Migrants and cities:
A Public Administration Perspective on local governance and service delivery

DPADM/UNDESA
for Population Division/UNDESA-EGM on Sustainable Cities, Human Mobility and International Migration
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Abstract

One of every seven people in the world is a migrant, and one in every 113 is either an asylum-seeker, a refugee or an internally displaced person. Over sixty percent of refugees and about thirty-five percent of the internally displaced reside in urban and sub-urban areas. These numbers may go up to eighty-five percent in some cities. Urban migrants and refugees, particularly those with lower skills and those in undocumented or irregular situation lack access to adequate public services. Since large majorities of these vulnerable groups reside in developing country settings, where urban communities hosting them may already be grappling with challenges related to poverty, inequality and overstretched public services, the urgency to respond to the migrant and refugee plight becomes all the more pressing.

How cities will respond to migrations and refugees, the services they provide, how they do it, and their efforts to promote inclusive urban development will determine the success of the international response to migration flows. It will also feed into the transformative vision of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development – its pledge to leave no one behind, and to the achievement of the principles of the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action.

Against this background, this preliminary background note attempts to examine city responses to migrations from a public administration perspective. Based on a preliminary analysis of local government responses to international migrations in about thirty countries, the note identifies three dominant trends: proactive targeted approaches, networked approaches and institutional approaches, which might coexist in different combinations at different points in time. It stresses that while structural variables such as economic development, system of government including whether a country has a federal or unitary system, level of decentralization and quality of local governance, not to mention historical specificities shape local responses to migrations, there is enough policy space for cities to be creative in how they approach migrations, and how they link it with sustainable development.

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1 The analysis contained in this Background Note is part of the ongoing study towards Chapter 5 on International migrations and policy integration of the forthcoming World Public Sector Report 2017. World Public Sector Report is published biannually by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs’ Division of Public Administration and Development Management. Its aim is to review major trends and issues concerning public administration and governance, to provide policy makers, scholars, and the civil society with relevant information, data and research findings on issues related to the public sector, and to facilitate the discussion of relevant public sector issues on the agenda of the United Nations inter-governmental bodies including the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). For more information on the World Public Sector Report, see DPADM/UNDESA. World Public Sector Reports. Available at https://publicadministration.un.org/en/Research/World-Public-Sector-Reports

2 The country-database is currently being built. It is not yet complete. Country selection is based on regional representation, relevance to migration flows and on availability of information. Countries are Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Croatia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Lithuania, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Russian Federation, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and possibly Bangladesh, India, Fiji and Kiribati.
Introduction: National-local government interactions in responding to international migrations

The recent migrant and refugee flows have been massive, with about 22.5 million refugees, 2.83 million asylum-seekers and over 244 million international migrants, not to mention countless migrants in undocumented and irregular situation in both the Global North and South. International migrations have led to regional and local governments assuming responsibilities previously administered by national governments. This has culminated in increased local autonomy at some instances pushing some analysts to stress increased "multi-level governance"; and others to point at a "local turn in migration governance". The role of cities in responding to the global refugee crisis has been a good illustration of such trends.

Increasing scope of action by cities in responding to migrations is somewhat paradoxical because crisis management is often associated with concentration of power, direction and control at the central level. In fact, a parallel rise in centralized state-management of migrations in certain regions has hampered the political capacity, financial resources and legal prerogatives of cities in responding to refugees and migrations.

Nonetheless, increase in local initiative has been conspicuous. In managing the response to migrants and refugee flows, cities have shown great dynamism and have multiplied innovative approaches. One way in which local action has increased in response to migrations is through cities’ role in delivering public services. Many experts estimate that local governments are best placed to respond to the needs of migrants and refugees, given their proximity to their populations, their knowledge of the local context and their ability to develop policies and programmes, mobilize partnerships and evaluate impact. In practice, local governments have also been at the forefront of public service delivery including but not limited to public housing, health, language, education, vocational training, and social, economic, political and cultural integration overall.

