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MOBILIZING GLOBAL KNOWLEDGE: REFUGEE RESEARCH IN AN AGE OF DISPLACEMENT

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The Promise and Potential of the Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration

Ellen Percy Kraly and Mohammad Jalal Abbasi-Shavazi

Introduction

The first sentences of essays addressing contemporary dimensions of refugee and forced migration and population displacement begin with references to scale and complexity, often using metrics to underscore increases in each characteristic. To be sure, our recent writings addressing the demography of refugee and forced migration are no different (see Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi, and Kraly 2018; Abbasi-Shavazi and Kraly 2018a, b; Kraly and Abbasi-Shavazi 2018). We cite United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) statistics on refugees within the context of total persons of concern to the UN refugee agency and refer to the increasing levels in recent years, and changes in the geography of flight and internal displacement. To this demographic complexity is added understanding of the breadth and depth of the causes—both proximate and root—of forced migration and population displacement and the search for human safety and security. The lackluster role of demographers in the scientific study of refugee and forced migration is underscored, tracing the dullness of

attention in forced migration studies to deterministic tendencies within the population sciences to modelling and prediction.

The population sciences hold the potential to make significant contributions to the social and policy sciences and the evolving landscape of international migration governance. Structural and cultural turns in social and environmental sciences embrace the predictability of human migration and mobility and demand the study of the under-studied—persons driven from homelands, displaced, trafficked. Momentum has increased within international governance and civil society for globally shared responsibilities regarding refugees and migrants and the rights of migrants and workers. The 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants set in motion the development of a global compact for safe, orderly, and regular migration that will be considered by the UN General Assembly in 2018, reflecting a process of consultation with stakeholders within member states, civil society, academia, and migrant communities and groups.[1] In his report "Making Migration Work for All," United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres (2018) argued explicitly that facts rather than myths—knowledge and research—are required to improve management of international mobility in a way that will protect migrants and promote the national and human benefits of migration.

In this chapter we work within this context of global governance initiatives regarding international population movements and refugee and forced migrations. Population scholars must be active participants in these initiatives and fulfill our promise to generate knowledge about contemporary human migration and ultimately fulfill the potential of demography to consider future scenarios of international and forced migrations. In advocating and arguing for amplified contributions of population scientists to the study of forced and refugee migrations we seek to complement the themes of this volume that McGrath and Young express in their introduction (see also Kraly and Abbasi-Shavazi 2018). Accordingly, we outline the requests and requirements for demographic knowledge evolving from recent international dialogue regarding the goals of safe, orderly, and regular migration. We also fully acknowledge the need for continued vigilance regarding the use and potential abuse of population data and analysis in migration and refugee policies (see Asher, Banks, and Scheuren 2008). Third, we document the professional initiatives to foster the demographic study of refugee and forced migration. Fourth, we present recent academic

perspectives on the place of demography—both its achievements and its potential—in the study of refugee and forced migration. Here we draw on the contributions of colleagues to the edited volume *The Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration* (Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi, and Kraly 2018), which addresses critical dimensions of social demographic data, research, and training in relationship to refugee and forced migration. We conclude with reflections on the potential expansion of the role of demography and demographers in global as well as national efforts to promote safe, orderly, and regular human and humane migrations. Throughout this chapter, we have also sought to identify points of intersection between our analysis in other chapters of this volume. We are humbled both by what we have learned and by what we have yet to learn from our fellow contributors.

Global Demand for Demographic Knowledge of Refugees and Forced Migration

The Millennium Declaration—Resolution 55/2 adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2000—affirmed the mission and vision of the United Nations for the twenty-first century and established the guiding principles for the Millennium Development Goals for 2015 (UNGA 2000). Regarding international and refugee migration, the signatories resolved to "take measures to ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families, to eliminate the increasing acts of racism and xenophobia in many societies and to promote greater harmony and tolerance in all societies" (UNGA 2000, para. 25). Regarding refugees, the declaration resolved to "strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies" (UNGA 2000, para. 26). Collection, analysis, and communication of social demographic data consistent with these resolutions have been among the activities of the offices and affiliated agencies of the United Nations (UN), notably the UNHCR, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Population Division, International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which as of 2016 is the migration agency of the United Nations. Over the past decades, each of these entities has made

the case for expansion of the empirical foundation for evidence-based policies regarding international migration and migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons, and other population groups of concern to the United Nations.

