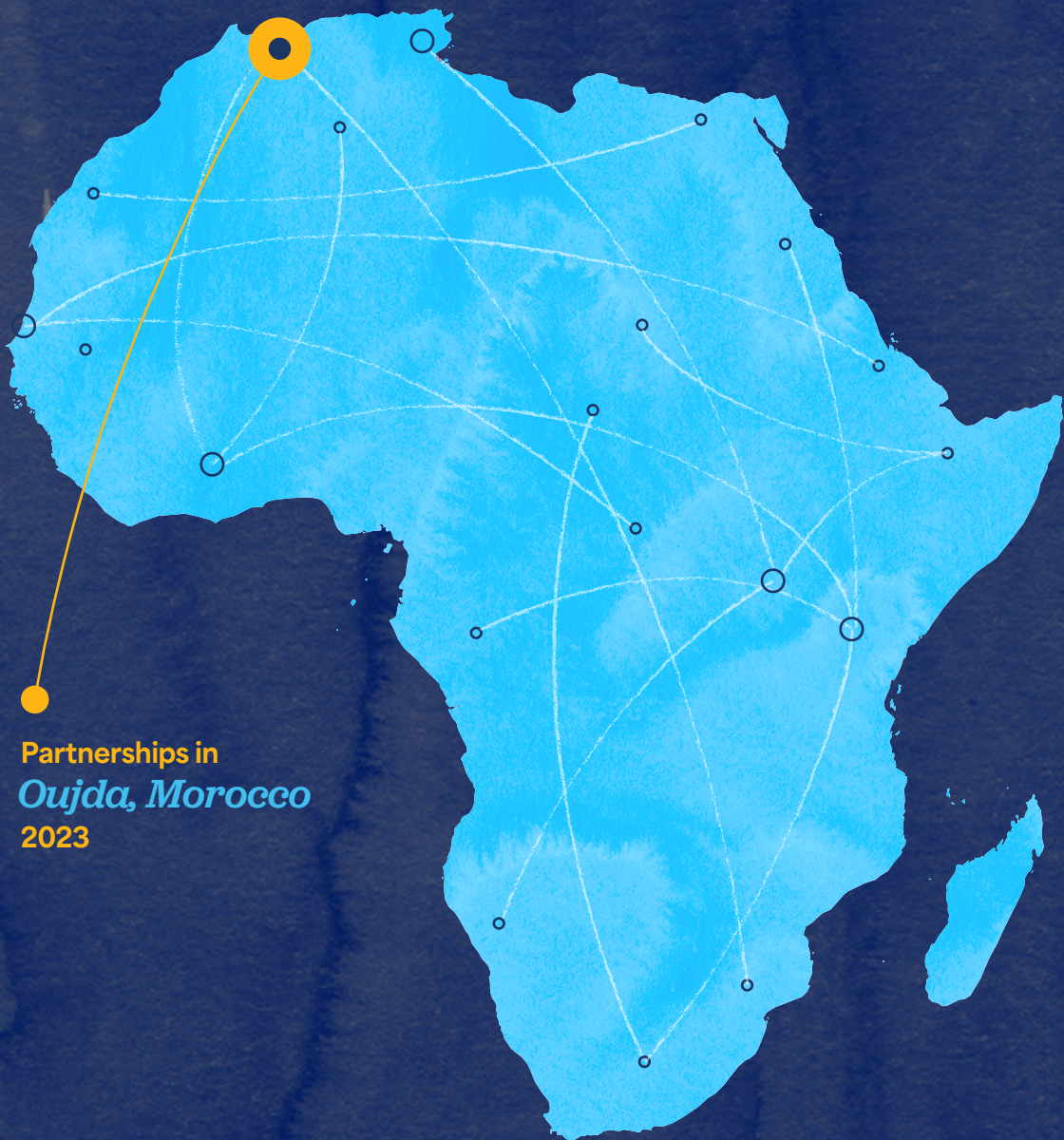


Equal Partnerships

African Intermediary Cities as Actors and Partners in Urban Migration Governance



Partnerships in
Oujda, Morocco
2023

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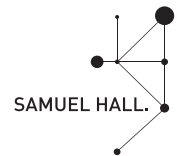
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Authors

Janina Stürner-Siovitz and Lasse Juhl Morthorst

Equal Partnerships

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and practice has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance in African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.



With the support of the



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Glossary

Migration

The Equal Partnerships project works with a broad definition of migration, understanding a migrant as any person “who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.”¹ This broad definition proved helpful for working in partnership with African intermediary cities that experience a wide range of migration movements at times classified under umbrella terms such as “mixed migration”² or “transnational mobility.”³

Intermediary Cities

Building on research conducted by the Cities Alliance,⁴ the Equal Partnerships project moves beyond a definition of secondary/intermediary cities based predominantly on city size often considered to range between 50,000 and 1 million inhabitants.⁵ Instead, we combine demographic aspects with a city’s connectivity and status. We, therefore, use the terms “secondary” and “intermediary” interchangeably, as they refer to different city aspects: The cities on which we focus our research are intermediary in the sense that they link capital cities with smaller towns and rural areas through flows of goods, ideas, funds, and people. At the same time, these cities are secondary regarding economic status, municipal capacities and resources, as national development strategies for urban planning have for a long time prioritized capital cities.

Multi-stakeholder Partnerships

Multi-stakeholder partnerships can be defined as “voluntary initiatives involving governments, intergovernmental bodies, civil society, the private sector and other stakeholders in pursuit of a common goal or commitment.”⁶ Equal Partnerships research shows that approaches striving towards equal participation of stakeholders need to include a broad range of partners in the initial development stage, remain open for new actors as the cooperation evolves and continuously review roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder within the partnership.

(Urban) Migration Governance

Migration governance entails an “interdependent set of legal norms, policies, institutions, and practices to administer, regulate, and mediate activities and relations within defined socio-political entities, whether states, administrative regions, cities, or corporate bodies.”⁷ Urban migration governance takes an urban setting – such as a town or city – as the defined socio-political entity.

1 IOM 2023. About Migration. <https://www.iom.int/about-migration>.

2 IOM Migration Data Portal 2023. Mixed migration. <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/themes/mixed-migration#:~:text=Definition,seeking%20better%20lives%20and%20opportunities>.

3 Van Hear, N. 2011. Policy Primer: Mixed Migration Policy Challenges. https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PolicyPrimer-Mixed_Migration.pdf.

4 Cities Alliance 2014. Taking a Closer Look at Secondary Cities. <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/spotlight/taking-closer-look-secondary-cities>. Cities Alliance 2019. Connecting Systems of Secondary Cities: How Soft and Hard Infrastructure can foster Equitable Economic Growth among Secondary Cities. https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/default/files/2019-07/Secondary-Cities-Book-Brief_v2.pdf.

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

6 Bester, A., and Hermans, L. 2017. Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships: Implications for Evaluation Practice, Methods and Capacities. <https://nec.undp.org/sites/default/files/2021-07/Multi-Stakeholder%20Partnerships%202017.pdf>.

7 Global Migration Policy Associates (GMPA) 2017. Governance of Migration: a context note for reference in current national and international processes and discussions. <http://globalmigrationpolicy.org/articles/governance/Governance%20of%20migration%20Context%20Note%20rev%20GMPA%20jun2017.pdf>.

List of acronyms

ACCD	Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation
ANAPEC	Agence nationale de la promotion de l'emploi et des compétences
CEFA	Comité Européen pour la Formation et l'Agriculture
CETASSO	Cercle des Étudiants du Sud-Sahara
ICMPD	International Center for Migration Policy Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
MC2CM	Mediterranean City to City Migration Project
MPG	Migration Policy Group
MS.2	Maroc Solidarité Médico-Sociale
OFPPT	Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail
OMDH	Organisation Marocains des Droits Humaines
SNMRE	Stratégie Nationale pour les Marocains Résidant à l'Étranger
SNIA	Stratégie Nationale d'Immigration et d'Asile
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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Key findings and recommendations

The city of Oujda is the capital of Morocco's Oriental Region. The intermediary city's geographic position in close proximity to both the Algerian border and the Mediterranean Sea makes it an important domestic, inter-regional, and international immigration and transit hub. A broad range of local, national and international actors address questions of migration in Oujda city, including the regional and local governments, national agencies, international organizations and development agencies, NGOs, faith-based actors, and a small number of migrant associations.

In an effort to coordinate the initiatives of these various actors, several coordination hubs have emerged within the city at both the local and regional level, though so far, dialogue between these hubs remains rather limited. However, the mere existence and the high awareness of local actors regarding questions of migration hold high potential for creating multi-stakeholder partnerships between institutional and civil society actors.

One of the major challenges facing local, national, and international actors in Oujda city in moving from emergency assistance to more sustainable forms of migrant integration is the difficulty of migrants in irregular situation to access the formal housing and labor market, and even to find work and accommodation in the informal sector. As a result, the mobility situation in Oujda is highly volatile. The number of new arrivals varies from one month to the next (official statistics are lacking), and migrants spend anything from a couple of days to several years in the city and may also move back and forth between Oujda and other Moroccan cities or destinations abroad. This high mobility situation and its underlying causes make it difficult for actors addressing migration in Oujda to mobilize funding and implement actions that go beyond short-term emergency support.

The findings presented in this case study serve to substantiate the following policy recommendations aimed at strengthening partnerships and cooperation frameworks for urban migration governance in Oujda:

Create a joint vision of urban migration governance

1. In order to move towards a joint vision of urban migration governance, trust-based relationships between civil society, government actors, and development agencies/international organizations are indispensable. Open dialogue is necessary for civil society to understand that the focus of local and regional governments on questions of migration and development - and thereby regular migration - stems from the regular frameworks they act in. At the same time, institutional actors need to face the reality that the majority of migrants in Oujda city are in irregular situations. Once institutional and civil society actors start clarifying the issues they speak about when referring to "migration," they can start collaborating on ideas

to expand the migration and development approach. Finding opportunities for migrants in informal situations to contribute to social and economic development in the city of Oujda would represent a pragmatic way to tackle local realities in a proactive manner.

2. Next to dialogue with civil society actors, the dialogue with migrants and refugees themselves is key for the municipality of Oujda and the Regional Council. Civil society actors such as Pionniers du Changement, MS.2, and the Church of Saint Eglise demonstrate how hiring (former) migrants as local staff, organizing community outreach, and holding multilingual coordination meetings strengthens the impact of their work on the ground. Local and regional governments should learn from these approaches, appoint focal points responsible for outreach to migrant communities and civil society, hold consultation, and coordination meetings with adequate translation and consider hiring staff with lived migration/displacement experience.
3. Finally, there is a need for enhanced dialogue between local and international actors to ensure that international calls for projects actually respond to needs and potentials of migrants, refugees, local government, and NGOs on the ground.

Strengthen coordination capacities

4. The research conducted by the Equal Partnerships project shows that there are several coordination hubs in Oujda city addressing migration issues at the local and regional levels. So far, there is limited coordination between these hubs and under-used potential to be tapped for multi-stakeholder partnerships.
5. The local effort championed by Pionniers du Changement and MS.2 to establish a migration network bringing together governmental and civil society actors is an important step in the right direction.
6. To strengthen sustainable forms of dialogue and cooperation, civil society and governmental actors would need to strengthen institutional learning via internal knowledge transfer.
7. Governmental actors should establish focal points for migration issues.
8. To broaden the pool of young professionals with practical experience in migration governance and related fields, Oujda university could strengthen cooperation with Oujda city and NGOs to create master's degree programs that include guest lectures, internships, and joint training programs with (and for) NGOs and governmental actors.
9. Finally, international organizations and development agencies should rethink short-term evaluation mechanisms of their project-based work to provide resources and training for medium-term impact evaluations whose results are shared between projects.

Improve access to financial resources

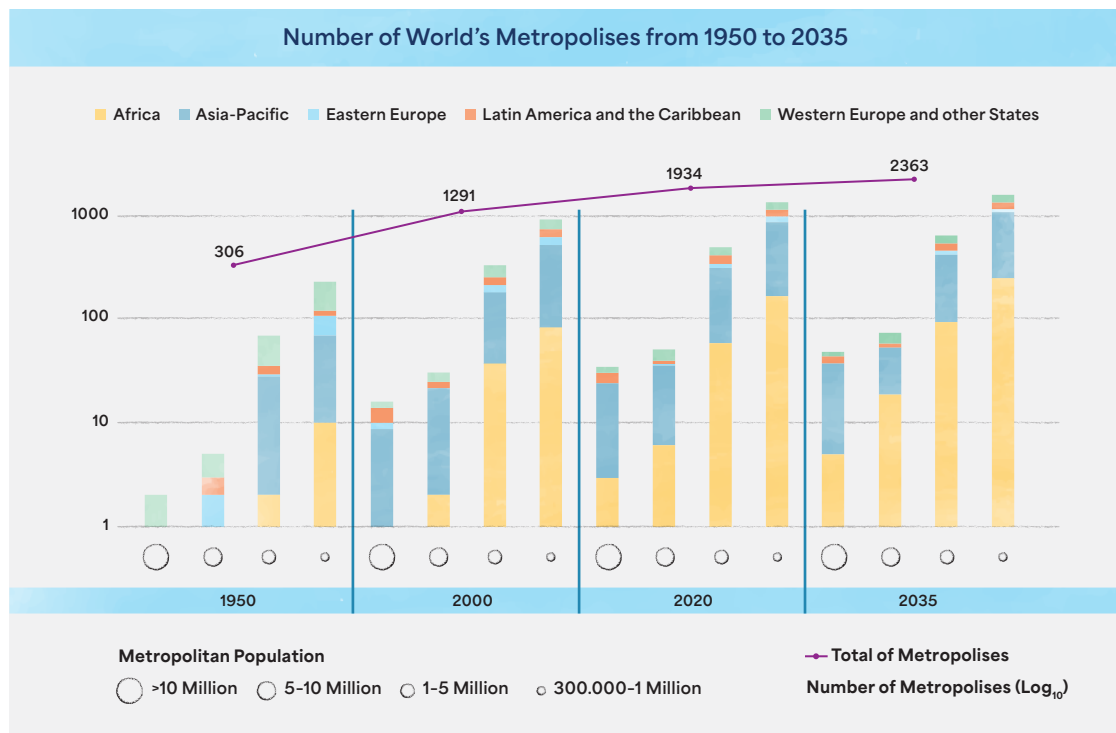
10. Representatives from local and regional governments highlighted the importance of working with international actors both on migration projects (GIZ, Enabel, Expertise France, etc.) as well as in the context of city-to-city cooperation (MC2CM, UCLG Africa). However, despite existing dialogues between local and international actors, funding is negotiated at the national level.
11. (Inter)national donors should make better use of local and regional governments context-specific knowledge of needs and potentials in order to ensure targeted and impact-oriented funding.
12. This also entails moving from purely project-based funding in the short term toward a mix of project and institutional funding with medium-term perspectives. Such an approach would allow both funding necessary emergency support for migrants and refugees and building up capacities of local actors to move toward more sustainable action on social cohesion and local integration.

