

# MASS DISPLACEMENT

## Host Cities and Urban Systems



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Mass displacement is an issue that affects cities globally. Over 60 per cent of the world's 19.5 million refugees and 80 per cent of 34 million IDPs live in urban environments (UNHCR, 2017). While international and state policies often favour the settlement of refugees in camp-based settings it is cities that are typically at the forefront of the issue and which are having to come up with innovative actions and initiatives to meet the challenges that they face.

This report aims to help host cities to further understand and improve their capacity to effectively manage rapid arrivals from displacement events by:

- Exploring what works in different contexts (initiatives that respond to the challenges that cities face);
- Exploring how city systems differ under pressure (including system actors, connections, assets, laws).
- Developing an analytical framework to collect and analyse current and future city initiatives.

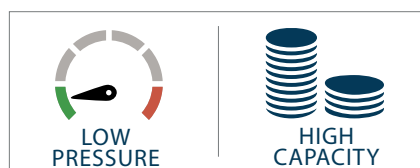
The research employs an urban systems resilience lens to explore how cities manage mass arrivals. This lens considers the relationship and dependencies between different urban systems (e.g. energy, water, economic, socio-cultural etc.) and their actors, assets, knowledge, behaviours and finance and governance structures. Changes are systemic and dynamic (i.e. changes in one element of the system may induce changes in another element). It encourages cities to think holistically about the challenges they face and to employ a fully-coordinated strategic response.

The research explores the relationships and characteristics of 19 urban systems in response to five research questions:

- ❖ [How do cities finance their response?](#)
- ❖ [How do cities meet basic needs?](#)
- ❖ [How do cities ensure livelihoods?](#)
- ❖ [How do cities ensure social harmony and cohesion?](#)
- ❖ [How do cities coordinate their response?](#)

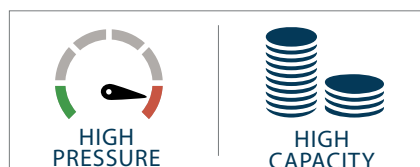
These questions consider the needs of both existing citizens and new arrivals and discusses the tensions which can arise associated with this challenge and related responses.

These questions and systems are explored through city examples of effective practices across **three different typologies**:



### **Low Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event but not beyond 1% total city population.



### **High Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.



### **High Pressure, Low-Medium Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be lower capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.

The research establishes twelve key findings across city typologies:

1. Despite developments in UNHCR policy and the recognition that refugees largely reside in urban environments, **there is demand from cities across reviewed typologies for greater involvement and collaboration with state and international actors.** Crucially, most funding for refugee integration comes from or through state actors. There needs to be strong vertical coordination between these and municipalities. Chapter 4 provides examples of cities (across typologies) who have managed to more directly access supranational funding but this is the exception rather than the norm.
2. Beyond issues of sovereignty, **the administrative capacity of some High Pressure, Low-Medium Capacity cities can prove an obstacle with respect to both meeting donor funding requirements and their wider response.** Capacity building is necessary in many cities to better prepare them to be able to respond to the complexities of mass arrival events and this aspect should be considered in any external intervention.
3. In lower capacity cities the role of international aid is understandably significant, though these cities are still highly underfunded. Still, **intelligent use of humanitarian funding can both help new arrivals and lessen the impact on host communities:** Cash transfers provided to refugees can contribute to local economies; infrastructure upgrades can provide longer-term benefits to host communities; procurement can endeavour to source from local suppliers; and longer-term interventions can ensure that vulnerable host communities are proportionally represented in programming.
4. In relation to point 3, **it is imperative that INGOs operating in or near to urban environments work as closely as is practicable, and as soon as possible with local authorities** who understand the needs of the existing population and the capacities and intricacies of existing urban systems.
5. New actors, knowledge and behaviours were evident across case study typologies including the role of civil society, which translated into significant human resource. **The agility of civil society actors has been shown to provide crucial support during the initial response in many cities, where local authorities have perhaps lacked capacity and/or flexibility.** All cities need a strategy to effectively work with non-governmental resource (e.g. NGOs, CBOs, faith-based organisations, private sector, academia and other new grassroots organisations). This may require new roles or departments within local authorities to coordinate actors both internally and externally. Several cities have established centres to facilitate multi-stakeholder coordination/response.
6. **New options need to be considered to provide underfunded cities with funding access based on evolving needs. Sustainable strategy is key:** case studies have illustrated how human and financial resource can fluctuate across different phases of emergency response. We have also seen how significant infrastructure upgrades can offer longer term solutions. In every city **Resilience planning should consider the relationship with other long-term urban resilience issues such as climate change impacts,** and practice coordinated forward planning and investment.
7. **All cities need to overcome not just financial and physical challenges but also knowledge deficits:**
  - For municipal authorities this includes data on the numbers and basic needs of new arrivals, and knowledge of effective city practices. The latter can be supported by national and international city knowledge exchange networks.
  - For new arrivals this includes how and where to access basic services and wider support. Beyond the physical availability of services, the issue of service connectivity is key.
8. Some high capacity cities have been able to **work with the state to amend legislation which impacted a timely response.** In other instances, city actors (government, private and civil society) across typologies have employed innovative solutions to navigate financial, legislative and administrative constraints preventing new arrivals from accessing city services.
9. Existing city systems across typologies have been shown to support the needs of new arrivals and host communities. **The degree of functionality of a system depends on the extent to which existing assets and services can be strengthened and adapted for differing needs** (e.g. increasing hospital capacity but also psychological care and translation services).
10. **Housing strategies differ between distribution across city; concentration within certain city areas; and that of self-settlement. City and state strategies need to understand and appreciate the merits and potential risks of their chosen approach,** considering issues such as integration, high pressure conditions, and accessible expatriate support.
11. If refugee crises become protracted and return looks unlikely then **education, skills and language training and legal right to work are key to the economic integration of new arrivals.** These factors determine at what point new arrivals will be able to contribute to the local economy. In some cities language and skills gaps might be significant, but the city has capacity to provide quality training, and can benefit longer term (especially under appropriate demographic conditions). In other city typologies, the skills and knowledge of new arrivals may be more suited to the local economy, but this economy may be weaker and livelihood opportunities more scarce. City stakeholders need to develop strategies which serve the needs of both newcomers and existing residents.
12. **Across cities, a diverse range of factors were shown to be important for the integration of new arrivals and wider local cohesion including: Programming dedicated to the needs of both existing and new residents;** Education and knowledge integration programs; Shared (physical and virtual) spaces across the city; Community based policing; Opportunities for cultural exchange; and Workforce integration.

## Systems of Systems

**City actors need to collaborate and prevent a siloed response: Taking a closer look at the relationships between key urban systems shows the interdependencies and cascading impacts which need to be appreciated and factored into city planning and response.** This includes the systems that provide for the basic needs of existing and new residents (illustrated on the top right of the below diagram) as well as those systems which underpin and facilitate this provision (blue systems).

Financial systems underpin a city's response to a mass arrival event. Cities have to rely on their own existing capacity to absorb demand to varying extents. Additional resources outside of a city's typical budget may be acquired through international assistance (usually via national systems) and/or national allocation. The way in which this is delivered depends on national and international policy and legislation. In some cases cities with strong leadership and governance system capacity have been able to engage more directly in financial procurement.

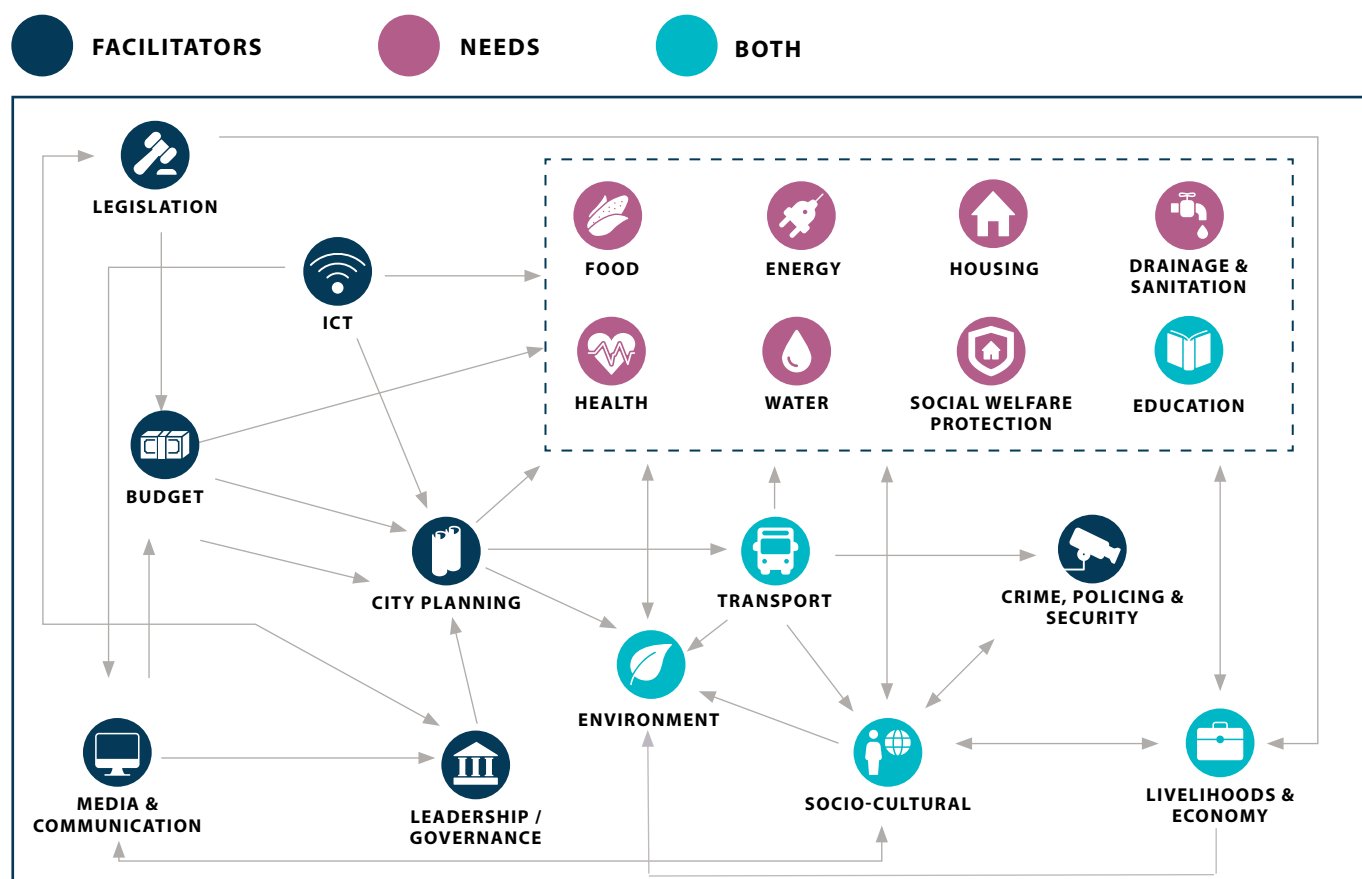
An additional form of assistance comes from the public/civil society. This may be in the form of financial donations or as voluntary human resource. The ability to effectively utilise the latter is linked to city leadership and governance. The extent to which both are available depends partly on public perception of events and socio-cultural factors. Public sentiment is influenced by formal and informal media and communications and ICT.

If basic needs such as housing and healthcare are addressed alongside effective education, language and skills training programmes then there is a better chance of the workforce integration of new arrivals. Early livelihood opportunities can enable newcomers to meet their own basic needs, reducing pressure on budget and systems of provision.

Knowledge and connectivity are also key to newcomers' ability to navigate urban systems. Transport, media and communications and ICT are key to service accessibility.

If essential services and livelihoods can be provided for both newcomers and existing residents then social cohesion is less likely to be adversely affected. If this cannot be achieved then there is the potential for cohesion to be undermined. A loss of cohesion may in turn negatively impact crime and security. As discussed, the relationship between housing and cohesion is potentially another critical interdependency.

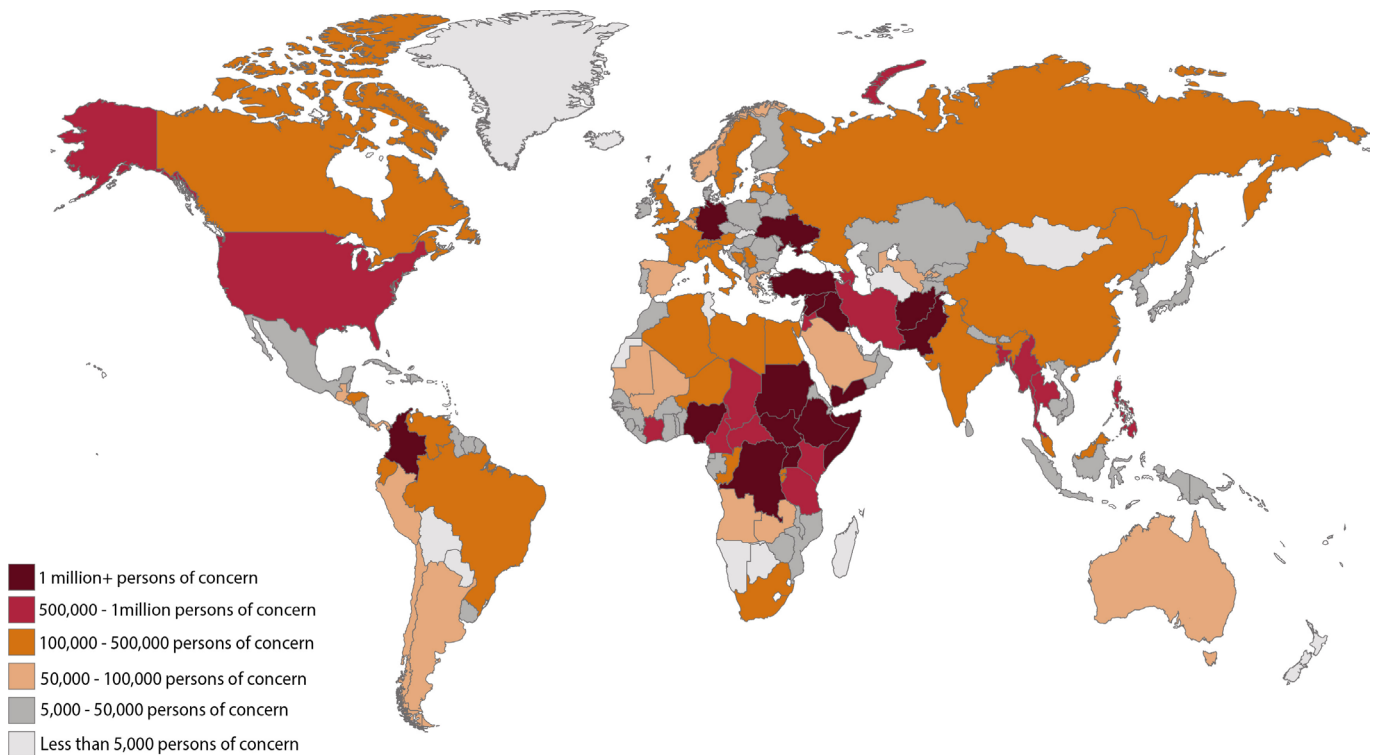
City leadership and governance help ensure that cohesion remains strong and the needs of differing stakeholders can be accommodated. Both timely immediate response and sustainable long term accommodation and integration of new arrivals depend on effective, holistic city planning. City administrations need to consider these challenges alongside related long-term challenges including environmental sustainability and climate change.





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Map 1: UNHCR Persons of Concern 2017. This includes Refugees, Asylum Seekers, IDPs, Returnees and Stateless Persons  
Source: Arup using data from UNHCR - <http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview>

# 1. Introduction

Mass displacement is an issue that affects cities globally. Over 60 per cent of the world's 19.5 million refugees and 80 per cent of 34 million IDPs live in urban environments (UNHCR, 2017). While historically refugees would often settle in camps away from urban areas, it is now clear that the trend globally is one of urban settlement:

- In recent years East African cities such as Nairobi (Kenya), Kampala (Uganda) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) have experienced steady arrivals escaping conflict in Somalia and South Sudan.
- The war in Syria has brought displacement back into focus for cities in Western Europe who are hosting some of the affected refugees; , most notably in Germany, Austria and Sweden. Italian cities has also experienced an increase in refugees and migrants in recent years as the route from Tripoli has become increasingly used.
- Further east, major cities within relatively stable states, such as Istanbul (Turkey), Beirut (Lebanon) and Amman (Jordan) have all experienced significant pressures from nearby conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria, while Pakistan has been the top haven for refugees for the past 40 years.
- At the time of writing in 2018/19 Bangladesh is currently experiencing a significant challenge to provide refuge to Rohingya Muslims fleeing Myanmar; millions of Venezuelans have been crossing the border into Colombia escaping food shortages and political turmoil; and conflict in Nigeria has caused significant displacement internally and into neighbouring countries.

No matter where you look, municipal authorities and other city actors are facing amplified pressure on the local urban systems that are key to the functionality of their cities. Such pressure is only likely to increase when you consider climate-driven forced migration. The research seeks to explore the issues of forced displacement and mass arrivals from an urban systems, resilience perspective, looking at both the challenges and the initiatives which are helping cities to absorb system shocks and stresses.

# Aims and approach

This report aims to help host cities to further understand and improve their capacity to effectively manage arrivals from displacement events by:

- Exploring what works in different contexts (initiatives that respond to the challenges that cities face);
- Exploring how city systems differ under pressure (including system actors, connections, assets, laws).
- Developing an analytical framework to collect and analyse current and future city initiatives.

This report may primarily be of interest to either a city currently experiencing such challenges; a city not in such a situation currently, but seeking to develop a response strategy for potential future events; or a city preparing for potential escalation of current slow-onset arrivals. In particular this report should interest city officials involved in strategic response and external organisations (e.g. NGOs), who are working with cities on this topic. It may also be of interest to civil society organisations, private sector, academia and other city stakeholders involved in response, as well as relevant national government stakeholders and the broader humanitarian community.

The report does not seek to replace existing guidance available to cities but rather provide a fresh perspective which complements existing reports and tools dedicated to this topic.

In Chapter 2, the report will provide a brief review of recent literature concerning refugees and urban environments. It aims to outline the current international refugee policy environment and how that has evolved and to also contextualise the challenge within the urban setting. Chapter 2 aims to provide a useful background to the topic, discussing underlying political drivers.

Chapter 3 presents an urban systems resilience lens through which examples of city responses are analysed and presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 also outlines discrete urban typologies, developed in order to illustrate unique and common

characteristics of cities managing mass arrivals.

Chapter 4 therefore examines how host cities respond to mass arrival events through specific secondary case studies from both grey and academic literature, exploring schemes, initiatives and implemented activities.

While key issues (e.g. funding constraints) will be acknowledged and discussed, the entry point in Chapter 4 will generally be what works to address challenges faced. The report does not claim that the interventions explored have fully solved what are complex problems, merely that they are thought to contribute to more effective management of the situation. Naturally some of the examples explored will have been more impactful than others but all those explored are felt to make a positive contribution and will hopefully provide inspiration to other cities and their stakeholders.

Chapter 2 acknowledges that hosting new arrivals is not the objective of many city administrations and in some cases may actually go against local political mandate. In other cities this will not be the case and in some, the local position may be more supportive than the national stance. Mass displacement is an issue of significant political complexity at local, national and international scales, particularly for host environments. While the report acknowledges this complexity, that subject not the focus of this work. Rather, this report is focused on effective responses to hosting, and aims to uncover findings which can contribute to approaches which ease the pressure experienced by both new arrivals and existing host communities.

The research does not provide in depth concentrated analysis of any particular initiative or city but rather provides a wide range of examples of city practices from which the reader is encouraged to investigate further. It is the intention that this secondary analysis will provide a foundation for more in depth future primary research which explores the experience of specific case studies in greater detail, developing additional lessons and principles which can be applied to further inform the plans and strategies of cities moving forwards.

## TERMINOLOGY

*Much of the wider integration literature is focused on what helps new arrivals to integrate whether due to everyday migration or rapid arrival events. The focus of this report is how cities host those forcibly displaced from rapid, shock events and therefore examples primarily concern refugees and asylum seekers. However, certain city practices and initiatives which are applicable to both forced displacement and slower economic migration have also been included as case study examples (e.g. city initiatives concerning general socio-cultural integration).*

## TIME OF PUBLICATION

*This research was primarily undertaken in 2017/18, reflecting situation, policy and legislation of this time.*



Keleti, Budapest | Credit: Istvan Csak / Shutterstock.com

## 2. Existing Literature

### The Challenge

It is highlighted in studies across recent literature that the accommodation of refugees is increasingly an urban issue more so than one that is camp-based or rural. Cities and their administrations are at the centre of the situation and therefore need support to manage the challenges they face. (Sanyal, 2012; Guterres et al. 2012)



Kobia and Cranfield (2009) highlight that while the preference of host states may more often than not be encampment, many refugees favour a life of self-sufficiency in urban environments, where some sense of normality might be achieved. In some cases the systems and services available such as education, healthcare and communications may be better in cities than in the camp alternative and urban environments often offer informal livelihood opportunities. This prospect can hold additional significance if there is the intention to send remittances to family members back home.

