

Migration and Cosmopolitanism in the Global Countryside

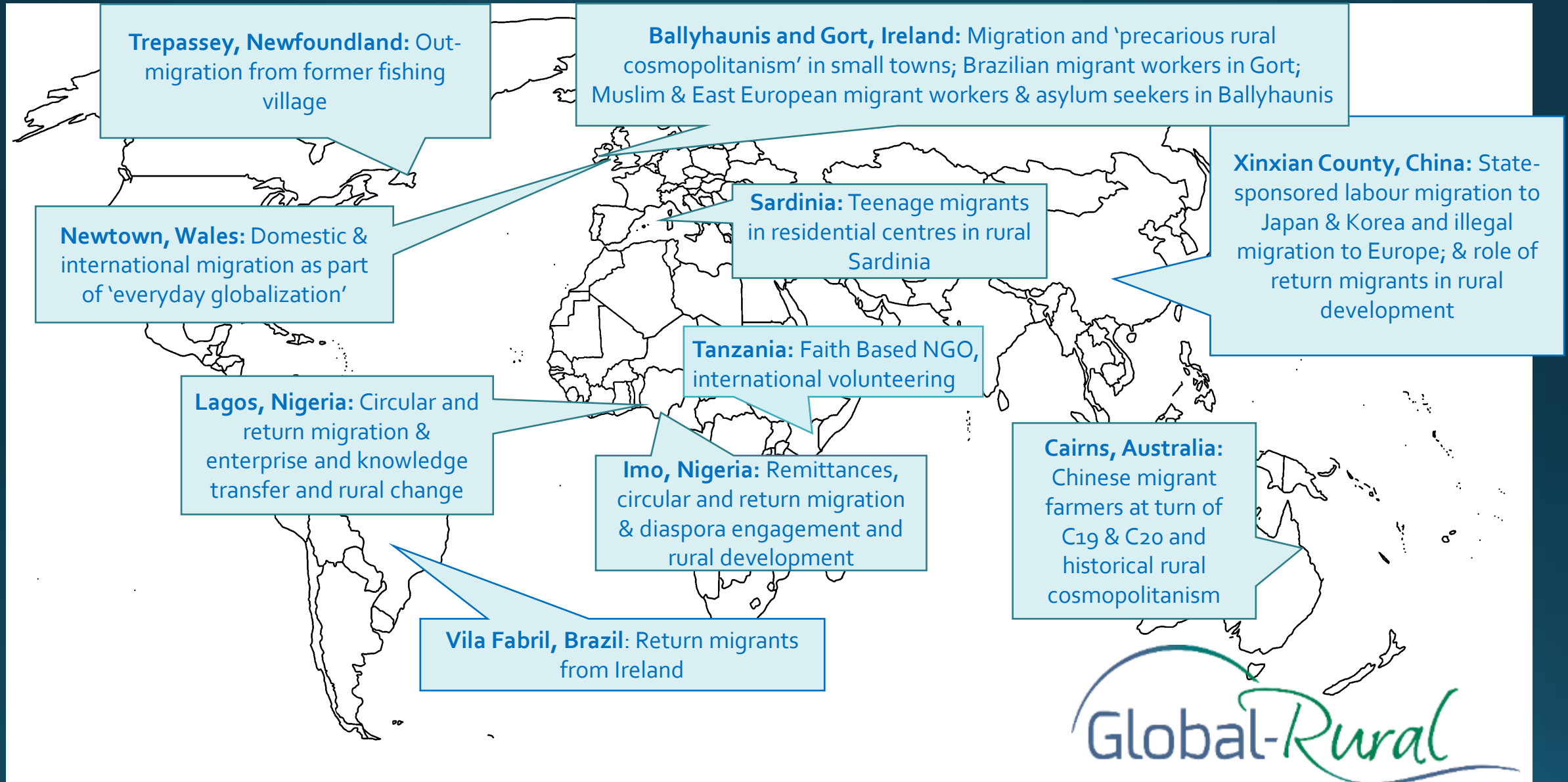
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Migration research in GLOBAL-RURAL



