Social Contracts and Human Rights Abandoned by Liberal States

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Abstract

Throughout the following thesis I will strive to answer the question: of whether or not Western affluent countries are morally and unconditionally obligated by social contract and moral commitment to allow entry and citizenship of refugees in France, Italy, and the United States. I will use the article by David Miller "Immigration: A Case for Limits" to highlight how the average Western mind considers refugees and how his arguments deliberately go against the rights and protocols of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1951 and 1967 Geneva Conventions relating to the Status of Refugees. I will provide real life examples, highlighting past year events of discrimination trends against the Muslim community and consequently, refugees.

Dedication

To those who fight for those who cannot…

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UN	United Nations
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
US	United States

1. Introduction

What are the most important values and norms that make up the ideal liberal society? Most people would say that it is their right to be protected by their legislative freedoms—which they possess only because they are acknowledged by Universal Declaration of Human Rights—respected by the state, society, and the constituent individuals, defining not only the core characteristics of the liberal society, but also clearly upholding Western dominant ideology that is generally accepted in the workings of Western governmental institutions. The question I will answer in this thesis is whether Western liberal democracies are morally responsible for supporting the human rights of war refugees. The reason why this research is so important is because there are currently millions of people forced to abandon their home countries, facing dangerous journeys across desserts and seas to seek shelter in another country that is free and equitable; countries that take pride in themselves for being the custodians of justice, peace, and freedom.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR henceforth), having been proclaimed in Paris on December 10, 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly, is a moment in history that is said to have reaffirmed the liberal ideals of human rights and stated them explicitly, in a way, serving as an international constitution for the free world. In 1948, forty eight of the world's countries signed the UDHR:

> Chile, Afghanistan, Brazil, Bolivia, Burma, Belgium, Australia, Argentina, Egypt, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Denmark, Cuba, Costa Rica, Colombia, China, Iraq, India, Iceland, Haiti, Guatemala, Greece, France, Ethiopia, El Salvador, New Zealand, The Netherlands, Mexico, Luxembourg, Liberia, Lebanon, Iran, Sweden,

> Siam, Philippines, Peru, Paraguay, Panama, Pakistan, Nicaragua, Norway, Uruguay, United States Of America, United Kingdom, Turkey, Syria, and Venezuela. (unethiopia.org editor)

I would like to reinforce that these 48 nations that have signed the UDHR are therefore, morally obliged by the UDHR to protect the social contract the merger countries have agreed upon to promote the human rights standards for the world. There are five permanent members of the United Nations: the United States, the United Kingdom, China, France, and the Russian Federation. In total there are one hundred and ninety three countries which are United Nations members. Considering that there are five permanent delegations, it would reason that those five countries, even more so than the other members, would be held in higher regard when considering the moral obligation to uphold the all the rights listed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; for they not only style themselves as the guardians of these liberal ideas, but also find it in their power and duty to interfere with other nations who do not uphold to human rights. I will focus more on how the United States of America has an especially high obligation to the refugee crisis because of its adoption of the UDHR and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees.

Additionally, the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights paved the way for the 1951 United Nations Convention of the Status of Refugees which is the prime document that established the standards for how refugees should be treated. Unfortunately, many of the United Nation's member states are not living up to the demanded standards written in the declaration or in the 1951 and 1967 Geneva Conventions. Although Italy did not sign the UDHR in the year that it was created, it did sign the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol.

The legal and official definition of a refugee is important to remember throughout the paper because the definition is was accepted by the various counties that have signed the Geneva

Convention. The definition of the term refugee was defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention. The UNHCR public website defines it as:

> Someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. (UNHCR)

This definition was mutually agreed upon by the 48 countries which have signed the UDHR and therefore there can be no discrepancies as to what a refugee is legally defined as. The definition offered covers all the basis for the reasons a person is justified to escape their homeland and go somewhere else. Refugees are thus considered as a special circumstance and should be treated in a protective manner that ensures they will not be taken advantage of, forgotten, or ignored by society. It is demanded of members of the United Nations, especially the permanent 5, and of those countries that are signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Refugees are considered to be a special circumstance and deserve to have their rights protected; they deserve to have their rights protected and deserve to live a normal life like any other person.

Moreover, throughout my following research analysis I will use John Locke's Social Contract Theory to show how the UDHR is a socially agreed upon contract that served and serves to form the majority of society would want to live in and therefore they are morally obliged to respect it. Social Contract Theory derives from the concept that in a natural state without government men eventually agreed to govern themselves for the betterment of society ensuring that everyone's right

would be respected. Locke is considered to be one of the three prime philosophers who emphasized Social Contract Theory and many would say that Locke was a part of a 'Copernican shift' in political philosophy that revealed the change from the medieval traditional theory of natural rights to a more modern notion because the idea of rights changed from divine right to rational right. In fact, Thomas Jefferson was highly influenced by Locke when writing the Declaration of Independence for the newly established Nation of the United States because of Locke's emphasis on rationality and the equality of men.

Additionally, I will give examples of recent cases of the growing ambiguous Western attitude towards refugees and thus, the Muslim community, to highlight even further how Western states are challenging the mutually declared ideals of human rights. The reason why I have chosen examples from the United States and France is because those countries essentially key founders in the UDHR and therefore should live up to the declarations demanded standards. I would like to note that the United States has signed both the UDHR and the Geneva Convention Protocol of 1967. Although Italy did not sign the UDHR in 1948, it did sign the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. Sadly, there have been a couple of recent cases where governments have denied Muslim people citizenship because of their religion. Similarly, many countries have begun to limit immigration and refugee intake from specifically Muslim countries which also interprets as chauvinistic. I will use examples from the United States and Italy to highlight how those countries are deliberately targeting the Muslim refugee community and how this is unjust. The president of the United States, Donald Trump, enacted an immigration policy within the last year that limits immigration from Iran, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, Venezuela, and North Korea. It is not a coincidence that five out of those seven countries have a primarily Muslim population. While many would argue that the president is simply controlling the

population movement, there is no denying that there is a stigma against the Muslim community in America and that Trump was influenced by that factor when deciding which countries to ban. Countries which have signed and pledged to uphold the rights of all people are now going back on their word by not treating people with the respect they promised. I will continue my analysis on these events in a later chapter.

The reason I have chosen to do my final research thesis on this topic is because Western affluent countries are not upholding there social contract and *promise* made to humanity and therefore it present a huge problem for the world today. By denying refugees and immigrants entry into safe countries, affluent societies are subjecting these people to lives of suffering as they would be forced to live in countries that do not respect their human rights. Approximately there are eighty-two thousand people, seeking asylum because of persecution and human rights violations in their home countries have forced them to enter Europe by sea and sadly, approximately seventeen-hundreds of them have lost their lives *en route* to a better future (United Nations). The shockingly high number of refugees trying to escape human rights violations to countries that will accept them is becoming irrelevant as Western affluent societies repudiate them.

