

ZOLBERG INSTITUTE WORKING PAPER SERIES

<https://zolberginstitute.org/working-papers>

Published online: 15 May, 2024

CITIES

The Project is Dead – Long Live the Project:

Towards Sustainable Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships for Urban Migration Governance in African Intermediary Cities

Janina Stürner-Siovitx

Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Institute of Political Science, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg

Achilles Kallergis

Assistant Professor, The New School for Social Research

Director of Cities and Migration Project, Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility

ABSTRACT

Migration and displacement are transforming Africa's urban landscape. Policy-makers and researchers have for a long time focused their attention on the effects of migration in capital cities. However, intermediary cities are increasingly responsible for Africa's urban growth as they rapidly become hubs of migration and displacement. Local governments struggle with these realities as they often lack the legal mandate, resources, and capacities to address diverse human mobility flows. The paper discusses recent partnerships between African intermediary cities and civil society actors, national governments, research institutions, and international organizations that aim to address the challenges and harness the opportunities associated with human mobility. We investigate the role of partnerships that bring together different skills, resources, networks, and funding in developing urban migration governance processes that reflect the needs of intermediary cities. However, we note that cooperation remains mostly ad-hoc and project-based. Drawing on research conducted by the Equal Partnerships project, the paper explores ways through which African intermediary cities can move from ad-hoc cooperation toward sustainable multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance. We outline three areas where local, national, and international actors should focus partnership actions: (1) improving local data on migration and displacement, (2) expanding local access to international funding, and (3) including city

perspectives in intergovernmental policy dialogues. The paper concludes with policy recommendations for each of these areas.

Introduction

In the past decade, city networks and multi-stakeholder partnerships have emerged as new avenues for cities to engage in migration policy. Recent initiatives by cities and their (transnational) network partners present an effort to provide pragmatic responses to polarized political debates and national immigration policy impasses. The opportunity for cities to amplify their voices and engage in a policy area so far reserved for nation-states has been recognized as a welcome and necessary shift in the field of migration (Thouez, 2020, 2022). Cities continue to be the loci of human mobility, directly experiencing the pressures and harnessing the opportunities that come with migration. Historically the most prominent voices of these migration networks originated from cities in the global North. However, in recent years, African mayors have brought new perspectives and dynamism to these networks, highlighting the specific challenges and opportunities related to migration to and from African cities.

This shift in focus is important: it signals a step away from the hyperbolic depictions of migration resulting in an imminent exodus driven by poverty, unrest, and climate change from Africa to Europe and the Global North. Through their engagement, African mayors underline how migration is driven by complex and intertwined motivations encompassing socioeconomic, political, conflict, and environmental factors (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016; Borderon et al., 2019). Mayors also recognize the constituent element of migration for the transformation of Africa from a rural to an increasingly plural urban society (De Haas, 2008). Indeed, one of the salient characteristics of Africa's urban transformation has to do with migration and displacement, movements that in many cases remain unregulated by immigration law and urban policy frameworks (Lucas, 2021; Landau and Kihato, 2018). While these shifts have been documented in mobility studies focusing on the region, migration scholarship has so far concentrated on high-profile African urban gateways that represent historical destinations for migrants. Attention to these larger urban areas reflects the historically dominant but waning role of Africa's primary cities, which in previous decades constituted the major destination areas for people on the move. But intermediary cities – what Amman and Sanogo (2017) call “the unspectacular middle ground between metropolises and small towns” – increasingly constitute central spaces for mixed voluntary and involuntary movements.¹

This Working Paper explores the growing importance of African intermediary cities in migration processes. It discusses intermediary cities' roles in reconfiguring the regions' migration map and analyzes the engagement of city governments in local and transnational multi-stakeholder partnerships. The insufficient consideration of intermediary cities in national policy planning, international aid, and donor objectives has created a void that

¹ Building on research conducted by the Cities Alliance (Cities Alliance, 2014, 2019; Roberts, 2019) and the Equal Partnerships project (Stürner-Siovit and Morthorst, 2023), we move beyond a definition of secondary/intermediary cities based only on city population. Instead, we combine demographic aspects with a city's connectivity and status: the cities we focus our research on have a population ranging from 30,000 – 1 million inhabitants according to the Africapolis dataset (<https://africapolis.org/en>). They are intermediary in the sense that they link capital cities with smaller towns and rural areas through flows of goods, ideas, funds and people. At the same time, these cities are secondary regarding economic status, municipal capacities and resources, as national development strategies for urban planning have traditionally prioritized capital cities (Stürner-Siovit, 2022a).

Table of contents

Introduction	2
<hr/>	
Section I: The Growing Role of African Intermediary Cities for Human Mobility	4
<hr/>	
Section II: Architecture and Objectives of Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships	7
THE EQUAL PARTNERSHIPS PROJECT	7
BUILDING CAPACITY TO IMPROVE LOCAL MIGRATION DATA	9
ACQUIRING FUNDING FOR LOCALLY-LED ACTION	12
BRINGING CITY PERSPECTIVES INTO REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY DIALOGUES	15
<hr/>	
Section III: Who Shapes Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships?	18
<hr/>	
Conclusion	19
<hr/>	
References	20

has left local authorities struggling with limited capacities, resources, and mandates to address migration and displacement. As intermediary cities' importance as places of origin, transit, destination, and return continues to grow, local governments highlight their role in migration and displacement governance. They have, thus, started calling upon national and international actors to partner with local authorities to develop context-aware inclusive approaches to migration that offer broad benefits for migrants, refugees, and host communities alike.

The paper draws from the findings of the Equal Partnerships (EP) research project, which involved inputs from representatives from Gulu, Uganda; Kumasi, Ghana; Oujda, Morocco; Saint-Louis, Senegal; Sfax, Tunisia; and Sousse, Tunisia. It reviews a series of recent multi-stakeholder partnerships with intermediary African cities to distill elements that align with the priorities set by local governments in intermediary cities. Our analysis finds that these nascent forms of partnership and the initial inclusion of intermediary cities offer a promising platform for stakeholders that have been absent in transnational migration fora. However, the impact of these partnerships depends on sustained forms of engagement, the development of new avenues for substantial collaboration, and the recognition of intermediary African cities as the central partners in the implementation of migration governance. In turn, this requires greater integration of multi-stakeholder initiatives within city structures and stronger alignment with existing policy frameworks. In particular, actions in three key priority areas set by the EP participating intermediary cities can lead to greater integration of migration and displacement in existing city policy agendas: (1) the improvement of local data on migration and displacement, (2) the expansion of local access to more direct sources of international funding, and (3) the inclusion of intermediary cities' perspectives in intergovernmental policy dialogues. We conclude that multi-stakeholder partnerships for migration governance have great potential for highlighting the distinct migration challenges of African intermediary cities. This requires the recognition of the importance of intermediary cities for migration governance at the national level, and the sustained support from development and humanitarian actors focusing on cross-sectoral actions.

This Working Paper is organized as follows: Section 1 provides a brief outlook at the changing position of intermediary cities in regional and international migration. Section 2 discusses the findings from the Equal Partnerships project and presents the programmatic elements of recent multi-stakeholder partnerships. Section 3 engages in a critical discussion on the importance of city ownership of multi-stakeholder partnerships. Section 4 concludes with leads for impact-oriented research to further strengthen cooperative urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.

