

Towards a Joint Work Programme on Migration and Cities

Discussion paper [Zero Draft]

Urban Migration – Shaping Socio-Economic Futures

A. STRATEGIC CONTEXT:

A.1 Migration and Urbanisation

1. Urbanisation and migration are important demographic phenomena affecting population growth, decline, and the geographic distribution of population worldwide. The two phenomena are closely interconnected. Cities are centres of economic, social and political transformation, and magnets for migrants which look at cities as opportunities to enhance their livelihoods.¹ Globally it is estimated that three million people move to cities every week.² As of 2015, ~244 million people (3.3 per cent of the global population) lived in a country not of their birth. This figure has more than doubled in the past 50 years as migration grew by 2.4 per cent annually between 2000 and 2015, outpacing overall population growth.³

2. Despite perceptions and narratives, migration is not a current European crisis but rather part of a long term global urbanisation phenomenon - rural-urban and urban-urban - that swept Europe and Latin America in the last century and is in full swing in Asia and Africa. The interplay between mobility of people and urban growth poses both challenges and opportunities which are yet to be fully comprehended, analysed and addressed. Moreover, as the connections between migration flows and cities become more apparent, the different forms of exclusion to which migrant men, women and children are subjected to in urban areas become also increasingly obvious. In this sense, people's experience, opportunities and challenges as both urbanites and migrants are heavily dictated by their gender, religion, social, economic and political status.

3. Urban populations grew by 38 per cent between 2000 and 2015, such that over 50 per cent of the world's population currently lives in cities. Although urbanisation is plateauing in developed countries, it remains a strong force in developing countries, to the extent that the world's cities are expected to comprise 70 per cent of global population by 2050. In Africa alone, an additional 187 million citizens will live in cities over the next decade, with a projected urban population growth of 63 per cent between 2015 and 2030. In sum, all the growth in the world's population over the next few decades are expected to take place in urban areas.

4. Urbanisation and economic growth are closely related. In Africa alone, the 30 largest cities on the continent are expected to contribute up to 40 per cent of its GDP growth until 2025.⁴ However, it may also be the case that urbanisation is not associated with job creation but be the result of important spatial inequalities and people moving to places where job might be. It is hence critical to organise cities in order to address migration in a way that is good for migrants and for cities.

5. Within the next 10 years, 600 cities, ~20 per cent of the world's cities, will account for ~65 per cent of global GDP growth. Contrary to conventional wisdom, most global growth will not come from the world's megacities - the ~30 cities with a population of more than ten million today; whereas these are expected to contribute around 15 per cent of global GDP in the period to 2025, it will be the fast-growing cities with populations of less than ten million, that will be the real drivers of global growth. Consequently, it is essential to manage urbanisation effectively and capture its benefits given the pivotal economic importance of cities and their disproportionate contribution to global economic growth.

6. Given that migrants overwhelmingly end up in cities, they not only contribute to a city's population growth but also to its economic growth. Migrants play a substantial role in economies and societies worldwide contributing roughly USD 6.7 trillion (9.4 per cent) to global GDP in 2015. They demonstrate positive economic contributions regardless of skill level, whether through innovation or entrepreneurship or by freeing up natives for higher-value work. Migrants, especially migrant women, have higher labour force participation rates (72.7 per cent) than non-migrants (63.9 per cent)⁵. Indeed, it is estimated that successful integration has the potential to contribute an additional USD 1 trillion in output worldwide, by raising productivity and reducing the wage gap. It is thus essential for cities to ensure complete integration from a sociocultural, economic, civic and gender perspective, encompassing both economic migrants as well as refugees, to achieve net positive economic and societal outcomes.⁶

