Migration, Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in the Global Countryside

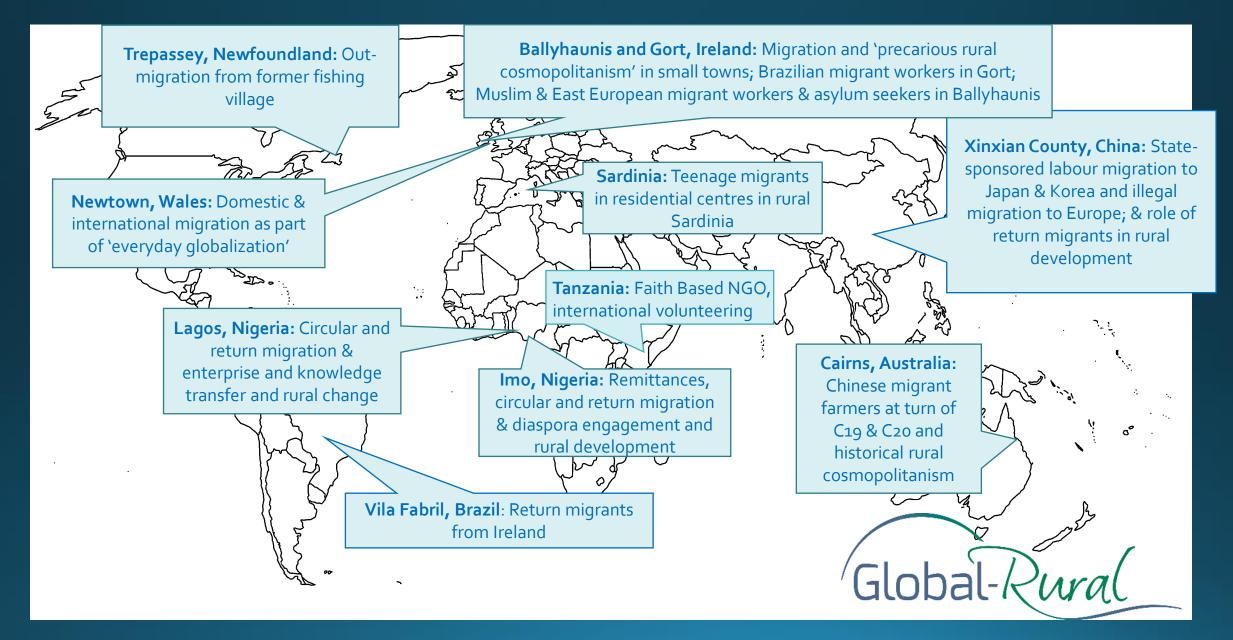
Michael Woods (Aberystwyth University) Anthonia Ijeoma Onyeahialam (Aberystwyth University) Francesca Fois (Aberystwyth University) Beth Saunders (Aberystwyth University)







Migration research in GLOBAL-RURAL



Case studies and Research Methods

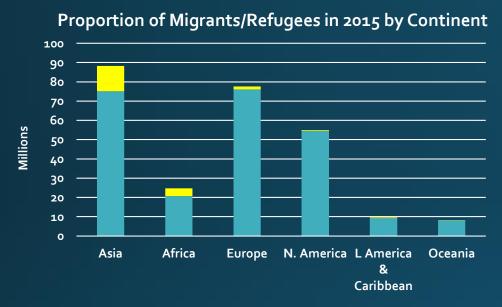


Case Studies

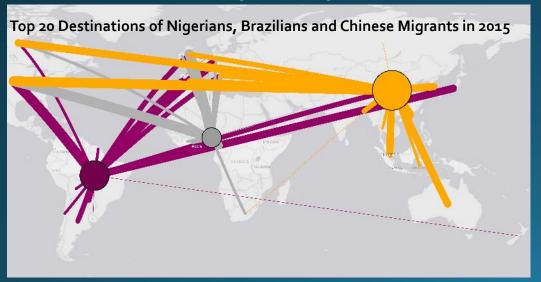
- Ballyhaunis and Gort, Ireland
- Trepassey, Newfoundland
- Cairns, Australia
- Newtown, Wales
- Xinxian County, China
- Mbano, Imo state, Nigeria
- Etiosa & Ibeju Lekki, Lagos, Nigeria
- Xinxian County, China
- Sardinia, Italy