Municipal authorities often find themselves under increasing pressure to be able to balance the requirements of the existing local population with the needs of new arrivals. Katz et al (2016) highlight the challenges that city authorities face, ranging from the provision of basic needs such as housing, healthcare and education, to the generation of livelihood opportunities and integration of arrivals into unfamiliar cultures and traditions. In many cases new arrivals may be leaving conflict environments and have experienced physical or mental trauma. Therefore they may be in need of additional physical and/or mental healthcare support. Katz et al go on to articulate the challenge that cities face to maintain social harmony in the face of these constraints.

A recent review of mass displacement literature undertaken by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) examines the challenges faced by cities through the lens of the Arup | Rockefeller Foundation (2015) City Resilience Index (CRI). The authors adapt the 12 resilience Goals of the CRI in order to focus on aspects of city resilience which they feel most affect or are most affected by a rapid influx of displaced people namely:

- 1) adequate shelter, health care and protection;
- 2) basic service provision;
- 3) economic development and employment; and
- 4) social and political inclusion and community cohesion.

The review goes on to identify 'knowledge' as one common boundary to successful integration of new arrivals into host communities. For newcomers, challenges include language barriers and unfamiliarity with how to access essential services. For host communities this includes local tensions concerning perceived preferential services granted to new arrivals (Kirbyshire et al, 2017)

Miliband (2015) notes that despite the challenge of refugee arrivals moving disproportionately into urban settings, the majority of national and international resources still go towards rural, camp-based settings. It is clear that a primary need of host cities is the provision of significant financial resource beyond existing municipal budgets, (the extent depending on the scale of arrivals). An IRC primary study of 23 global cities hosting refugees confirms increased financial resources as the number one demand from host city administrations (Saliba and Wolff, 2018).

Of course not all city governments are inclined to welcome refugees and Sorrel (2017) highlights that many administrations are beholden to the local politics of voters.

Kobia and Cranfield (2009) discuss host community concerns under four categories:

- Socio-economic pressures – newcomers being seen as either an economic burden or threat to livelihoods;
- Security concerns – the threat of extremist activity or clashes between newcomers and existing residents;
- Xenophobia and the sway of public opinion; and
- The perception that the international community do not provide enough support, especially if refugees are situated in urban environments opposed to camps.

Meier (2017) presents three different types of neighbourhood reactions to refugee integration:

- Welcoming and supportive - includes host support networks; integration into public spaces; and community participation in planning and management of new arrivals;
- Neighbourhoods with a 'blasé attitude' - which do not devote specific attention to the settlement of newcomers but exhibit a modern urbanity that is characterised by diversity and tolerance of newcomers;
- Those of opposition - towards neighbourhood transformation. This may be driven by fear, a multicultural backlash, or a sense of loss of position amongst existing residents within a neighbourhood.

Kobia and Cranfield (2009) suggest that one concern for host countries is that urban resettlement is typically associated with greater permanence than camps and if newcomers are able to settle then there is less incentive for repatriation. Therefore camps are often still seen as a preferred solution at national level, even if at odds with the hopes and wishes of new arrivals. The problem is that in reality the average period of refugee displacement globally is 10 years and after 5 years is 21 years (Devictor and Do, 2016).

Regardless, refugees across the world are still choosing to settle in urban environments and cities are responding to the realities locally. A greater role in national dialogue and increased technical capacity building were the 2nd and 3rd most requested interventions by cities inputting to the 2018 IRC study<sup>1</sup>. (Saliba and Wolff, 2018). Furthermore some camps are located within close proximity to existing urban environments and are in dialogue with these urban settlements even if not formally recognised as part of them. For example Rohingya camps in Bangladesh have significant impact on nearby Cox's Bazar and other local settlements (Lewis, 2018). Therefore, there is a need to holistically consider how cities and their existing systems can effectively function within a context of rapid refugee arrivals.

While camp-based responses are overwhelmingly the favoured policy amongst national governments, there has been some degree of evolution in recent years regarding how international policy considers the challenges of urban refugees. This is explored in the following section.

<sup>1</sup> Followed by employment programs, housing programs, reduction of institutional barriers and need for better data and monitoring.

# Policy and Legislation

## International Refugee Policy and Response

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the specialised UN agency mandated with the protection of refugees and displaced persons. As a powerful global actor UNHCR has played a significant role in the way countries manage mass displacement and in the setting of international response standards (Stavropoulou, 2008; Rushingwa, 2011).

The pillars of refugee protection are the 1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol which define refugees and asylum seekers and set out their rights including legal rights and access to basic services experienced by host country nationals. Kobia and Cranfield (2009) highlight that many countries have not agreed to this legislation, contributing to vulnerability for refugees. However, it is also worth noting that some of the most generous host countries are not full signatories including Jordan, Lebanon, Nepal and Turkey who typically take the position that the Convention does not match the displacement realities experienced in the Middle-East and Asia. This is not surprising considering the Convention was established for Post World War II Europe not for the range of regional instabilities of recent years (Betts and Collier, 2017). Importantly, a lack of definition within this legislation further limits its effectiveness and today most countries fail to comply with the Convention. The definition of a refugee (a person fleeing persecution) is being interpreted in different ways by member states, so decisions on refugee status and non-refoulement are not consistent, and at the discretion of host countries. This discretion rarely extends to socio-economic instability and climate change displacement (Betts and Collier, 2017; Ghighi, 2018). Perhaps the most important gap in current refugee law is an absence of repatriation procedures between states. This places unequal pressure on certain countries compounded by the lack of an international body with direct power to provide a legally binding interpretation of the convention (Ghighi, 2018).

In the European Union, the “Dublin” regulation stipulates that member states can return asylum seekers to the first safe country entered with an effective asylum system. Many EU countries in the north have sought to use this to their advantage, at the expense of the south, where most refugees first arrive. However, the gateways to Europe of Greece and Italy have experienced significant economic issues in recent years and their asylum systems have not been able to cope with the pressures experienced. Furthermore, at the height of displacement in Syria, German Chancellor Angela Merkel agreed that asylum seekers could continue unrestricted to Germany, perhaps expecting other EU countries to follow suit but most did not. Betts and Collier (2017) describe events of 2015 as a ‘crisis of politics’ rather than a crisis of numbers with muddled and incoherent responses leaving crisis and chaos. Efforts at reform in 2016 including repatriation of refugees across Europe were met with opposition from several states, leaving many asylum seekers awaiting decision in Greece (Open Society, 2017). In response under an EU agreement, those whose claims are rejected are sent back to Turkey in a deal which provides Turkey political concessions and more aid (EC, 2016b).

Nationally, policy and legislation varies significantly by country. Key refugee hosting countries such as Kenya, Thailand and several

in the Middle East have ad hoc policies or practices not enshrined in law or as formal commitments. While many countries favour segregation from the host population in formal camps, refugees in countries including South Africa and Uganda can settle amongst the urban population (Kobia & Cranfield, 2016; World Bank, 2016).

Betts and Collier highlight the disparity in host country pressure and capacity, where globally \$75billion is focused on the 10% of refugees which reach developed countries but only \$5billion is available for the remaining 90% which do not. Returning to the Syrian conflict, they describe the international response as a political failure. Germany’s generosity in accepting asylum seekers who reached the country could only be utilised by those affluent enough to afford to pay people smugglers en route. The majority of refugees remained in Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon, underfunded, with less support. The authors propose that a better response would have been for the international community to properly resource these neighbouring countries and incentivise and compensate them for their efforts, with countries further afield still symbolically accepting a number of refugees.

## International Urban Refugee Policy

Ten years ago UNHCR policy was still largely focused on rural and camp-based response. However, in 2009 policy guidance began to more significantly focus on social protection in urban settings (UN, 2009). When refugees take up residence in an urban area, whether or not this is approved by the authorities, UNHCR’s primary objective will be to preserve and expand the amount of protection space available to them and to the humanitarian organizations that are providing such refugees with access to protection, solutions and assistance. The new policy also focuses more directly on partnerships to be forged with other UN agencies, host governments, and, the urban refugees themselves.

In 2016, the UN General Assembly (UNGA) made a commitment in New York - the Declaration on Refugees and Migrants. This reaffirmed member states’ commitment to existing human rights and refugee laws but also specifically mentioned:

- 73...*refugee camps should be the exception and, to the extent possible, a temporary measure in response to an emergency. We note that 60% of refugees worldwide are in urban settings ....We will ensure...assistance..... is adapted to...context.*
- 84. ...*we encourage host Governments to consider opening their labour markets to refugees...*
- C4: *Pledge to strengthen & facilitate a well-funded emergency response & smooth transition to sustainable approaches that invest in resilience of both refugees and local communities.*

The UNGA also commit to a global compact on refugees. The 2018 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework sets out the key elements in refugee response. It aims to ease pressure on host countries; enhance refugee self-reliance; expand access to third country solutions; and support conditions in countries of origin for safe return. The Framework sets out 50 specific points under the themes: 1. Reception & admission; 2. Support for immediate and ongoing needs; 3. Support for host countries and communities; 4. Durable solutions; and 5. The way forward.

## 2018 Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) Key Points of Interest:

- *Deliver assistance, to the extent possible, through appropriate national and local service providers, such as public authorities for health, education, social services and child protection;*
- *Support local civil society partners that contribute to humanitarian responses, in recognition of their complementary contribution;*
- *Ensure close cooperation and encourage joint planning, as appropriate, between humanitarian and development actors and other relevant actors*
- *Implement a joint, impartial and rapid risk and/or impact assessment, in anticipation or after the onset of a large refugee movement, in order to identify and prioritize the assistance required for refugees, national and local authorities, and communities affected by a refugee presence*
- *Incorporate, where appropriate, the... framework in national development planning, in order to strengthen the delivery of essential services and infrastructure for the benefit of host communities and refugees;*
- *Work to provide adequate resources, without prejudice to official development assistance, for national and local government authorities and other service providers in view of the increased needs and pressures on social services. Programmes should benefit refugees and the host country and communities.*
- *Take measures to foster self-reliance by pledging to expand opportunities for refugees to access, as appropriate, education, health care and services, livelihood opportunities and labour markets, without discriminating among refugees and in a manner which also supports host communities.*

It appears that UNHCR is increasingly acknowledging the role of local governments and other urban actors in meeting the needs of refugees and host community residents and the level of support that these actors require. However, the CRRF is non-binding and often non-committal and/or non-specific in its language (e.g. 'acknowledge', 'consider', 'take measures').

Muggah (2018) suggests that latest UNHCR 2017-21 Strategy fails to sufficiently address the topic of urban refugees. Betts and Collier (2017) state that in practice UNHCR urban policy implementation is weak and most refugees receive little help. Despite the global influence of UNHCR, they are not autonomous and rely on the financial support of member states who are the dominant decision-making actors. Adherence to international refugee policy and legislation varies country to country and UNHCR face a constant challenge to facilitate collective action (Betts and Collier, 2017; Ghighi, 2018; Loescher, 2001). Crisp (2017) highlights the opaque nature of UNHCR budgets making it difficult to fully ascertain the shift in financial focus to the urban context. Nevertheless, all 193 UN member states have adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and CRRF programs have begun to be rolled out in 15 countries across Africa and Central America (UNHCR, 2018).

### The Voice of Cities

A Eurocities (2016) report suggests that cities continue to lack appropriate engagement in formulation of refugee policy and that "Funding for integration must reach local level without filters or barriers". The report recommends that cities be included alongside national governments and NGOs in the list of bodies that are eligible for EU emergency financial assistance. The EU Partnership on the Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees has recently made recommendations along the same lines - for better funding access for cities in the post-2020 funding period including cities being added to the list of bodies that are eligible for direct emergency financial assistance under EU Asylum Migration and

Integration Fund (opposed to indirectly via state actors). However, such recommendations would need to be agreed by member states.

Katz et al (2016) study of Syrian refugees in Germany, suggests cities would benefit from a relationship with international actors that does not require national government intermediation, enabling aid and assistance to flow directly to the places that need it most. They suggest that the innovative solutions which occur at city level and amongst refugees should be given chance to succeed without obstacle, with international actors displaying some degree of risk tolerance.

In many cases a city's preferred approach to refugee response may be at odds with the national position and legislation may prevent cities from providing an integrated response. Existing laws such as the right to work significantly influence how a city can manage its response (Eurocities, 2016). Kobia and Cranfield (2009) highlight Lindstrom (2003) and Buscher (2003) that legal status is crucial to refugee protection and integration, without this a durable solution cannot be reached. This position is echoed in the UN CRRF which highlights the need to expand service and livelihood opportunities for refugees in order to foster self-reliance. Many urban refugees resort to employment in the informal sector if host countries have not ratified the 1951 Convention, or they have not been afforded the right to employment. A refugee might also opt not to accept a residence permit for fear it might jeopardize their chance of qualifying for resettlement. Grabska, (2006) and Kobia and Cranfield (2009) highlight that only refugees who have not achieved a durable solution may be eligible for resettlement. However, while working in the informal economy can provide refugees some sort of opportunity, it can also lead to exploitation, unfair wages and unsafe working conditions (Macchiavello, Alexander, Campbell, Crisp et al., Horst, Jacobsen 2004, Landau & Jacobsen, Sommers 1999 (in Kobia and Cranfield, 2009)).

# City Solutions and Opportunities

Despite the resource, financial and legal barriers which cities face in accommodating refugees, a wealth of literature illustrates why cities are well-placed to respond. Jézéquel, highlights that cities can react with greater flexibility and creativity than national governments – possessing “the right agile structure” to be able to act quickly, coordinating volunteers, civil society, charities and the municipality. The report goes on to describe the cross-cutting, multi-sector response that many cities exhibit under strong political leadership (Eurocities, 2016).

Meier (2017) suggests that the most effective responses are ones which include local host communities in a participatory planning process. The paper goes on to recommend the development of shared spaces and place-making strategies as further aspects which are key to the integration of new arrivals into host communities. Betts and Collier (2017) discuss how cities have become a common alternative, as living in camps provides little opportunities, prospects and can be a vector for conflict, violence and extremism.

Katz et al (2016) discuss economy of scale and how the size and density of urban populations increases the potential for integrated delivery of services—such as workforce development, health care, or language courses. The report also describes how cities can also operate as economic hubs of innovation and the generation of livelihood opportunities. Over 40% of city administrations consulted in the 2018 IRC study highlighted the expansion of the local economy and an increased city workforce as positive impacts that displaced communities bring to cities. Increased levels of cultural diversity was another widely recognised asset by those consulted (Saliba and Wolff, 2018).

A 2016 study by the economist Philippe Legrain suggests that investing one euro in welcoming refugees can yield nearly two euros in economic benefits within five years. The study examines historical case studies of integration of Vietnamese refugees into the American economy in the 1970s as well as present day situations. The study suggests that new arrivals can yield economic dividends, (in cases) providing a demographic dividend, filling low-skilled jobs, providing an additional tax base, offering entrepreneurship and aiding trade links. However, before this can take place there needs to be an initial period of investment and skills development. Legrain suggests that policies which get new arrivals into work quickly are essential. This includes the legal right to work and start a business, language and literacy training (pre-arrival where possible), initial skills assessment, recognition of overseas qualifications and relocation to areas where jobs exist, not areas where there is cheap housing but no jobs (as is often the case). The role of the private and not-for-profit sectors is highlighted as an important success factor in this respect.

ODI (2017), Miliband (2015), Katz et al (2016) and Betts (2014) all highlight that refugees present a valuable resource and can contribute to the prosperity of a city if effectively utilised. IRC suggest that building this longer-term resilience perspective

into humanitarian programmes and working with local actors such as the municipal authorities, the local private sector, utility companies and service providers is the way to proceed, utilising the knowledge and experience of city authorities (Saliba and Wolff, 2018).

In the early-to-medium arrival phase of mass displacement, a strategy which provides cash assistance to refugees to spend in local economies (opposed to food and clothing donations) has the potential to benefit host communities. Considering this, the International Rescue Committee has an aim to distribute 25% of aid in the form of cash by 2020 (Miliband, 2016).

Katz et al (2016), Kirbyshire et al (2017) and Saunders (2010) note that significant support for new arrivals often comes from expatriate communities who have already integrated into host society. It is these pre-established links which can often serve as an on-ramp to integration.

In a wider examination of urban migration Saunders (2010) describes urban informal settlements as the landing point for newcomers from which their economic journey begins. Overall, the author argues that while cities which ignore and do not adequately prepare for such transition face increasing poverty and social unrest, those cities which plan for and accommodate urban migration (with required infrastructure, security, sanitation, education, citizenship) stand to benefit from the longer-term evolution of the migrant class into middle class contributors to the city.

Suggesting alternative approaches to forced displacement, Betts and Collier (2017) propose that the international community invest in ‘incubator cities’ within fragile regions which, if supported by required infrastructure investment would serve the interests of both new arrivals and existing residents while expediting the economic recovery of countries of origin, post-conflict.

## Gaps in Existing Research

Many resources exist to help cities plan and manage forced migrants including:

- Catalogues of good practices from urban refugee programmes including a UNHCR (2015) Europe Workshop report
- In-depth city studies from local host and arrival perspective (Tufts University, Refugees in Towns Program)
- IRC’s collection of city practices and local government perspectives (Saliba and Wolff, 2018);
- ODI’s mass displacement review through four key resilience areas; and
- Detailed studies of city responses across Europe since 2015 from Syrian conflict (Eurocities, 2016; Katz et al 2016)

However, there remains an opportunity to explore global city practices from an urban systems perspective exploring how different urban systems, actors, assets and behaviours change and adapt in a response, and future planning implications.



## Chapter 2 Summary

Host cities are at the centre of the challenges and opportunities associated with mass displacement. A city's ability to respond to a shock event depends on the ability of the existing systems which underpin urban well-being to be able to continue to function under additional stress, and/or the ability of new avenues of support to be able to effectively work with, or within, existing urban systems.

An exploration of refugee-urban environment literature has briefly discussed the legislative, financial and socio-cultural influences which can support or inhibit a city and the ability of its systems to deliver the services required by newcomers and existing residents alike.

This chapter has highlighted the challenges that cities face: from meeting the immediate basic needs of new arrivals; through to longer term efforts to secure sustainable livelihoods for all, in an environment where the majority of funding goes to camp-based rather than rural settings.

This section has also highlighted the challenge to maintain social harmony and manage host community concerns regarding security, level of international support and issues of permanence. It has presented the differing reactions displayed within host

communities from welcoming and supportive, through to those of opposition.

International policy and legislation has evolved to acknowledge the role of cities and city stakeholders within the challenge of mass displacement but often national policy still favours formal camps, leaving cities lacking the financial and organisational support that they require. This capacity challenge is felt even more acutely in countries neighbouring major conflicts, which typically have lower capacity to manage the greater pressure that they experience.

Despite the challenges discussed, the literature has also presented cities as places of opportunity where coordinated action amongst diverse stakeholders, combined with effective policy has the potential to generate positive impacts from mass displacement, for refugees and host communities.

Finally this section has outlined the range of academic and grey literature that exists, exploring city responses within different geographies and from different perspectives. Nevertheless, an opportunity remains to undertake global exploration of city responses from an urban systems resilience perspective. This approach is detailed in Chapter 3.





Nairobi, Kenya

## 3. Methodology

### SYSTEMS APPROACH AND LENS

The research employs an urban systems resilience lens as one way to explore how cities manage mass arrivals. The performance of an urban system depends on the functionality of the sub-systems of which it comprises (e.g. energy, water, economic, socio-cultural etc.). The functionality of those sub-systems depends on their physical, human and natural assets, knowledge and behaviours and finance and governance structures, how equipped these are to manage and adapt to shocks and stresses and the sub-system's dependence on other systems for continued performance. This chapter presents the urban systems research lens in more detail alongside other components of the research framework.

