A panel data analysis on the impact of depopulation on refugee resettlement acceptance. A case study of resettlement countries, 2000-2020.

By

KAGOYA, Georgina Joyce

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

2023

A panel data analysis on the impact of depopulation on refugee resettlement acceptance. A case study of resettlement countries, 2000-2020.

By

KAGOYA, Georgina Joyce

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

2023

Professor Choi, Seulki

A panel data analysis on the impact of depopulation on refugee resettlement acceptance. A case study of resettlement countries, 2000-2020.

By

KAGOYA, Georgina Joyce

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Committee in charge:

Professor Choi, Seulki, Supervisor

Professor Kim, Taejong

Professor Kim, Joeun

Approval as of August, 2023

ABSTRACT

The declining population growth rate in developed countries has stimulated debates and urban policy initiatives on how refugee resettlement in demographically challenged areas could counterbalance the negative consequences of a demographic decline while providing humanitarian support on the other hand.

This study, therefore, sheds light on refugee resettlement in depopulating areas with a macro emphasis on refugee resettlement countries by checking whether depopulated countries are more likely to accept more refugees for resettlement. We utilize a panel fixed effect model to observe the causal relationship between refugee resettlement acceptance and population decline in all 43 countries that resettled refugees between 2000 and 2020.

Our findings show a negative correlation between population growth rate and refugee resettlement acceptance and that a one percent decline in population growth rate is associated with a 0.19 percentage point increase in the number of refugees accepted for resettlement.

Keywords: Refugee Resettlement, Population Decline, Sustainable Resettlement, Shrinkage

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am deeply indebted to the Government of South Korea and the KDI School of Public Policy and Management for the scholarship opportunity. Furthermore, I am grateful to my academic supervisors, Professor Choi Seulki and Professor Kim Taejong, for their patience and guidance. Their comments and feedback were inciteful. I also sincerely thank my Senior Ph.D. mentor Souleymane Yameogo, for his unwavering support as I embarked on my empirical studies. Last but not least, I would be remiss in not mentioning my beloved family for believing in me and supporting me emotionally for the one year I was away. I feel truly blessed, and I give all the glory to God for the great things he has done.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem.

Yet again, the intensity of the refugee crisis continues to challenge the world's tremendous efforts in providing protection assistance to asylum seekers and refugees. According to Jubilut and Madureira (2016), there are three possible solutions to the refugee crisis: voluntary repatriation, social integration in host countries, and resettlement to another country. In this research, we intend to focus on resettlement. This year, the projected global resettlement needs assessment for 2023 predicts that there will be a 36% increase in those in need of resettlement (UNHCR, 2022) despite the limited slots available for resettlement among refugee resettlement countries and the non-participation of countries in resettlement. This situation threatens the well-being and livelihood of these vulnerable populations.

Recently, The World development report of 2023 urged for the role of predictable refugee resettlement in enhancing the preparedness of resettlement countries to provide successful resettlement and smooth integration of vulnerable individuals. In addition, literature on migration and human security has stressed the relevance of population research in promoting sustainable refugee resettlement (Reed et al., 2021). Indeed, understanding the demographic structure of refugee resettlement areas of Placement could guide policy on enhancing social and economic cohesion in placement areas and increasing acceptance rates in refugee resettlement countries. Hence the urgency to observe the relationship between population growth rates in resettlement areas and its impact on refugee resettlement acceptance rate in refugee resettlement countries.

Significance of the study

Over the years, studies have discussed the relevance of refugee resettlement in areas with declining population growth rates (Djurdjev,1999; Saito, 2012; Schemscat,2022). For example, in his comprehensive study, Djurdjev (1999) found that resettling refugee farmers to border villages that had experienced steady depopulation since the second world war boosted food production, sustained economic growth, and strengthened cross-border participation between Western Europe countries. In the same vein, Saito (2012) addressed the emergency of disappearing countryside villages in Japan as an effect of depopulation and suggested an increase of refugee resettlement in order to contribute to the reviving and maintaining of those villages and claimed that refugee resettlement might mitigate the negative consequences of demographic decline by occupying the labour niches and reversing the negative population trends. However, Schemscat (2022) criticizes these discussions asserting that the reference to refugees as growth tools overshadows the need for protection, humanitarian aid, and support which is the main aim of refugee resettlement.

