



LUND UNIVERSITY

The Tastes of Discrimination

A qualitative field study investigating experienced economic racial discrimination against Syrian refugees in Beirut, Lebanon

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Abstract

Economic and racial discrimination goes hand in hand in the case of Syrian refugees in the labour market in Lebanon. Ever since the start of the Syrian civil war in 2011, millions of the Syrian population has fled abroad, most of whom are currently residing in its neighbouring countries, Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan. Lebanon currently has the largest number of Syrian refugees per capita, putting pressure on Lebanon's already struggling institutions. Lebanon has opted of a non-encampment strategy and harsh legislation against Syrian refugees, minimising their legal status and rights, which makes it difficult for them to access public services and get legal residency, and work permits. Through a qualitative approach this field study will attempt to learn more about how Syrian refugees in Lebanon experience discrimination in the labour market and how this affects their economic situation, both mentally and physically. This is done by using Becker's theory on the economics of discrimination (1971). The data was collected through snowball sampling, interviews and observations were conducted while in the field. The findings disclose a strong racial, employer, and governmental discrimination, among others, against the refugees, both by official legislation and by unofficial attitudes and languages. Experienced discrimination has impacted refugees through different forms of social and economic insecurities.

Key words: Discrimination, refugees, economic discrimination, racial discrimination, informal labour, Lebanon, Syria

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1. Introduction

Discrimination against minorities and refugees have been widely researched, however, the literature on Syrian refugees perceived discrimination in the labour market in Lebanon is rather slim. Lebanon is interesting as it is housing the largest number of refugees per capita in the world and has experienced political and economic struggles outside of the refugee crisis. Differentiating from their neighbours Jordan and Turkey, Lebanon has opted for a non-encampment strategy, some argue that this is due to the said “failure” of the state’s autonomy in the Palestinian refugee camps (Turner, 2015). Some argue that the Lebanese way of dealing with the long-term presence of Palestinian refugees, set the tone for dealing with Syrian refugees, leading to limited rights. As Syrian refugees now make out roughly one fifth of the Lebanese population and are spread out all over the country, it is interesting to see how they survive despite heavy political and juridical difficulties (Rossis, 2011; Janmyr, 2016; Sim et al, 2018). While other countries around the world opt for inclusive legislation for refugees, the Middle East does not. Nevertheless, refugees still need to find some form of waged labour to survive hence, this study will explore the experienced discrimination of Syrian refugees in the labour market in Beirut, Lebanon.

1.1 Research question & purpose

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how Syrian refugees experience discrimination in their everyday work-life and accessing employment in Lebanon by using Becker’s (1971) theory on the economics of discrimination and racial discrimination theory, and how this affects their economic situation both physically and mentally. This will hopefully provide an insight into the lives and experiences of Syrian refugees in the labour market in Lebanon, showing a new aspect of economic racial discrimination and how it affects the participants financially and mentally. Hence, the research questions are:

- How do Syrian refugees experience discrimination in the labour market in Beirut, Lebanon?

Two following sub-questions that will also be answered in the research:

1. What types of discrimination do they experience?
2. How does this affect their economic situation, mentally and physically?

1.2 Significance

As mentioned, economic discrimination and racial discrimination have been widely researched, however, most theory, including Becker's "The Economics of Discrimination" (1971), where he explores economic racial discrimination in the labour market on blacks vs. whites in the US. While the black population is a minority and marginalised at that, there is a difference for the case of refugees, as they are neither born or have the same legal rights as citizens (I am aware that neither did blacks in the US previously). It is surprising that not more literature has focused on empirically studying economic racial discrimination in one of the biggest refugee crises since WW2. While there indeed are studies conducted in Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon that are related to refugees, none I have found thus far has tested Becker's theory empirically, most studies have had a different angle, often health or education (Sim et al., 2018; Özden 2013). Most studies are done using quantitative approaches such as surveys, while this study focuses on a qualitative approach to understand the perspective of its participants. It is, therefore, significant for one, to test Becker's theory in a different context, the Middle East, and studying refugees rather than minorities with citizenship. Secondly, since the qualitative approach is not as researched for this topic and since the literature globally and regionally seem to find different types of discrimination.

2. Background

2.1 The legal status of Syrian refugees in Lebanon

Lebanon is currently hosting 1.5 million Syrian refugees, as consequence to the Syrian war. The relationship between Lebanon and Syria has not always been the easiest with Lebanon experiencing thirty years of military presence and Lebanon's long-term presence of Palestinian refugees, which has affected policies and attitudes towards Syrian refugees negatively (Janmyr, 2016). Lebanon has not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention and due to a political deadlock and has no national legislation on how to deal with refugees. Hence, Syrian refugees are not legally seen as refugees by authorities but rather as "displaced". Hence, they do not have refugee status but are in the eyes of the law the same as any other foreigner, leading to very limited legal rights (Janmyr, 2016).

Lebanon has one of the highest-ranking informal economy dependencies in the world, which arguably could be influenced by the refugee crisis. The informal economy exists in all countries and most people have encountered it. While its size may differ, most scholars believe that the informal sector expands during times of political instability, war, and other turmoil (Rossis, 2011: 22). As during turmoil, unemployment rises and if no suitable job alternatives within the formal sector, they will eventually turn to the informal sector (Chen, 2012: 3; Tokman, 1992).

While Lebanon has a *laissez-faire* economy orientation it lacks natural resources and with a large immigrant and refugee population, the country has focused more on developing the service sector. Nevertheless, the economy has collapsed several times due to corruption and the civil war, which is why some argue that the informal economy is too important for Lebanon to simply abolish, by recognising its creativity and resilience and also the opportunities for those who are most vulnerable (Chen, 2005; Rossis, 2011:12).

2.2 The 2015 Policy Paper on Syrian Refugee Displacement

In October 2014, the Lebanese Council of Ministers approved a “Policy Paper on Syrian Refugee Displacement” (2015 Policy). Its purpose was to reduce Syrians access to Lebanese territory and encourage Syrian refugees in Lebanon to return to Syria (Alsharabati & Nammour, 2015; Janmyr, 2016). In Jordan, the government responded similarly in 2014, by restricting movement, and stopping issuing Asylum Seeker Certificates to Syrian refugees who left camps without “bailout” documents (Achilli, 2015). Janmyr conducted a field study on the effects of the policy in Lebanon and found that while legal restrictions on Syrian refugees were already harsh, the 2015 Policy regulations caused much more difficulties. Starting in December of 2014, the Lebanese Government closed 18 unofficial border crossings, which had previously been tolerated and municipalities implemented curfews for Syrian refugees (Janmyr, 2016).

After the 2015 policy, admission to Lebanon was only provided to those with valid identity documents and proof that their stay in Lebanon fits one out of seven approved categories. 1, tourism. 2, studying. 3, transit to a third country. 4, for displaced people. 5, medical treatment. 6, embassy appointment. 7, or a pledge of responsibility (Janmyr, 2016; Alsharabati & Nammour, 2015).