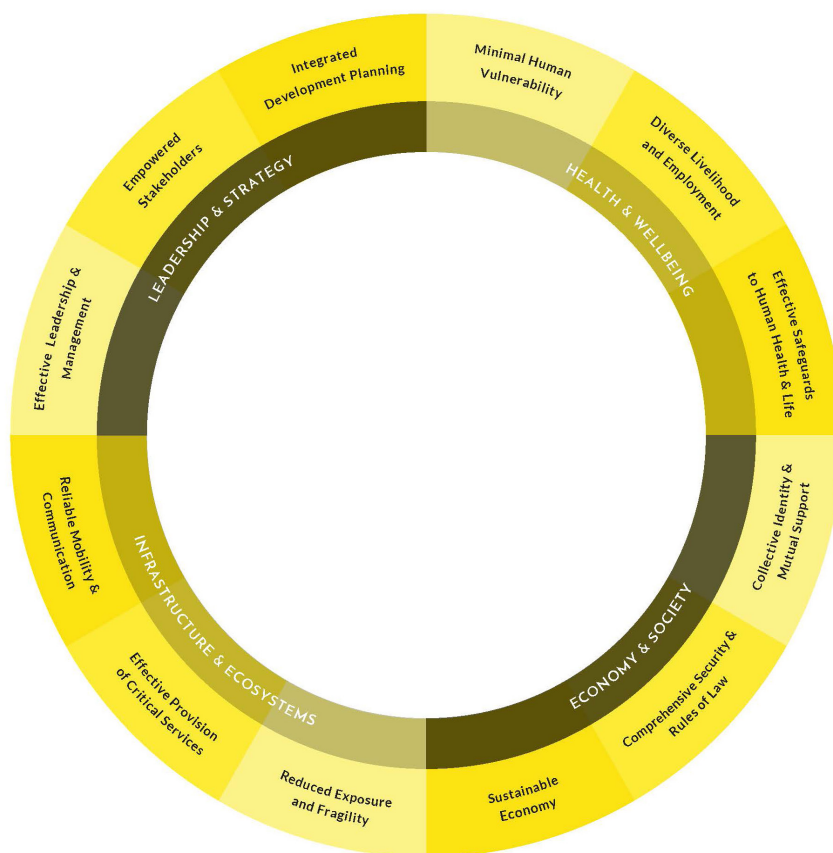
## 3.1. Fundamental City Questions

Section 2 briefly discussed the City Resilience Index (Arup | Rockefeller Foundation, 2015). The CRI is the result of extensive global city research to understand what factors enable a city to survive and thrive in the face of shocks and stresses. It presents 12 Goals and 52 indicators which contribute to the resilience of a city, under 4 categories:

- the health and wellbeing of individuals (people);
- wider economy and society (organisation);
- urban systems and services (place); and
- leadership and strategy (knowledge).

As discussed in section 1 this research focuses on cities wishing to prepare for rapid arrival events (opposed to exploration of motivations or disincentives).

This report takes influence from the categories and goals of CRI, combined with wider mass displacement literature in order to establish 5 key questions city stakeholders face in managing mass arrival events, outlined below:



4 Categories and 12 Goals of the City Resilience Index. Arup | Rockefeller Foundation, 2015

<b>System Lens / Systems Thinking in order to explore:</b>	How do cities finance their response?	Linked to CRI Goal 6
	How do cities meet basic needs? (of existing citizens and new arrivals?)	CRI Goals 1, 3, 11 (and 7, 8, 9, 12)
	How do cities ensure livelihoods? (of existing citizens and new arrivals are met?)	CRI Goal 2
	How do cities ensure social harmony and cohesion?	CRI Goals 4, 5
	How do cities coordinate their response?	CRI Goal 10 (and 12)

## 3.2. Systems Thinking

The CRI is influenced by a resilient systems theory. This theory dates back to ecologist C.S. Holling's 1973 research which described the **ability of an ecosystem to continue to function when placed under pressure**/changed but not necessarily remain the same. The application of systems resilience theory has subsequently been applied across many fields including psychology, engineering and disaster management. (Meerow et al, 2016).

Da Silva et al (2012) discuss **cities as complex systems**. Here, a system comprises of infrastructure networks (physical assets), knowledge networks (structures and systems that regulate and enable access to information) and institutional networks (rules and practices – both formal and informal). Changes are systemic (i.e. changes in one element of the system may induce changes in another element), and dynamic.

When supporting cities to complete a CRI assessment, Arup rearranges CRI questions under topics relating to city departments who might have responsibility for certain issues. These topics largely reflect systems within a city. Adapting these, this paper research establishes **19 city systems (opposite) as an additional layer through which to understand the challenges and examine solutions** to the questions a city must answer when met with the challenge of mass arrivals (as outlined in 3.1).

### WITHIN A SYSTEM:

(Arup | Lloyds, 2017) apply thinking of da Silva et al (2012) to infrastructure resilience - looking beyond physical assets, to also consider the human assets (resources), natural assets, finance and governance structures, knowledge and behaviours which effect infrastructure performance.




















The research will therefore consider **how systems operate and change under the pressure of hosting new arrivals, specifically the system actors, assets, knowledge, behaviours, regulations and interdependencies that influence continued functionality.**

### QUALITIES:

The research framework will consider not only the above components of a system but also the qualities that contribute towards continued functionality. The 12 goals of the CRI are complemented by seven resilience qualities that distinguish a resilient city from one that is simply liveable, sustainable or prosperous. These are outlined below:

<b>Flexibility</b>	<i>The ability to change, evolve and adapt in response to changing circumstances</i>
<b>Redundancy</b>	<i>Spare capacity purposely within systems to accommodate disruption/demand</i>
<b>Robustness</b>	<i>Well-conceived, designed, constructed, managed</i>
<b>Resourcefulness</b>	<i>Rapidly find different ways to meet needs during a shock or when under stress</i>
<b>Reflectiveness</b>	<i>Systematically learn from past experiences, and leverage this learning to inform future decision-making</i>
<b>Inclusivity</b>	<i>Participation, engagement, ownership, service of/to all including most vulnerable</i>
<b>Integration</b>	<i>Aligned - mutually supportive to a common outcome</i>



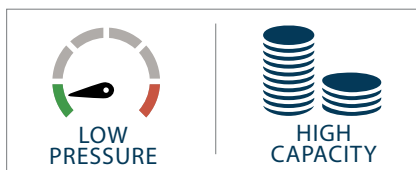
Key Urban Systems			Arup CRI Indicator
1		Housing	1.1
2		Energy	1.2 and 8.2-8.5
3		Water	1.3 and 8.2-8.5
4		Drainage & sanitation	1.4 and 8.2-8.5
5		Food	1.5
6		Livelihoods & economy	2.1-2.5; 6.2-6.5
7		Health	3.1-3.4
8		Social welfare/protection	4.1
9		Socio-cultural	4.2-4.4
10		Crime & policing and security	5.1-5.4
11		Budget	6.1
12		Environment	8.1, 7.2, 7.4
13		Transport	9.1-9.2
14		ICT	9.3-9.4
15		Leadership / Governance	10.1-10.5
16		Legislation	
17		Education	11.1-11.2
18		City planning	12.1-12.4
19		Media & Communication	11.3

### 3.3. City Typologies and Response Phase

Cities facing rapid arrival challenges are not the same, some have more financial and technical capacity than others and importantly some host far more new arrivals over a short space of time.

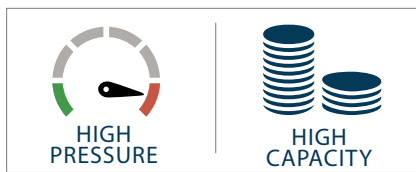
Therefore, the research questions outlined in section 3.1 will be examined through global case studies that distinguish between high and medium-low capacity\* cities and high and low pressure (relative number of refugee arrivals\*\*) contexts.

It is not to say that findings from some typologies will not be applicable to cities that fall within other typologies but others will be context specific and such sorting will be useful in this respect.



#### **Low Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event but not beyond 1% total city population.



#### **High Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.



#### **High Pressure, Low-Medium Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be lower capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.

\* Capacity is determined using UN Economic development classifications

[www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp\\_current/2014wesp\\_country\\_classification.pdf](http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_current/2014wesp_country_classification.pdf)

\*\* 1% has been used as a means of distinction. The research acknowledges that some cities within a typology will be under greater pressure than others

Finally, the challenges that each city faces with respect to the five research questions will vary and evolve over time. Therefore, this temporal distinction will also be considered wherever appropriate in the findings of sections 4.

## 3.4. Research Framework Summary

The elements discussed in this chapter combine to create the below research framework. This framework has been applied in Chapter 4 which presents a desktop exploration of city approaches to managing mass arrivals from displacement events.

While the study does not expect to find unequivocal solutions to the research questions, it does seek to extract key lessons for future city planning and multi-stakeholder activity, identifying general principles, system dynamics and key resilience qualities during phases of response, and in response to specific issues.

The framework and overall structure of secondary study leaves the possibility for findings to be further validated and elaborated upon in any future primary research phase.

City case studies (within high and low capacity and high and low pressure typologies) will explore:

### 5 KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

- ◇ **How do cities finance their response?**
- ◇ **How do cities meet basic needs?** (of existing citizens and new arrivals?)
- ◇ **How do cities ensure livelihoods?** (for existing citizens and new arrivals?)
- ◇ **How do cities ensure social harmony and cohesion?**
- ◇ **How do cities coordinate their response?**

### A SYSTEM LENS WILL FOCUS THE RESEARCH ON:

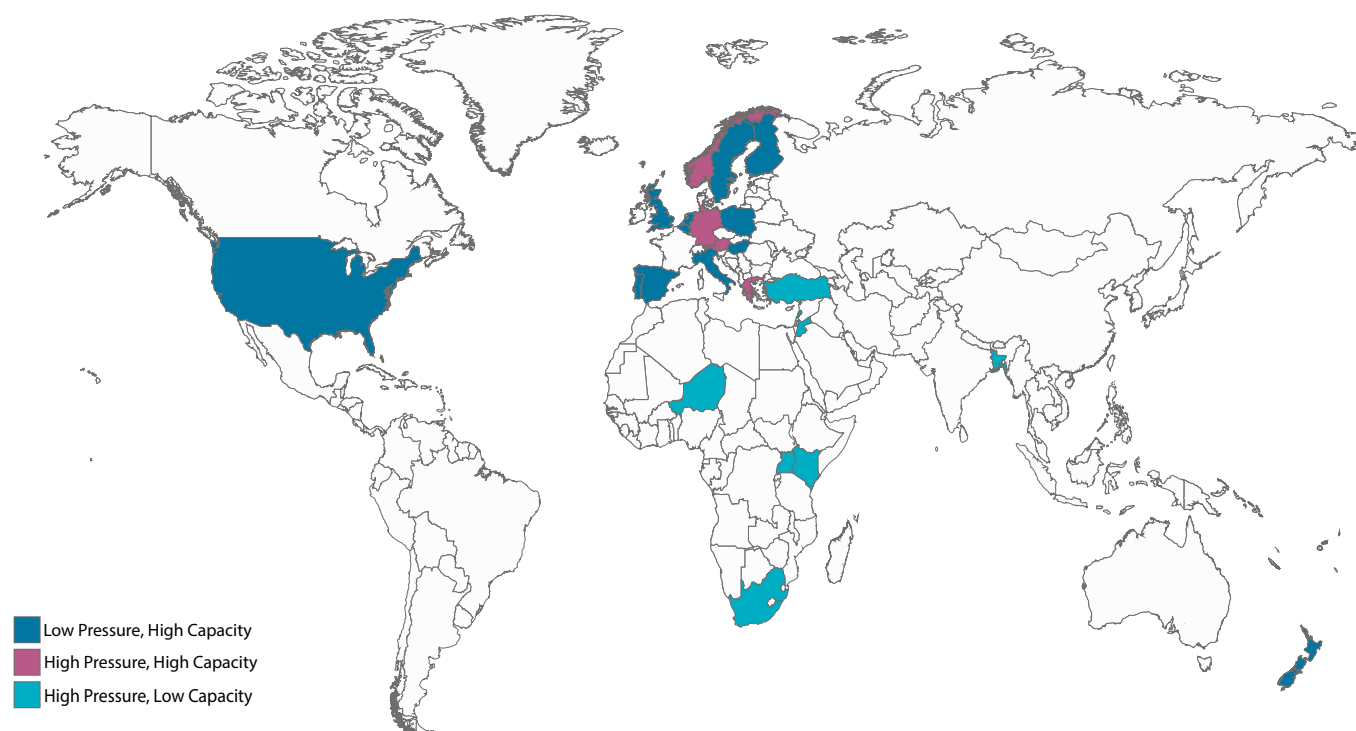
- ✓ How 19 key urban systems interact (interdependencies) in meeting these challenges
- ✓ How these systems change under pressure examining actors, assets, knowledge, behaviours and regulations
- ✓ What qualities are key in meeting these challenges



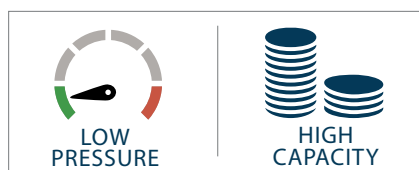
## 4. CASE STUDIES

Chapter 4 explores effective approaches, plans and initiatives that are taking place across 39 cities in 25 countries, using the analytical framework presented in section 3.4. Each of the five questions is explored using city examples underneath each typology, with combined summary analysis at the start of each section.



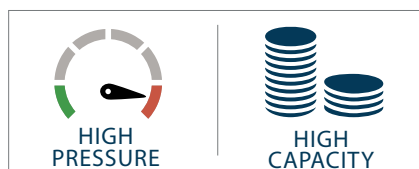


Map 2: Case Study Geographies



## Cities

Holland: Utrecht, Rotterdam; Belgium: Antwerp, Ghent; Italy: Bologna; Finland: Helsinki; France: Paris; New Zealand: Auckland, Wellington; Norway: Oslo; Poland: Krakow; Portugal: Lisbon; Spain: Barcelona; UK: Various; Sweden: Solna; USA: Dayton, San Francisco.



## Cities

Austria: Vienna; Germany: Altena, Berlin, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich, Oberhausen, Wuppertal; Greece: Athens, Thessaloniki; Italy: Gioiosa Ionica.



## Cities

Bangladesh: Cox's Bazar, Dhaka; Cameroon: Bertoua; Ecuador: Quito, various; Jordan: Amman, Mafrq; Lebanon: various; Niger, Diffa; Turkey: Gaziantep, Istanbul; Uganda: Kampala; Kenya: Kakuma town.

## 4.1. How do cities finance their response?

### KEY QUALITIES: RESOURCEFUL, INTEGRATED, INCLUSIVE

An influx of new arrivals puts pressure on existing municipal budgets. It is therefore imperative to be able to access new financial assets. This requires knowledge and resourcefulness of city leaders to be able to identify national and international funding streams and to effectively communicate their need. New avenues of finance need to be anticipated, planned for and utilised effectively for the benefit of the wider economy.

Since international funding (EU, UNHCR, DEC appeals etc.) generally comes through state governments before filtering down to municipalities, effective 2 way vertical coordination and communication/understanding of local need is essential. The same can be said regarding national government communication with supranational organisations. Accurate data on numbers of new arrivals is an important starting-point.

Certain case studies illustrate a degree of collaboration between supranational funders and local municipalities, with some direct access for cities. However, this is the exception rather than the norm, varies country to country and also depends on the administrative capacity of the city. Regardless of funding mechanism, an international-national-local integrated approach is key to a locally appropriate response.

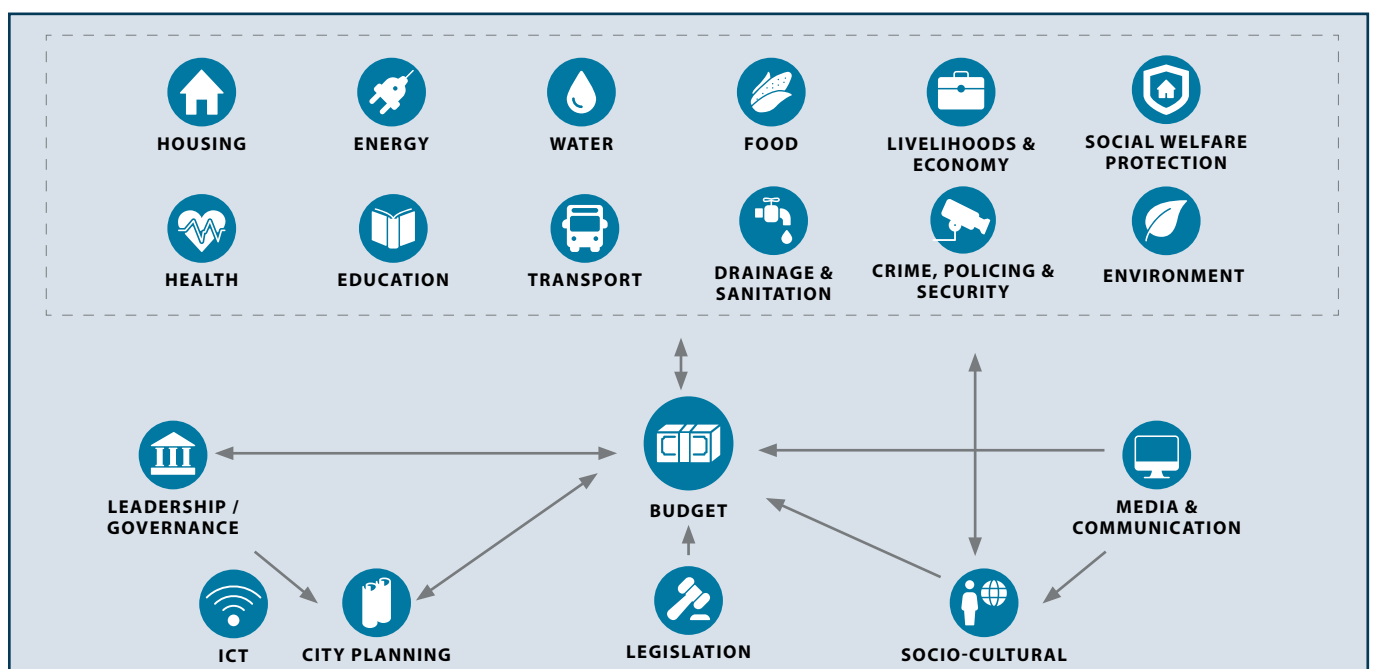
OECD (2017) explain that in Europe the distribution of spending for cities and regions depends on the reception and asylum process nationally which is generally handled at the state level (while refugee support is largely dealt with at the local level). The process and level of financial transfers to municipalities naturally differs by country and reduces over time as integration costs decline and new arrivals return or become integrated into the local workforce and can contribute to the local economy.

OECD suggest that refugee financial support could in cases be integrated into existing national-sub-national transfer systems familiar to sub-central governments.

Beyond national and international finance, conflicts such as the Syrian Refugee crises elicit widespread public support and human resources which can support local activity. Research shows that volunteerism and donations dramatically peak at crisis point but quickly trail off in protracted situations (NPR, 2017). While this is true, some grassroots efforts develop and remain operational longer-term, (see 4.2 and 4.5). What is key for city authorities is to make sure that volunteer resource (both formal NGOs and new grassroots support/actors) is anticipated, planned for and coordinated with municipal activity where appropriate/possible, and is therefore efficiently utilised. Public knowledge and behaviours and general support are linked to media interest and the local socio-economic environment, which is in turn influenced by the other factors explored throughout this chapter.

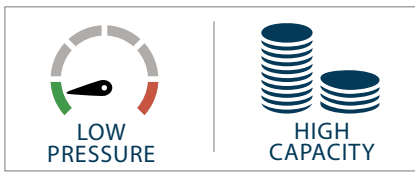
In lower capacity countries, supranational funding from UNHCR is key to managing refugee situations. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, developing countries are significantly underfunded and finance is typically directed by state actors towards camps rather than urban environments. Still, examples in the following section highlight coordination between international agencies and local actors in response, particularly beyond the emergency phase. During the emergency response phase international actors can take care to link procurement to local economies.

Case studies have demonstrated how refugees can contribute to local economies, in the short-medium term spending cash transfer funds in local communities, and longer term through workforce integration. The latter will be discussed further in section 4.3. Regardless of typology, a long term, sustainable, coordinated strategy is the key factor in meeting financial/resource challenge.



Key system connections influencing city finance

## 4.1. HOW DO CITIES FINANCE THEIR RESPONSE?



Even cities with relatively low numbers of new refugee arrivals need a degree of financial support to supplement their existing city budgets:

### Supranational Funding

In more than 50% of OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) intergovernmental grants are the main source of revenue for sub-central governments in managing refugees and asylum seekers. These funds are normally earmarked for social welfare, integration and housing. The European Union provides significant national funding through the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).

- The UK government initially provides £5000 per refugee annually but this amount tapers down to £1000 per person in year five.
- In Denmark municipalities receive a small grant linked to their level of success in achieving labour market integration of refugees. There is also a process of fiscal equalisation amongst municipalities, something also practiced in the Netherlands (OECD, 2017).
- In Tampere, Finland subsidies provided by national government offer €3,000 of support per refugee (Politico, 2016).

### Direct City Access to Funding

Cities often lack a seat at the decision-making table of state actors and international bodies and funding barriers exist with respect to the direct access to EU funds. Nevertheless there are examples of more direct engagement and more direct EU support to city governments.

