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The Melbourne Centre for Cities is designed to address the challenges that city leadership faces, and the information it needs, in an interconnected and increasingly urbanised planet.

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THE POWER OF CITIES IN MIGRATION GOVERNANCE

PILOT PROJECT REPORT

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project adapted and piloted a framework to assess the power that local governments have over governing the inclusion of migrants and refugees. The adapted framework is based on the ‘Governability Grip Assessment Framework’ developed by the City Leadership Lab at University College London, which has previously been employed to assess the powers and urban governance dimensions of city infrastructure in collaboration with Arup and C40 Cities.

This study developed a survey questionnaire and piloted the instrument on three mayor–council local governments in federal systems: the cities of Seattle, USA, São Paulo, Brazil and Sydney, Australia. The research aimed to test the feasibility of the survey instrument and the value of the assessment framework, as well as the potential for scaling-up to a larger group of participant cities to aid comparative urban analysis.

Overall, the pilot found:

• that the survey questionnaire appears feasible for assessing the powers that local governments have over key policy domains which have been shown to impact the inclusion of migrants and refugees.
• some targeted amendments to the survey are required to remove ambiguity (these are detailed in this report).
• expanding the range of policy areas could create an unreasonable administrative burden for local authorities with less centralised service delivery. A phased engagement approach could be more suitable for these participants.
• in addition to the survey, interview or focus group engagement with city representatives will be required to assess the governance dimensions of the ‘Urban Migration Governability Framework’.

Although the primary aim of the pilot study was to adapt the framework and assess the feasibility of the assessment, the research can offer some limited comparative insights:

• Overall, the city of Seattle reported the most extensive dimensions of power, whereas São Paulo and Sydney reported more limited capacities, particularly in housing, and had more responsibilities predominately controlled by other levels of government.
• Language access and language support was the domain where local governments in general reported higher dimensions of power.

NEXT STEPS: SCALING UP

• In local authorities with less centralised service delivery representatives were often required to liaise with multiple areas of the city government, which can create an administrative burden and limit the value of the questionnaire as a simple assessment tool. In order to assess the governance dimensions of the framework, a focus group methodology could be employed, and this could also validate the collection of power dimension data if the most suitable local government representatives are engaged.
• The pilot study suggests that the Urban Migration Governability Framework could be a valuable tool for comparative urban assessment, at least for power dimensions, and it is recommended that a minimum sample of 20 local authorities from different contexts be engaged in order to make more reliable comparative assessments.
• Expansion of this research, in line with previous work completed for C40 Cities, could be to correlate city power in migration governance with inclusion outcomes, to discern whether cities with greater authority are exercising it to improve their inclusion practices, or whether specific political systems or modes of urban migration governance are achieving better outcomes. This could also be combined with previous work on the governance of city infrastructure and climate mitigation to understand the intersection of governance responsibilities in cities.
2. INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

The majority of international migrants move to cities and indeed almost one in five international migrants reside in just 20 major cities globally. International urban migration has led to the devolution of many support services for migrants and refugees to the municipal level, however, local authorities generally have limited control over the major policy levers that govern migration and inclusion. As a result, cities are increasingly advocating at local state, national and even international levels for a greater appreciation of the urban dimensions of governing international migration. The United Nations Global Compact for Migration and Global Compact on Refugees both identify local authorities as key partners in these processes and indeed cities advocated strongly and were included in the development of these agreements.

While the ‘local turn’ in migration studies has generated a wealth of research on the municipal inclusion of migrants and refugees, there is a dearth of international comparative research that analyses the dimensions of power that different cities hold over migration and the modes through which they govern urban inclusion, particularly with the capacity to scale-up to larger datasets. There have been comprehensive studies exploring effective programs and models of migrant and refugee inclusion in policy spheres, which have predominately involved the presentation of case study vignettes or synthesis to create best practice guidelines or ‘toolboxes’ for implementation. The Mediterranean City-to-City Migration project has produced highly-detailed city profiles in their target region that offer some comparative governance insights.

Additionally, there have been many scholarly efforts to identify typologies of effective local inclusion, interrogate multi-level systems of migration governance and provide comparative analysis of integration policies. These are all valuable resources for governments and their partners, however, there have been more limited efforts to comparatively and quantitatively study the specific powers that local governments have over factors that have been shown to improve migrant inclusion, particularly in a manner that is cognisant of the broader literatures on urban governance. Research on the urban governance of migration has also been overwhelming European-focused, leaving significant gaps in our knowledge of global trends. Without this evidence, international actors engaging with city leaders have limitations in their knowledge of the type of support cities may need to manage migration and inclusion and areas where intervention may be most effective.