The policy also increased to obstacles to maintain legal status once in Lebanon and without a residency permit, refugees are considered to breach Lebanese law and can, therefore, risk

detention and forced return to Syria (Amnesty International, 2015). Previously, Syrian refugees were granted one free year and then had to pay 200 USD every six months for their residency permit extension. After 2015, the fee still stood, however, refugees also needed to provide a housing commitment, certified by a *mukhtar* (Lebanese local leader), a valid ID or passport, and an entry slip and return card. Accessing housing is already difficult, especially in areas such as Beirut where living costs are high, but also because many landlords are hesitant to rent out to Syrian refugees (Janmyr, 2016). Accessing an official housing-contract is almost impossible for Syrian refugees, which has led to that more resort to live in either informal settlements or without housing contracts, implicating their legal status. Amnesty International (2015) showed in a study that 82 per cent of Syrian refugees who pay rent do not have a written lease agreement. They also found that even if a refugee managed to provide all the correct documents and pay the fee, residency permits were still often denied, the reason for this is unclear (Amnesty International, 2015; Janmyr, 2016).

2.2.1 Consequences of the 2015 Policy

After the 2015 Policy, there has been an increase of Syrian refugees are losing their legal status. A study done by the Inter-agency Coordination Lebanon showed that the percentage of Syrian households without valid residency permits has increased from 9 per cent in January of 2015, to 61 per cent in July of 2015 (Janmyr, 2016). The 2015 Policy has been criticised by human rights lawyers across the world, as the policy reduces and strips refugees of their fundamental human rights. The policy makes for two options for Syrian refugees, leave Lebanon or face severe discrimination and exploitation (Janmyr, 2016). Amnesty International (2015) discusses along similar lines, as Syrian refugees without valid residency papers are considered to breach Lebanese law it does violate human rights as they then lack access to public health services, and risk detention and forced return to Syria. In May of 2015 the Lebanese authorities instructed UNHCR to temporary stop registering Syrian refugees, this included both individuals already in the country and new arrivals which then put everyone in a position where they are breaching Lebanese law (Amnesty International, 2015).

The participants in Janmyr's study also mention the psychological effects of the current situation and that, hence, there is a large psychological instability and fear among Syrian refugees (Janmyr, 2016). In the study carried out by Alsharabati and Nammour (2015) they asked participants what they worry about the most in Lebanon. The most common answer was

security followed by economy, legal papers, alienation, and lodging. Their surveys also show that 88 per cent of respondents feel that not having a legal residence impacts their safety (Alsharabati & Nammour, 2015).

After the policy, Syrian refugees also face a lack of access to; enrolment in public schools, opening bank accounts and acquiring lawful employment. Consequently, 72 per cent of Syrian refugee new-borns lack official birth certificates due to that their parents do not fulfil the requirements of legal residence (Janmyr, 2016).

There has been an increase of informal workers, in late 2014 the total number of formally working Syrian refugees was 1,568 individuals. However, since there were over a million Syrian refugees, it is estimated that most work within the informal sector, as Lebanon has limited aid and housing for refugees. The informal sector provides little to no security, often leading to a harsh working environment. However, the Lebanese Government turns a blind eye as they are aware that the refugees need to work to survive (Janmyr, 2016).

3. Literature Review

3.1 Types of discrimination globally

Studies discussing Southeast Asian refugees in Canada, Iranian refugees in the Netherlands, and North Korean refugees in South Korea show that one of the most common types of discrimination is economic discrimination, especially access to waged labour (these studies will be referred to as “global” studies later on). Where 50 per cent of participants have reported having difficulties in getting employed, having fair wages, conditions, as well as keeping the job. According to the literature social discrimination can lead to mental issues and sometimes decreased productivity and quitting of jobs or being laid off. Many refugees explained that the most common form of social discrimination feature “being looked down upon” and “unfair treatment” by native individuals (Noh et al., 2001; Um et al., 2015; Vedder et al., 2006; Te Lindert et al., 2008).

The previous studies have related social discrimination to culture and linguistics. Many felt insecure and embarrassed to speak the new language even though they spoke it very well. However, the less skilled a refugee is in the host country’s language the more likely they are to experience some form of discrimination. This was especially the case in the Netherlands and

South Korea (Te Lindert et al., 2008; Um et al., 2015). However, scholars were surprised since the Iranian refugees in the Netherlands were considered to be very well integrated and had high linguistic skills (Te Lindert et al., 2008; Vedder et al., 2006). North Korean refugees often tried to hide their origin out of fear of being discriminated by South Koreans. In this case, this led to an increase in poor mental health as well as a tendency of lower human capital and economic productivity (Um et al., 2015).

Refugees are also more prone to experience poverty than natives. E.g. in South Korea over half of the participants in the study earned less than 1000 USD/month and 15 per cent reported not having any income at all. Similarly, in Canada, 29 per cent of Southeast Asian refugees reported having experienced job-related discrimination and many have experienced difficulties in obtaining waged labour and Iranian refugees in the Netherlands only showed a roughly 40 per cent employment (Noh et al., 2001; Te Lindert et al., 2008; Vedder et al., 2006; Um et al., 2015).

3.2 The legal status of refugees – from global to regional

Many countries have protective legislations to try and minimise the discrimination refugees already face due to social stigmas and difficulties. In all cases so far, the refugees who participated in these studies had citizenships in the host country, hence have the same legal rights as native citizens. Therefore, much of the discrimination is from employers, colleagues, and other native individuals (Noh et al., 2001; Te Lindert et al., 2008; Vedder et al., 2006; Um et al., 2015). Furthermore, Noh et al. and Breton, (1978) argue that in the case of Canada, black immigrants are more likely to experience discrimination than Asians which would indicate that despite legal action by the government that there is racial discrimination, but that this racial discrimination also has several layers to it (Noh et al., 2001; Breton, 1978).

This differs from the studies done in the Middle East as the refugees are not citizens and often lack refugee status. Some countries in the region have opted for an open-door policy and refugee camps, however, the situation is not one and the same within the different countries. As mentioned in the background section, Lebanon has harsh legislation towards refugees, and the case is similar in both Turkey and in Jordan, Jordan has not signed the UN's 1951 Refugee Convention (Celebi et al., 2017; Ibrahim, 2008; Alsharabati & Nammour, 2015; Janmyr, 2016; Turner, 2015).

3.3 Types of discrimination in the Middle East

Legislation in both Jordan and Turkey are similar to Lebanon and makes it difficult for Syrian refugees to access waged labour, fair working conditions, and housing (Celebi et al., 2017; Suleiman, 2006). Due to the legislation (or lack thereof), Syrian refugees are more likely to experience economic and social discrimination in the Middle East (such as losing legal status in Lebanon and Jordan) compared to the previously mentioned studies (Celebi et al., 2017; Sim et al., 2018). Many refugees are experiencing unemployment, and many are living below the poverty line as they cannot access waged labour, even more so than the “global” examples. In Turkey, the study by Celebi et al (2017) shows roughly 50 per cent of Palestinian refugees in the camps have less than 2 USD/day/household, another study by Özden (2013) shows that, similarly to Lebanon, Syrian refugees have difficulties applying for asylum and obtaining their legal papers. This kind of situation is both due to both government and employer discrimination. A study in Jordan also shows that Syrian refugees experience similar circumstances and types of discrimination as those in Lebanon and Turkey (Celebi et al., 2017; Ibrahim, 2008; Achilli, 2015). Government discrimination is prominent in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon, something that sets the Middle Eastern region apart from the other cases.