1 Introduction

1.1 Urban migration governance in African intermediary cities

Africa is witnessing an ongoing transformation from rural to increasingly plural urban societies. While this transformation has been well-documented, the focus of scholarship and policymakers has been predominantly on human mobility towards and into major urban areas and capital cities. In contrast, intermediary cities, the in-between the rural and the metropolitan, have been largely absent in academic and policy debates. Addressing this gap becomes increasingly important,⁸ as African cities with 1 million or less inhabitants already account for the highest relative share among African cities – a trend forecast to continue in the future (figure 1).⁹

Figure 1. Intermediary cities dominate African cityscape (Source: UN Habitat 2020)



⁸ Stürner-Siovit, J. and Morthorst Juhl, L. 2023. Migration in African intermediary cities: why multi-stakeholder partnerships are key to inclusive action. <https://oecd-development-matters.org/2023/03/30/migration-in-african-intermediary-cities-why-multi-stakeholder-partnerships-are-key-to-inclusive-action/>.

⁹ UN Habitat 2020. Global State of Metropolis. Population Data Booklet. https://unhabitat.org/sites/default/files/2020/09/gsm-population-data-booklet-2020_3.pdf

Both natural population increase and human mobility contribute to the growth of African intermediary cities. These cities constitute central spaces for mixed movements driven by processes of urbanization, socioeconomic transformation, and environmental stressors, as well as conflict and persecution. Though not always intended as final destinations, persons on the move may consider intermediary cities more accessible – financially, geographically, and socially – than capital cities.

As intermediary cities, thus, gain in importance as places of origin, transit, destination, and return, African local authorities are increasingly confronted with key issues of mixed migration and are further directly impacted by (inter)national policies. Due to their proximity to local communities, local authorities have the potential to shape inclusive approaches for migrants, refugees, and local populations. However, developing local strategies often proves challenging to local authorities, since national or international actors holding official mandates for migration and displacement rarely consider them (equal) partners, and they are often not equipped with sufficient resources and capacities to play an active role. This creates knowledge and cooperation gaps between local, national, and international actors addressing urban migration and displacement on the ground, and in policy dialogues. To address such challenges, some local authorities have started seizing opportunities for engaging in multi-stakeholder partnerships, bringing together local, national, and international actors working on questions of migration in African cities.

1.2 *The Equal Partnerships project*

The Equal Partnerships project explores the opportunities and challenges of collaborative, urban migration governance with African intermediary cities. The project was jointly developed and is implemented by the Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg, the city network United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLG Africa), the German Institute of Development and Sustainability (IDOS), and the social enterprise Samuel Hall. Supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the project works in cooperation with six intermediary cities in East, North, and West Africa: Garissa in Kenya, Gulu in Uganda, Kumasi in Ghana, Oujda in Morocco, Saint Louis in Senegal, and Sfax in Tunisia. Through participatory research, workshops, and networking formats, the project brings together local, national, and international actors to develop practical impulses and policy recommendations to co-shape multi-stakeholder partnerships for urban migration governance in African intermediary cities.

This case study report is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the research methodology with a specific focus on case study selection, data collection, and research limitations. Section 3 outlines the migration dynamics in Oujda and the region and explores the impacts of migration on the city level. Section 4 discusses partnership approaches in Oujda via a stakeholder mapping and zooms in on coordination hubs, strengths, achievements, and challenges. Section 5 summarizes key findings and provides policy recommendations to strengthen multi-stakeholder partnerships on urban migration governance in Oujda city.

2

Methodology

2.1

Case study selection

The Equal Partnerships project works with African intermediary cities that are central hubs for diverse forms of human mobility. At the outset, the project held discussions with a broad range of cities in order to identify urban areas where the local administration and/or local government showed an interest in addressing questions of migration. Throughout the project, this approach served to explore opportunities for multi-stakeholder partnerships in contexts where political will to proactively engage on urban migration governance is present at the local level.

Oujda is the regional capital of Morocco's Oriental Region. With around 500,000 inhabitants, the intermediary city's geographic position in close proximity to both the Algerian border (13 km) and the Mediterranean Sea (60 km) makes it an important domestic (rural-urban), inter-regional, and international immigration and transit hub.¹⁰ Around one third of Morocco's diaspora originates in the Oriental Region.¹¹ Oujda is a university city welcoming international students, in particular from Sub-Saharan Africa. The city has traditionally served as a transit hub for diverse migration movements from Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mali, CAR, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea, and more recently also Sudan) and the Middle East (e.g., Syria, Libya, Yemen)¹², often focused on onwards migration to other parts of Morocco or Europe.

A broad range of actors work directly and indirectly on questions of migration in Oujda city, including decentralized national services, the regional and local governments, local civil society, academic actors and international organizations. The municipality of Oujda has started addressing migration in its 2017-2022 local action plan, which led to the creation of a municipal migration unit. In addition, the municipality has over the last ten years engaged in several regional city-to-city exchanges on migration and is an active member of the Mediterranean City-to-City Migration project (MC2CM), co-led by UCLG, UN-Habitat, and the ICMPD.

¹⁰ MC2CM 2019. How to build knowledge on urban migration: Local practices to face data challenges. https://www.dropbox.com/s/p12yn7o8hj3qu7p/Oujda_Poster_Practice_EN.pdf?dl=0.

¹¹ KII10 09.09.2022. KII14 16.09.2022.

¹² KII7 13.09.2022. KII2 07.09.2022.

2.2 *Fieldwork and data collection*

The Equal Partnerships project draws on three forms of data collection: (i) desk review of literature on (urban) migration governance, (ii) key informant interviews (KIIs), and (iii) a half-day workshop.

Literature review: A broad literature review on migration dynamics to, from, and within Morocco was conducted to situate migration movements in Oujda within the national, regional, and African-European context. Availability of research on migration in Oujda itself as well as local migration data is very limited. National population census data on foreigners is broken down to the city level, however, the latest data was published in 2014. Nevertheless, the literature review could draw on previous work developed by the MPI and the MC2CM project. International, national, regional, and local policy documents and action plans served to explore the role of the city of Oujda within the broader migration policy context.

Key informant interviews: The project created a mapping of local, regional, national, and international actors addressing different forms of internal and international migration in Oujda. In parallel to this mapping, the research team conducted 20 semi-structured key informant interviews with stakeholders at different governance levels and carried out a non-participatory observation at a stakeholder meeting. This meeting was organized by local NGOs with the aim of creating a migration network in Oujda. The mapping, observation and interviews served the team to gather information on cooperation structures and gaps, while exploring the motivation and reservations of different actors to engage in cooperative action. The team also gained insight on the (perceived) role of the local government in different partnership structures. Prior to each interview, interview respondents were informed about the Equal Partnerships research project. They also received information about data protection compliance, the handling of their personal data, and were requested to provide verbal and written consent to participate in the interview.

Local workshop: In cooperation with the city of Oujda and the civil society actor Coaching Territorial, FAU and UCLG Africa organized a workshop for 30 participants in October 2022. The workshop offered the stakeholders identified in the mappings an interactive space to develop (1) a three-pager with concrete next steps for building multi-stakeholder partnerships in Oujda city as well as (2) a number of policy recommendations addressed to national and international actors.

One important **research limitation** was the difficulty to reach migrant or refugee associations, given that there are only a few official associations present in Oujda city, such as CETASSO, which represents migrant students. Informal groups bring together both regular and irregular migrants, but often remain invisible to non-migrants. However, the research team gained important insights from speaking with migrant staff members (“agents de terrain”) of local NGOs.

3

Regional and city-level migration dynamics

3.1

Morocco's national migration context

Emigration from Morocco

Throughout the first decades of the 21st century, Morocco has transformed from a country of emigration, with pronounced labor migration flows to various European countries, into a country of origin, transit, and destination.¹³ In the second half of the 20th century, labor migration agreements concluded with countries such as Belgium (1964), France (1987), Germany (1963), and Italy (2005) and subsequent family reunification contributed to a rise of the number of Moroccans living abroad.¹⁴ The economic crisis in the early 2000s, however, drove a number of Moroccan nationals to return to their country of origin. At the same time, the number of European nationals immigrating to Morocco started growing. Eurostat registered, for instance, more and more persons leaving Spain for Morocco between 2008 and 2013 with annual numbers reaching almost 40,000 individuals in 2013.¹⁵ UN DESA estimated that by mid-2020, over 3.2 million Moroccans lived abroad,¹⁶ while the total population of Morocco was assumed to reach 36.7 million (the last Moroccan census stems from 2014, the next one is scheduled for 2024/2025).¹⁷

Immigration to Morocco

In 2020, UN DESA estimated the number of international migrants (foreign-born nationals) living in Morocco at 102,358 – 0.3% of the Moroccan population – compared to 71,189 in 2010.¹⁸ Morocco's 2014 census registered 86,206 non-nationals, an increase from 51,435 in 2004.¹⁹

¹³ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco. https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/41124/MPC_PB_2016_05.pdf

¹⁴ IOM 2017. Migration Governance Profile: Kingdom of Morocco. <https://migrationdataportal.org/sites/g/files/tmzbdl251/files/2021-03/MGI%20Morocco%20EN.pdf>

¹⁵ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco.

¹⁶ UN DESA 2020. Table 1: International migrant stock at mid-year by sex and by region, country or area of origin, 1990-2020. https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/sites/www.un.org.development.desa.pd/files/undesa_pd_2020_ims_stock_by_sex_and_origin.xlsx

¹⁷ UN DESA 2022. World Population Prospects 2022. [https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Files/1_Indicators%20\(Standard\)/EXCEL_FILES/1_General/WPP2022_GEN_F01_DEMOGRAPHIC_INDICATORS_COMPACT_REV1.xlsx](https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Files/1_Indicators%20(Standard)/EXCEL_FILES/1_General/WPP2022_GEN_F01_DEMOGRAPHIC_INDICATORS_COMPACT_REV1.xlsx)

¹⁸ UN DESA 2020. Table 1: International migrant stock at mid-year by sex and by region, country or area of destination, 1990-2020.

¹⁹ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco.

Such census data does not allow subdividing the foreign-born population by countries of origin. Furthermore, even though the census aspires to include not only long-term residents, but also persons staying at least for six months in the country,²⁰ the high percentage of migrants in irregular situations makes both realistic estimations of the total number of migrants as well as breakdowns by nationality groups difficult. Table 1 shows estimates of the foreign population holding resident permits in Morocco in 2012. The statistics indicate that European citizens living in Morocco were overall older than other nationality groups and in fact constituted 81% of retired foreign nationals.²¹

Figure 2. Moroccan women at the border to Algeria (Source: Equal Partnerships 2022)

Next to workers and retirees, international students make up an important part of migrants holding regular status. IOM estimated that in 2016/2017 20,121 students from 108 countries pursued their studies in Morocco. Morocco has no maximum quota for international students and in particular students from Sub-Saharan African countries have the opportunity to apply for scholarships from the Moroccan International Cooperation Agency,²² given that higher education cooperation is a central element of Morocco's Africa policy. In 2006/2007, 70% of all foreign students came from non-Arab African countries.²³



²⁰ Kingdom of Morocco 2015. RGPH. Populations concernées par le Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat. <https://rgph2014.hcp.ma/file/165505/>

²¹ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco.

²² IOM 2017. Migration Governance Profile: Kingdom of Morocco.

²³ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco.

