

MIGRANTS, MARKETS AND MAYORS: RISING ABOVE THE EMPLOYMENT CHALLENGE IN AFRICA'S SECONDARY CITIES - A BRIEF



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RISING ABOVE THE EMPLOYMENT
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**THE REPORT BRINGS
AN IMPORTANT
MESSAGE FOR MAYORS:**

Migrants (including rural migrants) are a force that can be leveraged for the economic growth of secondary cities, as they often strengthen the labor supply and economic dynamism of these cities by being younger, better educated, and/or complementary to the existing labor force.





MAYORS OFTEN SEE

MIGRANTS AS A BURDEN TO THEIR CITY'S LABOR MARKET
AND A THREAT TO ITS DEVELOPMENT.



BUT INSIGHTS SUGGEST

THAT MIGRANTS USUALLY STRENGTHEN THE URBAN
LABOR FORCE.

ABSTRACT

In our rapidly urbanizing world, mayors often see migrants as a burden to their city's labor market and a threat to its development. Insights from national household surveys and four secondary city case studies in Africa suggest, however, that migrants usually strengthen the urban labor force. They tend to be younger, better educated, and/or complementary to the resident labor force. Unsurprisingly, in secondary cities, labor market outcomes for migrants are on average at least as good as those for residents. Only in big cities are migrants more likely to do worse in the labor market than urban residents.

This holds particularly true in East Africa, where migrants still contribute substantially to urban population growth, and applies only to rural-urban migrants, not migrants coming from other towns. Secondary cities thus appear well placed to leverage migration. This requires good urban management that develops land and labor markets, prepares for growth, and benefits everyone – new incoming immigrants as well as longtime residents. Migrant-specific interventions are warranted when divisions between longtime residents and incoming migrants are deep. Strengthening the financial, technical, and planning capacity of towns to better integrate migrants is part and parcel of a good jobs agenda.



MIGRANTS, LABOR MARKETS AND MAYORS



In a rapidly urbanizing world, where more than two in three people are expected to live in cities by 2050, internal migration is often feared as source of urban underdevelopment.



Historically, internal migration has been an important driver of urbanization. But migrants are also commonly perceived to mainly join the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed in the urban informal sector, and, if they work, to take scarce jobs from longtime residents. Some also believe that they push up rents and housing costs and overburden the often-crippled infrastructure and social services of urban centers. Rural-urban migrants are especially seen as culprits.

Such views, widely shared and further shaped by big city slum development, have instigated fears of urban underdevelopment, especially in Africa, where urbanization rates are still lower and urbanization will be fastest. It has shifted policy focus towards interventions to limit migration,¹ including through institutional neglect of informal settlements.²

Others argue instead that migrants contribute to the urban economy.

“The opposition between the ‘poor, uneducated, informally employed migrant’ and the ‘better-off, educated, formally employed non-migrant’ is not supported by the facts” (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2004: 2261). The belief that urban migrants do not earn their living in the urban centers is unfounded in this view; they cannot afford not to work and would otherwise return to their places of origin. Internal migrants in francophone West African urban centers in the 1980s and 1990s were not disadvantaged when compared with local residents. Migrants are often the more dynamic and educated among rural populations because of migratory selectivity.³ By increasing the size and population density of the city, migrants may also enable economies of agglomeration – an important force in urban economic growth. Additionally, skilled migrants can increase the urban skill pool while unskilled migrants may complement skilled urban workers, in both cases generating positive human capital externalities. Even unskilled urban workers may still gain from migration, as has been carefully documented in China.⁴

¹ The share of countries with policies to lower rural-to-urban migration has increased substantially worldwide (from 38 percent in 1996 to 80 percent in 2013) and is especially high in Africa (85 percent) and Asia (84 percent), where urbanization is also fastest (United Nations, 2013, https://esa.un.org/PopPolicy/wpp_datasets.aspx).

² Fox (2014).

³ Young (2013).

⁴ Combes, Démurger, Li and Wang (2020). This could happen by accelerating their occupational transition, or if increased demand for unskilled labor following migration-induced agglomeration economies exceeds downward wage pressures and employment loss following migration-induced substitution.



What about Africa today?