The consequence of countries closing their borders or not handling the situation could very well be that hundreds of thousands of people will be denied the first article of the UDHR: that all beings are created free and equal in dignity and rights. It is also infringing Article Three: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" (United Nations). If there are still people who are being denied entry into peaceful states, then their third right, the right to life, liberty, and security, and their eighth right, the right to asylum, are not being respected because they would be forced to live in their home countries inflicted by war and therefore their lives are put in grave danger. The fact that America, Italy, France and other Western countries have helped

establish the UDHR highlights that the ideal of human rights is deeply rooted in the values and culture of Western liberal democracies. If these refugees cannot depend on the countries which have created modern human rights to protect them, then how can people demand that their rights be respected at all?

2. Natural Rights, Social Contract and Human Rights Theories

I wish to make a summary on John Locke's Social Contract Theory, which he basis in his Natural Rights Theory because of its role in inspiring the men who composed the foundation of great historical and legal documents such as the United States Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Social Contract Theory according to Locke stems from the concept that in the *status naturalis* (state of nature), before the establishment of the society and therefore of the state, people came together to create a democratic and liberal form of state to protect the rights of the people that was founded in the division of labor. Those natural rights would include the right to liberty, happiness, property, etc.:

> Locke used the claim that men are naturally free and equal as part of the justification for understanding legitimate political government as the result of a social contract where people in the state of nature conditionally transfer some of their rights to the government in order to better ensure the stable, comfortable enjoyment of their lives, liberty, and property. (Tuckness)

For Locke, the world in a natural state was quite balanced because men used their rational minds to bring justice and through the use of man's rational mind, society was able to come to a solution that benefitted all people: civil government. Thus laws were put in place in order to protect the rights of the people who agreed to give the government the power, as long as what the government did was best for the people. Locke's philosophy theory highly influence Thomas Jefferson in drafting the US Declaration of Independence and therefore it can be argued that the core values of traditional American culture stem from Locke's natural rights theory. Locke was a man of his time in that he thought the rational mind and therefore natural rights to be divinely given, but I will not

be making that assumption. Instead, I will consider that the UDHR is a social contract made between nation states, and in theory all men that should be honored by the states that signed the document. By signing the various important documents nations have mutually agreed that the UDHR, the 1951 Geneva Convention, and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees are fundamental attributes necessary for living in a just society. Therefore, I will be considering the concept of human rights as a social contract, as well as the UDHR, and the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, that bind society in a moral commitment to protect refugees.

Considering that governments have come together to make an agreement to protect the rights of all peoples, Western states have often justified their participation in various wars by portraying the war as a fight for justice. Liberal states justify interfering with war with foreign countries who are not abiding by the standards set for humanity. Thus, countries find the moral obligation to (a) defend the rights of locals against the tyrannical regimes and consequently (b) when they interfere, they have to face the consequences and do anything they can for the peoples. This is important to keep in mind because I will analyze how the United States of America is especially responsible to help Syrian refugees because of its interference and participation with the Syrian Government.

Furthermore, the Human Rights Theory doctrine and concept is at the base the idea that all people are entitled have their basic needs met such as healthcare, rights to religion, or rights to asylum. “This aspiration has been enshrined in various declarations and legal conventions issued during the past fifty years, initiated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and perpetuated by, most importantly, the European Convention on Human Rights (1954) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)” (Fagan). In this research I will focus

primarily on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights because of its relevance to the treatment of refugees and in light of the recent Syrian refugee crisis it seems as if society needs to be reminded of the promise made to humanity in the UDHR. I will use Human Rights as a theory throughout the following research because the human rights of refugees is what will be analyzed.

3. David Miller's Position and Suggestions Regarding Refugees

David Miller provides arguments that oppose the argument that Western liberal democracies have a moral obligation, stemming from a social contract, to those who face violations of their rights. Miller begins setting his objections by presenting three cases that emphasize how unlimited immigration is not justified. Secondly, he gives two reasons, culture and population control, that justify state's legitimate tendency to limit immigration. Thirdly, he argues that states have the right to control immigration how they please and while refugees have the right to asylum, they are not to be considered as long-term immigrants and ultimately may be asked to return to their home country. I will not be concerning myself with the majority of Miller's article because of his primary analysis on immigrants, instead I will focus on the arguments he makes pertaining to refugees.

Miller paints a conflict between the refugee's right to asylum and the state's right to accept or reject them. The first reason Miller presents for his position is that individual states have the right to decide who gets to live in the country due to the simple fact that a state is a self-governing and sovereign entity with a power to implement its decisions. His second reason is that countries the right to solely admit refugees temporarily on the basis that it is not a state's responsibility to care for anyone other than its own citizens. Finally, Miller argues that states have the right to decide who they let immigrate into their country and of course, refugees are not included in that discussion because he rationalizes that refugees are only to be considered as temporary. Miller does not even acknowledge that refugees might need immigration priority and therefore he implies that they do not deserve to immigrate. I will criticize Miller's arguments by analyzing how denying peoples, specifically war refugees who have fled their homes from religious or political

persecution, contradicts the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and therefore goes against the morals and values these Western democracies claim to defend and encourage.

Firstly, I will argue that Western liberal democracies are morally obliged to help refugees based on their acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Convention. Secondly, I will argue that refugees should be considered as more than just a temporary issue because they deserve a new life. Thirdly and finally, I will argue that refugees should be given priority in immigration and attaining citizenship because their special status implies that they require special attention.

Before considering the criticism I wish to illuminate some assumptions Miller holds clear in his arguments. Firstly, by referring to states as self-governing sovereign entities, there are three assumptions, which are uniform in the realist literature of international relations: (I) States act rationally, that is, they aim to maximize their expected utility with a given set of information; (II) States are unitary and autonomous, in the sense that they do not have second thoughts or factionalism within, and are the only actors; (II) There is an anarchy in the international stage, no single entity has the power to enforce what states should do; in other words, there are no international police (Donnelly 150).

These assumptions, naturally, can be contested; nonetheless, I will take them to be the case for the sake of Miller's argument and show that even within this realist framework, there is a moral responsibility that falls unto the Western democracies to provide asylum for the refugees.

4. Who is obliged to Help and Why

In this first chapter I wish to elaborate my argument that members of the United Nations have a moral obligation to allow refugees entry into their countries because they have made a social contract by consensually conceptualizing and designing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and by establishing the conditions concerning refugees declared in the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 protocol. Firstly, I will analyze the UDHR and the Geneva Convention's articles and policies, and how those documents are social contracts and therefore morally relevant. Secondly, I will give two examples, one of Italy and the other of the United States, to highlight how these two states are denying refugees and therefore are breaking their *promise* made to humanity to respect human rights and the needs of refugees. Thirdly, I will give the extreme historical example of the Holocaust to explain just why the UDHR and the Geneva Convention came into being. Fourthly, I will highlight how the obligation to help refugees can also be seen as a personal moral responsibility to the average individual.