Human migration and security has been elevated within UN agendas concerning sustainable development and human rights (see UN Development Programme 2009). The Report of the Secretary General, "In Safety and Dignity: Addressing Large Movements of Refugees and Migrants," laid the foundation for the UN High-level Summit for Refugees and Migrants held in New York, 19 September 2016, and the social, economic, environmental, and humanitarian issues demanding international dialogue and action. The need for data, research, and analysis is made explicit: "To maximize the positive impact of migration, we must analyse trends on the basis of a solid evidence base. I call upon all Member States to invest in data collection, including sex- and age-disaggregated data, as well as information on both regular and irregular flows, the vulnerability of migrants and the economic impact of migration. The data should be analysed to plan for future migration and promote the inclusion of migrants" (UNGA 2016, para. 96).

The vision and voice of the late Mr. Peter Sutherland, former Special Representative to the Secretary-General on Migration, was palpable in the engagement of issues throughout the Summit. The report of the Special Representative on Migration and his colleagues (UNGA 2017) exists as his personal "roadmap for improving the governance of international migration" (UNGA 2017, 1) and includes unequivocal advocacy for data collection, analysis, and demographic inquiry. Mr. Sutherland's argument derives from the essential role of evidence in policy concerning migrants and refugees, not only in the existence of data, but in the revelations deriving from research and analysis concerning the causes and consequences of international population movements. Mining of administrative data as well as data collected through existing international surveys is considered an effective strategy in advancing relevant data collection and analysis. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—particularly those that are migration-related and international covenants concerning human rights—exist as essential touchstones for policy relevant migration research and analysis.

Louise Arbour, Special Representative to Secretary-General Guterres for International Migration, has reaffirmed these priorities for data collection, research, and communication of results throughout the preparatory process for the 2018 Global Compacts for Refugees and for Migrants. In her remarks to representatives of member states related to the report of the secretary-general, Arbour articulated the need for better data and analysis in order to base sound policy choices on fact rather than assumptions and myths concerning the role of human migration and mobility in sustainable development, state security, and human rights (UNSG 2018). Her observations accord with Canefe's and Banerjee and Samaddar's arguments in this volume. In a recorded presentation to the membership of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) participating in the *International Population Conference* in Cape Town, South Africa, October–November 2017, Special Representative Arbour articulated the essential role of population data, research, and training regarding migration, mobility, and population displacement in developing effective global policy and planning for the future.

The Professions of the Population and Social Sciences in Advancing the Demography of Forced and Refugee Migration

The increasing scale, complexity, and diversity of refugee and forced migration have meant that traditional approaches to the management and solution of refugee and other forced migration situations and protection of refugees have become less appropriate and are being questioned. Demography has an important contribution to make in this space and during times of change (Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi, and Kraly 2018). And yet while other disciplines (especially anthropology, law, political science, and international relations) have made major contributions to refugee and forced migration studies, and despite the increased momentum within the population sciences to the study of international migration and mobilities, demography has hitherto not contributed very strongly to this topic.

Groundwork of US National Academy of Sciences

The issue of forced migration within population studies has attracted the attention of scholars in very recent decades. The first scientific attempt for the conceptualization of forced migration was made by Kunz (1973, 1981; see also Huyck and Bouvier 1983 and Gordon 1993), but the first collective and pioneering effort was made by a group of demographers and refugee experts supported by the National Academy of Science in 1997. The Population Committee of the National Research Council of the National Academy of Science in Washington organized a workshop on the demography of forced migration. The purpose of the workshop was "to investigate the ways in which population and other social scientists can produce more useful demographic information about forced migrant populations and how they differ" (Reed, Haaga, and Keely 1998, 3). The workshop focused attention on methods of data collection and methodological shortcomings in relation to forced migration in humanitarian crises. Another roundtable was held on "Mortality Patterns in Complex Emergencies" in Washington, DC in 1999 to explore patterns of mortality in recent crises and consider how these patterns resemble or differ from mortality in previous emergencies (Reed and Keely 2001). Despite these efforts, however, no thorough study or publication became available to more comprehensively strengthen the field of demography of refugee and forced migration.