Furthermore, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon may only work within certain types of labour: construction, electricity, sanitation, agriculture, textiles, and car wash to name a few, this is also similar for Syrian refugees, hence, many work informally in bad conditions (Sim et al., 2018; Suleiman, 2006; Celebi et al., 2017; Ibrahim, 2008; Janmyr, 2016). Many reported working in exploitative conditions as well as low salaries, however, the Turkish and Lebanese governments are turning a blind eye (Özden, 2013). Furthermore, surveys done by The Center for Economic and Foreign Policy Studies (2014) showed that 86 per cent of Turkish people wanted the government to stop accepting Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, one should not exclude the important fact that many of these refugees have experienced war, which according to some studies can have a knock-on effect on economic inequality and health. Sim et al continue to argue that exposure to war and instable family relations also affect the behaviour among refugee children as parents often experience a lack of income which in turn leads to a lower quality of life for them and their children and significant mental and emotional distress (Sim et al., 2018).

As discussed, there are similarities between the perceived discrimination of refugees across the world, where many struggles with economic and social discrimination, often from the native group, in their everyday life as well as their work. All cases report that refugees are more likely

to face economic hardship and poverty. However, there are also many differences between the cases. One is the number of refugees, where the countries in the Middle East have experienced millions of refugees, significantly more than those in other places of the world. There is also a difference in social context on space as the Middle East have refugees from neighbouring countries with similar linguistics and culture compared to the other cases (apart from North Korea).

3.4 A gap in the literature

According to the literature, there is a big difference in the focus on discrimination of refugees in different areas of the world. Where the “global” studies focus mainly on economic discrimination, social stigmas, and health in relation to this, the studies in the Middle East also focus on the governmental discrimination and lack of access to public services. While economic circumstances are brought up in the cases of the Middle East it is less than in the “global” cases. Here there seems to be a gap in the literature on perceived economic discrimination on refugees in the Middle East and their own perspective on this. Similarly, there is a gap in the literature concerning refugees in the “global” cases, as they seem to have a smaller interest in government discrimination, as the refugees have citizenship and therefore there “should” not be government discrimination, however, this does not mean that this is the case.

4. Theoretical Framework

This thesis will use Gary S Becker’s (part of the realist school of thought) theory on the economics of discrimination as well as some sections from racial discrimination in the labour market by Steven Willborn (1985) and Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) to answer the research question. Becker’s goal was to develop a theory of discrimination in the marketplace that supplements the psychologists’ and sociologists’ analysis with an analysis of economic consequences. The theory was developed by analysing the situation of white-black discrimination in the US during the 1950s, however, it can be applied to all minorities or marginalised groups in society. Therefore, the theory is appropriate for this thesis and even though Becker’s thoughts come from the 1950s they are still relevant today and for this thesis.

He argues that the theory can be applied to “discrimination” and “nepotism” in all forms (Becker, 1971: 11).

According to standard economic theory, discrimination would be based on characteristics valued in the market – namely productivity. Which in theory should make personal characteristics such as race, ethnic background, and sex unrelated to productivity, however, these aspects are also valued in the market. Discrimination means that some agent (e.g. employer or colleagues) has a negative valuation for the targeted group (Arrow, 1973). Furthermore, Arrow (1972) famously critiqued Becker’s theory and argued that if prejudiced employers sacrifice profits due to discrimination, these employers will not stay long in a competitive market (Arrow 1972).

4.1 The economics of discrimination

There is an assumption that competition reduces market discrimination, which makes sense, if one company is competing with several others, internal discrimination may lead to loss of productivity which is beneficial for the competition (Arrow, 1973). Arrow continues to argue that if there are companies that would not discriminate at all, these would be the only ones to survive in a competitive market. However, even if there is no discrimination and all they seek is to maximise profit they are still not likely to hire the discriminated group (group N) at an equal wage to the non-discriminated group (group X). The wage difference has to do with discrimination as group X would not accept working for the same wages as group N due to social norms and customs. Despite discrimination based on wages, many seem to be assuming that it is the foremen or other supervisors (not the employer) who exercises the most discrimination (Arrow, 1973).

Ever since Becker’s published his work, scholars have empirically studied and theorised on the concepts of trying to explain racial wage gaps. Phelps (1972), Aigner & Cain (1977), and Altonji and Pierret (2001) have focused on trying to explain racial prejudice through statistical discrimination models while scholars like O’Niell (1990) and Neal and Johnson (1996) have tried to explain racial differences in productivity, however, few empirical studies have been done to test Becker’s theory. Nevertheless, in 2008 Charles & Guryan did an empirical survey study in the US regarding white-black racial discrimination and wage gaps. They found Becker’s theory to be accurate in most aspects. However, the wage gap between black and white individuals in the US could be due to racial skill differences and education levels, which was

not part of the empirical study. With this argument, they wanted to show that while Becker's theory can prove some aspects of racial prejudice, other factors may affect racial wage gaps (Charles & Guryan, 2008).

Furthermore, Pasternak (2011) heavily critiques Becker's approach, especially the concept of employment discrimination. He argues that employment discrimination originates from philosophy and law and economists such as Becker developed the definition to productivity, taste, information, correlation, and wages. Pasternak proposes to change the definitions of merit, prejudice, and treatment to market failure and correlation. He argues that discrimination exists market rules and economic efficiency do not include or work for all groups. Hence, the "rules of the game" are biased according to Pasternak (2011).

If an individual is in a discriminated group they must be willing to pay something, either directly or in the form of reduced income to get the "privilege" of having the same job as someone from the non-discriminated group (Becker, 1971: 14). By using discrimination coefficient (DC) one can define a "taste for discrimination" when the individual (employer) has a prejudice or dislikes a certain group which negative impacts the hiring of minority workers (Becker, 1971: 15). The taste for discrimination can vary from person to person, as an individual's discrimination against a group can depend on their social and physical distance in their socio-economic status and feelings towards each other. If an individual has a taste for discrimination he must act as if he is willing to forfeit income to avoid certain transactions. An employer may refuse to hire a certain minority group because they underestimate their economic efficiency. This behaviour is discriminatory not because of prejudice but because of ignorance of the true economic efficiency of the group (Becker, 1971: 16-17). Arrow may argue that this is not rational behaviour.