ASSESSING CITY POWER

In order to begin to address this challenge, this study adapted and piloted a framework to assess the ‘governability grip’ that a variety of cities have over the inclusion of migrants and refugees. The adapted framework is based on the ‘Governability Grip Assessment Framework’ developed by the City Leadership Lab at University College London, which has previously been employed to assess the powers and urban governance dimensions of city infrastructure in collaboration with Arup and C40 Cities.

The framework is based on a review of scientific literature to identify the salient dimensions of power and modes of urban governance that can be assessed in an aggregated and comparative manner. It aims to offer a visual and graspable assessment method to depict the powers that cities have over specific policy domains, whilst offering direct insight into areas of strength, capacity building and joint collaboration both with other cities as well as different layers of government. It draws on a ‘nexus approach’, which while previously used to assess the confluence of critical urban infrastructures, may also be valuable in identifying the interdependencies in the governance of migration, as well as challenges, risks and opportunities.

In the C40 and Arup Powering Climate Action report, this approach was utilised to assess the degree of control or influence city leaders exert over infrastructure assets and functions across all city sectors.
These results were then used to generate power signatures and comparative insights across urban contexts to establish areas where climate action could be most effectively deployed, as well as identifying governance gaps.

Following this work and a review of the scientific literature on urban governance, the assessment framework was developed to not only take into account the power that cities hold over specific dimensions, but also the modes of governance they employ to manage them. This allows for a more comprehensive overview of the manner in which a complex multistakeholder ‘nexus’, such as the inclusion of international migrants and refugees, is governed in an urban context.

BUILDING COMPARATIVE KNOWLEDGE

Following this pilot phase, a scaling-up of this framework assessment would allow for comparative analysis that can begin to identify the areas of core capacity and competency in the urban governance of migration. These insights could assist both city leaders and external actors to better understand the areas where cities can achieve the greatest impact, domains where they may need support and effective models of governance. The approach could be scaled-up to assess other critical policy areas for migrant inclusion such as: welcoming/orientation services, education, health and legal support.

A further expansion of this research, in line with previous work completed for C40 Cities and ARUP, could be to correlate city power in migration with inclusion outcomes, to discern whether cities with greater authority are exercising it to improve their inclusion practices, or whether specific modes of urban migration governance are achieving better outcomes. Additionally, these assessments could be correlated with previous work on the governance of city infrastructure and climate mitigation to better understand the intersection between these governance responsibilities.

CITY POWER IN MIGRATION GOVERNANCE

This study piloted a version of the Governability Grip Assessment Framework that has been adapted specifically to look at the salient dimensions of the governance of migrant and refugee inclusion in urban contexts. The ‘Urban Migration Governability Framework’ is closely based on the original governability grip assessment but refined based on a scan of literature on the urban governance of migration.

The adapted framework can assess powers and modes of governance as they relate to the inclusion of international migrants and refugees. This initial pilot phase focused on assessing the power dimensions of the following key policy areas of migrant and refugee inclusion:

- Language access and support
- Employment
- Housing
3. METHODOLOGY

This phase of the research project piloted the adapted framework on an initial small group of cities in order to assess its validity and potential for broader application. The pilot phase involved the following activities:

- Purposive sampling to identify participant cities for the pilot study
- Desktop research on candidate cities and identification of key governance responsibilities
- Delivery of a survey instrument to key informants within the pilot cities (December 2020–February 2021)
- Clarification of survey results with key informants (where required)
- Comparative data analysis of survey findings.

The survey was developed based on the Urban Migration Governability Framework (Figure 3). This Framework was adapted from the Urban Governability Framework by the UCL City Leadership Initiative. The pilot phase aimed to assess just the power dimensions of the framework in the participant cities as evidence from the City Leadership Initiative's formative work on the Governability Grip indicated that additional consultation was required with key informants through interviews to collect and validate governance dimensions. Questions for gathering data on governance dimensions were developed as part of the Urban Migration Governability Framework survey instrument, however, they were not deployed in this pilot study.

Figure 3. Working Urban Migration Governability Framework, adapted from Honeybone, Steenmans & Acuto, 2017.
4. CITY MIGRATION PROFILES

The initial pilot study to test the feasibility of the survey instrument and framework involved the participation of three local governments from three countries: Seattle, USA, São Paulo, Brazil and Sydney, Australia. This section presents brief migration profiles of the cities and high-level survey findings. Section 5 provides initial comparative analysis of the survey findings.