In addition to innovative public services as part of smart cities and urban planning, institutional changes have also transpired in city governance. As it will be discussed in the next section, newly created, revamped or recalibrated institutions and institutional networks were introduced. France, for instance, witnessed the emergence of its Politique de la Ville as a pragmatic and decentralized migration governance model. Other forms of institutional innovation have included engagement of non-state actors such as the private sector and civil society including the associations formed by migrants and refugees themselves, and enhanced use of information and communication technologies to incite community participation in inclusive manners. World Migration Report by the International Organization for

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4 MLG is an arrangement for making binding decisions that engage a multicity of politically independent but otherwise interdependent public and private actors at different levels of governance. See Schmitter, P. "Neo-Neo-Functionalism," in Wiener, Antje and Thomas Diez, eds. *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004: p.49.


Migration, for instance, has stressed the multi-stakeholder nature of migration policy-making by both formal institutions and informal arrangements at the local level of administration.\(^9\)

One caveat to the rising level of action by local governments in responding to migrations relates to their different attributes and capacities. Research notes that cities’ approaches to migrations have greatly varied depending on their size, economic resources, human resource capacities, local context, as well as decentralization and whether local authorities have the space to develop and implement inclusive policies based on multi-stakeholder approaches.\(^10\) Some cities have greater financial capacities, higher human capital and hence can also mobilize resources more effectively. Large cities may have higher population densities, special housing conditions, different cost of living, and higher social expenditures per capita. For example, although 135 dollars is spent per refugee in developed countries, only 1 dollar is allocated for the same purpose in developing country settings.\(^11\)

Overall, research has shown that national-local government interactions have changed as result of the migratory flows. They have become more flexible, less legalistic, increasingly based on dialogue and characterized by interdependent and overlapping competencies and continuous negotiations over budget allocations and other public administration issues. One study showed, for instance, that policy content in general, budget-related policies in particular, and evaluation of integration policies were the three areas most impacted by migrations at the local level.\(^12\) Another study, undertaking a country-specific focus, noted that even with the centralized quota system of refugee dispersion in Germany, large cities may face unique burdens.\(^13\)

The idea that national government decides and local governments implement is thus no longer appropriate. This applies critically to the area of migrants and refugees. Has the local turn in migration policy-making followed specific patterns or and pointed to specific models or trends of public administration? The following analysis attempts to highlight a few such indicative trends at the city level.

**Urban Migration Governance Trends in Public Administration**

National responses to international migrations have included policies on immigration, emigration, asylum-seeking and receiving and integrating refugees, among others. The common thread at the national level has been a concern for national security and public order. In consequence, border control management, third country cooperation agreements, restrictive visa policies, hotspots and other related deterrence policies have been a commonplace. This has overshadowed other aspects of migrations such as cultural diversity and inclusive development including inclusive public services and the protection of migrant rights.\(^14\)

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Local responses to international migrations have emphasized the latter. Many cities and local governments have outstepped their administrative boundaries to respond to the pressure and to take on expanded responsibilities, stretching their budgets and capacities while at the same time working towards a due implementation of SDG 16 to integrate the newly arrived in their communities peacefully and effectively. There has been a rise of bottom-up and community-oriented approaches to define people’s rights and recognize and respect their identities.

Cities have thus adopted what can best be described as pragmatic and open migration policies with their public administrations embracing multicultural environments. A panoply of urban diversity policies have been designed and implemented from transnationalist rather than assimilationist perspectives. New forms of migrant incorporation were formulated to usher in the emergence of new concepts such as “urban citizenship” or “denizenship” whereby migrants and refugees are conceived as active developmental actors rather than passive aid recipients or threats to security.

Proactive targeted approaches

Local proactive targeted approaches to respond to migration and refugee crises come from Brazil and China, which present two different contexts regarding the share of migrants in their respective populations and other structural attributes. Brazil has high and China has comparatively lower migrant and refugee concentrations. Brazil has a federal government system while China is unitary with autonomous regions.

