

A photograph of a busy city street, likely in New York City, showing a crosswalk with many pedestrians. Tall buildings line the street, including one with a prominent TD bank sign. A street sign for 'Bay St' is visible on the right. The scene is captured during the day with some clouds in the sky.

WORLD MIGRATION REPORT 2018: CHAPTER 10

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All reasonable efforts have been made to ensure the accuracy of the data referred to in this report, including through data verification. We regret, however, any data errors that may remain. Unless otherwise stated, this report does not refer to data or events after June 2017.

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Suggested citation: Duncan, H. and I. Popp (2017) 'Migrants and Cities: Stepping Beyond World Migration Report 2015', in IOM (2017) *World Migration Report 2018*, IOM: Geneva.

Cover photo: Toronto, with a population of 2.7 million people (5.9 million in the GTA - Greater Toronto Area) is among the most multicultural cities in the world. In 2006, the City of Toronto was home to almost 8 per cent of Canada's population, 30 per cent of all recent immigrants and 20 per cent of all immigrants. Toronto is the most linguistically diverse city in Canada and one of the most diverse in the world, with over 140 different languages and dialects spoken here. © IOM (Photo: Muse Mohammed)

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MIGRANTS AND CITIES: STEPPING BEYOND WORLD MIGRATION REPORT 2015¹

Introduction

The 2015 edition of the World Migration Report (WMR) was devoted to a single theme: the relationship between migrants and the cities of the world. With more than half of the world's population now living in urban areas, it is not surprising that cities are gaining recognition from those who write policy, conduct research, invest or migrate. Nearly all migrants, whether international or internal, are destined for cities, for it is in the city that their human capital is most rewarded. The fact that the WMR 2015 was devoted to cities was a clear and timely acknowledgement that cities must be better appreciated as the destinations of the world's migrants, and that it is not only national authorities that influence where migrants go and how they fare once they arrive. Rather, it is the city that often is the primary draw for migration, and it is the city within which the integration of migrants often takes place. How we think of the governance of migration or, indeed, the governance of societies more broadly, is changing in recognition of the rapidly growing importance of the world's cities to the workings of societies and their economies. The *World Migration Report 2015* covered much ground. This chapter of the WMR 2018 is a short update to the 2015 work, and we hope that it stimulates new research and causes policy officials at all levels of government to think deeper into the workings of cities and their governance roles.

With chapters on migration and urban diversity, the vulnerability and resilience of migrants, migration and urban development, and governance through partnerships, the WMR 2015 offered an examination of the migrant-city relationship in both the Global North and the Global South, with its emphasis on the well-being of migrants and the protection of their rights – now often described as “the right to the city”.² The report noted that migrants are willing partners in local governance and willing contributors to the fortunes of the city in which they live and, therefore, that the governance of urban areas ought to include the migrants and attend explicitly to their interests. Recommendations were made with a view to the inclusion of migrants in the workings of their cities and to the benefits that this form of inclusion will have for the cities themselves. It is, the report urged, in the best interests of both migrant and city that cities “put inclusive urban policies in place for basic services and socioeconomic inclusion”. Furthermore, “cities that strengthen their economic, political and cultural positioning within the global system should draw on the potential opportunities presented by migrant populations living in their communities”.

In this chapter, we will build upon the foundation of the WMR 2015, which was launched at the IOM's conference, *Migrants and Cities*, held in Geneva in October of that year. We will look at the role of the modern city in

1 Howard Duncan, Executive Head of the Metropolis Project and Secretariat and Ioana Popp, Migration Policy Officer, IOM.

2 The New York-based organization, Right to the City, describes its founding idea as “born out of the power of an idea of a new kind of urban politics that asserts that everyone, particularly the disenfranchised, not only has a right to the city, but as inhabitants, have a right to shape it, design it, and operationalize an urban human rights agenda”. See <http://righttothecity.org/about/mission-history/>. The origin of the idea is attributed to the French philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, and it has been taken up by many others and developed to apply to migration and to the development of suburbs. See also the recent work by COMPAS at the University of Oxford: *Global Migration and the Right to the Cities of the Future* (available from www.futureofcities.ox.ac.uk/research/global-migration-and-the-right-to-the-cities-of-the-future/).

migration governance, taking advantage of some of the recent research on the evolving nature of cities and of their roles in the world. The growth in the influence of cities over social and economic affairs and over migration trajectories, both international and internal, demands greater attention from both scholars and policymakers. In providing a brief update to, and building upon, the WMR 2015, we will highlight areas that we believe deserve further scrutiny by researchers and by members of the policy community, whether locally, nationally or internationally. As such, this chapter is selective in its coverage, not pretending to be a comprehensive review of the current literature and not duplicating what the WMR 2015 explored.

The recent international context

Migrants and their relationship to cities have been the focus of an unusually large number of activities in the international community over the past two years. The IOM Migrants and Cities Conference convened mayors and other officials for wide-ranging discussions intended to raise our collective awareness of how city administrations and other local institutions affect migration and its outcomes and to stimulate further work in the area.³

The Third Global Mayoral Forum on migration and development took place in Quezon, the Philippines, in September 2016, led by the Joint Migration and Development Initiative, IOM and the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).⁴ Part of that conference included work on how local authorities can benefit from and support the Migrants in Countries in Crisis Initiative – another example of how cities are featuring in national and international initiatives. The Fifth World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders took place in October 2016 in Bogota, Colombia and, for the first time, migration issues were included in the agenda of the three-day event. The Summit culminated in a Declaration – the Bogota Commitment – in which signatories called for local action towards sustainable urbanization.⁵ The Global Parliament of Mayors, launched shortly ahead of Habitat III to enable political city leaders to jointly advocate for local interests, adopted migration as one of its two priorities.