4.1 Miller's Argument

I will firstly refute an argument Miller gives early on in his section concerning refugees. His argument is shared by many who believe that nations have the right, being sovereign and self-governing, to deny anyone who they wish upon entering its borders. Miller argues:

> States have to be given considerable autonomy to decide on how to respond to particular asylum applicants: besides the refugee's own choice, they are entitled to

> consider the overall number of applicants they face, the demands that the temporary or longer-term accommodation of refugees will place on existing citizens, and whether there exists any special link between the refugee and the host community – for instance, similarities of language or culture, or a sense of historical responsibility on the part of the receiving state (which might see itself as somehow implicated among the causes of crisis that has produced refugees). (Miller 203)

With this argument Miller seems to imply that states are allowed to decide when they have helped enough concerning world crises involving refugees or aid. Furthermore, he implies that states are not held responsible by any other states for their actions.

4.2 Against the Argument

In opposition to Miller's argument I will argue that states do not have considerable autonomy when deciding how to handle certain asylum applications and the reason why is to prevent them from denying refugees. The fourteenth article of the UDHR declares the right to asylum. The fourteenth article inspired another document just 3 years later in the 1951 Refugee Convention, also known as the Geneva Convention, which gave the official definition of a refugee's status and laid out the guidelines and policies on how states should treat refugees. In 1967, the Geneva Convention met to make a protocol change that would open the refugee requirements from only concerning European refugees from before 1951 to include all nations: "The 1967 Protocol removed geographical and temporal restrictions from the Convention" (ec.europa.eu). The change in the regulations of the Geneva Convention are essential to my argument because it opened the boundaries of who could qualify as a refugee and opened the boundaries as to where those refugees could go. Furthermore, I will analyze all the various ways in which society is obligated to assist

with the current refugee crisis through examples of social contracts, association, history, and individual obligation.

4.3 Obligation by Social Contract

Unfortunately, a number of members of the United Nations have decided to limit their refugee intake within the past year. For example, the Deputy Prime Minister of Italy and Minister of the Interior, Matteo Salvini, refused to let, *the Aquarius*, a humanitarian rescue boat, dock on Italian shores arguing that Italy had done its fair share in helping with the refugee crisis. His argument was that Italy had done its fair share in helping with the refugee crisis and this was apparently justifiable because Italy is its own sovereign state. The connection with Miller's argument is that both Miller and Salvini imply that countries have the right to contradict the social contract they have made with many other countries in the 1951 and 1967 Geneva Conventions. Although Italy did not sign the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, it is a signatory of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Therefore, Italy is morally responsible to adhere to the regulations concerning refugees stated in those documents. This is not the only recent case in which a Western liberal state has failed to respect the rights of refugees. In 2017, President Donald Trump of the United States enacted a refugee ban which is extreme in comparison to the more open policies the United States adhered to in the recent past. There are currently 13.1 million people in need in Syria and another 6.6 million displaced Syrian

refugees (United Nations).

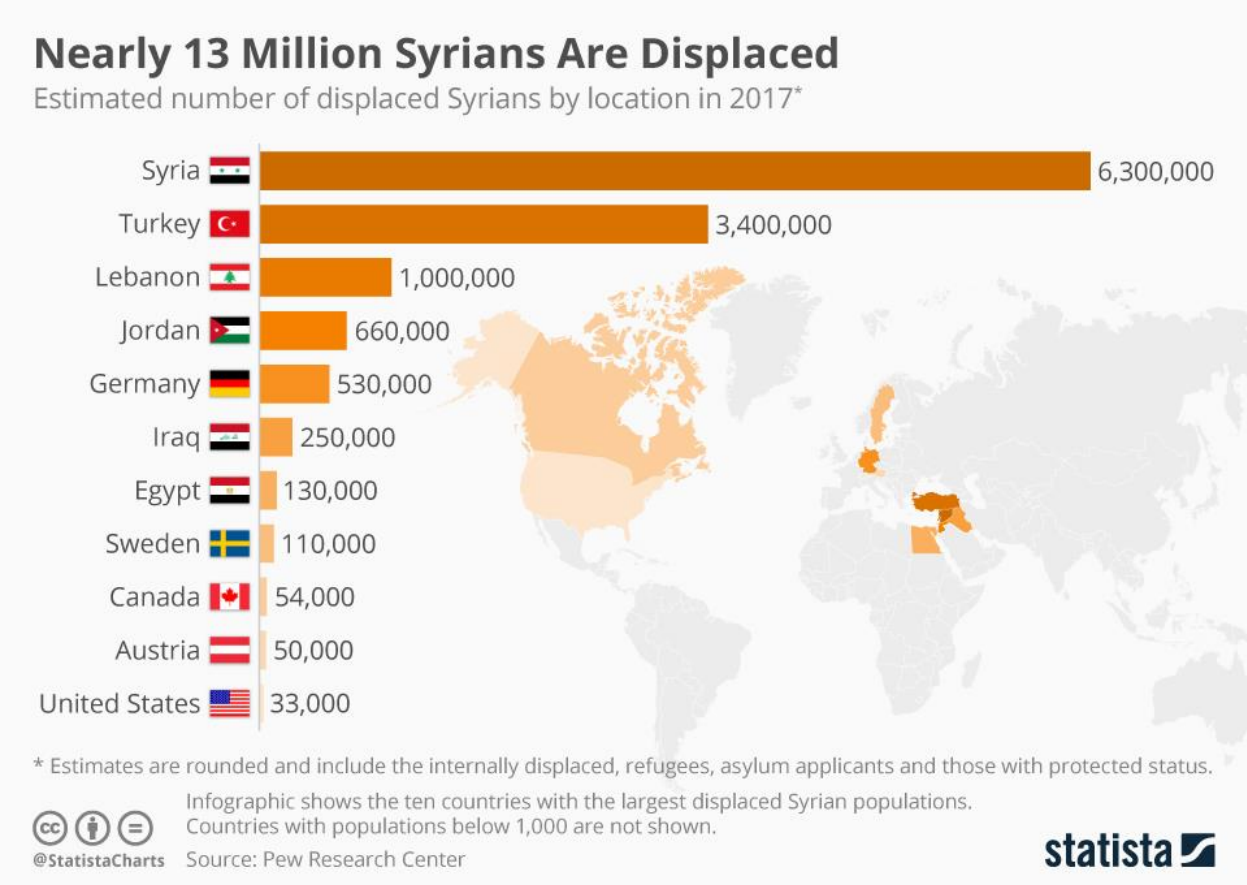

Fig. 1. Displaced Syrian Refugees: McCarthy, Niall, and Felix Richter. "Infographic: Nearly 13 Million Syrians Are Displaced." Statista, 13 Apr. 2018, www.statista.com/chart/13514/nearly-13-million-syrians-are-displaced/.