In the case of Brazil, the city of Sao Paulo, which hosts the highest number of migrants and refugees in the country, has continued its historically open and inclusive migration governance with the creation of a Municipal Coordination Office for Migrant Policies in 2013, the organization of a National Conference on Migrations and Refuge the following year, and most recently, its launching of a Primer on the Protection of LGBTI Refugees and Asylum-Seekers. The recent influx of asylum-seekers from Venezuela has not prevented the city and its counterparts from keeping the doors open while simultaneously pushing for the national government in Brasilia to increase its financial support to local governments. Since the Presidential Decree no.8757/2016, which introduced initial reforms towards reinventing immigration as a “strategic vector for national development,” the national migration policy has also increasingly sided

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19 The legal dictionary defines a denizen as one with an intermediate status between a natural born subject and an alien. For more on the differences between citizenship and denizenship, see Turner, B.S. “We Are All Denizens Now: On the Erosion of Citizenship,” in Citizenship Studies 20, 6-7 (February 2016): 679-692.
with this talent management approach to migration, seeing migrants and refugees as “city-makers” while also eyeing a healthy balance between attracting high- as well as low-skilled migrants.

Chinese local governments’ pragmatic approach to migration has also sprung from cities to the national level of administration. Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, Wuhan and others have embraced a set of talent attraction policies setting up experimental zones to promote diversity vying for high-skilled migrants. They have offered financial incentives and training, coupled with a plethora of public services in areas like settlement, tax, health care, housing and residency. The inter-city competition created in attracting high-skilled migrants has brought some scholars to urge the national government to provide guidance on local approaches to migrations and on local-national government coordination and cooperation. National migration policies in China have also progressed along transnationalist lines. On the emigration front, for instance, there has been a trend towards promoting high-skilled Chinese migrants’ mobility and their insertion into their host societies. China has contributed financially to different migratory crises creating the China-U.N. Peace and Development Fund to support developing countries in their actions to manage the recent migrant and refugee crisis. China’s Belt and Road Initiative also avers to have significant impact on international migrations, including particularly on urban migration governance as it seeks to embody policies of capacity-development and integration of nationals in the cities located along the Road.

Inter-city cooperation model

A second local migration governance model can be described as one of inter-city trend networked approaches. Some examples can be seen in the manifold networks of cities created in the past decade including but not limited to ICCAR—International Coalition of Inclusive and Sustainable Cities, and its regional coalitions, Mayoral Forum organized annually by UNITAR on Mobility, Migration and Development, UCLG—United Cities and Local Governments, Eurocities Working Group on Migration and Integration, Cities of Migration interlinking major immigrant receiving cities around the world, Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities Network, City Mayors Network, Strong Cities Network, World Cities Network, 100 Resilient Cities, and many others some of which have sprung or become reinvigorated as result of the UN Habitat III’s New Urban Agenda.

23 Global talent management approach to migration governance is based on emphasizing the diverse skill sets that migrants and refugees can bring to the national development of host countries. For more, see GFMD. "Towards a Global Social Contract on Migration and Development." Final Conclusions and Recommendations of the 2017-2018 GFMD-Co-Chairs. Berlin, Germany: 30 June 2017. Available at file:///C:/Users/peride.blind/Downloads/2017-06-30_co-chairs_conclusions_of_the_10th_gfmd_summit_0.pdf.


29 http://ice.zjnu.edu.cn/onews.asp?id=489&owen1=%BF%AF%CE%EF&owen2=%B5%DA53%C6%DA


National-level city networks have also been active in urban management of migrations. Examples include the Federation of Spanish Municipalities and Provinces, South African Cities Network and the Union of Municipalities of Turkey. Maghreb cities network created in 2015 with support from GiZ and the League of Arab States’ initiative of creating an Arab Urban Agenda have been linked with Habitat III. These and other inter-city networks have led to the strengthening of coordination of urban migration governance within and between cities, and between them and their multiple partners ushering in a new era of interactive and multi-level approaches to migrations.