How different economic forces play out (economies and diseconomies of agglomeration, labor complementarity or substitutability) is not clear *a priori*, and the outcomes are likely to differ for various population groups (skilled/unskilled; migrant/resident). Other factors likely to affect outcomes include whether the urban destinations are smaller towns or bigger cities, whether their economies are fast-growing or stagnating, how responsive land markets and service provision are to the arrival of newcomers, and whether arriving migrants have been mainly driven by distress at their place of origin or by the buoyancy of the destination.⁵

The circumstances in Africa today are also quite different than in China (or even the Africa of the 1980s and 1990s). Population growth is much faster and rural-urban labor mobility is much less restricted than in China, and per capita GDP growth on the continent has overall been less labor-intensive, relying more on natural resources than labor-intensive manufacturing exports. When observing Africa today, one mainly sees cities that are crowded, disconnected, and costly, struggling to play their role as engines of economic growth and poverty reduction. This raises the question of whether migration and urbanization cannot be leveraged better.

⁵ Busso, Chauvin, and Herrera (2021).



Broadening the perspective on migration and urban development in three dimensions.

Debates about migration and urban development have arguably been somewhat reductionistic and misguided. First, much of the focus has been on larger cities (often only capital cities) and only considered rural-urban migrants. This leaves the challenges of most African urban centers and most of their populations unaddressed. About 97 percent of Africa's urban centers/agglomerations have fewer than 300,000 inhabitants, and urban agglomerations of less than one million make up 60 percent of Africa's urban population.⁶ Evidence further suggests that the development of towns and secondary cities may also be better at reducing poverty than the development of big cities.⁷ In addition, a sizeable share of urban migrants comes from other urban areas. Considering migration flows along the full urban hierarchy

(towns and cities), incorporating both rural-urban and urban-urban migrants is needed to better understand the role of migration for urban development.

Second, the policy focus in addressing Africa's employment challenges has often been on urban youth employment programs, with variable success at best and without differentiation between the needs of migrants and the existing population.⁸ If migrants generally integrate well into urban labor markets, a broader and more differentiated policy package is needed to increase labor market outcomes for all urban citizens, migrants, and host communities alike. This should go beyond labor market policies and include urban policy instruments to address institutional and regulatory constraints that misallocate land and labor within cities, fragment physical development, and limit productivity.

Third, the focus on the rate of urbanization (a key policy indicator from the national perspective) at the expense of urban population growth (the key concern for urban governments) has led governments to see migration as the major contributor to urban population growth. While migration has historically been important for urban growth in developed countries, in Africa, urban natural increase has been much more important for urban growth than migration, and migration is expected to become even less important in the future. This suggests a role for urban (and rural) population policies to manage the rate of urban growth and foster urban development, beyond the more traditional focus on migration.

⁶ OECD/SWAC (2020).

⁷ Christiaensen and Kanbur (2018); Rodriguez and Griffiths (2021).

⁸ Kluve et al. (2016).



THIS BRIEF EXPLORES HOW MIGRATION IN AFRICA AFFECTS THE RATE OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

The migrant, the market, and the mayor.

To explore the potential for better leveraging migration for urban development that benefits migrants as well as existing residents, this brief takes three perspectives: these of the migrant, the market, and the mayor, broadly referring to how migrants fare in the urban labor market, how they affect aggregate urban productivity, and how mayors can leverage their potential to benefit all. Insights from national household survey data analysis are combined with those from four case city studies in three African countries – Ethiopia (Jigjiga), Uganda (Juba), and Tunisia (Kairouan and Jendouba) – to address the first question.

A more indirect approach is taken to examine the second question. Speedy urban population growth challenges mayors to maintain the urban infrastructure and services needed for economic buoyancy and the general welfare of citizens.



This brief explores how migration in Africa affects the rate of urban population growth, as well as the size and composition of its labor force. It draws on demographic data and literature, complemented with insights from key informant interviews in the case cities.⁹ Finally, key insights were distilled from the literature and tested in key informant interviews with case city officials to explore the third question: how mayors can leverage the potential of migrants for the benefit of all.

⁹ Comparable cross-country urban panel data with consistent disaggregation of the urban population by their origin (migrant/resident) are needed to quantitatively estimate the effects of migration on aggregate urban productivity. Such data is not yet systematically available for Africa.