- In Finland ten large cities including Helsinki were involved in the consultation process for EU AMIF national allocations but were not involved in follow-up implementation (Eurocities, 2015).
- In 2017 Lisbon announced a 2 million Euro fund in order to relocate refugees from Greece; the EU provided 3 million Euros (6000 euros per refugee) in support funding (Hueck, 2018).
- Utrecht, Bologna and Antwerp have all received funding for refugee programs and initiatives through direct application to the EU-funded Urban Innovation Actions initiative (UIA, 2017).

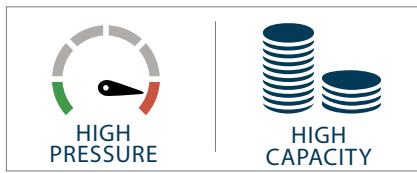
- A new guide for EU cities, by the Metropolitan Research Institute: 'Using EU funds for supporting cities' efforts for inclusion of migrants and refugees' will be published in 2018 (EC, 2017).

### Volunteer and Grassroots Support

Support from civil society is reflected across city case studies throughout this chapter. This support provides an additional level of resource that supplements existing local government funding. However, evidence suggests that while this provides an important initial boost there are difficulties in maintaining a sustainable level of civil society financial and human resource longer-term. In the United Kingdom, refugee charities were inundated with offers of financial and human support after images of a drowned Syrian child were published in the national press in 2015. This story reflected a wider global response, where the average number of daily donations to the Swedish Red Cross campaign for Syrian refugees, was 55x greater in the week after the photo (around \$214,300) but after six weeks, donations had reduced down to around \$6,500 (NPR, 2017).

Exploration of volunteerism reflects the relationship between support, media and wider social perception and the need for a city strategy which can understand, account for and utilise fluctuations in this civil society support. A strong example is in Helsinki, Finland where the city council prepared a model of cooperation for the volunteer work of citizens and associations. Improved coordination between city authorities and civil society ensured that less conventional, newly available resources were harnessed to greater effect (Eurocities, 2016).

## 4.1. HOW DO CITIES FINANCE THEIR RESPONSE?



### Supranational Funding

Like Low Pressure case studies, most cities within the High Pressure/High Capacity typology are from OECD countries and largely rely on intergovernmental transfers to fund response:

- Regionally, the EU increased its 2015/16 €4.5 billion migration budget by a further €3 billion into the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), the Internal Security Fund, EU Syrian Trust and relocation mechanism (OECD, 2017).
- In Germany Federal government provides €670 per asylum seeker/month and agreed to release a further €8 billion until 2018 for integration and social housing projects (OECD, 2017). Nationally, equalisation measures have been put in place to support financially weak municipalities (Grote, 2018)
- In Sweden the national government funds language training and labour market integration over a period of 2 years before handing responsibility over to municipalities (OECD, 2017).
- Ideally refugee funding supports the period before a new arrival is able to join the local workforce and contribute to the economy. While this is difficult to ensure, Germany's 2016 integration law allows states to require that refugees settle in the municipality to which they are assigned but leaving the freedom to move if they find work elsewhere (OECD, 2017).

In Europe the majority (81%) of the UNHCR refugee budget is allocated to camps in Greece and the situation in Turkey (map 3). In 2018 the European Commission also released €180 million of new funding for refugees in Greece, enabling 27,000 to move into urban settings supported by cash transfers (EC, 2018)

### Volunteer and Grassroots Support

During the height of arrivals into Germany in 2015 there were 2000 volunteers working in camps across Hamburg and 3,500 in Düsseldorf. Grote (2018) suggests across Germany there were several million temporary and permanent volunteers. Cities such as Vienna and Munich set up portals to coordinate volunteers (Eurocities, 2016). Furthermore, in 2016 monetary donations for refugees amounted to €488 million - 9% of all donations nationally with 57% going to domestic projects and 43% to projects abroad (Deutscher Spendenrat/GfK 2017 in Grote, 2018).

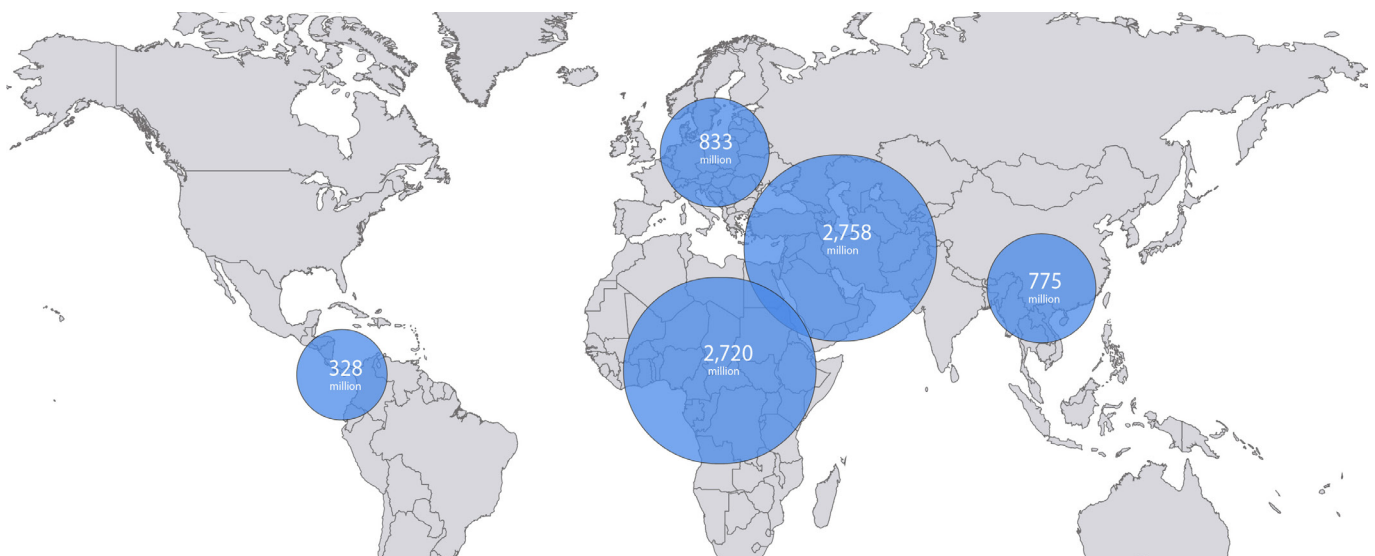
### Direct City Access to Funding

Vienna has received direct EU supplementary funding again from the EU-funded Urban Innovation Actions initiative for a workforce integration scheme operating in the city (UIA, 2017).

### Reinvigorate Economies

In some circumstances, arrivals can reignite an economy: While not a city, Gioiosa Ionica, Calabrie, Italy is home to a large number of asylum seekers. The town receives €35 per person, per day from central government. This money is given to the refugees in the form of vouchers which can only be spent in local shops. Local shopkeepers can later exchange the vouchers for money. This has in part helped to reinvigorate a town previously in decline (Gregorius, 2016).

In Germany, it is too early to assess the long-term impact of refugees on the national economy but getting refugees into work is key to reducing economic impact and benefiting from demographic dividend. From 2017-2018 refugee unemployment fell by 10% to 40.5%. At that rate half the refugee population which arrived in 2015 will be in work by 2020 (IAB, 2017).



Map 3: UNHCR Refugee, IDP and Stateless Planned Budget 2019 US\$ million. Arup, 2019. Data Source: UNHCR, 2019

\*This depends on available funds. Last year only 50% funding was possible



## 4.1. HOW DO CITIES FINANCE THEIR RESPONSE?



In low capacity, high pressure environments the need for financial assistance is significantly greater than it is in other city typologies. However, today the world spends approximately \$75 billion on the 10% of refugees which have moved to developed regions but only \$5 billion on the 90% which remain in developing countries (Betts and Collier, 2017). Most urban refugees receive little or no formal assistance. States and cities need to use what money is available efficiently and advocate for greater support.

### Supranational Funding

UNHCR provide a key source of funding for developing countries with a planned 2019 budget of \$2.2bn for Refugee Programme activity in Africa, \$1.6bn for the Middle East and North Africa and \$614million for Asia and the Pacific. In Africa, \$449 million is budgeted for Uganda, \$319million for Ethiopia and \$221million for Sudan, reflecting refugee and capacity context (UNHCR, 2019). However, this is the planned budget and depends on funding made available from member states. In 2018 only half of UNHCR planned budget was funded. Furthermore, while some of this budget goes into urban programming, the majority typically goes to camp settings in line with state policy (see chapter 2). Still, examining the current Nigerian conflict, the 2018 UNHCR multi-agency humanitarian response strategy has significant urban focus and outlines an approach of working where possible with local host country actors. In Cameroon 30% of Nigerian refugees live out of camp and in Niger 89% (UNHCR, 2018c):

- In Cameroon the response strategy describes strengthening infrastructure in host communities and responding to out-of-camp refugees in collaboration with local authorities;
- In Diffa, Niger, the response is coordinated by the Governor of the Diffa region, with UNHCR and partners. This appears to include significant out of camp activity as well as a specific Urbanization programme which was launched in 2014. From that programme 1675 refugees will benefit from land access, as well as the construction of 4000 durable shelters and the construction of sanitation infrastructure (UNHCR, 2018c).

While the filtering of funds down to decentralised levels and use of funding in out of camp environments will differ country to country, it is imperative that mechanisms exist to effectively transfer money down to local levels at the start of planned projects and that funding is not held up by bureaucracy, lost through corruption or mismanagement, or diverted elsewhere.

Turkish cities currently cumulatively accommodate 3million+ Syrian refugees. In November 2016, the EU initiated its largest ever humanitarian scheme, the €348 million Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN). Each eligible family can apply for a 'bank card' which receives 120 Turkish lira (€26) per month per family member. "Once they have the bank card, they can go to an ATM and take out money. The programme is run through Turkey's existing social

assistance offices, the local branches of the Turkish Ministry of Family and Social Policy (MoFSP), in collaboration with the UN World Food Programme and the Turkish Red Crescent. The scheme works in part because of the financial infrastructure in place, with an advanced network of banks, ATMs and culture of card payments even for smaller items (EuropeAid, 2017).

### Direct City Access to Funding

Often much of the international support available to lower capacity cities is managed at state level with limited involvement from municipal actors especially in inception. However, recently certain municipalities in Turkey and Jordan have been working closely with European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) to improve local infrastructure capacity to meet the needs of refugee and host communities. This includes a €102 million loan to the Greater Amman Municipality and €10million loans matched by €10million in grant funding to the city of Gaziantep, Turkey (Rosca, 2016). While state involvement is a key part of this process, EBRD suggest that their strong presence in both countries and extensive network of direct relationships with municipalities, financial institutions and local businesses, as well as institutions such as chambers of commerce and industry has enabled the swift delivery of projects (EBRD, 2016).

Lower capacity municipalities often do not have qualified staff who are able to fundraise for international aid, or who can fulfil donor requirements for technical expertise when there is interest in giving funding. Research in Jordan suggests donors who work with municipalities are increasingly frustrated with the lack of local capacity (RSC, 2017). In Gaziantep, municipal capacity building is part of a resilience response strategy (see section 4.2). It is clear that in order to play a direct role in response, municipalities with lower capacity need to have access to support in order to sustainably build municipal capacity and/or explore relationships with unconventional actors (e.g. academic institutions) in order to navigate and manage funding requirements.

### Procurement

It is important that international actors ensure that procurement is undertaken locally wherever possible. In a 2017 public meeting in Cox's Bazar, a UNHCR representative stated that they are procuring locally, (not even nationally) and explicitly want to work with local partners where possible in order to 'capacitate local partners and reduce the impact on the host community'. (CXB-CSO, 2018).

### Volunteer and Grassroots Support

While substantial international support is crucial, at local level community based initiatives also help newcomers often otherwise unsupported. In Kampala, local NGO the Refugee Empowerment Centre supports the formation of community savings groups (SACCOs) to strengthen collective financial capacity (REC, 2018).

## 4.2. How do cities meet basic needs?

### KEY QUALITIES: RESOURCEFUL, INTEGRATED, INCLUSIVE, ROBUST, FLEXIBLE.

The ability to meet basic needs includes urban systems of water, housing, energy, food, solid waste, healthcare, water and sanitation and education. The need stretches from immediate emergency phase requirements of arrivals through to medium to long-term issues of sustainability and system capacity.

New arrivals can put pressure on existing municipal systems, testing their shock-responsiveness and ability to adapt in scope and increase in coverage. Some low-medium capacity cities have been able to access international aid and upgrade physical assets that provide for both existing and new residents.

In high pressure typologies hosting new arrivals can place pressure on land and environmental resources. In such cases it is important to implement initiatives which promote sustainability and environmental protection, in balance with essential needs.

In order to address emergency need the immediate response phase requires qualities of flexibility and resourcefulness, combined with an integrated approach, in order to adapt and combine existing city physical and non-physical assets with new inputs such as volunteers, and/or increased influence/role of established NGOs, iNGOs and other actors.

Responses often require a level of knowledge and experience beyond the capacity of existing municipal staff and social welfare systems. The administrative pressure of registering new arrivals, managing new budgets and providing increased access to services is a significant challenge which requires collaboration

between state, municipal, iNGO and grassroots actors.

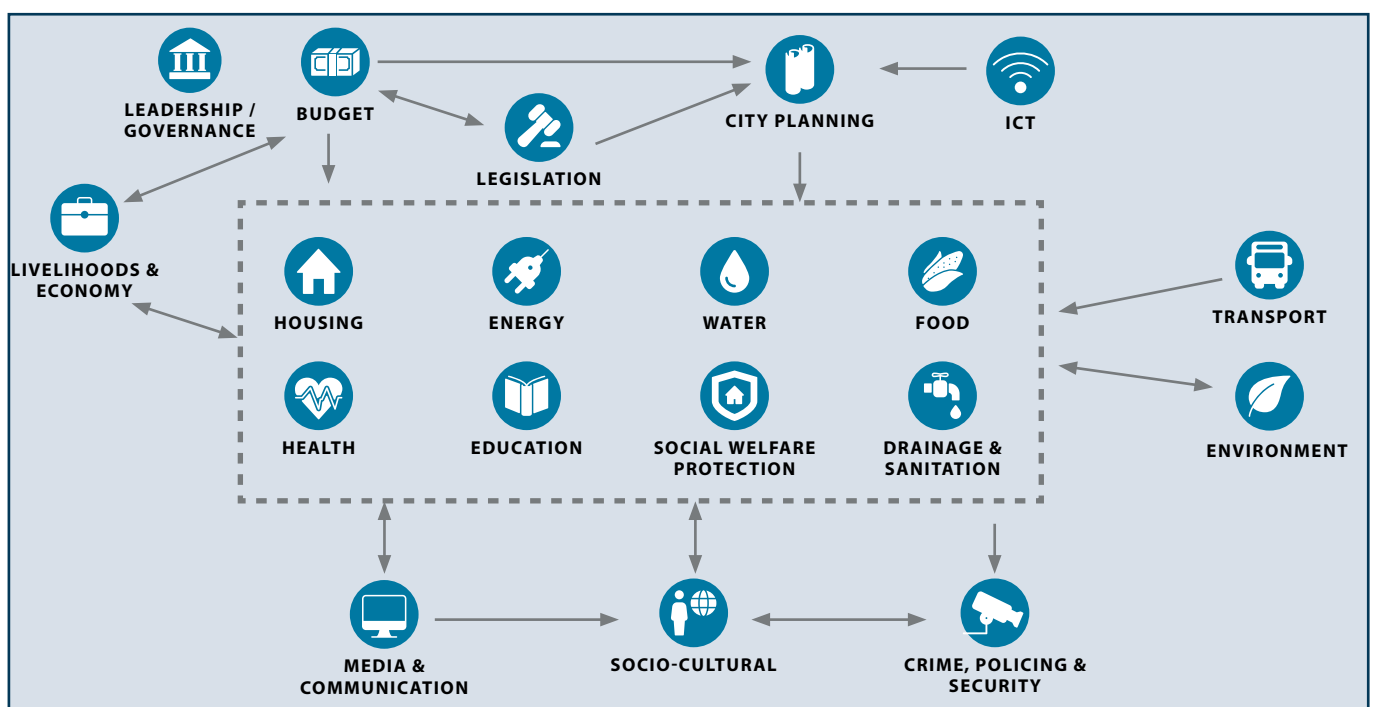
New arrivals hold knowledge gaps which impede their ability to access local systems (e.g. healthcare). Cities need to not only consider infrastructure capacity but also knowledge capacity and ensure that appropriate service connectivity exists.

In many lower capacity, higher pressure geographies, national policy favours camps, and/or refugees face issues with registration impeding both their ability to access services and the city's ability to have an accurate figure of refugees and/or asylum seekers. Often local and international NGOs ensure that newcomers are aware of local services that may be available to them.

Some higher capacity cities have worked with state actors to challenge and reform state policy and legislation in order to meet unprecedented circumstances. This adaptation requires strong governance with flexibility of both state and local actors.

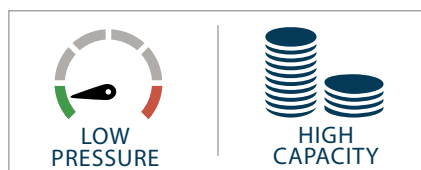
Longer-term, inclusivity and integration are key. Cities must ensure that services are meeting the needs of existing citizens including the most vulnerable, as well as new arrivals. Crucially, city actors must be able to communicate this intent and action effectively. If this is not demonstrated then social harmony can be disrupted.

In appropriate conditions cash transfers can enable refugees to access the specific resources they require, while also contributing to the local economy. Injection of finance into the local economy combined with a municipal and/or iNGO response strategy which takes into consideration the needs of hosts and refugees and acknowledges the work of the host community, can help to reduce local tension and enable greater harmony and cohesion as part of an inclusive, participatory delivery process.



Key system connections for meeting basic needs

## 4.2. HOW DO CITIES MEET BASIC NEEDS?



### Existing City Systems

Most of the explored literature concerning the basic needs of refugees in higher capacity cities has focused on the provision of housing and education. This may suggest that other urban essential service systems such as solid waste, water and healthcare have been able to absorb additional demand. Even in the case of education and housing it appears that many cities within this typology have generally been able to absorb impact. In Utrecht for example, with respect to education, refugee children were signed up to local schools within three days of registration (Politico, 2016).

### Emergency Phase Shelter, Registration and Health

In the USA, cities such as New Haven, San Francisco and Oakland, California have adopted identity cards to allow undocumented residents to access essential city services without fear of reprisals. The perspective of 2007 New Haven Mayor John DeStefano was that it was better to work with the situation and optimise the benefits of migration than to work against it and fail (City Mayors, 2011).

### Housing Approaches

As part of Utrecht's EU funding, the city has implemented a shared-living concept, which brings local young people and asylum seekers to live together. The intention of this programme is to tackle both housing demand and foster development of social networks and capital between locals and new arrivals. The programme has proportionally targeted 50% asylum seekers and a minimum of 20% local neighbourhood participation to ensure an inclusive approach.

A shared living concept is also taking place in Antwerp, also aimed at meeting the needs of both refugees and local population (EU, UIA, 2017).

In Barcelona and several other European cities, schemes exist where locals sign up to host refugees in their homes (Politico, 2016).

### Long-term Healthcare

Refugees often arrive in cities traumatised from experiences and need specialist mental health support. In Finland, from 2015-2018 the Helsinki Deaconess Institute (HDI), a non-profit that works to prevent social exclusion has trained 2,500 people to work with refugee children (YLE, 2018).

In Auckland, New Zealand there are a range of specialist public physical and mental health services for refugees and asylum seekers, as well as services such as interpretation to enable all

newcomers access to the wider existing public health system (Arphs, 2019).

### Service Connectivity

In Utrecht cycling has shown to be a valuable connector to the wider city and the services it offers. Local non-profit community group Harten voor Sport (Hearts for Sport), run 17 weekly lessons around the city (Walker, 2016).

In Barcelona the SAIER (Servei d'atenció a Immigrants, Emigrants i Refugiats) is a hub which provides support to city migrants, offering advice and providing knowledge of available city services across areas such as housing, employment and education (OECD, 2018).

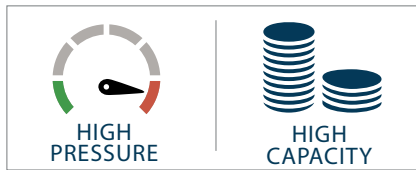
### Integrated Approaches

Ghent, Belgium has been awarded an URBACT Good Practice for its policy towards refugees. During 2015, the Syrian crisis doubled the average annual number of refugee arrivals in Belgium. The city took an integrated approach from day one, setting up a 'refugee taskforce' comprising of both city services, the Public Service for Social Welfare and civil society and NGOs to address both immediate and longer term needs, including housing, education, health and cultural and leisure activities. Initiatives undertaken include a housing buddy scheme where a volunteer helps those granted asylum to find appropriate accommodation within the city (URBACT, 2018).