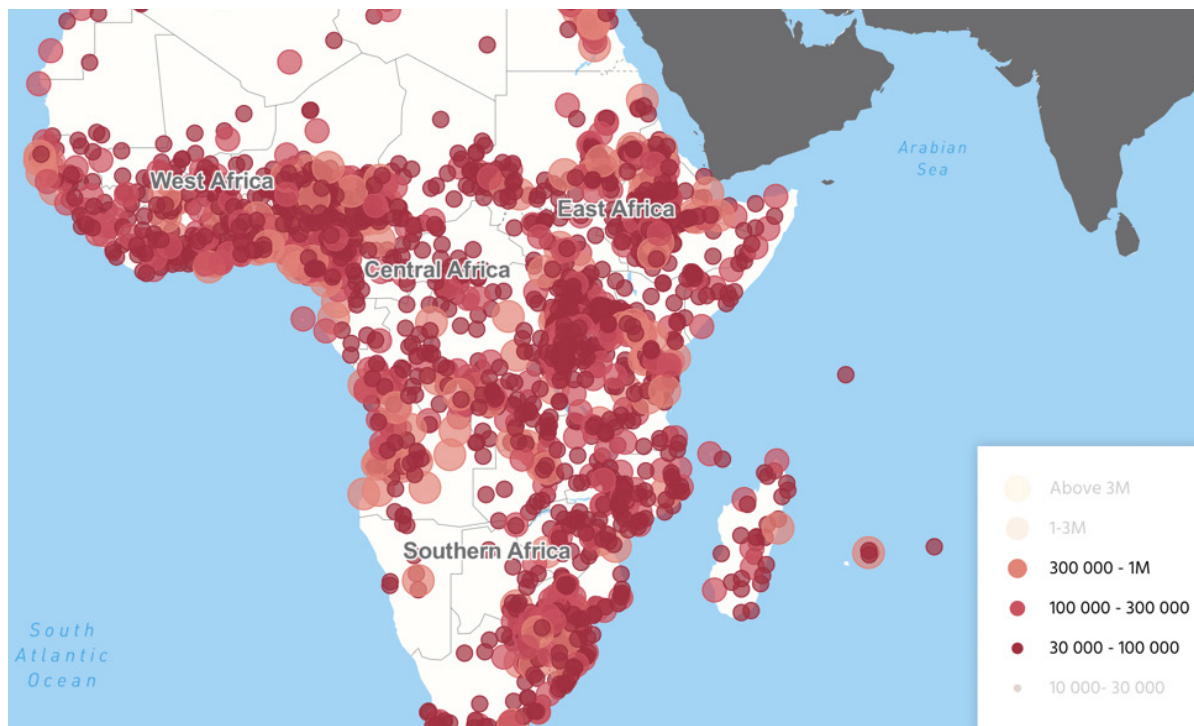
Section I: The Growing Role of African Intermediary Cities for Human Mobility

Africa is a region characterized by significant and diverse human mobility flows, mainly through internal and intraregional migration. Historically, migration and displacement in the continent have been shaped by the disruptive effects of the transatlantic slave trade, colonization, the subsequent artificial borders that resulted in extensive ethnic fragmentation, postcolonial state formation, as well as the expansion of employment opportunities in previously segregated urban areas (Alesina et al., 2006; Fox, 2012; Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). More recently, international migration from African countries to Europe, Asia, and the Americas has been rising. However, data suggests that approximately 80% of international migration in the region occurs between African

Union (AU) member states (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019a). Such intraregional mobility is particularly high within sub-regions of the continent and has contributed significantly to intermediary and border cities' growth (OECD/SWAC 2019).

In parallel to cross-border migration, internal migration in the form of rural-to-urban and increasingly urban-to-urban movements remains an important component of Africa's urbanization. Intermediate cities represent a crucial and underemphasized dimension of urbanization in the region with internal and cross-border migration contributing significantly to intermediate-sized city growth (Lerch, 2020; Lucas, 2021). Almost half of Africa's urban population in 2020 was concentrated at the bottom of the urban hierarchy, with cities of 30,000 to 1 million inhabitants being home to 45% of the total urban population. Compared to larger urban agglomerations, these smaller urban areas have also experienced some of the fastest rates of urban growth (Roberts, 2019). In the period 2000 – 2020, intermediary cities in sub-Saharan Africa doubled their population and increased their urban territory by a factor of 2.5 (Angel et al., 2021). Projections estimate that between 2018 and 2030, Africa's intermediary cities are expected to grow by 40% in population – in great contrast to the meager 2% population growth that European intermediary cities will experience during the same period (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019b). In particular, African cities with 300-500 thousand inhabitants are expected to witness the fastest growth among different city sizes, and some subregions, such as in East Africa, are expected to absorb the majority of the overall urban growth (Roberts and Anyumba, 2022).

Figure 1: Intermediate Cities in Africa, 2020

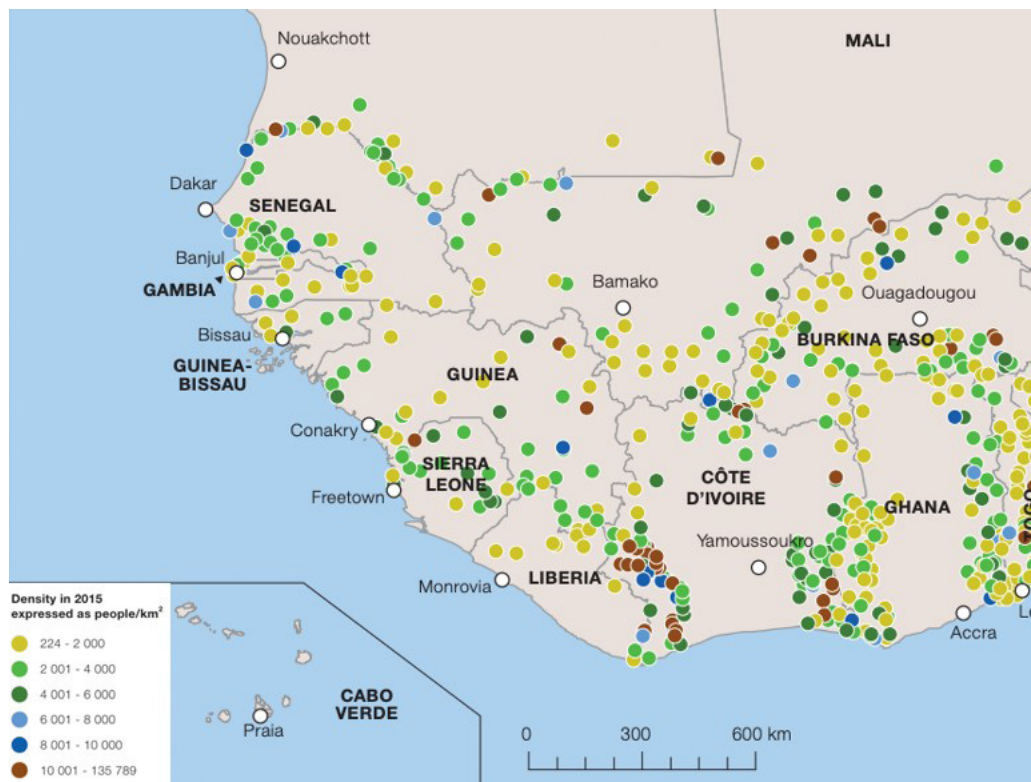


Source: OECD/SWAC, 2020.

The data and future growth projections showcase the rising importance of intermediary cities in migration systems. Migration contributes to approximately a third of the overall urban growth in Africa, and natural

population increase occurring in cities is currently driving urban growth rates in the region (Jedwab et al., 2014; Fox, 2017; Potts, 2012). But intermediary cities, particularly in poorer, less urbanized countries of the region, have also been growing through significant migration (Lerch, 2020). Particularly for cities situated along international migration routes, international migration is expected to become increasingly frequent, contributing further to urban growth (Lerch, 2020). While systemic evidence and data on migration across urban areas of the region are disparate and lacking, a recent analysis by the OECD for West Africa (OECD/SWAC, 2019) has shown that since 1950, intermediate border cities (defined based on a maximum distance of 10 kilometers from national borders) have experienced higher rates of growth than other cities in the region. The study suggests that the reason for rapid growth in these cities relates to economic activities and commercial links that develop in border areas. These results confirm that many smaller transit towns transform into larger agglomerations and often become final destinations for international migrants either by choice, due to favorable and more affordable living conditions in comparison to larger cities, or by constraints related to the inability to continue the migration journey (Stürner-Siovitz and Morthorst, 2024). The higher densities witnessed in many border cities are indicative of both economic activity but also the inability of people to continue their migration journeys due to lack of financial resources (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Density of Border Cities



Source: OECD/SWAC, 2019.