DEFINITION BY NUMBER
OF INHABITANTS

BIG CITIES
>ONE MILLION

SECONDARY CITIES
ONE MILLION-100,000

LARGE TOWNS
100,000-20,000

SMALL TOWNS
20,000-10,000





BOX 1 NOTIONS OF MIGRATION

A common understanding of a migrant is a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, for a variety of reasons. This is the broad umbrella notion of migration advanced by the International Organization for Migration.¹⁰ The smaller the area considered as area of residence, the quicker one is classified as a migrant when one moves, and the larger the share of migrants in the overall population. Similarly, the longer one is considered a migrant after moving into an area, the more migrants there will be.

Migrants differ by duration and origin. For the purpose of the analysis in this report, those having moved to a district/zone during the past 0–3 years are considered short-term migrants, and those having moved 3–10 years ago are considered long-term migrants. All others are considered urban natives or longtime urban residents (these two terms are used interchangeably).¹¹

Migrants who move to an urban area from a rural area are further distinguished from those who move from other urban areas. Rural migrants are often first-time migrants, and thus less familiar with the more monetary, anonymous nature of urban interactions. They may also have different motivations for migrating, different skill sets, and different labor market experience than migrants from other urban centers. As a result, rural-urban and urban-urban migrants may fare quite differently within the urban labor market. Much of the literature and urban policy dialogue on urban migration typically equates urban migration with rural-urban migration. However, a substantial share of the urban migrant population are urban-urban migrants. On average, two in five urban migrants come from other urban areas, ranging from 23 percent in Tanzania (where rural-urban migration is more prominent) to 53 percent in Uganda.

Finally, migrants are classified depending on the size of the city they move to or come from, distinguishing big cities (>one million inhabitants), from secondary cities (one million–100,000) and large (100,000–20,000) and small (20,000–10,000) towns.

¹⁰ International Organization for Migration, 2019. *Glossary on Migration*. Geneva.

¹¹ In the literature, place of birth is sometimes also considered in classifying people as migrants. This has been taken into account as an additional criterion in some of the countries studied here (Ethiopia and Tanzania).

THE MIGRANT PERSPECTIVE: HOW WELL DO MIGRANTS FARE?



Migrants make up a sizeable part of the urban labor force, with rural-urban migrants somewhat more prevalent and short- and long-term migrants contributing about equally.

When looking along the urban hierarchy, migrants are on average more frequent in big cities (>one million inhabitants), comprising 39 percent of city populations on average, compared to 31 percent of the population of secondary cities (100,000 to one million) and about 25 percent of the population of towns (<100,000). They tend to come more frequently to secondary cities from other urban areas, while being slightly more rural and staying for a shorter period in towns.¹²

Urban migrants are younger, have fewer dependents, and are more educated than urban residents. These gaps are larger for urban-urban migrants and decline as city size increases.

Being younger further translates into having fewer dependents.¹³ This gap is larger for urban-urban migrants than for rural-urban ones, who tend to have higher fertility rates, and declining as city size increases. Migrants are also more educated than residents. The education advantage migrants enjoy over urban residents is, however, largely confined to urban-urban migrants. In fact, rural-urban migrants face a growing education deficit as they move to larger urban centers (from similar education levels as small-town residents to more than a one-year average gap in big cities).

Somewhat surprisingly, agriculture remains a significant sector of employment in towns and secondary cities of sub-Saharan Africa.

About one in four non-migrant residents is still employed in agriculture in small towns (<20,000 inhabitants), and about one in seven in large towns and secondary cities combined (20,000–1 million inhabitants). This is partly a reflection of *in situ* urbanization and related definitional issues.¹⁴ It also highlights Africa's lack of industrialization. Small-town migrants are 11 percent less likely to be employed in agriculture than small-town residents; this difference declines as urban center populations increase, virtually disappearing in large cities, where the share of agricultural employment is only a few percentage points overall.

¹² Findings based on the following seven African countries: Ethiopia (2013), Tanzania (2010), Uganda (2016), Ghana (2010), Kenya (2009), Mali (2009), and Sudan (2008).

¹³ Menashe-Oren and Stecklov (2017).

¹⁴ Potts (2018).



