



Costing Irregular Migration across Canada's Southern Border



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The Parliamentary Budget Officer (PBO) supports Parliament by providing economic and financial analysis for the purposes of raising the quality of parliamentary debate and promoting greater budget transparency and accountability.

MP Larry Maguire (Brandon – Souris, CPC) requested the PBO to prepare an estimate of the total and projected costs to the federal government in managing the increase in irregular arrivals. This report presents an average unit cost per refugee claimant, based on the costs associated with the federal organizations involved in the asylum process, as well as a sensitivity analysis of future costs.

Lead Analysts:

Varun Srivatsan, Research Assistant

Jason Stanton, Financial Analyst

Contributor:

Ben Segel-Brown, Financial Analyst

This report was prepared under the direction of:

Jason Jacques, Senior Director

Nancy Beauchamp and Caroline Bernier assisted with the preparation of the report for publication.

For further information, please contact pbo-dpb@parl.gc.ca

Yves Giroux

Parliamentary Budget Officer

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	1
1. Introduction	3
1.1. Asylum Process	3
2. Background	5
3. Cost Analysis	7
3.1. Variable Costs	9
3.2. Fixed Costs	14
3.3. Transfers to provincial and municipal governments	15
4. Distributional Analysis	16
Appendix A: Assumptions	18
Appendix B: Interim Federal Health Program	19
Notes	21

Executive Summary

There has been a recent increase in the number of asylum claimants entering Canada via its southern border, much of which has been driven by irregular migration. Irregular migrants are defined as migrants who cross the border between official ports of entry.

MP Larry Maguire (Brandon-Souris, CPC) requested the Parliamentary Budget Officer (PBO) to provide an estimate of the total and projected cost to the federal government in managing the increase in irregular arrivals. This includes all costs beginning from the initial port of entry into Canada to the final decision from the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) and/or Federal Court, as well as removal costs.

The PBO estimates that the average cost for each irregular migrant who entered Canada in 2017-18 is \$14,321 per irregular migrant for the entire claim process, increasing to \$16,666 in 2019-20. This amounts to a total variable cost of \$340 million in 2017-18, rising to \$396 million in 2019-20.

The cost per migrant can vary depending on the determination of the eligibility of the asylum claim. For an irregular migrant that entered Canada in 2017-18, the PBO estimates that the cost to the federal government can vary between \$9,915 and \$33,738. The lower cost is incurred in cases where the asylum claim is accepted at the first hearing, while the higher cost relates to claims which are initially denied, and the claimant exhausts all appeal options and is ultimately removed from Canada.

These costs are variable and primarily reflect additional personnel, medical and legal expenses in the claims process. In addition, the PBO assumes that the infrastructure in place to manage the refugee claim process will not need to be adjusted beyond the changes announced in Budget 2018.

An important cost to the refugee asylum process relates to social services provided by provincial and municipal governments. While the federal government has reimbursed part of these expenses, it has no obligation to do so. Notwithstanding an announcement of the reimbursement of \$50 million to affected governments, the federal government has provided no guidance regarding the reimbursement of future expenses. As such, this non-federal cost is excluded from the PBO's cost estimate.

The PBO undertook a sensitivity analysis of future variable costs relating to irregular migration. These projections assume that the number of irregular migrants entering Canada is higher or lower by 10,000, relative to a base case equal to the number of irregular migrants in 2017-18. These costs are

projected to be between \$208 million and \$538 million for FY 2018-19, and between \$211 million and \$609 million for FY 2019-20.

1. Introduction

Recently, there has been an increase in the number of migrants claiming asylum who have entered Canada via its southern border. This influx has been primarily driven by the increase in irregular migration, which is defined as migrants who cross the border between official ports of entry.

MP Larry Maguire (Brandon – Souris, CPC) requested the PBO to prepare an estimate of the total and projected costs to the federal government in dealing with this increase in irregular migrants, beginning from the initial port of entry into Canada to the final decision from the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRB) and/or Federal Court, and including the cost of removals.

As part of this analysis, the PBO calculated an average unit cost per refugee, based on the costs associated with the federal organizations involved in the asylum process. As it is challenging to accurately project irregular migrant inflows, the PBO estimated the cost of alternative scenarios (higher and lower number of migrants) to estimate total costs of processing these migrants over the next several years.

1.1. Asylum Process

The process for seeking asylum in Canada is broadly similar for both irregular and regular arrivals, as illustrated in Figure 1-1. The important difference between the two is that irregular migrants are initially intercepted when entering between official ports of entry by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), whereas the regular process is to make a claim at an official port of entry. Following this, they are then transported to either a Canadian Border Services Agency (CBSA) or an Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) office.

During this time, security and background checks are performed, as well as an initial determination of the eligibility of the refugee claim. If the claim is deemed to be eligible, it is then referred to the Immigration and Refugee Board's Refugee Protection Division (RPD).