The traditional focal point of the United Nations for urban issues has been UN-Habitat, and the Habitat III conference, which took place in Quito, Ecuador in October 2016, gave a very high degree of prominence to migration in its New Urban Agenda. The wording on undocumented migrants in the world's cities – that all migrants ought to be accorded the same rights, regardless of their legal status – received much attention. The conference participants agreed that: all inhabitants, including migrants, whether living in formal or informal settlements, be enabled to lead decent, dignified and rewarding lives and to achieve their full human potential. This commitment recognizes the fact that, although migration takes many forms, all migrants are rights holders, whether that migrant is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his or her habitual place of residence; regardless of the person's legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; whatever the causes for the movement are; or whatever the length of the stay is.⁶ The Habitat III conversation took advantage of the IOM's Migration Governance Framework, which has been adapted to create an Urban Migration Governance Framework, formally known as the Migration Toolbox for Urban Governance.⁷

3 The recommendations from this conference are in IOM, 2015a.

4 The report is available from www.globalmayoralforum3.ph/index.php.

5 IOM, 2016.

6 United Conference on Housing and Sustainable Development (Habitat III), 2016.

7 IOM, 2015b.

More recently, the United Nations adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which launched processes to develop two global compacts to respond to the perceived migration and refugee crises in different areas of the world – perhaps most notably as a result of the Syrian civil war. One of the compacts will be on refugees and the other will focus on ways to promote safe, orderly and regular migration. Elements of these compacts may well include a recognition of the efficacy of, and responsibilities for, cities with respect to migration and integration. Furthermore, in February, 2017, the United Nations General Assembly received the *Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Migration*.⁸ This report (often referred to as *The Sutherland Report*, after its author, Sir Peter Sutherland) offered an extensive analysis of the global migration situation and the challenges that it presents, together with recommendations for the international community to manage these challenges. The report highlights five areas: crisis-related migration; labour migration; orderly migration, including return; inclusion; and migration governance. Recommendation 14 speaks to the empowerment of cities and local governments in ways that reflect some of the themes of this chapter, as well as those of the WMR 2015 and the report of the Migrants and Cities Conference.

An updated image of cities

Urbanization has increased to such an extent throughout most countries of the world that its effects may force a re-thinking of many aspects of governance, including the governance of migration. Migration has nearly become synonymous with urbanization, given the dominance of the city as the destination of most migrants. Some cities are finding it difficult to manage the rapid growth in their populations, while others are trying to find their way as their residents leave for cities elsewhere. The urban agenda has been growing in academic circles for a number of decades and, with regard to migration, has perhaps been most advanced by such scholars as Saskia Sassen,⁹ Manuel Castells,¹⁰ and Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar.¹¹ Sassen alerted us to the global city (as distinct from the older concept of the world city) and the impact that it has, well beyond its country's borders – in particular, as a result of the globalization of finance and other industries through information and communication technology (ICT), and the consequent weakening of the State, often over-stated but nonetheless real. Global cities and the firms that power them can operate beyond the reach of national policy and regulation. Scholars have for some time been shifting their concentration from States to local authorities in furthering our understanding of migration and other phenomena, noting the increased efficacy of the city in determining migration flows, partly due to ICTs and other aspects of globalization.¹² Glick Schiller and Çağlar in their recent collection, *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*,¹³ extend this recent approach, some of it building upon the earlier insight of Castells, to see cities as spaces of flows rather than as static physical settlements, and with migrants as significant agents in the evolution of a city's character. Hein de Haas and Mathias Czaika recently noted:

Human resources and economic activities have become increasingly concentrated in a relatively low number of countries or, more precisely, metropolitan areas within a few countries – which reflects processes of urbanization and internal (rural–urban) migration.¹⁴

8 UNGA, 2017.

9 Sassen, 1991.

10 Castells, 1996.

11 Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2010.

12 Skelcher, Sullivan and Jeffares, 2013; Buch et al., 2013; Combes, Démurger and Li, 2017.

13 Glick Schiller and Çağlar, 2010.

14 de Haas and Czaika, 2014.

These developments are not of merely academic interest. They suggest that cities may be more influential and capable than even their own officials realize. National governments need to build into their migration and integration policy frameworks a robust role for city administrations and other local actors, and cities need to acknowledge their degree of influence and note that responsibility for migration and the migrants who live in their cities is not that of national jurisdictions alone.

Cities have become significant determinants of global migration flows and their patterns – because, once again, it is the city that most rewards a migrant’s human capital.¹⁵ Seto argues:

Migration to urban centers in mega-deltas is an outcome of many forces: economic policies and incentives, local and destination institutions, government policies to develop small towns, and the geographic concentration of investments. Massive influx of capital to many deltas has transformed the local economic base from a primarily agricultural one to a manufacturing and processing economy. This has created uneven spatial economic development, which is the underlying driver of migration to cities in the mega-deltas regardless of geographic context or size. Going forward to 2060, one critical challenge for all the deltas is to increase the labor skill of their workforce and foster technology innovation. Continued economic growth in these regions will require substantial investments in education and capacity building and the ability of urban centers to absorb the migrant labor pool.¹⁶

Despite this reality, the migration literature and data collection continue to emphasize *countries* as sources and destinations, the role of national migration and integration policy, national employment statistics, and other national-level phenomena. But it is not only national policies or a country’s need for labour that determine migration flows. It is city administrations, together with the other local institutions in the private and non-governmental sectors, that attract economic activity and that promote interest, investment and immigration. National policy regimes provide a background within which local activity takes place, but increasingly it is city institutions that recruit and retain migrants. We have long heard that it is cities that are responsible for the lion’s share of integration, but we hear less of the city’s role in determining migration flows themselves. This lack of recognition has resulted in a significant gap in both research and migration policy development – a gap wherein those who are arguably the major determinants of migration flows are largely absent from the policy discussions. The point of emphasis is not the older point of whether cities are sufficiently equipped to manage the arrival and integration of migrants. The fundamental point here is that cities are not part of national migration policy development, despite the fact that they are increasingly among the principal determinants of migration.