1 UNDESA, UN International report highlights (2015)

2 UN-Habitat, State of the World's Cities Report 2008/9: Harmonious Cities. Nairobi (2009)

3 UNDESA, UN International report highlights (2015)

4 Only three cities of more than 10 million inhabitant in Africa: Lagos, Cairo and Kinshasa

5 ILO. ILO global estimates on migrant workers – Results and methodology (2015)

6 McKinsey Independent Assessment of the Organisational Performance and Health of the Cities Alliance (2017)

A2. Migration Patterns

7. Despite international migration being on the rise, the majority of migration is domestic. Although in some cases the nearest city is across a border, some 85 per cent of the approximately one billion migrants worldwide are internal migrants.⁷ Especially women and girls, who are more likely to migrate internally than men, most of them settling in urban areas as care and/or domestic workers⁸. International migrants are often not more vulnerable than domestic migrants. These less visible but transformative migration flows have been observed in different countries including Nigeria, China, Brazil and India, where the greatest internal movement of people in history is happening as part of the urbanisation process.⁹

8. The rationale decision-making push-pull theory of migration is well understood in its economic terms. There is important pressure to move, and that pressure is likely to grow in the coming years. The demographics of Africa and to a lesser extent Asia show a combination of a very young population and enormous spatial inequality. As the potential labour force grows and opportunities for work – however precarious – become increasingly concentrated in urban areas, this pressure will continue to grow.

9. Migration patterns are diverse and tend to be a multi-stage processes. In some instances, this is because people regularly (or irregularly) oscillate into and out of cities or within them. In other, people may make a migration in stages with or without a final destination in mind. As such, migration coming into the city may not be the end of mobility, but simply a stage. The initial flow from rural areas to secondary cities is often circulatory and temporary in its first stages.¹⁰ In fact, in many contexts, households still rely on the rural economy and benefit from closer access to social services. At the same time, to varying degrees, secondary cities are unable to provide sufficient work and the densities are too low to generate real economies. This situation may result in a further movement from secondary cities to regional capitals or to the primary city where perceived greater economic opportunities are to be found. In turn, the lack of diverse opportunities for some may lead to a further transnational movement to even larger cities.

10. Migration routes (rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban, urban-international) are also highly dependent on connections and support networks having been previously established to facilitate the flow of people. When these structures are not available, women, who make up the bulk of the world’s illiterate and unskilled, may face serious challenges in accessing reliable information on legal and safe migration.

11. Less clear are the migration flows as well as their gendered outcomes induced by catastrophe either by wars or environmental shock and degradation. Spatialised data on migration is generally poor. While we may be improving data on international migration, there are only a few migration systems that help us to really understand how people move. It is estimated that over ten million refugees and at least twice as many internally displaced persons (IDPs) live in urban areas¹¹. Such migration patterns are different as often the entire region is engulfed forcing most to migrate even those who would remain settled. The normal decision-making process is disrupted, with people being forced to skip more incremental decisions into the dramatic move across boundaries. Strict border control policies can lead to urban “transit hubs” where refugees become stranded on their way to intended destinations.

12. Within the migration discourse there is consensus on four issues. Firstly, that migration is a symptom of the push factors of underdevelopment. Secondly, migration can adversely affect the sending region through the “brain drain” and the depletion of the national labour force due to movements at all skill-levels. Thirdly, international migration potentially has important benefits for home country development through remittance transfers to poverty reduction at the individual level. Fourthly, arrival cities are where the opportunities of migration can be seized if well managed processes for social cohesion and integration are in place.

A3. Some of the Critical Issues

13. **Departing Cities.** In the developing world, secondary cities are the first point of arrival, but too frequently also the first point of city departure. The expected benefits and returns in terms of salaries and employment opportunities are in stark contrast with the reality of these contexts. Most secondary cities are poorly connected by roads and telecommunications; supply chains and logistic systems are weak and inefficient - as are local land, labour and capital markets. Local governments are generally under-resourced, often lacking the capital and expertise to deliver adequate services. The weak governance, poor human capital and lack of services are major constraints to job creation and sustainable development especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. A recent study by the Cities Alliance into the city economy of 21 African secondary cities clearly demonstrated the lack of economic

7 UNDP, Human Development Report (2009).

8 Kanthoul L., Women on the Move: a look at Migration, Women and Cities, The UN Migration Agency (2015). Available at <http://weblog.iom.int/women-move-look-migration-women-and-cities>

9 UNDP, Cross-National Comparison of Internal Migration (2009)

10 See F. Proctor (2017)

11 UNHCR website (2017)

opportunities available with some 90 per cent of youth only finding work in the informal economy.¹² Globally, women are more likely to be unemployed than men with the highest gender unemployment gaps found in Northern Africa and the Arab States where female youth unemployment rate is almost double that of young men.¹³ Currently the economic potential of secondary cities is being wasted resulting in rural impoverishment and further onwards migration as people move to larger cities in search of greater opportunity.