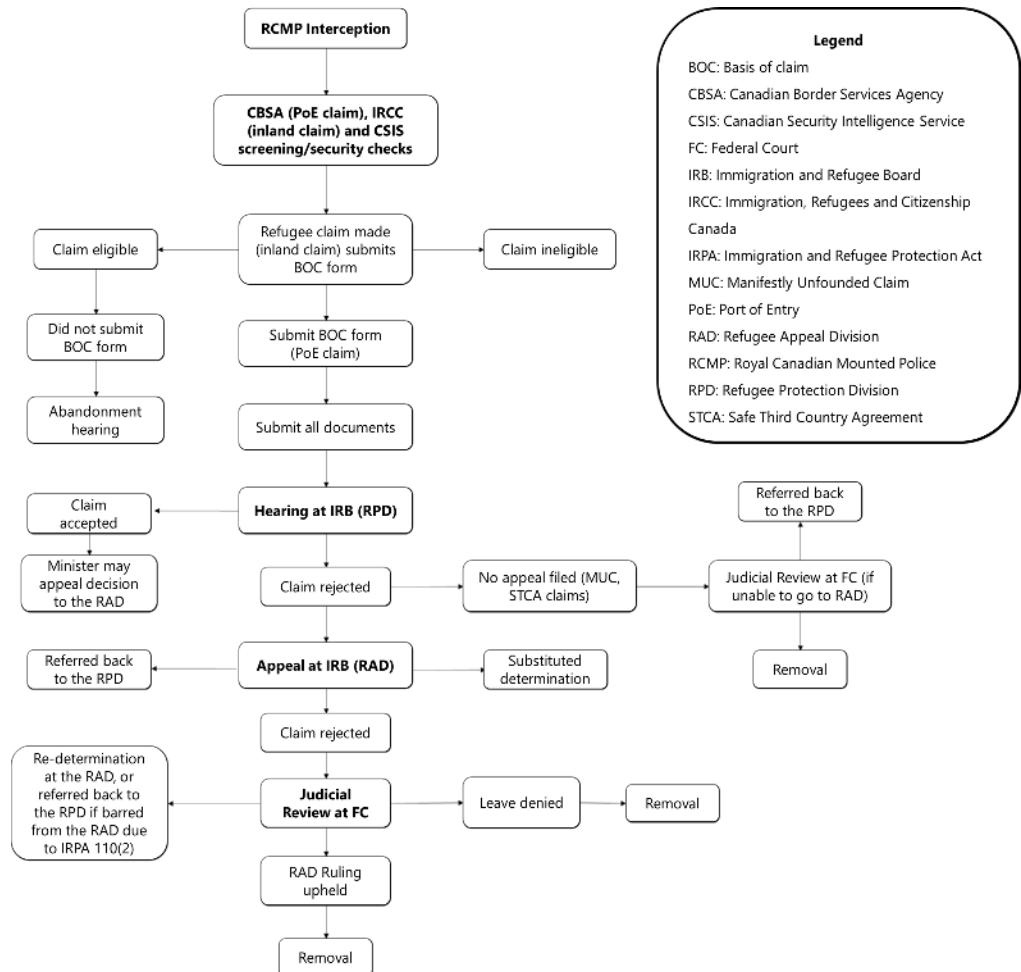
If at this point the case is dismissed by the RPD, the claimant has the option of appealing the decision at the Refugee Appeals Division (RAD). If the appeal is dismissed, the claimant has the option to file an application for leave and for Judicial Review. Following this, a Judicial Review may be conducted at the Federal Court (FC) if the application is accepted. The

decision to file for Judicial Review can also arise from a case that is deemed to be ineligible to be heard at the RPD.

If the claimant is denied refugee status after these appeals, the removal costs are borne by the CBSA. Prior to removal, IRCC may conduct a Pre-Removal Risk Assessment (PRRA), which considers whether the migrant will be in significant danger of persecution, torture or cruel and unusual punishment if they are deported.¹

If at the end of this process the claimant still faces deportation, there remains a possibility of applying for permanent residence on humanitarian or compassionate grounds. However, this option is not within the scope of our analysis.

Figure 1-1 The Asylum Claim Process

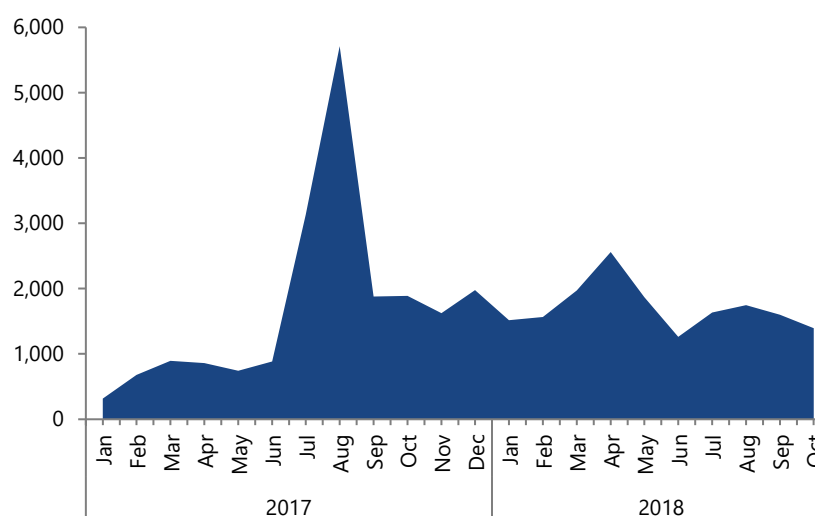


Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer based on a flowchart by FCJ Refugee Centre²