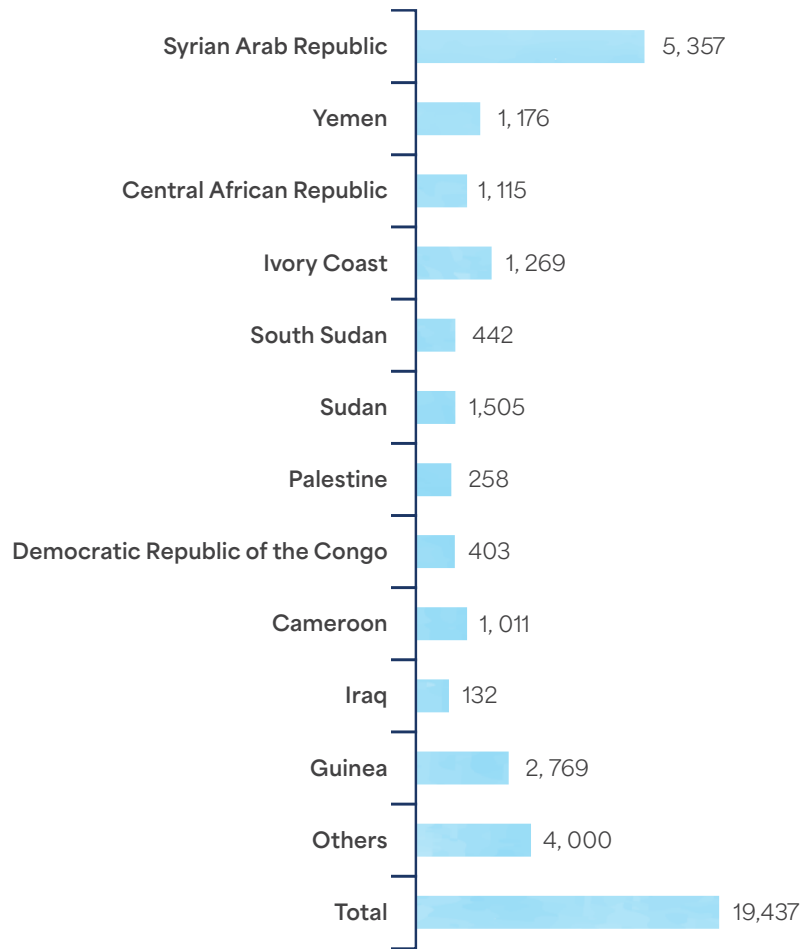
Table 1. Foreign population with residence permit (Source: MPG 2016)

Foreign population holding residence permits in Morocco by country of nationality, 2012		
Country of nationality	Number	% of total
African Countries	29,650	38,1
of which Algeria	10,424	13,4
Senegal	2,889	3,7
Mauritania	1,956	2,5
European countries	31,483	40,5
of which France	22,683	29,2
Italy	1,595	2,1
Turkey	1,524	2
Other Countries	16,665	21,4
of which US	1,648	2,1
China	1,319	1,7
Total	77,798	100

Source: Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale, Morocco

To estimate the number and main countries of origin of irregular migrants, studies often rely on an analysis of applications submitted during the two regularization campaigns in 2014 and 2016. In 2014, 6,600 of all accepted applications came from Senegalese, 5,250 from Syrians, 2,380 from Nigerians and 2,281 from Ivoirians.²⁴

Figure 3. People of concern to UNHCR in Morocco in 2022 (Source: UNHCR 2022)



In 2020, UN DESA estimated the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Morocco at 9,756 compared to 1,072 in 2010.²⁵ Recent UNHCR data shows that the number of asylum seekers (9,488) and refugees (9,949) had almost doubled by 2022 in the context of border closures during the COVID-19 crisis and increasingly restrictive European immigration and asylum policies. Main countries of origin of refugees and asylum seekers can be found in figure 3.²⁶

3.2 Morocco's migration policy landscape

International conventions and regional engagement

Morocco has ratified the UN Refugee Convention as well as the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers. The country has furthermore signed both the Global Compact for Migration and the Global Compact on Refugees and hosted the Global Forum on Migration and Development in 2018. At the same time, a number of international

²⁵ UN DESA 2020. Table 1: International migrant stock at mid-year by sex and by region, country or area of destination, 1990-2020.

²⁶ UNHCR 2022. Morocco factsheet. <https://reporting.unhcr.org/index.php/document/3368>.

conventions such as the ILO Migration for Employment Convention, the UN Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness have not been ratified to date. At the regional level, Morocco is a member of the Rabat process, has signed a Mobility Partnership agreement with the European Union in 2013²⁷ and has presented an “African Agenda on Migration” at the African Union Summit 2018, which led, inter alia, to the inauguration of an African Migration Observatory in Rabat in 2020.²⁸

National legislation on migration and asylum

For a long time, Morocco’s main migration policy focus has been on its diaspora communities.²⁹ In 2003, Morocco adopted law n° 02-03, a framework policy on the entry and stay of foreign nationals, irregular migration, and emigration. While law n° 02-03 exhibited a security focus criminalizing irregular migration and stay in Morocco, the 2011 Constitution introduced provisions on non-discrimination and the protection of foreign migrants’ rights.

Following strong critique by international and national human rights institutions of law n° 02-03 as well as police violence and deportation of migrants to Morocco’s borders, Morocco’s King tasked the government with developing an immigration policy based on four pillars: (1) humanitarian issues, (2) integration, (3) governance and foreign policy, as well as (4) cultural, economic, and social aspects. The outcome was the National Strategy on Migration and Asylum (SNIA) adopted in 2014.³⁰ Figure 4 summarizes the strategy’s six guiding principles and eleven action programs.³¹

National policies and institutions for Moroccans living abroad

- Hassan II Foundation for Moroccans Living Abroad (1990)
- Ministry for the Moroccan Community Residing Abroad (2000)
- Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad (2007)
- Strategy of Mobilisation of the Competences of Moroccans Residing Abroad (2009)
- Constitutional reform protects the rights and interests of Moroccans abroad (2011)
- National Strategy for Moroccans Abroad (2014) focusing on preserving the Moroccan identity, protecting the rights and interests of Moroccans abroad, and facilitating contributions to Morocco’s development

²⁷ IOM 2017. Migration Governance Profile: Kingdom of Morocco.

²⁸ African Union 2020. Official Inauguration in Morocco of the African Migration Observatory. <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20201218/official-inauguration-morocco-african-migration-observatory>.

²⁹ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco. Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs n.d. Stratégie nationale en faveur des marocains du monde. <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/strategies-du-ministere/>

³⁰ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco.

³¹ Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs n.d. National Immigration and Asylum Strategy. <https://marocainsdumonde.gov.ma/en/national-immigration-and-asylum-strategy/>.

Figure 4. National Immigration and Asylum Strategy
(Source: Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2023)



In parallel to the development of this policy, a national Office for Refugees and Stateless Persons was opened in 2013.³² Three years later, Morocco adopted a law to fight human trafficking and inaugurated a national commission to operationalize this legal framework in 2019.³³

The years 2014 and 2016/17 have seen two campaigns of regularization, offering migrants with an irregular status the possibility to apply for a residence permit valid for a limited number of years. During the first campaign, around 17,900 of around 27,330 applications were

³² Government of Morocco 2013. Le HCR qualifie de "grande" réalisation l'ouverture d'un bureau des réfugiés et apatrides au Maroc. <https://www.maroc.ma/fr/actualites/le-hcr-qualifie-de-grande-realisation-louverture-dun-bureau-des-refugies-et-apatrides-au>.

³³ Government of Morocco 2019. Investiture des membres de la commission nationale de lutte et de prévention contre la traite des êtres humains. <https://www.cg.gov.ma/fr/conseils-d-administrations/investiture-des-membres-de%2%A0la-commission-nationale-de-lutte-et-de>.

accepted prior to recourse (numbers differ a little from one authority to another). In 2016/17, around 27,650 applications were submitted of which around 25,000 were successful. The higher number of successful applications results, inter alia, from an improvement of eligibility criteria. In 2014, applicants needed to be either married to a Moroccan citizen for more than two years, married to another foreign citizen living in a regular situation for more than four years, children of the two above categories, chronically ill and receiving care in Morocco, holding a valid employment contract and employed for at least two years, or able to prove a five-year long continuous residence in Morocco.³⁴ Given that an irregular situation makes access to the healthcare system (beyond emergency care) and the formal labor market extremely challenging, the last three conditions were rather difficult to meet.³⁵

Moreover, civil society interview partners in Oujda highlighted that residence permits were only valid for 1-3 years and that many persons did not have the possibility to renew their permits, thus falling back into a status of irregularity.³⁶

Horizontal institutional governance

The 2014 strategy on migration and asylum was developed by the newly created Department on Migration Affairs within the Ministry of Moroccan Residents Abroad, later termed Ministry in Charge of Moroccans Abroad and of Migration Affairs. Subsequently, migration issues were handled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Cooperation and Moroccan Expatriates. Several other Moroccan ministries and national institutions engage on questions of migration and asylum, among them the ministries of the interior, justice, employment, and education. The National Human Rights Council monitors the situation of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers and publishes regular reports while the Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad evaluates policies targeting expatriates.

Vertical institutional governance

The 2011 Constitution states that Morocco is subdivided into regions, prefectures, provinces, and municipalities, with local and regional governments of municipalities and regions being elected by direct universal suffrage. Morocco's decentralization reform (regionalisation avancée) announced in the context of the 2011 constitutional reform led to a dual governance structure with elected councils and representatives on the one hand and appointed royal representatives at different levels of government on the other (figure 5).³⁷

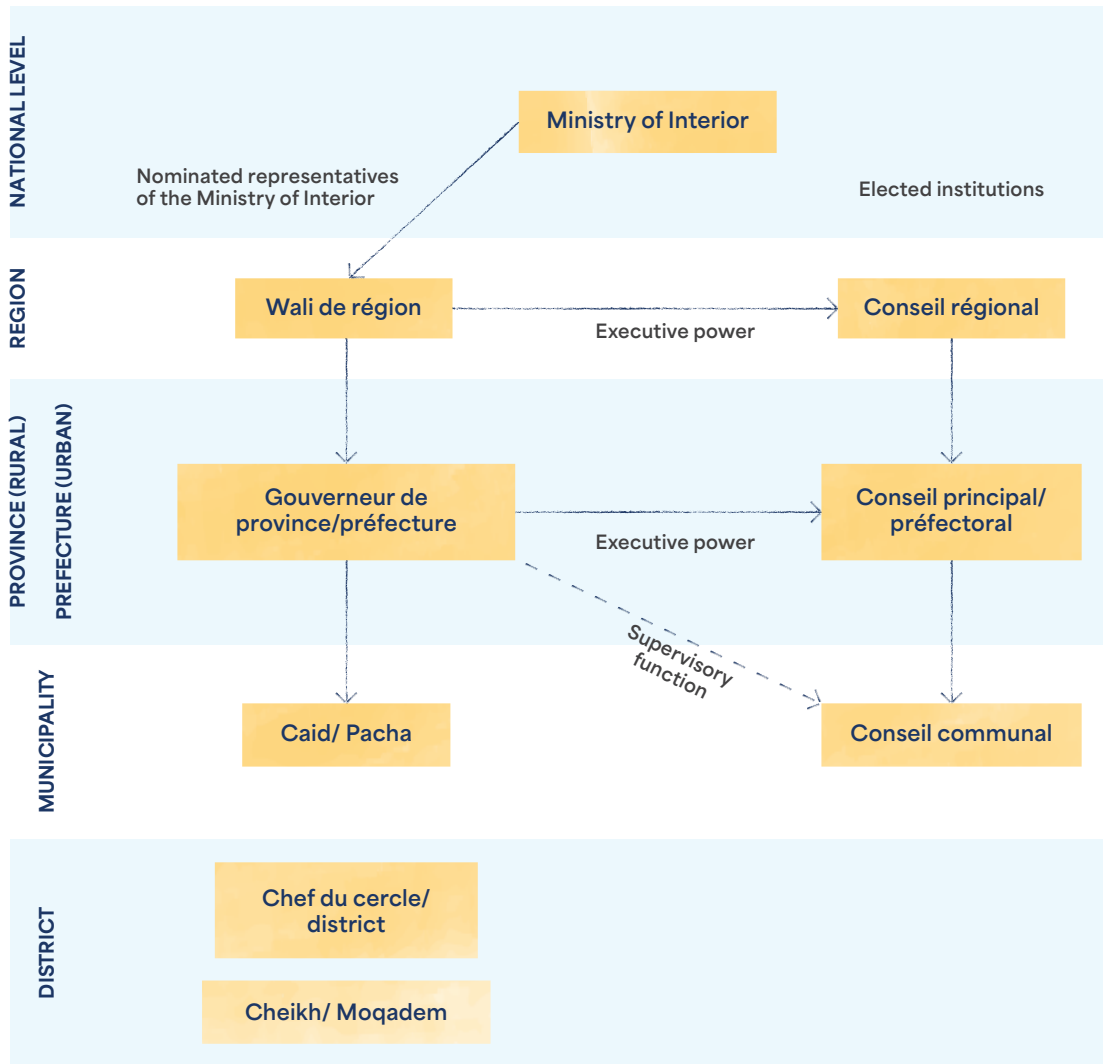
³⁴ MPC 2016. Migration Profile Morocco. Benjelloun, S. 2017. Nouvelle politique migratoire et opérations de régularisation. https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7_dokument_dok_pdf_51242_3.pdf/299a1296-156a-14cf-b2a4-3def8a439584?version=1.0&t=1539648046206.

³⁵ However, local NGOs found creative solutions, for instance, in Oujda, where NGOs negotiated with the authorities achieving the right to provide migrants with an attestation confirming that they had been known by the NGO for five years or longer.

³⁶ KII12 08.09.2022.

³⁷ Houdre, A. and Harnisch A. 2017. Decentralisation in Morocco. The Current Reform and Its Possible Contribution to Political Liberalisation. https://www.idos-research.de/uploads/media/DP_11.2017.pdf.

Figure 5. Decentralization and deconcentration in Morocco (Source: Houdret and Harnisch 2017)



Sub-national entities are considered legal persons under public law that carry own competencies, while other competencies are shared with the national government. During background conversations, representatives from the Foreign Ministry highlighted the importance of close collaboration between different levels of government in Morocco on questions of migration. In contrast to many other African countries, it is noteworthy that some Moroccan regions and municipalities, for instance in the Oriental Region, have established units or programs addressing questions of migration within their institutional structure.³⁸

However, the actual scope of action of these entities is limited in a context where migration policies remain rather centralized.³⁹ First, questions of migration and asylum remain national competencies. In particular, anything related to questions of security is beyond the scope or regional or local mandates and representatives from these levels of government therefore emphasized during interviews that their focus was on migration and development and the integration of regular migrants (while most migrants in the Oriental Region actually have an

³⁸ KII14 16.09.2022. KII18 19.09.2022.

³⁹ European Union 2023. Document d'action de fonds fiduciaire de l'UE à utiliser pour les décisions du comité de gestion. https://trust-fund-for-africa.europa.eu/document/download/fd4a5b32-15e4-4b0b-a817-c20018f40986_en?filename=t05-eutf-noa-ma-04_2020.pdf.

irregular status).⁴⁰ Second, locally established representatives of national institutions often carry responsibility for migration-relevant fields such as employment or education. For instance, according to the law 113-14 on the competences of subnational entities, the municipality of Oujda is not responsible for questions of education, employment, health, or housing.⁴¹ Moroccan cities rather carry responsibilities for the provision of basic infrastructure (urban transport, markets, cemeteries), collective facilities, and basic public services (water, transportation, electricity). Regional governments supervise strategic regional planning, carry responsibility for strengthening the economy, the regional infrastructure, and territorial competitiveness.⁴²

3.4 Local migration context in Oujda city

Figure 6. City of Oujda (Source: Equal Partnerships 2022)



With a population of approximately 500,000 inhabitants, Oujda is the regional capital of the Eastern Moroccan Oriental Region. The city's geographic position in close proximity to both the Algerian border (13 km) and the Mediterranean Sea (60 km) makes it an important domestic (rural-urban), inter-regional, and international migration and transit hub.⁴³ Around one third of Morocco's diaspora originates in the Oriental Region.⁴⁴ Oujda is a university city. Furthermore, the city has traditionally served as a transit hub for diverse mixed migration movements from Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g., Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mali, CAR, Chad, Cameroon, Guinea, and more recently Sudan) and the Middle East (e.g., Syria, Libya, Yemen)⁴⁵, often focused on onwards migration to Europe or other parts of Morocco.