### Grassroots Support

There are examples of new civil society organisations forming in many cities in response to the new demands of mass arrival events. For example, in Belgrade, Refugee Aid Serbia is an organically established group of citizens and local NGOs formed in 2015 in response to high numbers of refugees and asylum seekers arriving or transiting through Serbia. Refugee Aid Serbia now appears to have developed into a mature organisation which undertakes longer-term projects in areas of education, monitoring and evaluation and community outreach, partnering with Oxfam on Monitoring and Evaluation projects nationally (RAS, 2018).

## 4.2. HOW DO CITIES MEET BASIC NEEDS?



For high pressure cities the demand is far greater and the response is more challenging and beyond the level of which normal city service systems could be expected to absorb. City systems adapt and expand across emergency phases with new actors and processes in order to meet increased demand especially with respect to healthcare, education and housing.

### Emergency Phase Shelter, Registration and Health

In the emergency phase of the Syrian refugee crisis, cities such as Düsseldorf and Munich adapted existing physical assets, creating transitional spaces and making use of infrastructure such as airport hangers and train stations to serve as temporary reception centres. Munich (and several other cities) pre-positioned assets in anticipation of high volume of arrivals (Eurocities, 2016). Erding and Feldkirchen in the state of Bavaria set up similar registration 'waiting rooms' manned by multi-stakeholder staff.

Training for volunteer reception centre staff was provided in many municipalities by established NGOs such as AWO, Caritas and the German Red Cross. Healthcare was provided on a voluntary basis by doctors close to emergency accommodation and registration facilities. In several German cities specialist accommodation facilities were set up for unaccompanied minors with youth welfare structures in place and prioritised processing mechanisms. (Grote, 2018).

In Austria, 2015, over the first few days of arrivals 65 emergency shelters were set up across the city of Vienna, containing 10,600 beds in total. The city also developed a registration system which included the provision of an identification card for arrivals to access health and logistics. (Henley, 2016).

### Civil Society/Grassroots Support

Diverse civil society groups including refugee associations; neighbourhood initiatives and Christian, Muslim and Jewish communities provided initial basic needs across German cities such as food, clothing and toiletries for arrivals. This support provided a crucial initial service until official structures could be implemented (Grote, 2016). In Berlin, volunteers were on hand for the distribution of emergency items during the arrival phase and a strong civil society presence has remained longer-term with the website [givesomethingbacktoberlin.com](http://givesomethingbacktoberlin.com) functioning as a platform for refugee projects seeking volunteers, and individuals offering their services (Katz et al, 2016; 'GivesomethingbacktoBerlin.com').

### Education

Cities recognise that education is key to integration and this has shown to be a priority even during the immediate stages of arrival. Vienna made it a principle to enrol every refugee child in a local school within two weeks of their arrival (Guardian, 2016). In Munich the city administration provided assessment of refugees' level of education, arranged counselling and provided specialised learning needs such as language classes (Eurocities, 2016).

### Housing Approaches

In Thessaloniki the Municipality launched an integrated housing program REACT - Refugee Assistance Collaboration Thessaloniki in 2016 in partnership with UNHCR and funding from the EU (Urbact.eu).

Some cities have been able to work with central government to adapt legislation to new circumstances. In Germany states, including city-states such as Berlin and Hamburg, have representation in the upper chamber of federal legislature. They have the right to recommend changes to federal laws in response to shifting market and social dynamics. During the refugee crisis Hamburg twice initiated changes to the national housing codes to overcome local opposition to new refugee housing centres, effectively enabling the city to place refugee centres either in underutilized formerly commercial buildings, or on open sites in residential neighbourhoods. Related changes were also made to planning laws and to the Renewable Energy Sources Act (Katz et al. 2016; Grote, 2018).

There are differences in policies and approaches between German cities. El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) note that Berlin is one of few federal states that allow refugees to seek their own apartment in the housing market while still being in the asylum application process (Wendel, 2014). The Berlin administration has also allowed refugees to spend 20% more on rent than is possible for other social welfare recipients and commandeered a small number of flats from municipal housing associations for high need cases in a scheme called 'apartments for refugees'. However, the paper notes the administrative crisis Berlin has faced in accommodating refugees since 2015 with 5000 still living in emergency shelters at the end of 2017.

Cities including Vienna, Leipzig and Düsseldorf have sought to spread refugees into housing units across the city, believing that this approach supports their integration into the city's existing socio-cultural system (Eurocities, 2016; Guardian, 2016). While the rationale of this approach is understandable, Saunders (2010), highlights the importance of existing expatriate communities in helping new arrivals to get a foothold in the city and learn how to access services and strengthen networks. Considering both of these points might involve ensuring that new arrivals are neither isolated from host communities and local culture, nor existing expatriate networks of support.

El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) cite the role of civil society in reducing refugees' difficulties in accessing housing. Activity includes mechanisms which help refugees to find a room in a shared flat, to providing help during the housing search process and/or providing a guarantee for a landlord. However, while these schemes are successful, they are not without problems (e.g. flatshare mismatches) and importantly are too time and resource-intensive to solve problems at scale in their current form.



## 4.2. HOW DO CITIES MEET BASIC NEEDS?



### Emergency Phase Shelter, Registration and Health

In Ecuador, in 2018 a state of emergency was declared both nationally and in the provinces of Carchi, El Oro and Pichincha in response to events in Venezuela. This declaration enabled institutions to take extraordinary measures to address emergency needs and security risk. Migration authorities increased personnel to process arrivals and staff and mobile units from the Ministries of Public Health and Social and Economic Inclusion were deployed. Local emergency committees took steps to assist the vulnerable, including unaccompanied children. (UASC in R4V, 2018).

### Needs Assessment and Monitoring

In order to meet demand, cities need to first be aware of what is needed. In Lebanon maintaining a municipal refugee database and regular communication with local refugee groups can help authorities to manage and anticipate arrivals (MercyCorps, 2014).

### Infrastructure Investment

High pressure, low capacity cities are placed under significant pressure by new arrivals but this can also present an opportunity to strengthen local systems:

- From 2016, Greater Amman municipal government has been leveraging a \$102m European Bank loan to develop the city's solid waste management system (ERDB, 2016).
- Another ERDB loan to Gaziantep has increased the capacity of the city transport system (bus fleet) for hosts and refugees.
- In Bertoua, Cameroon, host actors have acknowledged how Central African refugee arrivals have enabled humanitarian development of health centres and schools a (Barbelet, 2017).

### Service Connectivity: Knowledge of Available Services

Often refugee knowledge of available services is lacking. In Amman 2012, government worked with UNHCR and WHO to transition refugees from specialist services established upon arrival into local systems (strengthened with international support). 70% of refugees interviewed had not been using local services as they did not know where they were. Volunteers were therefore gathered to help in this respect (Martin and Taylor, 2012). Engagement of hard to reach populations is also in the interests of city authorities (e.g. in a disease outbreak). An IRC report from Amman highlights the work of international and local NGOs to inform displaced persons of local services, who are unaware or afraid to access what is available (Saliba et al, 2018).

### Self-Settlement and Host Community Support

In Bertoua, during the first phase of refugee arrivals from the Central African Republic (mid 2000s), both humanitarian organisations and the government encouraged refugees to self-settle (if able). (Partly due to delays in locating camp sites). Many were helped by relatives, acquaintances and previous refugees to find villages and towns to settle in. However, many hosts felt their initial support had been under-appreciated by iNGOs who they

perceived to only be helping refugees. The initial welcome also wore thin as the situation became protracted (Barbelet, 2017). Response strategies need to sustainably support refugees and hosts, acknowledge local support and anticipate concerns. In Uganda policy stipulates that 30% of all refugee aid must benefit locals and all facilities must be also open to Ugandans (Higgins, 2017).

In Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, the Rohingya crisis has created high pressure locally with arrivals estimated to be 2.5x that of the nearby host population. Early assistance largely focused on the needs of refugees but the October 2018 Humanitarian Response Plan targeted 300,000 beneficiaries from host communities (ReliefWeb; HDE, 2018). Activities include: FAO supporting local agriculture and linking this to refugee food demands (FAO, 2017); Training by UNICEF for local health workers (HDE, 2018); and IOM providing community infrastructure and starting communication with local government and communities (CXB, 2018; VOA, 2017).

### Environmental Degradation

Hosting high numbers of new arrivals can place high demand on the environment e.g. pollution, land and natural resource extraction. In Cox's Bazar humanitarian actors in collaboration with local and national authorities have been improving site development in the camps including drainage to reduce environmental impact, landslide and flood risk (IOM, 2019). In the Far North of Cameroon IUCN has programmes linking conservation activity to local livelihood provision (UNHCR, 2019b).

### Housing Approaches

Long-term support for refugees should be systematic, coordinated and sustainable. In Turkey, over the past few years 1 million Syrian refugees have been renting in host communities supported by European cash assistance schemes (Summers 2018). A UNHCR scheme in Jordan has provided support to 25% of refugees locally - 32,000 families since 2012. (Ulrichs et al (2017), Similar schemes exist in Yemen, Somalia, and Lebanon (UNHCR, 2018b). If cities can regulate landlords this could help ensure safe housing for refugees, while providing host community benefits.

### Long-term Healthcare

The Psycho-Social Services and Training Institute in Cairo (PSTIC), is a community based refugee project which trains and facilitates refugees to assist their own communities (MHIInnovation, 2016).

### Municipal Knowledge, Capacity and Authority

While refugee interventions are often negotiated at state level, in Gaziantep, Turkey, the Head of the Municipal Migration Office suggests that part of their resilience strategy has been to equip the municipality with the technical skills, knowledge and human resource to manage future shocks: *"After five years.., we saw that.. (humanitarian, short-term assistance) is not enough ..we are now.. building..capacity of institutions"* (World Bank, 2016).

## 4.3. How do cities ensure livelihoods?

### KEY QUALITIES: INTEGRATED, INCLUSIVE, RESOURCEFUL, FLEXIBLE.

The provision of livelihood opportunities and integration of new arrivals into the labour market is an issue closely tied to legislation and finance which can either support or restrict the city in this challenge.

Once new arrivals are able to work, successful integration into the host city labour-force is influenced by correlation of education, vocational and language skills to the host economy, and how quickly new arrivals have been able to integrate generally (including their ability to access essential services).

If livelihood initiatives do not address and meet the needs of both new arrivals and existing host community then this can significantly contribute to social discord but conversely, if there is a need for labour resource then the arrival of newcomers can bring a long-term economic dividend to cities.

It is important to note that many refugees find themselves in a more vulnerable livelihood position as time increases and any resources they may have managed to bring with them deplete.

In order for economic dividends to be realised there is a need for an inclusive, integrated strategy and the resourceful use of public, private and voluntary sector financial and human resource. Cities (across contexts) need to have robust economic strategy for labour market integration, including a sufficient level of understanding of the education and skills levels of their target population (newcomer and/or host). This then requires the

provision of education and vocational skills training suited to local labour market conditions.

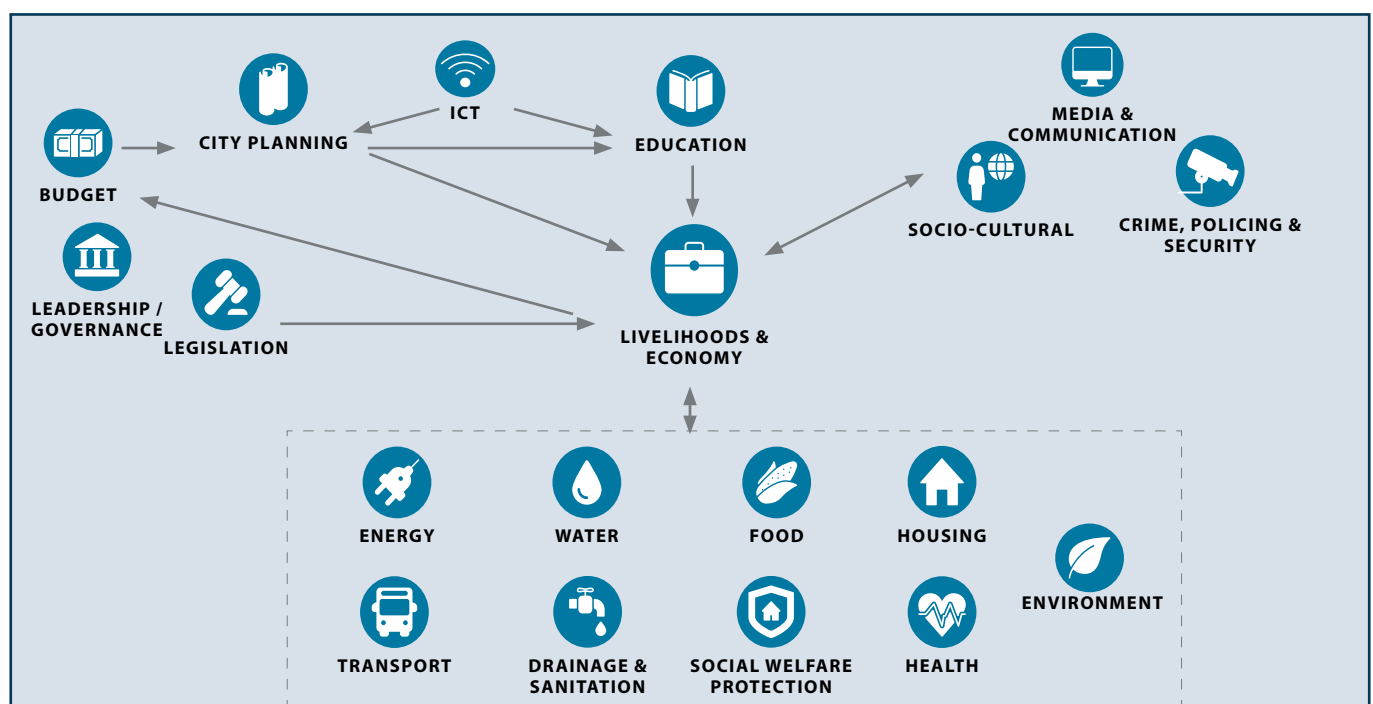
In several case studies, new residents have been shown to bring innovation and create jobs in their host community. Cities can aid this situation through policies which encourage and support entrepreneurship.

National policy can place additional pressure on cities but in other instances changes in national legislation can produce outcomes which can benefit a city such as the ability to integrate refugees into the workforce rapidly and contribute to the urban economy, opposed to their relying on social benefits. Under the right conditions this can in turn have a favourable effect on other urban systems including essential services.

In lower capacity, higher pressure cities there is typically even greater competition for jobs and INGOs can play an important role in livelihood programming if permitted to operate in this environment. In such environments, support for both new arrivals and existing vulnerable and/or disadvantaged host community residents is an important consideration.

In certain high pressure, lower capacity environments camps are located in proximity to urban environments and the arrival of international support can provide opportunities within the local economy, however there is also the risk of increased employment competition. The challenge for national/local economic policy and legislation is to protect existing workers while providing opportunities for newcomers.

Coordination amongst all involved actors (international, national and local) is key with respect to all these issues.



*Livelihoods and Economy System Connections*

### 4.3. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE LIVELIHOODS?



While there is comparatively less labour market stress on lower pressure, higher capacity typology cities, they still need to ensure that there is a conducive environment to provide livelihood opportunities for both new arrivals and existing residents.

#### Host Community Beneficiaries

In Bologna the municipal government has accessed EU funding to establish a socio-economic hub which focuses on the needs of both refugees and locals. Villa Salus will offer entrepreneurship start-up opportunities for all citizens in a community environment. It is hoped that this initiative will boost economic growth and provide training and employment support to refugees (UIA, 2017).

#### Private Sector

The private sector can play an important role in the transition of new arrivals into work environments. Such involvement possibly presents an opportunity for collaborative efforts with local municipalities. Tent.org is a coalition of over 100 companies undertaking various activities and initiatives in relation to refugees. This group includes Ikea who have launched a national refugee employment initiative in Canada, Ben and Jerrys who have a 'business incubator' program in Europe and Manpower

Group who have training programs across Europe including in the Netherlands and in the UK. (Tent.org, 2018).

In Amsterdam the 'Refugee Talent Hub' is an agreement among 40 large private companies to support refugee integration into the labour market (OECD, 2018).

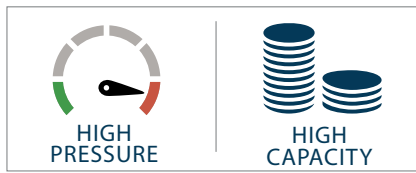
It is not just large companies engaged in this challenge but also small and independent businesses. For example, in London, social enterprise NEMI Tea employs refugees to run tea stands across London food markets, festivals and events, offering the opportunity for employees to grow the opportunity into a franchise (Nemiteas.com, 2018).

#### Entrepreneurship

There are countless examples of entrepreneurial spirit amongst new city arrivals. For example, In Huddersfield, UK one Syrian refugee turned an initial £2500 start up loan into a 5 person strong Halloumi business (Bearne, 2017). More well-known examples include Google co-founder Sergey Brin who arrived in the US as a child refugee (Legrain, 2016). Creating an environment which encourages and supports entrepreneurship can enable newcomers to contribute to local and national economies.



### 4.3. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE LIVELIHOODS?



In high pressure but also high capacity cities, under the right demographic conditions (ageing host population), the opportunities provided from large numbers of new arrivals can be significant if such dividend can be realised. However this requires an effective facilitating environment, with significant challenges to integrate such high numbers of new arrivals into local socio-economic systems.

#### Labour Deficits

In Germany, one widely reported factor of Chancellor Merkel's decision to open German borders to refugees at the height of the Syrian crisis was the ageing workforce nationally and need for new working-age labour for future economic-prosperity. It was a gap that needed to be filled (OECD, 2017b). However, making this work is still a significant challenge and national, municipal and local actors have employed resourceful legal, economic and social initiatives in response.

#### Livelihood Policy and Legislation

In 2007, changes to the federal Asylum Seekers Benefits Act in Germany meant that earning wages sufficient to be independent of social services became a mandatory requirement for asylum seekers to qualify for residency. The city of Wuppertal responded by introducing an intensive job readiness project to help asylum seekers to find long-term employment. In 2008, the city established 'Partizipation, the Wuppertal Network for the promotion of labour market integration of abode claimants and refugees.' Pilot project outcomes included 157 people finding work, including 78 full-time jobs. At the end of two years, most participants were also able to successfully extend their residence permits. The project has since been replicated in the neighbouring cities of Remscheid and Solingen. In 2010, the pilot project was rewarded with three years of new funding and a mandate to expand and partner with the city job centre. (Cities of Migration, 2012).

In 2016, German government passed an Integration Bill including obligatory language education and skills training (before asylum decision) and the lowering of barriers to the job market, abolishing preference for applicants from Germany and the EU, and granting residence permits for refugees who enter and have finished vocational training. The latest integration law enacted in July 2016 attempts to distribute refugees more evenly once they are registered as job-seekers. This means that federal state authorities can assign refugees to a municipality and establish limits for areas with a difficult socioeconomic structure (Katz et al 2016).

#### Labour Market Integration

German municipalities and the Federal Agency for Employment are trying to speed up the process of labour market integration in Germany. Experts meet asylum seekers and refugees shortly after their arrival to assess their qualifications and place them in proper employment where possible. It is now possible for asylum seekers to access the labour market after three months. Integration courses including 600 hours of language training were opened in 2016 and under certain conditions refused asylum seekers who cannot currently be deported are offered apprenticeship opportunities (OECD, 2016b). Specific cities such as Munich have designed refugee integration plans with a strong focus on labour market integration (Katz et al, 2016).

#### Private Sector

The private sector is a key stakeholder group with respect to the provision of job support and training to refugees. This includes both local businesses and international corporations. In Sweden in 2016, LinkedIn launched 'Welcome Talent', a pilot program for connecting refugees to internships. When employers add #welcometalent to job listings on LinkedIn, newcomers can use the hash tag to search for those opportunities. During this pilot, LinkedIn partnered with more than 50 companies and helped roughly 2,000 refugees. The program has been expanded to Canada and the U.S. (100RC; LinkedIn, 2017).

#### Skilled Labour Fast-tracking

In Sweden fast-track programs also exist for skilled workers across 31 different professions and app and web-based training and wider livelihood tools have been used in Swedish and German cities (Konle-Seidl, 2018).



### 4.3. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE LIVELIHOODS?



#### Host Community Beneficiaries

In Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, while the local community has been adversely affected by the arrival of ~700,000 Rohingya refugees over a short period of time, international aid is starting to address local livelihood development through activities such as host community cash for work and agricultural skills and assets provision (Humanitarian Data Exchange, 2018).

Kakuma town is next to one of the largest refugee camps in Kenya. Here there is local recognition that the refugee camp is a crucial part of the local economy without which the town would be quite isolated (RSC, 2016).