2. Background

Since RCMP began collecting data on irregular migration in January 2017, Canada has experienced an increase in the number of irregular arrivals over its southern border. The most notable spike in irregular arrivals occurred in August 2017, as shown in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1 RCMP Interceptions



Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP

Due to this influx, there has been significant pressure on resources for all organizations involved in this process, which has led to delays in the processing of these claims, most notably the IRB. In the 2017-18 fiscal year, the IRB had the capacity to hear 24,000 claims per year. During the same period, there was a total of 52,142 new asylum claims submitted to the IRB, as well as 5,736 appeals, of which irregular migrants represented 23,215 and 1,032, respectively.³

Consequently, more than half of the total asylum cases were not finalized. As of September 2018, this has resulted in a total backlog of 64,929, of which 28,314 are irregular migrants.⁴

In response to the increase in irregular arrivals, the Federal Government allocated \$173.2 million over two years as part of the Budget 2018 measure, *Irregular Migration: Managing the Border*. The purpose of these additional funds is to manage "irregular migration by ensuring security at the border and faster processing of asylum claims".^{5 6}

The specific allocations by organization is as follows:

- \$72 million allocated over two years to the IRB;
- \$72 million allocated over two years to the CBSA;
- \$17 million allocated over one year to the IRCC;
- \$10 million allocated over one year to the RCMP; and,
- \$2 million allocated over one year to CSIS.

In addition to these amounts, Budget 2018 also allocated \$13 million to the Department of Justice (DOJ) to help provide legal aid services to asylum seekers in 2018-19.

3. Cost Analysis

Federal costs related to irregular migration can be grouped into three categories:

- Variable: Costs which fluctuate based on the flows of irregular migrants crossing the border;
- Fixed: Costs which do not fluctuate based on the varying levels of inflows of irregular migrants; and,
- Transfer payments: Future federal payments to provincial and municipal governments to assist with costs related to temporary housing, social assistance and education.

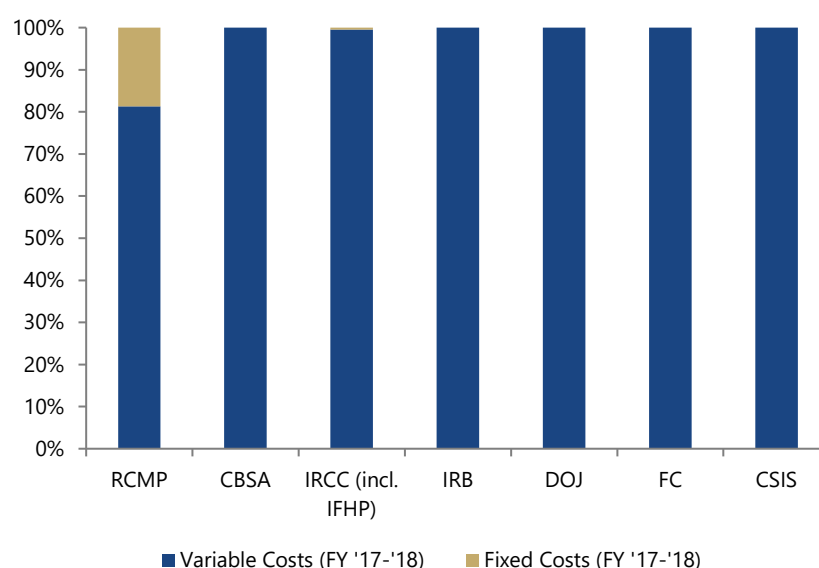
Given that future transfer payments are not yet known, and the federal government is under no obligation to make these payments, the PBO is unable to project these potential costs and they are therefore excluded from the cost estimate.

Our analysis is based on information provided by relevant organizations in the claim process, as highlighted in Figure 1-1, and assumptions made in Appendix A.

Most organizational costs are variable, as shown in Figures 3-1 and 3-2.

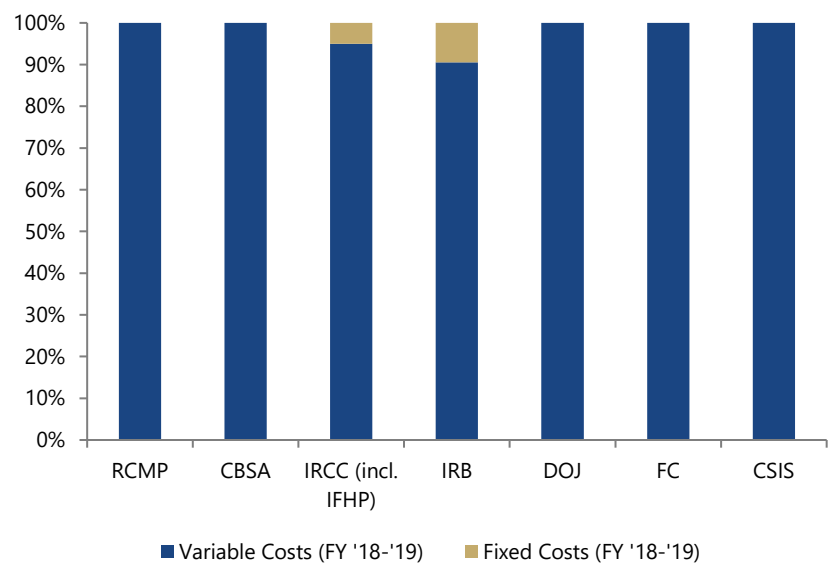
Figure 3-1

Fixed vs variable costs FY 2017-18



Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

Figure 3-2 Fixed vs Variable Costs FY 2018-19



Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

3.1. Variable Costs

Variable costs are classified as those which fluctuate based on the flows of irregular migrants crossing the border. For example, certain organizations may require more personnel for processing, additional vehicles to transport claimants, or utilities may rise with the increased number of irregular arrivals.