14. While migration has many advantages for the host city it has many negative impacts on the “sending city” including promoting a “brain drain” that further undermines development prospects. Some countries are experiencing population decline due to emigration, for example, Latvia’s population declined by 14 per cent last year due to people choosing to live and work elsewhere.¹⁴ The global migration of over 75,000¹⁵ doctors to the UK and 5,000 doctors from sub-Saharan Africa to the USA has had a significantly negative effect on the doctor-to-population ratio of sending regions.¹⁶ Skilled migration is all gain for the new host but the emigration of highly skilled workers (“brain drain”) can also undermine development efforts of cities particularly in crucial sectors such as health and education. For decades, cities in the USA and Europe have benefitted from the migration of professionals, constituting a major cost to the sending country both in terms of the brain drain and the human resource investment. This amounts to a massive wealth transfer from poor to rich countries. It has also been shown that there is a gendered aspect to the brain drain. Even considering the fact that women still face unequal access to tertiary education in many less developed countries, women are over-represented in the brain drain. Moreover, emigration of highly skilled women is higher, the poorer is their country of origin.¹⁷

15. More recently it has become apparent that remittances provide the possibility to mitigate against these negative consequences. Remittances are a hidden force in international development and a vital economic lifeline provided by the vast majority of the 250 million international migrants worldwide who send money to struggling families and communities back home. Research suggests that women tend to send a higher proportion of their income, more regularly and for longer periods of time even though they generally earn less than men¹⁸. Another seldom mentioned aspect is that women represent between 63 to 70 per cent of remittance recipients – which may play a crucial role on transforming gendered relations in recipient households.¹⁹ The World Bank estimates that, in 2016, 511€bn was sent in remittances, 375€bn of which was received in the developing world. This is three times the amount sent in international aid. Even though there are a number of barriers to the impact of remittances including high transaction costs (averaging 8 per cent globally) and low level of understanding by senders and receivers as to how the money can best be invested and used,²⁰ these remittances improve standards of living in countless ways and help to make vulnerable communities more resilient to shocks, like economic downturns and natural and man-induced disasters.

16. Sending Cities can benefit in several different ways. First, through the remittances received from their citizens abroad; second from the creation of knowledge-and-know-how transfer circuits through which, for instance, new technology can be acquired; and from the eventual return of the highly skilled migrants themselves as potential industry leaders and investors. The important pre-condition for these development gains is the setting up of effective policies and an enabling environment covering all aspects of the migration cycle. Diasporas accumulate human and financial capital during the process of migration that can contribute to the development of their local home communities as well as to national economic and social development.

17. **Arrival cities.** Ultimately migrants end up in cities. Their experience in the arrival city depends largely on who the migrants are, how they arrived and the capacity of the city in managing the inflow. There is no single-story line and uneven demographic changes are a key factor. While in Africa there is a youth bulge with some countries having a birth-rate in excess of 6 children per woman (Niger, Somalia, Mali, Chad, Angola, DR Congo), in developed countries, 17 per cent of large cities are likely to experience population decline by 2025. In addition, in developed countries, the age structure of these urban populations is changing: people over 60 years of age comprise the fastest-growing segment, with growth of ~3.7 per cent per year. In 2016, in thirteen EU countries,

¹² Cities Alliance, Future Cities Africa, Feasibility Study (2016)

¹³ IOL, Women at Work Trends Report (2016)

¹⁴ OECD 2016, OECD Reviews of Labour Market and Social Policies: Latvia (2016)