Migration, urbanization and challenges to governance

The *World Migration Report 2015* drew our attention to the formation of partnerships within cities for managing migration, including for the economic development of the cities themselves. The report argued that migration should be seen, not as an unfortunate burden for cities to cope with, but as representing significant potential benefits for cities. Many of the partnerships explored in the report were between cities and migrants, with

¹⁵ Price and Benton-Short, 2007. See also Scott and Storper, 2003 for another classic treatment.

¹⁶ Seto, 2011.

migrants seen as major contributors as employees, as entrepreneurs and employers, and as bridges for trade, commerce and culture between the city and the migrants' homelands. But the report also looked at the relations between national and local government and saw not only a degree of policy fragmentation but also potential for effective partnerships between these levels of government. Given this policy fragmentation, as well as the newer approach to cities reported in the academic literature, some countries might benefit from a repositioning of authorities, with more responsibility and autonomy given to local governments. This point is also alluded to in *The Sutherland Report*.

As the principals in the global competition for talent, cities are the main draw, but they are restricted in exercising and directing their influence, due to their limited authority over migration policy, tax revenues and, hence, programmes to attract, support and retain migrants. There are many different aspects to the overall question of local governance of migration and its effects, and we will touch on a few that received less attention in the WMR 2015, relating to its call for enhanced national–local policy partnerships. It should be recognized that, given this chapter's focus on governance, we emphasize the institutions of governance – whether the formal administrative institutions of local government or the private and civil society sectors. What one learns, however, especially from the less formally structured activities of residents (including migrants), is that much of what characterizes a city is determined by its residents. This goes beyond the scope of their efforts to improve their local economic and social lives; the international connections that migrants retain and that other residents forge through business, family affairs, education and culture shape the character of a city. It is often through these efforts that innovation is born and replicated – perhaps most impressively evident in slums and peri-urban settlements where reliance on formal governance institutions may be unrealistic.¹⁷

Sanctuary cities

Some cities have simply asserted themselves with regard to some aspects of migration policy by, for example, directly promoting their city as a preferred destination for migrants or, along an entirely different line, declaring themselves to be a *sanctuary city*, in open defiance of national law with respect to the treatment of those in a country illegally. The Sanctuary City movement is most prominent in the United States of America but exists elsewhere, and it demonstrates a city's displeasure with national immigration law and its unwillingness to be part of the enforcement of those laws to which it takes exception. In his 2017 article, Harald Bauder analysed the concept of the Sanctuary City from the perspective of Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, finding significant differences in how the concept of sanctuary is understood and applied in these three countries.¹⁸ The relative informality of Sanctuary Cities as a movement means that there are differences among them, with more similarities between the Canadian and US cities than those in the United Kingdom, which tends to use the term "Cities of Sanctuary". There, the concept emphasizes communities welcoming and supporting refugees and other migrants in open defiance of national immigration law.¹⁹

The existence of Sanctuary Cities is, perhaps, a result of the lack of involvement of cities in setting immigration policy and determining how such policy is implemented. With the United States of America now proposing to financially or otherwise sanction self-declared Sanctuary Cities, it is clear that declaring a city to be a Sanctuary City can constitute an act of civil disobedience. These examples of cities exerting a degree of autonomy over

17 Rufin, 2016; Deiningger et al., 2010.

18 Bauder, 2017.

19 See <https://cityofsanctuary.org/>.

migration affairs reflect the current lack of involvement of cities in national migration policy development and point to the need for local-national partnerships (such as those mentioned in the WMR 2015) to be developed.²⁰

Slums in the world's megacities

The discussion of local migration-related governance challenges tends to start from how cities can manage population growth – especially growth that brings with it increased diversity. Nowhere is this challenge more keenly felt than in the world's megacities, most of which are in developing countries. In 2016, there were over 30 megacities in the world – cities with at least 10 million residents – led by Tokyo with over 38 million residents.²¹ Many of the world's megacities have large slums – some with over 1 million residents. The world's largest slum – Neza-Chalco-Itza, in Mexico City – has over 4 million residents and is referred to as a “mega-slum”.²² The governance problems associated with slums are legion and well documented; suffice it to say that, in slums, one experiences inadequate, crowded and unsafe housing, a lack of basic infrastructure and public utilities, such as safe drinking water, sanitation services, garbage removal, adequate streets and roads, even for the passage of emergency vehicles, access to affordable transportation, and more. These conditions lead to risks of disease, violence, lack of education and other opportunities for human development, and elevated harms from natural disasters. Slum formation has been a central characteristic of rapid urbanization – both from internal and international migration – in the Global South and is expected to continue well into the future. For cities facing these challenges, continued high levels of migration represent a significant problem. Some cities in the Global South have adopted measures to try to curtail rural-to-urban migration simply because they are unable to offer the level of services and basic infrastructure required to meet the needs of the newcomers whose rate of arrival can far outstrip the rate at which local government can respond.