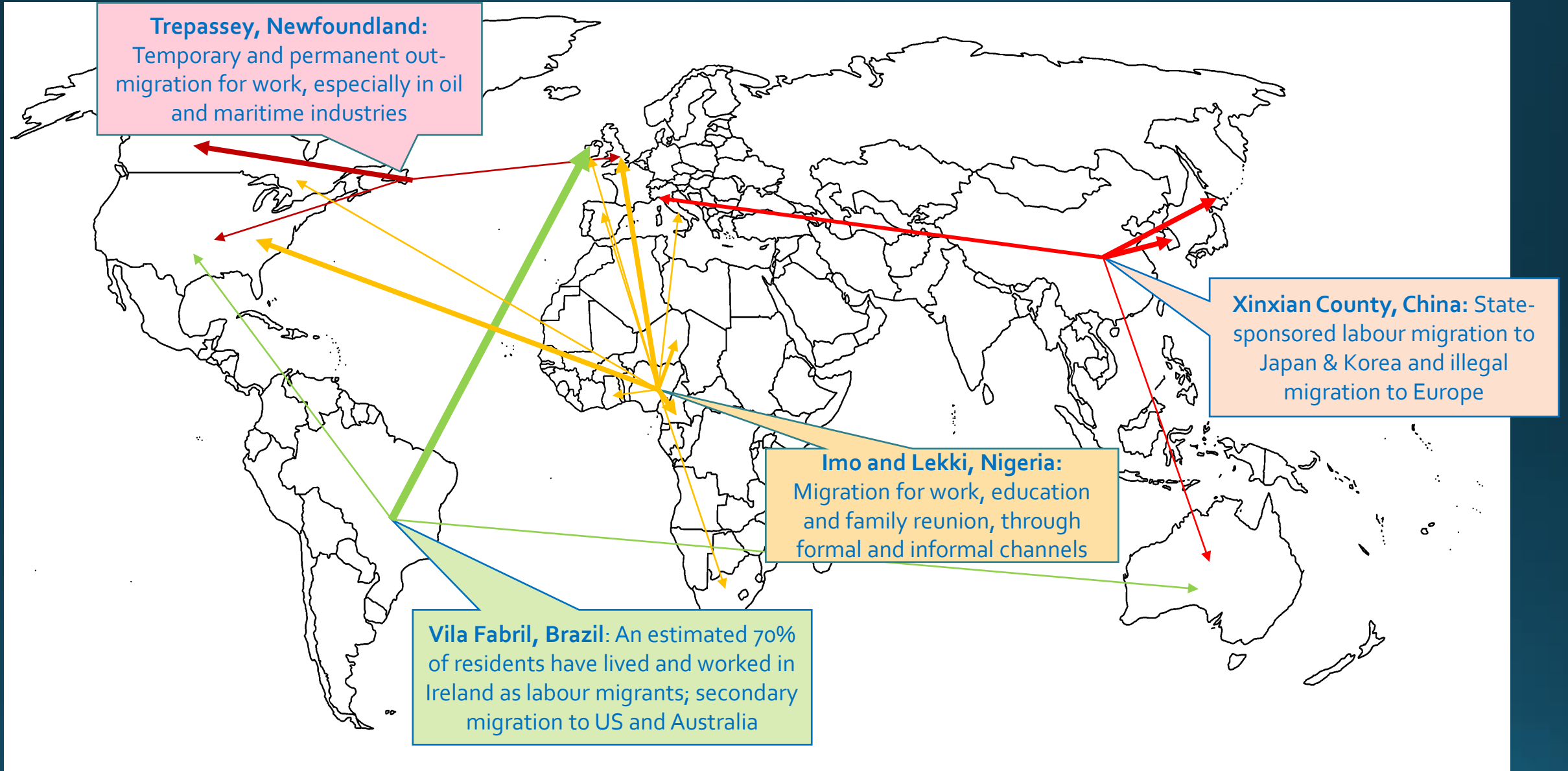
Migration and the Global Countryside

- International migration from, to and through rural areas
 - Voluntary and forced migration from rural areas especially in global south and peripheral regions of global north
 - Migration through rural areas as transit and involuntary stops (e.g. refugees at borders; asylum processing centres)
 - Migration into rural areas to provide labour; to enjoy rural lifestyles and amenities; or as part of refugee dispersal programmes
- Position of rural communities as sources of out-migration well established
- Substantial migration into rural areas more recent (as a modern post-colonial phenomenon) – New Immigration Destinations (McAreavey & Argent 2018)
- Relatively little work on (interrupted) migration through rural areas