**SUCCESSFUL MIGRANT
INTEGRATION INTO
SECONDARY CITIES
WILL REQUIRE GOOD
URBAN MANAGEMENT
THAT PREPARES FOR
GROWTH AND BENEFITS
EVERYONE, REGARDLESS
OF THEIR ORIGIN.**



The national experience from eastern African countries during the 2000s and 2010s suggests that migrants integrate well into urban labor markets overall, enjoying similar levels of welfare to residents, even after controlling for differences in human capital (age and education), occupation, and locational choice, regardless of their duration of stay.

Migrants to towns and secondary cities, who are the focus of this brief, do at least as well or even better than existing residents. *Migrants to towns and secondary cities from other urban areas* – labelled “urban-town migrants” – are more likely to be employed, work more hours, and enjoy a wage premium relative to residents. Unsurprisingly, they also end up with higher incomes and consumption per adult equivalent. This can be largely explained by their better educational attainments, as well as their choice of more buoyant urban destinations.

Rural-town migrants (those who come to towns and secondary cities from rural areas) also do well and tend to be at least as well off as town residents. They are substantially more likely to be employed and work more hours than urban residents, albeit at a wage discount. Together, this still results in substantially higher incomes at face value, or similar incomes when controlling for differences in socio-economic characteristics, occupation, or location. It suggests that they largely enjoy similar economic opportunities in the towns or secondary cities they settle in.

Migrants from urban areas to cities perform similarly to (though not better than) their fellow city residents. They are more likely to be employed and work more hours than city residents, but their wages are slightly lower on average, offsetting some of the income gains from working longer, eventually resulting in similar incomes and consumption levels as those enjoyed by city residents.¹⁵ Self-sorting of urban migrants by city size is likely at work: the more abled end up in the big cities where they do well, but not better than, city residents; the lesser abled urban migrants end up in towns and secondary cities (or rural areas), where they often outperform locals, especially in towns.



BOX 2 FEMALE MIGRANTS FACE A DOUBLE BURDEN IN THE WORKPLACE

With lower salaries and constant harassment, female migrant workers suffer from double discrimination in the workplace. In Jendouba, Tunisia, women work physically demanding jobs in agriculture and are paid significantly less than male workers for the same work. In fact, agriculture is a feminized sector where employers recruit women because they work longer hours for lower pay. According to female migrant experiences, factories prefer to hire single women unburdened by family. Sexual harassment of women in the agricultural sector is rampant, while female factory workers are subjected to verbal abuse and harassment from their employers and sometimes their male colleagues. Furthermore, limited social networks make it harder for female migrants to attend to their households and children while working long shifts.

¹⁵ In absolute terms, urban-urban migrants to cities are still better off than migrants from urban areas who moved to towns or secondary cities, possibly because of the higher city wage premium.



The experience of rural-urban city migrants in eastern Africa might come closest to the popular notion of “migrant dwellers joining the ranks of the unemployed,” but this cannot be readily generalized.

Rural-city migrants also work longer for lower wages, though in this case resulting in substantially lower incomes than city residents. Even so, this finding from the East African sample countries studied here (Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Uganda) does not carry over to other countries.¹⁶ East Africa is also still the subregion with the highest contribution of migration to urban population growth, which is consistent with its lower levels of urbanization. When controlling for human capital, occupation, and location, the lower labor market performance of rural-city migrants does not carry over to consumption. Rural-urban city migrants of similar age and gender and with similar dependency ratios



and education levels enjoy similar welfare levels as city residents. As such, the findings resemble those of Beauchemin and Bocquier (2004) for migrants in West African urban centers in the 1980s and 1990s.

Finally, men are more engaged in the labor market at better conditions than women, with male migrants more likely to be employed than male residents.

Men are more likely to be employed than women on average; they work more hours and have significantly higher wages. Across countries, male migrants are also more likely to work than male residents, though there is no systematic difference in the employment rates of female urban migrants and female residents.

¹⁶ Looking at other welfare indicators, such as measures of durables ownership and access to amenities (electricity, tap water), housing quality, and indoor air quality across 12 countries in sub-Saharan Africa during the 2010s, rural-urban migrant households in the densest population quartile do at least as well as residents (Gollin, Kirchberger, and Lagakos, 2021).

URBAN MARKET DYNAMICS: DO MIGRANTS CONTRIBUTE TO THE CITY?