Contribution of the Refugee Research Network (RRN)

Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada from 2008–15, the Refugee Research Network (RRN) is a global network of scholars, practitioners, and policymakers that generated and mobilized knowledge to benefit people who have been forcibly displaced. Hosted by the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS) at York University, the RRN's goal has been to mobilize relevant and responsive knowledge among forced migration scholars and to disseminate it to policy and humanitarian actors at local, national, regional, and global levels. The RRN aimed to strengthen the field of forced migration studies by: a) expanding awareness of the global knowledge regime concerning refugee and forced migration issues, b) improving communication of this knowledge within and between academic, policymaking, and practice sectors within and between the global south and north, and c) building alliances and support

for the development of regional and global policy frameworks and humanitarian practices affecting refugees and forced migrants.

To this end, in 2008 various institutions from the global south and north were invited to join the network. Mohammad Jalal Abbasi-Shavazi (University of Tehran) participated as a member of the RRN's Management Committee, and was able to attend a number of meetings and seminars organized by the network at York University in Toronto as well as other conferences organized by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) in Cyprus, Uganda, and Colombia. In his presentations at these meetings, Abbasi-Shavazi articulated the under-representation of demographers and population experts at the IASFM and other refugee and forced migration scientific gatherings. Furthermore, more dedicated attention to refugee and forced migration is warranted within the International Population Conferences organized by the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), the primary international professional association of demographers and population scholars, as well as at other regional population conferences.

IUSSP Panel on the Demography of Forced Migration

Recognizing the increasing scale and complexity of forced migration as well as the need for more research on involuntary migration, the IUSSP set up the Scientific Panel on the Demography of Forced Migration during 2010–14, which was chaired by Abbasi-Shavazi and included four other demographers and forced migration scholars including the late Graeme Hugo, University of Adelaide, Susan McGrath, then-director of the Centre for Refugee Studies (CRS) at York University and Director of the RRN, and Jeff Crisp, UNHCR.[2] The panel aimed to achieve three main objectives during its term: first, to organize an international seminar to discuss forced migration from various perspectives within the discipline of demography; second, to publish an edited volume as a reference book on the demography of refugees that can be used by those who are interested in forced migration; and finally, to mainstream the topic within the discipline of demography. In implementing these objectives, the IUSSP Panel would have greatly benefited from the lessons and experiences concerning network formation and sustenance within Latin America (articulated in chapter 12).

The international seminar *Demographic Perspectives on Refugee and Forced Migration* held in Tehran, Iran, from 13–15 May 2012 was organized by the IUSSP Scientific Panel on Demography of Refugees in collaboration with the University of Tehran's Department of Demography, Population Association of Iran, University of Adelaide, the RRN, and the Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute of the Australian National University. Around twenty distinguished scholars with significant background in the field of refugees, as well as representatives from the UNHCR, Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre attended a two-day seminar and presented their findings on cutting edge issues regarding refugee and forced migration. Participants also discussed how demography can contribute toward developing relevant policy and program recommendations for providing protection for forced migrants, the solution of refugee and other forced migrant problems and maximizing the benefits of such migration to origin and destination areas. The late Charles Keely, who participated and took an active role in the previous (US) National Academy of Sciences (NAS) workshops in the late 1990s, attended the IUSSP international seminar and made a significant contribution to the conceptualization of forced migration.