The image "Infographic: Nearly 13 Million Syrians are Displaced" gives a visual impact of just how devastating the statistics concerning Syrian refugees are and highlights just how great of an issue the world must not wait to deal with. The image shows how the countries which are helping the most are the countries surrounding Syria, but those may not be the countries which the best ability to help Syrian refugees. Additionally, the low number of Syrian refugees admitted into the United States in 2018 is a lowly 11 people (Geraldi). This is hardly a suitable number paralleled to the millions of refugees who are struggling to find freedom in liberal countries. Furthermore, the low numbers of Syrian refugees accepted into the United States does not reflect a serious

commitment to uphold the fourteenth article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Convention. If one country that has made the social contract does not follow it sets a precedent for other countries to do the same which is a problem because then the point of the social contract is worthless:

> And thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic under one government, puts himself under an obligation, to every one of that society, to submit to the determination of the majority, and to be concluded by it; or else this original compact, whereby he with others incorporates into one society, would signify nothing, and be no compact, if he be left free, and under no other ties than he was in before in the state of nature. For what appearance would there be of any compact? what new engagement if he were no farther tied by any decrees of the society, than he himself thought fit, and did actually consent to? This would be still as great a liberty, as he himself had before his compact, or anyone else in the state of nature hath, who may submit himself, and consent to any acts of it if he thinks fit. (Locke 40)

Locke highlights the importance of members of the society to uphold their part of the agreement because it is important to keep up the standards decided by the community, otherwise no one will have to abide by the contract. The same way of thinking can be applied to this contemporary refugee issue because the countries refusing entry to refugees are breaking their social contracts in regards to refugees. The UDHR is necessary social contract made between the countries which have signed because it became apparent in the events of WWII that there needed to be a social consensus and agreement that would protect the rights of the people, so that they would not be persecuted and that if they were persecuted, they would have protection by the states which have

committed to human rights. Furthermore, not offering asylum to Syrian people is indirectly sentencing them to death by returning them to unfit countries or by forcing them into limbo for years going between refugee camps which leaves their civil status ambiguous. The first option could ultimately cause them to die and the second leaves them without a proper legal status and therefore without any legally recognized rights in the host country. Even when refugees are admitted into the host country they are forced to live in camps, met with racist ideology, and discriminated against for their religion. When the question of obligation is at hand in relation to the refugees, it should be answered with respectful and serious plan to help these people. Countries should not have the right to decline any person who is running from a life of injustice, especially when the common rhetoric that forces many states to interfere in the region is to bring peace and stability. Given that this optimistic, century-long ambition failed, further given that these countries are the ideological generators of *universal* (that is, it includes those who were lucky to have been born in the Western liberal society and those unlucky enough to have been born during a bloody civil war) human rights, the moral responsibility is evident.

4.4 Obligation by Association

Apart from the fact that there is a moral obligation because of the social contracts made, there is another type of obligation which stems from the relationship between a host country and the country that refugees are leaving. All countries that have made this promise of a better future for others in civil strife and those who claim to champion the liberal ideals are obliged to help with refugee crises. I will argue in this section that the United States of America is especially obliged to aid Syrian refugees because of the countries involvement in the Syrian civil war: “The United States started arming and providing military air cover in 2014 for anti-Assad rebel groups who

were also waging war against ISIS" (Hjelmgaard). The civil war in Syria started in 2011 and is continuing which means that Syria has been unstable for the past 7 years for the everyday citizen. Unfortunately, it does not appear as if the war is going to end any time soon and the proof is in the massive number of Syrian refugees that have made the journey across the Mediterranean Sea with in the past 2 years; for they, and not the countries to which they are traveling, are the ones who are affected the most. Such a massive wave of migration is unprecedented in the region; therefore, it must be the consequence of something circumstantial: war. Consequently, it must be the case that if the peoples of Syria and other Middle Eastern countries continue to leave their homes and native lands, the crisis will not end soon. Additionally, the moral obligation by some states can be weighed more heavily depending on their influence in the country which is in chaos causing refugees to flee:

> Clearly, we have a moral responsibility to find homes and permanent solutions for refugees who have fled their homes because of our actions. Americans – whether supporters or opponents of war – recognized this in the wake of the Vietnam War and took in hundreds of thousands of refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. (Carens 554)

Accepting those refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos seemed like the only reasonable answer because they were slaughtered in their home countries and the fault was shouldered by the United States because they were actively involved in the Vietnam War. Assuming this argument should follow suit in similar situations, it suggests a moral contradiction that President Trump enact a ban on immigration against people from Iran, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, Venezuela, and North Korea. It is not a coincidence that 5 out of those 7 countries have a primarily Muslim population. The total number of refugees that came into Greece in 2018 is about 26,000 and from

that 5,750 are from the Syrian Arab Republic (UNHCR). People running from Syria are political refugees who are escaping the tangles of a civil war. If Western Democracies are willing to bomb other countries in the name of freedom, then they must respect the rights that the people caught up amid war and offer asylum.

Plainly put, Western liberal societies justify interfering with affairs of other states (because they can and there are no international police) with the pretension of being the bringers of peace and stability. Take a realist or an anti-realist perspective, this means a promise, regardless. Henceforth, the promise is further supported by introducing the liberal ideals the west share into the constitution being drafted in Syria (Beals). For me, this is a contract the liberal societies offer to Syria. They say that the current state of affairs in Syria is undemocratic and they interfere, on return, they would establish Syria as a liberal state that is a part of the international free-market system; win-win for both, as the west now can access the labor and consumer market in Syria and Syria now can access to the tariff-free, cheaper products and the people of Syria would enjoy the universal natural rights as declared by liberal system. Therefore, the participation of Western countries in Syria's internal affairs makes them obliged to help the innocent civilians caught in the process.

The only reasonable thing to do, when one breaks a promise, that is a morally-binding claim pertaining to future, is to make amends. In this case, such amends are accepting the people whose lives are put at risk regardless of their status into the Western society, not as fully integrated citizens, of course, but as refugees. If not, then what is left by the contract? If not, how are we—as the peoples of such liberal societies—to trust our ideals? What are at stake are not merely people losing their lives (which is a grave problem on its own) but the principle on which the liberal

society stands: Contracts *must* be respected. This is especially the case when the contract involves the lives of people.

4.5 Past and Present Obligations

If Western liberal nations do not take a step further in assisting these refugees, they may one day regret the outcome. For example, the Holocaust was not the fault the United Kingdom by any means, but if they had intervened sooner than perhaps 5 million Jewish lives would not have been lost, just because the British were reluctant for another armed conflict on the continent. For, even though not explicitly set out yet, the British were claiming patronage for the ideals of liberalism and in this particular instance those of the Jews, which is evident in the Belfour Declaration which calls for a 'national home for the Jewish people of the world', not only because they have a shared interest (they very well may have) but more importantly, because they believed that nations had a right for self-determination, a fine principle of liberalism, echoed by President Wilson. There is also the fact that Russia and the US did not help soon enough either, but no one will go so far as to deliberately blame those countries for the tragic events.

