of some and the pleasure of others.

Economics researcher Anne-Laure Delatte says a German-centric EU poses larger questions about the effectiveness of the EU, underlining criticism of Merkel’s perceived approach to various crises on the continent.

“We should not be talking about Germany making decisions for Europe. We should be talking about a group of countries making decisions for themselves,” Delatte, who is affiliated with the French National Center for Scientific Research, told DW.

But there is an even bigger question, says Kalypso Nicolaidis, who heads international studies at Oxford University. Can the “reluctant leader” Germany reconcile itself with its international reputation as a powerhouse, a key international player and, still, find the appropriate tone given its Nazi past?

“If there is one country that is convinced that it is problematic to see the reemergence of a certain kind of Germany in Europe, it’s Germany itself,” says Nicolaidis.
Here’s the real economic impact refugees make on Europe’s economy

By Steve Goldstein
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IMF study says migration wave should increase European GDP

A new International Monetary Fund study points out the potential boost to the European economy from the wave of refugees entering the Continent. But the same report, looking at the experience of Turkey and Germany in particular, shows just how long and painful that process may be.

Turkey is of particular note because, as Syria’s neighbor, it’s received about half of the Syrian refugee inflows, some 2 million since March 2011, the IMF says, drawing on United Nations statistics. That’s the equivalent of 2.5% of Turkey’s own population.

Beyond the roughly $8 billion Turkey has spent providing a home for these refugees, the economic impact is noteworthy, if perhaps expected.

Also see: Foreign guest workers in the U.S. earn less than others in the same job, study finds

These refugees are only allowed to work in Turkey’s “informal” sector. What’s happened, the IMF report says, is that these refugees have displaced female Turkish workers with low-education levels in agricultural jobs. But higher-paid, formal jobs filled by native workers have increased, and so have average wages — suggesting, according to the IMF, a compositional change in employment.

The German experience also is illustrative. Germany has a higher foreign-born population share than the U.K. or the U.S. since waves of migration in the 1960s and 1990s, and is facing another wave now.

Also see: One chart tells us where most immigrants in the world go

Immigrants earn 20% less than natives with similar characteristics when they enter the country. While wages of these immigrants then rise by a point each year, the gains slow over time, and wages never fully converge, according to the IMF.

The IMF says the lower wages of immigrants largely reflect what’s called “skill downgrading” — in other words, the engineer driving a taxi. Some two-thirds of highly skilled natives have a job that actually requires higher education, compared to only 42% for immigrants not born in advanced economies.

On the other hand, the participation rate fully converges after 20 years, the IMF adds.

That’s broadly what has been found by the European Social Study survey, covering nearly 300,000 people across 36 countries from 2002 to 2012. The gap between native and immigrant employment, income and happiness all narrow, but not completely, in about 20 years’ time.
Here's how the refugee crisis is impacting Germany's economy

As terrorist events grip Belgium and Europe at large, an HSBC economics piece considers the costs of the European refugee crisis. From an economic standpoint, the near $15,600 (USD) cost the government pays in subsidies – nearly 90% direct subsidies given to refugees each year – is problematic but manageable for the German government. It is the political equation that is causing German Chancellor Angela Merkel the real problems.

**European refugee crisis costs the German government an estimated 0.7% of GDP, but generates 0.4% in additional GDP**

The economics of Germany accepting as many as 500,000 Middle Eastern refugees is not entirely negative math, HSBC economists Rainer Sartoris and Chief European Economist Karen Ward point out. What the pair say is “the total government cost of supporting refugees” could be near 21 billion euros, which amounts to nearly 0.7% of German GDP. “The sheer volume has pushed Germany to its limits,” the report noted. Just processing applicants is challenging, as processed asylum applications runs well below the number of immigrants that have registered on entry.

But the silver lining to the European refugee crisis. Government spending might directly boost growth by 0.4% of GDP, the report said. “The timing is somewhat fortuitous for Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble given the solid
rise income tax receipts from record high employment,” the report said. “With a little bit of reshuffling he may still be able to balance the books.”

Part of that balancing act could be relative to reducing the flow of refugees. In 2015 Germany accepted 1 million refugees. The report noted that if the flow of refugees reaches that level the 1 million mark, the economic math changes. Under such circumstances, HSBC estimates the immigrant cost, which assumes 12,500 euros in direct subsidies per refugee and a 1,500 euro cost to add government employees, might raise total costs to 33 billion in 2017, amounting to 1.0% of GDP.