The PBO estimates that the average cost for each irregular migrant who entered Canada in 2017-18 is \$14,321 for the entire claim process, increasing to \$16,666 in 2019-20, as shown in Table 3-1. This was calculated based on the total variable costs for each organization in dealing with irregular migration, as well as the total number of irregular migrants during the same period.^{7 8} Total variable costs by organization are detailed in Table 3-2.

Table 3-1 Per migrant cost by cohort year

Cohort year	Per migrant cost
2017-18	\$14,321
2018-19	\$15,483
2019-20	\$16,666

Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

Note: Cohort year represents the year in which the irregular migrant arrived in Canada. This does not represent the cost per year, but the average total per migrant cost over the entire asylum claim process, which can span over multiple fiscal years.

Table 3-2 Total variable costs by organization by cohort

\$ Millions

Organization	Total variable cost (FY 2017-18 cohort)	Total variable cost (FY 2018-19 cohort)	Total variable cost (FY 2019-20 cohort)
RCMP	\$6.3 ^{9 10}	\$6.3 ^{9 10}	\$6.3 ^{9 10}
CBSA	\$75.8 ¹¹	\$75.8 ¹¹	\$75.8 ¹¹
IRCC (excluding IFHP)	\$41.5 ¹²	\$41.5 ¹²	\$41.5 ¹²
IRCC (only IFHP)	\$48.8	\$76.4	\$104.5
IRB	\$111.1	\$111.1	\$111.1
DOJ	\$35.4 ¹³	\$35.4 ¹³	\$35.4 ¹³
FC	\$19.0	\$19.0	\$19.0
CSIS	\$2.4	\$2.4	\$2.4
Total	\$340.2	\$367.8	\$395.9

Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

Notes: Figures for CSIS were based on Budget 2018 allocations to that organization.

The RCMP has reassigned existing staff to address the recent surge in irregular migration. However, these costs are not tracked by the organization, and only incremental costs to the existing resources were provided to the PBO. As such, the PBO's estimates do not include these expenses and therefore underestimate the total cost incurred by the Government to manage irregular migration.

As shown in Table 3-1, per migrant costs are projected to rise over time. This is largely due to longer projected wait times for migrants to complete the entire asylum claim process. This is a result of projected inflows being greater than the capacity of federal organizations to process these claims, leading to greater expenses for federal health insurance costs.¹⁴

Due to the multiple steps in the asylum claim process, as well as the increased wait times, there can be a significant variation in the cost to the federal government based on the determination of the eligibility of the claim. For an irregular migrant who entered in 2017-18 and is found to be a refugee at the initial RPD hearing, the PBO estimates a cost of \$9,915. However, if this migrant has their asylum claim rejected and goes through every step of the appeals process, and is ultimately removed, the PBO estimates a total cost of \$33,738.

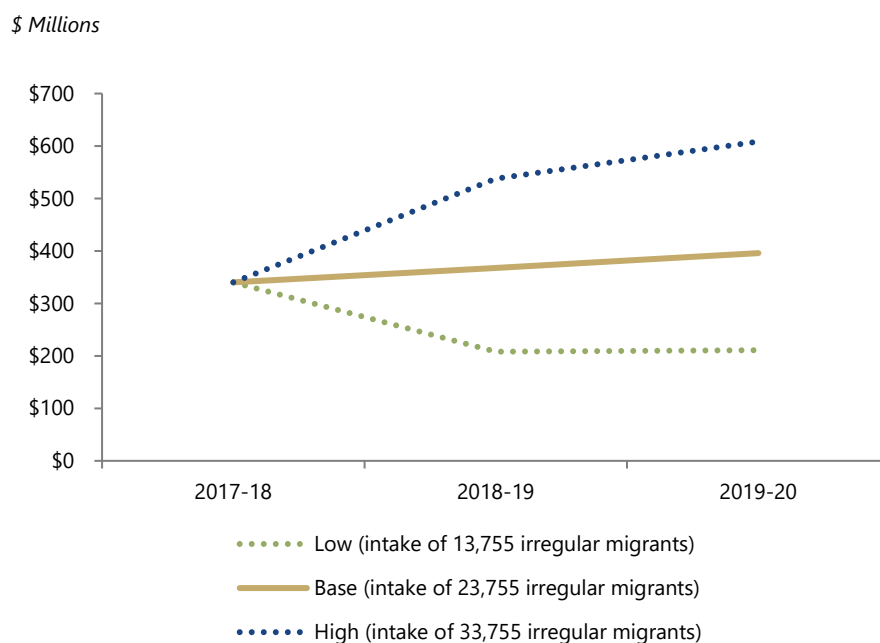
Sensitivity Analysis

The PBO also used sensitivity analysis in place of modelling irregular migrant flows given their volatility, which can be influenced by a variety of domestic and international factors and is consequently difficult to forecast. The base scenario of 23,755 interceptions is equal to the number of RCMP