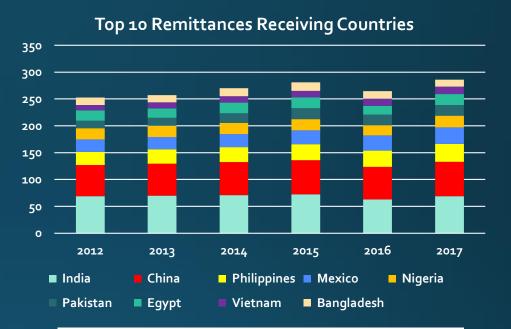


Global Migration and Remittances Patterns

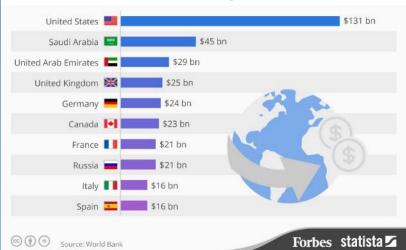


International Migrant Refugees





Top 10 Remittances Sending Countries



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



Migration and the Global Countryside

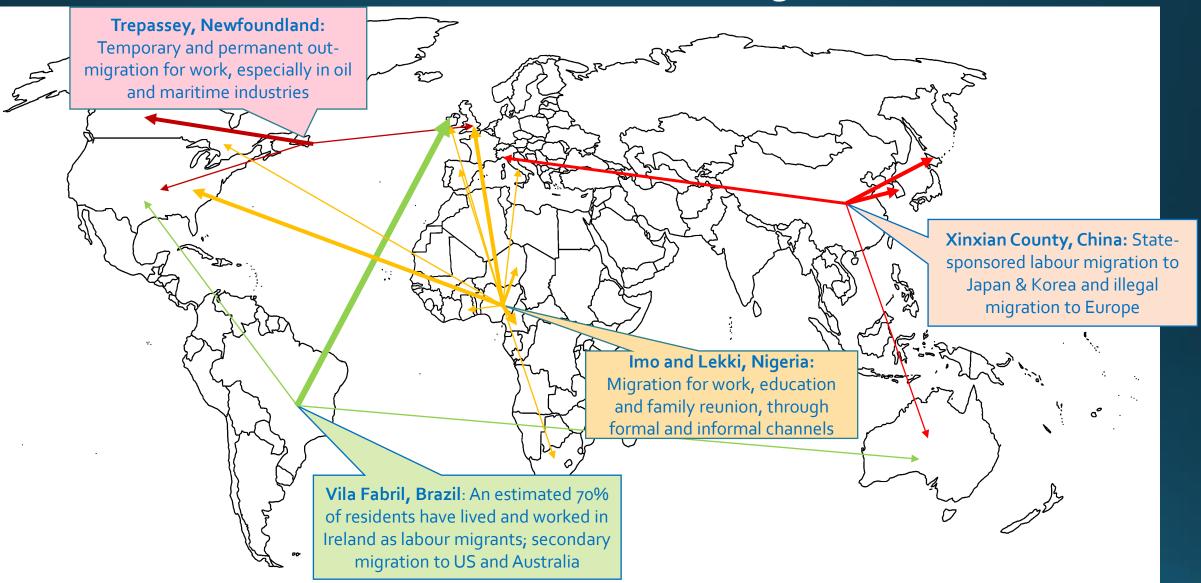
- Migration is not linear or definitive
 - Circular migration: temporary moves, permanent returns; permanent moves, temporary returns.
 - Return migration: Fixed time temporary move, permanent return
 - Indirect & unplanned migration: No fixed route or destination, blocked routes, moving on from place to place
- Blurring of distinction between migration and mobility
- Stretching of translocal communities, with individuals following 'bifocal lives' (Skaptadottir & Wojtynska 2008)
- From an assemblage perspective, migrants detach from one place-assemblage and attach to another, with movement facilitated and constrained by connective assemblages
- Source communities deterritorialize as their populations become deconcentrated and destination communities deterritorialize as their populations become more diverse



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*



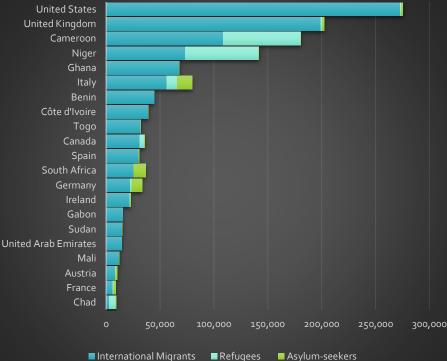


Lifestyle or Amenity Migration To enjoy a rural lifestyle or rural amenities *New farmers in Taiwan* Linked Migration To join family members Brazilian migrants in Ireland Nigerian migrants in US & UK





- 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 meatindustry 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