Furthermore, some studies have highlighted micro evidence of refugee resettlement in depopulating areas among countries. For example, Hawkes et al.,2021 explain that refugees have been resettled since 2004 to rural and regional areas by the government of Australia. For Germany, their dispersal policy focuses on resettlement in more densely populated areas; a similar trend observed in Canada describes how Government Assisted Refugees (GARs) are assigned by the federal government as part of its regionalization policy to small and medium-sized cities with declining populations to ease the pressure off the gateway cities such as Montreal and Vancouver. (Jenkins, 2019) Furthermore, in the USA, refugees have been observed to be resettled in "resettlement cities that urgently need labour (Benson et al.,2022) due to population decline.

Despite the evidence discussed above, there is a dearth of research explaining the causal relationship between depopulation and how it affects the number of refugees accepted for resettlement, thus prompting this paper into;

- Examining the impact of depopulation on refugee resettlement acceptance among refugee resettling countries.

Therefore, this study will contribute to academia by investigating on a macro-level whether depopulation influences the number of refugees accepted for resettlement by refugee resettlement countries each year.

In this paper, we conduct a Panel fixed effect analysis with 43 host countries from 2000 to 2020. We find that a 1 percent increase in a country's population is associated with a 0.19 percent decrease in resettled refugees. In other words, a country that exhibits a population decline by one percentage point may increase the number of resettled refugees by 0.19 percent, consistent with this paper's hypothesis and previous studies in micro-level analysis.

Contribution of this study

The implications of this research extend beyond theoretical discourse by highlighting the relevance of considering population decline as an indicator of increasing resettlement by resettling refugee countries, thus informing policy and decision-making processes related to refugee resettlement. Furthermore, Governments and policymakers in countries trying to mitigate the effects of depopulation can leverage these insights to address population decline while simultaneously addressing the humanitarian needs of displaced individuals.

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on refugee resettlement policies by examining the relationship between depopulation and refugee acceptance rate. Moreover, it underscores the importance of exploring demographic dynamics in shaping a country's approach to refugee resettlement. Therefore, we can advance our understanding of the complex interplay between population decline, refugee acceptance, and the broader implications for global refugee protection efforts.

Structure of the study

This research paper is organized into five chapters. The first section introduces the study; the second chapter reviews the literature on refugee resettlement in densely populated areas. In the third section, we then explore the data and methodology used to investigate the correlation between the annual population growth rate and refugee resettlement acceptance rate, followed by an interpretation of the empirical results. Finally, we conclude by stressing the relevance of population decline in guiding policies to achieve sustainable refugee resettlement.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Conceptualization of the study

As an upshot to address the problems faced by refugees and displaced persons after World War II, 26-member states in December 1946 agreed to establish a non-permanent organization known as the International Refugee Organization. One of the organization's primary functions was to organize and provide resettlement for refugees. It successfully implemented the resettlement of more than 1 million refugees under the leadership of the US during the late 1940s. In the early 1950s, the organization was modified into the current-day United Nations High Commission for

Refugees (UNHCR), which is responsible for protecting international refugees by integrating resettlement as one of its mandates.

Before we proceed further, it is necessary to define the critical terminologies' refugee resettlement' and 'population decline' referred to in this research paper. The UNHCR handbook defines refugee resettlement as a process that;

> Involves the selection and transfer of refugees from a state where they have sought protection to a third state that has agreed to admit them as refugees with permanent residence status. The status provided ensures protection against refoulement and provides a resettled refugee and his/her family or dependents access to rights similar to those enjoyed by nationals. Resettlement also carries with it the opportunity to eventually become a naturalized citizen of the resettlement country. (p.3)

Therefore, the term refugee resettlement for this study will only refer to the process comprehensively described and illustrated by the UNHCR Handbook.