Summary of the Process of the Book on Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration

Graeme Hugo and Abbasi-Shavazi initially planned the process of editing selected papers for the publication of a book titled *Demography of Refugees*. However, after Hugo's untimely passing, Ellen Percy Kraly (who participated in the Tehran seminar) joined as an editor to continue the project. Given the complexity of the issues covered in the volume as well as this sudden demise of two pioneering authors (also Charles Keely), the process of compilation of chapters and editing the volume took longer than expected. Moreover, throughout the process it became clear that several topics including irregular migration, internally displaced persons, environmentally forced migration, and repatriation of refugee and forced migration needed to be included in the volume. These challenges notwithstanding we are nonetheless very pleased that the edited volume entitled *Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration* has now been published, and

a pre-publication version of the book was launched at the IUSSP conference in Cape Town on 2 November 2017. Three leading demographers—Peter McDonald, ex-president of the IUSSP; John Bongaarts, Population Council; and John Wilmoth, director of UN Population Division—along with several authors and participants at the IUSSP conference attended the launch. Kraly launched the book, on the occasion of the sixteenth Coordination Meeting on International Migration and in light of an upcoming UN Summit on the Global Compacts, on 15 February 2018 at the United Nations Bookshop. In brief, the earlier mission and objectives of the NAS on the demography of forced migration has now been accomplished, and it is interesting to note that five distinguished participants of the NAS workshop in 1997 (Charles Keely, Holly Reed, Susanne Schmeidl, Susan Martin, and Bela Hovy) have contributed to the 2018 edited volume.

Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration is the product of collaboration among the editors and authors over the last five years. It seeks to demonstrate the benefit of the scope and method of demography to the study of forced migration and refugees by applying a demographic lens to a range of topics in the field. Participating authors discuss how demography can contribute toward a better understanding of refugees by focusing on levels and trends of refugee and forced migration, characteristics of refugees, and pathways by which refugees and forced migrants are integrated/adapted to host/home societies. The issues of interest include but are not limited to: the conceptualization of forced migration within a wider population mobility framework; the broadening of understanding of forced migration beyond refugees to include other types of forced and mixed migrations; the methodology for measuring forced migration; the relevance of existing migration theory to forced migration situations; the structure, scale, and spatial patterning of contemporary forced movements; the characteristics of forced migrants and internally displaced persons; the drivers of different types of forced movement; the dynamics of forced migration and its interrelationships with fertility, mortality, and family change; as well as the return strategies and adaptation patterns of refugees to their home society. Also discussed are the importance of demographic research for developing relevant policy and program recommendations for providing protection for forced migrants, the solution of refugee and other forced migrant problems, and maximizing the benefits of such migration to origin and destination areas.

The book comprises fifteen chapters. After an introductory chapter on advancing the demography of forced migration and refugees, the subsequent chapters are organized into four main parts. Part I is devoted to the conceptualization and data sources of forced migration. Part II presents demographic perspectives by focusing on the relationship between mortality, fertility, family change, and forced migration. It also examines forced migration through the lens of gender. And Part III discusses patterns and dimensions of forced migration. Changing patterns of internal displacement, environmentally related international displacement, and the nexus between forced and irregular migration have been examined from a demographic perspective. In Part IV, the linkages between migration and security, and the issue of return to home and the reintegration process have been discussed, and international, regional, and national legal norms, policies, organizational roles, and relations, as well as good practices related to refugee and forced migration are presented. Future directions in demographic research on forced migration are then offered in the epilogue, within the unfolding context of multi-lateral efforts to promote international cooperation and shared responsibilities for displaced persons in this century.

With the publication of this volume, the main two objectives of the IUSSP Scientific Panel have been successfully met. In order to mainstream demographic perspectives on forced migration, targeted sessions on the demography of forced migration have been held at the meetings of the IUSSP International Population Conferences including South Korea in 2013 and South Africa in 2017, and the International Association of Studies of Forced Migration in Colombia in 2014. Similar sessions were organized at regional population conferences including the Asian Population Association Conferences in Bangkok in 2012 and in Kuala Lumpur in 2015. It is hoped that the book will serve to encourage the introduction of a course on the demography of forced migration and refugees in various social science disciplines.