RURAL COMMUNITIES AS SOURCES OF MIGRATION

Motivations and Pathways

GLOBAL-RURAL Case Studies as Sources of Migration



Motivations for Migration



Labour and Educational Migration

To find work and improve prospects

Brazilian migrants in Ireland

Nigerian migrants in US & UK

Xinxian migrants in Japan and Korea

Forced Migration

To escape violence, war, oppression, environmental catastrophe

Refugees and asylum seekers in Ballyhaunis and Sardinia



Lifestyle or Amenity Migration

To enjoy a rural lifestyle or rural amenities

New farmers in Taiwan

Linked Migration

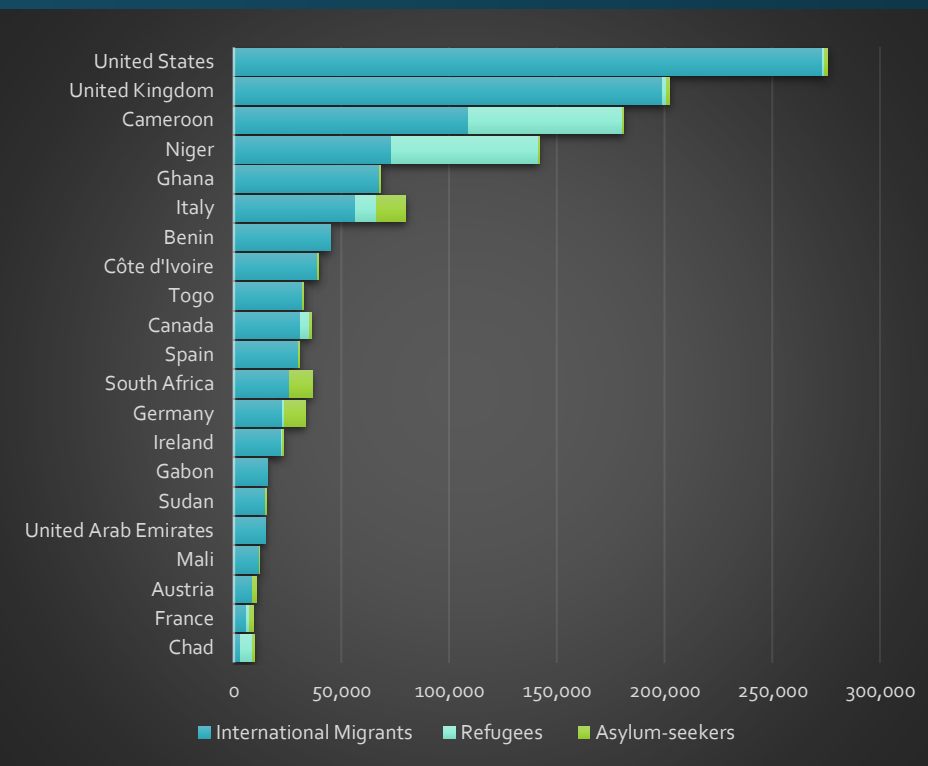
To join family members

Brazilian migrants in Ireland

Nigerian migrants in US & UK

Nigerian Migrants

2015



- Key Destinations are US and Europe
- In 2015, migration 82% labour, 18% refugee/asylum seekers
- Migrants use Legal/Illegal Pathways
- Motivated by study, work, joining family members, business
- Migrate with skills sets, degrees etc
- No return, return (est. 3%), circular migrants, top brain drain source
- Remit Human and Financial Capital
- 5th Top Remittance Dest ~ \$20M/year
- Globally Engaged Entrepreneurs
- Specialised Skills

Pathways for Migration

- To leave migrants need to attach themselves to a connective assemblage that can take them from source to destination
- Legal, routine pathways: Airlines, ferries, visas, employment agencies, family networks
- Many rural migrants depend on brokers – legal or illegal
- Legal brokers include state-sponsored scheme in Xinxian county, and meat-industry manager recruiting Brazilian workers for Irish abattoirs
- Illegal brokers range from informal, undocumented migration to human trafficking
- Form and structure of connective assemblages facilitate and constrain the opportunities available to migrants
- Need to negotiate obstacles of borders, finance, immigration requirements
- Migrants may not get to where they hope to go

Labour Migration from Xinxian, China

- Labour migration as a response to poverty
- “There was a sufficient number of labor force in Xinxian. But there were a lot of mountains and hills. The farms were small. People were relatively poor. Working in other places become an effective way to make full use of the surplus labor force and increase their income.” (Secretary of International Labour Bureau - 10/2017)
- Xinxian Bureau of Labour introduced a scheme to place workers from county as migrant workers in Japan and South Korea in 1997
- State-sponsored and brokered labour migration



Labour Migration from Xinxian

- **Japan**: Technical training through internships, aiming to improve the technical ability of workers. Range of employers, including Mitsubishi
- **South Korea**: Employment in construction, agriculture and manufacturing, including Hyundai. Mainly manual labour.
- **Contracts of 3 years** – contract in South Korea may be renewed once; contract in Japan cannot be renewed
- Wage of 10,000 RMB per month (€1250). Migrants typically return with savings of 300,000 – 360,000 RMB (€37,000 – 40,000)
- Participants pay fee of 30,000 RMB (€3,700) for documents and visa application, subsidized by the local government
- **Up to 1,500 Xinxian residents participate in these schemes each year**

Labour Migration from Xinxian

- Participants typically 18 to 38 years old; 50% female, 50% male
- Intention that migrants workers obtain savings, skills and a work ethic that they bring back to Xinxian county and invest
- “The difference between ILM and university education, if a young person receives an education will not come back, and goes to the city (such as Beijing) but for this ILM people come back and they try to invest this money to buy an apartment or some economic activity” (Secretary of International Labour Bureau - 10/2017)



Labour Migration from Xinxian

- Training Centre was established in 2003
- Participants in Japan and South Korea Placement Schemes complete 6 months training prior to start of placements
- 15 teachers
- Training covers:
 - Basic Japanese and Korean language skills
 - Culture and customs
 - Life skills for Japan and Korea (e.g. transport)
 - Local laws
 - Basic technical training



Labour Migration from Xinxian

- Official schemes constrain the capacities of participants – regulated employment on fixed terms
- Participants can only take part once
- Often followed by onward labour migration to cities in China
- Increasingly Xinxian residents engaging in informal, undocumented migration to work illegally in Europe (especially Italy), Australia or North America
- Higher cost (payment to broker) and higher risk
- But also potentially higher gain – can earn more and no time restriction



RURAL COMMUNITIES EN ROUTE FOR MIGRANTS

Involuntary Stopping Places

Asylum Seekers in Sardinia

- Thousands of migrants from Africa and Asia trying to reach Europe attempt to cross the Mediterranean to Italy each year
- If they reach Italy they are randomly allocated to reception centres whilst their asylum applications are processed
- Many of these centres are in rural areas, such as at Artizo and Girasole in Sardinia
- The migrants that spoke to in these centres were young men, escaping desperate situations, who had made dangerous journeys, but found their progress halted in an unknown rural place



Asylum Seekers in Sardinia



Where did you want to go?