¹⁵ Garcia-Perez A. Physician’s migration in Europe: an overview of the current situation (2007) available in: <https://bmchealthservres.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/1472-6963-7-201>

¹⁶ Hagopian et al. The migration of physicians from sub-Saharan Africa to the United States of America” measures of the African brain drain (2004) available in: www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC544595/

¹⁷ Dumont J-C., Women on the move: The neglected gender dimension of the Brain Drain, OECD (2007)

¹⁸ IOM, Gender, Migration and Remittances (2010) Available at: <https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/about-iom/Gender-migration-remittances-infosheet.pdf>

¹⁹ Global Migration Group, Impact of remittances on gender roles and opportunities for children in recipient countries (2011). Available at: http://www.globalmigrationgroup.org/system/files/uploads/UNCT_Corner/theme5/remittances/impact_of_remittances_on_gender_roles_and_opportunities_for_children_in_recipient_countries.pdf

²⁰ IOM, Financial remittances – a tool for development? (2014)

more people died than were born, and it is in virtue of migration (including refugees) intake that the population has not fall as in the case of Germany, Finland and Poland. It is estimated, that without migration, Germany would face population decline of 18 per cent and Italy 16 per cent by 2050 with major consequences to social security and the economy.²¹

18. Geographically large countries such as Canada, Australia and the USA have always required migrants to populate cities and build up densities in support of the economy. Where transnational/continental migrants arrive in a city with skilled and other labour shortages in the context of economic growth positive synergies exist at city level. In many Asian countries (Bangladesh, Pakistan) the contract labor migration of unskilled men to the Arab Gulf states and to the emerging economies of Asia has been especially prominent. These are formal contracts in which workers are authorized by receiving countries to work for legally specified periods. These migrants typically work within tight legal frameworks linking residence to work and have few citizenship rights in the host countries.

19. The real issue for cities emerges with the inflow of unskilled migrant workers looking to fill gaps in the labour market in low income and/or stagnant economies. In this context, migrants tend to move into the cheapest existing built environments where previous migrants have already established a bridgehead. In positive cases, over time as jobs are found, housing is incrementally improved and the more successful move out to new areas creating space for new arrivals. However, in the majority of cases, migrants place additional pressure on the infrastructure and environment and add to existing competition in employment, housing and other markets.

20. Recent studies indicate that migrants are disproportionately represented among the urban poor in the informal settlements.²² For example, in Accra, Ghana, 92 per cent of migrant households live in one slum, Old Fadama, without access to basic municipal and environmental health services.²³ Despite the hardships of living in settlements such as Kibera in Nairobi, migrants are attracted to the economies created through density that enable opportunities in the informal economy. Typically, such settlements are built on the most environmentally sensitive land including river banks, estuaries, mangroves, beach fronts and hill sides so when disasters strike, they are among the worst affected.

21. Moreover, many migrants take up residence with family and friends, resulting in overcrowding with negative consequences for the health and welfare of all concerned. Social networks are located in cities and newly arriving migrants can make use of these for survival and economic opportunities but these networks can also be either unsafe or excluding in what regards women's right and access to opportunities in cities, depending on cultural differences and gender roles that women are expected to play. The well documented downward spiral of Yeoville in Johannesburg; South Africa is indicative of this trend.

B. RATIONALE FOR ENGAGEMENT

22. Migration was included as an emerging topic in the Cities Alliance Medium Term Strategy 2014-2017 and the organisation is now prioritising migration as one of four thematic focus areas for its 2018-2021 Strategic Plan. This attention to migration is predicated on a positive view that links human mobility to development and cities and to the need articulated by Cities Alliance members to better understand the nature and impact of migration on cities. The four themes of the Cities Alliance Strategic Plan - Migration, Gender, Economic Growth and Resilience – are also highly interconnected and each contribute to a more engaging view of the mutually constitutive factors affecting cities today.