The above trends raise two particular concerns about the ability of intermediary cities to provide better conditions for migrants. On the one hand, cities that lack resources, where poverty and informality remain prevalent, have very limited capacity to manage migration processes by offering relief, shelter, and decent living conditions and opportunities for incoming migrants. Cities that perceive themselves mainly as transit areas may

furthermore have limited motivations to offer specific support to migrants given the extent of urban poverty they already witness. On the other hand, the poor living conditions and the absence of opportunities in those cities can dissuade migrants who have enough resources and skills to choose between different destinations and pursue their migration journeys. This in turn reduces the ability of cities to harness the socioeconomic and cultural advantages associated with migration.

In conclusion, intermediary African cities already are and will continue to constitute areas of in-migration and transit. They face important challenges in working towards inclusive outcomes for migrants and their host communities. Urbanization in the region has been associated with the trend of urbanizing poverty (Ravallion et al., 2007). More than half of the urban population in sub-Saharan Africa resides in informal settlements lacking access to services and adequate housing, often located in areas bearing high environmental risks. Evidence indicates that, in some cases, populations living in slums are growing at a faster pace than the average growth of the urban population (Marx et al., 2013). For many migrants, informal settlements constitute the areas of first arrival. Responses to diverse mobility flows will depend to a large extent on the local authorities' recognition of these realities as well as on local capacities to accommodate migration and overall urban growth (McGranahan et al., 2009).

In a context of scarce resources, the recent effort of intermediary city local governments to seize cooperation through multi-stakeholder partnerships reveals a pragmatic effort to develop expertise, aggregate knowledge, improve human capital, and reach for new sources of funding. The following section discusses the findings of the Equal Partnerships Project. We also review recent multi-stakeholder partnerships including the Mediterranean City to City Migration Project (MC2CM), the Mixed Migration Centre's (MMC4Mi) Cities project, the Mayor's Migration Council's (MMC) Global Cities Fund, and the Cities Alliance's (CA) Cities and Migration program.

Section II: Architecture and Objectives of Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships

THE EQUAL PARTNERSHIPS PROJECT²

The Equal Partnerships (EP) (2021 -2024) research project explored the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance in partnership with six intermediary cities: Garissa in Kenya, Gulu in Uganda, Kumasi in Ghana, Oujda in Morocco, Saint Louis in Senegal, and Sfax in Tunisia (Stürner-Siovitz and Morthorst, 2024).

The project's methodology brought together the EP's project partners with local governments, local researchers and civil society organizations working on migration and displacement in these cities. The project's aim was

² The Equal Partnerships project was jointly developed by the University of Nuremberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), Samuel Hall and the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS). EP is supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung.

South Africa; Kairouan, Tunisia; Kakuma-Kalobeyei, Kenya; Monrovia, Liberia; as well as the city organizations United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, the Mayors Migration Council, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) Mayors Mechanism. The EP's mapping exercise unveiled the institutional complexity and growing partnerships in which various African cities such as Gulu, Uganda; Gao, Mali; Kanifing, Gambia; Oujda, Morocco; Sfax, Tunisia; or Sousse, Tunisia engage. Such partnerships vary significantly according to the actors involved (local, national, international), the horizontal or vertical cooperation structures, and their thematic focus areas (forms of migration, fields of integration, target groups, etc.). Despite the diverse nature of partnerships in the different cities, the EP project highlighted some common objectives for cities engaging in multi-stakeholder cooperation. Central city objectives include: (1) improving the availability and quality of local migration and displacement data, (2) securing direct funding and launching local pilot projects that can ignite more sustained transformations, and (3) strengthening advocacy at regional and global levels for cities to be considered relevant and strategic partners in migration policy.

BUILDING CAPACITY TO IMPROVE LOCAL MIGRATION DATA

Existing information tools such as nationally reported statistics, dated censuses, country-level demographic surveys, and city-level aggregates fail to capture the nature, extent, duration, and complexity of migration journeys. The dearth of migration data is exacerbated by the absence of information on urban poverty (Kallergis, 2018). Low-income migrants tend to settle in informal urban areas where access to affordable yet inadequate housing and services are available, and they often find work in the informal sector. In many cases, the absence of official residence permits for migrants is compounded by the lack of population estimates for rapidly growing informal settlements. The lack of information probably leads to an underestimation of both migrants and more generally the urban poor (Lucci et al., 2016; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013).

But the unavailability of local data has direct effects on cities' opportunities to access national or international funding and to engage in political dialogues. To address these challenges, African city representatives called for multi-stakeholder cooperation at the Global Refugee Forum 2019, the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) 2021, and the Africities Summit 2022 (UNOG, 2019; Mayors Mechanism, 2020). Representatives from cities, such as Arua, Uganda, highlighted that the absence of statistical data about inhabitants with migrant and refugee backgrounds prevented local authorities not only from claiming adequate financial support at the national level to offer public services but also impeded evidence-based local policy responses and effective use of the scarce resources available to local authorities (UNOG, 2019; Stürner and Nzamba, 2021, p. 103).⁴

In the absence of local and national information on migrant and refugee populations, data provided by international organizations play an important role for assessing situations in African cities (MC2CM, 2017, p. 18). However, such data constitute a snapshot in time, are often only available for specific population segments, and fail to generate an overview of the complex migratory movements for the city as a whole (MC2CM, 2017). Generally, it is important to acknowledge that while a lack of (local) data on migration and displacement may stem from a lack of capacity among the responsible local or national authorities; it could also, however, result from the politicization of migration and displacement or definitional disagreements on the status of those

⁴ In fact, it is not possible for refugees to register in Ugandan secondary cities. Registration centers are only available in the capital city and in refugee settlements (Cities Alliance, n.d.).

on the move – for example, who should be considered a migrant, a refugee or a displaced person. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the pre-existing lack of city population data, regarding migrants and refugees in particular, increased African local authorities' challenge to identify, reach, and support vulnerable populations (MC2CM, 2017; Stürner and Bekyol, 2021, pp. 6-7).

In order to address these local data gaps, some African local authorities seized opportunities to work in partnership with research institutes, international organizations, and city networks. The kind of data collected and the use to which it is put differs from initiative to initiative. It is important to highlight that partnerships for local data collection focusing on specific cities cannot (and should not have to) fill the gaps of national census and survey data. However, the following two examples from Northern and Eastern Africa show how such initiatives can serve local governments and other local actors by improving local migratory assessments and identifying areas for further engagement. Data collected through these partnerships can also strengthen local actors' advocacy when calling for partnerships and funding at national and international levels.

MC2CM – City Migration Profiles in North Africa

The Mediterranean City-to-City Migration (MC2CM) project, co-led by the city network UCLG and the international organizations UN-Habitat and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), brought together 22 cities from both sides of the Mediterranean for peer-to-peer learning, pilot projects, and the development of city migration profiles between 2015 and 2022 (ICMPD, 2022). To date, the project has developed 12 migration profiles, including those for participating cities, Oujda, Morocco; Sfax, Tunisia; and Sousse, Tunisia. Experts from relevant national contexts led the compilations of these profiles, and often included researchers working at local universities, drawing on the expertise of local, regional, and national authorities as well as civil society and private sector actors (MC2CM, 2017, p. 3). Rather than creating new statistical data, these profiles built upon, and complement existing data of migration patterns and mobile populations in cities. Due to the data paucity we discussed earlier (infrequent surveys that often miss population segments, particularly new migrants and/or displaced persons) MC2CM also faces important limitations and the surveys do not aim to provide granular information but instead a snapshot of the current situation. Specifically, the MC2CM organizes qualitative and quantitative information on the situation of migrant populations, their access to services, and their enjoyment of rights. Importantly, MC2CM surveys contextualize the available data through the review of national and local institutional and policy frameworks, as well as the mapping of actors working on migration and displacement in the different cities. Furthermore, the city profiles include an overview of public attitudes toward migration and integration in each of the cities (MC2CM, 2017, p. 3). As such, the MC2CM surveys put special emphasis on the perceptions of migration and displacement of host communities and local authorities, a policy tool for better understanding how policy directions are understood by local populations. This is crucial for the implementation and success of proposed policies, as migration policy does not operate in a vacuum, and often requires the cooperation of civil society organizations operating beyond the narrow field of migration studies. On the basis of the survey results, the MC2CM project began offering peer-learning and training on communication strategies and narrative-shaping to city officials (MC2CM, 2018; MC2CM, 2020). As we will discuss later, other initiatives, such as the Mayors Mechanism, have partnered with local, national, and international actors to launch communication campaigns highlighting the positive contributions migration can make to host communities (MMC, 2020).