1. Despite EU efforts to stem numbers, inflows so far this year far exceed 2015

![Graph showing inflows over time]

**Source:** EASY

### As political pressure mounts in Germany, eyes turn to Greece and Turkey

The migrant crisis and related social disruption has caused the German ruling party to alter its stance. A “political backlash within Germany” resulted in the right-wing extremist party “Alternative für Deutschland” making a strong showing in the regional elections, a trend also seen more broadly across much of Europe, the report noted.

The election results have led to considerable efforts to stem immigrant inflow, as borders have been closed in the Balkans and Austria making the route to Germany more challenging. This comes as more recently, the EU has struck a deal with Turkey to try and reduce the numbers crossing the Mediterranean.

Using Turkey and Greece as a holding area for migrants has its costs. Last weekend the EU and Turkey agreed a deal to try and stem the number of people illegally crossing the Mediterranean and formalize the migration process. In return for their assistance, the EU will pay Turkey financial aid 6 billion euros in total, which is more than double the 3 billion euros that were agreed upon in October 2015. Further, the EU will speed up the visa process for Turkish nationals.

Greece is a different story, HSBC economist Fabio Balboni noted in a March 21 report that the migrant crisis is making a bad economic situation worse. With the Troika back in Athens and the Greeks having difficulty meeting the payment and budget constraints it previously agreed to, the refugee cost in Greece could reach 4 billion euros, or 2% of GDP per year. With 50,000 refugees stuck on the Greek border, tensions are rising I the region and “could reach a peak by the summer” when Greece is required to repay 3 billion euros in debt and interest, the report noted.
In the long term, only time will tell if the refugee crisis helps or hurts the European economy, but for now it looks like the former.

2. Syria is the main country of origin

3. Germany has a backlog of applications

The political challenges are also increasing. The recent German regional elections showed a significant rise in support for the far-right party Alternative für Deutschland.

4. Rising support for AfD, whilst mainstream parties appear to be losing ground

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The Economic Impact of the European Refugee Crisis

The EC says 3 million people could arrive in Europe by the end of 2017, and add about 0.25 percent to the bloc's GDP.

Refugees at Athens International Airport board an aircraft headed for Luxembourg on Wednesday. Andrea Bonetti / Greek Prime Minister's Office / AP

KRISNADEV CALAMUR
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Three million refugees and migrants could arrive in Europe by the end of 2017, the European Commission says in its economic forecast for the fall of 2015.
The report says the newcomers will have a “relatively small” economic impact in the medium term, with GDP rising between 0.2 percent and 0.3 percent above the baseline by 2020. But, the EC notes, that could vary by country—with destination countries—such as Germany—seeing a more significant impact than transit countries. Here’s more:

The impact from higher public spending and a larger labour force with a skillset similar to the existing one in the EU is expected to: – contribute to a small increase in the level of GDP this year and next, compared to a baseline scenario, rising to about ¼% by 2017. This however is less than the rise in the underlying population, implying a small, negative impact on GDP per capita throughout the period; and – strengthening the outlook for employment (which is expected to improve gradually to about 0.3% more employed persons by 2017), in part from a wage response.

The EC reports points out that, typically, non-EU migrants typically receive less in individual benefits than they contribute in taxes and social contributions. And their employment is the most important factor of net fiscal contribution.

The influx—excluding failed asylum applications—will increase the EU’s population by 0.4 percent, the forecast says.

The report further says:

For Member States with an ageing population and shrinking workforce, migration can alter the age distribution in a way that may strengthen fiscal sustainability—yet, if the human potential is not used well, the inflow can also weaken fiscal sustainability. Moreover, while migration flows can partly offset unfavourable demographic developments, earlier
studies have shown that immigration could not on its own solve the problems linked to ageing in the EU.

Economic models examining the integration of 3 million extra people over the next two years notwithstanding, Europe is deeply divided over how to handle the most severe refugee crisis since World War II. More than 760,000 refugees and migrants have entered the EU in the first nine months of this year, but the bloc has only agreed on relocating 160,000 of them. Of these, as we reported Wednesday, 116 have been sent to their new homes.

About 1.2 million people have sought asylum in the EU since the start of 2014. Many of them are people fleeing the Syrian civil war, and unrest in Afghanistan, Iraq, Eritrea, and elsewhere. Others, however, are economic migrants, and will likely be turned away by Europe.

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