Although most rural-to-urban migration takes place within national boundaries, national governments can support local authorities in managing this form of migration, perhaps with help from the international community. Megacities that grow through the enlargement of slums rather than through increased economic prosperity risk severe problems to the point of becoming ungovernable. Finding ways to turn internal rural-to-urban migration into a net positive for the world's megacities and other large cities is becoming increasingly urgent, especially with few signs that such migration will abate. In other words, it is unlikely that the solution will be to slow, let alone stop, the movement of people to the city. But the challenge of upgrading slums immediately meets the challenge of doing so inclusively.

Upgrading slums inclusively

The misery of slums has been a major challenge in the development literature for decades. Here we wish to point to a relatively recent shift in perspective – a shift that accompanies the interest in inclusive development. The UN-Habitat Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme is an example of the interest in *inclusive urban development* in its desire for empowering “key urban actors, especially slum dwellers themselves, to contribute to the incremental eradication of urban poverty at community, city-wide and national levels”. Inclusive development in general seeks to involve all stakeholders in development decision-making processes, with the aim that development goals (such as those expressed through per capita GDP growth rates) not be achieved at the expense of the poorest members of a society. Having the residents of slums involved in the development

20 Chen, 2015.

21 UN DESA, 2016.

22 See <https://borgenproject.org/category/slums/>.

process should not only enhance economic outcomes and improve living conditions but also enhance the quality of governance in the city. Having the migrant residents of a slum engaged in its development can be a powerful means of integrating them into the life of the city; it is a way for migrants to take partial responsibility for their own integration, assuming a greater degree of agency as opposed to remaining in a condition of vulnerability.

This brings us back to the innovation potential that many now see in slums as their residents develop their own solutions to the many challenges of daily life. Because formal governance institutions cannot be relied upon to solve all of the many problems in the slums, the residents become the agents of improvement and the developers of new ideas for managing the neighbourhood.²³ In this, many see hope, but others caution against overly romanticizing the slum.

Comments from the Global South at IOM's Migrants and Cities Conference

Slum formation has been a central characteristic of rapid urbanization in the Global South and is expected to continue well into the future. Many of the world's megacities have large slums, some with over 1 million residents. K.B. Wiafe, the Mayor of Kumasi, Ghana, pointed to the creation of slums as a significant detrimental effect of migration to the city; those living in slums have but poor access to electricity and potable water. He expressed the hope that migration to Kumasi could be reduced to ease the pressure on the city's housing supply and considered incentives to offer people to remain in their rural homes. Mark Owen Woyongo, Minister of the Interior, Ghana echoed these comments in the context of his country; the city of Accra has 43 per cent of its population living in slums. Ambassador Ndayisaba of Burundi made similar points about his capital city. Alex Ross of the World Health Organization (WHO) noted the link between living in a slum and poor health as a result of crowding, a lack of drinkable water, poor sanitation and poverty. He described WHO's approach towards solutions for urban health as based upon capturing data on health inequities, prioritizing interventions, developing migrant sensitive health systems, establishing cultural competency and linguistic access, looking at urban planning and public health together, differentiating responses according to conditions, and enacting these measures through partnerships.

Peri-urban slum settlements

Peri-urban settlements in developing countries have grown with rapid urbanization – through both internal and international migration – and are presenting challenges that, while similar to those of urban slums, are markedly different, owing to their location not only outside the city limits but often outside the legal jurisdiction of the city. Peri-urban slums can be even less formal than urban slums, with even fewer services and resources. As a result, living conditions (including sanitary conditions) can be much worse than in urban slums, employment is often distant and difficult to access, and the reach of urban planners tends not to extend as far as the peri-urban settlements, leaving a major gap in governance. Being at or beyond the periphery of a city, peri-urban areas can be virtually ungoverned, not only leaving problems unsolved and needs unmet, but also leaving these settlements vulnerable to control by organized criminal groups.²⁴ These informal settlements can be found on

23 Smedley 2013; Manoj et al., 2016. The innovation potential of slums is also highlighted in Saunders, 2010.

24 Amerasinghe and Marshall, 2017; Shivendra and Ramaraju, 2013.

the periphery of cities throughout much of the developing world. Much has been written on this phenomenon in South Asia, Africa and Latin America, and this growing body of literature speaks not only of the difficulties that migration to peri-urban regions produces but also of the resourcefulness and innovations that can arise from these settlements.²⁵ The Mathare Valley Slums in Nairobi, Kenya offer an example of how the residents of what is regarded as an illegal and impermanent settlement have responded to the lack of official governance over the settlement by creating their own economic and informal governance mechanisms.²⁶

The growth of peri-urban areas is not only found in developing countries but also on the periphery of cities in the Global North in a more recent variant on urban sprawl. The accelerating cost of housing, together with migration into Europe, has, for example, led to the establishment of many peri-urban settlements. Academic researchers are turning more of their attention to these informal and illegal settlements, which are stressing the governance capacities of neighbouring cities such as Lisbon, Athens and Rome.²⁷