In conclusion, for many MC2CM cities, the creation of the migration profiles presented a first opportunity to

systematically collect disparate information on migration situations, relevant policy frameworks, and actors operating in these cities (MC2CM, 2017, p. 3). Cities such as Sfax, Tunisia made active use of these profiles to launch and strengthen dialogue and cooperation between local, national and international actors and to develop new ideas on the role of local authorities in addressing urban migration and displacement (MC2CM, 2017; interview Sfax, 2021).

4Mi Cities – The Case of Arua

From 2021 to 2022, the Mixed Migration Centre and the Mayors Migration Council partnered with six local authorities in Latin America and East Africa to co-create surveys on urban mixed migration within the 4Mi Cities project⁵ (Saliba and Forin, 2022). Among the African cities was Arua, an intermediary city in Northern Uganda. From August 2021 to March 2022, the team implemented a mixed-methods approach including an urban context analysis, key informant interviews with Arua city government staff and sector actors, three consultation workshops with experts from the public and private sectors, IOs, NGOs, and UN agencies, and 465 surveys with refugees and migrants (Akumu and Wachira, 2022, pp. 8-9). The survey covered the following six areas: demographic and migration profiles, housing, access to services (healthcare, mental health care, and education), livelihood opportunities and challenges, safety and security, and life in the city (interactions with the local population, with city government and NGOs, access to public places and transportation) (Akumu and Wachira, 2022, p. 11). Survey data was gathered by ten 4Mi Cities enumerators, including three staff members of Arua city government (Akumu and Wachira, 2022, p. 9). Based on the information produced by the 4Mi Cities project, the local government of Arua, together with the Ugandan Office of the Prime Minister, UNHCR, and other national and international actors, created a migrant and refugee registration office in Arua. Even if registration for refugees was on a voluntary basis, the office helped provide a more up-to-date estimation of migrants and refugees present in the city to plan for service delivery needs and enable refugees to access services that were at this point only available in refugee settlements outside Ugandan intermediary cities. Furthermore, the produced data was deemed important to include the needs of migrants and refugees in the development of Arua City's Annual Work Plan and Budget (Akumu and Wachira, 2022, p. 15).

While both the MC2CM project and the 4Mi Cities project consist of short-term projects, aspects of the programs' architecture can help guide the development of long-term partnerships to improve local capacity for timely data collection, use, and safeguarding. Building bottom-up data programs can complement national data collection efforts by providing more timely data for monitoring migratory flows and capturing the needs of migrant and refugee populations. This bottom-up approach could build on the MC2CM and 4Mi work by:

- **Systematizing rapid assessment surveys by standardizing and combining data collection with training:** Migration and displacement often occur under rapidly changing situations: putting the focus on actual data collection will provide a city with a one-off snapshot that can support policy actions, particularly those

⁵ 4Mi Cities forms part of the 4Mi program run by the Mixed Migration Centre. 4Mi is based on a “network of field enumerators situated along frequently used mixed migration routes and in major migratory hubs. It aims to offer a regular, standardized, quantitative and globalized system of collecting primary data on mixed migration. 4Mi predominantly uses a closed-question survey to invite respondents to anonymously self-report on a wide range of issues, which results in extensive data relating to individual profiles, migration drivers, means and conditions of movement, the smuggling economy, aspirations and destination choices” (Akumu and Wachira, 2022, p. 7).

addressing immediate needs. The systematization of these rapid surveys opens new perspectives for regular updates of a city's migration profile.

Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, research institutes, national statistical offices, data units of international organizations.

- **Including migrants and refugees among local data collectors:** Local data collectors should not only include city staff but also civil society actors as well as migrants and refugees themselves who have particular access to migrant/refugee communities. For instance, the NGO Maroc Solidaire Medico Social (MS.2) in the Moroccan city of Oujda has hired local staff with a migrant background to conduct regular outreach and data-gathering activities to ensure up-to-date information on the medical needs of migrant and refugee communities (Interview MS.2, 2022). This inclusion is crucial both for practical and ethical reasons. Gaining access to migrant and refugee communities can be challenging for city and government officials. At the same time, inclusion ensures that survey preparation, data collection and analysis do not become extractive processes and that migrant and refugee communities are consulted during all stages of the project.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, local civil society, migrants, and refugees.*
- **Creating local data centers:** The establishment of local data centers that incorporate local actors, universities, and civil society organizations can help orient data collection towards the themes and topics that are of particular interest to migrants and their hosts. In addition, to data analysis, such data centers could also provide training and statistical capacity building through training partnerships on data collection and safeguarding with national statistical offices and/or the data units from international organizations (World Bank, IOM, UNHCR, UN-Habitat) and researchers (local, regional and international). In the medium-term, training in data collection, safeguarding, and analysis could be conducted through the creation of a course at a local university with these skills at the forefront.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, local civil society, migrants and refugees, local universities, national governments (as funders), national statistical agencies (as training providers), development partners (as actors interested in gathered data to inform their work), international organizations (as funders and providers of training), research actors.*
- **Defining data safeguards:** To ensure adequate data protection, long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships need to discuss clear guidelines for data storage, data use, and firewalls prior to data collection processes. These rules are not set in stone but can take the form of living documents adaptive to the evolving needs of evidence-based policy-making while safeguarding the data protection needs of migrants and refugees.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, local civil society, migrants and refugees, local universities, national governments and agencies, development partners, and international organizations.*

ACQUIRING FUNDING FOR LOCALLY-LED ACTION

A second objective of city engagement in multi-stakeholder partnerships is gaining access to national and international funding and technical support to develop local strategies on urban migration and displacement. Given that local governments and administrations, particularly in the African context, often lack not only resources and capacities but also legal mandates to address these issues, they are rarely considered relevant

recipients of funding by international organizations and national donors (Stürner, 2020). Even in countries where decentralization reforms have been undertaken, such as Tunisia, issues of migration or integration tend to remain excluded from these reforms (interview Sfax, 2021). Furthermore, the question of creditworthiness restrains municipal access to loans, as only 4% of the 500 largest cities situated in developing countries are considered creditworthy in international financial markets and only 20% in local markets (MMC, 2022c, p. 35). To broaden municipal access to international funding and enter into a dialogue with potential donors, local authorities make active use of multi-stakeholder cooperation.

Global Cities Fund – African cities addressing climate migration

A pertinent example is the Global Cities Fund, created by the Mayors Migration Council (MMC) in 2020. The MMC is a city diplomacy organization led by a board of nine mayors from Africa, Asia, the Americas, Europe, and the Middle East, among them the Mayors of Freetown, Sierra Leone and Kampala, Uganda.⁶ With its cross-cutting focus on connecting local, national, and global levels of migration governance, the MMC works specifically on city diplomacy, climate migration, as well as municipal access to funding for inclusive responses to urban migration and displacement (MMC, 2022a). Bringing together all three focus areas, the MMC launched the Global Cities Fund in 2020 in partnership with the city networks C40 and United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), the UN Migration Agency (IOM), the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), and the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) (MMC, 2022b). The first chapter of the Global Cities Fund focused on connecting cities and donors to finance migrant and refugee-inclusive COVID-19 crisis response and recovery strategies. In this context, the MMC and its partners worked with 20 cities to support the development of city-led responses presented in the form of concrete project proposals and compiled in a “Project Prospectus” launched at the global level (MMC, 2021). Nine cities were selected to receive direct financial and technical support over the duration of one year for projects related to inclusive social services, public health, and livelihoods.⁷ The second chapter of the Global Cities Fund aimed to support inclusive climate action by African cities. In autumn 2021, the MMC and C40 announced that a grant from the Robert Bosch Stiftung enabled the project to provide support to five African cities. Grantees included the cities of Accra, Ghana; Arua, Uganda; Beira, Mozambique; Johannesburg, South Africa; and Monrovia, Liberia. The city of Monrovia planned, for instance, to make use of the grant to mitigate flooding and coastal erosion, create green spaces within the city, and provide green job training to migrants and internally displaced youth (MMC, 2022d). With funding provided by the Ikea Foundation, six more African grantees were announced during COP27 (MMC, 2022e). MMC action on the Global Cities Fund, thus, demonstrates a three-pronged approach through direct city access to international funding, multi-stakeholder cooperation for local action, and international advocacy.