On the other hand, the term ‘depopulation’ seems reasonably apparent. Various researchers and institutions have used the term to refer to a decrease in an area's total population. This phenomenon is usually due to outmigration and when death rates surfeit birthrates. Given the current complexities of climate change, war, and natural hazards that influence emigration, it is essential to note that some areas are depopulating because of violent conflicts and environmental factors (Zhang et al.,2007; Szymanowski & Latocha,2021). Therefore, this study will only discuss depopulation about other socio-economic factors besides the ones discussed above. Depopulating areas, also known as "shrinking areas" or areas challenged by demographic decline, are typically

characterized by a demographic structure with an aging population outnumbering the young population, sparse population concentration, and limited social service provision.

In the case of shrinking cities, the Shrinking Cities International Research Network (SCIRN) clarifies that cities that have experienced population loss for more than two years qualify as shrinking cities (Wiechmann,2008; Pallagst et al., 2013 as cited in Jiang et al., 2020). Therefore, for this paper, the cities, rural areas, and regional communities experiencing a population decline will be referred to as shrinking areas, and we shall use the terms "demographic decline" and "population decline" interchangeably.

Theoretical approaches on Refugee resettlement in depopulating areas.

Over the years, policymakers and scholars have headlined the issue of refugee resettlement in depopulating areas as a sustainable solution to the ongoing refugee crisis and the demographic crisis affected by some refugee resettlement countries (Bloem,2014; Colic,2006; but see., Djurddev,19982; Radulescu,2022 Wilsmen,2009) and have also discussed a series of theories to discuss this relationship as analyzed below.

Economic theories.

Discussions on refugee resettlement and depopulation usually centre on labour shortages in depopulated areas and how refugees may occupy the niche. In earlier studies, Djurdjev (1999) found that resetting refugee farmers to border villages that had experienced steady depopulation since the second world war boosted food production, sustained economic growth, and strengthened cross-border participation between Western Europe countries. Similarly, Saito (2012) addressed the emergency of disappearing countryside villages in Japan as an effect of depopulation and

suggested an increase in refugee resettlement to revive and maintain those villages. Refugee resettlement may provide beneficial outcomes if well-planned (Wilsmen,2009). For example, placing refugees with agricultural skills in rural and regional areas enhance their agricultural productivity. Despite the contribution of these studies, recent studies tend to criticize this thought study for ignoring the humanitarian perspective of refugee resettlement and, first of all, recommend that new refugee policies need to combine both labour and humanitarian protection (Ruh,2019) and secondly that refugee resettlement should focus on proper placement that provides a sense of belonging to these vulnerable individuals (Schemscat,2022).

Another school of thought discusses that refugee skills and competencies are primarily needed in regional and rural areas (see., Codell et al.,2011; Colic-Peskier & Tilbury, 2006; Mastilovic & Zoppi, 2021). By evaluating refugee demographic and development variables, Codell et al. (2011) discover that the likelihood of finding meaningful employment declines with each year spent as a refugee and that refugee resettlement usually takes some time hence implying that the depreciation of refugee skills and their inadequate language skills in these new communities make the best fit for informal jobs.

Moreover, urgent studies have emerged to utilize machine learning in estimating resettled refugee employment likelihood (Ahani, 2022; Hadad & Tettelboym, 2022; Trapp et al., 2022), and they are suggesting refugee skills matching software to employment opportunities. However, these researchers need to comprehensively discuss and analyze the theory by investigating the areas and cities with more employment opportunities based on population trends. These trends may guide and determine policy (Russo,2015) on how to make refugee resettlement successful for refugees and their host communities.

Furthermore, other economic discussions stress the affordable cost of living in the areas affected by depopulation. Due to this, refugees in small cities and rural areas have an easier time adjusting to independent living once governments stop giving humanitarian aid. The low cost of living and affordable housing in these places are appealing, especially for individuals with smaller families (Rose, 2016).

