

# Development and Migration

*Many people assume that people migrate because they are poor and that development can reduce migration. In this module, students are invited to critically think about what development means and how development and migration shape each other. Working with four case studies from across the globe, students think through the migration-development nexus, that is the complex ways in which development processes, such as changes in infrastructure, education systems, political freedoms, technology, and socio-cultural norms, are interlinked with immigration and emigration. The module shows that migration is a social phenomenon that affects all societies and people, regardless of their development and income levels.*

## Learning objectives and outcomes

### GLOBAL LEARNING OUTCOME

Understand the complex ways in which migration and development shape each other

### SPECIFIC LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Evaluate widespread assumptions around migration and development  
 Develop an understanding of development as a process of social change  
 Understand why development often leads to more, not less migration

## Class structure and timeline

### No preparation before class

#### Development in class

- Activity 1: Quiz: Facts around migration and development (10 min)
- Activity 2: Case Studies: Exploring links between migration and development (20 min)
- Activity 3: Analysis: Understanding how development works (15 min)

**Homework: Design a campaign poster (60 min)**

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## ↘ Background information for teachers

This short briefing:

1. Discusses different approaches to the concept of development
2. Examines how development affects migration
3. Examines how migration affects development
4. Combines analyses at individual, community and country levels

Migration is often assumed to be a response to global inequalities and poverty. Based on this assumption, politicians in Europe and elsewhere regularly present **development as a solution to reduce migration. But is this really true?** To understand the link between migration and development, we need to dig deeper into the process of migration and the concept of development.

**Migration is a social process.** For many, it is a way to achieve better living standards, education and health care for themselves and their families or to secure protection from violence and repression. For many it is also a way to discover the world, exploit one's potentials and realise self-fulfilment by escaping societal expectations and cultural norms. As such, **migration is intrinsically related to processes of personal and societal developments.**

**Development is often understood as economic development,** measured by indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, or as human development, measured by the Human Development Index (HDI), which includes health, education and economic indicators. But development is more than a set of indicators. **Development is a process of social change** that involves a wide variety of political, demographic, technological, cultural and economic shifts which often interact (Castles 2009). For example, industrialization in 18<sup>th</sup> century England was strongly associated with rural-urban migrations, as farmers left the uncertainties of agricultural life to embrace the perceived security of wage-based employment, a process that repeated itself in other countries such as mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Italy (Cinotto 2011; Polanyi 2001 [1944]). These historical examples also raise important questions of how future automation and artificial intelligence advancement might change production, work practices and migration.

**Development also happens at the individual level,** where it has been defined as 'a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy' (Sen 1999: 3), or a process that leads to improved material, relational and subjective well-being (Pouw 2020). Such personal development might be achieved through improved access to education and health care, safety and gender equality, higher income, more political freedoms and rights, or the preservation of natural resources. When we define development in these terms, we realize that **development is not limited to so-called 'developing' countries;** also so-called '**developed**' countries continue to develop as social and individual change is always ongoing.

This means that both **societal and individual development processes affect migration.** Individual development such as new skills, knowledge or social networks will reshape personal wishes to migrate and people's ability to do so. Societal development in terms of improved infrastructure, political freedoms or education will affect society and whether citizens can find opportunities to grow and flourish where they live.

But then, does development really reduce migration? Against widespread assumptions, a lot of research shows that in poorer contexts, **development tends to increase migration,** both internal migration in the form of urbanization, as well as international migration across borders (Clemens 2014; de Haas 2010b; Skeldon 1997). This is because **development raises people's aspirations to migrate and their capabilities to do so** (see also optional graph of activity 3). This also explains why **it is not the poorest in the world who migrate:** The most migratory countries are middle and high-income countries, and within each country, it is usually the middle classes that migrate the most, not the poor. Only at a relatively high level of development – comparable to that of Thailand, Ecuador or Jordan – does this relation between development and emigration start to reverse. It is important to note that no matter the level of development, emigration will never fully stop, but only continue at lower levels.

At the same time, **when places experience important development, immigration to such places increases**, as they become attractive to people who have the capabilities and the aspirations to grow and flourish beyond what their country of residence can offer. Although immigration is not the central focus of this module, it is important to always analyze the different migration patterns of a place (internal migration, immigration, emigration, return migration) in context with each other.

This relationship – whereby emigration first increases with development and only at high levels of development starts to decline again, while immigration increases continuously with development – has been called the ‘mobility transition’ (Zelinsky 1971) (see also optional graph of activity 1). Importantly, this **mobility transition is not deterministic**, i.e., it is not necessarily the same for any given country or community. However, the general pattern does suggest that advocating development as a way to ‘stop emigration’ is – if at all – only successful in the very long-term when high levels of development allow many people to fulfil their aspirations in place, without having to move. Knowing that both emigration and immigration are an intrinsic part of social change also helps to explain why human history has always been accompanied by migration and why, no matter how much governments might attempt to control migration, **migration will persist as long as social change takes place**.