Cities Alliance – Cities and Migration Program: supporting migration-sensitive city action for sustainable urban development

⁶ Founding city members of the MMC were Amman, Athens, Bristol, Freetown, Kampala, Milan, Montréal, Sao Paulo, and Zurich. The current board consists of the Mayors of Amman, Bristol, Dhaka North, Freetown, Kampala, Milan, Montevideo, Montréal, and Zurich (MMC, 2022a).

⁷ Among these cities were Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Barranquilla, Colombia; Beirut, Lebanon; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Kampala, Uganda; Lima, Peru; Medellín, Colombia; Mexico City, Mexico; and Quito, Ecuador. Funding was provided by the Open Society Foundations, the Hilton Foundation, and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

Similar approaches can also be found in the Cities and Migration program of the Cities Alliance, a global partnership aiming to fight poverty and promote the role of cities. In the first iteration of its Cities and Migration program, Cities Alliance brought together a wide range of local, national, and international actors to generate policy-relevant data and facilitate partnerships leveraging migration governance for poverty reduction and sustainable city development (Cities Alliance n.d., p. 4). Participating African cities and urban areas include Adama and Jijiga in Ethiopia, Kakuma-Kalobeyei, Kenya, Arua and Jinja in Uganda as well as Kairouan and Jendouba in Tunisia. In Adama, a City Migrants Network Forum was established to strengthen relations between the city administration, the urban ministry, and local stakeholders, including migrants and displaced persons, to discuss challenges and opportunities of migration. In conjunction, six migration desks were established for migrants to register on a voluntary basis, receive access to basic services, and get information on employment opportunities (Cities Alliance, 2022a). Furthermore, the Cities and Migration program has brought together East African secondary cities in a network to support the implementation of the UNHCR Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (Cities Alliance, 2022b). In addition to peer-learning, the Cities Alliance East Africa network focused also on city advocacy in national and international policy fora. This advocacy dimension is a central part of the Cities and Migration program striving to bring city voices into national, regional, and international policy debates on migration and displacement through programs such as the Global Forum on Migration and Development, the Global Refugee Forum, or the Africities Summits (Cities Alliance, 2024).

Direct access of African local authorities to international funders and donors is frequently brokered by city networks and organizations such as MMC, UCLG, or Cities Alliance. Additionally, national donors and development banks are far less likely to provide funding than private foundations. As a result, funding is project-based and often targets innovative pilot action. While philanthropic actors can at times provide funding in more flexible ways, including to recipients who may be disregarded by donors with a very low-risk tolerance, they may also encounter criticism at a national level for providing direct local grants (MMC, 2022b). Philanthropic actors also often cannot provide funding that is comparable to loans or grants from development actors such as banks and national donors. Moreover, philanthropic funding that runs out after one or two years ultimately raises questions about long-term sustainability, especially if organizing more sustainable funding sources or financial self-reliance is not an inherent part of the project. What can we learn from project-based partnerships to guide recommendations for long-term alternatives?

- **Use funding to build on previous work:** Realistically speaking, project-based partnerships will remain the norm in the short-term. However, these can improve their long-term impact if funders allow for new projects to be based on previous work, as is the case with the latest call from Cities Alliance, asking interested parties to base their actions on achievements generated during the previous project cycle in Ethiopian cities (Cities Alliance, 2023). While donors often demand that projects address new topics in new geographic contexts, building one project on the results of the previous one can actually amplify impacts and strengthen institutional learning among local actors involved.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local actors, donors, and funders.*
- **Use funding to create bridges:** Project-based short-term funding can serve local governments as a bridge to long-term support. Short-term funding can act as a proof of concept to assist by national governments and development banks and other donors. Philanthropic actors interested in supporting multi-stakeholder partnerships in cities need to co-create perspectives for long-term funding from the start, answering the question: “Who will take over once the topic is no longer an innovative idea but ready for mainstreaming

into local policy-making?” Getting this transition right should be at the core of every initiative and involve actors such as national governments (as funders as well as actors that need to ensure that funding trickles down to the local level), the World Bank, and the African Development Bank.

- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, foundations, national governments, World Bank, African Development Bank.*
- **Use funding to generate more funding:** Asked about their funding needs, city officials participating in the Equal Partnerships project highlighted that rather than obtaining funding in irregular intervals from external actors, they would prefer long-term funding of a city officer responsible for researching and responding to inter(national) calls for proposals, basing their engagement on local city priorities and objectives (focus group discussion Oujda, 2022).
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, national governments, World Bank, African Development Bank, UN-Habitat.*
- **Use funding to co-create calls for proposals:** Long-term partnerships for local access to international funding could also mean that part of the funding of development actors such as GIZ, Expertise France, ENABEL, USAID, etc., goes into co-creating calls for proposals with local authorities, research centers, civil society and migrant- and refugee-led and supporting organizations from intermediate cities. This would ensure that proposals are actually based in local realities. Civil society organizations interviewed by the Equal Partnerships teams shared that they would appreciate such approaches as they, at times, feel like they have implemented the same project over and over again without seeing any long-term impact (focus group discussion Oujda, 2022).
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, civil society, national governments, international development actors.*

BRINGING CITY PERSPECTIVES INTO REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY DIALOGUES

Research by the Equal Partnerships project shows that some African local governments have become increasingly aware of an “urban migration governance paradox”: as more migrants and displaced persons settle in cities, local authorities are directly and increasingly impacted by the consequences of national and international policies on migration and asylum. Nevertheless, African local governments often lack opportunities to engage with (inter)national actors to ensure that these policies are based on and address local realities (Stürner-Siovitz, 2022b). Some African local authorities therefore make active use of multi-stakeholder partnerships to link local, regional, and international levels and to bring city interests and perspectives into migration policy fora.

UCLG Africa – advocating for the role of African cities in migration governance

In this regard, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa) plays an important role. Since first engaging with issues of migration over a decade ago, UCLG Africa has become an important advocate for African city voices at regional and international levels. Over the last years, UCLG Africa has represented the interests of African cities in the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD), the

African Union – European Union Summits, the Rabat Process, and the pan-African Africities Summits (Mayors Mechanism, 2020; UCLG Africa, 2015; Rabat Process, 2021; UCLG Africa, 2018; Stürner-Siovitz et al., 2022). At the cross-regional level, UCLG Africa called upon heads of state and governments at the AU-EU Summits 2015 to integrate “associations representing the local authorities as rightful stakeholders in the Europe/Africa political dialogue on the issue of migration and in the definition and implementation of the strategic actions aiming to address the issue of migration” (UCLG Africa, 2015, p. 3). In the run-up to the AU-EU Summit 2022, African and European city representatives reiterated these calls and asked national governments to include mayors in national delegations (ODI, 2022). Furthermore, representatives from African cities and UCLG Africa took part in a meeting of the Rabat Process in 2021⁸. While local and regional governments have for a long time remained excluded from these deliberations, the Rabat Process held a first meeting on “the role of local authorities and cities, alongside national authorities, in migration governance” in autumn 2021 (Rabat Process, 2021). Finally, local governments also made use of Pan-African platforms such as Africities, the triennial flagship event of UCLG Africa, to enter into dialogue with representatives of national governments and international organizations. Since 2015, migration has become an important topic at the Africities Summit, so much so that African cities adopted the “Charter of local and subnational governments of Africa on Migration” during Africities 2018 (UCLG Africa, 2018).