If the market is perfectly competitive and there is no discrimination or nepotism, all groups in society will be equal. However, due to discrimination wages may differ so that the *market discrimination coefficient* (MDC) between X and N defined as the proportional difference between wage rates. The magnitude of MDC depends on the magnitude of the individual's DC's (Becker, 1971: 17-18). Market segregation, on the other hand, refers to when X and N labourers and foremen are both employed but working in segregation. Market segregation and market discrimination are not the same concepts but refer to two different phenomena. Market discrimination refers to the incomes received by different groups and ignores their distribution in employment. Market segregation can occur without market discrimination and vice versa (Becker, 1971: 22; 57-58; 212).

4.2 Racial discrimination

There is a model called the disparate impact model which is part of racial discrimination and refers to when the employer (even if racially neutral) puts one group at a disadvantage relative to another group. An example is when an employer bases the salary of a worker on their past salary, which creates a disparate impact in a world where women are paid less than men (Willborn, 1985). Bertrand & Mullainathan (2004) showed in their study a racial gap among professions and employer size and that individuals with “foreign” names are less likely to get hired compared to individuals with “native” names. Hence, the disparate impact model bases the discrimination only on characteristics of origin. Hence, this model would not work in a world where racial and sexual groups did not differ (Willborn, 1985: 801; 809; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004).

4.3 Types of discrimination

4.3.1 Employer discrimination

Objectivity is highly valued, especially in classical economic theory, and objectivity in the labour market only values characteristics of productivity (Arrow, 1973). However, when there is employer discrimination, the employers compare the intensity of their tastes with the intensity of the costs and determines the action that brings maximum returns (Becker, 1971: 38-40). Meaning that if the cost of tastes for discrimination is low enough the employer will only employ from the group X. Classical economic theory argues that the only option would be to minimise financial costs, hence being objective and only considering productivity (Becker, 1971: 41).

Hence, Willborn believes that social norms and stigmas may increase or reduce the tastes for discrimination depending on if the society differs between group X and N. Becker believes tastes are based more on personal emotions and thoughts by the discriminating individual. However, Charles and Guryan (2008) show in their empirical research that Becker’s theory seems to be correct where the individual’s racial prejudice has a larger effect than average levels of prejudice in society (Charles & Guryan, 2008).

4.3.2 Employee discrimination

Tastes are not only true for employers but also for employees, where discrimination is based on employee taste and the dispersion around it. The choice to discriminate or not results in if there is a gain from discriminating (Becker, 1971: 55). It happens that the employer needs to pay group X a higher wage rate if they are to work with group N. Hence, an employer who only seeks to maximise profit would not hire mixed workgroups. The employer will only hire X if their wage rate is less than the N and vice versa. If the employer is indifferent both groups will be employed. However, if the N group is a perfect substitute for the X and discriminates against N, market segregation rather than discrimination results in a firm that employs both X and N but does not mix their working groups. Hence, even if the employer is indifferent if group X is not then there will be more discrimination and less integration (Becker, 1971: 56-57).

4.3.3 Consumer discrimination & governmental discrimination

Consumer discrimination is more important in the housing sector, as the capitalist system relies on consumer preferences, consumer discrimination cannot be separated from other consumer choices. Consumer evaluation of a store may be based on the sex, race, religion, and personality of the sales personnel (Becker, 1971: 75-77). Consumer discrimination can impact residential segregation of a group which happens if its member lives significantly closer together than they would if the distribution were random. A reason for this could be voluntarily such as the Jewish courtiers in Brooklyn or public policy, the Warsaw ghetto in Poland where Jews before WW2. Residential discrimination is not the same as residential segregation. Residential discrimination was very prominent in the US against the black population and occurs when one group must pay more than another group for the equivalent housing (Becker, 1971: 78-79).

While Becker brings up governmental discrimination, this is mainly in the form of elections and how group N can be discriminated against in politics when politicians are running for office. Discrimination may be trying to prevent group N from voting. However, depending on the legal rights and size of group N it may be favourable to win over their votes along with group X votes to reach a majority. But in societies where group X has a large desire for governmental discrimination it is more likely that there will be government discrimination (Becker, 1971: 82-84). Becker's theory does not, however, discuss the politics around legislation and governmental discrimination further.

5. Methodology

5.1 Field study

While the previous literature identifies experienced discrimination by refugees in the Middle East and globally, refugees' thoughts about this is limitedly shown. Most studies on perceived discrimination among Syrian refugees in the Middle East had a quantitative approach which does identify different categories of discrimination but still does not tell what the participants think. This is what I wanted to accomplish with this field study, to study Syrian refugees in their environment and the phenomenon of experienced discrimination in their own opinions. Hence, I went to Lebanon in January 2020, for what I expected to be a 77-day long stay in the field, however, the stay was cut short. The fieldwork was conducted between January 23rd – March 17th, 2020. In the field, I lived right next to the old Palestinian refugee camp, which is now more referred to as a Syrian ghetto (Field Diary, 2020). The fieldwork resulted in 7 semi-structured in-depth interviews and around 30 pages of observations.

5.2 Method for data collection

I decided that the best approach to generate data would be to do observation and semi-structured interviews, collected using snowball sampling. Observations were used as a background to the interviews, they also gave a better understanding of the field and context.

5.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were chosen as the main form of data collection as it is the perspectives and thoughts of the participants that the research question aims for. While structured interviews attempt to be as similar as possible, semi-structured interviews are not only freer in its structure but are also more participant-driven, which is why this was chosen (Bryman, 2012: 512-13; Orne & Bell, 2015: 76-77). The interview guide was prepared by first listing different aspects that I wanted to know more about as more general themes. Then a few questions were written down on each theme. The exact order of the questions differed from interview to interview as did the follow-up questions, based on what the interviewee wanted to discuss further (Bryman, 2012: 516; Orne & Bell, 2015: 77). I opted to have an interview guide with quite a few questions

ranging from different topics that I was interested in talking about with the interviewee, such as employment, experiences in working, and aid to name a few. The guide remained almost the same for all interviews though the focus may shift depending on the interviewee (Creswell, 2014: 241; 244. Bryman, 2012: 470).

5.2.2 Interpreter

I opted to have a Syrian translator as there are many layers of discrimination and tension between Lebanese and Syrians. Hence, having a Syrian interpreter may help eliminate some of these power relations and biases. Another advantage with a Syrian interpreter is language barriers, even though they do speak Arabic in Lebanon, the dialect differs. To minimise further hierarchies, the interpreter had the same gender as the interviewee in all cases but one, where the interviewee was male and the interpreter was female (Bryman, 2012: 491). I did have to change interpreter since the initial interpreter only summarised answers. I later got help from the new interpreter who listened to the audio files from those interviews and helped with the transcription.

5.2.3 Observations

Observations are used in both quantitative and qualitative data collection, qualitative observations are when the researcher takes field notes on the behaviour and activities of individuals at the research site. This is done either in an unstructured or semi-structured way, based on prior questions the researcher is interested in learning more about. Observations are often open-ended and if the researcher does ask questions, they are general which allows the participants to freely provide their views on the topic (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003: 38; Creswell, 2014: 239). During this case study, qualitative observations were done as the researcher chose to live close to the sample and population to better understand the setting. The data collected from observations were mainly used to complement interviews, as the observations gave a better understanding of the setting as well as questioned the researchers existing impressions and ideas (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003: 59; Bryman, 2012: 494).