In the context of the COVID-19 crisis and increasingly stringent EU immigration policies, the city is more and more transforming into a space where migrants and refugees, voluntarily or not, spend anything between a couple of days to a couple of years or even settle perma-

⁴⁰ KII14 16.09.2022. KII18 19.09.2022. KII24 20.09.2022.

⁴¹ Government of Morocco 2016. Bulletin Officiel 2016. Loi n° 113-14 relatives au communes. <https://rabat.eregulations.org/media/Loi%20organique%20113-14%20concernant%20les%20Communes.pdf>.

⁴² Houdre, A. and Harnisch, A. 2017. Decentralisation in Morocco. The Current Reform and Its Possible Contribution to Political Liberalisation

⁴³ MC2CM 2019. How to build knowledge on urban migration: Local practices to face data challenges.

⁴⁴ KII10 09.09.2022. KII14 16.09.2022.

⁴⁵ KII7 13.09.2022. KII2 07.09.2022.

nently.⁴⁶ High mobility within the region as well as between different Moroccan regions⁴⁷ and the irregular status of a majority of migrants present in Oujda leaves stakeholders from the regional and local government as well as civil society without clear information on numbers and needs, a deficit often highlighted during research interviews.⁴⁸ The last official numbers stem from the 2014 census. While the census delivers data that can be broken down to the city level, the fact that many irregular migrants were never registered and that the mobility situation is highly volatile means that this data is long outdated.

3.5 *Migration impact on the city*

Migrants are quite visible in Oujda's cityscape, selling small goods at makeshift tables around Oujda's Medina, running shops that offer services such as hairdressing or working in restaurants. Some of those unable to access the formal or informal economy are forced to beg in the streets. While irregular migrants are in principle always at risk of being arrested, the situation is less tense than, for instance, in Nador, a city 130 km from Oujda and close to the Spanish enclave of Melilla, where migrants stay outside of the city in the nearby forest for fear of being arrested.⁴⁹ The situation has not always been like that in Oujda. Some years ago, migrants did not dare settle in the city itself. Instead, they constructed an improvised tent camp close to Oujda University and received support from local NGOs until the authorities deconstructed the camp (Morocco's migration policy rejects camp approaches, obliging migrants to find private accommodation).⁵⁰

Access to housing is therefore a difficult issue for irregular but also regular migrants, who are at times confronted with higher rents than Moroccans and with other forms of discrimination.⁵¹ Some diasporas from Sub-Saharan countries have started establishing themselves in Oujda for some time now. Newly arriving migrants build on these community networks to find (often overcrowded) accommodation solutions. In contrast, the arrival of persons from Sudan is rather recent, and they can therefore not make use of social networks yet and rarely find shelter.⁵² The church of Saint Louise as well as local NGOs such as MS.2 and Ain Ghazal provide emergency accommodation for female migrants, unaccompanied minors, and persons with serious illness.⁵³ Civil society actors highlighted a lack of safe houses for victims of trafficking in Oujda, declaring that victims often do not dare to report their cases to the authorities because civil society cannot guarantee them sufficient protection from trafficking networks:

“

*There are a lot of people who are victims and who do not dare, out of fear, who do not dare to denounce this violence because we cannot assure them protection. They are afraid to denounce so we can't do anything for them, so we try to accompany them, to assist them but not more.*⁵⁴

46 Stürner, J. and Bekyol, Y. 2021. Going the (social) distance. Migrant and refugee-sensitive urban COVID-19 responses. https://www.icmpd.org/content/download/53419/file/COVID-19%20Study_EN_Online_Final.pdf.

47 KII2 07.09.2022.

48 KII11 12.09.2022. KII10 09.09.2022.

49 KII3 19.09.2022. KII15 21.09.2022.

50 KII12 08.08.2022.

51 KII1 06.09.2022.

52 KII15 21.09.2022.

53 KII15 21.09.2022. KII11 12.09.2022. KII4 08.09.2022.

54 KII3. Own translation.

The SNIA stipulates equal **access to health care** for Moroccans and regular migrants. Irregular migrants can only receive emergency care and often depend on support from civil society organizations.⁵⁵ According to civil society actors, even migrants with regular status have at times difficulties to access healthcare facilities due to a lack of knowledge about these rights among migrant communities and health care providers as well as discrimination. However, civil society actors and local researchers also stated that the situation has improved significantly over the last years mainly due to sensitization campaigns and other measures.⁵⁶

For instance, the Regional Directorate of the Ministry for Health has cooperated with IOM and local NGOs to develop a mobile app to improve migrants' access to health care.⁵⁷ NGOs such as MS.2 have also worked with the Regional Directorate in order to establish support teams at healthcare facilities who accompany migrants to their appointments and to the pharmacy, while serving as (cultural) translators.⁵⁸ Furthermore, health care providers were often mentioned by civil society actors as recipients of sensitization training. Regarding availability of health care offers, civil society actors highlighted an urgent need to increase mental health care support for migrants arriving in Oujda after long and dangerous journeys.⁵⁹

In 2013, a ministerial report stipulated that all migrant children, irrespective of status, have **access to the national education system**.⁶⁰ While civil society actors highlighted that this has highly improved accessibility, they also mentioned that the high mobility of migrant families (moving from one city/region/country to another) and language barriers present challenges for enrolling children in the school system. Furthermore, civil society actors stated that at times children would drop out of school or would not be enrolled in the first place because parents needed them to contribute to the household income. To address all these challenges, local NGOs offer language classes and sensitization campaigns at the start of the school year for migrants as well as teaching staff.⁶¹ Migrants beyond the age of primary and secondary education can receive education and vocational training at national institutions, e.g., Entraide National and the Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail (OFPPT). Experience shared by NGOs regarding access for migrants without a regular status to these institutions is mixed.⁶² Representatives of these institutions, in turn, underlined the high mobility of migrants as a major challenge for running and completing courses of several weeks or months granting participants vocational certificates.⁶³ As a university city, Oujda also hosts international students. Students from Sub-Saharan Africa can come together in the local chapter of the Cercle des Associations des Etudiants Subsahariennes (CETASSO) that supports newly arriving students in their orientation, organizes joint activities, and represents students in dialogues with the university structures.⁶⁴

⁵⁵ IOM 2017. Migration Governance Profile: Kingdom of Morocco.

⁵⁶ KII11 12.09.2022. KII1 06.09.2022. KII15 21.09.2022.

⁵⁷ KII22 15.09.2022.

⁵⁸ KII15 21.09.2022.

⁵⁹ KII4 08.09.2022.

⁶⁰ IOM 2017. Migration Governance Profile: Kingdom of Morocco.

⁶¹ KII11 12.09.2022. KII8 14.09.2022. KII7 13.09.2022.

⁶² KII4 08.09.2022.

⁶³ KII17 21.09.2022.

⁶⁴ KII5 14.09.2022.

Access to the formal labor market remains reserved for migrants with residence permits. However, even registered migrants have difficulties finding employment or starting a business in Oujda, given the elevated unemployment rates (unemployment rates for the overall population in the 2014 census were at 26.2%).⁶⁵ According to civil society interview partners, many Moroccans and migrants therefore rather find temporary work in the informal sector. Mobility within the country is often related to the search for employment opportunities, as migrants leave Oujda to travel to the coastal cities such as Rabat or Casablanca in the hope of finding work.⁶⁶ Both public and civil society actors mentioned the fact that some migrants have started vending goods from makeshift tables at the outskirts of the Medina as a positive sign for integration.⁶⁷

Furthermore, interview partners from national training institutions mentioned a need to change focus from emergency assistance for migrants towards support for self-sufficiency.⁶⁸ This would, however, need an overall improvement of the economic situation in the Oriental Region as such a development could provide the right context for finding employment or starting businesses for Moroccans and migrants alike. In its local development plan 2017-2022, the City of Oujda included the idea to create an incubator supporting migrants with creating small enterprises. The project could, however, not be realized so far due to a lack of funding.⁶⁹ In parallel, the Italian NGO CEFA, in cooperation with MS.2, has launched “Work for Life” – an incubator program for enterprise creation, targeting migrants with regular status, and with plans to expand towards revenue creation activities for migrants with irregular status in 2023.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Kingdom of Morocco 2017. RGPH. Indicateurs communaux - Individus. <https://rgph2014.hcp.ma/file/190479/>.

⁶⁶ KII11 12.09.2022. KII1 06.09.2022.

⁶⁷ KII19 07.09.2022.

⁶⁸ KII17 21.09.2022. KII20 22.09.2022.

⁶⁹ KII19 07.09.2022.

⁷⁰ KII9 21.09.2022.

4

Partnership approaches for urban migration governance

4.1 *Stakeholder mapping of migration actors in Oujda city*

In recent years, migration has become a central topic for local, regional, and national government actors in Oujda as well as for local and national NGOs. This is the case not only due to Oujda's transformation from a transit and origin to a transit, origin, and host city, but also due to increased funding offered by the EU and French, Italian, or Spanish development agencies. Annex 1 provides an overview of different actors present in Oujda.

National government actors

As Oujda is the major city of the Oriental Region, it hosts several national agencies and ministerial representations at the regional and provincial levels carrying mandates of high relevance to questions of mixed migration. In the area of social services and health care, these include the Provincial Delegation on Health (Délégation provinciale de la Santé) and the Social Development Agency (Agence social de développement). In the area of education, professional training, and employment, important actors include the National Agency for the Promotion of Employment and Competencies (Agence nationale de la promotion de l'emploi et des compétences - ANAPEC), National Assistance (Entraide National), and the Office for Professional Training and Work Promotion (Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail - OFPPT). The Regional Academy on Education (Académie régionale de l'éducation de l'Oriental) focuses on questions of education and learning.

Regional government actors

Several Moroccan regions address questions of migration; however, the Council of the Oriental Region is the only Regional Council that has signed a framework convention with the national ministry in charge of migration questions regarding the localization of the SNIA and the SNMRE. Council representatives highlighted that migration is not among their core mandates, but a specific focus on migration and development (and the exclusion of any security related matters) allows for the engagement of the Regional Council on migration as a cross-cutting topic of the social, economic, and environmental priorities of the Council in its regional development plan (PDR). The regional engagement builds on the establishment of one-stop shops to support Moroccan returnees and diaspora (Maison des MREs) in three

Moroccan regions. In 2016, the Oriental Region was the first region to include questions of migration into its regional development plan, and in 2017 the Regional Council created an initial forum to bring together local, national, and international actors. Subsequently, the Council collaborated with national ministries, the Wilaya, development agencies from France, Belgium, and Spain as well as IOM to create a joint steering committee for the implementation of four migration projects in the Oriental Region.⁷¹ Next to the Regional Council, the Wilaya proved an important partner to civil society actors during the COVID-19 lockdowns by provided funding and support in coordinating emergency assistance for migrants.⁷²

Local government actors

With consultancy support funded by the GIZ, the city of Oujda has included migration into its 2017 - 2022 local action plan (PAC) and has established a migration unit with six staff members.⁷³ Table 2 illustrates that four concrete projects were envisaged.

Table 2. Municipal Action Plan City of Oujda (Source: MC2CM 2019)

Strategic Axis 4: Migration and Migrants				
No. Projects	Title of the Project	Total Amount (MDH)	Municipal Contribution (MDH)	Partners' Contribution (MDH)
1	Execution of the study on the Migratory Profile of the Municipality of Oujda	0,5	0,5	-
2	Creation of a Migrant Reception and Orientation Unit	3	0,5	2,5
3	Creation of an Incubator to support Migrants in the creation of their business	0,6	0,2	0,4
4	Creation of a unit to coordinate the actions of migration stakeholders	0,4	0,2	0,2
4	Overall amount of strategic axis 4 (MDH)	4,5	1,4	3

However, the late approval of the plan as well as the limited budget assigned to the migration topic - 0.16% of the overall budget (table 3) - resulted in rather limited implementation.

⁷¹ KII14 16.09.2022

⁷² KII12 08.08.2022

⁷³ City of Oujda 2022. Intégration du volet migratoire dans le plan d'action Municipal. <https://medcities.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/3.-Ville-dOujda-Migration-05-Mai-2022.pdf>. GIZ n.d Morocco: Migration Management and Integration. <https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/Fiche%20projet%20RECOSA%20EN.pdf>. MC2CM 2019. How to build knowledge on urban migration: Local practices to face data challenges.

Recognizing the need for enhanced capacity to act through cooperation with civil society, private and public actors, the city was considering including migration as the newly formed pillar “migration and partnerships” into the upcoming local development plan (2022-2027) at the time of field research. The city’s migration unit organized civil society consultations in this respect and made use of the Equal Partnerships workshop to co-develop ideas for action with a wide group of stakeholders. Overall, the main focus of the local government is on regular migrants and Moroccan diaspora/returnees. At the transnational level, the city of Oujda is highly engaged in city-to-city cooperation, for instance in the context of the Mediterranean City-to-City Migration project as well as via projects of UCLG Africa and IOM.⁷⁴

Table 3. Planned Outputs Action Plan (Source: MC2CM 2019)

Municipal Action Plan (PAC) Oujda 2017-2022			
Strategic Axes	No Projects	Budget (MDH)	%
1. Infrastructures and Proximity Equipments	22	838	29,8%
2. Environment and Sustainable Energy	23	1194,1	42,4%
3. Investment and Urban Competitive Potential	13	647	23%
4. Migration and Migrants	4	4,5	0,16%
5. Local Governance	6	59,4	2,1%
6. Partnerships and Decentralized Cooperation	3	3,875	0,14%
National Initiative of Human Development (INDH) Projects	18	67,348	2,4%
Total Budget PAC Oujda	89	2814,22	100%

Civil society actors

There are a great number of civil society actors (e.g., NGOs, faith-based groups, (informal) migrant associations, researchers) engaging to support migrants with both regular and irregular status. While many of these organizations provide humanitarian assistance and accompaniment of migrants, they also specialize in specific areas including access to health care (Maroc Solidarité Médico-Sociale (MS.2), Association Lutte contre le SIDA), support for female migrants (Ain Ghazal), emergency housing (Ain Ghazal, Church of Saint Louis), vocational training, employment opportunities and education (Al Wafae, CEFA, Nibras, Fondation Orient Occident, Pionniers du Changement), support in registration of asylum claims and other legal matters (Organisation Marocains des Droits Humaines (OMDH), Asticude), and sensitization of migrants, civil society, and public actors as to migrants’ rights and obligations (Pionniers du Changement, Asticude).