At the most recent Africities Summit in 2022, UCLG Africa partnered with the University of Nuremberg, the social enterprise Samuel Hall, the German Institute of Development and Sustainability, and the Mixed Migration Centre to organize a workshop on multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance. Invited experts from local and national authorities, IOM, UNHCR and UN-Habitat, as well as migrant and refugee-led associations, highlighted the central role that intermediary cities can play at local and transnational levels to ensure inclusive approaches to urban migration and displacement. Moreover, a representative from the Ghanaian city of Kumasi emphasized that local governments should be included in the development and implementation of international migration policy-making, such as the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees, to ensure that such policies would respond to the realities on the ground (Stürner-Siovitz et al., 2022).

Mayors Mechanism – Connecting local action with global migration objectives

Bringing local interests into regional and global policy debates on migration and displacement and ensuring that local governments receive recognition and support for their contributions to the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees is also a central objective of the Mayors Mechanism, an initiative co-led by IOM, MMC and UCLG⁹. In 2022, the Mayors Mechanism brought city leaders, among them the Mayors of Accra, Ghana; Entebbe, Uganda; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Kanifing, The Gambia; and Kampala, Uganda, to New York to participate in the first International Migration Review Forum (IMRF), the evaluation mechanism of the Global Compact for Migration. At the IMRF, the Mayors Mechanism and the UNHCR launched a Call to Local Action, showcasing the commitments of over 70 local governments, among them 16 from the African

⁸ The Rabat Process is a regional migration dialogue, bringing together national governments from countries of origin, transit, and destination along the migration routes connecting Central, West, and North Africa with Europe (Rabat Process, 2022).

⁹ The Mayors Mechanism was developed out of the Mayoral Forum on Migration and Development, which brought together mayors from around the world between 2014 and 2018. In 2018, the Troika of the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) decided to institutionalize mayoral presence within the GFMD via the creation of the GFMD Mayors Mechanism.

continent, having pledged concrete actions to make the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees a reality (Mayors Mechanism, 2022).

Overall, these examples of advocacy work by African local governments through and for multi-stakeholder partnerships should be considered important steps in addressing the urban migration governance paradox. In the words of the Mayor of Freetown, Aki-Sawyerr:

“At a time when more than 55 percent of the world’s population live in cities, governments and international frameworks cannot afford to make choices without consulting city leaders” (Aki-Sawyerr, 2018).

However, a review of city actors shows that, so far, only a small number of African local governments have the legal authority to engage on issues of migration in local and transnational partnerships. Moreover, due to the lack of legal mandates and municipal resources dedicated to questions of migration and displacement, engagement often depends on individual mayors and municipal leaders. This presents a major challenge to building sustainable city diplomacy and action, as well as ensuring institutional learning for local authorities and national and international partners (Stürner-Siovitz, 2023; Roca, 2019; Lacroix, 2021).

- **From communication gaps to local-national dialogues:** National governments are so far mostly absent in multi-stakeholder partnerships on urban migration, possibly fearing an erosion of their prerogatives of designing migration and asylum policies. However, as causes and consequences for migration and displacement are becoming increasingly complex and interlinked with political, environmental, social, and economic factors, national governments could significantly benefit from supporting the creation of multi-stakeholder governance approaches. With their potential to identify context-specific solutions to local challenges, such approaches would contribute to strengthening national capacity to govern migration country-wide. Furthermore, local perspectives on both immigration and emigration could prove highly valuable to future national strategies on rural-urban as well as urban-urban movements. Local governments should, therefore, reach out to national agencies in their cities as well as governmental institutions in the capital to call for permanent dialogue channels. International organizations in cooperation with research institutions could broker such dialogues between African local and national governments to bring local perspectives into (1) national policy-making and (2) national positions on migration discussed at the regional and international levels.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, national governments and agencies (at national and local level), research institutions, international organizations.*
- **From implementation actors to partners:** International organizations have only recently begun to view local governments as relevant actors in migration and displacement issues, a view which remains contested at times and even more so in the African context. As national governments mostly hold exclusive mandates in these thematic areas, local governments’ role (if any) is reduced to that of mere implementers of national or international policies. However, a recent change in perspective at IOM and UNHCR may create windows of opportunity for bringing African intermediary cities into international policy dialogues – such as the GFMD, the IMRF, and the Global Refugee Forum – thereby providing the basis for direct cooperation between international, national, and city actors on the ground (Stürner-Siovitz, 2022). In particular, humanitarian and development actors working on area-based approaches could benefit from cooperation with local actors. Given that the concept of area-based approaches originates in urban planning, the direct

cooperation with local governments, civil society, and affected communities is key for its long-term success. Cooperation should therefore begin in the initial development phase of a new initiative and not only once international actors need implementation partners or – worse – start looking for local stakeholders that may take over internationally planned activities at the end of an organization's project cycle.

- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, local civil society actors, IOM, UNHCR, humanitarian actors.*
- **From ad hoc action to strategic engagement:** The active international engagement of UCLG Africa, the Mayors Mechanism, and the Mayors Migration Council is an important step in the right direction. A next step would be a shift for African intermediary cities from ad hoc and individual-based projects towards long-term engagement. Multi-stakeholder partnerships with this objective could channel funding towards the creation of a unit of mayoral advisers focusing on national, regional, and international city engagement along interconnected city priorities, including, for instance, urbanization, migration, climate change, trade and economic cooperation, etc.
- *Relevant actors for long-term multi-stakeholder partnerships: Local authorities, national governments, development partners.*

Section III: Who Shapes Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships?

A review of multi-stakeholder partnerships shows that the impetus for such initiatives does not necessarily always stem from local governments. Even if specific mayors may be behind initial ideas for cooperation, the setting up of multi-stakeholder partnerships requires funding, contacts across actor groups and levels of government, and networks that local governments, in Africa and elsewhere, often do not have ready at hand. This is where philanthropic actors (e.g., Open Society Foundation, Robert Bosch Stiftung, Hilton Foundation), international organizations (e.g., IOM, UN-Habitat, ICMPD), research institutes and think tanks (e.g., Impact Initiatives, Equal Partnerships project), and in some instances also national governments, such as the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, come into play.

In many cases, the financial support, training, capacity building, network contacts, and (in some cases) leadership role that these actors bring into multi-stakeholder partnerships are essential for local governments to jumpstart cooperation. Nevertheless, the relationship between local governments and other actors merits closer analysis to answer important questions: who are the driving forces behind local and transnational multi-stakeholder partnerships? How much influence do city actors have on a partnership's thematic areas and objectives? Who proposes new actors to become part of the cooperation structures? And, which local stakeholders are still not involved in such partnerships?

Many of the multi-stakeholder partnerships discussed in this paper have formed rather recently and continue to undergo change in their composition and structure. Therefore, we consider crucial, at this time, to analyze the architecture, impact and potential for scale of these different initiatives.

Certainly the driving forces for multi-stakeholder partnerships such as the Mayors Mechanism or the MC2CM project was promoted by international organizations and philanthropic actors convinced of the importance

of strengthening local governments' capacities to address migration and displacement on the ground and/or of introducing local positions into regional and international migration policy deliberations (Stürner-Siovitz, 2022c). In dialogue with a number of city officials, these actors developed initial ideas and approached local governments for participation. Some programs started out under broad consultation processes aimed at identifying local governments' thematic and strategic interests. However, this is far from being always the case. As expected programs that do not offer meaningful inclusion of intermediate city local governments and do not create space for dialogue that helps co-shape initiatives tend to have limited impact, often failing to scale to a meaningful level. Avoiding such outcomes requires designing multi-stakeholder partnerships that intend to foster long-term cooperation through the inclusion of a broad range of local governments from the initial design stages, continuous consultations and transparent communications with local governments about a partnership's specific objectives and limitations.