EMPIRICAL METHODOLOGY

DATA

In this study, we rely on two sets of data to investigate the impact of population decline on the number of refugees accepted for resettlement in each country. First, the UNHCR resettlement Data Finder provides timely global trends on refugee acceptance rate that we observe through the refugee departures variable, the former countries of asylum, and the final countries of resettlement from 2000 to 2020. Then secondly, the World Development Index data provides country-level data on vital independent variables.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent Variable					
Resettled population (log)	903	2.836	1.848	0	9.878
Independent Variables					
Population decline	903	.24	.428	0	1
Population Growth rate	903	.464	.799	-3.848	3.931
Controls					
Annual GDP Growth rate	892	2.302	3.667	-14.839	25.176
Refugee Population	809	3764.564	23163.38	5	335200
Lag resettled population	903	2.836	1.848	0	9.878
Countries	903	22	12.417	1	43
Country of Origin	903	7.241	2.857	1	11
Years of Observation	903	2010	6.059	2000	2020

The independent variable measured in this study is "depopulation." The theoretical argument is that countries that experience negative population growth should be more likely to accept refugees for resettlement. This study uses population growth as a measure of depopulation and argues that the relationship between the number of resettled refugees and the population growth of a given country should be negatively correlated. Additionally, a dummy variable equals 1 for countries experiencing negative population growth(depopulation) and 0 otherwise. This variable helps us measure whether depopulated countries are more or less likely to increase their refugee population than those having positive population growth.

The Descriptive statistics present a synthetic description of the data used in the model. The table shows that 43 countries have participated in refugee resettlement, resettled individuals come from 11 countries, and the average total population is 390. On average, 390 individuals got resettled, with an average resettlement population growth of 2.84% (log (390)) percent within the analysis period between 2000 and 2020.

The mean annual population growth rate of all 43 countries is 0.464 percent between 2000 and 2020, with countries exhibiting a negative population growth rate to a minimum of -3.848 to countries having an increase in their population growth rate to a maximum of 3.931. Moreover, 24 % of countries are experiencing negative population growth, against 76% of countries with positive population growth.

EMPIRICAL MODEL

Using a Panel fixed effect model, we investigate the rate at which refugee resettlement countries accept refugees because of declining populations. Usually, studies conduct a random panel effect versus a Panel fixed effect model, then use the Hausman test to select the best model. The difference between the models lies in the assumption that each country's (individual) fixed effect is correlated (fixed effect) or not (random effect) with the covariates. Though using the Hausman test is essential, macro analysis suggests it is less likely and unrealistic to hypothesize a random effect. Therefore, if institutional culture or other countries' fixed effects do not affect the level of each country's variables seems to be unrealistic. Thus, following Wooldridge, this paper uses the OLS estimator to estimate how much the resettled population increases on average when a country exhibits negative population growth.

The central hypothesis of this study is that depopulated or declining countries tend to accept more refugees for resettlement compared to other countries. In other words, an adverse change in a country's population growth is associated with an increase in the number of refugees accepted for resettlement.

$$LogResettled_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 LogResettled_{it-1} + \beta_2 Population_{it} + \beta_k X_{it} + \delta_i + \gamma_t + \delta_{it}$$

β_2 is the central coefficient used in this analysis. This coefficient measures the average percentage change in the population of refugees accepted for resettlement for every percentage increase in population growth. The predicted value for this coefficient is negative. Accordingly, if all other variables remain constant, a country's population growth of 1% should result in a 2% decrease in the population accepted for resettlement.

A second measure of "population" is a dummy variable where 1 represents declining population while zero (0) represents populated countries, β_2 measures the rate at which depopulated countries accept refugees compared to populated countries. If the coefficient is positive, countries with a declining population tend to resettle more refugees than countries with an increasing population.

Overall, the interest variable "population" measures the extent to which countries with declining or negative population growth accept refugees for resettlement.