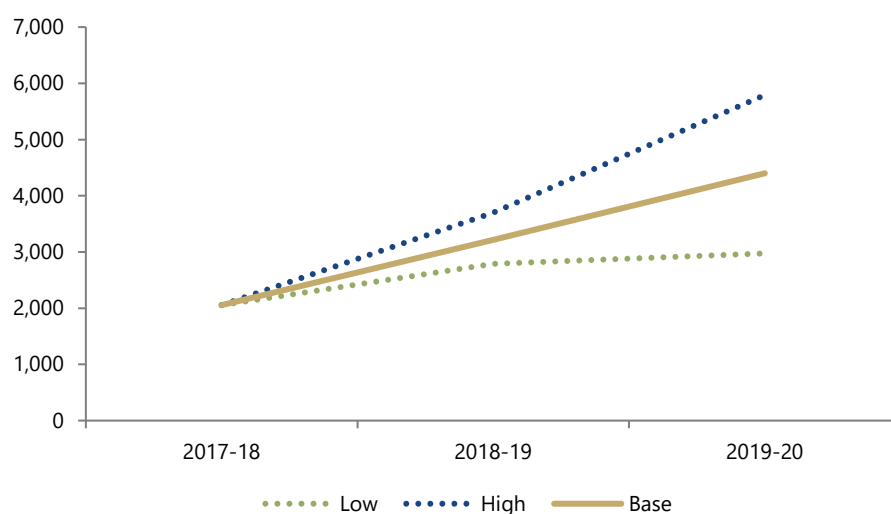
interceptions in 2017-18, while the high and low scenarios increase and decrease irregular migration inflows by 10,000, respectively.

As shown in Figures 3-3 and 3-4, the sensitivity analysis highlights how volatile total costs can be as most costs are variable. This is even more striking when considering the influence of migrant flows on wait times, and consequently, the Interim Federal Health Program (IFHP) costs incurred by the IRCC.

Figure 3-3 Sensitivity analysis of total variable costs



Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

Figure 3-4 Sensitivity analysis of IFHP costs per migrant*IFHP Cost per Irregular Migrant (\$)*

Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from IRCC and IRB

Interim Federal Health Program

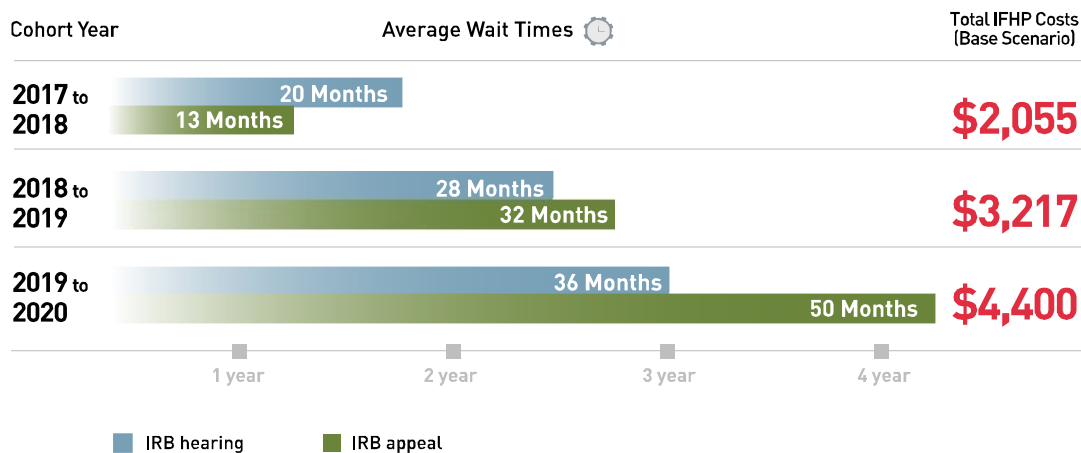
Interim Federal Health Program (IFHP) provides health insurance to refugee claimants that are rejected, ineligible, awaiting a decision or have a positive PRRA decision. This is a monthly cost borne by IRCC that allows claimants to access public healthcare through a private-sector health insurance claims company. If their asylum claim is successful, they can transfer to the provincial health care plan as a protected person. Otherwise, they continue to access health insurance through IFHP until their removal from Canada.

Similar to education, housing or social services, healthcare costs are time-sensitive. The longer a claimant is within the refugee claims system, the greater are the total costs for IRCC. Thus, wait-times for IRB hearings or appeals play a significant role in impacting projected costs of IFHP.

As shown in Figure 3-5, projected wait times, and consequently total IFHP costs, are projected to increase over the next two years. The average annual per claimant IFHP cost of \$1,066 is based on 2017-18 data provided by IRCC. The PBO calculates wait times based on the IRB's capacity and intake. Projected wait times are dependent on IRB's backlog of cases, which will increase as more irregular migrants enter Canada and enter in the asylum claim process.

The costs presented in Figure 3-4 and Figure 3-5 highlight the total per-migrant IFHP cost, which is based on the annual cost and associated wait times. Additional information regarding the PBO's methodology in calculating IFHP costs is detailed in Appendix B.