SEATTLE, USA

Seattle is the largest city in Washington State and in the Pacific Northwest region of the United States. The greater metropolitan area has a population of 3.9 million, which is slowly increasing year on year. The local government of Seattle is a mayor–council form, with nine elected council members and a directly elected mayor. Approximately 770,000 live in the local government jurisdiction and the current Mayor is Jenny Durkan, who was elected in 2017.

Between 2000 and 2014, Seattle’s international migrant population increased 20 per cent, compared to 14 per cent overall population growth.13 International migrants comprise 18 per cent of the overall population, with China, Vietnam and Philippines representing the three most common countries of origin.

Seattle has an office dedicated to assisting migrants and refugees in the city, the Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs, which was established by a Council Ordinance in 2012. The Office coordinates the delivery of a range of programs to support migrants and refugees in the city including legal services, language support, community outreach programs and a COVID-19 Disaster Relief Fund for low-income immigrant residents.
Employment

Seattle has a strategy for supporting migrants and refugees to access employment which forms a major part of a broader municipal strategy. The city has some capacity to set and enforce policy related to equal access employment for migrants and refugees and there is a budget for employment support activities shared between the Office of Immigrant and Refugee Affairs and another city-level department, the Office of Economic Development. The city government operates some employment services for migrants and other services are coordinated by the King County and Washington State governments. The majority of these services are contracted to non-profit organisations who conduct the case management and service delivery.

Housing

Seattle has a strategy aimed at supporting migrants and refugees to access accommodation that is part of a broader municipal strategy. The city government has some capacity to set and enforce policy related to housing for migrants and refugees and manages a small budget for these operations. It has limited power over access to affordable housing and vouchers but can assist migrants to access housing through supports such as its mandatory housing affordability requirements, providing funding to non-profit organisations to build and manage affordable housing, as well as some specialised zoning incentives and home ownership initiatives.

The City of Seattle owns and operates public housing properties through the Seattle Housing Authority, however, the building and management of these accommodations is made possible by funds from the federal government. Access to this accommodation must comply with federal immigrant eligibility requirements so in most cases unauthorised immigrants cannot access this housing. The federal and Washington State governments operate the majority of services and programs that support migrants and refugees to access accommodation and play a significant role in the allocation of funding for municipal programs. Additionally, the King County government operates its own affordable housing program. During the COVID-19 pandemic rent assistance has been offered by the City of Seattle to citizens regardless of their immigration status.
SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

São Paulo is the most populous city in Brazil with over 23 million people living in the greater metropolitan area and over 12 million within the municipality, making it by far the most populous jurisdiction in the pilot study. The local government is a mayor-council system. The current Mayor is Ricardo Nunes who succeeded Bruno Covas (mayor since 2018) who sadly passed away in May 2021. Within the municipality around 3% of the population are international migrants, with Bolivia, Portugal and China representing the top three countries of origin, although immigration to the city is highly diversified.

Within the Municipal Department of Human Rights and Citizenship (Secretaria Municipal de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania, SMDHC), the Coordinating Unit of Policies for Immigrants and Promotion of Decent Work (Coordenação de Políticas para Imigrantes e Promoção do Trabalho Decente, CPMigTD) is responsible for coordinating the city’s local inclusion practices and the delivery of its Municipal Policy for the Immigrant Population (Política Municipal para a População Imigrante de São Paulo, PMPI). The local government has demonstrated national and international leadership on migration issues, advocating for responsive local inclusion strategies and participating in a range of transnational city networks and fora. For example, Mayor Bruno Covas was a founding member of the Mayors Migration Council Leadership Board and the city has been an active participant in the Mayoral Forums on Human Mobility, Migration and Development. They have also advocated for the importance of city leadership in migration in forums such as the Urban20 and United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) and informally coordinated city participation in the consultation for the development of the Global Compact on Refugees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dedicated office for immigrants and refugees?</th>
<th>Coordinating Unit of Policies for Immigrants and Promotion of Decent Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategy/plan focused on local inclusion or combating xenophobia?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collects data on population diversity?</td>
<td>Cultural diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partners with other cities/city networks/international orgs on migration issues?</td>
<td>Another local government/s in the same country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A city network/s</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Employment

São Paulo has a strategy for supporting migrants and refugees to access employment which forms a minor part of a broader municipal strategy. The city government has minimal capacity to set or enforce policy relating to equal access employment for migrants and refugees but is responsible for the operationalisation of the federal government Labour Intermediation System and facilitates access to this system through municipal Labour Support Centres. Their role involves the registration of eligible workers and liaison with employers to find opportunities. While these centres have had a focus on hiring migrants and organising taskforces aimed at registering migrants into the system there is no dedicated budget for migrant inclusion.