23. **Building on Past Success.** The issue of migration is strongly interlinked to areas where Cities Alliance has strong expertise and recognised record of accomplishment. Over the last two decades the Cities Alliance has engaged with local economic development, municipal finance, vocational training and, at the national level, fiscal systems and policies; it has investigated the interconnectivity between rural and urban geographies and between systems of cities; it has supported cities in their planning and policy making with an emphasis on inclusive processes; it has supported urban communities advocating for their rights, supporting their organisation and mediating conflicts. Cities Alliance can also leverage the on-the-ground experience and results from the 2015 Catalytic Fund call on 'Migration and the Inclusive City' which invested in 11 innovative city level projects to foster spatial, social and economic inclusion by extending to migrants the rights to the city: access to land, services, opportunity, as well as to an urban citizenship.

21 Eurostat, Population and population change statistics (2017)

22 Hoang et al. Urban Poverty in Vietnam: A view from Complementary Assessments, International Institute for Environment and Development Working paper available in: pubs.iied.org/pdfs/10633IIED.pdf

23 Anthony Mackson Tsogbe, The effect of savings on the wellbeing of migrants in Old-Fadama, Accra, University of Ghana available in: <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh>

24. ***A Joint Work Programme as the initial vehicle.*** To begin operationalising its work on the subject, the Cities Alliance will convene a Joint Work Programme (JWP) on Migration and Cities. Joint Work Programmes are Cities Alliance Members’ working groups for carrying out analytic and strategic activities designed to tackle major global policy challenges affecting cities and sustainable development. JWPs are multi-year activities and are directly facilitated by the Cities Alliance Secretariat. The JWPs act as a coordination and harmonisation platform among diverse institutions, a knowledge hub to share information and sector experiences, a think tank able to support diagnostics, evidence-based policy recommendations, and a means to collectively advocate common messages.

25. The JWP on Migration and Cities is expected to inspire new and reinvigorated global thinking on the role and potential of cities in managing and seizing the opportunities and contributions arising from migration, and how that will interact with, and impact, urban programming over the long-term. The JWP will play a harmonising role amongst members, focused on city responses to migration. It will also seek to strengthen the link between development and humanitarian interventions on migration.

26. ***The International Agreements Context.*** The creation of the new JWP on Migration and Cities comes also at a critical juncture, as the topic is preeminent in global policy-making. In this context, the JWP activities should complement members’ ongoing work on the definition and implementation of the relevant international agreements.

27. Urbanisation and migration prominently figure in the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, including goal 11 on sustainable cities. At least 10 of the 169 targets include references to challenges pertaining to international migration, migrants and mobility. Target 10.7 calls specifically on countries to “facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, including through the implementation of planned and well-managed migration policies”. Target 10.2 of the 2030 Agenda highlights attributes that have considerable influence on the risk of exclusion when it emphasizes that all should be included “irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status”. As such, social inclusion is presented as the process of improving the terms of participation in society for people who are disadvantaged on the basis of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, and economic and migration status.

28. In July 2015, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA) included different means to implement migration-linked sustainable development goals and targets. It calls on Member States to make sure that migration is governed with respect for human rights, fighting xenophobia and facilitating migrant integration through education and social communication strategies. The Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) includes 2 chapters - IX and X - focusing respectively on internal and international migration. They address the challenges and opportunities of human mobility and promote the role of the governments to formulate policies based on respect for human rights.

29. In September 2016, the New York declaration on Refugees and Migrants was adopted by the General Assembly. The Member States committed themselves to develop a global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration to be presented for adoption at an intergovernmental conference on international migration in 2018. It is expected to provide a single framework on common principles and commitments amongst Member States on all aspects of international migration: humanitarian, development and human right related dimensions. One month later, the New Urban Agenda was adopted at the Habitat III conference. It recognizes urbanization as one of the century’s most transformative trends, creating sustainability challenges on housing, infrastructure, basic services, health, education, decent jobs, safety and natural resources. Emphasizing the interlinkages between migration and urbanization, the Commission on Population and Development decided that the thematic focus of its fifty-first session to be held in New York in April 2018 will be on “Sustainable cities, human mobility and international Migration”.²⁴

C. PROGRAMME FUNDAMENTALS: APPROACH AND THEMATIC LENSES

30. ***A Phased Approach.*** Recognising the strategic importance of cities in migration, it is proposed that the JWP in its first phase will articulate its activities along three thematic areas. Given that mainstreaming gender is a central pillar of the Cities Alliance development approach, these three thematic areas will have a strong Gender lens.