5.2.4 Sampling & accessing participants

The chosen sampling strategy was snowball sampling, mainly due to convenience and limited resources and time in the field (two months). Hence, this approach seemed to be the best method in which enough data could be collected to answer the research question (Bryman, 2012: 202). Snowball sampling starts with finding one participant and then asking them if they know others that would be suitable for the study, this does not lead to a random sample. When individual 1 recommends individual 2, individual 2 can recommend individual 3 and so on. One may also ask the respondent for several people; hence the snowball should expand as time progresses (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003: 43). There are several limitations with snowball sampling, one being that the sample is not very likely to be representative. This may lead to several implications for studies, especially quantitative (Bryman, 2012: 203). However, since my study is a qualitative case study and considering the resources at hand, I was aware from the start that my sample will not be able to be an accurate representation of the population. As the population is all Syrian refugees in Lebanon, who are refugees' due consequences of the Syrian civil war.

I focused on the Shatila area in Beirut, to narrow the scope down. All the participants in the study either lived or worked in or around Shatila. I interviewed two women and five men. Most participants in the study were in their 20s or 30s, only one participant was in their 50s. Most participants also had a university degree.

The snowballing process was successful due to the willingness of the participants and the help received by initial local contacts. It was beneficial with a few local connections who aided in starting several snowballs. The snowballing schedule can be found in Appendix 1.

5.2.5 Ethical considerations, reflexivity, & positionality

Since the population of this study is a marginalised and vulnerable group, I had to think extra carefully about the relationship between me, the researcher, and the interviewee as the relationship could be asymmetrical and exploitative (England, 1994; Sultana, 2007). As I have no ties to either Lebanon or Syria, I am white and from Sweden, which can be viewed as very privileged, I tried to adopt reflexivity in my research. Reflexivity involves reflection on the self (the researcher), the process, and representation. Extra emphasis was also put on critically examining power relation and politics in the research process and the researcher's accountability in the data collection and interpretation (Sultana, 2007).

I spent a lot of time reflecting over how I was inserted in the field and the power relations that were in play and how I as a researcher and a white foreigner fit into this system. I was aware of my privilege which was shown materially, such as having several credit cards, and having US dollars. I also had a social privilege, of a strong passport, and “European” status. I would never be an “insider” or equal to the people in the field, it would be naïve to think that this would be possible. However, being an insider is also not a necessity for the study. Coming from the outside can also prove to be good when it comes to being more objective and an anonymous person for the interviewees. Being an outsider made the population more willing to talk to me, as I did not pass any judgement on them. There was probably also a curiosity from them towards me, what I was doing there and why (Sultana, 2007).

5.3 Strategy for analysis

The initial step of analysis started with the coding process. Where I did several waves of coding. From the coding process, I identified several categories with additional sub-codes, the coding schedule can be found in Appendix 3.

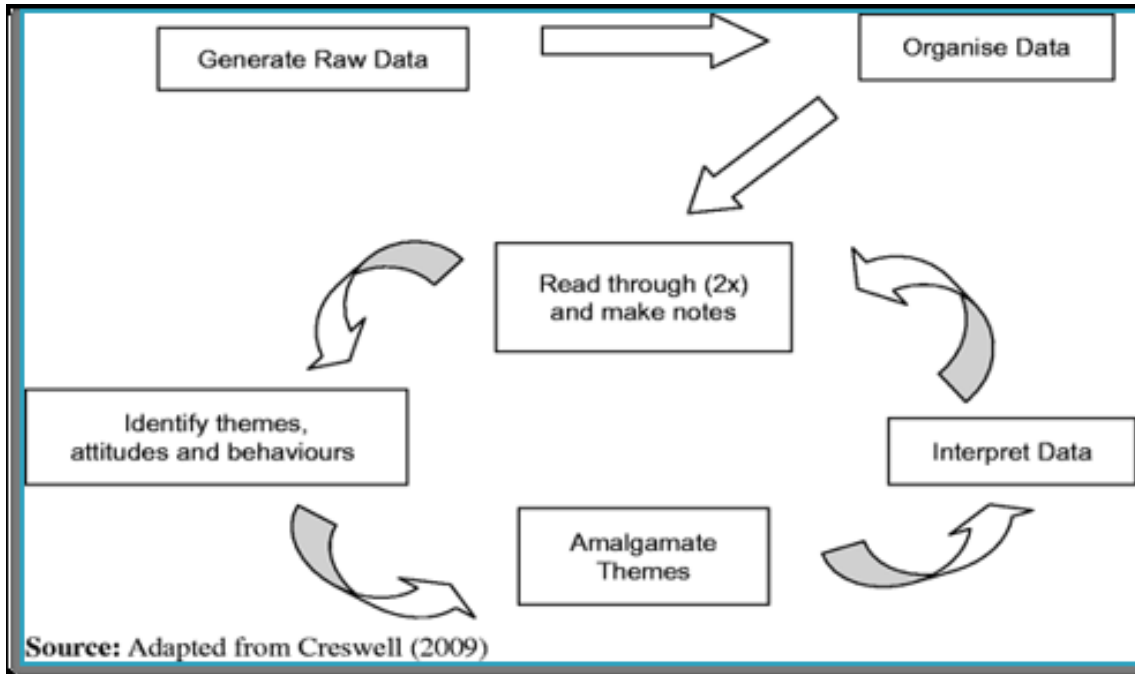
5.3.1 Coding strategy

The coding was done through several waves of coding. I followed the scheme by Creswell below. The coding started with reading through all transcripts to refresh what everyone had discussed. The transcripts were then read a second time carefully and made notes and marked sections I found important and related to the previous literature and theoretical framework (Creswell, 2009). I proceeded to go through all my notes and made potential codes, then I went through all the potential codes in relation to the theory and research question and created six main categories: employer discrimination, government discrimination, social and employee discrimination, economic insecurity, social insecurity, and emotions and beliefs. I re-read all the transcripts using NVivo and coded the data again into one of the six main themes/codes. I then coded the data one more time in NVivo, within each code and created sub-codes (Creswell, 2009).

Another approach could have been to create the categories in advanced and coded based on this. However, I wanted to see what codes the data would generate as well as what it would not generate without interference from me, the researcher. Hence, I chose a more open coding

approach which generated many codes that have not been used in the result yet are still interesting for further research as well as the codes used to answer the research question.

Table 1.



5.4 Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. One is that the study was carried out in one specific area of Beirut and did not consider refugees from other parts of the city or country. Living situations may differ in different areas of Lebanon, however, Shatila was chosen due to limited time and resources in the field. This also related to the low number of participants, only seven interviews were carried out, which was mainly due to time restrictions in the field, nevertheless, I still believe that the data collected from those interviews is significant to answer the research questions.

Furthermore, there is also a limitation with using an interpreter. As previously explained, I needed to change interpreter, which can make one question the relevance of the interviews interpreted by this interpreter. However, my second interpreter listened through the audio-files and help with the transcriptions of these interviews.