Migrant-led associations

There is only a small number of migrant-led associations in Oujda, with Cetasso – the Circle of Associations of Subsaharan Students – playing an important role in bringing students together. NGO representatives shared that forming an official association is considered difficult for migrants due to bureaucratic barriers, high mobility, and questions of status.⁷⁵ Background conversations with migrants showed that there are informal groups that support each other, often within national community groups.

Development agencies and international organizations

IOM and UNHCR do not have offices in Oujda, but rather provide project-based support and cooperate with local NGOs. UNHCR is a (funding) partner of the Fondation Orient Occident and works in close cooperation with OMDH, an NGO that registers asylum applications and refers potential refugees to UNHCR.⁷⁶ OMDH also coordinates a local working group on protection, which brings together civil society actors, UNHCR, and IOM representatives on a regular basis.⁷⁷ IOM is among the four project partners of the Regional Council currently implementing regional migration projects in the Oriental Region.⁷⁸ In addition, IOM has cooperated with the city of Oujda, the city of Rabat, and UCLG Africa to organize peer-learning sessions on migrant-sensitive COVID-19 crisis management. UN-Habitat and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) engage with the city of Oujda on questions of migration in the context of the MC2CM project.⁷⁹ National development agencies such as Enabel (Belgium), Expertise France (France), the ACCD (Catalonia) and formerly GIZ (Germany) also play an important role in the region as funders and project implementers. Some of these projects, implemented in cooperation with the Regional Council and further partners, have a direct focus on enhancing regional/local migration governance, such as DEPOMI – promoting the regionalization of national migration strategies (SNIA and SNMRE) as well as a former project by the GIZ and a current project by Expertise France offering support to local governments to include migration into their local action plans (table 4).⁸⁰

Table 4. Snapshot of programs supporting sub-national migration governance

PRIM	Programme Régional des Initiatives de Migration (Regional Migration Initiatives Program)	Expertise France, AFD	2020 - 2024
DEPOMI	Déploiement des politiques migratoires au niveau régional (Deployment of migration policies at the regional level)	Enabel	2020 - 2023
M4SD	Making Migration Work for Sustainable Development	IOM, UNDP	2019 - 2023

⁷⁵ KII8 14.09.2022.

⁷⁶ KII20 22.09.2022.

⁷⁷ KII2 07.09.2022.

⁷⁸ KII14 16.09.2022. IOM 2023. Morocco - Making Migration Work for Sustainable Development. <https://migration4development.org/en/about/our-programmes/morocco>.

⁷⁹ KII18 19.09.2022.

⁸⁰ KII14 16.09.2022. KII21 20.09.2022. KII10 09.09.2022.

RECOMIG/ RECOSA	Renforcement des collectivités territoriales marocaines dans l'amélioration des structures d'accueil des migrants (Strengthening Moroccan local authorities in the improvement of reception structures for migrants)	GIZ	2016 - 2022
INDIMAJ II	Accompagnement des conseils régionaux dans l'intégration de la migration au sein de leur planification locale (Supporting regional councils in integrating migration into their local planning activities)	IOM	2018 - 2020
INDIMAJ Oriental	Initiative pour un développement inclusif à l'attention des migrant-e-s de l'oriental (Initiative for an inclusive development regarding migration in the Oriental Region)	IOM	2016 - 2018

Academic actors

Oujda University addresses questions of migration and displacement through its Social Science Faculty with its Migration studies center (Centre universitaire d'études des migrations) as well as the Faculty of Law with its Research laboratory on human rights (Laboratoire d'étude en recherché en droits de l'homme et documentation).⁸¹ The faculties offer master programs and PhD opportunities and partnered with the city of Oujda in summer 2022 to organize a 3-day summer school on the topic of "Rethinking migrations in the Western Mediterranean: challenges and new perspectives."⁸² Nevertheless, there seems to be limited practical cooperation between academic actors, civil society, and the local/regional government. At the same time, non-academic actors highlighted the urgent need for well-trained young professionals benefiting from an education focusing on practicalities of migration governance.⁸³

4.2 Exploration of cooperation potentials and gaps

4.2.1 Interlinking existing coordination hubs

Oujda is a particularly interesting case for exploring multi-stakeholder partnerships as several "coordination hubs" have emerged at different levels of governance.

Regional Council

First, there is the Regional Council, aiming to establish a multi-actor framework for regional migration governance focusing on migration and development. A central element of

⁸¹ KII1 06.09.2022

⁸² MedCities 2022. MedCities participates in the summer school "Rethinking migrations in the Western Mediterranean: challenges and new perspectives" in Oujda. <https://medcities.org/fr/medcities-participates-in-the-summer-school-rethinking-migrations-in-the-western-mediterranean-challenges-and-new-perspectives-in-oujda/>

⁸³ KII10 09.09.2022.

this framework is a steering committee, co-led by the Council, national ministries, and the Wilaya, created to coordinate the projects of four development partners – IOM, Enabel, Expertise France, and the Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation (ACCD). According to Council representatives, such a joint steering committee bringing together various projects to ensure complementarity and alignment with regional interests is unique among Morocco's regions:

“

The Council of the Oriental, it has set up a single steering committee for the four projects. And the purpose of this steering committee is to coordinate all the activities that are conducted in each project and to avoid duplication of activities. And so there is a complementarity, or let's say, that is the role that the steering committee plays, ensuring a complementarity between the projects. So if I have, for example, for IOM, they work on health, they do capacity building, in DEPOMI, they address another theme in the health framework. So each one complements the other, this is the role that the Oriental Region and the steering committee that has been set up play.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Council representatives considered the Oriental Region as a sort of pilot region for migration projects funded by the EU and EU countries and highlighted in this regard the importance of not only being implementers, but also becoming co-developers of project-based action. Beyond international partners, the Council also works in cooperation with local NGOs and has engaged on sensitizing and encouraging local decision-makers and administrations to address questions of (regular) migration and development.⁸⁵ A Council representative explained this multi-stakeholder engagement as follows:

“

The region is taking on the issue and we will try to map out what scenarios we may have in terms of governance for the Oriental Region. This does not mean that a single project will be able to implement the governance, it is the entirety of projects that are there, that will work in line with, let's say, the orientation of the Oriental Region so that we can achieve to schematize this governance at the level of the territory of the region.⁸⁶

Local government

The city's migration unit aspires to coordinate the activities of civil society, private, and public actors on migration at the local level. In this sense, the local action plan (PAC) 2017-2022 included the creation of a coordinating migration unit, a migration reception and orientation unit, a business incubator, and the development of a city migration profile.

Due to budget constraints, the incubator and the reception unit could not be implemented so far. However, among the future objectives of the project PRIM between Expertise France and the Regional Council, is the idea to build on the reception centers for Moroccan diaspora and expand these to create broader migrant orientation units within cities, including Oujda. Given that the new local action plan 2022-2027 was under negotiation at the time of research, interview partners could not speak to these future plans yet.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ KII14 16.09.2022. Own translation.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ KII14. Own translation.

⁸⁷ KII10 09.09.2022.

The migration profile was developed in cooperation with the MC2CM network – an important step for the city of Oujda, given that local data is essential for evidence-based decision-making.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the city established a migration unit, whose head is well connected and was identified as a focal point by most of the non-city interview partners when asked about contacts in the city administration.

However, the budget limitations restrict the coordination capacity at the city level, an issue the migration unit hopes to address in the next local action plan. A further restriction for effective coordination can be found in limited thematic city mandates: Civil society and institutional actors addressing education, employment, and health care mentioned that they rarely engage with city representatives given that the city does not carry mandates on these topics.⁸⁹

Protection Working Group

The Protection Working Group (Groupe de Travail de Protection – GTP) serves 13 NGOs, IOM, and UNHCR as a coordination and referral structure. It was created in Oujda in 2014 in the context of the emerging focus on human rights and non-discrimination in both the 2011 Constitution and the SNIA of 2014. Coordinated by OMHD, the working group aims to foster complementarity of engagement among its members, bringing together NGOs that specialize in various thematic areas including emergency housing, education, health support, legal support, and access to basic services. To facilitate the referral system, the group has developed an overview document that lists specific work areas and contact points of all members. The working group has bi-monthly meetings and develops a joint annual action plan. Public actors participate in working group meetings depending on topics and institutional mandates. Furthermore, the working group organizes sensitization and capacity building trainings for civil society and public actors. The Oujda model served as an example for the creation of similar working groups in Tangier (2017), Casa (2018), Fès (2019/2020), and Marrakech (2021).⁹⁰

Migration Network of the Oriental Region

In September 2022, the NGOs Pionniers du Changement (Pionniers of Change) and MS.2 invited civil society, local, regional, and national government representatives to a joint meeting with the objective of establishing a “Migration Network of the Oriental Region” that would bridge dialogue and cooperation gaps between civil society and institutional actors.⁹¹

The initiative was part of a project funded by the ACCD and aiming to improve psychosocial support and living together for vulnerable migrants in the cities of Oujda, Berkane, and the wider region. The idea behind the creation of a multi-stakeholder network was to address the lack of coordination between institutional and civil society actors and the resulting duplication of activities:

“

We are creating another network with the institutions. This way, we can create synergies of action between the institutional actors and the civil society in the field of migration and asylum. That way, it makes a lot of things

88 KII18 19.09.2022.

89 KII20 22.09.2022. KII17 21.09.2022. KII15 21.09.2022.

90 KII2 07.09.2022. KII11 12.09.2022. KII20 22.09.2022.

91 KII22 15.09.2022.

*easier for us, in particular activities, there will not be a redundancy of activities, because the civil society has really done a lot in 2022. [...] So, often there is not the same rhythm [with the institutions], there is not the same synergy, there are not the same priorities and it also blocks advocacy on the topics.*⁹²

Civil society actors highlighted that they needed stronger cooperation with institutional actors to address the needs of both regular and irregular migrants. They presented the perspective that oftentimes they would receive information about institutional activities ex-post. The lack of institutional focal points (or frequent change in personnel) on questions of migration was perceived to make dialogue difficult.⁹³ The meeting recapped recommendations that had been made by the Protection Working Group as well as different institutional actors in the past. These included the creation of a joint network with an annual action plan, regular meetings, and an overview document of actors and activities to strengthen the cooperation and build synergies. Furthermore, the need to mainstream the participation of (vulnerable) migrants, female migrants and refugees in all network activities was underlined as essential. In this regard, it was agreed that future meetings to discuss the establishment of the network would not be held in Arabic without translation, but rather in French.⁹⁴ A high number of local NGOs as well as representatives from the local and regional government, and national agencies participated in the meeting. Institutional actors voiced their commitment to engage on questions of migration, but also highlighted that their focus was mainly on migration and development (meaning regular migration). An important question that could not be answered at this first meeting was the medium-term funding perspective of the network, which would be established within a project framework funded by ACCD with the aim of receiving more regular funding from public actors to ensure long-term sustainability.⁹⁵

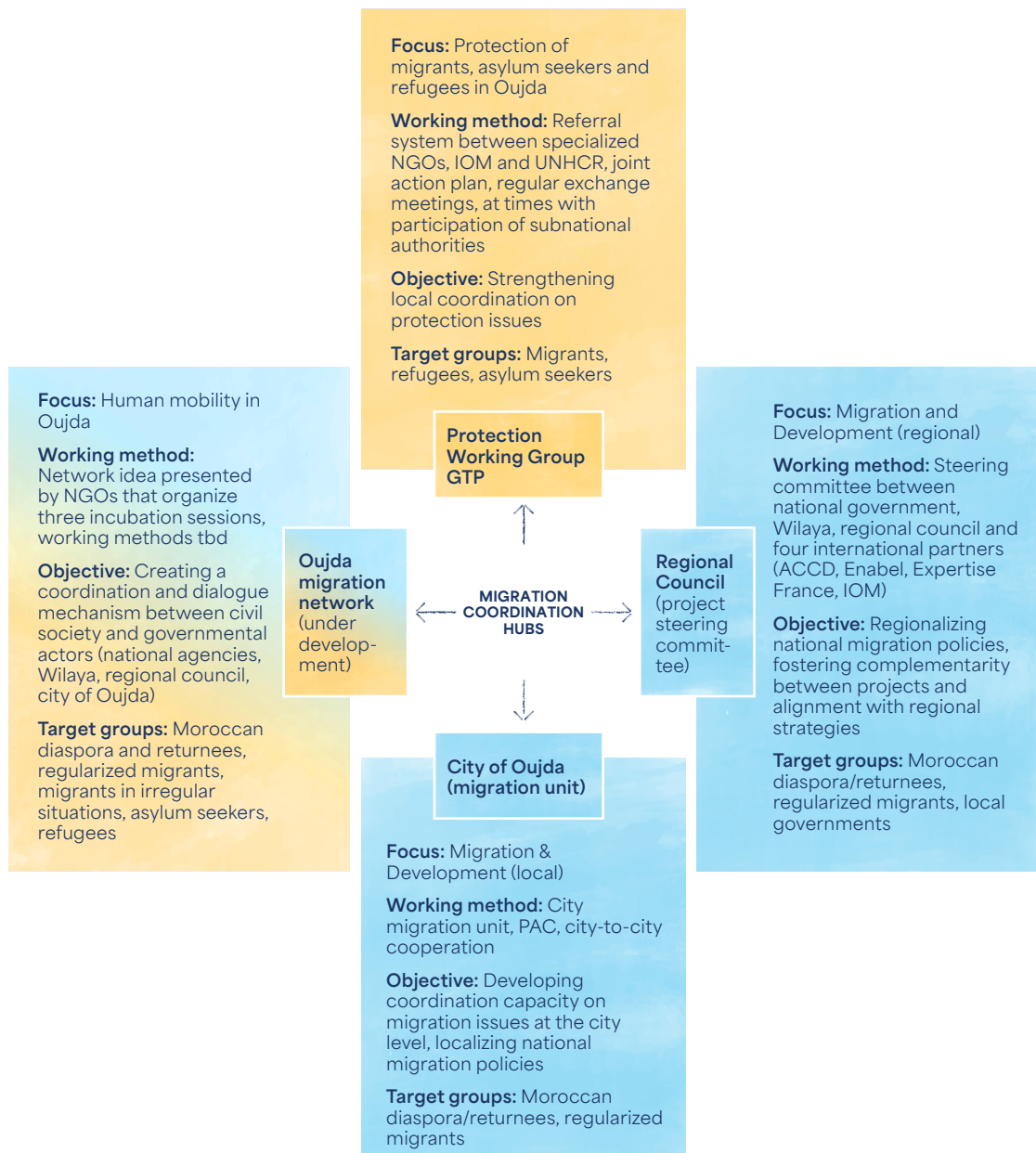
⁹² KII7 13.09.2022. Own translation.