Language

São Paulo has a strategy related to language access and language support for migrants and refugees which forms a major part of a broader strategy. The city offers Portuguese classes for immigrants through its Open Doors program and offers multilingual services through its referral and assistance centre for immigrants. Open Doors is a community-based program which aims to connect families with local public educators. The city is working toward multilingual assistance for all municipal services as part of its 2021–2024 strategy.

Housing

Housing is primarily the responsibility of the federal government in Brazil, however, the City of São Paulo does have a strategy aimed at supporting migrants and refugees to access housing as part of a broader municipal strategy. The city government has minimal capacity for policy formulation or enforcement in this area but provides information and support to migrants regarding housing programs and rights. The city does operate public shelters, which offer crisis accommodation for a total of 572 individuals and has a limited program of ‘rent aid’ for migrants who have been removed from informal settlements by judicial decision.
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

Sydney is Australia’s largest city with a greater metropolitan area population of 5.3 million. The City of Sydney local government area is however a small municipality with a population of approximately 246,000, by far the smallest jurisdiction in the pilot study. The local government is a mayor–council form and the current Lord Mayor of Sydney is Clover Moore, who has held the position since 2004. The City of Sydney has a high level of cultural diversity with 54.9% of the total population born overseas and 36% of these residents coming from a city where English is not the first language. The local government has demonstrated a proactive approach to the inclusion of migrants and refugees and is a designated Refugee Council of Australia ‘Refugee Welcome Zone’ and a member of the Australian Welcoming Cities network.

Employment

Sydney has a strategy for supporting migrants and refugees to access employment and has some capacity for setting and enforcing equal access employment for migrants and refugees. The City of Sydney delivers programs and initiatives aimed at supporting employment for migrants and refugees, as well as grants and sponsorship programs which support other organisations to deliver services to migrants and refugees. The Australian Government and New South Wales Government also deliver services which operate in the city, as well as a range of non-profit organisations.

| Dedicated office for immigrants and refugees? | No |
| Strategy/plan focused on local inclusion or combatting xenophobia? | No |
| Collects data on population diversity? | • Cultural diversity  
• Religion  
• Languages spoken |
| Partners with other cities/city networks/international orgs on migration issues? | • A city network/s |

Figure 10. Sydney employment power diagram
Housing

The City of Sydney does not have a specific strategy aimed at supporting migrants and refugees to access accommodation. The local government has minimal control over housing policy, which in the Australian context is usually the responsibility of state governments. The City of Sydney does not run accommodation programs, however, a range of civil society and faith-based organisations operate accommodation support services within the jurisdiction.

Language

The City of Sydney has some capacity to set and enforce policy related to making services language accessible for migrants and refugees. The local authority does not directly deliver language support services to migrants and refugees but the federal government, state government and a range of civil society organisations operate these services within the city.
5. INITIAL COMPARATIVE INSIGHTS

This pilot study was primarily conducted in order to adapt and test the feasibility of the Urban Migration Governability Framework, however, it can also offer some limited comparative insights from the initial three pilot cities. Given the small sample size there should be caution in the interpretation of these findings and a more robust sample would be required to conclude trends in city responsibilities and power. Two of the three cities surveyed have a dedicated office for immigrants/refugee affairs within the city administration and a dedicated strategy for local inclusion or combating xenophobia. The City of Sydney does not currently have these structures, however, is also a comparatively smaller jurisdiction with significant local state government control. All cities surveyed collected some data on the cultural diversity of their populations and were a member of a city network which addressed migration issues.

EMPLOYMENT

All three cities reported having a strategy or plan for supporting migrants and refugees to access employment. Seattle and Sydney reported the same power profile for employment support for migrants and refugees, while São Paulo reported a more slightly limited capacity to set and enforce policy. In all three cities there were a range of programs being delivered at different levels of government to support migrants and refugees to access employment and no city was a majority budget holder for these activities within their jurisdiction.

HOUSING

Both Seattle and São Paulo have a strategy or plan for assisting migrants and refugees to access accommodation that is part of a broader municipal strategy. All three cities reported minimal capacity to set or control housing policy. Sydney does not operate specific services for assisting migrants and refugees to access housing, while São Paulo and Seattle both have some limited responsibilities for crisis accommodation and promoting awareness of housing support programs and housing rights. In both these cities, the responsibility for housing predominately rests with other levels of government. Seattle reported greater capacity to influence housing policy and support migrants and refugees to access accommodation, which is a more common responsibility of municipal governments in the United States. Other levels of government also operate social housing programs in the city of Seattle.
LANGUAGE

Two of the three cities surveyed have a strategy for language access/language support for migrants and refugees. In general, language was the area where local government demonstrated more extensive power, although this was more pronounced in the cases of Seattle and São Paulo. Cities reported significant capacity to set and enforce policy to make services language accessible and both Seattle and São Paulo coordinated substantial language support programs.