**Institutional approaches**

A third local trend vis-à-vis migration policies and approaches by cities and local governments can best be described as institutional. A priori, three such sub-institutional tendencies are visible.

First, many city governments and municipalities faced with the challenge of accommodating swaths of newly arrived migrants and refugees, have created separate offices, units or commissions handling migrant and/or refugee related issues. Some of them have introduced their own city or municipal migration policies in line with or counter to their respective national migration and refugee policies.

Supported by a Rockefeller Foundation grant, Amman and several other cities in Jordan, for instance, have created the new Chief Resilience Officer position. This new office seeks to manage the increasing pressures on public services created by the large numbers of migrants and refugees in cities. The Federal Republic of Germany instituted the Office of Refugee Coordinator at the state level. The State Refugee Coordinators are top-level civil servants such as the State Secretary in Berlin; Head of Division in the State Ministry of Interior Affairs in Baden-Wuerttemberg, and the leader of the core agency in Hamburg and in Rhineland-Palatine. Certain municipalities have gone a step further to create their Municipal Refugee Coordinators.

Many city and county governments and municipalities across the United States have also revised their local migration strategies sometimes going a different direction compared to national laws, as in the case of sanctuary laws. Barcelona in Spain also launched its plan of Refuge City in September 2015 in response to the increasingly restraining migration and refugee policies at the national level.

A second way in which institutional innovation was taken up by cities and local governments in managing migrations can be seen in their establishing a range of local-national-civil society contracts with a diverse range of stakeholders from civil society, private sector as well as migrants and refugees and their

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33 https://unhabitat.org/towards-an-arab-urban-agenda/
organizations. France’s Politique de la Ville, for instance, involves a collaborative process between the central and local governments, cities and municipalities through Urban Contracts for Social Cohesion (Contrats urbains de cohesion sociale, CUCS), particularly in five policy areas—employment and economic activities; housing and living conditions; education and health; delinquency prevention; citizenship. CUCS have led to the establishment of Priority Education Zones and Priority Urban Zones, where large concentrations of migrant populations are matched with an intensified policy focus and public services without however denominating these areas, policies or services as exclusively migrant-focused\(^39\).

A unitary state with some devolution in the last fifteen years, Turkey has seen many of its metropoles like Ankara and Istanbul create Social Service Centers, open Women and Children Guesthouses and introduce Service Hotlines in Arabic for migrants and refugees in cooperation with the Ministry of the Interior, and line ministries in sectoral migration governance as in social development, health, education, culture and environment. The southeastern city of Gaziantep recently launched a Refugee Employment Programme in the recycling industry to link decent jobs with green development\(^40\).

The increased role of local authorities in implementing migration policies is also foreseen in Russian Federation, world’s third biggest destination of international migrants. The recently adopted National Concept of Migration Policy (2012-2025\(^41\)) states that proper legislative regulation on migrations must be instituted to involve authorities at all levels, from local to federal. National migration policy of the Russian Federation has been one that hinges on labour market adjustment and economic development generally characterized as welcoming and striving to use migrations to make up for workforce deficits, support ageing populations and propel growth\(^42\).

Thirdly, institutional migration governance at the local level of administration has involved the launching of ad hoc task forces, working groups, outreach sessions and conferences on migration and development related issues. Zagreb, for instance, being part of unitary Croatia with a centralized migration governance, has largely confined its role in migrations to one of an implementer of the federally mandated migration policies. Yet, with the surge in migration and refugee flows, Zagreb recently organised a conference on Integration of Immigrants in Cities of Europe together with the Municipality of Treviso in Italy. The aim was to provide a platform for different stakeholders to share best practices in integrating migrants and refugees in local communities\(^43\). Likewise, Budapest Migration Roundtable launched in 2012 in Hungary with financial support from the European Integration Fund also aimed at establishing a network of governmental and non-governmental actors to facilitate a city-wide dialogue about migration and integration with specific focus on social attitudes, participation and public services.