To make things more complex, the relation between migration and development is not one-directional: While development affects migration, **migration may also affect development** in various ways (de Haas 2010a; Portes 2009). On the one hand, development actors and diaspora groups have highlighted the **positive effects** of migration on development, as migrants send back **financial remittances** and invest in their origin communities. In countries such as the Philippines, Uzbekistan, Albania or Senegal, remittances account for around 10% of their GDP (World Bank 2022). Migrants also bring back entrepreneurial and technical know-how – referred to as ‘**brain gain**’ – and can transfer ideas of political freedom and equality to their origin countries, known as **social or political remittances**.

Next to such positive narratives, **pessimistic voices** lament the phenomenon of ‘**brain drain**’ whereby the most educated of a society – such as doctors or IT specialists – tend to migrate abroad, depriving their home country of skills and expertise that could foster development (Docquier and Rapoport 2012). Indeed, as education levels increase, so do people’s migration aspirations and the resources they can use to migrate. However, highly-educated people migrate not only because of better salaries and living standards elsewhere and because professional specialization makes it less likely for someone to find a job close to home. Highly-educated people are also aware that it will take major changes in terms of infrastructure, political stability, social protection or anti-corruption measures to improve the overall living standards in their own countries. Hence, it is unrealistic to assume that migrants’ contributions by *themselves* can bring about large-scale structural reforms or social change (de Haas and Vezzoli 2013). In other words, **while development has an important influence on migration, migration’s influence on development is much weaker** (Portes 2010; de Haas 2010a).

In this module, students explore the complex ways in which migration and development are interlinked as social processes. This will give them the tools to evaluate and **put into perspective widespread public and political narratives** about how development policies might shape migration.

## ↘ Activities: Assignments, explanations and answers

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Development in class | **Activity 1**

# Quiz: Facts around migration and development

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### LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Students debunk popular assumptions about the link between migration and development



### MATERIALS

- Four images (student worksheet) – printed or projected on a screen
- Graph of the relationship between countries' Human Development Index (HDI) and their migration levels (see solutions) – printed or projected on a screen
- Optional: Schematic graph of the link between development, immigration and emigration



### LENGTH: 10 MIN

### EXPLANATION ACTIVITY AND DIDACTIC SUGGESTIONS

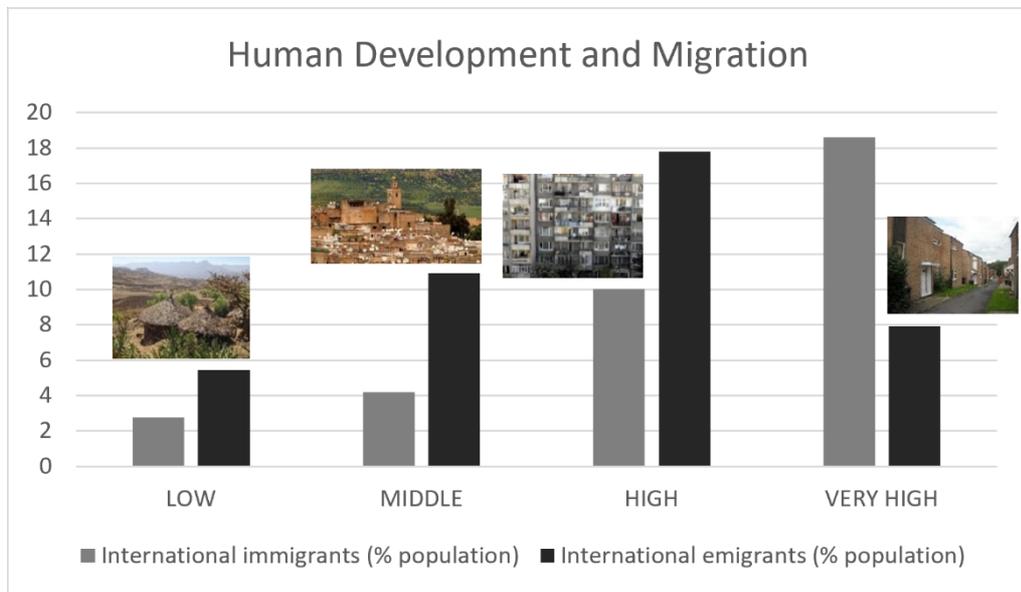
- Show the students the four pictures without giving them any additional information.
- Ask them to guess which photo portrays which of the following four locations: Manchester, UK; Fez, Morocco; a village in rural Ethiopia; Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Ask them to guess from which location people emigrate the most. Let them rank the photos from most to least and explain their opinion.
- Reveal the answers, clarifying that most migrants come from middle- and high-income countries.
- Show the graph(s) on the next page and explain the relationship between immigration, emigration and human development (see also background narrative).
  - Debunk two popular assumptions on the link between emigration and development by clarifying that (1) it is not the poorest who emigrate and (2) development often tends to increase, not decrease emigration from a place/country – at least in the beginning. This is because development usually increases the knowledge, skills and money people have to migrate if they want.
  - Immigration to a place/country increases as it develops. This is because development makes countries more attractive for migrants in terms of educational and professional opportunities, social and political safety, and health care, among many other factors.
- Tell students that they will now explore the dynamics of each case study in activity 2.