- 4 Italy
- 4 Libya
- 2 Dubai
- 2 Europe
- 1 nowhere
- 2 not specified

Asylum Seekers in Sardinia

- Translator (Ablé): He say that, when he is watching television in Gambia, **he is seeing Europe in the television there**. The mind go too far.
- And when he come here, what he was thinking about Europe, yeah... it not be. He come here... **this is not what I am seeing in television**.
- He say, when he come to Italy here, Sardinia here, he is happy but not those kind of happy- happy- happy, you know? Because, he say, is not a... is not Europe; it is not look like Europe, **look like Africa**. Yeah, he say that he look at Sardinia like that, not... not in Europe. **Sardinia is like Africa village**, you know?



EN ROUTE

a film by Gaetano Crivaro and Margherita Pisano

directed by Gaetano Crivaro and Margherita Pisano

camera Gaetano Crivaro editing Gaetano Crivaro and Margherita Pisano

second and sound editing Margherita Pisano sound mix Margherita Pisano with the collaboration of Jonathan Parker
with Camara Mohamed, Nuhu Barry, Cherif Mohamed, Mamadou Diarra, Famara Jarjou, Sekou Kone
translation Bourama Diagne, Saïdou Banae, Souleiman Diallo, Francesca Fois

produced by Ruga Film, L'Ambulante, Global Rural Project, Aberystwyth University, Francesca Fois
with the contribution of ERC - European Research Council and Regione Autonoma della Sardegna distributed by L'Ambulante