Figure 15. Language access and support comparative power diagram
6. NEXT STEPS: LIMITATIONS AND SCALING-UP

ASSESSMENT LIMITATIONS

As this pilot study was primarily focused on assessing feasibility, it is important to consider some of the limitations of the methodology and the ‘Governability Grip’ assessment. Firstly, this survey methodology relies on self-reporting from city representatives and is contingent on the participants’ interpretation of the survey questions, knowledge of city government strategies, processes and programs, and personal assessment of local government capacity. In all three cities in this pilot study a representative with the most suitable expertise on migration programs was surveyed, however, due to the multi-thematic nature of the questionnaire, at times these representatives needed to consult other areas of the city government and interpret and collate responses. The extent to which responsibilities are centralised or dispersed within local authorities can create inconsistencies in the delivery of the survey across different contexts. While clarification on survey responses was sought from the primary city representatives where needed, a more formalised interview or focus group with all relevant stakeholders within the local authority could ensure greater response consistency between cities and that the researchers have accurately interpreted the data. Additionally, some recommendations for refining the survey and limiting inconsistencies in interpretation are suggested below.

This assessment prioritises the capacity to generate generalisable comparative insights across a larger group of cities, as opposed to the majority of similar research, which has prioritised individual case study specificity. A balance needs to be maintained however, between ensuring the survey generates responses with enough detail to make valid conclusions while also limiting the administrative burden on participants. Some recommendations on striking this balance are also provided below.

REFINING THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Due to the variation in multi-level governance systems across countries and differences in terminology, the pilot revealed areas of the survey instrument that could be further refined to make it feasible for use in a broader range of urban contexts.

Some recommendations for refining the survey instrument include:

• Clarify the distinction between ownership and operation of services, including when service delivery is sub-contracted
• Clarify the distinction between policy setting for language accessibility and language support services
• Clarify the distinction between area budget sharing and different entities operating similar services from distinct budgets
• While this was not a challenge in the pilot survey, there are opportunities to simplify the language used in the pilot survey to make it more accessible to non-English speaking contexts
• Provide some illustrative examples of responsibilities and services in the survey questions.

One of the major changes in the power dimension assessment from the original governability grip framework was the decoupling of policy setting and policy enforcement. The researchers found this to be a functional improvement. ‘Long-term strategy setting’ formed one of the four primary power dimensions in the original assessment. While data on this dimension was collected in the pilot survey, the researchers did not believe the survey question provided enough detail to make a comparative assessment between the cities. In light of this one further recommendation for amending the survey is:

• Include an additional question which provides data on the capacity of the local government to set long-term strategy within the policy domain.

EXPLORING THE GOVERNANCE DIMENSIONS

It was beyond the scope of this initial pilot survey to assess both the power and governance dimensions in the pilot cities. Evidence from the City Leadership Initiative’s formative work on the Governability Grip indicated that additional consultation was required with key informants through interviews to collect and validate governance dimensions.

Questions for gathering data on governance dimensions were developed as part of the Urban Migration Governance Framework survey instrument, however, they were not deployed in this pilot study. It is recommended that a follow-up interview
with city government representatives with responsibility for the planning and delivery of services across the priority area be included in a later stage in order to capture and validate both power and governance dimensions. As suggested above, this may require a small focus group format with representatives from different areas of the local authority depending on the delegation of responsibilities.

**SCALING-UP DELIVERY**

To generate robust comparative findings using this method it is recommended a sample of at least 20 cities from differing contexts be surveyed and interviewed. This pilot study included three cities within federal systems and it would be valuable to use the assessment across both federal and unitary systems. Additional variables that could be explored are differences between cities in the global North and South, as well as between local governments with directly elected leaders versus those with Council-led arrangements.

There is also potential to extend this methodology to other policy areas that impact the inclusion of migrants and refugees such as: welcoming/orientation services, education, health and legal support. Given the findings of this pilot, the researchers believe it would be onerous on respondents to attempt to complete more than four thematic areas through one consultation, although a phased approach could be employed. In line with findings from the original UCL study, relationship building with participant cities over the course of the study period would be required to ensure access to relevant representatives and their participation in interviews or a focus group.
7. NOTES