There are limitations to snowball sampling, however, this approach was chosen as it was the most appropriate and could generate the most amount of data considering the time and resources

in the field. There is some bias to this method, however, the research will not try to generalise the situations for the entire Syrian population in Lebanon and that situations may look very different in other cases within Lebanon compared to what this study has found.

The time in the field had to be cut short due to the Coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19), as I, the researcher had to return to Sweden on very short notice. This led to that fewer interviews were conducted than scheduled and the time in the field got a very abrupt ending. The pandemic has also led to that the situation in Lebanon may have changed since my time in the field. Another issue is the situation Lebanon finds itself in, while unemployment and discrimination are prominent among Syrian refugees, Lebanon's unemployment rate (for Lebanese) sits at over 30 per cent and is expected to get worse now during the Corona crisis. Furthermore, during my stay in the field, the Lebanese people were on their thirds consecutive month of protests and riots against the government due to the economic situation and lack of rights for the people (Knipp & Juma, 2020).

6. Analysis

6.1 Types of discrimination

The analysis is driven mainly by Becker's theory on discrimination and the types of discrimination he identified in his theory, employer, governmental, employee, and consumer discrimination. However, the governmental discrimination results showed a different side compared to the theory as the theory focuses on elections which was not discussed in this study. The options of Lebanese citizens or politicians were not included, but merely the perspective of the Syrian refugees of the outcome of political decisions such as restrictions from the 2015 Policy and treatment.

6.1.1 Employer discrimination

All participants in the study had experienced "Employer discrimination", and "Governmental discrimination", both of which are explored in Becker's theory (1971). In relation to employer discrimination participants mentioned low salaries (half of what Lebanese colleagues earn),

refusal by employer to pay salary, and difficulties in accessing waged labour. In all cases but one of the studies, the employer was native Lebanese.

I was just earning 400 dollars, and the other employee at the same workplace, she is also a designer assistant, is getting paid 1000 dollars per month. And I am wondering why I am getting this paid? – Ahmed Hafez, Interviewee 1.

Due to the low salaries many also discussed experiencing economic difficulties with paying rent, bills, and food.

My salary is only 400 dollars and the rent for my house is 600 dollars. So... it does not add up at all. – Ahmed Hafez, Interviewee 1.

I do not know if I can pay the rent at the end of the month. – Kays, Interviewee 5.

When asked why they believed they were receiving such low salaries all argued that the reason was their origin, being Syrian, which shows a background in racial discrimination as well. Salaries of the participants in the study ranged between 200-600 USD/month, which makes 3-7USD/day/person, including the household size. Participants also experienced long working hours, 11-19h/day often without compensation (which they argued their Lebanese colleagues got for overtime) and discriminatory behaviour by the employer in the form of language, looks, and attitude.

I went to the Naqabi Association to look for a job as a dentist. But they told me that I cannot work there because I am Syrian. They said that there are already enough Lebanese doctors in Lebanon. Then I ran out of money, so I had to start working in restaurants. – Kays, Interviewee 5.

Discrimination exists everywhere, in all companies and workplaces. Here, they always prefer Lebanese workers compared to Syrian, or any other foreigner. – “Farid”, Interviewee 6.

The other forms of experienced employer discrimination were bad working environment and conditions (such as having to sleep at the workplace), hard labour, long unpaid trial periods, and unstable employment without official contracts, all participants lacked official working contracts. The unpaid trial periods could last up to several months, however, more commonly was 3-15 days, this may seem short, though two weeks of unpaid labour when you do not have much savings (which none of the participants had) makes for more economic insecurity. Participants who confronted their employers regarding any salary-issues were often laid off.

Much of the “global” literature had similar economic discrimination as Lebanon, where in all cases many experienced difficulties in accessing waged labour and fair working conditions. Many also lost their jobs, however, this was more related to social discrimination by native colleagues, in the “global” studies, and hence chose to quit whereas in Lebanon, refugees often get fired by the employer, nevertheless, one is not better than the other.

It seems as if in the case of Lebanon, the employer’s tastes, as Becker would say, and the costs of it makes it possible for employers in Lebanon to choose not to hire Syrian refugees, which is also part of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, Becker argues that tastes are based more on personal emotions than societal, this does not seem to be the case as most levels of society are behaving discriminatory against Syrian refugees. Interestingly, according to Becker’s theory, one would assume that foremen and employers would keep Syrians and Lebanese in separate working groups, however, this was not the case expressed by participants but rather that the groups were mixed.

The Lebanese experience is in line with findings from other studies in the region, especially those concerning Palestinian refugees. Similarities, as expressed can also be found in all cases brought up in the literature review, where refugees at some point had experienced discriminatory actions and attitudes by employers. Interestingly, few of the cases followed Becker’s theory and separated the groups, which may be due to efforts of integration, however, that is not discussed in his study.

6.1.2 Governmental discrimination

Becker’s theory includes governmental discrimination, though it is mainly based on elections and voting systems, as Syrian refugees are not citizens in Lebanon they do not have a right to vote, which makes that aspect of the theory unfitting for this case. However, the theory mentions that the desire from the Lebanese people for there to be governmental discrimination against Syrian refugees can impact politics and policy. Hence, the analysis regarding governmental discrimination will take some aspects of Becker’s explanation of the phenomena specifically but also from his general thoughts regarding economic discrimination.

The most common form of governmental discrimination expressed was the inability to obtain legal status and accessing aid and hence, experienced little to no help from organisations such as UNHCR.

I came to Lebanon in the legal way and I stayed for one year. However, after one year I had to renew my papers and I was not able to get anyone to help me. So, I could not get all the documents I needed, so now I do not have the legal papers anymore. – Rabath, Interviewee 7.

I tried to apply for aid through UNHCR and they did an introduction interview and was then placed in the waiting list. I asked them if I could get a place to stay or apply for housing in some way. But they told me that they do not have anything, and I never heard from them again. It has been two years and I am still waiting. – Ahmed Hafez, Interviewee 1.

Other experiences focused on lack of access to public services such as health care, education, and opening a bank account. Governmental discrimination also affects employer discrimination, as there are policies which restrict the employment of Syrians in Lebanon. Many also experienced unstable housing, including no formal contracts, higher rents, and bad living conditions, often resulting in many living together. This is also in line with the regional literature as well as what we know from the background section concerning the 2015 Policy. Especially since it is often illegal to hire Syrian workers, hence most are hired informally which makes puts employers in a situation of risk. This was also the case for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Both Turkey and Jordan have similar restrictions and hence, a large informal sector where the refugees are active. Nevertheless, it differs from the global studies where legally the refugees have the same rights as natives due to citizenship and protective legislation.

One would also assume that Becker's theory is correct to an extent, as there is social discrimination across Lebanon and the Middle East in general against Syrian refugees, as expressed in the previous literature and background. Which would lead to a desire to have governmental discrimination as well, however, that this is the only reason is both unlikely and hard to tell from the results.