In engaging demographic analysis within a range of issues germane to population displacement, our hope is that the book is valuable for demographers and social scientists to understand the relevance of their analytic perspectives and tools for forced and refugee migration studies. We also hope that the collection is relevant to those who are interested in forced and refugee migration at national, regional, and international levels of

analysis, and makes a useful reference book for students developing skills in developing research designs and data collection initiatives on forced and refugee migrations and displaced persons, families, and populations. Finally, and this is critically important, we hope that the collection as a whole will benefit the process of policy and program analysis regarding displaced populations and refugees.

One positive outcome would be the demand by policymakers for the inclusion of demographic analysis in the development of evidence-based policies and programs concerning efforts to support and protect persons displaced, in flight, and resettled. These outcomes would be amplified through processes of network and capacity building in both the global south and north to promote inclusion, and equity in the production and use of demographic data. The ideas of several contributors to this volume provide profound and powerful recommendations for promotion of just participatory principles and actions with processes of research, analysis, and communication (see in particular chapters 1, 4, and 13).

The Need for Demographic Data, Research, and Training

Recurring themes in considerations of the role of demographic data and research in the study and response to refugee and forced migrations include: first, the critical value of counts and characteristics of forced migrants and displaced populations; second, the need for more demographic data and research; and third, the benefits of data that are more comprehensive, reliable, and also flexible for understanding shifting characteristics, causes, and consequences of displacement, flight, and refuge. Each of the themes is considered for different analytic purposes including (i) descriptive analysis in order to implement protection and provision for persons in flight and in locations of first asylum; (ii) determination of the consequences of different phases of forced migration—flight, displacement, settlement, and repatriation—for migrants and communities, both of origin and destinations; (iii) revelation of the proximate and ultimate consequences of forced and refugee migration; and (iv) formation of evidence-based policy for prevention and programs of response.

Demographic Data

The role of demographic data in emergency response to persons and populations forced to flee from humanitarian and environmental crises forms the original "canon" of scholarship and research on the demography of refugee and forced migration. Fundamentally, counts and characteristics of displaced populations and persons in flight inform the scale, substance, and location of response for the protection and sustenance of human life and welfare. Placing the goal to meet the needs of people and populations in flight and displacement within the context of limited funding, demographic data measure scale, geography, and timing to meet requirements for protection and support. Age and gender often serve as indicators of risk and vulnerability (and ideally, resilience) for the allocation of resources (see for example Reed, Seftel, and Behazin 2018; Kraly 2018). Principles of efficiency, effectiveness, equity, and justice in distribution of emergency and other resources are informed by demographic parameters—population size, spatial distribution, and composition by age, gender, ethnicity, etc. Hovy (2018) presents a forceful argument for the assets of registration data, and administrative and operational data more generally for measure of demographic characteristics of populations of humanitarian concern.

Introductory sections of the *Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration* (2018) review the convenings and research of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Committee on Population regarding the analysis of forced migration and mortality. NAS' seminal work on mortality and morbidity within forced migrant populations is updated to consider new analytic approaches within the context of more comprehensive perspectives on human health and welfare including infectious and chronic disease and psychiatric disorders (Reed, Sheftel, and Behazin 2018). Social demographic data on gender roles and fertility is critical for understanding changes and disruptions in the reproductive health of forced migrants (see Agadjanian 2018; Kraly 2018). Martin (2018) emphasizes the demographic parameters relevant to assess levels of security among migrants, and the requirements for protection of people and populations in need of protection and safety. Mohammadi, Abbasi-Shavazi, and Sadeghi (2018) empirically illustrate the impacts of demographic, social, and economic situations of refugees prior to, during, and after return to the homeland on the integration and return migration of refugees and refugee families.

The costs of the *lack* of effective demographic data on forced and irregular migration are high—particularly for informed popular discourse and effective public policy regarding political, economic, and social security (see Koser 2018; McAuliffe 2018).