Indeed, the Holocaust is often considered to be the worst act against humanity in modern times and is one of Western civilization's greatest downfalls, but it helped humanity to realize that there was a need for a set of written official statements concerning human rights. In consequence, the Holocaust set the tone for how the UDHR and Geneva Conventions would be composed: "The Holocaust was an important part of the impetus behind the creation of the modern refugee regime, a regime that promised that no refugee would be turned away, that refugees would be able to find new homes" (Carens 554). The right to asylum should not indicate that refugees live in overcrowded camps waiting endlessly to be accepted by society. The Jewish community was

rewarded the state of Israel as a solution to their ambiguous homeland, but even most Jewish people did not jump at the opportunity to trade America for Israel. Eventually the massive number of Jewish people fleeing Europe began to even out because they were given the right to move where they were accepted and considering they were just released from concentration camps, they were not put into refugee camps. Although refugee camps are a start to solving the issue there is a need to reestablish just how these refugee centers should be operated. According to the UDHR, there is an obligation of every country which is a member of the United Nations to uphold the standards for human life described in that document. Considering there are so many countries which are not doing their part suggests that there needs to be more of a group effort. The refugee crisis cannot rely solely on the help of Syria's neighboring countries such as Turkey, Libya, Italy and Greece. If human kind were truly aware of the amount of suffering which these refugees go through in order to find asylum, then they would be more passionate about solving the problem. Although there is media coverage about the chaos going on in Syria, perhaps society has become desensitized to the news and therefore the reaction cannot grow. Miller argues:

> Rather than encouraging long-distance migration, it may be preferable to establish safety zones for refugees close to their homes and then deal with the cause of the rights-violations directly – whether this means sending in food and medical aid or intervening to remove a genocidal regime from power. (Miller 203)

There is a series of problems that Miller implies with this suggestion, even if it does seem ideal by its simplicity. Firstly, it is impossible to know from the beginning just how long a war or genocide could take to fulfill its process, so it is wrong to assume that refugees should have to wait years in a refugee camp to return to a land which might never attain peace. Secondly, dealing with the issue on the ground can often result in even more war and catastrophe. Thirdly, the promise that nations

will send enough food and medical aid is an ambiguous one and has proven, in the past, to be unreliable. Furthermore, the obligation to help goes beyond considering who should help on a state level.

4.6 Personal and Global Obligations

This obligation should not only be seen as a national concern because even the smallest amount of help makes the difference when it comes to life and death. It is a personal stand that should be taken by every person to help those who truly need it. One famous example paints the picture more clearly: "if I am walking past a shallow pond and see a child drowning in it, I ought to wade in and pull the child out. This will mean getting my clothes muddy, but this is insignificant, while the death of the child would presumably be a very bad thing" (Singer 231). The way that Singer simplifies the obligation to help makes one realize how truly easy it is to donate $5 a month or even $100 a month if it means that it could save someone's life. Even more, refugees are normal people just like everyone else and should not be seen as 'other' or foreign. It is not their fault that that they suddenly are caught in an issue and they should not be seen as a burden to society just because they require assistance. A more extreme example of this would be the obligation Western democracies felt after finding out about the millions of Jews being murdered at the hand of Hitler's regime during WWII. This is often called the worst act against humanity, but it is a good reminder that people cannot wait around for another country or another person to act and make a change. It could be argued that the past decades have been moderately active involving human rights when considering abortion and sexual orientation, but there has not been considerable action in defending refugees. Overall, there has been no real movement towards helping these refugees find stability and peace:

> Generally speaking, people have not given large sums to relief funds; they have not written to their parliamentary representatives demanding increased government assistance; they have not demonstrated in the streets, held symbolic fasts, or done anything else directed toward providing the refugees with the means to satisfy their basic needs. (Singer 229)

Singer highlights that even on a small-scale change is not in the midst. If the everyday person does not have enough courage to stand up for the rights of refugees, then how can one depend on anyone to do what is right? One cannot assume that another person or country will step up and be the one to help because without there being international laws or agreements that all should help, then none will. Diffusion of responsibility is a dangerous phenomenon and in consequence situations are often ignored until the damage is too severe to repair.

There is however one problem with my utilitarian analysis above. It may seem enough to say that the Western countries are obligated to help the refugees because what they could spare would not be significant for them, but would save many people's lives; yet, it does not work like this. For my aim in this thesis is not to show that the refugee crisis should be solved by the Western countries out of kindness or a utilitarian calculus, although this I do hold that true, but to demonstrate that they are under a strict moral necessity to do so, not only out of kindness, but more so because of the promise they have made in signing the UDHR. The difference between the two is between effectiveness and the utilitarian method, in this case, remains ineffective and highly abstracted. As there is no universal police and all countries act according to self-interest (again, I accept Miller's realist assumptions), who can implement these utilitarian calculations? Whereas, using the Social Contract Theory is effective in the sense that when I demonstrate that the burden falls unto the Western countries, it will be because *they* made a *promise*, whereas when a utilitarian

argues the same it is because it would be *better*. The burden is heavier in a contractual theoretical scheme and it is a better fit and, as it can be translated into a legal language easily, it is not abstracted but essentially practical: it can be implemented in real life without an international police or an appeal to capitalists of liberal countries for change as charity!

Furthermore, Western affluent countries are also obliged not just because of the social contract, but because the social contract, the UDHR, is a fundamentally attribute for the world society lives in today. Human rights serve anyone and everyone. Refugees are the same as any other person and their situation could very well happen to even the wealthiest countries if those countries were to break out in any kind of war. The United Nations could be seen in general as a cosmopolitan based institution that resembles a form of world government that strives to keep world peace. The idea of world-citizens is one that many people who travel often feels applies to them, but that is most often the more wealthy people of the world. The freedom of movement should not be restricted to those who can afford, especially when refugees *need* to move in order to survive. Immanuel Kant was influenced by Locke and is visible in the arguments Kant makes about global citizenship:

> This right to present themselves to society belongs to all mankind in virtue of our common right of possession on the surface of the earth on which, as it is a globe, we cannot be infinitely scattered, and must in the end reconcile ourselves to existence side by side: at the same time, originally no one individual had more right than another to live in any one particular spot. (Kant)

The fact that Kant acknowledges that the earth is shared by everyone and that borders are artificially man-made highlights how all men have the right to live wherever they please, as long as they do so peacefully. The influence that Locke had on Kant shows even more when Kant

provides ideals for a world government. A cosmopolitan form of global government could actually one day provide the solution for future refugee crises as it would be enforced by a greater institution made up of all countries on the earth. The UDHR was created to ensure the protection of rights of every person, no matter who they are or where they came from and the importance of this document needs to be reinforced more publicly so society can be reminded of why it was created in the first place.