6.1.3 Employee & customer discrimination

Participants experienced social discrimination from work colleagues, customers, strangers, and extended family, which of whom were all Lebanese natives, most often looks, social exclusion, and discriminatory language. Discrimination from Lebanese extended family, often related to having to abandon the Syrian culture and traditions in favour of the Lebanese ones to be

accepted by the family, which shows forced ethnic assimilation.

I went to the chef to get my meal, that we get every day and the manager was there with him, eating. I asked for my meal, but the manager told me I could not eat and instead gave me a list of tasks to complete first. I told him that I have already been working many hours and I am so hungry. That I need to eat before working more, but the manager then became very angry with me and started saying bad things. – Kays, Interviewee 5.

When I am talking to customers and they find out I am from Syria, they are surprised because I know the Lebanese accent. But when they learn I am actually Syrian, their attitude towards me changes, they do not smile or talk in a nice way, sometimes they say things that hurts my feelings and look at me like I am the enemy. – Rabath, Interviewee 7.

Many participants experienced racial discrimination once a stranger or customer found out they were Syrian so many tried to hide it, even though they did not want to do this, which also was the case for North Korean refugees in South Korea. Similarly, all previous studies brought refers to refugees struggling with social and racial discrimination both within their work and everyday life. Discrimination by peers increases the feeling of discrimination of participants as they are, apart from experiencing material economic discrimination, also experience social exclusion and discriminatory language by work-colleagues.

As the theory suggests, if the employer wants to maximise profits Lebanese and Syrians should be kept separated, which is not the case here. Nevertheless, even if the employer themselves are indifferent, the study shows that Lebanese colleagues are not, which according to Becker, increases discrimination and makes it hard for integration in the workplace. Which is also what the study shows since participants have experienced feeling socially excluded by their Lebanese peers.

6.2 Consequences of discrimination

6.2.1 Economic & social insecurity

An effect of the types of discrimination is economic insecurities. The most common one, is that many struggles to pay rent and other bills. Participants also discussed not having enough money

to sustain their everyday needs for housing, food, and utilities.

The money I have I barely enough to pay the rent and food every month. I am also still one month late on paying my rent because of my low salary. – Ahmed Hafez, Interviewee 1.

Other forms of economic insecurity lead to unemployment and lack of opportunities. It was often described to be worsened by the fact that many were supporting family members who were still in Syria. The discrimination made participants feel insecure and they expressed some level of stress, anxiety, sadness, and even depression and suicidal thoughts. Many did not have any future-plans as they felt that most of their dreams and hopes already had been destroyed by war and their situation in Lebanon.

I do not know what I want to do in the future, every dream I ever had when I was younger has been destroyed and I do not know what to do anymore. I feel like I am useless [...] So, sometimes I was thinking of killing myself. – Kays, Interviewee 5.

I do not think about my dreams anymore, because they have already been broken due to my situation here in Lebanon. - Rabath, Interviewee 7.

Due to their living situations in the Shatila camp many had often experienced criminality and threats from customers and employers who were working for criminal gangs, in this case these were both Syrian and Lebanese. While the literature does suggest criminality within refugee camps in Jordan and Turkey, these governments have remained autonomous over the camps whereas the Lebanese camps are run by Palestinian Militias (Rossis, 2011). Many also express that they do not have any form of social or economic security system, which is in line with the regional literature. No financial help or even talking about things they found difficult. Some participants expressed that the interview for the study was the first time they have spoken about their lives and experiences in Lebanon.

Many patients who come to me when I was working in Shatila was either high or drunk and tried to sell me weapons and threatened to kill me if I did not fix their teeth. I wanted to leave this job because of this and because of racism and threats from my employer. When I told him that I want to quit he told me to not come back again and that if I did, he will hurt me. – Kays, Interviewee 5.

Another effect of the discrimination is social insecurity, the inability of participants to be able to plan anything for their futures and the lack of both a social and financial support system makes the level of stress and anxiety among participants unsurprising. Hence social and economic insecurity, and anxiety and stress could be caused by the experienced discrimination, in the perspective of the refugees.

Here Becker's theory is lacking as the theory does not concern itself with the consequences of the discrimination but rather to prove how and where they exist. Hence, while Becker's theory has been used for most of the analysis, it has not been the basis of the said consequences. While Becker uses empirical examples in his book, they do not discuss what the consequences are from the discriminated groups perspective, something this study has done.

The previous literature also showed social insecurity, especially in the case of South Korea, as many participants expressed feeling socially excluded and lonely. Globally refugees experienced some level of economic hardship but not to the extent of being unable to pay rent, utilities, and food, as was the cases of the Middle East. Hence, in line with the literature, there is a difference in types of discrimination and its consequences in the Middle East compared to the other cases.

7. Discussion

According to the analysis one can assume that Syrian refugees are experiencing social and economic insecurities due to the types of discrimination they face. Most of the analysis was analysed through Becker's model and the types of discrimination identified was mainly in line with his findings. Apart from the section regarding consequences and an adaption to government discrimination, where Becker's theory did not fit the findings as well. The model on governmental discrimination is quite slim and only takes a few aspects into consideration, whereas in this study, the experienced governmental discrimination was focused on lack of access to public services, policies restricting Syrian refugees in work and mobility, and lack of access to aid. The findings also suggest heavy racial discrimination as participants expressed that the reason for discrimination was origin, which also confirms Willborn's and Bertrand's & Mullainathan's theory of the disparate impact model.

The consequences show an unstable and insecure economic and social situation for all

participants, similar to the other literature in the Middle East also mention. Arguably what has been expressed in the background and literature sections on Syrian presence in Lebanon, Turkey, and Jordan, is also in line with the findings, especially concerning governmental discrimination, as all countries have similar regulation for Syrian refugees. Even though all studies included in the literature review show some similarities in types of discrimination, the Middle Eastern cases relate more to one another compared to the rest. Which would indicate that economic racial discrimination differs in different regions of the world, which makes using one set of rules to handle a refugee crisis would not necessarily work in all contexts.

Furthermore, this study has come with some answers to the posed research questions. Syrian refugees experience discrimination in the labour market in Beirut mainly in the form of employer, government, employee, racial, and consumer discrimination. Which leads to an economic and social insecurity among participants, to the point where many experience poverty, stress, and anxiety. Social insecurity could be argued to be an effect of economic insecurity as the lack of funds leads to a stressful situation, which is also explained through Sim et al.'s study (2018). This leads to feelings of loneliness and dejection among participants which is also in line with the regional literature and South Korea, however, the study did not include this.

It is also important to note what the study did not find. While many categories were taken into consideration the results showed no difference between men and women in the study, something that Becker's theory also fails to discuss. As many feminist scholars argue having a gender aspect is crucial to fully understand a situation such as this. As there may be significant differences in types and levels of discrimination between genders. For instance, this study showed no sexual discrimination, which may be since most of the sample were men (Bhavnani, 2016). Geographical context has also not been a factor in this study since all participants were from the same area in Beirut, hence, there may be a geographical bias that conceals geographical discrimination. Furthermore, another aspect not brought up is that of age and health, as most participants were young, they did not experience discrimination based on age or health. Education did not either play a significant role in this study but could also be an explanation to discrimination as discussed by Willborn (1985).