⁹³ KII22 15.09.2022.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

Figure 7. Migration coordination hubs in Oujda city (Source: Equal Partnerships 2023)



Overall, the mapping shows that there are several coordination hubs present in the city of Oujda, with actors at the local and the regional levels very aware of the importance of addressing migration through cooperative action (figure 7). However, these hubs are not necessarily well connected, and there are several discrepancies regarding target groups and working schedules as well as trust issues between institutional and civil society actors. Activities such as the attempt to create a migration network bringing together civil society and public actors present opportunities for bridging coordination gaps.

4.2.2

Strengthening regional and local migration governance

At the time of research in 2022, two multi-stakeholder projects promoted the regionalization of migration governance in the Oriental Region in cooperation with the national government, the Regional Council as well as provincial and local governments. Both projects had local offices in Oujda.

Déploiement des politiques migratoires au niveau régional (DEPMOI) focused on the regionalization of migration policies in the three regions of Oriental, Beni Mellal-Khénifra, and Souss-Massa. The project was funded by the European Union via the “EU Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa.” Led by the Belge development agency Enabel, the project was implemented between 2020 and 2023 in cooperation with the national government, the regional councils, and (I)NGOs such as CEFA.⁹⁶ DEPMOI’s main objective was to support regional governments in integrating the SNIA and the SNMRE into regional development planning to improve the socio-economic situation of Moroccans living abroad as well as migrants living in Morocco with a regular status. The project partners focused their interventions on sensitization/training, data collection (regional migration profiles and mapping of projects addressing migration), and the inclusion of migration questions into regional development plans.⁹⁷ Moreover, a representative of the Regional Council shared that there was also engagement with the local governments:

“

Within the DEPMOI project and the PRIM project, they have, the region has taken steps to accompany and set up within the framework, to hire an expert through the two projects to accompany the municipalities of Nador, Driouje, Oujda and Berkane to integrate the migration theme in their PACs, so it is this kind of partnership.⁹⁸

DEPMOI coordinated its activities with the **Programme régional des initiatives de la migration (PRIM)**⁹⁹ funded by the Agence Française de Développement and led by Expertise France between 2020 and 2024. Project partners included the national government and the regional councils of the Oriental and the Souss-Massa regions. PRIM divided its overall objective - supporting the regionalization of migration policies in its target regions - into three areas of action.¹⁰⁰ (1) A fund has been established to finance local projects in line with national and regional migration strategies. Each region established a regional multi-stakeholder committee to select proposals made by NGOs and migrant associations with the idea that these local projects would contribute to operationalizing regional migration governance strategies focusing on migration and development.

An interview partner shared that there were also ongoing reflections to fund project proposals made by local governments.¹⁰¹ (2) Training and sensitization activities were offered to im-

⁹⁶ KII21 20.09.2022.

⁹⁷ European Union 2023. Document d’action de fonds fiduciaire de l’UE à utiliser pour les décisions du comité de gestion.

⁹⁸ KII14 16.09.2022. Own translation.

⁹⁹ Regional Migration Initiatives Program

¹⁰⁰ Expertise France 2020. PRIM - Programme régional des initiatives de la migration au Maroc. <https://expertisefrance.fr/fiche-projet?id=815977>.

¹⁰¹ KII10 09.09.2022.

prove access to basic services for Moroccans living abroad and regularized migrants living in Morocco. A PRIM coordinator stated that cooperation with regional and local governments as well as decentralized national agencies was essential in this regard:

“

*And we will also accompany in terms of the implementation to expand the reception services. Because there is an initiative that was already started a long time ago by the Ministry of the Interior with the provinces. The provinces, which are attached to the Ministry of the Interior, have already set up reception units for the Moroccan diaspora. Because there is an initiative called 'Marhaba' that starts from the beginning of June until the end of September when all Moroccans from all over the world return [to visit home]. So, the idea in Morocco is really to facilitate their access to services during this very tight period by setting up this unit. So our idea is, as there are other categories of migrants, refugees, to expand these units and set them up within the local authorities to serve other categories of migrants including third country nationals, and to be active all year round, dynamic all year round. So here we are, we are in the middle of reflection, negotiations with the cities and in this framework, we are carrying out a lot of work with the council of the region, which is our main partner because we have signed the convention with the council of the region. Normally, Expertise France offers technical assistance to the council of the region. This project is carried out but we are here to really help the regionalization or to contribute to the regionalization of national policies on migration, either the national policy that targets the MREs [migrants residing abroad] or the policy, the SNIA, on immigration and asylum. These are the two. So therefore, as I said, we are in the middle of working to contribute to the integration of the migration action in the four city action plans. So we have chosen four territories that are strategic for the Oriental Region, including Oujda, so the city of Oujda, and the city of Berkane, the city of Nador and the city of driouch. [...] For the municipality of Oujda, the Regional Council, the actions of the RDP (regional development plan) are already integrated [at the local level], that's why there is this convention and all that. So, the idea is really to strengthen and detail these activities if there are other dimensions to take into account. But for Berkane, Nador and Driouch, it is new for these communes.*¹⁰²

(3) Studies were conducted on gender equality regarding access to services for Moroccans abroad and migrants living in Morocco. In addition, PRIM planned to work with local governments in order to support local authorities in including migration with a specific focus on gender equality into their local action plans.¹⁰³ A PRIM project coordinator outlined the cooperation between PRIM and DEPOMI in this regard:

“

*And in fact, the action we are carrying out with the cities to integrate migration in the PAC [city action plan]. It is not directly on migration but gender in relation to migration. Because there is another partner called DEPOMI, led by the Belgian Agency, it is a project in the area of the PAC with the Regional Council, we collaborate. DEPOMI is in the process of integrating migration into the PACs and we are going to intervene to make this dimension of migration gender sensitive.*¹⁰⁴

Both projects provide capacity building to subnational governments and offer specific support to include migration into subnational development planning. However, the project-based funding limits these projects to 2023 and 2024 respectively, while the policy cycle at the regional and local level will run until 2027. An evaluation of project activities at the end of the policy cycle seems therefore unlikely.

4.2.3

Drawing on cooperation strengths

Interviewees recognized that different actors bring different strengths into coordination activities. Both institutional and civil society actors particularly highlighted the decision-making and policymaking competencies of local and regional governments as important elements for successful coordination.¹⁰⁵ Local NGOs worked mainly in collaboration with the regional government, and it was mentioned several times that the regional government received more funding from the national level than its local counterparts.

Institutional actors (local and regional government, national agencies), in turn, acknowledged the expertise civil society actors had built up on questions of migration over time.¹⁰⁶ To leverage this expertise, the administration of Oujda organized, for instance, civil society consultations, including on the topic of migration, to inform the future local action plan.¹⁰⁷ In fact, some civil society actors considered their role as providing reality checks to state institutions regarding migration situations and feasibility of interventions on the ground.

This local knowledge is often based on direct interaction with migrant communities, which NGOs such as MS.2 achieve by hiring migrant employees. These so-called “agents de terrain” ensure the outreach to different communities, conduct basic qualitative data collection to flag needs and developments on the ground, and accompany other migrants in their

¹⁰³ PRIM 2023. Politique migratoire : 16 projets prévus en 2023 aux niveaux des PAC de Nador, Berkane, Oujda et Driouch. <https://www.prim.ma/politique-migratoire-dans-loriental-16-projets-prevus-en-2023-aux-niveaux-des-plans-daction-communales-de-nador-berkane-oujda-et-driouch/>. European Union 2023. Document d'action de fonds fiduciaire de l'UE à utiliser pour les décisions du comité de gestion. KII10 09.09.2022.

¹⁰⁴ KII10 09.09.2022.

¹⁰⁵ KII22 15.09.2022.

¹⁰⁶ KII14 16.09.2022. KII12 08.09.2022.

¹⁰⁷ KII18 19.09.2022.

interactions with institutions, for instance hospitals, schools, etc.¹⁰⁸ As explained by an NGO representative:

“

So, a field agent, for instance MS.2 they have field agents that they recruit, that they pay. So when there is a problem, for example, I am from the civil society, I am going to make for example an inquiry to see whether the kids are in school. If I go, nobody opens the door. When I bring a field agent from them and I explain to him and he goes to see them, they accept. They say they trust, have more trust in a field agent than in us, even if they know that it is us who pay them, who bring them food, but they still have this reluctance. So that's why we work with the field agents sometimes. And for people who speak English, we bring them someone who speaks English, for French, now the Sudanese speak Arabic, so it's like that. Because that's part of our principles – we won't say 'since they don't listen to me, I don't care, so I'll abandon them'.¹⁰⁹

4.2.4

Building on cooperation achievements

Interviewed actors highlighted that cooperation achievements relate to improved access for migrants to the healthcare sector, better coordination among existing actors, and growing awareness of migration questions among local and regional governments. Civil society and institutional actors mentioned the healthcare sector and migrants' access to basic treatment as an area in which great improvements had been made over the last years, including through sensitization of health care personal to migrants' rights and needs and the creation of support points in hospitals organized through cooperation between NGOs like MS.2 and the respective authorities. These support points assist migrants with their medical appointments and provide (cultural) translation. Local NGOs highlighted that similar approaches and more support would be necessary, in particular in the area of mental health care and social services.¹¹⁰

Representatives of the Regional Council and local NGOs stated that trainings and sensitization activities among local and regional governments as well as national service agencies has led to improved awareness of migration questions among institutional actors and an acknowledgement of the need to include these questions into local planning. Furthermore, coordination approaches, such as the steering committee for international development projects at the Regional Council and the Protection Working Group, have strengthened the complementarity of activities in Oujda and reduced duplication of efforts.¹¹¹ In the words of a representative from the regional government:

“

So the demand exists. But beforehand, it was an offer, so there were donors who came with already pre-established projects to propose actions, programs to us. But now, on the contrary, the region, as you know it now, has a roadmap. So, there is no lack of projects or activities. We have a vision, the

¹⁰⁸ KII15 21.09.2022.

¹⁰⁹ KII11 12.09.2022. Own translation.

¹¹⁰ KII15 21.09.2022.

¹¹¹ KII14 16.09.2022. KII2 07.09.2022.

Council, it has a vision of development, for all sectors including migration. So if ever, for the donors, normally they come to ask us “what do you want?” or do we want, that is to say if ever there is a financial support, it is already, let’s say oriented, because we have a demand.¹¹²

Cooperation between local NGOs and state institutions can at times also lead to pragmatic solutions, as illustrated by an example from the regularization campaigns: Migrants in irregular situations had the opportunity to apply for a residence permit if they could prove that they had been in the country for a minimum of five years. Given the irregularity of their status, this proof was rather hard to obtain. A local NGO, therefore, reached out to the Wilaya, and negotiated that they would be allowed to provide migrants who had received services from this NGO over the last five years with an attestation that would be recognized by the authorities.¹¹³

66

Finally, city representatives put an emphasis on the positive effects of peer learning and knowledge sharing within networks such as the MC2CM. The city participation in this network has, among others, led to the creation of the first Oujda migration city profile.¹¹⁴

4.2.5

Addressing cooperation challenges

Diverging migration definitions: Both institutional and civil society actors speak of “migrants” as main target groups of their activities. However, there appears to be a gap between institutional actors addressing questions of regular migration and civil society actors focusing on support for persons in both regular and irregular situations (the latter being the majority of migrants present in Oujda).¹¹⁵ These discrepancies risk not only leading to misunderstandings when defining needs of specific target groups but also impede coordination of activities in areas that are barred for persons without resident permits (e.g., access to non-emergency health care, formal employment, business creation).

Mismatching schedules: Further discrepancies between civil society and institutional actors can be found in working schedules, both when it comes to day-to-day management as well as medium-term planning. Civil society actors highlighted that their working hours often depend on needs on the ground, implying a certain flexibility in emergencies, which is difficult to reconcile with institutional office hours:

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Civil society is always there with the migrants. What the institutions are lacking is the work outside the working hours. We, the civil society, work both during the day and at night. But the institutions, you know, apart from the office hours, if you call someone, nobody can answer you, except the police, they are obliged to be, because they are the guard system. But we, we are volunteers, when they call us, we come to solve the problems.¹¹⁶

¹¹² KII14 16.09.2022. Own translation.

¹¹³ KII12 08.09.2022.

¹¹⁴ KII18 19.09.2022.

¹¹⁵ KII15 21.09.2022. KII14 16.09.2022.

¹¹⁶ KII11 12.09.2022. KII7 13.09.2022.