## 🎯 SOLUTIONS AND SUGGESTED ANSWERS

- Ranking of countries from the highest emigration rates to the lowest (emigrants as % of population). The table also shows the HDI of each country and their immigration rates (immigrants as % of population):

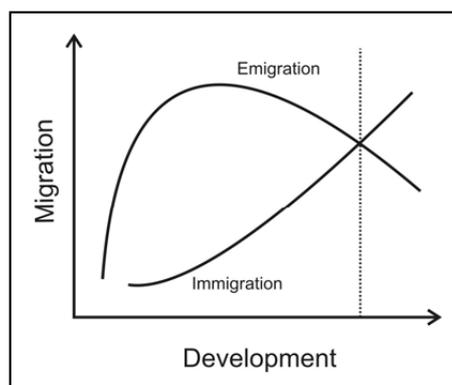
	Human Development Index (from 0-1)	Emigrants as % of population	Immigrants as % of population
1. Bulgaria	0.8	24.22	2.65
2. Morocco	0.68	8.84	0.28
3. UK	0.93	6.97	13.79
3. Ethiopia	0.5	0.82	0.94

Graph linking human development, immigration and emigration



*Notes on the graph: This graph is an updated version of the graph in de Haas (2010b). It is made from migration and human development data provided by United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for all countries worldwide between 1990 and 2020. Cutoff-points are: HDI < 0.550 for low human development, 0.550–0.699 for medium human development, 0.700–0.799 for high human development and HDI > 0.800 for very high human development.*

- Optional: You can also show the following graph to visualize this relationship in a more schematic form:



Source: De Haas 2010a: 19



# Case Studies: Exploring links between migration and development



## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Students explore how development and migration shape each other in a specific case
- Students identify key mechanisms that connect migration and development



## MATERIALS

- Printed-out factsheets and Q&A sheet for each case study (see student materials)
- Printed-out answer sheets for each case study (see student materials)



## LENGTH: 20 MIN



## EXPLANATION ACTIVITY AND DIDACTIC SUGGESTIONS

- Split the class in four or eight groups.
- Each group investigates the case of a specific region/city and its development dynamics (for eight groups, two groups work on the same case).
- Students have 15 minutes to go through the factsheet of their case study and respond to the comprehension, reflection and transfer questions in the student materials.
- Distribute the answer sheets and let students cross-check their answers (5 min).
- Recollect the answer sheets if you want that students do activity 3 based on their own elaborations only.



## SUGGESTED ANSWERS

- See the answer sheets in the student material section.
- Cross-cutting insights will be discussed in the next activity.



# Analysis: Understanding how development works

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Students understand that development is much more than economic factors
- Students understand that development affects both people's wishes and abilities to migrate

## MATERIALS

- Q&A sheets from activity 2
- Optional: Projection of aspiration-capabilities graph

## LENGTH: 15 MIN

## EXPLANATION ACTIVITY AND DIDACTIC SUGGESTIONS

- Ask each group to shortly present their case and the aspects of development they identified that affect people's (1) wishes and (2) abilities to migrate. Ideally, each aspect is presented by a different group member and remaining group members summarize the case study as an introduction.
- The teacher wraps up the class by guiding the students towards the broader insights on development and its migratory effects outlined in the solutions below.