How labor markets and cities fare following migration also depends on how migrants affect the broader urban market dynamic.

So far, a static view has been taken that focuses on how migrants fare in urban labor markets and on their welfare compared to their urban counterparts. However, migrants also affect the broader urban dynamic. Each time migrants enter or leave, they increase (or decrease) the size of the urban center and affect the *speed* of its expansion.

Depending on how migrants differ and where they settle, they can also change the *structure* of the urban labor force and the *spatial* build-up of the city. This may open opportunities – such as agglomeration economies associated with larger urban centers and increased population density or following labor complementarity – but it can also bring challenges, especially if the benefits only come with a lag or if residents are negatively affected (for example, by housing shortage, congestion, or labor substitution). In many ways, these dynamic effects are likely the greater concern to mayors, with migrants the easy scapegoats for all ills.

The contribution of rural-urban migrants to population growth remains largest in big cities at low rates of urbanization, as in East Africa. In other areas, urban growth is increasingly driven by natural increase, not migration, mitigating migrants' contribution to the speed of urban expansion and thus congestion, especially outside eastern Africa and in towns.

At more than four percent, urban population growth remains substantial in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁷ However, not only has the contribution of rural-urban migration to urban population growth in Africa been substantially lower than commonly perceived,¹⁸ it is also declining rapidly, with natural increase now the major driver of urban growth. Net rural-urban migration has been declining in most of Africa, especially among older population groups.¹⁹ At the same time, the decline in urban fertility is stagnating, particularly in Africa's capitals, but increasingly also in other urban areas, pushing up contribution of urban natural increase. These insights are consistent with the empirical findings that rural-city migrants in East Africa struggle the most to integrate into the urban labor market, not migrants from and to towns. This also points to urban population policies as an additional policy instrument for urban development.

17 Growth of four percent per year corresponds to doubling in size every 18 years. This would challenge any government, even those with strong institutions and solid finances.

18 Contrary to the developed world, where migration accounted for 60 percent of urban growth, natural increase was already the dominant force in urban population growth in developing countries during the second half of the 20th century, accounting for 60 percent, with migration and urban reclassification accounting for the remaining 40 percent (Farrell, 2017).

19 Menashe-Oren and Stecklov (2017).



Declining contributions from migration to urban growth in other urban areas also places towns and secondary cities in a good position to leverage migration.

Continuing migration pressure on capitals in East Africa suggests a greater role for other urban areas, secondary cities, and small and large towns in absorbing and leveraging migration. Across countries, migration to secondary towns and cities has also been documented to be better at reducing poverty than migration to cities,²⁰ while many of the relevant agglomeration economies for Africa's economies can already be realized at a city size well below the metropolitan scale. By enhancing the urban skill pool and reducing the urban dependency ratio, town and urban-urban migrants can further foster urban productivity growth – a fact often overlooked by policy makers and locals alike.²¹ Rural migrants fill an important labor supply gap in an otherwise dynamic economy. This remains, however, little appreciated by residents and city officials.



²⁰ Christiaensen and Kanbur (2018).

²¹ Urban growth emanating from migration has thus been found to contribute less to urban congestion than urban natural increase, a fact tied to the lower dependency ratio of migrant households (Jedwab, Christiaensen, Gindelsky, 2017).

The potential benefits of migration for the urban economy must, however, be considered against towns' broader financial and institutional capacity to make the necessary complementary investments.

Even if the contribution of migration to urban population growth is limited and declining, the pressure to maintain housing, urban services (utilities, education, health), and infrastructure can be substantial at the margins, especially as these services are already in poorer supply in towns than in large cities.²²

²² Henderson et al. (2019).

Towns and secondary cities often lack the financial, technical, and planning capacity to provide the necessary business environment and urban services to build thriving urban centers for all their citizens (old and new alike), to maintain an active and performant labor force and to productively absorb new entrants.



WHAT CAN MAYORS DO TO BUILD A CITY FOR ALL?