4.7 Concluding Thoughts on Obligation

The current refugee problem is not being treated the way it should be by nations that founded their constitutions and values on treating all people equitably. There are many who would rather simply close the borders and pretend as if their passiveness does not negatively affect the lives of thousands of people such as the United States of America and Italy. Closing borders does not solve the issue at hand, especially when the countries that pride themselves on being a representative of ideals of liberty and equity are not doing their part of the bargain. Whether refugees are being starved, religiously persecuted, murdered, or economically crippled, they still deserve an opportunity to live their lives not only with their basic needs met, but also with the rights and liberties proclaimed and promised by UDHR. I have given the historical example of the Holocaust to show how the UDHR has come into being and why its importance should not be forgotten. In the world society lives in today, we must be careful to remember the past when dealing with such controversial topics in order to correctly handle the situations in a delicate manner. The current refugee issue is not only important because many innocent lives are at stake, but also because if affluent countries do not try harder to help it highlights immoral implications about society overall; in other words, as the liberal society depends on parties to keep their promises and deliver, the

apparent and bold rejection of acting upon such a colossal promise, that is the declaration, would set a precedent.

5. Why Refugees should not only be considered as Temporary

5.1 Miller's Argument

Miller continues by arguing that refugees are permitted to stay in the host country temporarily and may be asked to return to their home land when the threat has diminished: "They may be offered temporary sanctuary in states that are able to protect them, and then be asked to return to their original country of citizenship when the threat has passed" (Miller 202). He does not blatantly say *why* they should only be considered temporary, rather he implies so with the argument that states have the autonomous right to do with refugees as they please. He argues this because he does not think it is the responsibility of states to ensure that refugees are thoroughly taken care of, but then he contradicts himself by stating in *prime facie* refugees deserve the chance to have more than just their basic needs met. He contradicts himself with that line of reasoning because refugees cannot live the best life possible if they are only to be considered a temporary issue by their host country because they will be kept without any real legal status. Miller's position that refugees should only be permitted to stay temporarily highlights a big issue in the current immigration and refugee crisis due to the grave number of refugees that there are throughout the world. Accumulating to the issue, many states are not abiding to their pledge to respect the fourteenth article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the policies regarding refugees stated in the Geneva Convention and 1967 protocol enhancement. Miller defends his argument by claiming that states have the sovereign right to admit whoever it would like into its own country. I will argue against Miller's claim because the states which are a part of the United

Nations are obligated to follow the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Additionally, they are obliged to uphold the 1951 and 1967 United Nations Convention of the Status of Refugees which was created and based off of the fourteenth article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: right to seek asylum.

5.2 My Opposing Argument

All peoples fleeing from danger from their country of origin are considered refugees and as of lately they need to be recognized in a more humanitarian manner because of the negative attitude against them that seems to have recently taken ahold of society. Members of the United Nations are demanded, especially the permanent five, to accept war refugees because it is the fourteenth article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights created by the United Nations in 1948. The current refugee crisis is a pressing issue because the countries denying refugees entry are not upholding the human rights declaration that they all legally and morally claim to honor. Dismally, many states have enacted immigrant and refugee regulations within the past couple years in order to control the situation, even if these regulations often do not adhere to the requirements of human rights. For example, the number of refugees and immigrants who have crossed the Mediterranean into Greek and Italian waters were once accepted, but now are being sent back to the countries where they have left in seek of asylum: "Turkey's track record in this regard has also been questioned, with cases of refoulement (expelling refugees back into dangerous situations), forced returns, and other violations of the government's 'open door' policy being frequently reported" (Ferris 39). Countries cannot rely on other countries to handle the issue because then no country would step up to the plate; it is simply too big and unmanageable a number for countries to autonomously decide how to help. Furthermore, the new deal between the European Union and

Turkey has pushed refoulement to a whole new level by making the agreement to send refugees and immigrants back to Turkey and then send them back in a regulated and safe manner. This is just a tactic to get the refugees out of Europe so they will not have to be burdened with the issue. The European Union and Turkey are legitimately going against the very human rights which Europe played a huge role in founding. Simply relying on the neighboring countries of Syria to house all the refugees without any outside assistance is not going to solve the monumental crisis.

Secondly, Miller's position is untenable because refugees should have the legal right to be considered as immigrants if they feel the need to apply for citizenship. It is stressed in the United Nations Convention of the Status of Refugees of 1951 and in the protocol of 1967 that no refugee shall be expelled to their home country from another country against their will. Furthermore, a very important point to notice is that the protocol includes other nations outside of Europe: "It provides that no one shall expel or return ('refouler') a refugee against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threats to life or freedom" [(The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) 3]. Again, the promise made by the liberal society is clear; it does not only guarantee life and basic needs but also freedom, as declared in UDHR. Therefore, refugees have the right according to the 1951 Geneva Convention to refuse returning to their homeland and therefore they should not be considered temporarily unless they say they want to be because often wars last longer than ten years. They also have the right to refuse returning to their country of origin after it has attained peace because they have more than likely to have built a new life in the host country. Miller's program implies that refugees should be forced to be removed from a country in which they have started a new chapter, maybe started working, maybe got married or had children, regardless of the level of integration; similarly it argues that a refugee should waste years living in dingy refugee camps without getting the chance

to enjoy their lives and liberties. In the following chapter I will suggest that allowing refugees the ability to become citizens in the host country may be a simple solution to this issue.

5.3 Final Thoughts on Refoulement

In this chapter I have argued against the grounds Miller uses to defend his position that refugees should be considered only as a temporary situation because of the outright violation of the contract on the part of the Western liberal states, the unjust treatment it implies for refugees, and because refugees deserve to live a stable life. Firstly, it is not the sovereign right of any member of the United Nations to refuse any people they want from entering the country because it goes against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the UN endorses. By sending refugees back to the countries which they are running from goes against the Geneva Convention and shows how some countries are not treating this grave crisis seriously. Ignoring the problem does not make it go away and reusing refugees does not save their lives, but instead forces refugees to live a life that holds onto sanity by a thread. It has been internationally established that refugees require a special status, deserve special exceptions, and need to have certain regulations to ensure that their rights are protected. Depriving refugees of the right to assimilate with society and to become citizens ensures that their lives will be everything that is short of happiness. Simply having their basic needs met does not provide a good enough standard or their lives to be worth-while. Having food to eat or a place to sleep is given to them, but those basic needs rarely define what a liberal individual would define as standard. Refugees deserve to be taken into a safe country and given the opportunity make a life for themselves, especially when the outlook for their future is rather dim. They should not be kept in a middle ground without proper rights in a country they will possibly stay in for a very long time. By analyzing Miller's reasons for his position, I have been able to explain how in

each situation challenges the regulations regarding Human Rights and Refugees set in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.