Shrinking cities

At the opposite end of the spectrum of growing cities are cities that are shrinking as a result of a combination of outmigration and low fertility levels, leaving them not only with smaller populations and therefore smaller tax bases but often with older populations as well. Nearly 1 in 10 cities in the United States is shrinking²⁸ and this is replicated in many other countries in both the Global North and the Global South as people move elsewhere for economic or other advantages. Often, it is the very large cities that are attracting people from smaller urban centres – for example, in Japan where many are leaving medium-sized cities for greater fortunes in Tokyo.²⁹ In other cases, such as in the Russian Federation and Ukraine, overall national population decline is resulting in population decline in some cities. Among developing countries, it is the cities of China and India that are experiencing the greatest shrinkages.³⁰ Some cities that experience population decline bounce back, as is well-illustrated by the city of London, United Kingdom. Although the city experienced a period of decline when its population in 1991 dropped to 6.4 million from nearly 9 million in 1939, its economic fortunes then reversed, followed by a population recovery, and it is now projected to become a megacity before 2020.³¹ American cities such as Detroit have become well known for their population decline (figure 1) and, in partnership with State of Michigan authorities, are making strong efforts to attract migrants to the city to reverse this long-term trend. Modest success has been achieved with many of the new arrivals being from Muslim-majority countries; Detroit now boasts the largest Arab-American community in the United States.³² The economic and demographic fortunes of cities such as Detroit are highly intertwined, and the future of this and other cities that have experienced population decline must be observed for lessons learned. Although there is reason for optimism in the experiences of London and New York, which also suffered a steep population loss in the 1970s, the harsher reality for many future and currently shrinking cities is that historically low fertility rates mean that some of these cities will need to develop strategies to manage the effects of permanent population loss.³³

25 Narain, Anand and Banerjee, 2013.

26 Thorn, Thornton and Helfgott, 2015.

27 Raposo, Crespo and Lages, 2017; Salvati et al., 2014.

28 *The Economist*, 2015.

29 Takahashi and Sugiura, 1996.

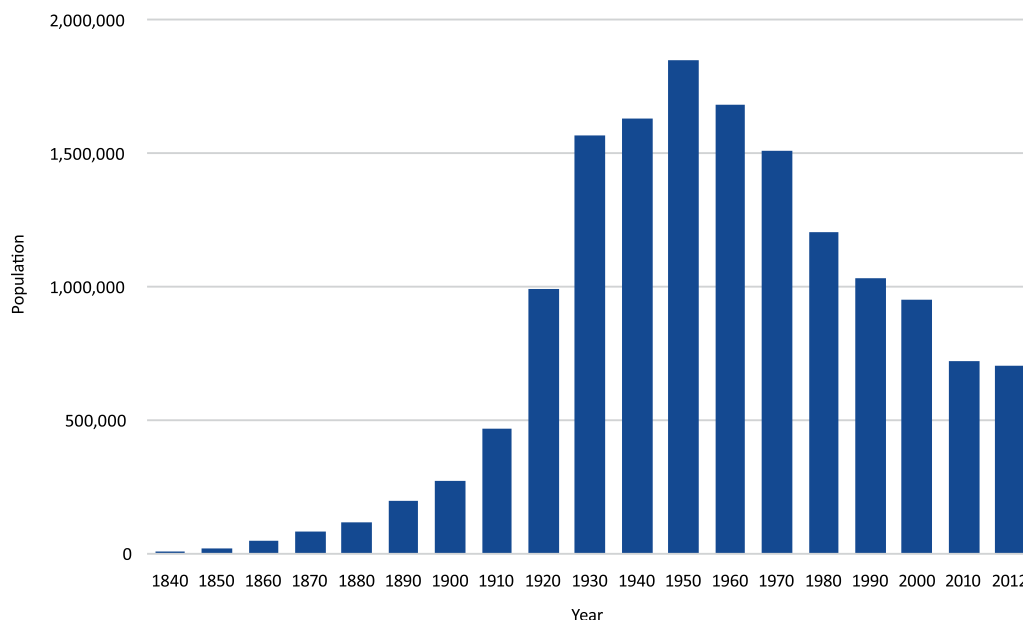
30 The Robinson Rojas Archives, 2008.

31 GLA Intelligence, 2015.

32 Arab American Institute, 2012.

33 Pallagst, 2014.

Figure 1. Detroit's population, 1840–2012



Source: Myler, 2013.

The response of cities to the 2015–2016 mass migration and displacement

More specifically with regard to the role of cities in migrant integration and inclusion, much attention is being given to the efforts of civil society organizations that have come to the foreground – for example, in the settling and integration of refugees and other migrants who came in exceptionally large numbers to Austria, Germany and Sweden in 2015–2016.³⁴ Their contribution has been widely recognized as both a form of emergency response and a vital part of a longer-term solution to the challenge of so many people adjusting to their new social and economic contexts.

The example of Canada, which has resettled approximately 40,000 Syrian refugees since 2015, has caught considerable attention, owing to the role of local non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in not only contributing to the early arrival and settlement of Syrians, but also acting as formal refugee sponsors.³⁵ The privately sponsored refugee programme in Canada allows locally based civil society organizations to enter into an agreement with the Government whereby the private sponsor incurs the costs of settlement and integration for the refugees for one year and the Government accordingly provides visas following security and medical screening.³⁶ A number of countries have looked to this programme as a possible model for their NGO sector to follow. The Global Refugee Sponsorship Initiative was launched in response, with the support of the United Nations High Commissioner

34 Glorius and Doomernik (eds), 2016. See also the Brookings Institution, n.d.

35 Government of Canada, 2015.

36 Hyndman, Payne and Jimenez, 2017; Tito and Cochand, 2017; Garcea, 2016.

for Refugees (UNHCR), the Government of Canada and the Open Society Foundation; their objective is to help other countries implement their own version of Canada's private refugee sponsorship programme.³⁷ Although this form of programming is under national government jurisdiction, it is important to note that it functions only through local community actors and local government agencies who take the initiative in sponsoring the refugees. Characteristically, demand for sponsorships ran higher than the available visas and, in fact, outpaced the administrative ability of the national government to process applications. This indicates not only a willingness on the part of people to support the settlement and integration of refugees in their communities but also a capacity to organize the settlement process as this formal government programme demands.