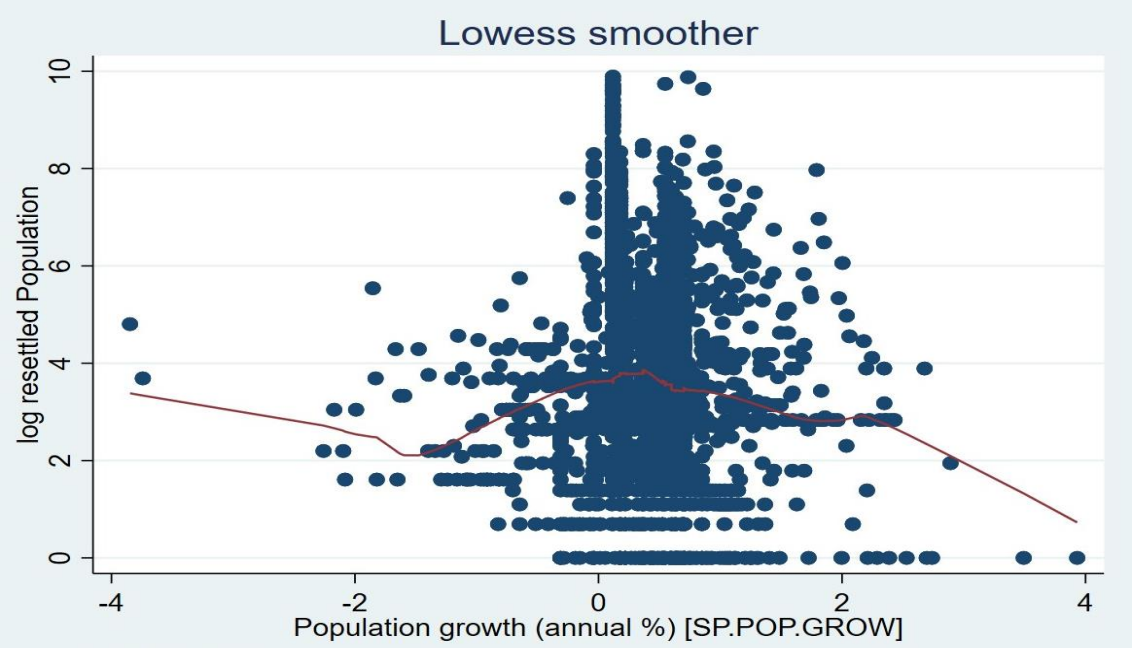
β_k represents all coefficients used as controls in the model. The regression model controls the stock of refugees by country of origin, the lag-dependent variable. I also controlled the country's economic growth to account for the country's wealth as a reason for covariates affecting the number of resettled individuals in the country. The paper also controls for the country of origin of the resettled population to account for the potential cultural affinity or distance that might be a reason underlying the acceptance of any demand for resettlement. The country of resettlement and year fixed effect account for any unobserved variables fixed across the country and over time that might confound the relationship between population growth and resettled population growth.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Before presenting the regression table, the figure below shows the relationship between the population growth rate and the refugee resettled population.

First, Figure 1 indicates that that the population growth rate negatively correlates to the number of refugees accepted for resettlement. Indeed, countries of resettlement experiencing a positive population growth rate may accept fewer refugees and resettlement countries experiencing a declining population growth rate are more likely to accept more refugees for resettlement. This correlation is consistent with the theoretical argument of this study.

Figure 1. A correlation between the population growth rate and the resettled population.



The tables below show the results of our specifications. In addition, this paper provides results for the three estimation models (pooled, fixed effect, and random effect). The result is consistent across the three models.

The main findings are the fixed effect model (Table2, column 2). The estimated coefficient is statistically significant at a 1 percent level of significance. The findings suggest that a 1 percent increase in the population is associated with a 0.19 percent decrease in the resettled population, all other factors constant. These findings support the theoretical argument that as a country's population grows, they are less likely to accept more refugees. In other words, the paper argues that there is an increase in the resettled population in countries experiencing a decline in their population (negative population growth).

Table 2: Negative Impact of Population Growth on Resettled Population.