It is also important to note that the local approaches to migration governance have included migrants and refugees as active agents of governance and development. Some examples come from Uganda and Algeria. The Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHoPe)\(^44\) is a self-reliance and resilience


\(^{40}\) For more on Gaziantep City Programme, see Hurriyet. Turkish Daily Newspaper. 7 July 2017. Available at http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/suriyeli-multecilerin-geri-kazan-40512349

\(^{41}\) See at http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/15635


\(^{43}\) More at http://www.zagreb.hr/medjunarodna-konferencija-imin-integracija-imigran/109923

strategic framework targeting refugees and host communities in Uganda’s nine refugee hosting districts. Funded by the UN agencies, the World Bank, the Government of Uganda, development partners and the private sector, the programme addresses the issues of sustainable development and includes refugees as agents of development. Local migrant and refugee organizations interlink with each other—locally, regionally and even globally, to create their own bilateral and cross-regional local associational networks, such as the ADEKA--Kabylie’s Association for Development funded by returnees to Algeria, which cooperates with Strasbourg’s AMSED--Association of Migrations, Solidarity and Exchanges for Development to support rural development in Kabylie, Algeria.\(^{45}\)

**Conclusion:**

These diverse cases of local governance and national-local government interaction together with a variety of multi-stakeholder partnerships are closely linked with local and national sustainable development. The indicative trends and sub-trends of proactive-targeted, inter-city collaborative and institutional urban migration governance depicted in Figure I below show that that local approaches to migrations can limit structural barriers that limit human mobility and support inclusive labor market policies, social and economic integration and cultural diversity based on participatory approaches to governance and development management. They can do so regardless of the government system in place (federal vs. unitary or other), economic development (developed vs. developing), legal framework (case vs. civil law or other), the dominant place of the country or the city in the migration route (sending, receiving, transit country and a combination of some or all) and its historical and cultural idiosyncrasies.

**Figure I: Urban Migration Governance Trends from a Public Administration Perspective**

Despite its promises, however, urban migration governance comes with significant public administration challenges. One such significant challenge is *decoupling*\(^{46}\) between national and local migration policies.

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both in their processes and outputs. Decoupling occurs when policies are fully or partially disconnected from each other and result in conflictual outcomes with potential negative repercussions on sustainable development. Another such challenge is gentrification, which entails the displacement of lower class populations by more affluent high-skilled migrants, which can lead to soaring housing prices, thence rising inequalities, which can also seriously hamper sustainable development. Thirdly, the strain on public finances and city budgets to serve the increasing numbers of diverse populations with different needs is a serious issue for public administration and sustainable development. Fourthly, the consequent rise in inter-group resentments and the ensuing politicization of the policy field, often coupled with mounting xenophobia, may present serious handicaps to sustainable urban and national development.

The on-going refugee crisis is putting cities under tremendous pressure, while also generating many innovations. Many lessons can be learned on how cities can handle migrant and refugee flows as well as on how to respond to crises in the future. Considering that the surge in international migrations is nowhere close to abating given that climate change and environmental hazards present additional push factors for forced displacements worldwide, there is a tremendous need for sharing successful experiences and lessons learned.

As the living organisms that they are, cities can become one of the main conduits for implementing the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, the International Conference on Population and Development Programme of Action, the New Urban Agenda of HABITAT III while at the same time making contributions to New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants’ Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). As noted by the Committee of Experts in Public Administration, operationalizing the principle of leaving no one behind requires empowering local governments, as they have the best knowledge of the conditions that affect their communities.

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49 The Report can be found at http://workspace.unpan.org/sites/Internet/Documents/UNPAN97291.pdf. Please see Article 53.