#### Livelihood Policy and Legislation / Labour Deficits

It should be noted that many of the examples explored in this chapter concern refugees with the right to work. As discussed in Chapter 2, refugees in countries including Turkey and Jordan are typically working in the informal economy, except for those able to afford work permits.

The Jordan Compact is an innovative, well-publicised approach to refugee livelihoods. Academics Betts and Collier alongside a Jordanian think-tank the WANA Institute recognised the proximity of the Za'atari camp, Jordan to a nearby Special Economic Zone, near the city of Mafraq, with all the infrastructure to be a major site of production but lacking labour. A refugee employment scheme was applied to 18 other SEZs in Jordan. This harnessed significant World Bank funding, gathered the support of major international businesses and overcame national and international restrictions including the lowering of export tariffs to the EU and of prohibitive refugee work permit fees. However, while the scheme has opened up a route to legal work for Syrian refugees, it has not generated the intended employment impacts it had hoped to. Reasons include difficulties of firms to access EU markets (despite lowering of tariffs) and that most Syrian refugees in Jordan come from a primarily agricultural area in Southern Syria, without the skills or knowledge to work in manufacturing livelihoods associated with the scheme (di Porcia, 2019). Barbelet et al. (2018) suggests that further obstacles have included the need for an employer to act as guarantor in some sectors, distrust of official institutions, a lack of awareness of the process and lack of support for home entrepreneurship. Still, the scheme has now been expanded to the whole of Jordan (not just SEZs), the EU is helping firms with marketing and finding niches to access EU markets and the Government has simplified labour regulations. While this is not strictly an urban livelihood solution and one involving collaboration at international scale, it is worth noting the potential to harness international public-private investment in stagnant local economies and the role that city actors might play in this process. This could include matching refugee skills to local economies, attracting businesses to the cause and overcoming other obstacles described, especially those listed by Barbelet.

#### Livelihood Policy and Host Communities

The MercyCorps study of Lebanese cities discusses the importance of city employment policies and procedures which protect existing workers (from replacement by lower paid newcomers) and provide suitable employment opportunities for both existing residents and new arrivals (MercyCorps, 2016).

Livelihood programming activity of UNHCR, other UN organisations and iNGOs in Cameroon typically has proportional targeting which seeks to not only help refugees but also vulnerable members of local host communities.

In Far North Cameroon, UNDP see agricultural programming not only as a source of livelihood opportunity but also as a way to increase food production in region which has experienced rapid population increase (Kado and Fotabong, 2018).

#### Innovation and Self-Sufficiency

In some locations formal labour opportunities are in short supply and refugees must demonstrate their capability to integrate into local markets. This is perhaps currently most evident in Uganda, where its welcoming stance on refugees means that it is host to an estimated 700,000 South Sudanese refugees as well as refugees from Congo, Rwanda and elsewhere. Refugees are given the right to work, move freely, access Ugandan social services, a plot of land to live on, and a plot of land to farm.

A Betts (2015) study revealed that 60% of refugees in Uganda are self-employed, 39% were employed by others, and only 1% were unemployed. In the capital city Kampala, 21% of refugees generate employment through their businesses (Betts, 2014). Other historic examples include the integration of Eritreans in the Kassala region, Sudan, in spite of inadequate development aid and a lack of legal recognition (Kok, 1989). This all presents an argument for city actors (e.g. public, private and NGO actors) to work to create an environment for entrepreneurship in such contexts (e.g. ensuring provision of financial services).

#### Grassroots and Expatriate Support

Organisations such as REC and YARID support refugee livelihood development in Uganda. REC has developed a strategic plan for skilling the refugees which is aimed at raising the economic relevance of vocational and professional training and to increase the quality of skills provision (REC, 2017). YARID is a community organisation formed by Congolese refugees in 2007, providing language skills, vocational training and activities to refugees coming to Uganda from areas such as Rwanda, Burundi, the Great Lakes Region and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Betts and Collier, 2017; YARID.org, 2018).

In Uganda, among Somali refugees the practice of 'aiuto' encourages community savings and micro-finance groups among female headed households, while 'zakagt' is another mechanism of self-organised philanthropic support. Expatriate businesses provide further support and opportunity (Betts and Collier, 2017).

## 4.4. How do cities ensure social harmony and cohesion?

### KEY QUALITIES: INCLUSIVE, INTEGRATED

Urban areas are characterized by diversity, density and complex inter-related social, economic and cultural conditions. Social harmony and cohesion appear to be intrinsically linked to every other issue. As discussed in 4.2. tensions can increase if basic needs of both new arrivals and host communities are not met. Longer-term, if livelihood opportunities cannot be established for newcomers and existing residents this can also contribute to exclusion and wider social problems. Furthermore, if systems which enable safety and security are not strengthened then socio-cultural cohesion can be weakened.

However, if interventions can broadly address the needs of both new and existing residents in an inclusive, participatory fashion then cohesion can be impacted far less and in some respects new arrivals can have a positive impact, generating community spirit in the emergency response phase, and cultural diversity longer-term.

Research in high pressure, high capacity cities identifies some complex social and demographic factors which can contribute to conflict. Findings highlight the need for an effective asylum processing system; a well-considered housing strategy (grouping vs. dispersal); and the merits of family reunification if possible.

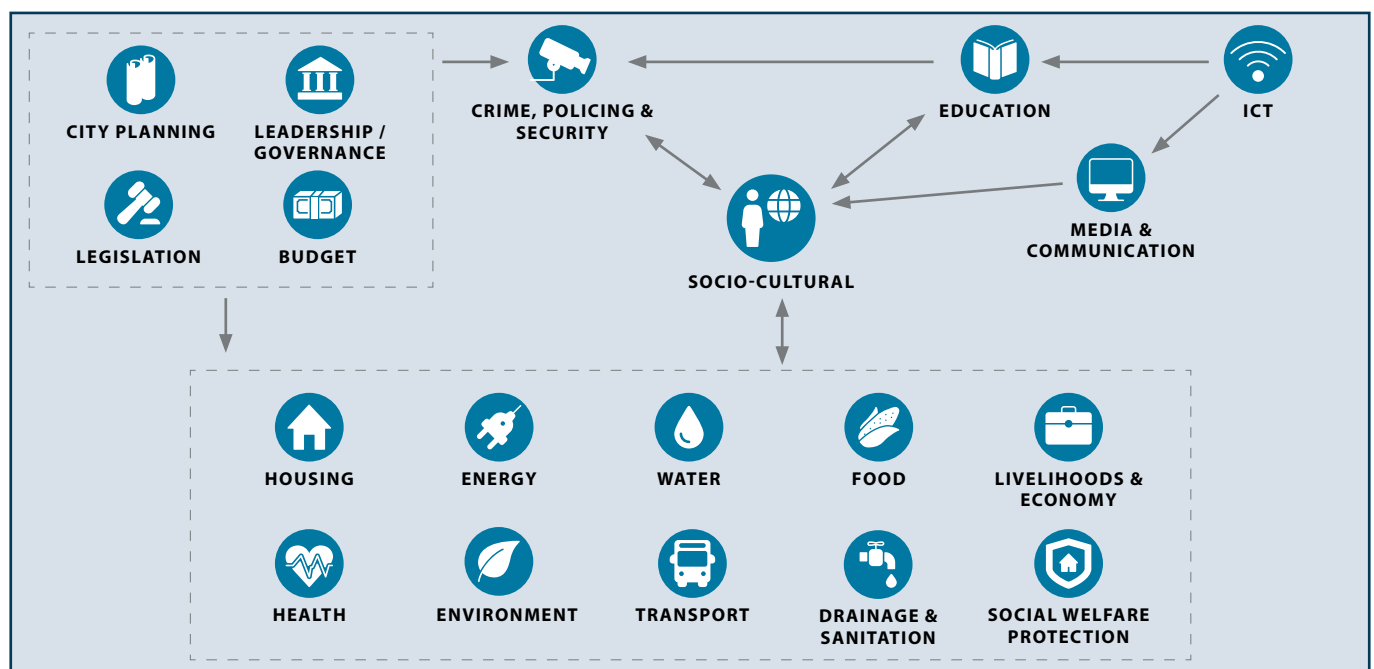
Mechanisms for conflict resolution between host and arrival communities and a proportionate increase in policing in cities experiencing high numbers of new arrivals are important factors.

In some high pressure, low capacity contexts, host and newcomer share many socio-cultural characteristics and the most significant challenge is financial. Here proportional support for disadvantaged host communities is a key consideration. In other contexts host and newcomers have different cultural experiences and barriers such as language need to be overcome.

Accessible city transport can enable newcomers to connect to new parts of the city, new services and new people. Appropriate activities which help new arrivals and host communities to find common ground without being forced/awkward, or paternalistic can add cohesion. This process can partly be achieved through the effective creation and activation of shared spaces - assets such as parks and libraries or more intentionally developed spaces such as innovation hubs and shared housing schemes. Finding common cultural activities such as sport or food can also facilitate understanding between newcomers and existing residents.

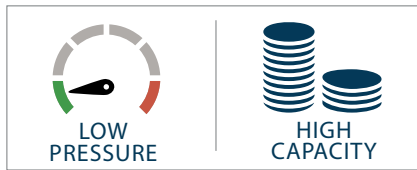
Time is a key factor for social integration of new arrivals. If displacement is anticipated to be temporary and return to countries of origin appears to be likely then refugees may understandably wish to more closely maintain cultural and social ties. If the prospect of return is unlikely then the desire and need for integration may be greater. This suggests a need for balanced consideration and understanding, and contextual appreciation when designing interventions.

Knowledge, awareness and shared understanding amongst new arrivals, host communities and city service providers are key for social cohesion. It seems that it is not just how the needs of locals and new arrivals are being addressed, but the perception of how they are being addressed. It is not the mere availability of services which have the potential to support cohesion but knowledge of the existence of these services. Adaptation to local cultures and traditions cannot be achieved without knowledge and awareness of what these cultures and traditions and behaviours are. Formal and informal media has an important role to play in both the provision of information and narrative of the situation.



Key Social harmony, knowledge and cohesion system connections

#### 4.4. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE SOCIAL HARMONY AND COHESION?



##### System Dependencies

Other systems such as livelihoods and economy and education are important for new arrivals to integrate and become part of a city. Programs in Denmark, Norway and Sweden provide refugees with economic benefits conditional upon their participation in language education programmes, combined with apprenticeships and internships, vocational training, and assistance from employment offices in finding work. In Sweden, the program is run nationally, in Denmark, by municipalities but with national criteria and oversight, while in Norway municipalities have greater licence in program design. Here, outcomes are better overall but differ significantly between best and worst-performing areas (Joyce, 2018).

##### Policing and Security

Rotterdam has adopted a liveability action plan which includes a new police station and a range of activities to increase the feeling of safety for existing and new residents alike.

The same report highlights how police forces across several countries have recruited police officers of differing ethnic backgrounds and specific language skills in order to engage different communities with more effective community policing. (FRA, 2017).

##### Customs, Behaviours and Experiences

Study of cities certain cities where the culture of newcomer and host markedly differ revealed activities designed to introduce arrivals to existing cultures and traditions. For example, a scheme in Wellington, New Zealand offers newcomers the chance to connect with local culture and Māori traditions (Cities of Migration, 2012).

In Solna, Sweden a dedicated position has been assigned to coordinate learning and integration activities at local secondary schools. Activities primarily focus on sports, working with local football club AIK Solna (Eurocities, 2016).

The Utrecht cycling scheme mentioned in 4.2 is not just a connection to services but also a social connector: *'In a liveable city, you meet each other, connect to your surroundings ... and feel the wind in your hair'* (Guardian, 2016).

Some case studies illustrate that it is not just the culture of the host city which can be considered when attempting to foster cohesion between refugees and existing residents. In the UK, Timepeace is an cultural exchange app soon to be launched which encourages refugees and existing citizens to meet and exchange skills and experiences (timepeaceapp.org/)

##### Existing Immigrant Communities

In Dayton, USA, the city utilised existing immigrant communities to discuss ways that the city can assist with resettlement and integration (Welcome Dayton).

##### Shared Spaces and Activities

As discussed in 4.2, Antwerp's shared housing scheme incorporates a 'buddy scheme' to sharpen intercultural qualities. A refugee innovation hub in Bologna has a similar idea of creating shared spaces where shared values and understanding can develop (UIA, 2016).

Shared spaces provide the environment for natural integration of cultures to take place: In 2007, the Parc Central de Nou Barris, Barcelona won the International Urban Landscape Award for performing an important "integrative task in a rapidly expanding and multi-ethnic quarter of Barcelona." Today, the park is second-largest urban park in Barcelona, and is fully embraced as a public commons, recreational facility and meeting place (Cities of Migration, 2012).

In Oslo, Library services have expanded to introduce this public facility to refugees. Activities include a women's reading group and a homework service in the library conducted by the local branch of the Red Cross (Varheim, 2014).

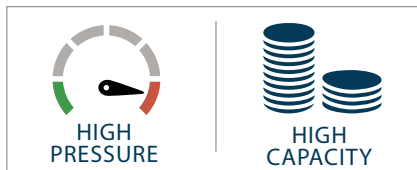
It is not just physical spaces which can help facilitate integration. In Utrecht a Facebook page called "Refugees Welcome to Utrecht" was set up (Politico, 2016). Welcome hashtags trended across countries including the UK at the peak of Syrian arrivals in Europe (ITV News, 2015).

##### Media and Communications

Oslo has historically experienced a high number of refugee arrivals with 6-7% of inhabitants having a refugee background (SSB 2016). In June 2001, after a racially motivated murder, the city began a high-level campaign to cultivate and promote cultural diversity. This included the passing of a charter recognising equality of all and commitment to tolerance, mutual respect and understanding. There was an extensive media campaign and other diversity-orientated measures including city government hiring criteria. Today, diversity is a comfortable part of the city landscape and an increasingly important part of its structures and institutions (Cities of Migration, 2012).

Media is a key factor in the integration of refugees: In Barcelona the city developed an anti-rumour campaign with advertising and anti-rumour agents to dispel common misconceptions and stereotypes (Politico, 2016).

#### 4.4. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE SOCIAL HARMONY AND COHESION?



##### Security, Cohesion and System Dependencies

As discussed in sections 4.1-4.3, in mass arrival events, city systems need to be able to absorb early demands of both hosts and newcomers and efficiently integrate new arrivals into the local economy, at which point their need for support will reduce and their economic contribution will increase. If this challenge cannot be met then this is likely to have an adverse effect on crime and social cohesion.

Studies exploring the relationship between immigration and crime and refugees and crime provide varied results with some case studies concluding that the refugee and/or migrant communities that they studied are no more likely, or less likely to commit crime than host residents (Nunziata, 2015; Adelman et al. 2017; Ousey and Kubrin, 2009; Easta, 1989). Certain studies that do note higher incidents of crime suggest complex underlying drivers and illustrate that ensuring safe, cohesive cities depends on many systems beyond that of crime and policing. For example a study of Lower Saxony, Germany, noted an increase in crime, but also suggested that in that case:

1. Those with a legitimate case of asylum were less likely to commit crime than those without;
2. Demographics - 26.9% of new arrivals were men aged 14-30 and statistically young men (across the population - refugee or host) are more likely to be convicted of crime than other groups, including women who provide a stabilising influence; and
3. In over 90% of murder/manslaughter cases with an asylum seeker as the perpetrator, the victim was also non-German, with 42.2% of victims also being refugees.

The Lower Saxony study highlights the need to consider the impact of housing large groups of men in a concentrated, pressure-cooker environment (where conflicts can quickly escalate). It also illustrates the importance of an efficient (and fair) asylum processing system, enabling legitimate refugees to integrate more quickly, as well as presenting an argument for quick family reunification (Pfeiffer et al. 2018).

Incidents involving newcomers can significantly shift public sentiment and have a long lasting impact on cohesion. The 2015 New Year's Eve sexual assaults in Cologne are one notable incident. Beyond swift police action, when events which damage cohesion take place it is also important to communicate the behaviour and values of the majority of new arrivals. In the aftermath of events in Cologne, a significant number of refugees took to the streets to denounce the attacks and state that they share the German values of equality and respect (IBI Times, 2016).

As discussed, beyond legal and housing systems, employment and education are key systems, not just economically but also for social cohesion. The Pfeiffer study highlights the provision of language and professional training, as additional key interventions. In Nuremberg, individual German language tuition

is offered to all under 5s who are living in households where German is not the mother tongue. German is also provided as part of the school curriculum for over 5s.

Increasing the proportion of young people from immigrant households who take advantage of the post-school education available in cities is another goal of the city administration. The report highlights the partnering between politicians, parents and teachers to help parents to navigate the institutional and education spheres (Cities of Migration, 2012).

In Leipzig social workers help refugees by organising language courses, homework help for children, accompanying the refugees to support offices or local initiatives, coordinating volunteer activities and fostering local relationships (Eurocities, 2016).

##### Policing and Security

While understanding system interdependencies and addressing causal relationships is key to a proactive strategy, well-considered approaches to policing and security are also necessary.

In Austria, Styria the regional police have initiated a community policing strategy which has brought stakeholders from civil society, migrant organisations, city administration and political parties together to reduce anxieties, resolve any conflicts and prevent crime. This approach has been applied across five areas in the city of Graz and elsewhere with police reporting widely favourable public acceptance (FRA, 2017).

Police in Finland and Germany also work with civil society to increase their work for and with asylum seekers and migrants (FRA, 2017).

##### Customs, Behaviours and Experiences

It is not just language that is new to many new arrivals but also unfamiliar cultures and customs. In Vienna refugees are provided with 'Living in Austria' classes which explain local customs and culture but also practical matters such as accessing services and basics such as buying a train ticket:

*"It's the fifth lesson we've had – on how to live here, really," says Moshataq Wafa, 20, who arrived in Vienna from Afghanistan... "How to buy tickets for a train or a tram, why we shouldn't eat in the street or talk loudly on our cell phones, how we must talk to women ... I want to stay here; it's important to understand."* (Henley, 2016).

##### Shared Interests and Proactive Planning

German cities have illustrated the importance of proactive planning during periods of lower intensity. In Oberhausen, the city has used quieter periods to prepare for new arrivals, establishing integration programmes including the creation of a football team, cooking classes, empowerment classes and art workshops for children (Boelpaep, 2017). In Berlin, refugees have created a group called 'Refugee Voices'. The group provide free-tours around the city with refugees presenting their own views and experiences of the city intertwined with their story and how they came to be there (Larsson, 2017).



## 4.4. HOW DO CITIES ENSURE SOCIAL HARMONY AND COHESION?



### Security, Cohesion and System Dependencies

Like in higher capacity cities, social harmony and cohesion in lower capacity cities depends on the functioning of other urban systems. Contributions from refugees into the local host economy can help in this respect. Kirbyshire et al (2017) highlight the Betts et al. (2014) study of refugee households in Kampala, where 97% of respondents reported buying their daily necessities, from Ugandan businesses. As discussed in 4.3, Betts states that of the 21% of refugees surveyed employ others from their business, 40% of whom are Ugandan.

### Host Beneficiaries

However, conversely, livelihood success can create community tensions if new arrivals are perceived to be doing better than local businesses and adding bringing extra competition, particularly if supported by INGO assistance. Livelihood programmes need to carefully consider proportional support for both refugees and host communities in order to reduce tension and built cohesion. Pre-studies commissioned by NGOs and donors for livelihood programming tend to examine local labour market characteristics and consider issues such as market saturation and local competition:

*"It is imperative that livelihood interventions do not dictate or compete with the enterprise development efforts of the community"* (Women's Refugee Commission, 2009)

World Food Programme agricultural livelihood programming in Eastern Cameroon involves both refugees and host beneficiaries working the land as groups. The common farming tradition of both local Cameroonians and Central African refugees aids this process, as does sensitization with local communities and land owners (personal observation).

### Customs, Behaviours and Experiences

Some host communities share common characteristics with refugees including language, ethnicity, religion, livelihoods, interests and other cultural similarities. As discussed in section 4.1, in Bertoua, Cameroon the host community have previously expressed compassion and provided support to Central African refugees with whom many share common characteristics. However, in resource-scarce locations appropriate financial support needs to be provided for refugees and hosts as situations become protracted and goodwill erodes. Such support needs to be transparent and equal.

### Conflict Resolution

In addition to transparent and fair distribution of resources, MercyCorp's (2014) study of Lebanese cities recommends local conflict resolution mechanisms that include representatives from both host and newcomer communities as an important process for local cohesion. In Bertoua and many other African cities, traditional community leaders (e.g. religious, tribal) play an

important role in local politics.

### Media and Communication

Using a variety of media and communication channels can help host communities to better relate to new arrivals. For example, local Ugandan non-profit InterAid, supported by UNHCR developed the theatre show "Tunaweza," (We Can). The show presents the arc of refugees' journey from the harrowing violence that drove them from their homes, through to their lives remade in exile in Uganda. It aims to encourage audiences to get to know refugees, and dispel myths of passive beneficiaries and threats to livelihoods (UNHCR, 2016d).