produced by

RUGA
FILM

MAMADOU
DARRÉ

Global Rural
Project

with the contribution of
ABERYSTWYTH
UNIVERSITY

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erc

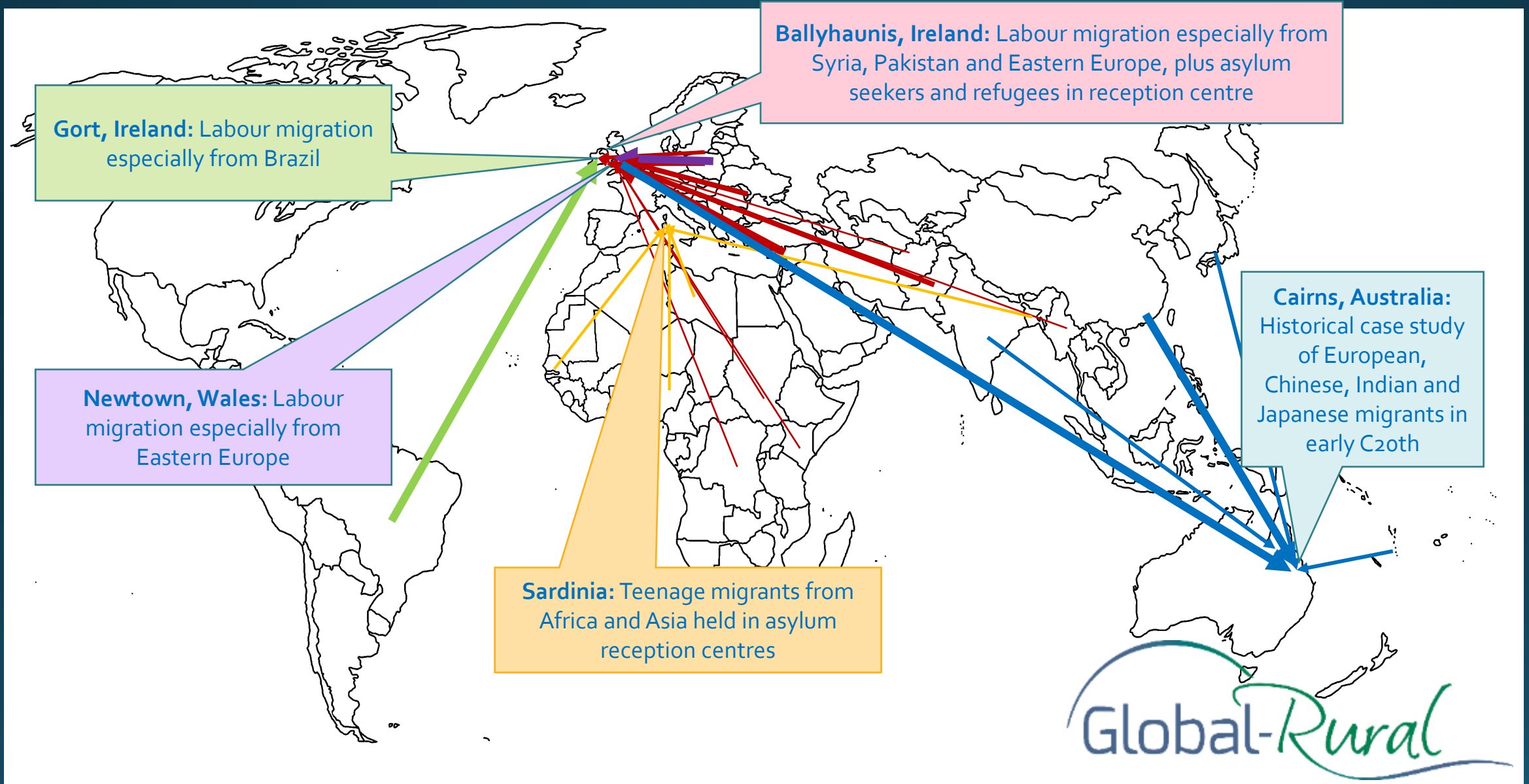


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RURAL COMMUNITIES AS MIGRATION DESTINATIONS

Rural Cosmopolitanism

GLOBAL-RURAL Case Studies as Migration Destinations



Rural Cosmopolitanism

- Challenges concept of cosmopolitanism as an urban condition
- Idea of 'rural cosmopolitanism' coined independently by different writers with different emphasizes
 - Rural out-migrants as cosmopolitan subjects (Gidwani and Sivaramakrishnan 2003)
 - Rural destination communities experiencing 'actually-existing cosmopolitanism' (Krivokapic-Skoko 2018, Schech 2014, Woods 2018)
 - Rural cosmopolitanism as a normative ideal (Popke 2011)
- In GLOBAL-RURAL we have been interested in examining how rurality assists or limits 'actually-existing cosmopolitanism'
- Developing notion of rural cosmopolitanism as precarious condition
- See Woods (2018) Precarious rural cosmopolitanism: negotiating globalization, migration and diversity in Irish small towns, *Journal of Rural Studies*, 64: 164-176.

Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

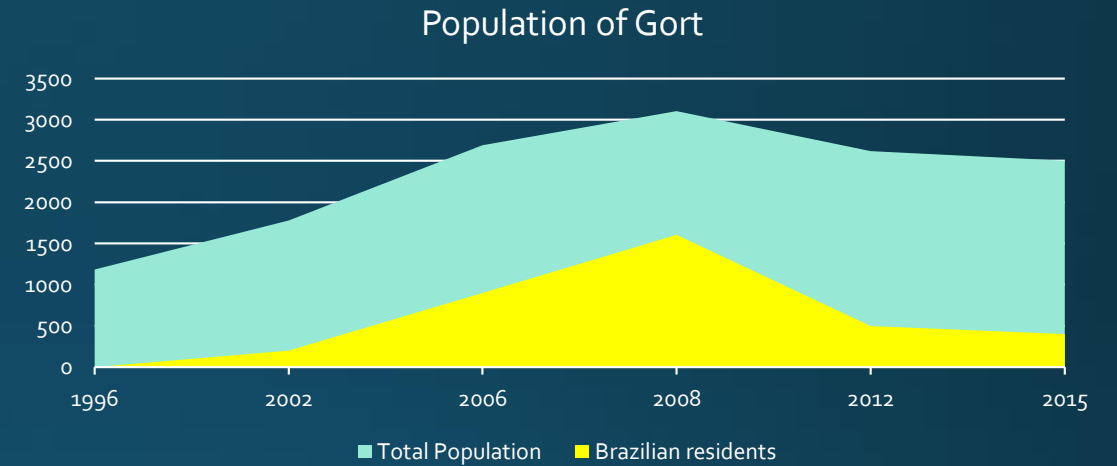


Gort County Galway

'Little Brazil'

Population 2,644 (2011)