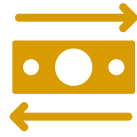


This report brings an important message for mayors: migrants (including rural migrants) are a force that can be leveraged for the economic growth of secondary cities, as they often strengthen the labor supply and economic dynamism of these cities by being younger, better educated, and/or complementary to the existing labor force. *Migrants* can contribute to building stronger urban labor *markets*, and it is also in the *mayor's* remit to facilitate and foster this contribution. Rather than fearing inflows of migrants, who are becoming a less important contributor to urban growth in much of Africa, city leaders can take proactive actions that facilitate their integration into the city and improve the overall quality of life for all urban dwellers.

The findings in this brief suggest that, to support the integration of migrants, one must look beyond labor market policies and migrants and focus on how cities are planned and managed more broadly. Some actions must be directed towards the way *mayors* interact with their cities. As labor market outcomes for migrants in secondary cities do not seem to be worse than those of natives, supporting the integration of migrants into the socio-economic fiber of cities will require looking beyond labor markets and into the functioning of land and housing *markets*. Successful migrant integration into secondary cities will require good urban management that prepares for growth and benefits everyone, regardless of their origin. Finally, in some cases where divisions between natives and migrants are deep, a focus on *migrants* may be required.²³

RATHER THAN FEARING INFLOWS OF MIGRANTS, WHO ARE BECOMING A LESS IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTOR TO URBAN GROWTH IN MUCH OF AFRICA, CITY LEADERS CAN TAKE PROACTIVE ACTIONS THAT FACILITATE THEIR INTEGRATION INTO THE CITY AND IMPROVE THE OVERALL QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL URBAN DWELLERS.

²³ While these recommendations are drawn from analysis for secondary cities, they are also broadly relevant to larger cities. However, in larger cities, a deeper focus on labor market integration policies may be required as information asymmetries may run deeper and more upskilling may be required.



**SUPPORT MARKETS
THROUGH MORE
INFORMATION,
LESS RED TAPE FOR
BUSINESSES, AND
FORWARD PLANNING
TO PROVIDE
BETTER URBAN
INFRASTRUCTURE,
SERVICES, AND JOBS**

Lifting constraints and red tape in the business environment can help create much-needed new employment opportunities.

Especially where economic activity is limited and labor demand is weak, strengthening local economic development will be key to ensuring jobs are available for migrants and host communities alike. In secondary cities in lagging areas, an improved understanding of the local absolute advantages can help identify areas/sectors where government investments and efforts may lead to higher returns. Improvements in the business environment are also often an important step. The need for better functioning urban land markets is a recurring concern;

if insecure property rights or limiting regulations make it difficult to buy or rent land, it becomes much harder to attract new firms, while existing ones have difficulty expanding. This is especially true for larger manufacturing firms, which are an important generator of better-wage jobs. However, there are many other constraints to business development. Building partnerships with the private sector can help urban governments identify the most binding constraints in their locality and better plan and coordinate urban investment.









WITH LIMITED ACCESS TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING, THE ONLY OPTION MIGRANTS ARE OFTEN LEFT WITH IS TO MOVE TO INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS WITH INADEQUATE ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES AND WORK OPPORTUNITIES.

Addressing housing and land affordability and adequate mobility can significantly improve migrant success in integrating into a city's economy and society.

The analysis in this report and interviews with migrants have shown that access to housing and land is one of the main challenges faced by migrants as they move into cities. With limited access to affordable housing, the only option migrants are often left with is to move to informal settlements with inadequate access to basic services and work opportunities. This also emphasizes the importance of urban growth management policies concerning migrant integration into secondary

cities. Less complex spatial plans that note current conditions and trends can be used to adjust service delivery to meet current and future demands. A focus on improving property rights, land tenure, and other instruments to facilitate the workings of land markets can go a long way in improving the availability of serviced land for development, thus increasing housing supply.

Better information for forward planning and innovative ways to collect it can enhance the availability of serviced land, supporting the fluidity of land and housing markets.

Secondary cities must improve municipal governance, urban planning, and urban management practices to generate employment and support the socio-economic integration of migrants and non-migrants. For example, improved coordination of land use and infrastructure decisions can help those in the outskirts - who are currently left unconnected to networks and with limited job opportunities - integrate better into the city, regardless of their migrant status. Prioritizing services and investments requires a better understanding of key migration dynamics and how they shape the municipality's growth and development. In interviews, government officials repeatedly highlighted the lack of information they face and the limited set of long-term planning tools at their disposal. Innovative ways of collecting and updating demographic and spatial information can be used. Local governments can partner with communities and other local organizations, advocacy groups, and universities to fill their information gaps and save resources.