However, it is the cities in the Middle East and Turkey that have borne the greatest share of the responsibility for the caring of the refugees from Iraq, the Syrian Arab Republic and surrounding countries, and it is here that the response has been most remarkable. Although many refugees are in camps, whether UNHCR camps or others, a large number are urban refugees living in the cities of Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey. Only 8 per cent of refugees in Turkey are in camps, with the rest living in Turkish cities. Istanbul alone is home to 539,000 Syrians, at last count, and the registration process continues.³⁸ National-local government relations have proved challenging in this exceptional environment, and Murat Erdogan argues that: "Municipalities should be regarded as the primary institutions that determine migration, refugee and cohesion policies rather than as institutions that might or might not be consulted in this regard depending on the central government's preference." He also recommends that the following practices be implemented:

Another practice that would be as efficient as the previous one is the development of mechanisms to gather all relevant public institutions under one roof. It is important to create areas for refugees where all services can be offered in one place. [...] In local services, refugees should be involved in the decision-making process. We should consider the needs, suggestions and concerns of Syrians, as we are living together with them now. Both legal and administrative arrangements may be made in this regard. It is also very important that local governments, especially municipalities, work on preventing potential tension between local people and refugees while providing services to refugees in this process. The performance of municipalities on local harmonization will directly affect the overall harmonization in society. Programs involving social inclusion are extremely valuable in terms of developing the capacity to cope with social conflicts.³⁹

Governance: beyond policy to urban planning

Since the launch of the *World Migration Report 2015*, recognition of the power of cities to influence global migration flows and their role in the integration of migrants has only grown among academic and other researchers.⁴⁰ The importance of cities to migration is not a temporary matter but a consequence of the degree to which the world's population has urbanized. Many of our attitudes towards cities were shaped when societies were considerably more rural than they are now, and this is particularly evident with regard to their role in

37 UNHCR, 2016.

38 Erdogan, 2017.

39 Erdogan, 2017.

40 See, for example, The Guardian, 2015 and the LSE Cities centre website (<https://lsecities.net/>).

the governance of our societies. Both national and other higher jurisdictions and cities need to recognize that the growth in the importance and influence of cities requires shifts in our attitudes about governance roles. National and other upper levels of government need to find ways to bring cities to the migration and integration policy tables, among others. Given that there are usually numerous cities in individual countries, how cities are represented at the policy table will require some serious consideration, but associations of municipalities such as the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, the National League of Cities (US), Eurocities and Africa's Municipal Development Partnership might be able to play this role at national policy tables. Local governments and institutions need to recognize the influence that they have – either in reality or potentially – and assume a degree of responsibility and leadership appropriate to their circumstances. In other words, cities should be further empowered and should accept this empowerment.

Jurisdictional change takes time, especially if it requires amendments to a constitution. Granting municipalities greater authority over revenue generation, land use determination and infrastructure development (some of the standard responsibilities of local governments) will not happen quickly if allocating authorities is a zero sum proposition. And offering local governments any form of authority over migration policy would prove yet more difficult. As long as local decisions affecting migration, settlement and integration can be over-ridden by higher jurisdictions, there is all the more reason to encourage deeper cooperation among governments and to find ways to bring local authorities to the policy table of higher-level governments, leaving possible formal reassignments of jurisdictional authorities to the longer term. The call for national-level governments to bring local authorities to the policy table is for the purposes of more judiciously adjusting the numbers of migrants who are admitted yearly, helping societies to better compete for the migrants that they and their economies need, and achieving better integration and a greater degree of inclusion for the migrants and their families. The development of national migration and integration policies will be enhanced if local partners are involved. Much of the discussion of the role played by cities within their own jurisdictions has emphasized policy (particularly policy that is inclusive of the migrants and their interests) whose implementation confers the benefits of inclusion on the migrants and the benefits of social harmony, an enriched culture, and a more vibrant economy on the city and its residents. The calls for better alignment of local with higher-level policy are reflected in the WMR 2015, but where cities most powerfully come into their own is with planning, and it is the interface of planning and migration that requires more attention than it has so far received. Urban planning is an aspect of governance often neglected in discussions of managing migration, which tend to consider higher-level policy; more attention needs to be paid to this highly important but quotidian aspect of governance.

Declaring a policy of, for example, migrant inclusion, openness to migrant entrepreneurs and support for their integration is one thing, but it is in planning that concrete implementation begins. Plans embody priorities for allocating resources, and they frame decisions made by administrators and elected officials. A policy of inclusion may be thwarted by city plans that do not allow migrant-owned business or places of worship to be established. The planning process itself can be an act of inclusion by ensuring the representation of migrant communities or businesses or religious, cultural and other institutions on planning committees. The participation of migrant and minority groups at the planning table will not only be itself an act of inclusion but, more importantly, will ensure that the interests and needs of these communities are understood and appreciated from a planning perspective. There are many examples to consider, among them the location of services, the provision of basic infrastructure including transportation, communications, health care, education, social services and access to ICTs. Issues relating to values, rights and politics matter; in the everyday lives of migrants, however, it can be the more practical planning issues that take on the greatest salience for the inclusion of migrants in a city. Is the migrants' neighbourhood served well by public transit? Can a new ethnic grocery store be opened in the neighbourhood? Can a place of worship be built, with sufficient parking spaces? Can a library branch be opened

nearby? Can migrant-serving agencies be located nearby? These and similar practical matters are the domain of urban planners more than that of elected or other policy officials.