A strong theme in demography of refugee and forced migration is the critical importance of population data on size, composition, geographic distribution, and sources of change to understand the implications and consequences of forced migration and displacement at all scales—individual, family and household, communities and regions. Longitudinal and comparative data on migration as well as other components of population change, fertility, family formation, mortality, morbidity, and disability, each exist in relationship to prospects for health and security, education, and economic productivity (see Abbasi-Shavazi, Mahmoudian, and Sadeghi 2018; Agadjanian 2018; Kraly 2018). Social survey research holds great potential to generate social demographic data to inform assessment of processes of integration and adaptation of migrants as well as the impacts of processes of out-migration from communities of origin.

Several authors in the volume also demonstrate how demographic data are critical in monitoring causes of population displacement and forced migration, particularly proximate causes and correlates of migration (see chapter 13). In its attention to the nature of "force" in forced migration, Keely and Kraly (2018) underscore the importance of understanding and empirically documenting reasons for migration, as well as conditions of migration and movements in data collection systems. Perhaps most significantly, Adamo (2018) illustrates the role of migrant behaviour and decision-making in relationship to measuring the role of environmental and land use change in population mobility and displacement (see also and compare with chapters 6 and 11).

As discussed above, demographic data inform distribution and allocation of resources for the protection and support of forced migrants and refugees. So, too, the development of ongoing policies, programs, and sustainable response at levels of national and international governance requires data on the characteristics of migrant populations to be served and supported and of communities of reception and settlement. Monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs requires monitoring of social demographic change within populations of concern and in relationship to policy goals and program objectives, relative to specific levels

of intervention—for example, targets for refugee health at the clinical and community levels, or household versus municipal and regional environmental hazards.

Demographic Research

Here emerges the "value added" of demographic data for description of scale, distribution, and relative need within migrant populations and communities; for analysis of causes and consequences of refugee and forced migrations and displaced populations; and for policy analysis and program evaluation vis-à-vis populations and persons of concern to international governance, nations, nongovernmental organizations, and civil society. There are six areas that will enhance demographic research: descriptive and comparative analysis; longitudinal analysis; estimation of incomplete data; modelling and future population scenarios; evaluation of data and data collection systems; and development of research designs for qualitative data collection.

The contributions to the *Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration* identify the critical importance of demographic analysis and research for describing migrant populations in comparison to populations of origin, asylum, and settlement (see for example, Abbasi-Shavazi and Kraly 2018). Reed et al. (2018) demonstrate the importance of measuring mortality and morbidity levels among refugees and forced migrants during and throughout the process of flight, asylum, and settlement and in comparison to resident populations in order to estimate "excess mortality" resulting from displacement. Tracking changes in the experiences of women during processes of forced migration benefit from spatial and temporal analysis at different geographic scales. In each of these cases, the value of a demographic perspective in linking population flows (fertility, mortality, and migration/mobilities) with population stock characteristics (location, age/gender, and household composition) is illustrated to go beyond description to reveal the role of forced migration processes on social, economic, and environmental outcomes.

Demographic analysis is a fundamental component of studies of migrant adaptation and integration at the micro-level of analysis, and of the role of migrants and migration in social and economic change and development at the aggregate level of analysis. Longitudinal analysis—and the specific emphasis on period and cohort effects on the life course—is

a particular characteristic of demographic perspective in social research. We urge the integration of longitudinal and life course/historical approaches to our understanding of the consequences of forced migration and displacement for individuals, families, and communities. A demographic perspective is critical in the formulation of hypotheses regarding the dynamic effects of forced migration and displacement on individual and household welfare and development of individuals.

An underutilized strength of the use of demographics in research on refugees and forced migration is the capacity for estimation of population characteristics using incomplete data. One of the most significant analytical traditions within the population sciences is the use of population models to provide a range of possibilities for social demographic characteristics and processes—levels of infant and child mortality and fertility, for example. Less developed is the application of formal demographic techniques to the study and estimation of levels and age patterns of migration, forced or voluntary. McAuliffe (2018) underscores the highly significant—and valuable—role of population estimation, notably the use of residual estimation techniques to the study of irregular migration and migrant populations. Demographic analysis is fundamental to monitoring at-risk populations at the regional level (Schmeidl and Hedditch 2018). Here too, formal demographic analysis has potential—at present largely untapped—to provide estimates, and ranges of likelihoods of the size, composition, and geographic distribution of at-risk or displaced populations. Each of these analytic issues in demographic estimation and modelling resonates with the issues Martin and Singh raise in this volume concerning the use of "big data" and social media sources in identifying early phases of forced displacement and flight.