Dependent variable *Resettled population (log)*	(1) Pooled OLS	(2) Fixed Effect (FE)	(3) Random Effect (RE)
Lagged refugee acceptance rate	-0.0536 (0.0401)	-0.0536 (0.0390)	-0.0536 (0.0401)
Population growth (annual %)	-0.1871* (0.0734)	-0.1871* (0.0714)	-0.1871* (0.0734)
Controls*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-Year fixed effect	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	808	808	808
R^2	0.634	0.298	

Cluster-standard errors in parentheses/ $^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Notes: (*) Controls: GDP growth, Refugee population by country or territory of origin, country of origin.

Table 3 investigates whether the difference in response to refugee resettlement acceptance among countries with declining populations and those with increased populations are significant, as suggested by the findings in Table 2. Table 3 shows that, compared to countries with positive population growth, those with a declining population are 19 percent more likely to increase the population of refugees for resettlement. This finding is consistent with the findings in Table 2. We can then argue that a country experiencing a declining population will be more inclined to accept resettlement.

Table 3: Difference in Likelihood of increasing Resettled Population between countries with declining populations and those with increasing populations.

Dependent variable	(1)	(2)	(3)
Resettled population (log)	Pooled OLS	Fixed Effect (FE)	Random Effect (RE)
Lagged refugee acceptance rate	-0.0332	-0.0332	-0.0332
	(0.0573)	(0.0558)	(0.0573)
Population decline (dummy)	0.1909*	0.1909*	0.1909*
	(0.0826)	(0.0804)	(0.0826)
Controls*	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country-Year fixed effect	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	808	808	808
R^2	0.496	0.033	

Cluster-standard errors in parentheses $^{+}$ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Notes: (*) Controls: GDP growth, Refugee population by country or territory of origin.

To sum up, we discover that the population growth rate is negatively associated with increased resettled populations; in addition, there is evidence that countries with declining populations are more than those with positive populations, likely to respond favorably to asylum seekers.

These findings are consistent with the previous micro-level analysis that proved that refugees are usually resettled in areas with a declining population (Benson et al., 2022). Therefore, countries with a declining population are more likely to increase the number of refugees accepted for resettlement in their countries.

DISCUSSION

Our analysis has yielded compelling evidence regarding the correlation between population decline and the acceptance of refugees for resettlement. Our findings indicate that countries experiencing population decline are 19% more likely to increase their refugee population for

resettlement than countries with positive population growth. This significant finding is consistent with the patterns observed in Table 2, underscoring the strength and stability of our results. Therefore, it can be asserted that countries facing population decline are more inclined to accept refugees for resettlement.

The positive relationship between population decline and refugee acceptance suggests several potential reasons. Firstly, countries experiencing a population decline might consider refugee resettlement as a means to address demographic challenges such as labor shortages and an aging workforce as discussed in the literature review. By welcoming more refugees for resettlement, these countries can boost their labor markets, contributing to economic growth and bridging skills gaps.

Secondly, countries with a decreasing population may recognize the potential social and cultural benefits of refugee resettlement. The arrival of refugees can promote diversity, encourage cultural exchange, enhance local communities, and cultivate social cohesion. Creating vibrant, multicultural neighborhoods can also help combat social isolation and rejuvenate depopulated areas. Moreover, countries struggling with population decline may be better equipped to accommodate refugees, thanks to underutilized infrastructure, available housing, and existing support networks. As a result, these countries may seize the opportunity to utilize their resources more effectively by providing a new home to refugees, thus maximizing the use of existing facilities and public services. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that accepting more refugees in the context of population decline is challenging. Countries must carefully consider the strain on social services such as healthcare, education, and housing to ensure that refugees and the existing population receive adequate support.

Furthermore, policymakers must implement effective integration programs to facilitate the successful assimilation of refugees into local communities, mitigate potential social tensions, and ensure their long-term integration. Our findings have significant implications for governments grappling with population decline and seeking to address both demographic challenges and humanitarian obligations. The evidence can inform the design of refugee resettlement policies that align with their demographic needs. International organizations and policymakers can also utilize this evidence to develop targeted support programs, capacity-building initiatives, and financial incentives for countries experiencing population decline to encourage participation in refugee resettlement efforts. Further research is warranted to investigate the underlying mechanisms driving the observed relationship between population decline and refugee acceptance. Qualitative studies exploring the perspectives of policymakers, local communities, and refugees can provide valuable insights into the motivations, challenges, and outcomes associated with refugee resettlement in depopulating areas.