Furthermore, institutional actors depend on election cycles, which means that contact points may change after elections and relationships must be renegotiated. In addition, migration is often considered a polarizing topic which political actors may prefer to avoid at the beginning and end of election cycles. In addition to working schedules of institutional and civil society actors, funding cycles of donors and development agencies play important roles, since the majority of activities on migration issues in Oujda runs on project-based funding.

Limited exchange between civil society and institutional actors and absent private sector:

Civil society and institutional actors underlined that there was coordination within each of these actor groups, but not necessarily a lot of dialogue and coordination between the two groups.¹¹⁷ Both NGO representatives and migrants explained that the lack of institutional focal points specifically working on migration issues made it difficult to reach out to institutions, receive relevant information (on time), and coordinate joint agendas. They shared that institutional actors tended to emphasize that migration was not among their core mandates.¹¹⁸ However, civil society actors do need support via institutional cooperation and called for specific contact persons in each institution that would regularly participate in dialogue meetings with civil society actors. This was considered an essential step to move from an ad hoc exchange with changing institutional representatives to a more sustainable form of dialogue and cooperation.¹¹⁹ An actor group mentioned as wholly missing in the engagement on questions of migration and displacement, was the private sector.¹²⁰

Lack of local-international dialogue: A multitude of international organizations and donor agencies, such as CAAD, Enabel, Expertise France, GIZ, and IOM run migration projects in the Oriental Region. Despite the establishment of a coordination committee led by the Regional Council, civil society actors, but also local representatives from some of the donor agencies themselves, voiced the opinion that there was a need for better local-international dialogues in order to avoid duplication on the ground and strengthen outcome-orientation:

“

*It is really necessary to carry out consultations, broad consultations with the concerned actors because sometimes, we are financing the same [type of] projects, which lead to the same results and then it becomes a routine. So, as there are experts in the field who do their job without reflecting after years of experience, sometimes we find that there are many projects on the issue of migration and the same actors are doing the same thing without taking into consideration the issue of coordination.*¹²¹

Lack of local data: The high mobility of migrants, often spending only a couple of days in the city, combined with the irregularity of stays and census data dating from 2014, makes it challenging for civil society and institutional actors to gain a clear picture of the migrant situation in Oujda. The Regional Directorate on Health has started building up a database on migrants seeking access to healthcare and has shared this information with the Protection Working Group. However, registrations are limited to migrants formally seeking institutional support.¹²² NGOs such as MS.2 hire staff with migration background to organize regular

¹¹⁷ KII7 13.09.2022. KII10 09.09.2022.

¹¹⁸ KII22 15.09.2022.

¹¹⁹ KII22 15.09.2022.

¹²⁰ KII2 07.09.2022.

¹²¹ KII anonymised. Own translation.

¹²² KII22 15.09.2022.

outreach activities to gather qualitative and quantitative information on migrants' needs.¹²³ Representatives from regional and local governments highlighted the need for improving the local data situation to develop evidence-based policies.¹²⁴ An important step for the city of Oujda was the development of a city migration profile, offering an overview of actors addressing questions of migration and compiling previous data sets.¹²⁵ However, the profile does not go as far as establishing up to date data on migrants and refugees in Oujda city. In exchanges with institutional actors, civil society representatives voiced the perspective that the lack of local data was a real challenge, but at times also a pretext for institutions to justify passivity while civil society did not have this option in their daily work on the ground.¹²⁶

Lack of funding: Both institutional and civil society actors highlighted that the needs of migrants and refugees in Oujda surpass existing support capacities due to limited funding.¹²⁷

“

*If you do not have a partnership, an agreement with an international NGO or a United Nations agency, you do not find the means to work because civil society does not benefit from, except if there are small projects, then you will spend [the means] in the project. Let's say if you need equipment, if you need staff, if you have, it requires means, it requires means.*¹²⁸

This was particularly pronounced regarding support for victims of human trafficking, as several NGO representatives shared that victims rarely report their cases to the authorities because there are no safe houses in Oujda and no actors that can give reliable assurance of protection to these persons.¹²⁹

Exclusion of migrants from planning activities: Representatives from civil society, public institutions as well as migrants and refugees highlighted that it is rather difficult for migrants and refugees to participate in coordination activities for various reasons. These reasons include a lack of knowledge about relevant activities on the side of migrants and refugees, a lack of outreach from the coordinating actors to migrant and refugee communities during the development stage of activities as well as language barriers given that coordination and planning meetings are often held in Arabic, a language spoken only by a minority of migrants and refugees present in Oujda. In the words of a migrant working with a Moroccan NGO in Oujda:

“

The migrant is the main migration actor. So if you want to develop, whatever, a strategic plan, an evaluation, recommendations, trainings and so on, you must invite migrants from the beginning to the end. So that the migrant is at the heart of the system, the migrant must be involved, associated, from the beginning to the end in any migration program. [...] Since I came to Morocco, this was my first fight and it still is, because I cannot understand that meetings are held in five star hotels and with the absence of migrants. I, I can be in my house or at the traffic lights to look for means to have something to eat. At the same time, the authorities and associations are doing

¹²³ KII15 21.09.2022.

¹²⁴ KII14 16.09.2022.

¹²⁵ KII18 19.09.2022.

¹²⁶ KII22 15.09.2022.

¹²⁷ KII13 12.09.2022.

¹²⁸ KII2 07.09.2022. Own translation.

¹²⁹ KII3 19.09.2022.

activities in hotels, I don't even know what they are talking about. Then they come and tell me: 'Here is this program; we have tailored it to you.' It's not possible.¹³⁰

Another interview partner with migration background highlighted the importance of drawing on the experience of migrants to support the reception of newly arriving persons:

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Because we, especially we Sub-Saharan migrant students, I think we have a very big role to play in the integration of these people who come to Morocco. Because we are black like them, we generally come from the same countries, we often speak the same language. So, it's easier for us to help them. So, it is very, very, very important in fact that the authorities, the NGOs, try to go through us, to give us the information we need, the training we need to help them.¹³¹

Representatives from another migrant association reported that they had only little contact with other civil society associations.¹³² Furthermore, interview partners indicated that there are rather high bureaucratic barriers for migrants to create migrant-led associations in Morocco, given that each association requires a general assembly composed of migrants holding a valid residence permit, which excludes migrants in irregular situations from creating associations that would represent their interests.¹³³ At the same time, migrants holding residence permits shared that they had been discouraged from cooperating in joint activities with migrants in irregular situations.¹³⁴

Representatives of the city's migration unit and the Regional Council voiced their interest in connecting more closely with migrants. Civil society actors coordinating the new Migration Network envisaged to hold future planning sessions with the participation of migrants and refugees and ensure adequate translation into French and English.

¹³⁰ KII anonymized. Own translation.

¹³¹ KII anonymized. Own translation.

¹³² KII anonymized.

¹³³ KII anonymized.

¹³⁴ KII anonymized.

5

Conclusions and recommendations

Two main conclusions influence the subsequent formulation of recommendations for multi-stakeholder partnerships in the city of Oujda. These are related to the localization of the SNIA and the local struggle to move beyond emergency assistance.

Institutional and civil society actors emphasized that the SNIA enabled institutional actors at regional and local levels to start engaging on questions of migration and facilitated pre-existing work of civil society actors.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, some local actors observed that newly adopted laws on regional/local decentralization did not explicitly include legal mandates on questions of migration, which restricts the scope of action of local administrations and may discourage political decision-makers from taking up these controversial topics. In particular, civil society actors therefore called for an independent evaluation of the SNIA with a particular focus on options for regularization and a stronger local-level operationalization in order to equip regional and local governments with the necessary mandates and resources for local migration governance.¹³⁶ In the words of a civil society representative:

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*For Morocco, after the launch of this policy in 2014, I think it is time to make an assessment of all this, what have we achieved, where are the gaps, what can we do, how to integrate all sectors in the integration, the respect for the rights of these people, the governance, many things, many things. It's not just about security, it's not just about border control, there are other things to do.*¹³⁷

NGOs perceived options for regularization as rather limited and indicated that permits issued during the previous regularization campaigns had oftentimes expired without renewal. They underlined the negative effects of irregular situations regarding access to basic services, job training, and (formal) employment opportunities.

This call for broadening migrants' access to formal social and economic sectors is grounded in Oujda's dilemma to navigate between the aim to connect migration and development on the one side and the high mobility of migrant communities on the other side. Both the

¹³⁵ KII14 16.09.2022.

¹³⁶ KII15 21.09.2022. KII11 12.09.2022. KII9 21.09.2022.

¹³⁷ KII anonymized. Own translation.

Regional Council and the city of Oujda base their local engagement on narratives of migration and development. However, migrants with an irregular status (who form the majority of migrant communities in Oujda) rarely see medium or long-term perspectives in Oujda, given the restrictions to access the labor market, the elevated unemployment rates, the difficulty to access the formal housing market, and the limitations in available social services. Therefore, migrant communities tend to be highly mobile, some moving to other Moroccan cities in search of employment, others traveling further North with the aim to reach European territories. We can thus observe a self-perpetuating cycle whereby migrants leave Oujda (and the broader Oriental Region) because they can only access emergency support, and actors who offer assistance struggle to move beyond emergency support due to migrants' high mobility. An interview partner from a national agency focusing on vocational training stated, for instance, that their efforts to offer training courses for migrants in cooperation with a local NGO remained unsuccessful because course participants signed up, but had often already left the city when the course started.¹³⁸ Offering migrants better perspectives via opportunities of regularization was therefore a central concern for civil society interview partners, underlining that this would be the only way to move from pure emergency support towards inclusion.¹³⁹

The following recommendations are based on research interviews and the main outcomes of the local Equal Partnerships workshop held in Oujda in October 2022.

5.1 *Create a joint vision of urban migration governance*

Move from deficits towards potentials: Institutional and civil society actors emphasized the interest to overcome short-term approaches and to strengthen social cohesion to the benefit of migrants, refugees, and local inhabitants. In order to do so, institutional and civil society actors need to bridge the divide between efforts focused on either regular or irregular migrants. While questions related to residence permits etc. will remain the responsibility of the national government, regional and local actors could enter into dialogue with national and international actors in order to explore how to expand their current focus on migration and development beyond Moroccan returnees and migrants with a regular status. Finding ways for migrants in informal situations to contribute to social and economic development in the city of Oujda would represent a pragmatic approach to tackle local realities in a proactive way. First attempts can be identified in plans of civil society actors to develop income-generating activities for migrants irrespective of their status and in the national government's support for universal access to education and basic health care.

Build trust between institutions and civil society actors: In order to move forward with a joint vision on urban migration governance trust-based relationships between civil society, government actors, and development agencies/international organizations are indispensable. Both institutional and civil society actors emphasized that first steps in the right direction had been taken, but also underlined that there was still a long way to go to create what an interview partner termed a "reflex" for dialogue, day-to-day coordination, and effective working synergies.¹⁴⁰ Building up mutual trust could be based on sharing complementary resources such as physical spaces for activities, first-hand knowledge of migrants' needs and poten-

¹³⁸ KII17 21.09.2022.

¹³⁹ KII9 21.09.2022.

¹⁴⁰ KII10 09.09.2022.

tials, training capacities, good practices gathered through city networks, information on calls for proposals, and funding opportunities.

Establish institutional migration focal points: In order to facilitate such dialogue and cooperation efforts, institutional actors should establish migration focal points. Even if an institution's main focus is not on migration but a related topic such as economic development, housing, or education, it would be helpful to designate a person tasked with gathering relevant information of institutional activities and ensuring that migration issues are considered in all the institution's strategies. Creating such focal points would also make it easier for civil society actors and international organizations to obtain relevant information and include institutions in dialogues, training, and planning activities.

Include migrant perspectives: Unfortunately, migration policies and support are often developed without consulting those who should be at the center of all planning and implementation efforts – migrants and refugees themselves. This is not a challenge specific to the city of Oujda. In Morocco (and all around the world), local and regional governments as well as national service agencies could greatly benefit from including migrants and refugees into the development of their activities (prior to implementation). The same is true for international organizations and foreign development agencies. Civil society actors such as Pionniers du Changement, MS.2, Al Wafae, and the Church of Saint Eglise demonstrate how hiring (former) migrants as local staff, organizing community outreach, and holding multilingual coordination meetings strengthens the impact of their work with migrants and refugees.

Bring bottom-up perspectives into international projects: Next to migrant associations, institutions, and civil society actors, international development agencies such as GIZ, Enabel, or Expertise France play important roles for migration governance in the city of Oujda. While Regional Council representatives highlighted great improvements in the coordination with (and between) these international actors, a review of all interviews shows that there is still room for growth. In particular, migrant associations and civil society actors ask that donors and development agencies include local voices in the development (prior to publication) of calls for project proposals in order to strengthen needs-based efforts and avoid creating “more of the same.” Donor agencies could do so by setting aside part of their budget for consultations with local coordination hubs such as the Regional Council, the city's migration unit, and the Protection Working Group. Ideally, several donor agencies would organize such consultations together in order to avoid overstressing local capacities and building a base for complementary engagement.

5.2 *Strengthen coordination capacities*

Reinforce organizational learning: Know-how on migration activities and contacts between institutions are often linked to individuals. When a person leaves an institution or association, this knowledge is frequently lost. Information needs to be reassembled and relationships rebuilt. To strengthen organizational learning, knowledge and contacts need to be preserved in the long term. Individuals should therefore set aside time to document cooperation structures and pass operational knowledge and contact details of cooperation partners on to new colleagues. This could, for instance, be realized by developing a simple cooperation spreadsheet in each association or institution for internal use.

Establish dialogues between coordination hubs: There are several coordination hubs on migration issues in the city of Oujda, including the steering committee for international migration projects of the Regional Council, the city migration unit, and the Protection Working Group. Even though there is a certain overlap of actors who form part of several of these structures, all three hubs could benefit from stronger dialogue and coordination between each other. The local effort championed by Pionniers du Changement and MS.2 to establish a migration network bringing together institution and civil society actors is an important step in the right direction.