The logical next step from modelling of current migrant and displaced populations is to consider likely scenarios for future population dynamics. This area of demographic research is well integrated in studies of the role of environmental and climate change on population processes and human mobility specifically. There is great potential to expand the role of demographic research to address the implications of social, economic, and political change and conflict for human mobility and displacement. The research programs of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) are illustrative of the analytic potential of demography. Population projections may serve to illustrate possible future scenarios of

social and economic development (for example, variations in changing levels of education, as well as environmental change, political conflict, etc.) and ultimately human mobility and migration.

Relatedly, demographic research is invaluable to the evaluation of data coverage and quality. Hovy (2018) underscores the values of demographic accounting for assessment of registration coverage of populations of concern. The UNHCR has documented gaps in the demographic data for different populations of concern—for example, coverage in national data systems for gender and age (Kraly 2018). The analytic "chops" for population modelling and demographic estimation in the population sciences holds great potential for identifying ways of improving information systems related to refugees, forced migrants, and displaced populations.

The importance of qualitative data on the experiences and life course of migrants, and within communities of organization and estimation, must also be emphasized, underscored, and advocated. Increasingly, population scientists appreciate the critical role of ethnographic and smaller-scale research in generating knowledge and grounding social theory regarding forced migrants. There is great opportunity for demographers to work with researchers conducting qualitative migration research to implement research designs and field studies that speak to processes regarding population displacement and the experiences of migrants, and that also effectively support some degree of generalization.

Training and Capacity Building in Demography

The aspirations for enhancing the contributions of demography to understanding and responding to refugee and forced migration and population displacement through data collection and research rest on human, administrative, and operational resources. Put simply—more demographers must be trained, prepared, and motivated to engage in research on refugees and forced migration; more demographic data and research must be incorporated into operational and administrative processes regarding migrants and internally displaced persons. The Emerging Scholars and Practitioners on Migration Issues (ESPMI) network provides a model, as well as stops and starts, that can inform the development of cohorts of social and formal demographers with expertise in forced and refugee migrations (see chapter 10).

The incorporation of demographic methods of data collection and analysis into registration systems has the added benefit of increasing the administrative capacity of international, national, and local programs of public administration more generally (Hovy 2018; Martin 2018). This benefit applies to the not-for-profit sector and civil society organizations as well. Schmeidl and Hedditch (2018) identify the particular benefit of demographic and population geographic data and analysis in national response to internally displaced population and persons. Scholars and advocates recognize the educational benefit of including women migrants in processes of data collection, analysis, and interpretation in various geographies of displacement and resettlement. There is also an important role of analytic training in enhancing capacity for advocacy on behalf of vulnerable groups of migrants—using scientific data, including population measures, to make a case or promote an appropriate response (McAuliffe 2018; see also chapters 1, 7, 12, and 13).

Finally, professional demography must recognize these opportunities for preparing new generations of population scientists to contribute to the study of refugee and forced migration, and ultimately to respond and act. Graduate education and curricula in the population and social sciences should be reconsidered to include more systematically migration, including forced and irregular migrations, within formal demography, social demography, and population studies. Abbasi-Shavazi and Kraly (2018) state: "training of, and investment in, a new generation of scholars in the study of forced migration will not only lead to the generation of new knowledge, but also to better data collection, increasingly rigorous research methodologies, and more evidence-based interpretation concerning forced migrations at the global and regional levels" (84–5). Ultimately, increased opportunities for professional training in demography will yield more demographic data and research concerning refugee and forced migration.