- 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



- 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)





- 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







- 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

Motivations and pathways for migration

- They found themselves in certain context and situations
 - Urgent needs that the apparatus emerge and respond from (Anderson 2014, 35)
 - Indeterminacy, precariousness and uncertainty of affective life
- Local agents or friends (everywhere and always at the 'right' time)
 - Vulnerable teenagers as the object-target of the apparatus
 - Their affective life as an objective-target

• Tickets, encouragements, hope

- Apparatus/assemblages interrelations of material and immaterial elements & discursive and non-discursive elements.
- Material and immaterial solutions
- Global networks and local ramification
- (re)assembling the apparatus



Asylum Seekers in Sardinia Daniel's Story

I never decided to travel. No. I never thought of that. What was in my mind and what was my father teaching me to do was, to continue my education... it is a long story to hear... it is a very long story. Something big came up and I was not... I didn't really travel off my country, I was taken out of my country. You understand? So.. It was like... it was like, kidnaps, or more like... I was taken from my country. You understand? So I was... I never had my mind set to travel to Europe. No.

No. I didn't leave. I didn't leave myself, I was taken away. I just found myself in Libya. So life in Libya it was not something I can take it. So...I have met someone who gave me the idea of coming to Europe so I can live a super life, or I can make my future brighter...

So I was sold to Libya. So, they kept me, they kept us inside... and I met a lot of people inside there. They kept people inside the room for over 2 months asking us to call family for money... and beating us every day. But I didn't have anybody to call. Every...my mobile was lost and everything was lost and my father also... umm... at that moment my father died. So that accident make him died. Something really terrible happened. [...] I had nothing else to do better... not to call, I didn't have nobody to call. So I spend in a dark room over 2 months. I never went outside. I never saw the sun or the Earth, not to see the moon.

Asylum Seekers in Sardinia



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.



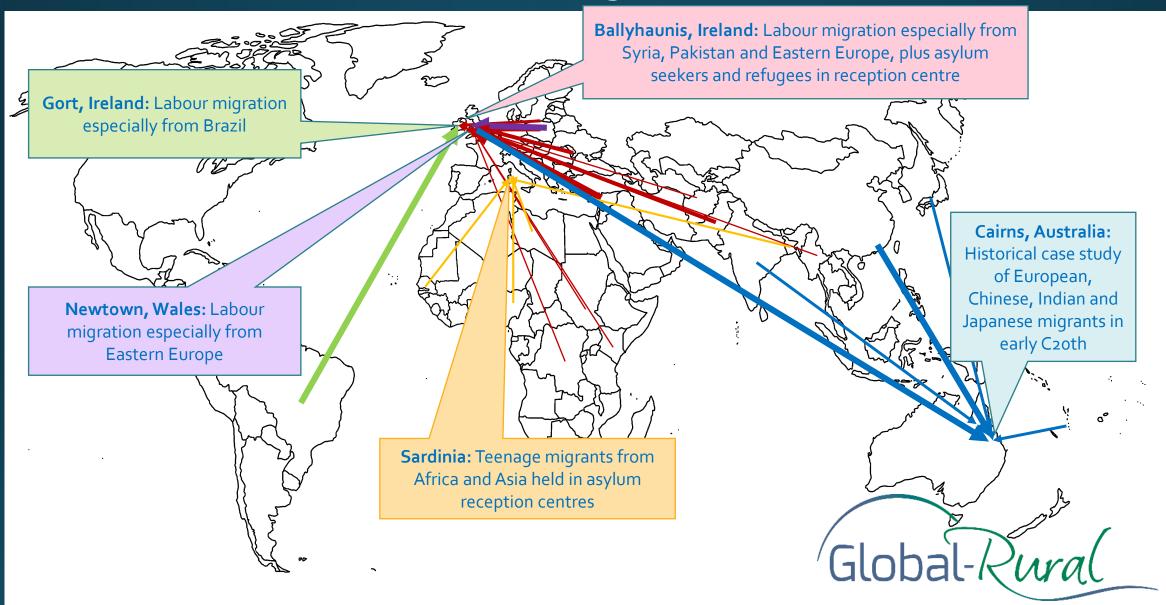
- And when he come here, what he was thinking about Europe, yeah... it not be. He come here... this is not what I am seeing in television.
- He say, when he come to Italy here, Sardinia here, he is happy but not those kind of happy- happy- happy, you know? Because, he say, is not a... is not Europe; 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?



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.