When it comes to missing stakeholders, the relationship between African local governments and civil society organizations – specifically migrant and refugee-led organizations – is particularly interesting. At the local level, there is a small but growing number of examples of cooperation on issues of migration and displacement; and even more, if we broaden the focus and take into account inclusive approaches targeting vulnerable city populations seeking access to housing, health care, or basic services. For example, in the Tunisian city of Sfax, a cooperation between the NGO Terre d'Asile Tunisie and IOM led to the creation of a city-wide network between NGOs, migrant-led organizations, UNHCR and IOM in 2016 (interview Terre d'Asile Tunisie, 2021). The cooperation attracted the attention of city representatives who started participating in the regular network meetings. Furthermore, city representatives engaged in the MC2CM project made use of funding opportunities for pilot actions to partner with Terre d'Asile Tunisie and other organizations to attract funding for a locally-led project titled “Improving the Coordination of Migration of Local Actors in Sfax” (IMCPD, n.d.). Overall, African local authorities politically interested in addressing questions of migration and displacement often need to rely on local civil society actors, given local authorities' lack of resources.

Despite growing opportunities for local-level cooperation, a similar cooperative approach is currently not visible when it comes to city advocacy in regional and global migration fora. There remains wide communication and cooperation gaps between African cities (and cities more generally) engaging on questions of migration and displacement at higher levels of governance, and civil society actors (regional and international) working on the same topics.

Conclusion

While many African intermediary cities are becoming hubs of mixed migration, their ability to take action on urban migration governance remains very limited. Recognizing constraints caused by lacks of legal mandates and limited human and financial resources, some local governments opt for networked approaches that bring them into dialogue with NGOs, IOs, as well as migrant and refugee-led associations. However, multi-stakeholder partnerships often remain project-based and thus short-term interactions. To increase the sustainability and impact of cooperative action, local and national governments, civil society organizations, migrant and refugee associations, development banks, international organizations, and national donors should consider investing time and resources in building long-term cooperation structures in intermediary cities bringing together a wide range of actors to discuss context-specific solutions for local challenges. Establishing local multi-stakeholder cooperation on urban migration governance could render city-wide responses more sustainable, strengthen local resilience, and mainstream cooperative approaches into related policy areas.

Both research and practice actors have started pioneering work with African intermediary cities to strengthen knowledge bases and pilot multi-stakeholder cooperation. However, the dialogue between these two types of actors needs to be reinforced in order to allow for impact-oriented research and evidence-based action on the ground. Future research by scholars of migration and urban studies should therefore focus on building up regular dialogue channels and cooperation with local and national governments, civil society, and international actors addressing questions of mixed migration in African intermediary cities.

References

- Aki-Sawyerr, Yvonne (2018): Opinion: Tackling migration – An African perspective. <https://www.dw.com/en/opinion-tackling-migration-an-african-perspective/a-46637793>.
- Akumu, Olivia; Wachira, Emma (2022): 4Mi Cities: Data Collection on Urban Mixed Migration. Arua City Report. file:///C:/Users/os07ygov/AppData/Local/Temp/236_Arua_City_Report.pdf.
- Alesina, A., Easterly, W. and Matuszeski, J. (2006); Artificial states, National Bureau of Economic Research; NBER Working Paper 12328. https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w12328/w12328.pdf.
- Ammann, Carole. and Sanogo, Aidas. (2017): Secondary Cities – The Urban Middle Ground. An Introduction. In Basel Paper on Political Transformations (11-12): 5–9.
- Angel, Shlomo, Lamson-Hall, Patrick, Blei, Alejandro, Shingade, Sharad, and Kumar, Suman. (2021): Densify and Expand: A Global Analysis of Recent Urban Growth. In *Sustainability*, 13(7), 3835.
- Blaser Mapitsa, Caitlin and Landau, Loren (2019): Measuring Municipal Capacity to Respond to Mobility. In *SAGE Open* 9 (1): 1-11.
- Borderon, Marion. & Sakdapolrak, Patrick. & Muttarak, Raya. & Kebede, Endale & Pagogna, Raffaella. and Sporer, Eva. (2019): Migration influenced by environmental change in Africa: A systematic review of empirical evidence, In *Demographic Research*, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock, Germany, 41 (18): 491-544.
- Cities Alliance (2014): Taking a Closer Look at Secondary Cities. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/taking-closer-look-secondary-cities>.
- Cities Alliance (2019): Connecting Systems of Secondary Cities: How Soft and Hard Infrastructure can foster Equitable Economic Growth among Secondary Cities. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/2019-07/Secondary-Cities-Book-Brief_v2.pdf.
- Cities Alliance (2022a): Adama. Improving the Reception, Management and Integration of Rural-Urban Migrants with a Voluntary Registration Scheme, Resource Centre, Networking, and Infrastructure Development in Adama, Ethiopia. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/2022-06/project_profile_adama_v2.pdf.
- Cities Alliance (2022b): Inclusive Urban Development and Mobility – Regional Network and Dialogue Action.

<https://www.citiesalliance.org/inclusive-urban-development-and-mobility-regional-network-and-dialogue-action>.

Cities Alliance (2024): Cities and Migration Advocacy. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/cities-and-migration-advocacy>.

Cities Alliance (n.d.): Overview of City-level Impact. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/how-we-work/global-programmes/cities-and-migration/impact-city-level>.

de Haas, Hein (2008). The Myth of Invasion: The Inconvenient Realities of African Migration to Europe. In *Third World Quarterly* 29 (7): 1305-1322.

Flahaux, ML. and De Haas, H. (2016): African migration: trends, patterns, drivers. *Comparative Migration Studies* 4 (1): 1-15.

Fox, S. (2012): Urbanization as a Global Historical Process: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. *Population and Development Review*, 38 (2): 285-310.

Fox, S. (2017): Mortality, migration and rural transformation in sub-Saharan Africa's urban transition. *Journal of Demographic Economics* 83 (1): 13-30.

ICMPD (2022): MC2CM. <https://www.icmpd.org/our-work/projects/mc2cm>.

ICMPD (n.d.): ACMALS. Improving the Coordination of Migration of Local Actors in Sfax. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53311/file/ACMALS_EN.pdf

Impact Initiatives (2019): Vulnerabilities extend beyond refugee populations – AGORA finds shared pattern of urban poverty among host and refugee populations living in Kampala. <https://www.impact-initiatives.org/what-we-do/news/vulnerabilities-extend-beyond-refugee-populations-agora-finds-shared-pattern-of-urban-poverty-among-host-and-refugee-populations-living-in-kampala/>.

Impact Initiatives (n.d.): Agora. <https://www.impact-initiatives.org/what-we-do/agora/>.

Jedwab, Rémy., Christiaensen, Luc. and Gindelsky, Marina. (2014): Rural Push, Urban Pull, and...Urban Push? New Historical Evidence from Developing Countries. Institute for International Economic Policy Working Paper Series 4, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University. https://econpapers.repec.org/scripts/redir.pf?u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.gwu.edu%2F-iiep%2Fassets%2Fdocs%2Fpapers%2FJedwab_IIEPWP_2014-4.pdf;h=repec:ghi:wpaper:2014-04.

Lacroix, Thomas (2021): Migration-related city networks: a global overview. In *Local Government Studies*, 48 (6): 1027-1047.

Landau, L.B. and Wanjiku Kihato, C. (2018) The Future of Mobility and Migration Within and from Sub-Saharan Africa. Foresight Reflection Paper. Brussels: The European Political Strategy Centre.

Lerch, Mathias. (2020): International Migration and City Growth in the Global South: An Analysis of IPUMS Data for Seven Countries, 1992-2013. In *Population and Development Review*, 46 (3): 557-582.

Lucas, Robert, E.B. (2021): *Crossing the Divide: Rural to Urban Migration in Developing Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lucci Paula, Bhatkal, Tanvi and Khan, Amina. (2016). "Are we underestimating urban poverty?" Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London, UK.

Marx Benjamin, Stoker, Thomas, and Suri, Tavneet (2013). The Economics of Slums in the Developing World. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 27 (4): 187-210.

Mayors Mechanism (2020): GFMD African Union Consultation. Mayors Mechanism – overview and key messages. https://www.mayorsmechanism.org/s/GFMD-AU-Consultation_Mayors-Mechanism_regional-report_june.pdf

Mayors Mechanism (2022): IMRF Daily Briefing: 18 May. <https://www.mayorsmechanism.org/updates/imrf18may>.