31. As there is scattered evidence and poorly understood aspects of the interface between cities and migration, it is recommended that the first phase of the JWP will focus primarily on normative, analytical and advocacy type of commitment.

²⁴ United Nations expert group meeting on sustainable cities, human mobility and international migration, Concept Note, 7-8 September (2017)

Thematic Lens 1. Integration and Social Inclusion

32. While migration is generally addressed through national policies, the lived reality of integration is local and largely managed at the city level. Migration to cities brings both challenges and opportunities, where migrant aspirations for social and economic mobility can either be realised or destroyed through existing forms of exclusion and deprivation. The difference depends on a city’s policy response to migration and its ability to plan and develop practical solutions that consider how migration transforms, expands and diversifies the city and its inhabitants. These solutions and policy approaches often need to be found in very difficult circumstances.

33. The majority of cities do not consciously plan for and understand what it means to integrate men and women, girls and boys and communities from different cultural, economic, political and religious backgrounds. Outdated policy frameworks and weak local administrations frequently result in tensions between new migrants and the existing, settled population over access to services, social and economic opportunities, and cultural differences. This tension can be acute for both cross-border and national migrants.²⁵ The growth of anti-migrant political parties and their traction within parts of society raises the question as to how best to deal with integration. Ignoring this global development, on the other hand, can cause social tensions and worsen poverty and inequalities. Better data access, particularly at the local authority level could inform policy makers on migration movements, reasons for migration, vulnerabilities of migrants and the needs that derives from these. Simultaneously, better data availability could also inform migrants on the local context they are entering.

34. Urban migration governance requires, however, a multi-stakeholder approach and governance structure so that diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action taken. It includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the resources of residents including migrants. Partnerships with other cities and local governments, national government, civil society, migrant associations and the cities’ own diasporas are necessary to reap the benefits of the human resources of each city. Newcomers may integrate into existing migrant communities. However, to promote social inclusion it is necessary to go beyond immediate networks to build broader partnerships with other sectors. Encouraging platforms of dialogues through for example partnerships between home-based worker organisations and non-domestic workers can be a successful way to challenge existing biases and promote a mindset of tolerance.

35. Public spaces can play a key role in promoting migrant’s integration. However, migrants are often excluded or chose not to participate in planning processes. Managing better the use of public space through community visioning exercise or public-private partnerships may allow to better plan public spaces. This would avoid the marginalisation of migrants in term of access to public spaces and services and foster social cohesion.

36. Globally the often-vexed issue of social cohesion is being tackled by different cities and local communities in varied and creative ways. The city of Durban, South Africa for example is using storytelling and community theatre to engage communities, local government and migrants in a dialogue on inclusion in that city. In Jamaica initiatives target the integration of involuntarily returned migrants into local economic development programmes. In Bangladesh, programmes run by NGOs aim to improve access of migrant domestic workers to economic opportunities and social protection through the establishment of social enterprises. While in Bologna, Italy an initiative aims to change the narrative on migrants through an extensive communications campaign and by bringing together different stakeholders from civil society, local authorities and private sector to engage migrants and locals in welcoming initiatives.²⁶

Thematic Lens 2. The Push Factors: The Role of Secondary Cities

37. As mentioned above, in the current demographic transformations, the fact that most population growth is taking place in secondary cities - where backlogs and needs are greatest, and resources are weakest - is a vital developmental fact that has been poorly understood by national governments and development partners alike. Secondary cities have outdated and over-stretched infrastructure, unreliable transfers from the national fiscus, weak institutional capacity, incomplete and outdated data, restricted authority to generate revenue and wholly inadequate administrative capacity. The result of these constraints is evident in most developing countries where the bulk of urban growth is often informal, unplanned and incremental. It is not surprising that migrants arriving in these cities either do not settle or contribute to the problem of urban degradation and inefficient and costly city growth. In this spirit, it is possible to imagine a different trajectory. Secondary cities if capacitated, have significant potential to transform and drive rural and regional development and to have women and men, boys and girls

²⁵ In South Africa perceived “stealing of jobs” by foreign migrants has led to violent xenophobic responses. In Accra the constant harassment and demolition of Old Fadama can be traced to a fear of Islam and people from the north dominating the informal economy.