Figure 3-5 Estimated wait times and IFHP costs for irregular migrants



Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from IRCC and IRB

Note: The wait times and IFHP cost estimate uses the base scenario of irregular migrants, which is equal to the total arrivals in 2017-18.

3.2. Fixed Costs

As noted earlier, most organizational costs are variable. Nonetheless, some organizations have incurred fixed costs with the increase in irregular migration, as shown in Table 3-3.

Table 3-3 Fixed costs by organization

\$ Millions

Organization	Fixed Costs (FY 2017-18)	Fixed Costs (FY 2018-19)
RCMP	\$1.4	N/A
CBSA	N/A	N/A
IRCC (incl. IFHP)	\$0.4	\$6.3
IRB	N/A	\$11.6
DOJ	N/A	N/A
FC	N/A	N/A
CSIS	N/A	N/A
Total	\$1.9	\$17.9

Source: Parliamentary Budget Officer using data from RCMP, CBSA, IRCC, IRB and DOJ

Note: Totals may not add up due to rounding.

Fixed costs are classified as those which do not fluctuate based on the varying levels of inflows of irregular migrants. This includes initial infrastructure and other capital investments in response to the influx; however, it is assumed that these costs will not increase as more irregular migrants enter Canada.

Total fixed costs for the 2017-18 fiscal year account for approximately \$1.9 million, which increases to a projected \$17.9 million in 2018-19. The PBO assumes that these costs are adequate to maintain processing times for projected irregular arrivals, and therefore are not included in the projection of future costs. If additional fixed expenses are required in the future, the PBO's cost estimate of total federal costs to manage irregular migration would be understated.

3.3. Transfers to provincial and municipal governments

Provincial and municipal governments also face significant financial pressures in dealing with the increase in irregular border crossers. The Government of Ontario has identified \$200 million in costs related to irregular migration, most notably for areas such as temporary housing, social assistance and education.¹⁵

In comparison to federal costs which are primarily determined by the number of migrants, provincial and municipal costs also increase with the time it takes the federal government to make a final determination on asylum claims. Hence, the longer the claim takes to reconcile, the greater the costs incurred by provincial and municipal governments.

While the federal government has announced a transfer payment of \$50 million for the provinces of Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba to defray their expenses, there is no explicit federal obligation to do so. The Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship stated that these "initial funds are aimed at providing immediate assistance towards the ongoing provision of temporary housing in these provinces".¹⁶ This sum is significantly less than the total costs reported by provincial and municipal governments.

The Government of Quebec did not provide the PBO the total costs it has incurred to date, yet they likely face similar costs when managing irregular migration. Other provinces, such as Manitoba or British Columbia, would also face costs, albeit at a smaller scale, given that the number of irregular migrants that either enter or settle in these provinces are lower.

As future transfer payments are not yet known, the PBO is unable to project these future federal costs. However, any additional transfer payments to provinces and municipalities would represent an additional cost to the federal government in managing irregular arrivals.

4. Distributional Analysis

The federal government has made Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) a key priority and indicated the need for all federal departments to strengthen its implementation.

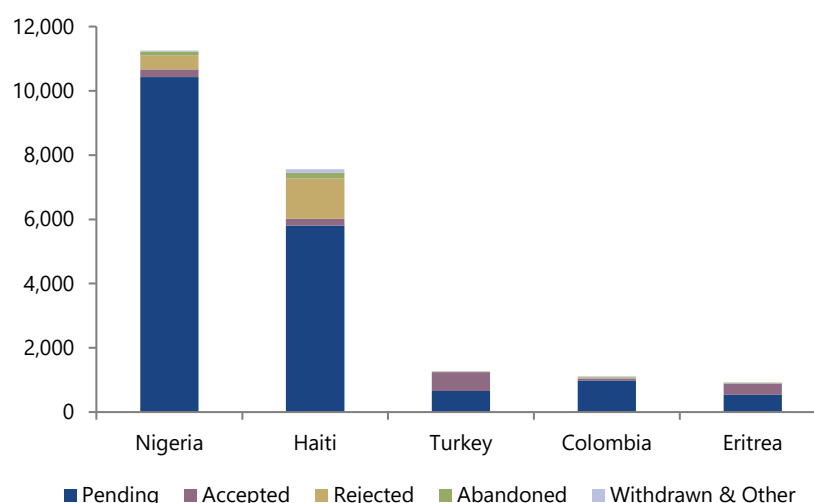
GBA+ is defined as an “analytical tool used to assess how diverse groups of women, men and gender-diverse people may experience policies, programs, and initiatives.”¹⁷

As part of this analysis, the PBO requested distributional data from federal departments with regards to the initial interceptions, specifically age, gender, and nationality; however, the PBO did not receive this data as the Government does not currently track it for irregular migrants.

However, there is publicly available data on the nationality of irregular migrants who have submitted initial asylum claims to the IRB, as shown in Figure 4-1. As of September 2018, more than half (54%) of the refugee claims by irregular migrants originate from Nigeria and Haiti.

Figure 4-1

Top 5 nationalities of refugee protection claims made by irregular border crossers



Source: Immigration and Refugee Board.

Notes: This data is from February 2017 to September 2018.