Promises to Be Fulfilled: "Projections" of the Demography of Refugee and Forced Migrations

During the final stages of preparing this chapter, the Office of Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for International Migration issued the final draft of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (13 July 2018). Prepared by the co-facilitators to

lead the intergovernmental consultations and negotiations during the preparatory process, Ambassadors and Permanent Representatives of Mexico and Switzerland, the final draft presents the guiding principles of the Global Compact, and a "cooperative framework comprising of actionable commitments, implementation, and follow-up and review" (GCM 2018, 4). This document was adopted by member states at the *Intergovernmental Conference to Adopt the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration*, 10–11 December 2018 in Morocco.

Of the twenty-three objectives to achieve safe, orderly, and regular migration, the first objective is to "collect and utilize accurate and disaggregated data as a basis for evidence-based policies." The Global Compact for Migration specifies the expectations, requirements, and steps to fulfill this general objective for "a robust global evidence base on international migration by improving and investing in the collection, analysis and dissemination of accurate, reliable, comparable data, disaggregated by sex, age and migration status" (GCM 2018, 5). With this statement, the role of the population sciences, social demography, and the broader social sciences is placed in clear and critical relief.

In its final form, the Global Compact for Migration identifies several discrete yet interrelated activities for population and migration analysis and research: develop comparable concepts and statistical measures of dimensions of international migration and mobilities; foster capacity-building within and throughout nations for the analysis of migration processes; develop the means to coordinate, compare, and study international migration and population patterns, trends, and processes; promote the collection of data related to international migration in national censuses and representative surveys; mine and adapt administrative data systems for information on migration; and encourage integration of migration research more generally within national policy development and planning (GCM 2018, 5–6). The Global Compact for Refugees also includes dedicated recommendations addressing the need for data and research concerning the specific category of forced migrations—that is, refugees. Although in much less detail than the Global Compact for Migration, Section 3.3 Data and Evidence outlines the need for harmonized and disaggregated data for solutions, response, and responsibility sharing for refugees (UNCHR 2018, 9).

Demographic data, research, and training provide the analytic and empirical infrastructure for assessing the baseline scale, distribution, and characteristics of international migration—including forced and refugee migration and migrants—in international, national, and regional social and environmental dynamics. Accordingly, the population sciences serve to meet the analytic and evidentiary requirements for the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, and its goals for shared responsibilities for refugees. In contemplating long-term goal-setting regarding international migration and crisis migrations and displacement, demographic theory and population modelling hold critical potential for significant analytic contributions to specifying future scenarios of the scale and geography of response and burden-sharing, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies among populations and communities throughout the world.

We have referred to the several "drafts" during the preparatory processes for the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees; we conclude with reference to an early draft of the chapter prepared by our dear friend and mentor, Charlie Keely, for *Demography of Refugee and Forced Migration*. In reflecting on the relationship between forced migration studies and demography, Charlie offered the following:

> I conclude that the field of forced migration studies will not be helped very much by more detailed parsing of definitions or attempts at neologisms for their particular use. The field will continue to be untidy intellectually. What is required is clarity in research design, operational definition, and measurement techniques. Then perhaps, further advances can be made in theory and explanation. We should not be overly negative. Progress has been made in migration studies. The incorporation of migration into population projection analysis has taught us new things and changes political discussion about immigration, for example. The application of the forced migration label has been useful to opening up discussion to issues of State action, coerced migration and coerced return, and so on. Much of this has had more impact on policy than on demography. But demography continues to have its place in understanding this particular aspect of human behaviour

and for understanding its causes and consequences, both de-mographically and for societies (Keely 2012, 25).

As usual Charlie was correct. Demography has its place in the study of refugee and forced migrations. We encourage, with our hearts and minds, professional population scientists to use the theoretical and empirical assets of demography to enlighten, reveal, and inform knowledge creation and policy development, and to engage and meet the challenges of international governance concerning human migration—and hence "for societies."

Notes

1   The United States of America withdrew its participation in the New York Declaration on 3 December 2017.

2   https://iussp.org/en/panel/demography-refugee-and-forced-migration.

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