Planning for diversity

With the strong interest in the rights of migrants, the right to the city movement, and inclusive local policy development, urban planning has often been neglected in the discussion of migrant integration. To a certain extent, planning for the effects of migration is parallel to that of planning for a growing population, where top priorities are infrastructure, service provision and economic development. But planning around migration must go beyond these fundamentals, owing to the diversity that migration brings to a city's people. Many argue that diversity can be an advantage to a society, and the City of Toronto years ago adopted *Diversity Our Strength* as its motto. Furthermore, many networks devoted to the advantages of managing diversity as a strength have emerged, including the Council of Europe's *Intercultural Cities Programme* and *Cities of Migration*, which was created by the Maytree Foundation of Toronto. Planning theory offers what has been called "multicultural planning" as a set of principles to guide urban planners in their work to incorporate migration and diversity into their planning and plans. Although not often put into practice, the theory warrants serious consideration and deserves to be better known in the fields of migration and urban planning.

In brief, multicultural planning is the planned alteration of the built environment and/or planning processes in response to the multi-ethnic composition and orientation of the local population.⁴¹ Traditional forms of urban planning tend to homogenize the residents, seeking to serve the broad public good. Multicultural planning takes the diversity of a population directly into account, noting the distinct interests of its composite groups, where they live, work and carry out their lives. In many large cities in North America, for example, migrants from Asia are settling directly into the suburbs, foregoing the earlier initial stay in an inner-city enclave.⁴² The development pressures on suburbs in Los Angeles, Toronto or Vancouver, not only with respect to housing but also to business development and other activities with strong implications for land use, require a different way of thinking about the suburbs, with a different approach to planning and those involved in the process.

Minority ethnic retail areas provide a significant challenge for urban planners, given the complexity of the uses to which ethnic communities may put these areas, which can go well beyond shopping for goods. Zhixi Cecilia Zhuang's recent work on these districts in Toronto offers strong directions for planners.⁴³ It is in the small aspects of daily life, such as shopping and moving about through one's community and engaging with one's fellow residents, that a city's degree of inclusiveness is revealed. Planning decisions have a significant impact on the quality of these daily life experiences, which is the point of multicultural planning. High-level policy statements are meaningless if they are not implemented through urban plans.

41 Van der Horst and Ouwehand, 2011.

42 Hiebert, 2015; Gold, 2015; Li, 2008.

43 Zhuang, 2015.

Planning for diversity: the example of retail land use by Zhixi Cecilia Zhuang

Municipalities should explore creative ways to support immigrant groups in expressing their cultures and lifestyles. City-wide policies, such as official plans, urban design guidelines and cultural plans, should explicitly recognize the ethno-cultural diversity manifested in urban landscapes. In addition, site-specific policies should be developed in minority ethnic retail areas, which will allow ethnic communities to work with city officials to incorporate cultural expressions on design and planning matters including, but not limited to, streetscapes, architectural façades, storefront decorations, sidewalk spaces, signage, street vending, public arts and community events. Possible policy outcomes could be secondary plans, special area studies, strategic plans, streetscape design guidelines, or comprehensive community improvement plans that will provide city officials with explicit guidance as to how to maintain and enhance such profound ethnic landscapes. City officials can play a key role in reflecting community needs, optimizing various resources and improving the physical business environment. Specifically, city planners, urban designers and economic development officers, as the frontline professionals, are accountable for addressing issues related to neighbourhood changes and expressions of identity, design quality of public spaces, and economic development and revitalization.^a

a Zhuang, 2015.

Mohammad Qadeer takes a broader look at multicultural planning and offers a set of principles that he believes should guide urban planners who want to ensure that their city welcomes diversity and is inclusive.⁴⁴

Advice to cities in planning for diversity, as recommended by Mohammad Qadeer

- Provide minority language facilities, translations and interpretation, in public consultations.
- Include minority representatives in planning committees and task forces, as well as diversifying planning staff.
- Include ethnic/minority community organizations in the planning decision-making processes.
- Recognize ethnic diversity as a planning goal in official/comprehensive plans.
- Include city-wide policies for culture-specific institutions in plans – such as places of worship, ethnic seniors' homes, cultural institutions, funeral homes, fairs and parades.
- Routinely analyse ethnic and racial variables in planning analysis.
- Study ethnic enclaves and neighbourhoods in transition.
- Establish policies/design guidelines for sustaining ethnic neighbourhoods.
- Establish policies/strategies for ethnic commercial areas, malls and business improvement areas.
- Include culture/religion as an acceptable reason for site-specific accommodations/minor variances.

44 Qadeer, 2009; Qadeer and Agrawal, 2011.

- Accommodate ethnic signage, street names and symbols.
- Address ethnic-specific service needs.
- Address immigrants' special service needs.
- Establish policies/projects for ethnic heritage preservation.
- Develop guidelines for housing to suit diverse groups.
- Promote ethnic community initiatives for housing and neighbourhood development.
- Develop strategies that take into account intercultural needs.
- Promote ethnic entrepreneurship for economic development.
- Promote ethnic art and cultural services.
- Accommodate ethnic sports (such as cricket and bocce) in playfield design and programming.

City plans are often developed for 10–25-year periods and, therefore, represent the long-term strategic planning of the sort necessitated by demographic change. Although migration trends can sometimes shift unexpectedly, often (especially with managed migration systems) they can be predicted to no small extent, and this allows for more effective longer-term urban planning. This is particularly useful with regard to high-capital-cost infrastructure development such as for transportation, housing, electricity, water and sanitation systems, communications, and the location of commercial and retail sectors. Stable and predictable immigration trends, together with research findings on settlement patterns for new arrivals to the city, offer advantages to planners tasked with mapping out the long-term future of a city. Again, our hope in this section is to draw greater attention to the importance of urban planning in the local governance of migration. Calls for inclusive local policy have been a step forward in this discussion, but the development of policy alone is not enough. For inclusiveness to be achieved, the appropriate policies must be implemented through on-the-ground planning.