### Policing and Security

Biometric identification cards such as those distributed by UNHCR can provide refugees with valid identification helping them to both access city services and reduce the likelihood and extent of harassment by police. At the same time this can enable security actors to more effectively police local areas (which may be experiencing insecurity/instability) for legitimate threats. In Bertoua, UNHCR distributed cards to satisfy police concerns, ease harassment and distribute resources (Barbelet, 2017b and personal observation). However, such intervention needs to be carefully thought out so as to not create risk for refugees. In Cox's Bazar many refugees are reluctant to register their biometric data for fears of data sharing with Myanmar and forcible return (Reus, 2018).

### Civil Society

Local NGOs play an important role in building cohesion. In Uganda, local NGO REC understand, promote and support the varied roles played by women in conflict resolution and their ability to influence the direction of social change. REC implements this initiative through the provision of extensive training to women on activities ranging from conflict management approaches, to accessing resources (REC, 2017).

### Shared Spaces and Activities

While minor in response to the scale of the situation, one activity in the activity tracker of INGOs in Cox's Bazar was the involvement of a Rohingya refugee football team in a local tournament (Humanitarian Data Exchange, 2018). Such activities are evident in case studies globally and can help to promote common ground amongst refugees and local residents.

In Amman, UNICEF has announced the expansion of a Social Cohesion in Host Communities Programme, supported by UNICEF, private multinational corporations and state actors. The programme has already involved 1600 Jordanian and Syrian youth participants in a range of sports and arts activities across 16 communities. In 2017 the programme expanded to 40 communities and 8000 participants. (ReliefWeb, 2017).

## 4.5. How do cities coordinate their response?

### KEY QUALITIES: INCLUSIVE, INTEGRATED, RESOURCEFUL, ROBUST, REFLECTIVE

Across city typologies, strong formal and informal leadership, integrated response and resourceful use of available actors and assets are common factors behind effective response and continued functionality of city systems under increased pressure.

Chapter 2 discusses how cities continue to lack appropriate opportunity to engage in decision-making regarding refugee response. In 2017, Amman, Athens, New York, Paris and 12 other cities wrote to UNHCR demanding greater collaboration on this issue (Brookings, 2017). Similarly, 150 cities signed the 2017 Mechelen Declaration facilitated by IOM (Muggah, 2018). Nationally, state policy significantly affects municipal responses and there is a need for strong vertical (2 way) communication from the outset. In countries in which cities have a significant degree of autonomy there still needs to be a coordinated, integrated response, both horizontally across municipalities and vertically with national government, to ensure new arrivals are appropriately distributed and supported with resources available. In some city case studies, municipalities have created their own standalone strategic plans in order to address the challenges that they face. Others have highlighted displaced populations as one of several challenges and developed strategic interventions which holistically consider the range of shocks and stresses experienced locally and the relationship between displacement and migration and other global trends including climate change (100RC, 2019).

Beyond formal government, many different types of actors have been evident in the case studies ranging from well-established NGOs, to new grassroots volunteer movements and the presence of alternative actors e.g. large private sector organisations, academic institutions and cultural and faith-based organisations. Many of these actors play a leadership role and an effective response is not possible without the engagement and collaboration of a wide range of stakeholders.

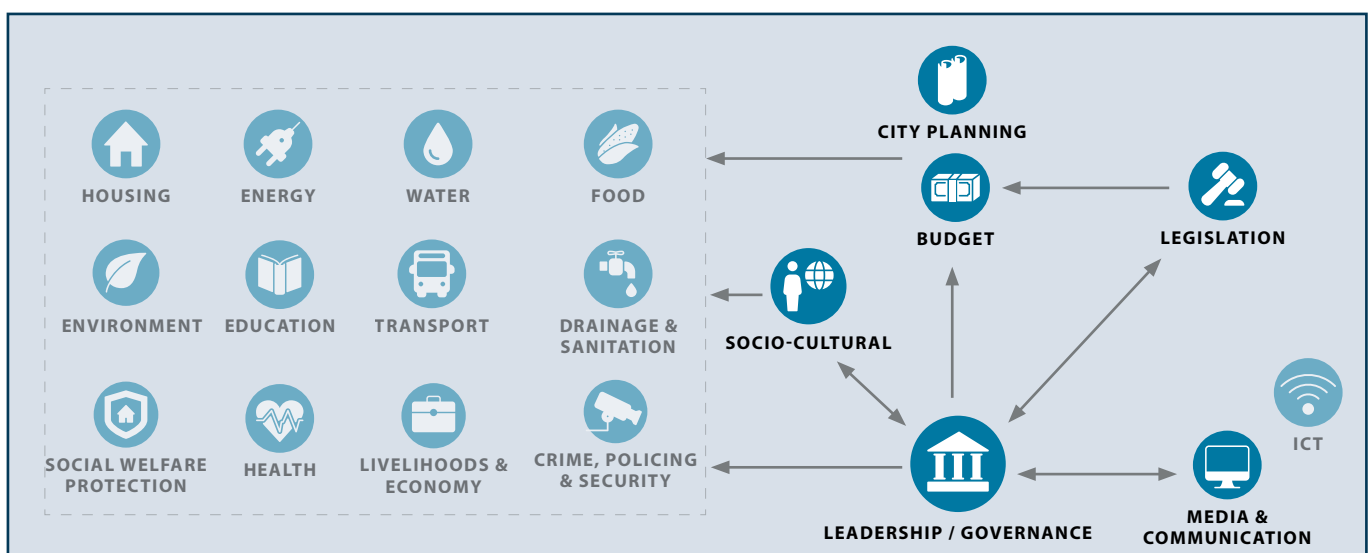
When civil society support is high, there is a need for coordination

of activities across emergency phases. With this, resources can be harnessed and utilised in the face of significant financial, political and other obstacles. However, the self-organisation of the informal sector has also been admirable and the flexibility and agility that these stakeholders have demonstrated has been vital, especially in the emergency response phase, when traditional avenues have appeared to be less agile and/or more constrained.

In high pressure, lower capacity cities the role of international donors and NGOs and state authorities appears to be greater, reflecting the scale of the situation, national policy, and the level of local government capacity (4.1). However, city and local authorities and other urban actors have a crucial role to play, as do the other stakeholders embedded in the urban systems with which the intervention concerns. Cross-stakeholder knowledge sharing, coordination and capacity building are all key.

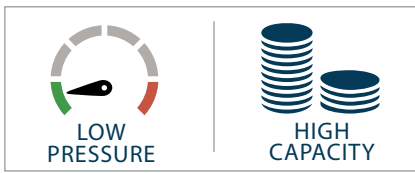
It is important to have a plan which is cognisant of different response phases. Typically in high pressure, low capacity emergency situations the international community come in and work largely with established emergency response structures and actors, often with significant internal coordination but less external local government coordination. However, it is imperative that such activities are undertaken with the permission and knowledge of government actors at multiple levels. Furthermore, as mass arrivals subside and such situations evolve from the humanitarian to the development phase, it is crucial for iNGOs and local government actors to work together, with collaborative response programming, making use of both actors' knowledge, experience and available assets. Failure of iNGOs to do this can lead to mistrust and discontent amongst local actors.

Coordination is key within local governments. The needs of refugees are varied and requires inputs from all city departments, whose response needs to be effectively coordinated, utilising existing mechanisms. In many cities this has required the formation of new cross-sectoral city taskforces. International knowledge exchange networks - learning from the experiences of other global cities offer another valuable asset across typologies.



Key Leadership system connections

## 4.5. HOW DO CITIES COORDINATE THEIR RESPONSE?



### Municipal Leadership and Planning

Strong city leadership is evident across many of the case studies examined.

- Dayton, USA has won numerous awards for its ability to welcome and integrate refugees and migrants. Much of these activities took place under the leadership of 2010 Mayor Tim Leitzell and city manager Tim Riordan who along their journey have also worked with leaders of existing immigrant communities to gain advice and formed a Core Team consisting of staff from 3 Departments and one HRC board member. Activities continued by subsequent Mayor Nan Whalley have included commitment to accommodate Syrian refugees (Welcome Dayton, 2017).
- In Barcelona, in 2015 mayor Ada Calou put out a call to European cities inviting them to become 'Cities of Refuge'. She stated that: *"It may be that states grant asylum, but it is cities that provide shelter."* She was joined by the mayors of Madrid, Cadiz, La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, and Zaragoza. (Cities of Refuge in Spain).
- In Poland, recently deceased mayor Paweł Adamowicz established an alliance with the like-minded mayors of two southern Polish cities, Wrocław and Wałbrzych, signing a four-point *"declaration of co-operation on openness and intercultural dialogue"*. (Duval Smith, 2016).
- In absence of a national framework for managing refugees, the Paris municipal government created its own action strategic plan 'Mobilizing Paris Community for Refugee Welcome'. The plan leverages city competencies for managing other vulnerable groups such as homeless persons (100RC, 2016). Paris also recently joined 10 other cities asking UNHCR for greater collaboration on refugee issues (Brookings, 2017).
- Elsewhere Kingston, London has previously developed a strategy to improve service accessibility and mutual integration, while Toronto has a newcomer strategy structured around shared leadership, stronger collaboration and a more seamless and well-coordinated service system.

### Coordination within Cities

In addition to a strong leadership focal points, coordinated strategic leadership is required within and across urban system responses. A city under pressure not only experiences new challenges but also the introduction of new physical and human resources which need coordination for their optimal utilisation. In Ghent, the city established three working groups within its taskforce on refugees: shelter, emergency/volunteers, and integration. This process improved cooperation between different city services, the Public Service for Social Welfare (PSSW/OCMW), local NGOs and individual volunteers. The council volunteer working group provides the interface with local civil society,

responding to requests from civil society organisations and NGOs, matching supply with demand (Eurocities, 2016).

In Montreal the 'Newcomers' Integration Office (BINAM)' coordinates funding, expertise and programming for the reception and integration of new arrivals (OECD, 2018) and Paris, in addition to its response framework also has a multi-stakeholder steering committee to coordinate those who arrive in Paris in the national asylum system (OECD, 2018).

### National or Local City Networks

93 US cities are part of 'Welcoming America', a network of cities and counties who exchange knowledge and practices around creating immigrant-friendly, welcoming communities at national and international scale (Welcoming America.org). Similar networks operate across European cities under the Solidarity Cities Program (<https://solidaritycities.eu/>) and within the UK at grassroots level under the 'City of Sanctuary' program (<https://cityofsanctuary.org/>).

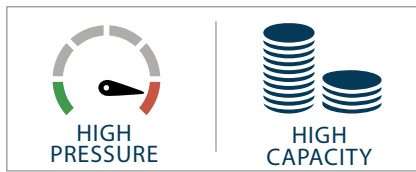
It would be remiss to talk about immigration (forced or economic) in America without discussing Sanctuary Cities: San Francisco, Chicago and New York are part of a group of 39 cities and several hundred counties across the USA that have laws, ordinances, regulations, resolutions, policies, or other practices that resist federal demands for local criminal law enforcement to undertake immigration enforcement activity (cis.org; Washington Post, 2018; MSNBC, 2018). Laws and practices vary city to city but include the prohibition of allocating city funds towards federal immigration enforcement activity and refusing to hold non-felon illegal immigrants in custody. In 2019 this has increasingly become a high profile point of political debate nationally. While underlying drivers and objectives vary, many city leaders have stated that their aim is to reduce fear of deportation and encourage people to report crimes without reprisal and to be able to access other city systems and basic services such as education and healthcare.

### Civil Society Coordination

In the UK, the Refugee Council is a national NGO that provides support to refugees and asylum seekers across cities. The organisation provides support in legal, health, livelihood and resettlement issues, as well as specific support for unaccompanied minors. The Council in turn works with smaller community organisations across the UK (<https://www.refugeecouncil.org.uk/>).

In Paris, in 2015 non-profit organisation Singa received around 10,000 responses from people willing to host refugees. Their online platform received additional private and public funding to manage the project (OECD, 2018).

## 4.5. HOW DO CITIES COORDINATE THEIR RESPONSE?



### Municipal Leadership and Planning

Like in lower pressure cities, city mayors and other municipal leaders in High Pressure High Capacity cities have been commended for their leadership in managing phases of significant new arrivals. There are numerous examples of responses but to highlight a few:

- Mayor Andreas Hollstein and his town of Altena were 2018 finalists in UNHCR's annual Nansen Award (UNHCR, 2018e).
- Mayor of Athens Georgos Kaminis has been pressing the European Commission for more direct access to EU funding to help the city to better support the needs of refugees and asylum seekers (Nielsen, 2018).
- Athens and many other high pressure cities have specialist refugee officers dedicated to response within the municipality.
- The Athens 100RC Municipal Resilience Strategy details a Migrant Integration Action plan alongside other strategic actions to manage the shocks and stresses that the city faces (City of Athens | 100RC, 2017)

### Coordination within Cities

As evidenced in the low pressure typology case studies, while strong leadership is a key factor in success so is a coordinated response which successfully integrates the activities of many different stakeholders:

- In Hamburg a new local cross-disciplinary and cross-siloed taskforce was set up in cooperation between the Agency for Social Affairs, Integration, Labor, and Family and the Agency for Interior Affairs and Sports to handle the refugee situation in the city. This was in response to the diverse range of needs required by refugees, which could not be efficiently addressed by traditional siloed approach. The taskforce also provided an interface for the coordination of public and volunteer efforts. The capability of existing municipal housing providers was expanded with a focus on buying and retrofitting existing buildings. Finally, the city collaborated with external stakeholders including academic actors such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and HafenCity University utilising municipal planning department data to create the City Science Lab – an interactive, participatory process, working with refugees and existing residents to accommodate refugees, while also complying with existing building regulations and zoning (Katz et al 2016).
- Altena has shared certain tasks with other neighbouring municipalities such as a regional adult education centre (OECD, 2018).
- Athens has a coordination centre funded by a private philanthropic foundation. This centre under the leadership of the Mayor's office comprises 75 organizations working

together to improve conditions for migrants and refugees within the city (ACCMR, 2018).

### National or Local City Networks

While providing cities with greater autonomy can enable them to lead a tailored, locally informed response, it can also lead to significantly different, unequal responses across cities (Askim, 2015). In mitigation, municipalities in the Tyrol region, Austria have an integration framework called the 'integration mission statement' which ensures greater coordination by cities across the Federal state. Thirteen Municipalities in the region of Gothenburg, Sweden also share migration resources and services in order to achieve critical mass (OECD, 2018).

### Global City Knowledge Sharing Networks

There is much to be gained from cities sharing knowledge and experience with other cities facing similar challenges. In Europe such processes include the Eurocities, 'Solidarity Cities' network which includes Athens, Thessaloniki Berlin and Vienna (<https://solidaritycities.eu>). Other city networks with an even greater reach globally are discussed on the following page.

### Civil Society Coordination

The study of Hamburg also highlights the importance of civil society in having the flexibility and agility to mobilise quickly and provide rapid response when more formal government actors are slow to respond and/or delayed by capacity and/or legislation. In Hamburg, Hanseatic Help e.V. a nonprofit organization was quickly created, mobilising thousands of volunteers in response to the approximate 70,000 refugees who arrived in the city in 2015. Arnd Boekhoff, founder of Hanseatic Help e.V cited that one *'good thing that came out of this was a very spontaneous cooperation between the city government, civil society, established social organizations, and new organizations'* (that were created). Hanseatic Help e.V has since matured into an established longer-term source of support for refugees (<https://www.hanseatic-help.org/>).

Munich employed several paid volunteer managers specifically to work with and ensure coordination across local non-governmental organisations (Eurocities, 2016).

In other cities such as Berlin, established NGOs such as Save the Children provided services while municipalities were getting organised and while formal mechanisms were being established (Katz et al 2016).

The vital role played by civil society in the early phases perhaps highlights the need for greater preparedness and agility in municipal response but also illustrates other conventional and unconventional actors who step up and provide support during times of crisis.

## 4.5. HOW DO CITIES COORDINATE THEIR RESPONSE?



### Municipal Leadership and Planning

- The leadership displayed by individual mayors with vision, initiative and perseverance have been discussed as important positive factors in the Lebanese response to the Syrian crisis. In particular local leadership in supporting essential service delivery and engagement with host communities (RSC, 2015).
- The MercyCorp (2016) study of Lebanese cities suggests that an empowered municipal focal point for refugee affairs is a key part of an effective response, creating stronger lines of communication with new arrivals.
- Kampala Capital City Authority in Uganda has been working with the International Rescue Committee in recent years producing a 'Strategic Response to Displacement, Migration and Resettlement' in April 2018 (Saliba and Wolff, 2018)
- The Mayor of Quito, Ecuador emphasised the role of refugees and migrants in urban economic development, social inclusion and innovation, at a 2018 UN meeting of mayors in Geneva (Gaynor, 2018).
- Amman, Jordan has shown that city administrations with devolved power and capacity are able to engage and utilise international donors and NGOs to develop city capacity (100RC). Displaced populations are recognised as a key challenge within Amman's 100Resilient City strategy and the city has developed Goals and interventions which holistically consider this alongside other long-term challenges such as water scarcity, (Amman Municipality| 100RC, 2017).

### Coordination Within Cities

Kampala has recently developed a city coordination centre: the 'Kampala Coordination Forum For Displacement, Migration and Urban Refugees' inspired by the city of Athens. This centre includes the engagement of public, private and civil society actors. (Saliba and Wolff, 2018)

### Global City Knowledge Sharing Networks

Cities of lower capacity, with the highest number of refugees face the biggest response challenge. Knowledge sharing with cities experiencing a similar challenge as well as dialogue with international subject experts offers important avenues of support for some municipalities. Networks include:

- The EU-funded 'Mediterranean City-to-City Migration Project' (MC2CM) project which works with a range of cities including Amman, Beirut and Vienna (ICMPD, 2018); and
- The 'Center for Mediterranean Integration' which in 2017 held a peer-to-peer learning workshop for communities hosting refugees attended by 70 representatives of local governments from MENA and Europe (World Bank, 2016).

### Different Emergency Phase Actors

As discussed in section 4.1. in high pressure situations international NGOs provide crucial support to manage humanitarian emergencies. This support is often concentrated

in formal camps (e.g. Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh, Zaatari, Jordan and Minawao in Northern Cameroon, but can also include urban environments. In Eastern Cameroon, only 30% of refugees (77,000) from the Central African Republic are housed in organised sites and the remaining 70% live in host community sites and villages. Here, in the emergency phase of refugee arrivals in 2014, UNHCR and INGOs worked largely in existing humanitarian structures, providing support to Central African refugees who had settled in urban areas such as Bertoua as efficiently as possible. However, after 5 years without significant phases of new arrivals, the situation has moved from one of emergency to one of longer-term development needs. Therefore, humanitarian actors are now working in much closer partnership with local government authorities, with the time to develop longer-term partnerships and programmes which aim to address the needs of refugees and vulnerable host community residents (Barbelet, 2017).

### City Sovereignty

A 2015 workshop co-hosted by Chatham House's Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Programme discussed political constraints of municipalities in Jordan with regard to refugee response. It was felt that in cases national government were reluctant to decentralize allocation of financial and human resources to municipalities partly due to central government concerns about capacity in municipalities. In some countries, security concerns about overspill from the war in Syria has also contributed to a desire to retain national oversight of local activities. The workshop also cited trust issues between various stakeholders as hindering cooperation both between state and municipality, and municipality and civil society organizations, and there were also fears that decentralization could lead to the eventual naturalization of Syrians. Workshop participants recommended a refugee law be passed to clarify refugees' legal status which would help refugees' but also help allay fears that Syrians will eventually become naturalized citizens (RSC, 2017).