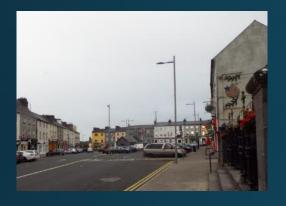


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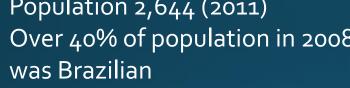
1996

2002



Gort County Galway 'Little Brazil'

Population 2,644 (2011) Over 40% of population in 2008 was Brazilian





2008

Brazilian residents

2012

2015

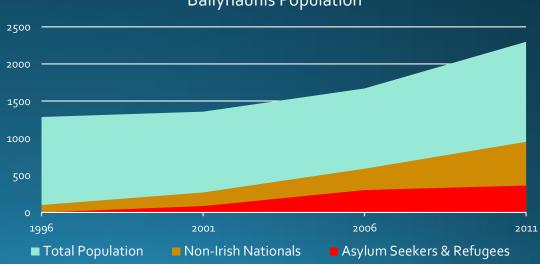
Population of Gort



Ballyhaunis

County Mayo 'Ireland's most diverse town'

Population 2,312 (2011) 43 nationalities recorded in 2011 census 48% born outside Ireland



Ballyhaunis Population

2006

Total Population

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

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)



Signs of Cosmopolitanism – Shared Identities







Huling is the most skilled and fastest field game on earth The GAA Club invite all new Ballyhamis families to share in its activities. The Club welcome and will respect the native language and traditions of the new families. By extemp, by learning from each other and working longthere to ex-

all make Ballyhannis a better place for all its seconde

Now Bullyhamils residents are invited to join with as for a spacial GAA experiences; a major Gatlie forthall game when Mays (rol & grona) jady Dahlin [Muil] in Costhebar. A bus will have Bathyhamils at 5.00 gas, an ishareday 14 Murich spical fare of 6 per graves. Levens and solvin are velocus. Adminiants to the game is here for Under-16s. This should be a gravit apportunity for old and new Bullyhamils to onjoy a gravit game and new flow as evening out tegrator.

If coming to the Mayov. Dublin game please make reservation and state number travelling by text to: 086 8554712 or 086 8533310







Whitter of State for Davien and Sport Michael Reg actived with members of Bohybausic circlent train at the announcement of a Bohybausic Born and Physical Active hybrid for the towar, Administed by the Initisjosent Disucei and asports to the Mano Sports Tamerinelis, the host by act of the Domanna Accounts Fundingator for Sport in Mayor. Also included at the assoch are Director of Services Padly Mation, rish Sports Council's Pail O'Cannor, Circlent Peciator's Nerren Devotor, hermiters of Mayor for Sport in Mayor. Also included at the assoch are Director of Services Padly Mation, rish Sports Council's Pail O'Cannor, Circlent Peciator's Nerren Devotor, hermiters of Mayor Peciators and Padle Councilies.

Multi-national cricket team finds a new home in Ballyhaunis



Gort hurling club to promote integration of children from the wider ethnic community

STEPHEN GLENNON	of Parole Duffy. Under the	sikeh and, hostcally, git
GORT horting shift will learned a new endensage ini- lative - aking of a promising integration between the chil- dron of the various ethnic communities in the arou and the shift - at Gort libering Cablences on a Nonidag, Nuy 12. Bioptoning at 6 pre, the basech will be presided over in GAA. President Nicke	vertice, a new pation of Club School (Brain is to be created, with the person opported to he have speak date for the integration of di- mercures. One of the people spear- feading, the initiative – which is the first of a send in the opport of the send the opport of the send of school principal Francis (C'Conver, lie says: The idea beford this is to integrate	ing in the twent a 10%. Presently, we have deen from Bried Jaiping ing with the estional (Scell Eoin Begn NS) row hope that they we time to glag the gas the tocal citch when t influet adaction its Indeed, one of the young hopes in Gores, we demando Gores, we
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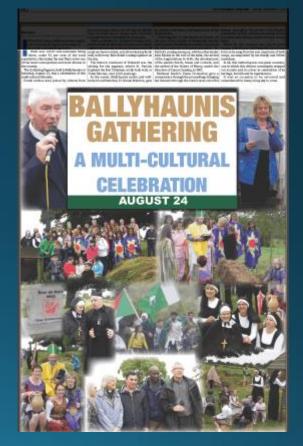




Signs of Cosmopolitanism – Shared Sense of Place

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)





Characteristics of the rural setting that engender cosmopolitanism:

- Small scale of town means relatively little residential segregation
- Shared used 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



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*

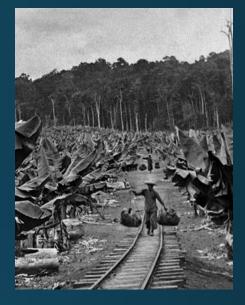


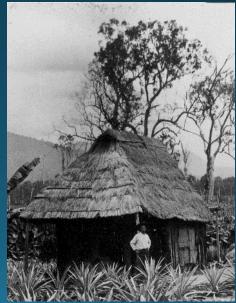
A Warning from History?