Over 40% of population in 2008 was Brazilian



Ballyhaunis

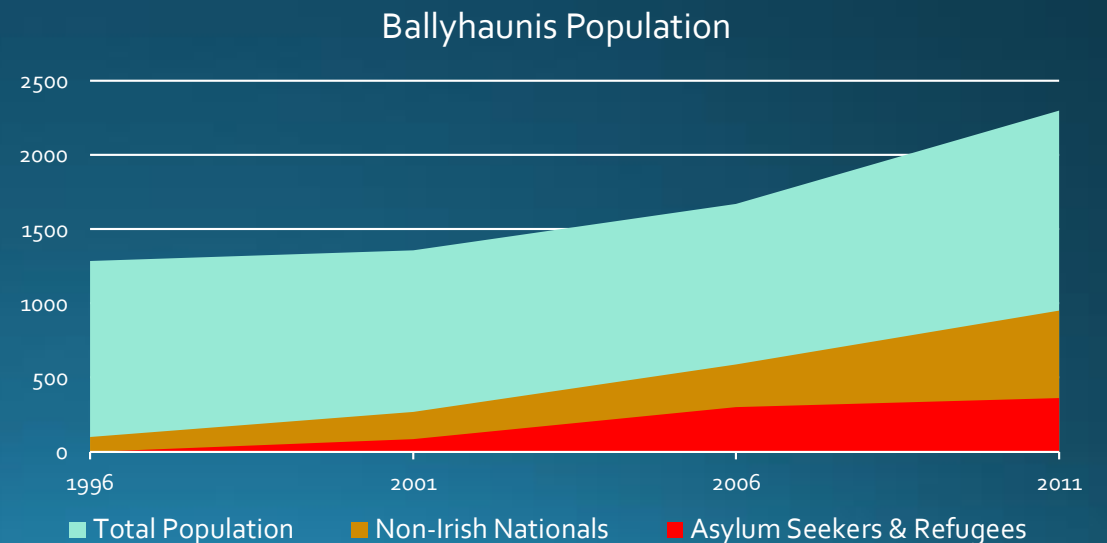
County Mayo

'Ireland's most diverse town'

Population 2,312 (2011)

43 nationalities recorded in 2011 census

48% born outside Ireland



Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Signs of Cosmopolitanism - Hybridity

In Ballyhaunis: Mosque, Islamic burial ground, halal shops, cricket club, Polish shops and products, Polish language school, books in Polish, Urdu etc in local library, 'exotic' plants in community garden



In Gort: Brazilian food shop and hairdressers, money transfer office, internet café, Brazilian Pentecostal churches, Brazilian football teams in local league, bilingual signage, Brazilian flags during soccer world cup

Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Signs of Cosmopolitanism – Shared Spaces

Library: “[The librarian’s] the public, and she’s almost always there. She’s welcoming. She’s mixing” (N, Immigrant, Ballyhaunis)

Schools: “We have 28 different cultures within the school. We have 27 different nationalities, but the traveller culture has also been recognised there ... So it is very much a melting pot of cultures here in Ballyhaunis Community School, surprisingly so given we are a rural backwater.” (School Principal, Ballyhaunis)



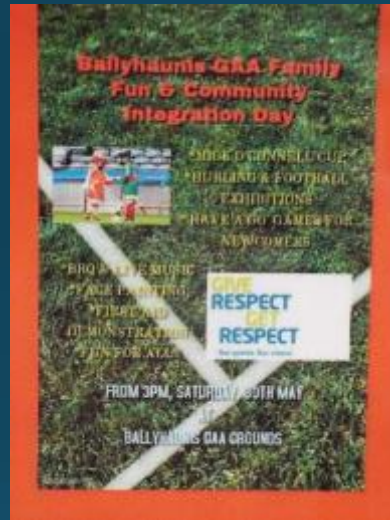
Playground: “We have the playground and this multi-use games area and again that shows when you’ve got the space that people can access there’s great integration, for example, in those places among the teenage culture” (S, Community Worker, Ballyhaunis)

Churches: “They’re good with the immigrants. They’re really including them. There is inclusion in the church ... They had a lot of the Polish community, the Lithuanian community who are taking the communion.” (L, Immigrant, Ballyhaunis)



Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Signs of Cosmopolitanism – Shared Identities

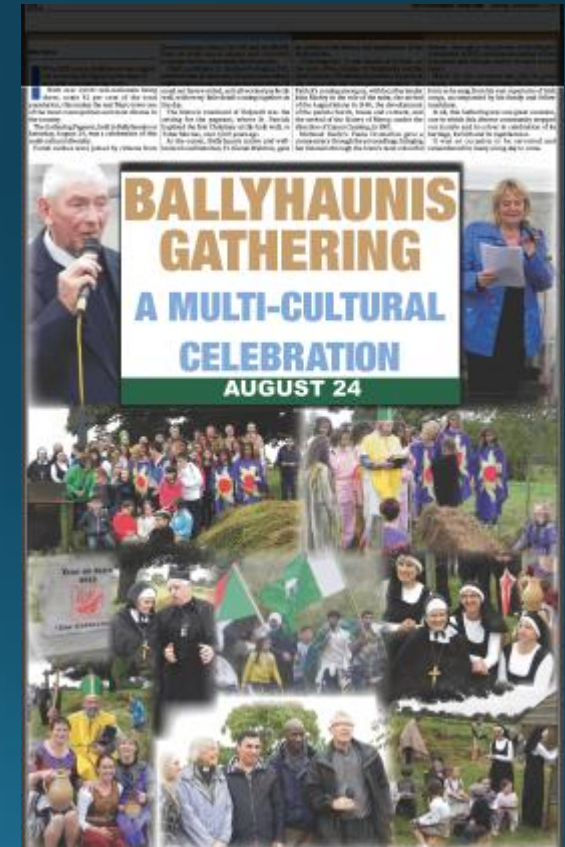


Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Signs of Cosmopolitanism – Shared Sense of Place

Ballyhaunis Gathering 2013:

“We would celebrate both our heritage and diversity here ... We had the sports clubs, the drama club. We invited all of the different religions or different nationalities. We had something like 42 national flags. So we had a procession from the town all the way up [to the holy well]. So we kind of recreated a fifth century village out at the well, and it was through music, dance and everything, and we stopped at the Mosque on the way out and two of the local guys did a reading” (S, Priest, Ballyhaunis)



Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Characteristics of the rural setting that engender cosmopolitanism:

- Small scale of town means relatively little residential segregation
- Shared use of singular facilities (e.g. only one high school, one supermarket, one playground, one soccer team etc)
- In a small community, migrants recognised as individuals, not part of an anonymous mass
- Sense of shared endeavour (working in same industries, relatively compressed occupational hierarchies)
- International migrants contributing to reversing long-term pattern of decline, helping to keep services open

Characteristics of the rural setting that militate against cosmopolitanism:

- Engrained wariness of rural communities towards 'strangers'
- Visibility of (non-white) migrants marking them out as different
- Absence of community support networks and cultural resources
- Lack of transport and other infrastructure limiting ability of migrants to participate

Tension between two produces precarious rural cosmopolitanism

Rural Cosmopolitanism in Ireland

Precarious Rural Cosmopolitanism

- Precarity of individual migrants – *economic precarity, safety, and social constraints*
- Precarity of the collective condition of cosmopolitanism
 - Economic precarity – *impact of the recession*
 - Political precarity – *tightened immigration restrictions*
 - Cultural precarity – *media influences*

A Warning from History?

Rural Cosmopolitanism in Early 20th Century Queensland

- Frontier region of Cairns, N Queensland had mixed ethnic population at turn of 19/20th centuries
- Chinese tenant farmers played a major role in clearing the bush and pioneering agriculture
- Evidence of social and business relations between European & Chinese residents
- Commitment to law and respect for work led Europeans to defend Chinese against racist politics
- Rural frontier location supported proto-cosmopolitanism: proximity and shared endeavor
- But cosmopolitanism eroded by external pressures, anti-Chinese immigration and new migrant farmers from NSW
- By 1920s the Chinese community around Cairns had largely disappeared

See Woods (2018) Rural Cosmopolitanism at the Frontier? Chinese farmers and community relations in northern Queensland, c 1890-1920, *Australian Geographer*, 49: 107-131



TRANSLOCAL COMMUNITIES AND RETURN MIGRATION

Linking back to origin communities

Connection to Origin Communities

- **Remittances: Savings, funds flow from labour migrants to origin communities for targeted development needs**
 - Infrastructure and facilities investments – Lagos, Nigeria
- **Return Migration: Transfer of skills, knowledge and capital investments**
 - Entrepreneur ideas and investments – Xinxian county, China; Lagos, Nigeria
- **Circular Migration: Transfer of specialist skills, knowledge and capital investments**
 - Housing Development, Special Services – Lagos, Nigeria
- **Diaspora platforms: Medical missions, volunteering and culture exchange**
 - Mbano National Assembly, USA – Medical Missions to Mbano, Nigeria; Faith based NGOs, Tanzania

Migrant Investments - China and Nigeria

- New businesses – farming, shops, estates, franchise, transport,
- Tourism industry, e.g. water park, part of local development strategy to promote 'red' and 'green' tourism, hoteliers
- Financial platforms
- Investment in housing and estates
- Investment in community infrastructure, e.g. water schemes, hospitals, youth centres, internet, power generation, telecommunication
- FDI and business partnerships



Mr Feng – Xinxian County, China

- Participant in Japan scheme
- Worked in agriculture in Japan
- Invested savings in setting up a strawberry farm on return
- Using knowledge and technical skills acquired in Japan
- Employs 3 people



Before Japan (1998/2000)	In Japan	After Japan
15,000 RMB	80,000 RMB	300,000 to 400,000 RMB*
factory	Farm employee	Farm manager

*10,000 per mu – he has 30/40 mu
1 mu = 1/15th of a hectare

Lagos, Nigeria – Changing Periurban Landscape



Mr B - Lekki, Lagos

- 42 years male, 1st degree, Nigeria; Masters degrees from Harvard Business school and University of East London
- Cycle of Migration Experiences
- Educational → Labour → Educational → Return migrant
- Purchased first resale house in UK
- Returned home to exploit local opportunities using acquired skills
- Founder and MD - Estate Development Company
- 516 Local Employees
- Globally Engaged Entrepreneur



Transformation and Impacts

Xinxian county, China	Lekki and Environs, Nigeria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contributed to developing economy and raising incomes and living standards in county 	<p>48% of remittances go into housing and business development 7% in rural areas and 93% in urban</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poverty rate decreased from 7.38% to 4.6% 	<p>Human and Financial Capital</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fastest rate of poverty decrease in China 	<p>Employment opportunities, globally engaged businesses</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Scheduled to be removed from list of 'poverty counties' 	<p>Housing Provision</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Changes in attitudes and work ethic 	<p>Higher costs of Rent and Living</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Savings also invested Improvements to housing and community infrastructure (e.g. water supply) 	<p>Erosion of Land use, Land cover, Landscape Change "Gentrification" Process – "Tension" – Opportunity, yet tension</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contributing to local urbanization 	<p>Environmental Impacts</p>