Professionalize local expertise: Civil society actors and institutional representatives mentioned the need for better-trained personnel with specific expertise in issues related to migration governance. While the master's degree programs on migration and related issues at the local university were greatly appreciated, actors working to support migrants on the ground highlighted that training of potential employees would need to go beyond knowledge of (human) rights of migrants and would need to include a more practical focus on project management, coordination, and advocacy. As a representative from the regional government highlighted:

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*It is necessary to set up training programs, specific trainings related to migration, especially for the management of the migration question, so that we can have specialized professionals.*¹⁴¹

OMDH already cooperates with Oujda University to provide information sessions for students and there are plans for a joint training program on migration for sociology students.¹⁴² The university should expand this kind of cooperation and make use of the fact that local, national, and international actors working on migration are present in the city to include guest lectures, internships, and joint training programs with (and for) NGOs and institutional actors into the curriculum. Both students as well as the city migration unit and local NGOs could benefit highly if students would spend a semester gaining practical knowledge in the field as part of their master's degree studies.

Reshape evaluation approaches: Civil society actors shared that at times they had the impression that evaluation activities came almost as an afterthought in the funding strategies of donors and development agencies:

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*Often, in the majority of projects, people are, often stop their work at the level of immediate results. It's very rare to get to the level of medium-term results, we don't even need to talk about long-term results. And it's the long-term result that can create an impact on migrants, it's the change in behavior, it's at that level. But it's very rare to see a project here that gets to that level of impact evaluation. It is very rare.*¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ KII14 16.09.2022. Own translation.

¹⁴² KII2 07.09.2022.

¹⁴³ KII8 14.09.2022. Own translation.

Civil society actors thus perceived evaluations to be focused on short-term objectives rather than medium- to long-term impact. For instance, projects on business creation for migrants were expected and asked to report on the number of participants in training and information sessions rather than on businesses established or maintained after six, 12, or 24 months.¹⁴⁴ Institutional and civil society actors voiced the opinion that this lack of medium- to long-term evaluation carried the risk that similar projects were created again and again. Donors should therefore set aside budget for medium- to long-term evaluation and support implementing actors in acquiring adequate knowledge and resources to conduct such evaluations. Results should be shared between projects of different actors in order to maximize learning effects.

5.3 *Improve access to financial resources*

Open access to national/international funding: Local and regional government actors expressed the need to improve local access to national and international funding opportunities:

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*The local authorities have their role to play in addressing and studying all the issues related to migration, especially migration related to development. So, here, there is a conviction that is, if you want to say, absolute, general, but what is needed is to look for the resources, we must provide the communities with the resources. So, if we manage to decentralize the funds, because the funds that are allocated to migration, whether by the European Union, by foreign donors and so on, they have an aspect, they are centralized, they [donors] interact with the States, State to State. So, there are no funds, no possibility for communities to benefit directly from these funds, if you will. [...] So there is a lot of discussion around this issue of migration, there are a lot of funds that are mobilized, but they are not mobilized, if you want to say, access to these funds is complicated.*¹⁴⁵

The fact that only 0.16% of Oujda city's last five-year budget could be allocated to the migration topic in a context where there was political will to address this topic is striking. Civil society and governmental actors in Oujda thus voiced similar perspectives to cities from around the world calling for opening access to (inter)national funding opportunities to those levels of government that address migration challenges and opportunities on the ground.¹⁴⁶

Move from project-based funding to more structural engagement: Furthermore, institutional and civil society actors underlined that the prevalence of project-based funding restricts their capacity to build coherent and long-term engagement: With each new project cycle activities need to be re-negotiated to align local needs and donor interests in supporting specific target groups or themes. Project-based funding also makes it difficult to retain knowledge and lessons learned in the medium term. For instance, an institutional representative shared that their institution had developed a website with information on employment

¹⁴⁴ KII9 21.09.2022.

¹⁴⁵ KII14. Own translation.

¹⁴⁶ MMC 2022. Municipal finance for migrants and refugees: the state of play. <https://mmc-mayorsmigrationcouncil.box.com/shared/static/gluah8zu4mg7zubqf19viy72xdkd1i7.pdf>.

and vocational training, but once the project ended there was no more funding to keep the website online. International organizations and donors should therefore explore opportunities to move from short-term project-base funding to a mix of project and institutional funding focusing on medium-term timeframes to strengthen capacities of local governments and civil society actors.

5.4 *Create an urban migration one-stop shop*

A final recommendation voiced by many civil society actors and migrant representatives, is the idea to create a one-stop shop for both migrants and actors working on migration in the city of Oujda. Such a one-stop shop could provide initial orientation and targeted referral to migrants arriving in the city, could represent a physical base for the migration network that civil society actors strive to establish in cooperation with the institutions, and could act as a contact point for international organizations, donors, and development agencies. From the perspective of several interviewed civil society actors, such a one-stop shop should be established within the structures of the municipality and run in cooperation between the local and regional government as well as civil society actors and migrant associations.

Annexes

1. Actor mapping Oujda

Table 5. Actor mapping Oujda (Source: Equal Partnerships 2022)

Name	Level of governance	Topic	Target groups	Partners
Public Actors				
Académie Régionale de l'Éducation et de Formation (AREF)	National actor at regional level	Education and training	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Agence de Développement Social (ADS)	National actor at regional level	Social affairs	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Agence Nationale de Promotion de l'Emploi et des Compétences (ANAPEC)	National actor at regional level	Employment and vocational training	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Commission Régionale des Droits de l'Homme de l'Oriental	Regional level	Human rights	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National government, regional council, Wilaya, local government, (I)NGOs

Commune d'Oujda, Service de Coopération et des Relations Internationales	Local level	Addressing local migration questions Promoting city-to-city cooperation on migration issues	Local population, including regular migrants, diaspora, Moroccan return migration	National government and national agencies (health, education, employment, social affairs), regional council, Wilaya, (I)NGOs, international organisations (e.g., IOM) and development agencies (e.g., Expertise France, GIZ, Enabel), University of Oujda
Conseil Régional de l'Oriental	Regional level	Migration and development Coordinating regional migration governance	Regional population, including regular migrants, diaspora, Moroccan return migration	National government, Wilaya, local governments, international organisations (e.g. IOM), development agencies (e.g., GIZ, Enabel, Expertise France, ACCD), (I) NGOs, migrant associations
Direction Régionale de la Culture	National actor at regional level	Culture	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Direction Régionale de la Jeunesse et des Sports	National actor at regional level	Youth Sport	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Direction Régionale de la Santé	National actor at regional level	Healthcare	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs

Entraide Nationale	National actor at regional level	Vocational training	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, de la Coopération Africaine et des Marocains Résidants à l'Étranger	National level	National migration governance	Migrants, Moroccan diaspora, return migration	Other states, other ministries, subnational government actors, (I)NGOs, international organisations (e.g., UN-Habitat, IOM, UNHCR) and development agencies, migrant associations
Office de la Formation Professionnelle et de la Promotion du Travail (OFPTT)	National actor at regional level	Employment and vocational training	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National ministry, other national agencies, Wilaya, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs
Wilaya (representative of the Ministry of Interior)	Regional level	Broad range of topics including migration	Population within its area of competence including migrants	National government and agencies, regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs, international organisations and development agencies

Civil society actors				
Ain Ghazal	Local level	Support to migrant women, victims of violence, pregnant women Temporary emergency housing	Female migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	National agencies (e.g. Entraide National), regional council, local government, international organisations (e.g., UN DESA, UNDP, IOM (human trafficking), Enabel), INGOs (e.g., Oxfam, CEFA), NGOs (e.g., GTP, OMDH, MS.2)
Almostakbal	Local level	Cultural rights First orientation	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	(I)NGOs
Al Wafae	Local level	Humanitarian assistance Education and vocational training Cultural integration Sensitization of migrants, NGOs, authorities	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	Wilaya, IOM (voluntary return), NGOs (e.g. GTP, MS.2, Pionniers du Changement), migrant communities
Association de Lutte contre le SIDA (ALCS)	National level	Healthcare	Local communities	National agencies, (I)NGOs
Association Marocaine de Planification Familial (AMPF)	National level	Sexual and reproductive health	Local communities	National agencies, (I)NGOs

Asticude	Regional level (main office in Nador)	Humanitarian assistance Legal aid Sensitization of migrants, NGOs, authorities	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	National agencies (healthcare sector, police), international organisations (e.g. IOM (sensitization campaigns), Enabel (DEPMOI)), regional council, (I)NGOs (e.g. CEFA), migrant communities
Cercle des Étudiants Africains du sud Sahara à Oujda (CETASSO)	Local level	Education Cultural integration	Students from sub-Saharan Africa	National agencies (e.g. Agence de développement de l'Oriental), regional council, Wilaya, University of Oujda, Coaching Territorial, private sector
Coaches territoriaux de la Région de l'Oriental/ Coaching territorial	Regional level with main office in Oujda	Capacity and network building for local and regional governments including in the area of migration Capacity building for migrants and intercultural activities	Migrants Local and regional governments	National agencies (Agence de développement de l'Oriental), regional council, local governments, (I)NGOs (e.g., ECHOS Communication, CEFA), University of Oujda, UCLG Africa
Comité Entraide Internationale (CEI)	National level	Humanitarian assistance Vocational training Assistance for voluntary return	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	
Comité Européen pour la Formation et l'Agriculture (CEFA)	Italian NGO with office at the local level		Migrants, diaspora	National agencies addressing health and education, regional council, Wilaya, Enabel (DEPOMI), NGOs (e.g. MS.2, FOO, Pionniers du changement), Eglise Saint Louis

Eglise Saint Louis	Local level	Humanitarian assistance Emergency accommodation	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	National agencies (e.g. Entraide National, OFPPT), Wilaya, international organisations (UNHCR, IOM), NGOs (e.g. GTP, OMDH, MS.2), hospitals, faith-based organisations (e.g. Brot für die Welt, Don Bosco)
Fondation Orient-Occident (FOO)	National level	Socio-economic integration of refugees (partnership with UNHCR) Education (partnership with UNICEF)	Refugees	International organisations (UNHCR, UNICEF), NGOs (e.g. OMDH, AMAP (Association Marocaine a la promotion des petites entreprises), AMPF), schools
Maroc Solidarité Médico-Sociale (MS.2)	Local level	Healthcare, social support	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	Ministry of Health and its agencies, hospitals, international organisations (e.g. IOM), INGOs (e.g. CEFA), local NGOs (e.g. GTP, Pionniers du Changement), migrant communities
Nibras	Local level	Education	Refugees	Schools, (I)NGOs (e.g. GTP)

Organisation Marocaine des Droits Humains (OMDH)	National level	Coordinator of the Protection Working Group (GTP) Partner agency of UNHCR Support to asylum seekers, referral to UNHCR Support to victims of human rights violations Sensitization of migrants, NGOs, authorities	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	National agencies (health care, judicial system, education), regional and local government, international organisations (e.g. UNHCR), (I) NGOs (lead of GTP), University of Oujda
Pionniers du Changement pour le Développement et la Culture (PCDC)	Local level	Sensitization of migrants, NGOs, authorities Education Living together Intercultural dialogue	Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees	National agencies, regional and local government, international organisations, (I)NGOs (e.g. GTP, MS.2)

Academic actors

Université Mohamed premier d'Oujda (Social Science Faculty and Law Faculty)	Local level	Education, Master programs, summer schools	Students from Morocco and abroad	Regional council, local government, (I)NGOs (e.g. CEFA, OMDH), other universities in Morocco and abroad
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International organisations and development agencies

Catalan Agency for Development Cooperation (ACCD)	No local office in Oujda	Protection des Migrants à l'Oriental (PROMO) – e.g., new migration network envisaged by civil society actors in Oujda receives support	Migrants Local and regional authorities	National government, regional council, local governments, university of Oujda, NGOs
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Enabel	Local office in Oujda	Déploiement des politiques migratoires au niveau régional (Deployment of migration policies at the regional level) DEPOMI	Migrants, Moroccan diaspora and returnees National agencies, regional council, local governments	National government, regional councils, local governments, (I) NGOs
Expertise France	Local office in Oujda	Programme Régional des Initiatives de la Migration (Regional Migration Initiatives Program) PRIM	Migrants, Moroccan diaspora and returnees National agencies, regional council, local governments	National government and national agencies (e.g. ANAPEC, OFPPT, health delegation), regional council, Wilaya, local governments, (I) NGOs
GIZ	No local office in Oujda	Renforcement des collectivités territoriales marocaines dans l'amélioration des structures d'accueil des migrants (Strengthening Moroccan local authorities in the improvement of reception structures for migrants)	Regional council, local governments	National government, regional councils, local governments, (I) NGOs

<p>International Organisation for Migration (IOM)</p>	<p>National level, no local office in Oujda but participation in GTP</p>	<p>Initiative pour un développement inclusif à l'attention des migrant-e-s de l'oriental (Initiative for an inclusive development regarding migration in the Oriental Region)</p> <p>Accompagnement des conseils régionaux dans l'intégration de la migration au sein de leur planification locale (Supporting regional councils in integrating migration into their local planning activities)</p> <p>Making Migration Work for Sustainable Development (M4SD)</p> <p>Assisted voluntary return</p> <p>City-to-city cooperation</p>	<p>Migrants</p> <p>Local and regional authorities</p>	<p>National government, regional government, local governments, other international organisations and development agencies, (I) NGOs, IOM is a strategic partner of the GTP</p>
<p>United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF)</p>	<p>National level, no local office in Oujda but programs via FOO</p>	<p>Children and youth</p>	<p>Migrants, asylum seekers and refugees</p>	<p>National government, other international organisations and development agencies, (I)NGOs</p>
<p>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)</p>	<p>National level, no local office in Oujda but participation in GTP</p>	<p>Registration and support for asylum seekers and refugees</p>	<p>Asylum seekers and refugees</p>	<p>National government, regional council, local governments, other international organisations and development agencies, (I)NGOs (e.g., OMDH, FOO), UNHCR is a strategic partner of the GTP</p>

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Equal Partnerships

African Intermediary Cities as Actors and Partners in Urban Migration Governance

Partnerships in
Oujda, Morocco
2023