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, hotelliers
- 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



MrB - 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

Xi	nxian county, China	Lekki and Environs, Nigeria
•	Contributed to developing economy and raising incomes and living standards in county	48% of remittances go into housing and business development 7% in rural areas and 93% in urban
•	Poverty rate decreased from 7.38% to 4.6%	Human and Financial Capital
•	Fastest rate of poverty decrease in China	Employment opportunities, globally engaged businesses
•	Scheduled to be removed from list of 'poverty counties'	Housing Provision
•	Changes in attitudes and work ethic	Higher costs of Rent and Living
•	Savings also invested Improvements to housing and community infrastructure (e.g. water supply)	Erosion of Land use, Land cover, Landscape Change "Gentrification" Process – "Tension" – Opportunity, yet tension
•	Contributing to local urbanization	Environmental Impacts

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



International Volunteers in Tanzania

- International volunteers working on development, conservation and other projects are an under-studied point of contact between rural communities and transnational networks
- Beth Saunders's PhD has studied international volunteers with a transnational faith-based NGO working in rural Tanzania
- Placements range between 2 weeks- 6 months, and involve activities such as teaching, farming, translation, church work and children's work. Volunteers are mostly between 18-25, committed Christians, taking education/ career 'breaks', and often female
- Volunteers are motivated by their faith. They seek to grow in their own faith and `relationship with God', and encourage those who share their faith in Tanzania.
- Volunteers generally have no prior knowledge of Tanzania, but describe having 'a heart for Africa'.

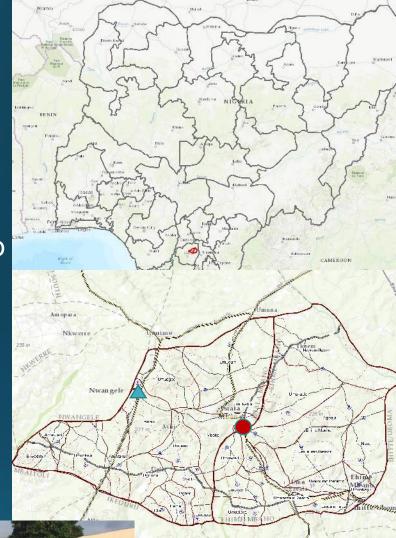


International Volunteers in Tanzania

- Volunteers engage with rural communities at farms, churches and schools
- Global poverty and inequality is interpreted through religious narratives i.e. a broken world, and volunteers become engaged in these issues through religious channels i.e prayer
- Rural communities are possibly misguided by the sending organisation, who position the volunteers as experts in teaching and church work. Volunteers are overwhelmed by the expert status, and local communities are sometimes disappointed. However, the mutual encouragement in faith was desired and registered by the rural communities
- Volunteers grow in their global citizenship, understanding the complexities of international development and breaking down 'us' and 'them' othering narratives
- In this case, shared commitment to a globalized faith (Christianity) helped to build affinity between volunteers and members of the local communities

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









dical Mission to Nigeria.





Mbano Joint Hospital Extension Pr..

Mbano Youth Program

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

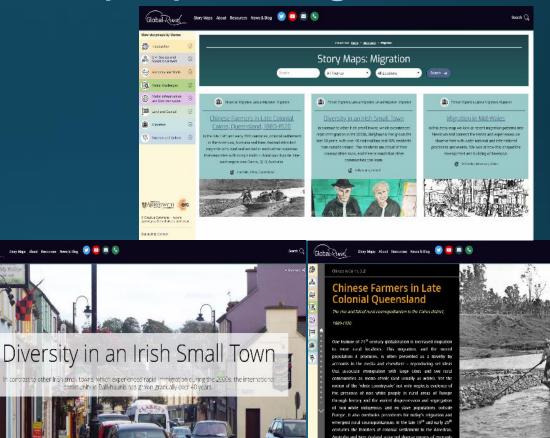
Research Documentary

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



Screening Time: 8.30pm (today)
 with Q & A with film maker

StoryMaps - www.global-rural.org



StoryMaps online and an Exhibition in the Music Room