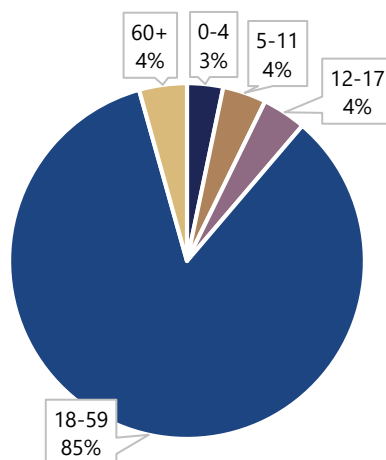
Definitions of the status of claims can be found in the Notes section.¹⁸

Distributional analysis is material as it informs potential cost drivers. For example, if the average age of an irregular migrant cohort is higher (Figure 4-

2), or if there is an overrepresentation of one gender (Figure 4-3), the cohort could incur either higher or lower IFHP costs compared to the average.

Figure 4-2

Breakdown of Canada's asylum claimant and refugee population in 2016 by age

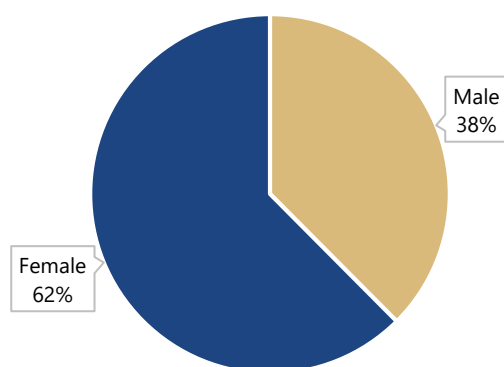


Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Note: This information relates to all refugees and asylum claimants, not just irregular migrants.

Figure 4-3

Breakdown of Canada's asylum claimant and refugee population in 2016 by gender



Source: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Note: This information relates to all refugees and asylum claimants, not just irregular migrants

Appendix A: Assumptions

Factor	PBO assumption
Ratio of irregular claims and all asylum claims	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of IRB appeals and IRB intake	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of dismissed cases in RPD and intake at RAD	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of dismissed cases in RAD and intake at RAD	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of second hearings at RPD and dismissed cases at RAD	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of judicial reviews filed at Federal Court and intake at IRB	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of removals and irregular claims	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Ratio of migrants eligible for legal aid and irregular claims	This ratio is roughly constant over time
Judicial review rejection rate at the FC	The rejection rate is the same as the rejection rate at the RAD
Judicial Review costs at the FC	Judicial Review costs equal the cost of an appeal at RAD
Irregular migrant inflows	Inflows are stable over time
Litigation cases managed by the DOJ and FC	Each case represents one irregular migrant ¹⁹
Case hearing sequence	Cases are heard on a first-in-first-out basis (queueing assumption)
Claims presented to the IRB	Each claim represents one irregular migrant ²⁰

These assumptions can either increase or decrease irregular migration costs.

Appendix B: Interim Federal Health Program

The annual per claimant IFHP cost is based on actual IFHP data provided by IRCC. The PBO used the total average IFHP cost for all asylum seekers in the FY 2017-18 as an estimate for all future years.²¹

Wait times

The PBO estimates wait times on a cohort basis. Wait times for hearings at the RPD are based on the number of hearings in a calendar year, the total number of hearings for that cohort and the average age of a claim (that is, the number of months a claim will take to be heard on average for that calendar year, which is a multiple of 12).

For 2017-18, the PBO used the actual number of RPD claims finalized in that period. In subsequent years, the PBO used projected capacity, which includes additional capacity allocated to the IRB from Budget 2018. Wait time calculations for each cohort take into account the backlogged claims of the previous cohort. The PBO assumes IRB's capacity to hear cases related to irregular migrants from 2018-19 onwards equals the ratio of irregular migrants to all asylum claims in 2017-18.

$$\text{Wait time} = \frac{\text{Number of hearings in calendar year}}{\text{Cohort's total number of hearings}} \times \text{Average age of a claim}$$

Estimating wait times for appeals follows a similar process and formula. The primary difference is that these calculations not only consider the backlogged appeals for that cohort, but also that appeals for a cohort may be heard during different calendar years. The PBO used the average number of RAD finalizations for the past three calendar years, as well as additional capacity identified in Budget 2018 to estimate future RAD capacity. The PBO assumes that the percentage of RPD finalizations that led to claims in 2017-18 (29%) remains the same for future years.

These calculations assume IRB's capacity after 2017-18 does not exceed the sum of the base capacity in 2017-18 and additional capacity funded through Budget 2018. Should IRB further increase their capacity, this would result in lower estimated wait times.

Sensitivity Analysis

Considering the three scenarios from the Section 3.1, IFHP costs increase at an increasing rate in the high irregular migration scenario, with the converse occurring in the low irregular migration scenario.

The substantial cost per migrant for IFHP, even in our base scenario, underlines the sensitivity of IFHP costs to wait times. As the IRB faces greater backlogs, costs not only build up in that organization but also spill over to IRCC due to IFHP, eventually compounding the federal government's total costs in managing irregular migration.