CONCLUSION

The population growth rate could be an important determinant in predicting which country may be more likely to increase the number of refugees accepted for resettlement in a particular year. With clear conditions set, refugee resettlement may become a sustainable process as countries may know where exactly to disperse refugees with the support of local authorities and non-government organizations and provide the required prerequisite welfare needs to ensure that refugees successfully resettle and integrate into these shrinking areas.

In this study, we estimated the correlation between depopulation and the number of refugees accepted for resettlement in a particular year by refugee resettlement countries. With a Panel fixed

effect model, this study finds that the population growth rate is negatively associated with an increased number of refugees accepted for resettlement. A 1% increase in the population is associated with a 0.19% decrease in the resettled population, all other factors being constant.

This study adds to the existing literature by providing empirical evidence that resettling countries with a declining population is more likely to increase the number of refugees accepted for resettlement. The findings of this research could be helpful to policymakers in designing refugee dispersal models that link local authorities in shrinking areas that show interest in increasing population capacity to the government migration entities responsible for refugee dispersal. This may guide well-informed decisions on how many individuals to resettle in relation to the capacity of communities and the opportunities available for resettled refugees. Such policies may guide sustainable and effective successful resettlement and motivate other countries to implement similar models if they open refugee resettlement programs.

Furthermore, since there needs to be more data on the refugee dispersal patterns in most refugee resettlement countries, this study could not link the relationship between the results and the micro-dispersal models. Thus, further studies may revisit the topic and examine the linkage between shrinking areas and how refugee dispersal is determined concerning the fact that resettlement countries experiencing depopulation tend to accept more refugees for resettlement.

REFERENCES.

Ahani, N., Gölz, P., Procaccia, A. D., Teytelboym, A., & Trapp, A. C. (2022, June 7). *Dynamic Placement in refugee resettlement*. https://arxiv.org/abs/2105.14388

Benson, O. G., Smith, R., & Song, C. (2022). Resettlement cities: A mixture model analysis of the dispersion and placement strategy of US refugee policy. Cities, 126, 103698.

Bloem, J. (2014). Refugees in rural communities: A win-win. *National Agricultural & Rural Development Policy Center Policy Brief*, *34*.

Bose, P. S. (2018). Welcome, and hope, fear, and loathing: The politics of refugee resettlement in Vermont. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *24*(3), 320–329. https://doi.org/10.1037/pac0000302

Bose, P. S. (2020). Refugees and the transforming landscapes of small cities in the US. *Urban Geography*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1785202

Codell, J. D., Hill, R. D., Woltz, D. J., & Gore, P. A. (2011). Predicting Meaningful Employment for Refugees: The Influence of Personal Characteristics and Developmental Factors on Employment Status and Hourly Wages. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, *33*(3). https://doi.org/10.1007/s10447-011-9125-5

Colic-Peisker, V., & Tilbury, F. (2006, June 1*)*. Employment Niches for Recent Refugees: Segmented Labour Market in Twenty-first Century Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies Oxford Academic*. OUP Academic. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fej016

Coutin, M. (2022). Life in the empty diagonal: the experiences and impacts of newcomers in rural France. *Studenttheses.uu.nl*. https://studenttheses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/42561

Delacrétaz, D., Kominers, S. D., & Teytelboym, A. (2016). Refugee resettlement. University of Oxford Department of Economics Working Paper.

Djurdjev, B. S. (1998). Refugees and village renewal in Yugoslavia. GeoJournal, 46(3), 207-213. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1006904101161

Hadad, J., & Teytelboym, A. (2022). Improving refugee resettlement: insights from market design. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *38*(3), 434-448.