6. Why Refugees Deserve Immigration Priority

6.1 Miller's Implication

After Miller gives his reasons explaining why refugees should only be thought of as temporary, he continues his argument by suggesting that states have the unconditional he right to decide who they want to let immigrate into their country: "It seems to me that receiving states are entitled to consider the benefit they would receive from admitting a would-be migrant as well as the strength of the migrant's own claim to move" (Miller 204). The issue that I find with Miller's implication is that there is a very high number of refugees, who truly need new homes, in comparison to the number of average immigrants who migrate for economic benefit.

6.2 The Counterargument

In opposition to Miller I will argue that refugees should be given top priority when governments consider which people to accept for immigration because their needs triumph the needs of other types of immigrants. I will firstly argue that refugees, considering their special status, deserve to be given priority over regular immigrants. Secondly, I will argue that refugees need to have their religion respected and not used as an excuse to deny them citizenship. Lastly, I will reinforce the obligation of affluent countries to help refugees because of the social contract members of the UN have made in regard to the issue.

6.3 Refugees before Immigrants

My first argument will strive to highlight how the special status of refugees should give them priority in the citizenship process, if they desire, because it is highly unlikely that they will be able or willing to return to their home countries. When states are considering who should be allowed to immigrate into their countries, they should chose refugees before simple economic migrants because the former's physical lives are at stake while the latter pursues economic benefit. While both are aiming at a better life, refugees are looking for a better life by staying alive, not by economic advantage. Although there is economic benefit of allowing students and people with a lot of money stay in a country because of the money they bring the local economy, there is also the moral obligation to help those who are in great need first. Refugees are people who cannot help their situation and if they return to their homelands, they will most likely be persecuted and murdered. Therefore, states should not be entitled to choose economic immigrants over war refugees because the needs of latter are greater than the needs of the former. Allowing those suffering a place within a peaceful society is much more important than those moving simply for a change of scenery or for the want of greater economic privilege. The grave difference between the regular immigrants and refugees is that refugees are moving for survival and the economic immigrants are moving for privilege.

Furthermore, refugees should be given priority to citizenship over other types of immigrants because of the obligation affluent countries have to help refugees. Of course, no one can force countries to let refugees enter, but they should not have to be forced; it is already implied that refugees take priority over regular migrants because of their delicate status because of pivotal moments in history such as the creation of the UDHR and the Geneva Convention. Furthermore, the obligation of the host country increases if the violence in the country in chaos is in part to the

fault of the host country. For example: “Americans have the same sort of obligation towards refugees from Iraq and Afghanistan, especially those who have been forced to flee because their lives are as a result of their cooperation with Americans” (Carens 554). The same thought process should be used when considering the lives of Syrian refugees. America and Russia have been the two countries, who think they are better than other countries, which have been overly involved and present in Syrian civil war.

7. Conclusion

In this research thesis I have examined a specific article “Immigration: A Case for Limits” by David Miller and I have analyzed his arguments on how to treat and consider refugees. He goes through a series of examples, but I have chosen to focus solely on his portion dedicated to refugees because of the relevance to the current Syrian refugee crisis. One reason why refugees should be given priority over regular immigrants is that they are being increasingly biased against for things they cannot help, such as their religion. Miller recognizes “What cannot be defended in any circumstance is discrimination on grounds of race, sex, or, in most instances, religion – religion could be a relevant criterion only where it continues to form an essential part of the public culture, as in the case of the state of Israel” (Miller 204). What Miller fails to recognize is that a most of the immigration and refugee bans highlight the big issue of Western liberal democracies singling out predominately Muslim countries. The refugees of today come from predominately Muslim countries and whether people want to accept it, there is a huge negative bias towards Muslims spewing from the media of Western liberal societies. The United States president, Donald Trump, has enacted the most serious immigration ban within the past decade. He has banned 5 Muslim countries because the collective attitude observed from American culture is that they want this to happen. The bias against the Muslim community is becoming a huge issue in all Western states and the refugee density in certain states make the citizens even more violent and unaccepting. There is also the case of international married couples who then are forced to wait years for a citizenship status of their partner, which should of have priority due to association. On April 11th, 2018, an Algerian woman applied for French citizenship after living in France for 10 years and was denied citizenship because she refused to shake the hand of the official. Apparently, not

shaking the official's hand was a sign that the woman failed to adapt to the French cultural ideals when instead, this was simply against her faith: "The government then denied her naturalisation, saying she was 'not assimilated' for avoiding the symbolic ritual" (BBC NEWS). The fact that her religion was the factor keeping her from shaking the man's hand was reason enough for the French government to deny her citizenship even though that is discriminating against her based for her religion which is one of her inalienable rights. Keeping in mind that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was established in Paris, France, the fact that the French government ruled that the woman was not assimilated enough to be rewarded citizenship which does not uphold the second article of the declaration which gives her the right and freedom of religion. It deliberately is discriminating against a woman because of her religion which goes against eighteenth article expressed in the UDHR:

> "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and, in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance. (General Assembly of the United Nations)

Society is not fooled by the actions of the French government and its attempt to cover its obvious religious discrimination against this Muslim woman and it is society's obligation to let the world's various government know that this is unacceptable. Moreover, this woman cannot be considered as unassimilated from a culture solely based on her religion because that is implying that her religion is not accepted in France. The idea of being culturally assimilated is very ambiguous and discriminating against her for being Muslim goes against her right to freedom of religion. It is not beneficial for society overall to have people with in between status's because it

makes them extremely vulnerable. The case of this woman is just one example of how the system unfortunately has a bias against the Islamic faith. It is wrong that this kind of violation is still a phenomenon in contemporary times after all the pains society has gone through to realize that Human Rights is an important concern for everyone. Although she is not refugee, her case still proves valid because it highlights the increasingly negative attitude of Western societies toward the Muslim community. By denying this specific woman citizenship because of her religion, the French government suggests that it cares more about keeping their country to themselves than ensuring that everyone's rights are respected.

Countries that decline to help refugees for their religion and then accept people who are willing to pay a host country thousands of dollars are why there should be an international law ensuring that these refugees get help. If a country has the right to decide who to admit into their country solely based off of the benefit the immigrant will bring, then obviously a refugee who will cost the government money and a student who will bring money cannot compete with one another. On the other hand, if host countries were to encourage assimilation there could be an open window for society to better itself by accepting different variations of thought and could possibly stimulate cultural diversity and peace. In fact, many Western liberal democracies do encourage cultural diversity on the surface, but the socially ingrained ideology of those states may not really be as strong as one may think. All that being said, it would ultimately be more beneficial for the whole world to further help the security of the rights and safety of refugees rather than other types of immigrants because they have more at risk. One cannot morally compare a human life to money that a study abroad student or new company could bring. Surely, I do not mean to argue that it is wrong to accept students or economic immigrants, but refugees should take priority because it is their lives which truly a dramatic change. Leaving it up to individual countries to decide whether

they should let refugees immigrate into their host country is not an ideal way to handle this grave situation. Instead, there should be a collective responsibility given by the United Nations on how to properly deal with refugees by distributing them more efficiently. The only problem is that the United Nations does not take a very cosmopolitan stance and does not typically sanction other countries for political reasons which I will not go into. Considering that certain nation states are openly rejecting the policies regarding refugees shows just how greatly the current refugee crisis has become, and highlights how there needs to be great change in how this situation is being dealt with.