8. Conclusion

The study has identified several types of discrimination against Syrian refugees and consequences of it: employer, government, employee, and consumer discrimination which impacts economic and social insecurity, often resulting in poverty and poor mental health among participants of the study. An underlying factor here is that the discrimination is based on origin, hence making it racial discrimination at the core. The discrimination stretches from policies and laws, to withheld salaries, financial difficulties, and attitudes and behaviours among natives, both peers and superiors. While the types identified is in line with Becker's theory the outcome is not, as Becker's theory fail to discuss consequences and emotions among the discriminated group. Otherwise, the study has empirically tested Becker's theory and found that it is mostly applicable to the context. Which also shows that the study confirms what Janmyr (2016), Alsharabati & Nammour (2015), and Amnesty International (2015) found in their studies.

Hence, the study is in line with much of the previous literature, especially the regional ones and most seem to experience discrimination by employers, government, and native citizens. Much of the literature also suggest a worse economy and mental health for refugees compared to natives. However, differences show that some regions and countries are more prone to government discrimination while other are not. Why is unclear and here Becker's theory suggest it is due to desire of the native population, however, it is unclear where he claims this desire to come from. Hence, some development on this theory would be preferable.

8.1 Suggestions for further research

As mentioned, further research should include a bigger focus on gender and how this effects the experienced discrimination. One may in that case find more types of discrimination not included in Becker's theory as neither this included a gender aspect. Furthermore, it would also be beneficial to include different perspectives on this situation, such as what are the native Lebanese opinions on discrimination against Syrian refugees, do they believe they are discriminating and if so, in what ways? This would lead to a broader understand of why there may be a desire from Lebanese citizens to have government discrimination. Hence, it would also be interesting to then see how politicians adopt these desires into policies and, therefore, also studying the perspective of politicians in Lebanon regarding discrimination of Syrian

refugees. Finally, longer time spent in the field would be beneficial as this would generate a better understanding for the field and generate more data, therefore, also a bigger sample from different areas of Lebanon would be beneficial, to see if there are different types of discrimination in different geographical areas.

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10. Appendices

10.1 Appendix 1: Interview List and Snowball schedule

Interview List

	Date	Location	Name	Translator	Gender	Recorded	Age
Interview 1	31/01-2020	Em Nazih, Gemmayzeh	Ahmed Hafez	No	M	Yes	20s
Interview 2	13/02-2020	Conciege, Badaro	Anonymous "Amira"	Yes	F	Yes	50s
Interview 3	13/02-2020	Conciege, Badaro	Ola	Yes	F	Yes	20s
Interview 4	15/02-2020	Tariq el Jdide	Rawad	No	M	Yes	30s
Interview 5	15/02-2020	Tariq el Jdide	Kays	No	M	Yes	30s
Interview 6	27/02-2020	Tariq el Jdide	Anonymous "Farid"	Yes	M	Yes	30s
Interview 7	07/03-2020	Em Nazih, Hamra	Rabath	Yes	M	Yes	20s

All interviews were conducted in Beirut, Lebanon.

Snowball Schedule

One local contact connected me with Interviewee 1, another local contact connected me with interviewee 2 who connected me to interviewee 3 and interviewee 6. Another local contact connected me to interviewee 4 who in turn connected me with interviewee 5, interviewee 5 connected me with interviewee 7.

Local contact 1 →	Interviewee 1		
Local contact 2 →	Interviewee 2 →	Interviewee 3 →	Interviewee 6
Local contact 3 →	Interviewee 4 →	Interviewee 5 →	Interviewee 7

10.2 Appendix 2: The Interview Guide

All interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewee and later transcribed by the researcher. The interviewee was also informed about the purpose of the study and gave verbal consent which was recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

Recurrent process:

- Who I am and what I am studying, the purpose of the study and why I am interested in interviewing them. Explaining that the interview can be interrupted at any time, anonymity is offered, and permission for audio recording is asked. Finish with if they understood everything and if they have any questions.

General

- How long have you lived in Lebanon?
- Who did you come to Lebanon with?
- Who is in your household here?
- How many years of education do you have, within what field?
- Have you worked within this field?
- Who is currently the breadwinner in your household?

About Aid

- Have you tried to access aid from any international or national organisations such as the UNHCR?
- Are you currently receiving any aid?
- What was your experience like in contacting an aid organisation?
- What do you think about the work that organisation such as the UNHCR are doing for Syrians here in Lebanon?

About Work (some questions)

- Do you currently have a job, and how did you obtain this position?
- Do you have an official work-contract?
- Have you faced any difficulties in accessing work in Lebanon, can you tell me about one of those incidents?
- Have you faced anything uncomfortable by the employer or colleagues in your current or previous employments? – if so, can you tell me about one of those incidents?
- Do you get along well with your Lebanese colleagues?

Economic situation (some questions)

- Who do you have to provide for with your salary?
- Is your salary enough for your rent, utilities, and food, and those you need to provide for?
- Have you ever not been able to pay rent or buy food?
 - If not, can you tell me about how you dealt with that?
- Do you have someone who can help you financially either in Lebanon or Syria if you need it?
 - Have you utilised this?

Other (some questions)

- Apart from work, are you comfortable to live here in Lebanon?

- Would you want to move back to Syria at some point?
- Do you have any plans for the future? – if so, what and how do you intend to get there?
- Do you have many friends or family in Lebanon?
 - Do they support you mentally, with talking and confiding in them?
 - If not, do you have any social support system here?

10.3 Appendix 3: The data and coding process

NVivo Coding

Revising the codes and themes. First coding was done just within the themes and then another layer of coding was done to make a final identification of the sub-themes. The results were then presented.

Categories	Codes	Sub-codes
Employer discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Attitude and language of employer. - Bad working environment - Hard labour - Long working hours - Low Salary - Policies - Unpaid trial periods - Unstable employment - Unwilling to hire Syrians - Unwilling to pay salary 	
Government discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Aid - Legal Status - No access to public services - Policy to not hire Syrians - Unable to leave - Unable to working within certain fields - Unstable housing 	
Social Discrimination	Employee discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - Attitude - Looks - Social exclusion - Being looked down upon - Forced abandonment of Syrian culture
	Customer discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - Attitude - Looks - Social exclusion - Being looked down upon
	Stranger discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - Attitude - Looks - Being looked down upon
	Family Discrimination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language - Attitude

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Looks - Social exclusion - Being looked down upon - Forced abandonment of Syrian culture
	Historical hatred	
Economic Insecurity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of opportunities - Supporting family members - Unable to pay rent, utilities, food - Unemployment 	
Social Insecurity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Criminality - Rights - Lack of security system 	
Emotions & Beliefs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No future plans - Positive feelings - Racism - Second class worker & citizen - Stress & anxiety 	