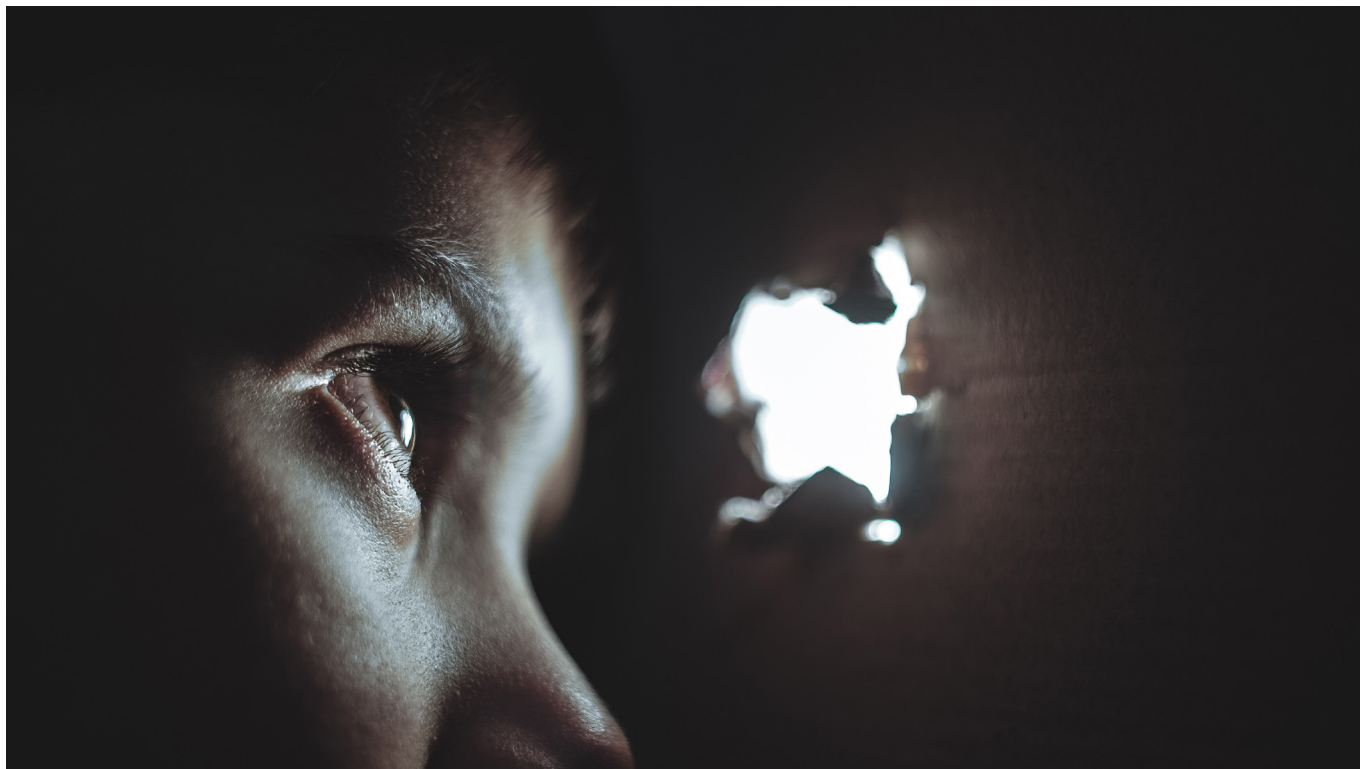
From a capacity perspective, as discussed in 4.1 a response (especially from external actors) should seek to build local capacity, especially longer-term, to ensure future sustainability as well as coordination and utilisation of existing systems.

### Civil Society Coordination

In contexts where municipal capacity is low, civil society actors including volunteers and refugees themselves play a leadership role. This includes NGOs but also community, cultural, tribal and faith-based organisations.

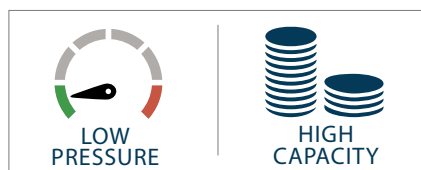
In Lebanon MercyCorps note that before winter and summer many municipalities worked alongside NGOs to prepare and secure resources for their communities. This coordinated approach ensures more targeted, appropriate assistance. MercyCorp recommends a strategy of mutual support where municipalities allows international organisations local office workspace (where appropriate) in order to create closer coordination.



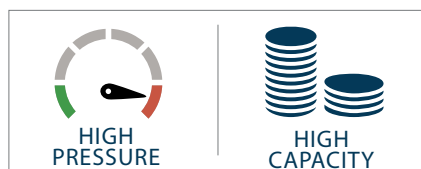


## 5. Conclusions

### TYPOLOGIES

**Low Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event but not beyond 1% total city population

**High Pressure, High Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be high capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.

**High Pressure, Low-Medium Capacity:**

Cities that can be considered to be lower capacity, who have experienced a recent rapid arrival event and forced migrants are beyond 1% city population.

## 5.1. Case Studies Summary

1. Despite developments in UNHCR policy and the recognition that refugees largely reside in urban environments, there is demand from cities across reviewed typologies for greater involvement and collaboration with state and international actors. Crucially, most funding for refugee integration comes from or through state actors. There needs to be strong vertical coordination between these and municipalities. Chapter 4 provides examples of cities (across typologies) who have managed to more directly access supranational funding but this is the exception rather than the norm.
  2. Beyond issues of sovereignty, the administrative capacity of some High Pressure, Low-Medium Capacity cities can prove an obstacle with respect to both meeting donor funding requirements and their wider response. Capacity building is necessary in many cities to better prepare them to be able to respond to the complexities of mass arrival events and this aspect should be considered in any external intervention.
  3. In lower capacity cities the role of international aid is understandably significant, though these cities are still highly underfunded. Still, intelligent use of humanitarian funding can both help new arrivals and lessen the impact on host communities: Cash transfers provided to refugees can contribute to local economies; infrastructure upgrades can provide longer-term benefits to host communities; procurement can endeavour to source from local suppliers; and longer-term interventions can ensure that vulnerable host communities are proportionally represented in programming.
  4. In relation to point 3, it is imperative that INGOs operating in or near to urban environments work as closely as is practicable, and as soon as possible with local authorities who understand the needs of the existing population and the capacities and intricacies of existing urban systems.
  5. New actors, knowledge and behaviours were evident across case study typologies including the role of civil society, which translated into significant human resource. The agility of civil society actors has been shown to provide crucial support during the initial response in many cities, where local authorities have perhaps lacked capacity and/or flexibility. All cities need a strategy to effectively work with non-governmental resource (e.g. NGOs, CBOs, faith-based organisations, private sector, academia and other new grassroots organisations). This may require new roles or departments within local authorities to coordinate actors both internally and externally. Several cities have established centres to facilitate multi-stakeholder coordination/response.
  6. New options need to be considered to provide underfunded cities with funding access based on evolving needs. Sustainable strategy is key: case studies have illustrated how human and financial resource can fluctuate across different phases of emergency response. We have also seen how significant infrastructure upgrades can offer longer term solutions. Resilience planning should consider the relationship with other long-term urban resilience issues such as climate change impacts, and practice coordinated forward planning and investment.
  7. All cities need to overcome not just financial and physical challenges but also knowledge deficits:
    - For municipal authorities this includes data on the numbers and basic needs of new arrivals, and knowledge of effective city practices. The latter can be supported by national and international city knowledge exchange networks.
    - For new arrivals this includes how and where to access basic services and wider support. Beyond the physical availability of services, the issue of service connectivity is key.
  8. Some cities have been able to work with the state to amend legislation which impacted a timely response. In other instances, city actors (government, private and civil society) have employed innovative solutions to navigate financial, legislative and administrative constraints which were preventing new arrivals from accessing city services.
  9. Existing city systems across typologies have been shown to support the needs of new arrivals and host communities. The degree of functionality of a system depends on the extent to which existing assets and services can be strengthened and adapted for differing needs (e.g. increasing hospital capacity but also psychological support and translation services).
  10. Housing strategies differ between distribution across city; concentration within certain city areas; and that of self-settlement. City and state strategies need to understand and appreciate the merits and potential risks of their chosen approach, considering issues such as integration, high pressure conditions, and accessible expatriate support.
  11. If refugee crises become protracted and return looks unlikely then education, skills and language training and legal right to work are key to the economic integration of new arrivals. These factors determine at what point new arrivals will be able to contribute to the local economy. In some cities language and skills gaps might be significant, but the city has capacity to provide quality training, and can benefit longer term (especially under appropriate demographic conditions). In other city typologies, the skills and knowledge of new arrivals may be more suited to the local economy, but this economy may be weaker and livelihood opportunities more scarce. City stakeholders need to develop strategies which serve the needs of both newcomers and existing residents.
  12. Across cities, a diverse range of factors were shown to be important for the integration of new arrivals and wider local cohesion including: Programming dedicated to the needs of both existing and new residents; Education and knowledge integration programs; Shared (physical and virtual) spaces across the city; Community based policing; Opportunities for cultural exchange; and Workforce integration.
- The above points outline a few of many system inter-linkages at play when it comes to the integration of new arrivals in an urban environment. These interdependencies are summarised hereafter.

## 5.2. System of Systems

**Taking a closer look at the relationships between key urban systems shows the interdependencies and cascading impacts which need to be appreciated and factored into city planning and response.** This includes the systems that provide for the basic needs of existing and new residents (illustrated on the top right of the below diagram) as well as those systems which underpin and facilitate this provision (blue systems on the diagram). City actors need to collaborate and prevent a siloed response:

Financial systems underpin a city's response to a mass arrival event. Cities have to rely on their own existing capacity to absorb demand to varying extents. Additional resources outside of a city's typical budget may be acquired through international assistance (usually via national systems) and/or national allocation. The way in which this is delivered depends on national and international policy and legislation. In some cases, cities with strong leadership and governance system capacity have been able to engage more directly in financial procurement.

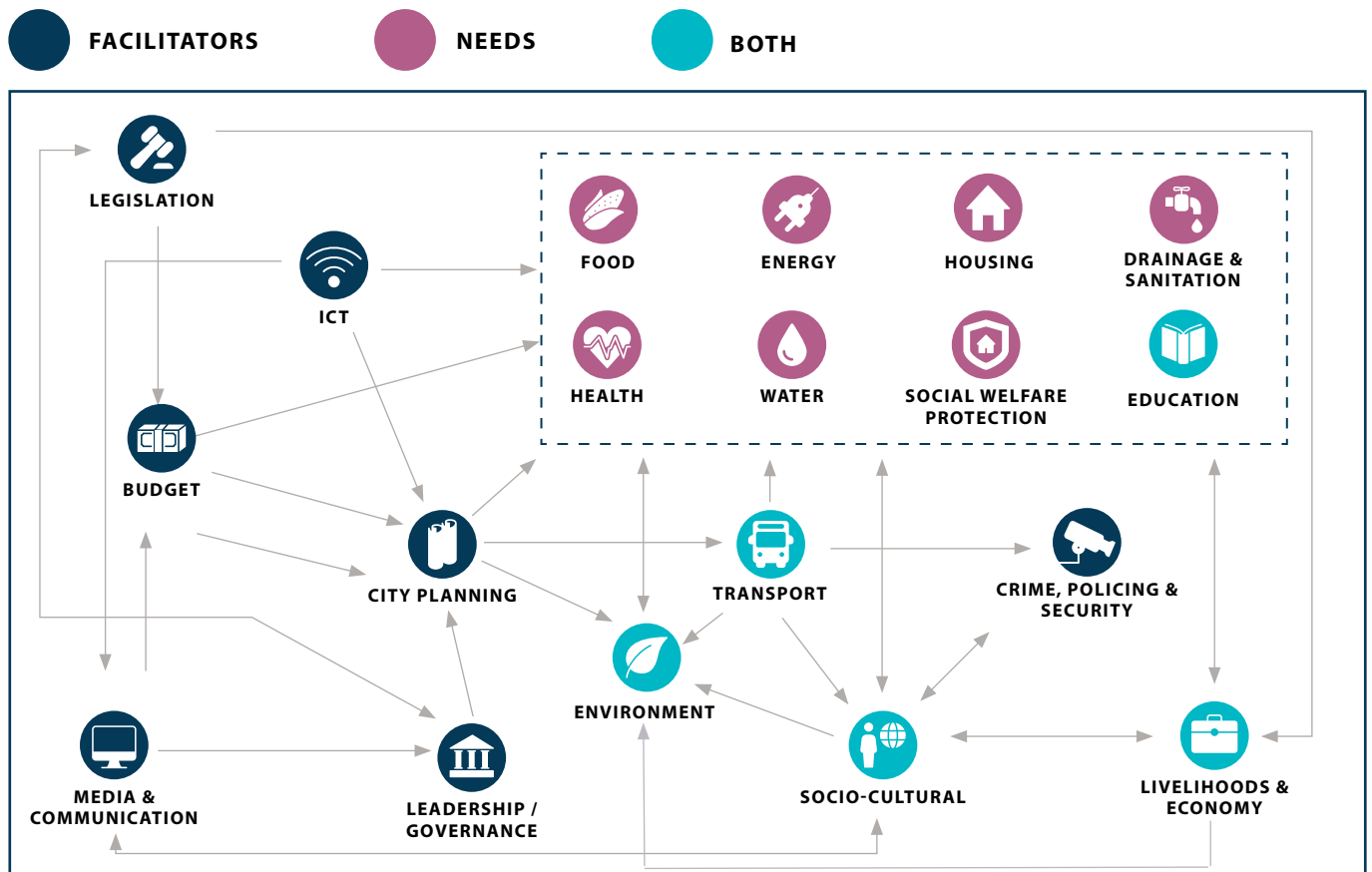
An additional form of assistance comes from the public/civil society. This may be in the form of financial donations or as voluntary human resource. The ability to effectively utilise the latter is linked to city leadership and governance. The extent to which both are available depends partly on public perception of events and socio-cultural factors. Public sentiment is influenced by formal and informal media and communications and ICT.

If basic needs such as housing and healthcare are addressed alongside effective education, language and skills training programmes then there is a better chance of the workforce integration of new arrivals. Early livelihood opportunities can enable newcomers to meet their own basic needs, reducing pressure on budget and systems of provision.

Knowledge and connectivity are also key to newcomers' ability to navigate urban systems, Transport, media and communications and ICT are key to service accessibility.

If essential services and livelihoods can be provided for both newcomers and existing residents then social cohesion is less likely to be adversely affected. If this cannot be achieved then there is the potential for cohesion to be undermined. A loss of cohesion may in turn negatively impact crime and security. As discussed, the relationship between housing and cohesion is potentially another critical interdependency.

City leadership and governance help ensure that cohesion remains strong and the needs of differing stakeholders can be accommodated. Both timely immediate response and sustainable long term accommodation and integration of new arrivals depend on effective, holistic city planning. City administrations need to consider these challenges alongside related long-term challenges including environmental sustainability and climate change.



## 5.3. Resilience Qualities

Throughout chapter 4 the research considers the importance of 7 different resilience qualities in a city's ability to manage new arrivals:

- *Inclusive* and *Integrated* are perhaps the most important qualities exhibited by cities in their response. A mass arrival event brings together many new actors requiring strong coordination and an integrated, inclusive response. An effective response should meet the needs of new and existing residents also reflecting these qualities.

The introduction of new actors, relationships, knowledge and assets can add support to a city's resilience. Examples include new volunteer organisations established across European cities in 2015 as well as collaborative actions of lower capacity city governments and international organisations to build local capacity to manage new demands.

- *Resourcefulness* – in many cities there are limited resources to manage the challenges faced. The efficient use of all available physical and human assets and knowledge, and the discovery of new avenues of support are all crucial. Several case study cities were able to access international (EU, World Bank) funding and/or effectively harness volunteer support in their responses.
- *Flexibility* - Chapter 4 case studies often concerned rapidly evolving, unprecedented situations for city actors. Existing city systems needed to be able to adapt to meet new demands. This includes the change of land-use policy and legislation for new use of assets in Germany and the flexibility/agility of existing and new actors (e.g. grassroots organisations) across many of the cities studied.

- *Robustness* perhaps concerns the continued performance of existing infrastructure and service mechanisms, which many cities took steps to strengthen. It might also refer to the strong leadership and strategic planning which was evident across many of the case study cities explored.
- *Redundancy* of systems and services is important to ensure continuous supply in the face of fluctuating demand. In Amman and Gaziantep authorities increased the capacity of waste and transport systems respectively. Across cities the immediate essential services provided by civil society mirrored that of local authorities but also reached in cases reached those in need more quickly. However, this must be managed and redundancy can even be problematic (e.g. the financial cost of storing surplus donated goods). Nevertheless, pre-positioned redundancy may help existing city systems to absorb impact. In an ideal situation a city would have financial redundancy to absorb additional shocks and stresses but case studies demonstrated that for lower capacity cities this was typically not the case.
- *Reflectiveness* is an important longer-term response quality. The ability of a city to extract and collate lessons from their experience enables improved preparedness and performance for future events. The report highlights the role of various knowledge networks and activities in this respect, including some cities learning from the experiences of existing immigrant communities, and the establishment of knowledge networks across cities which are experiencing both similar and diverse challenges.

	Inclusive	Integrated	Resourceful	Flexible	Redundant	Robust	Reflective
<b>How do cities finance their response?</b>	●	●	●		●		
<b>How do cities meet basic needs?</b>	●	●	●	●	●	●	
<b>How do cities ensure livelihoods?</b>	●	●	●	●			
<b>How do cities ensure social harmony and cohesion?</b>	●	●					
<b>How do cities coordinate their response?</b>	●	●	●			●	●





## 6. Next Steps

Secondary analysis of academic literature and city case studies has created a foundation of effective city practices across different typologies upon which to develop further research and strategic guidance which supports cities globally. The research has provided a framework for evaluating a city's capacity to manage mass arrival events and provided a selection of brief secondary case studies, upon which the initial conclusions have been drawn.



A next step for this study would be to engage cities (including those discussed in this research) and gather the further direct knowledge and expertise of public, private and civil society stakeholders with respect to the current five research questions and the initiatives discussed in Chapter 4. Such a study would provide an opportunity to ask a range of city stakeholders what factors they feel are key to an effective response and what other questions still remain unanswered.

Any further primary research could take place alongside the expansion and continuous updating of effective city practices to develop a catalogue of proven city responses, sorted by city typology and analysed through the research's system lens. Any specific city response plans and wider strategies could be analysed and evaluated against the findings from this research.

There is the potential to further refine city typologies. Refinement could include separating low and medium capacity cities and adding further definition criteria such as the current level of insecurity and/or fragility in host cities, legal context, temporary vs permanent displacement, wider rates of urbanisation, the level of autonomy a city possesses and greater geographical focus.

The systems analysis focused on displacement and host cities but the system dependencies explored have wider implications beyond this issue. Further research could explore other shocks and stresses and a city's wider approach to strategic planning.

The research commenced in 2017 and while the majority of findings are recent and hold relevance, a follow-up primary study could ascertain present circumstances such as current level of volunteer support, social harmony and livelihood integration across German cities, or the livelihood status amongst refugees in Mafraq. It could examine to what extent initiatives examined in this study are still a success and underlying factors behind this. There are also evolving crises at time of writing including the Rohingya refugee crisis in Bangladesh and at the Venezuela-Colombia border which would merit further detailed analysis.

For future measurement of city capability to manage a high volume of new arrivals, this research suggests that it would be important not just to measure city capacity in terms of assets (financial, human, physical) and outcomes, but also to be able to measure core qualities which concern a city's process/approach to managing the situation. For example, the inclusiveness of a response (or response strategy); the degree to which actors and actions are integrated (or mechanisms in place to facilitate such integration); and the resourcefulness of the city to be able to tap into various avenues of support (linked to knowledge and awareness). Precise process and outcome measures would need to be developed with city governments and other relevant actors.

From a technical perspective, one question which would merit further exploration through primary research concerns the role of the private sector in helping cities to manage the challenges associated with a high number of new arrivals and how this can be effectively integrated into a holistic city response.

The future inputs discussed would add further depth to this research with findings helping to inform city strategies. The goal is to support strategies and interventions which benefit both existing and new urban residents, and the city at large.

## Further Reading

While full references are listed at the end of this paper it is important to acknowledge other key papers and reports which explore city practices and may be useful for practitioners:

- The 'Urban Good Practices' website managed by UNHCR staff provides examples of effective urban refugee programs and interventions submitted by organizations working in this area. <http://urbangoodpractices.org/goodpractices/index/>
- The 'Refugees in Towns' project at Tufts University provides detailed case studies from the perspective of refugees and hosts in 33 urban settlements globally. <https://www.refugeesintowns.org/>
- 'Creating Inclusive Cities' by the IRC examines how 23 cities across 4 continents are addressing urban displacement including lessons learned and what it means to be an inclusive city. <https://www.rescue.org/report/urban-refuge-how-cities-are-building-inclusive-communities>
- The OECD report 'Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees' describes a place-based approach to integration. It draws on quantitative and qualitative evidence including a survey of 72 cities. <http://www.oecd.org/publications/working-together-for-local-integration-of-migrants-and-refugees-9789264085350-en.htm>
- 'Refugees and the City' by Robert Muggah and Adriana Abdenur assesses the characteristics of urban displacement crises and identifies challenges and opportunities for cities. <https://www.cigionline.org>
- Eurocities 'Refugee reception and integration in cities' is based on a 2015 survey of 34 European cities [www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/](http://www.eurocities.eu/eurocities/)
- 'Cities and Refugees— The German Experience' is a detailed discussion paper by the Brookings Institute. [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/cs\\_20160920\\_citiesrefugees\\_germanexperience.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/cs_20160920_citiesrefugees_germanexperience.pdf)
- The Centre for Mediterranean Integration collects best practices from participant cities hosting a high number of refugees. <https://www.cmimarseille.org/knowledge-library/compendium-best-practices-hosting-refugees>.
- Refuge is a 2017 book by professors Alexander Betts and Paul Collier which provides innovative proposals and re-thinking of international refugee policy and approaches.

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