These costs are likely to be understated relative to true IFHP costs due to two reasons. Firstly, given that the PBO uses information from Budget 2018 to estimate additional capacity of the IRB, and as many of the positions in the IRB are yet to be filled, the IRB's additional capacity is not yet reached and wait times are likely longer. Secondly, the PBO did not receive information related to Federal Court wait times as well as the time it takes to remove an individual with an unsuccessful asylum claim from Canada. Therefore, the total number of people eligible for IFHP is larger than what the PBO projects, which would also mean wait times are likely longer.

Notes

1. There is a one-year ban for seeking a PRRA for previous refugee claimants and PRRA applicants (waived for certain countries), and a three-year ban for designated nationals.
2. FCJ Refugee Centre: Process Chart. <https://www.fcjrefugeecentre.org/our-programs/immigration-and-refugee-protection/canadas-refugee-process/process-chart/>
3. Irregular border crosser statistics. <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/Pages/Irregular-border-crosser-statistics.aspx>
4. Irregular border crosser statistics. <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/Pages/Irregular-border-crosser-statistics.aspx>
5. Irregular Migration: Managing the Border. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/campaigns/irregular-border-crossings-asylum/managing-border.html>
6. The PBO sent a request to the Department of Finance seeking information related to the methodologies, assumptions, and datasets used to determine the amounts identified in the Budget 2018 measure, "Irregular Migration: Managing the Border". According to the Department of Finance's response, IRCC has estimated a per migrant cost of \$19,000.
7. As part of the information requests that were sent to each organization, the PBO requested that costs were identified as being either fixed or variable.
8. The PBO estimates are in 2017-18 dollars. Any recent or pending collective agreements are not included in the projection.
9. PBO recognizes this organization maintains a certain 'posture' or footprint of officers at the border regardless of volume. This footprint may increase if the number of border crossing points increase (requiring RCMP to maintain the same footprint at another point). However, for the purposes of this analysis, we treat these costs as variable.
10. RCMP did not include indirect costs related to irregular migration. The PBO adjusted RCMP's costs using CBSA's ratio of indirect costs to total costs.
11. CBSA's response to the PBO's information request stated that CBSA officers have identified a recent phenomenon where a claimant enters Canada irregularly and acts as an anchor relative for other family members. As a result, these family members can enter at a port of entry and not be considered as irregular migrants. The PBO requested data from CBSA on this phenomenon, but the data is not currently tracked.
12. IRCC maintains a stock of temporary housing units to support any potential rise in irregular migration. This stock may not be used at all times of the year, but is maintained to provide support if need be. These costs are accordingly treated as variable in our analysis.

13. PBO calculates legal aid costs incurred by DOJ by taking the product of the mean hourly rate charged by Legal Aid Ontario lawyers (\$123), the maximum billable hours at a particular stage of the claim process excluding the actual time of the hearing (which is unknown), the percentage of migrants that reach that stage, the percentage of federal contribution to provincial legal aid (33%), and the percentage of migrants with counsel (94%).

The federal contribution to legal aid is based on a proxy of federal contribution to Legal Aid Ontario. The percentage of migrants with Counsel applies to migrants that seek counsel at any stage of the asylum claim process. The PBO recognizes that tariff rates for legal aid services vary across provinces, which will impact PBO's estimate of legal aid costs. Additionally, as asylum claimants may be issued work permits and find employment, this may reduce the number of claimants that are eligible for legal aid.

This information is based on PBO calculations and Legal Aid Ontario's Tariff and Billing Handbook.

<http://www.legalaid.on.ca/en/info/manuals/tariff%20manual.pdf>

14. Social assistance, housing and educational costs will also increase due to longer projected wait times. That said, asylum claimants may be issued work permits and find employment, which could reduce the cost of social welfare benefits and contribute toward increases in federal personal income tax revenue.
15. <http://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/CIMM/meeting-118/evidence>
16. The Government of Canada announced \$50 million in funding for temporary housing for asylum claimants. Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba will receive \$36 million, \$11 million and \$3 million, respectively, as these provinces have borne most of these costs. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2018/06/government-of-canada-announces-50-million-in-funding-for-temporary-housing-for-asylum-claimants.html>
17. What is GBA+? <https://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/gba-acis/index-en.html>
18. Understanding statistics on refugee claims by irregular border crossers. <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/Pages/Irregular-border-crosser-statistics.aspx>

Pending: All claims that have not been finalized by the end of the identified time period.

Accepted: The RPD has determined that the claimant is either a Convention refugee or a person in need of protection.

Rejected: The RPD has determined that the claimant is not a Convention refugee or a person in need of protection.

Abandoned: The RPD has declared that the claim has been abandoned.

Withdrawn & Other: 'Withdrawn' describes cases in which the claimant does not continue with their claim.

19. Some cases might represent multiple irregular migrants. However, the Government does not track data regarding the number of claimants versus cases, related to the breakdown of these cases.

20. The IRB has heard cases where multiple claimants (usually families) are heard at once. The PBO assumes each claim represents one irregular migrant.
21. IRCC also provided the PBO with the average monthly IFHP costs for irregular migrants, starting in March 2017; however, many of the costs borne in the first few months relate to an initial Immigration Medical Examination (IME). Based on the influx of irregular migrants during this time, these costs would overstate the actual average monthly IFHP cost. Therefore, the PBO used the average monthly IFHP costs for all asylum claims, as it provides a more accurate cost over the long term.