Looking ahead

A Global North bias in the discussion?

These concerns of urban planning and the incorporation of multiculturalism into planning spring largely from the experiences of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. The discussion on migration and cities, including its urban planning aspects, can be deeply slanted towards the concerns of fully developed societies and their mature economies. When this happens, these discussions may leave out the situations faced by cities in developing countries, whether those cities are modestly sized or megacities. Many cities in developing countries face the challenges of slums, which, by their nature, are unplanned. Slums are not only places of poverty; they also lack basic services, including drinkable water, sanitation, electricity and public transportation. They may include areas unreachable by motor vehicles (including ambulances) and may be considered ungovernable and beyond the reach of planning initiatives.

The principal challenge of slums, however, is substandard housing – a major theme of the Habitat III Conference. The New Urban Agenda that emerged from the Habitat III Conference in Quito is exceptionally ambitious and comprehensive. Despite its being a non-binding agreement, it offers very useful long-term guidance to local and national governments on how to make cities more livable, sustainable and inclusive. But, even here, and with

the involvement of national governments of developing countries, the question remains whether the New Urban Agenda is more realistic for wealthier countries than for those of developing nations. One fundamental concern must be with the lack of planners in developing countries; not all cities have a planning office, and many do not have even a single planner. In other words, the capacity of the world's cities to implement the New Urban Agenda is not equal, and the wealthier countries are likely to perform best in implementing it.

With regard to the local management of migration effects, it is, once again, the cities in the world's wealthier countries that will fare best as they have a greater resource capacity, including for planning, and they have a higher capacity to manage migration flows than countries in the Global South. While we can applaud the fact that UN Member States reached agreement on the Sustainable Development Goals, which included numerous references to cities and to migration, as well as the fact that they reached agreement on the New Urban Agenda, which also includes references to migrants, it is debatable whether universal agreements of these sorts are fully appropriate for all societies at the same time. Societies that are currently unable to fully implement these goals may still find them useful, over time. But some cities in developing countries face problems that are simply different and far more severe than those faced by cities in the world's richer countries, and this will affect their ability to implement the full range of objectives. To which should they give priority?

While financial resources are important, we have seen time and again that many places are not prepared to use new resources if they were made available, and in fact do not use resources that are readily available now. Local capacity is the biggest obstacle [...]. There is a scarcity of human capacity. India is estimated to have some 3,000 trained planners, even though it has 5,000 places with populations exceeding 10,000 people. Even if we allocated only one planner per place — an absurd proposition, given the size of New Delhi or Mumbai — 40 percent of the places would be without a planner. Furthermore, few planners have backgrounds in public finance, and most public finance professionals do not have well-demonstrated planning skills, leaving most places with inadequate capital budgeting and difficulty maintaining existing infrastructure.⁴⁵

To these cautionary remarks should be added the fact that fully developed countries can learn from the experiences of those less wealthy. As was remarked briefly with regard to slums, there are innovations being developed by the less wealthy. Such innovations are of value in their own right but also demonstrate the potential of a less formal approach to city management — an approach that leaves more room for residents, including migrants, to develop solutions to local problems, ideas for economic advancement, and the means to strengthen social cohesion.

Some implications

Each of the areas discussed here, however briefly, warrants further examination by academic, government and civil society researchers, as well as by local and national policy officials, and by the international community, which is becoming increasingly engaged in these matters. Further discussions on the themes covered in this chapter, with emphasis on the following, are warranted:

45 Citiscope, 2016.

- Cities as determinants of migration flow patterns and what this means for governance: how national and local governments should collaborate on setting immigration levels, on the global competition for talent, on best practices for settlement and integration, and on the role of non-governmental actors, including the business community and civil society organizations, in managing migration for social and economic benefits for the cities of destination.
- The challenges specific to cities of migration in the Global South, including megacities and slums, such as coping with very rapid population growth and pressures on infrastructure and basic services, the expansion of slums and peri-urban settlements, and the lack of an adequate planning capacity.
- Migration and urban planning, including planning explicitly for diversity: introducing *urban planners* into discussions of the challenges faced by cities in both the Global North and South, with respect to migration – discussions designed to elicit best practices in long-term urban planning for migration.

The emergence of cities as world leaders in determining migration patterns is the result of continuing urbanization, now a fully global phenomenon. Cities are the major magnets for the world's top talent, but they are also the destinations for those millions of migrants seeking employment of any form, greater security for themselves and their families, and the hope of a better future. It is not only global cities or larger cities that attract migrants; indeed, as larger cities become in some ways less livable, due to congestion and crowding, some smaller cities will become increasingly sought after as destinations, and these cities, perhaps with less experience in managing migration and integration, will benefit from the learned wisdom of others. This chapter is a call for enhanced mutual exchanges of knowledge and experience among cities, their elected leaders, their policy officials, their planners, and the many institutions within them whose actions contribute to the outcomes of the migration processes. Although we recognize that it remains the purview of national authorities to manage borders and migration policies, we urge national governments to also enable cities to take on more responsibilities as the global actors that they have become in international migration. Urbanization, long-term history would suggest, is not going to be reversed, making it ever more appropriate for cities to be represented at national migration policy tables. Furthermore, the international community can serve as conveners of city officials and institutions to enhance our collective thinking on how to go about this complex business.

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