Haugen, S. (2019). "We feel like we're home": the resettlement and integration of Syrian refugees in smaller and rural Canadian communities. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees/Refuge: revue canadienne sur les réfugiés*, *35*(2), 53-63.

Jenkins, R. (2019). Family, support networks, permanent housing, employment opportunities, community investment: Familiar themes in a literature review of the outcomes of government-assisted refugees (GARs) in smaller Canadian centres. *Pathways to Prosperity*

Jiang, Z., Zhai, W., Meng, X., & Long, Y. (2020). Identifying shrinking cities with NPP-VIIRS nightlight data in China. *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, *146*(4), 04020034.

Jubilut,L., & Madureira,A.(2016). Durable solutions for refugees: principles and implementation strategy of a general framework. The London school of economics and political science. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/humanrights/2016/11/21/durable-solutions-for-refugees-principles-and-implementation-strategy-of-a-general-framework/

Karlsen, E. (2015). Refugee resettlement to Australia: what are the facts?

Mastilovic, J., & Zoppi, M. (2021). (In)security and Immigration to Depopulating Rural Areas in Southern and Southeastern Europe, Southeastern Europe, 45(2), 229-253. https://doi.org/10.30965/18763332-45020003

Neil A. Powe, Danny Oswell. (2022) Planning for Town Centre "Smart-Decline"/"Rightsizing": A New Lens for Strategy Development and Research?. *Planning Theory & Practice* 23:4, pages 499-517.

Radulescu, S. M. (2021). Embracing Refugees: A Revival Solution for Shrinking American Cities. *Geo. Immigr. LJ*, *36*, 775.

Reed, H. E., Kraly, E. P., & Bloemraad, I. (2021). The Role of Demographic Research in Promoting Refugee Resettlement and Integration in the United States. *Journal on Migration and Human Security*, 9(3), 113-124.

Rose, D. (2016). Affordable housing is the scaffolding refugees need to rebuild and feel settled. Policy Options. http://icmc.net/wp- content/uploads/2019/10/201909

Russo, J. (2015). Deindustrialization, Depopulation, and the Refugee Crisis. https://workingclassstudies.wordpress.com/2015/12/21/deindustrialization-depopulation-and-the-refugee-crisis/.

Saito, M. (2012). Benefits Resettled Refugees Bring to Japan. *Student Journal of International Liberal Arts*.

Sabchez, T., & Baumgärtel, M. (2020). *The path of least resistance? EU cities and locally organised resettlement*. The path of least resistance? EU cities and locally organised resettlement | Forced Migration https://www.fmreview.org/cities/sabchev-baumgartel

Schemschat, N. (2022). 28. Refugees in shrinking cities: the role of place and belonging in refugee-led revitalisation. *Handbook on Shrinking Cities*, 395.

Szymanowski, M., & Latocha, A. (2021). Does the environment matter? Depopulation in the Sudetes (case study of the Kłodzko region, SW Poland). Applied Geography, 135, 102535.

Tardis, M., 2019. *Another Story from the "Refugee Crisis". Resettlement in Small Towns and Rural Areas in France*, IFRI: Institut Français des Relations Internationales. Etudes de l'Ifri from https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1406095/another-story-from-the-refugee-crisis/2020361/

Trapp, A. C., Teytelboym, A., Martinello, A., Andersson, T., & Ahani, N. (2020). *Placement optimization in refugee resettlement* (No. 2018: 23). Working paper.

UNHCR. (1951). The UNHCR Handbook on Procedures and Criteria for Determining Refugee Status. https://www.unhcr.org/4d93528a9.pdf

UNHCR. (2022). UNHCR Projected Global Resettlement Needs 2023. https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/62b18e714.pdf

World Bank. (2023). World Development Report 2023: Migrants, Refugees, and Societies.

Zaidi, B., & Morgan, S. P. (2017). The second demographic transition theory: A review and appraisal. *Annual review of sociology*, *43*, 473.

Zhang, DD, Brecke, P., Lee, HF, He, YQ, & Zhang, J. (2007). Global climate change, war, and population decline in recent human history. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 104 (49), 19214-19219.