²⁶ Examples of Cities Alliance Catalytic Fund initiatives

benefit from it.²⁷ This raises the question of the scale of the potential impact on global human mobility if the governance and economies of secondary cities were to be transformed enabling the attraction of investment and the generation of decent gender-responsive employment opportunities.

38. Secondary cities have the potential to provide the logistics, services and supply chain hubs to support national economic growth. They should capitalise on their comparative advantage as these cities can be an attractive option for migrants, offering better value amenities which can offset the loss of cultural and social facilities afforded by larger agglomerations. They can provide the interface between rural areas and metropolitan areas, making them key elements in the national system of cities. This is particularly true in Africa, which still has a very significant rural population base. How to transform the governance, functions, land markets and labour structure of secondary cities and towns in Africa to better manage urbanisation, create decent gender-responsive employment, attract investment, secure greater access to public finance, provide adequate housing, education, infrastructure, and community services poses significant challenges for the different levels of governments across the region – and indeed, for the international community²⁸.

39. Economic growth, however, can only be sustainable if cities invest in their communities, including migrants. Well-run cities are in position to help manage human mobility, if they have the authority to develop and implement policy frameworks for the inclusion of migrants. As service providers, they have direct access to migrants and can assess their needs. This is the locus that can substantially contribute to the 20 million new jobs that will be needed each year, in both cities and their rural hinterlands.

Thematic Lens 3. Better Linking Departing and Arrival Cities

40. Amongst migrants three broad trends can be identified. Firstly, migrants tend to form country and home town associations.²⁹ Hometown Associations (HTA), are organizations that allow immigrants from the same city or region to maintain ties with and materially support their places of origin. Due to the voluntary nature of groups and the working-class profiles of their members, the amount of time devoted to HTA activities is often limited and thus they tend to be organisationally weak. For any HTA, the primary activity is fundraising for ongoing programming or special needs, such as a natural disaster in the home country. Most HTA projects are focused on the promotion of jobs, health or educational activities. HTA fundraising activities can include cookouts, cultural events and concerts, raffles, and sports tournaments. Groups are often able to secure corporate sponsorship for their activities, including sponsorship by immigrant businesses. Both nongovernmental (NGOs) and international organizations have already formed innovative partnerships with HTAs to fund economic development projects in places like Somalia, Ghana, and Burundi.

41. Secondly, as discussed, migrants tend to remit money back to families left behind. For example, according to the World Bank remittances to Liberia in 2011 were estimated at 300.08€m, the equivalent of 31 per cent of its GDP and more than half the amount it received in aid that year. Given the low levels of household livelihood security, the money tends to be spent on immediate, basic needs – food for the family, children's school fees – rather than invested or saved. Relying on monthly remittances is risky as it is likely that remittances will decline over time as new generations are born in the host country with weakened links to the mother land. The question emerges if there are better ways to structure remittances such that they help build household livelihoods as well as empowering the recipient individuals and households.

42. In converse to the long-term decline in household remittances, the third trend is that the children of migrants will increasingly gain access to new ideas, skills and technologies. This is precisely the opposite of the brain drain that is left behind and a key motivator for migration in the first place. Again, the question emerges if it were possible to link and transfer these new economy skills sets back to the motherland in such a way that developing countries gain access to the innovation they need to actively participate in the changing global economy.

²⁷ WBGU, *Humanity on the move: Unlocking the transformative power of cities*, Berlin: WBGU: German Advisory Council on Global Change (2016)

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Orozco M. et al., *Migrant Hometown Associations and Opportunities for Development: A Global Perspective*, Migration Policy Institute (2007)