McGranahan, Gordon, Mitlin, Dianna, Satterthwaite, David, Tacoli, Cecilia., and Turok, Ivan. (2009): *Africa's Urban Transition and the Role of Regional Collaboration*, Human Settlements Working Paper Series Theme: Urban Change-5, IIED, London <https://www.iied.org/10571iied>.

MC2CM (2017): *City Migration Profiles Synthesis Report*. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53194/file/MC2CM_Synthesis_Report_EN_Online.pdf.

MC2CM (2018): Sub-Regional Event. *Communication on Migration: An Issue of Local Governance*. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53260/file/PLE_TUN_BackgroundPaper_EN.pdf.

MC2CM (2020): Peer-Learning Event – Thematic paper. *Communication on Migration: Rebalancing the Narrative to Strengthen Local Governance*. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53284/file/MC2CM_PLE%20Seville_Communication%20%26%20Narrative%20on%20Migration_Background%20note_EN.pdf.

Mitlin, Diana, and Satterthwaite, David. (2013) *Urban Poverty in the Global South: Scale and Nature*. London and New York: Routledge.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2021): *The Global Cities Fund for Inclusive Pandemic Response*. Project Prospectus. <https://mmc-mayorsmigrationcouncil.box.com/shared/static/nus9qplexa9jxz2monba389xpzs5czs8.pdf>

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2020): *Press Release: It Takes A Community To Build Back Better, More Inclusive Cities*. <https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/news/it-takes-a-community-to-build-back-better-more-inclusive-cities>.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2022a): Mayors catalyzing bolder, smarter global action on migration. <https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org>.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2022b): Global Cities Fund. <https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/gcf>.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2022c): Municipal finance for migrants and refugees: The state of play. An overview of the barriers facing city governments and a path forward for building more inclusive cities. <https://mmc-mayorsmigrationcouncil.box.com/shared/static/4pkw6atts27uwjxxrwe7opm7k8zox6h6.pdf>.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2022d): Global Cities Fund for Inclusive Climate Action. <https://mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/gcf/>.

MMC Mayors Migration Council (2022e): COP27 Readout: Climate Migration & Cities. <https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/news/c40-mcc-cop27>.

OECD/SWAC (2019): Population and Morphology of Border Cities, West African Papers, No. 21, Paris: OECD Publishing.

OECD/SWAC (2020), Africa's Urbanisation Dynamics 2020: Africapolis, Mapping a New Urban Geography, West African Studies, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/b6bccb81-en>.

Potts, D. (2012): Whatever Happened to Africa's Rapid Urbanisation?, In *World Economics*, vol. 13 (2): 17-30.

Rabat Process (2021): Outcome: 'National authorities, local authorities and migration' – a Rabat Process labelled meeting chaired by France. <https://www.rabatprocess.org/en/activities/label-meetings/outcomecities-meeting>.

Rabat Process (2022): The Rabat Process. <https://www.rabat-process.org/en/about>.

Ravallion, Martin, Shaohua Chen, and Prem Sangraula.(2007) New Evidence on the Urbanization of Global Poverty. *Population and Development Review* 33, no. 4: 667-701. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25487618>.

Robert Bosch Stiftung (2022): Equal Partnerships for Urban Migration Governance. <https://www.bosch-stiftung.de/en/project/equal-partnerships-urban-migration-governance>.

Roberts, Brian (2019): *Managing Systems of Secondary Cities. Policy Responses in International Development*. Brussels: Cities Alliance.

Roberts, Brian and Anyumba, Godfrey O. (2022): *The Dynamics of Systems of Secondary Cities in Africa*. Brussels: Cities Alliance.

Roca, Felip (2019): Networks of cities or networked cities? Eight theses. In de Losada, Agustí Fernández and Abdullah, Hannah (Eds.): *Rethinking the ecosystem of international city networks. Challenges and opportunities*.

Barcelona: Cidob:67–69.

Saliba, Samer and Forin, Roberto (2022): 4Mi Cities: Partnerships with City Governments Are Key To Better Data on Urban Mixed Migration. <https://www.mayorsmigrationcouncil.org/news/4mi-cities>.

Stürner, Janina (2020): A New Role for Cities in Global and Regional Migration Governance? Robert Bosch Stiftung. https://www.bosch-stiftung.de/sites/default/files/publications/pdf/2020-09/Study_Cities_Migration_2020.pdf.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina (2022a): Making the case for migration research with African intermediary cities. Soli*City Blog. <https://solicity.blog.ryerson.ca/2022/02/23/african-intermediary-cities-as-actors-in-urban-migration-governance-a-blog-mini-series-by-janina-sturner-siovit-2/>.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina (2022b): African Cities and International Migration Governance: From Glocal Identities to Multilevel Solutions? In *Journal of International Affairs* 74 (1) online first. <https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/african-cities-and-international-migration-governance-glocal-identities-multilevel-solutions>.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina (2023): “All the world’s a stage?” A role theory analysis of city diplomacy in global migration governance. In *International Migration Review* 57 (4): 1329-1361.

Stürner, Janina and Bekyol, Yasemin (2021): Going the (Social) Distance: How migrant and refugee-sensitive urban COVID-19 responses contribute to the realization of the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees. MC2CM thematic learning report. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53419/file/COVID-19%20Study_EN_Online_Final.pdf.

Stürner, Janina and Nzamba, Nzamba, Lionel (2021): Local Authorities as Allies in Promoting Protection Frameworks for Mobile Urban Populations. In MMC and UNHCR (Eds.): *A Roadmap for Advocacy, Policy Development, and Programming Protection in Mixed Movements along the Central and Western Mediterranean Routes 2021*: 102-106.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina; Morthorst, Lasse; Bonfiglio, Ayla (2022): African intermediary cities are key actors for partnerships on urban migration governance. <https://mixedmigration.org/articles/african-intermediary-cities-are-key-actors-for-partnerships-on-urban-migration-governance/>.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina and Morthorst, Lasse Juhl (2023): Migration in African intermediary cities: why multi-stakeholder partnerships are key to inclusive action. OECD Development matters blog. <https://oecd-development-matters.org/2023/03/30/migration-in-african-intermediary-cities-why-multi-stakeholder-partnerships-are-key-to-inclusive-action/>.

Stürner-Siovit, Janina and Morthorst, Lasse Juhl (2024): Equal Partnerships policy paper. Creating sustainable multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities. <https://equal-partnerships.com/policy-paper/>.

Thouez, Colleen (2020): Cities as emergent international actors in the field of migration. In *Global Governance: A*

Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations 26 (4): 650–672.

Thouez, Colleen (2022): New power configurations: City mobilization and policy change. In *Global Networks* 22 (3):. 363–376.

UCLG Africa (2015): Declaration of Local Authorities of Africa on the occasion of the Europe/Africa Summit on migration. <https://www.uclga.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Declaration-African-Local-Authorities.pdf>.

UCLG Africa (2018): Charter of local and subnational governments of Africa on Migration. <https://www.uclga.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Charter-of-Local-and-Subnational-Governments-of-Africa-on-Migration-1.pdf>.

UCLG (n.d.): Intermediary cities. <https://www.uclg.org/en/agenda/intermediary-cities>.

UN Habitat (2020): Population Data Booklet. Global State of Metropolis 2020. https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/09/gsm-population-data-booklet-2020_3.pdf.

UNOG (2019): Global Refugee Forum. Spotlight Session: Realizing refugee inclusion with city and refugee leaders. Audio recording. https://conf.unog.ch/digitalrecordings/index.html?guid=public/60.2092/2BOC98F1-0B2E-4568-BB8E-225ED7FE9887_15h07&position=0.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019a): International Migrant Stock 2019. United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2019. New York: UN DESA.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019b): World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision (ST/ESA/SER.A/420). New York: UN DESA.

Interviews & Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion, Oujda, 2022

Interview MS.2, Oujda, 2022

Interview Municipality of Sfax, 2021

Interview Terre d'Asile Tunisie, Sfax, 2021