BUILD THE ABILITY OF MAYORS TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF URBAN DWELLERS THROUGH STRONGER FINANCES AND CAPACITIES, AS WELL AS BETTER CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT

Strengthening fiscal and technical capacities in secondary cities can provide them the needed instruments to generate employment and create cohesive communities.

Strengthening fiscal and implementation capacity will be needed to enable secondary cities to provide services and infrastructure to all their citizens. Better linking information, planning, and resources will be important. As a mobile and unregistered group, migrants are underrepresented in official statistics and thus not included in budgets, which complicates service delivery to migrants. Public-private partnerships could also be used to finance infrastructure and service provision, as in the education sector. These could be extended to other sectors, such as the development of roads, parks, housing, or solid waste management facilities. Overall, secondary cities must build effective local leadership and strengthen cooperation with other governmental and non-governmental agencies.



Strengthening overall citizen engagement can contribute to better migrant integration into city participation mechanisms, increase their voice in the city, and build cohesion with local communities.

There is ample evidence²⁴ that becoming actively involved in the host community can facilitate the integration of migrants, ensuring their voices and concerns are heard, helping them influence local policy, and facilitating exchanges with locals. Expanding and encouraging

civic community activities can be an important step toward easing and accelerating the integration of migrants into the city. Platforms for dialogue between migrants and city authorities would also make it easier to address misunderstandings about migrants' position in the labor market. City authorities often see migrants as the root cause of urban sprawl, unemployment, and insecurity, when in fact they mainly engage in the lower end of the labor market, taking casual jobs in construction, manual labor, and – for women – domestic services.

²⁴ Dixon, Bessaha, and Post (2018).





TARGET MIGRANTS WHEN DIVISIONS ARE STRONG, WITH ACTIONS THAT IMPROVE LIVING STANDARDS FOR ALL

In some cases, divisions between migrants and host communities may be strong. These divisions are reflected through discrimination at work and in the communities where migrants live, or through other barriers to accessing services and jobs. In such cases, targeted actions may provide an opportunity to improve living standards for all citizens.

In some cases, a focus on migrant needs through targeted interventions where they live and work may be needed to facilitate integration.

However, a focus on improving the city as a whole must be maintained. A focus on where migrants live and work can help identify bottlenecks to their successful integration. Some examples include upgrading interventions in specific neighborhoods or improving markets with a high presence of migrant laborers. However, policies and investments targeted at such places, while informed by migrants' needs, should be designed with a pan-urban approach in mind to ensure that no new barriers are introduced that create segregated spaces populated by migrants alone. Targeted interventions through communication and awareness campaigns may be needed when information asymmetries are present. These can ensure that both migrants and non-migrants are aware of their rights and responsibilities to build a cohesive community.

Better intermediation and support services can fight discrimination and allow cities to leverage the capabilities of migrants and maximize return on the human capital of youth.

To reduce discrimination against migrants and address sexual harassment issues, cities could strengthen access to and the quality of social protection systems, in coordination with the national level. Coordination with civil society organizations, especially those working on youth or women's themes, could help organize awareness campaigns on sexual harassment prevention in the workplace and on workers' rights, including raising awareness of employers' responsibilities. Municipalities can also partner with industrial and other business establishments. Cities may play an important role in implementing adaptive social services to improve the social and economic inclusion of migrants. Because local leaders are closer to citizens than the national government, they can be a key player in strengthening coordination to implement a Case

Management Information System with the involvement of different stakeholders (social workers, employment offices, labor inspection agencies, and NGOs, for instance).

National policies could complement local efforts.

In some cities, migrants expressed the desire for training that would allow them to upgrade their skills and eventually target better jobs in different cities, helping them to move forward with their migration journey. Migrants are often unable to take time off from work to enroll in such skill upgrading programs. Subsidizing these programs and providing migrants with a small remuneration to substitute the daily wages they would forgo to attend them can help. Furthermore, because newcomers often have limited social networks, day care support services can help women better integrate into the labor market. As with skill upgrading, facilities such as day care centers should support all residents regardless of their migration status, although migrant women may benefit more because their local networks may be weaker.

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