BEYOND MIGRATION

Mobilities and Development in the Global Countryside

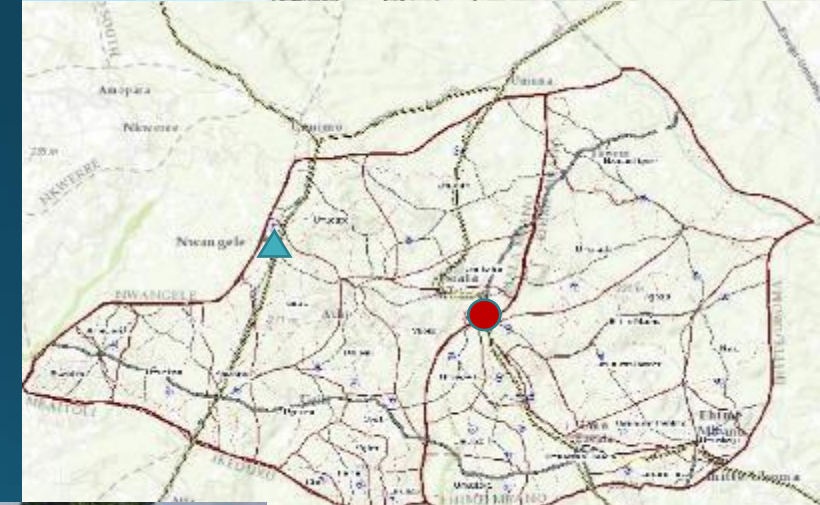
Mobilities beyond Migration

- Migration is not the only form of mobility from, through and to the global countryside
- Other forms of transnational mobilities include tourism, business travel, aid workers and volunteers
- These are also interactions between assemblages that lead to changes in rural places
- They can also promote rural cosmopolitanism

- Mobilities for aid and development can build on diasporic networks in translocal communities, or can be independent short-term mobility linking volunteers from the global north with rural communities in the global south

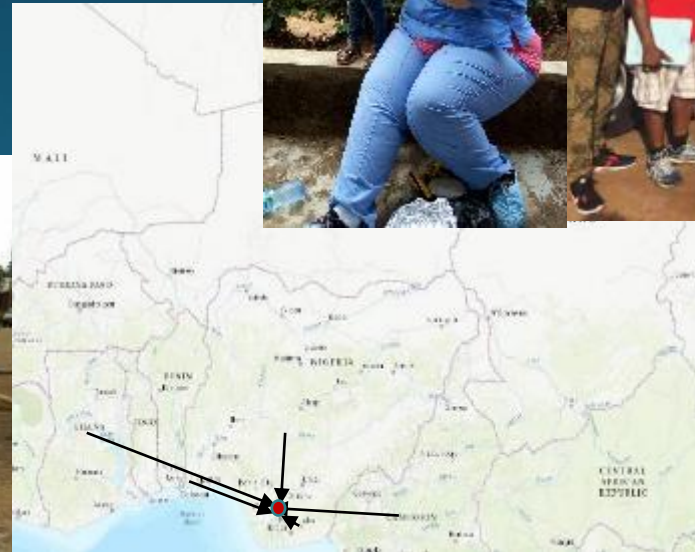
MNA (USA) Medical Mission to Mbano

- Mbano National Assembly (MNA) USA is a diasporic association initiated by migrants of Mbano origin living in US with the goal to support rural development & change in Mbano
- Projects are supported by the platform with remitted funds from Mbano indigenes in US. Mbano is in Eastern Nigeria
- Projects are medical missions, infrastructure development etc
- Diaspora support through remittances, skills, equipment, medicines etc
- Motivated by collective responsibility to home of origin
- Local support and engagement
- Time, place dependent due to access



Mbano – Health Impacts

- Focal point for intense 1 week access affordable/free health care
- Remittances
- New Theatre and Equipment
- Geographic Expanse of patients, access issues
- 2,500 of 15,000 visiting patients receive treatment
- 75 operations of 550
- Two way capacity building
- Medicines support by global NGO



Mbano – Economic Transformations

Focal Place and Time for Intense Economic Activities

Before and After Medical Mission

During the Medical Mission



Conclusions

- Patterns of migration and mobility through the global countryside are extensive and complex
- Source regions for migration commonly in disadvantaged position in global economy & migration may be triggered by specific events or globalization impacts
- The routes, destinations and experiences of migrants are facilitated and constrained by connective assemblages, including airlines, ships, family networks, brokers and traffickers
- Not all migrants end up where they want to go and many involuntarily find themselves in rural places
- Globalization is opening up rural communities as new immigration destinations
- In these, rural settings can help to facilitate inclusive cosmopolitan relations, but it is a precarious rural cosmopolitanism, contingent on often external economic, political and cultural factors
- Transport and communications assemblages enable migrants to remain part of their home communities, sending remittances and living bifocal lives, with circular and return migration
- These contacts can contribute to rural development in home regions, as positive outcomes of globalization

Further Information

Research Documentary

- **En Route: young migrants in rural Sardinia** - with Margherita Pisano and Gaetano Crivaro



StoryMaps - www.global-rural.org



- Screening Time: 3.30pm (today)