Many would argue that studying the ethics around the refugee problem is not usually spoken through a philosophical lens because of its political connection, but it truly is an ethical concern when millions of lives are being greatly affected. According to Social Contract Theory: "persons' moral and/or political obligations are dependent upon a contract or agreement among them to form the society in which they live" (Friend). The cases analyzed of the United States and Italy deliberately breaks the social contract society has made in regards to human rights and refugees. The consequence is that denying refugees is illuminates the problem and question: if liberal democracies are to deny human rights then how can any refugee hope for a better future? The fact there are official articles and policies laid out explaining how to handle refugees, it does not tell one whether those policies and regulations are ethical or not. I have come to the conclusion through my research that the way the world is handling the Syrian refugee crisis is completely immoral and unethical. It is wrong that about one-seventh of the world's refugees are from Syria and they are the ethnicity which is deliberately being shut out of American which is one of the world's wealthiest countries.

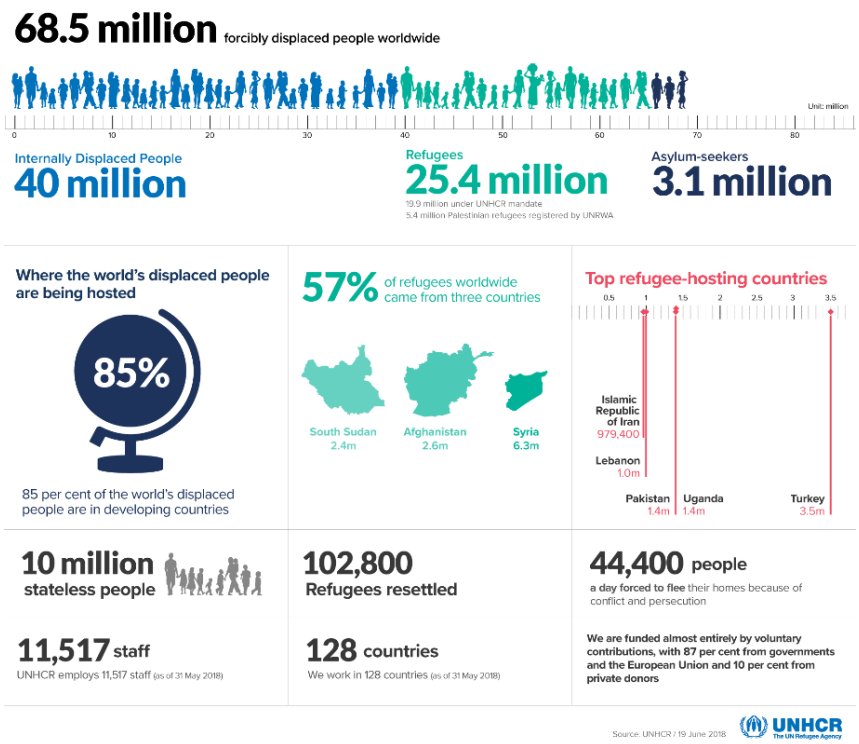

Fig. 2. Contemporary Crisis Statistics from: United Nations. "Figures at a Glance." UNHCR, UNHCR, 19 June 2018, www.unhcr.org/figures-at-a-glance.html.

I have chosen to include the figure above at the end of my research thesis because seeing the actual numbers can sometimes be even more enlightening and gives a new medium to understanding just how urgent this the current refugee issue has become. Moreover, the image helps to pull back from the focus on Syrian refugees and portrays just how many other refugees are struggling for their rights to be protected as well. As the figure shows, there are too many refugees suffering in the world for affluent countries like the United States and Italy to be turning their backs on humanity.

Governments should not be willing to risk their core values and beliefs by treating these people as inferior, even though they already have, because it will give the implication to society that it is normal and even good to decline refugees a chance of sanctuary, which is obviously very bad for society. Of course, it is completely immoral (and should be illegal), to not accept refugees and to return them back to where they came from, but it is happening all the same. In this research

I wanted to draw awareness of just how unethical the treatment of refugees within the past years has been because if there is not a change made soon in regards to this issue than human kind may one day look back on this crisis and terribly regret it. Refugees are denied the right to asylum (Article 14), by being refused asylum and by being sent back to where they came from which is considered *refoulement*. They are denied their Human Right to freedom of movement (Article 13), by being locked up in refugee camps which are often very well below the standards of fundamental human rights. They are denied their Human Right of freedom of religion (Article 18), by being religiously discriminated against by Western society. They are denied their right to life, liberty, and security (Article 3), by not being accepted by countries which will ensure those rights and by being sent back to countries that could cost them their lives. I have shown how all of these rights have been infringed upon by the very countries which advocate themselves as heroes and bringers of justice.

The concept of rights, although primarily a Western concept, is not limited to only Western people. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is in fact, *universal* and true for *all* humans. It is sad that the way the refugee crisis is being handled has highlighted the hypocrisy in the very core of liberal society. Perhaps one day there will come to be a sort of world government that can peacefully and efficiently handle refugee crises by effectively regulating where refugees should go, which states should are obligated to help, and how refugees should be treated. Furthermore, a solution could be the establishment of an ideal world police to ensure such regulation. Although some countries may think this is not ideal because they wish to keep their absolute sovereignty, the world is changing and the time to be selfish is surely not now or in the future. Until then, such changes in the world's government can be reached, the depiction of refugees needs to be changed by the aid of liberal Western societies and the individuals who claim uphold a liberal mind.

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Appendix I

I think that it would be extremely beneficial for future research to consider the psychological effects the refugee crisis is having on the actual refugees. In this thesis I have focused on how Western society has an obligation to help refugees, but I did not focus really on the effects the crisis has been having on refugees at a more personal level. One day I would hope to further my research on the ethics concerning refugees by analyzing the psychological effects, which I am hypothesizing to be quite devastating, because it could potentially strengthen my argument that Western societies are obliged to help. Perhaps the conditions of refugee camps and sites could be researched more to highlight the dangers of those refugee camps where young children and women are often abused.

Appendix II

For even further research into this topic, it may be beneficial to analyze even more in depth the actual hypocrisy in most liberal Western societies. There is often the concept of American Counter-Culture which is the other culture of America: the real and unpopular America that is full of the poor, discriminated, and hated. The culture of America which is not traditional: the culture of hippies, activists, minorities, immigrants, and refugees. It could prove interesting to see how and why the two very opposite kinds of culture are alive and thriving in the United States of America because of its liberal and democratic core. This could include studying the biased media of the United States as well as the various refugee and immigration policies enacted within the past few years.