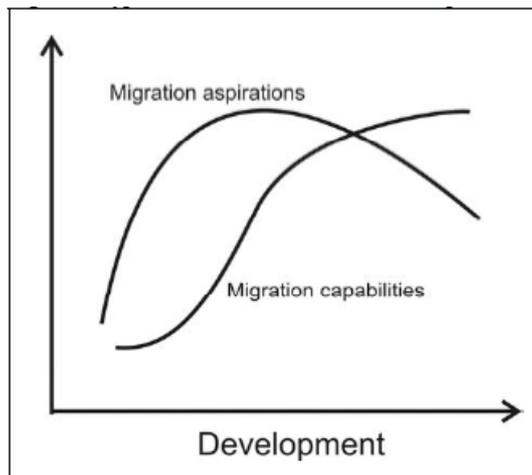
## SOLUTIONS AND SUGGESTED ANSWERS

- Suggested answers that students could come up with based on the case studies :

Aspects of development that affect people's wishes to migrate	Aspects of development that affect people's ability to migrate
Education → Wanting an urban life (elsewhere) with better access to health care, higher education and housing quality for them and their families Specialization of labour market, industrialization, international investments → Wanting professional opportunities that match their skills Internet/social media, tourism, political integration → Wanting independence from traditional societal norms/family expectations & wanting to live in a politically freer, less corrupt and more equal society Technological developments, AI → Reorienting life priorities away from work and wanting higher living quality, possible outside of the city and closer to nature	Education → Having more skills and knowledge to get informed about potential destinations and seizing opportunities there Higher salaries, international investments, remittances → Having more money to invest into migrating Internet/social media, tourism, infrastructure/past migration → Having better networks/connections with people at the destination, along the migration route or to facilitate commuting/teleworking Political integration → Having more/less possibilities to migrate, e.g. within the EU, to countries with partnerships or no visa requirements

- After the discussion of these aspects, share a comprehensive definition of development with the students:
  - Development has many dimensions and should be seen as a puzzle made up of many pieces.

- It is not only about increases in income and other economic indicators, but also about access to better health care and education, personal and political freedoms, functioning infrastructure and services, etc.
- Explain to the students the different effects development has on someone's aspiration and capability to migrate:
  - To understand the migratory effects of development at individual and community level, one needs to look both at how development shapes people's life wishes (aspirations) and resources needed to migrate (capabilities).
  - Research shows that development typically increases capabilities to migrate, because with development, people gain access to more skills, knowledge, social networks and financial resources.
  - The effect of development on migration aspirations is more complex: Research shows that migration aspirations tend to increase with development because people broaden their life horizons and have higher personal and professional development expectations. Often, they seek to fulfil these expectations abroad because their country of residence, which is slowly developing, does not offer those opportunities yet. Only once their country of origin has reached high levels of development, these migration aspirations start to decrease again because personal and professional aspirations can be fulfilled at home.
- Optional: You can show the following graph to visualize this relationship between migration aspirations, migration capabilities and development:



Source: De Haas 2010a: 17



Homework

# Design a campaign poster



## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Creatively depict the complex ways in which migration and development shape each other
- Reflect on widespread public and policy narratives around migration and development



## MATERIALS

- Computer, printer
- Paper, scissors, color pens etc.



## LENGTH: 60 MIN



## EXPLANATION ACTIVITY AND DIDACTIC SUGGESTIONS

- Imagine you and your two classmates are hired by an NGO working on development or migration. To help them with their next public communication campaign, your team is assigned to develop educational material. Use your creativity to design a campaign poster or leaflet to depict a key message on migration and development.
- As a group, pick one of the central take-home messages from the class that you found particularly interesting:
  - Development is more than economic development; it is a process of social change.
  - Development is always ongoing, not only in 'developing' countries.
  - It is not the poorest who migrate, because for migration to happen, people need the capability to migrate along with the aspirations to do so.
  - Development in countries of origin leads to more, rather than less emigration, until a certain tipping point.
  - People often migrate to receive better education; but education in turn also increases people's aspirations and capabilities to migrate.
  - ...or pick another key take home message not listed here!
- You can use a combination of drawings, photos, graphs and even include stories or a QR code to include some music or film material to make the most eye-catching and effective poster!

# Materials and worksheets for students

## Activity 1: Four places

Image 1



Image 2



Image 3



Image 4



**Activity 2: Case Studies**  
**Case study 1: Wayisso, Ethiopia**



**10 key migration and development facts about Wayisso**

1. Wayisso is a village in Ethiopia, located 164 km south of the capital Addis Ababa.
2. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, three families who lived from small-scale farming and breeding cattle began to settle in different areas of Wayisso.
3. People continued these agricultural lives until the Communist Derg regime came to power in the 1970s. The Derg regime established primary schools with a curriculum modeled after modern, mass education systems, also in rural areas. Primary education portrayed life in the city as modern, while agricultural lives were framed as traditional and less attractive.
4. After the fall of the communist government in 1991, people became more dissatisfied with agricultural lives, and they looked increasingly to the city. Especially men started to move to Ethiopia's urban areas.
5. Women have always been mobile: across generations, almost all rural-rural migration has been female – most often for marriage. More recently, some women have also started to migrate to the Arabic Gulf states to work as housemaids as an alternative to (or to escape) marriage and to earn money independently.
6. Since the 2000s, a new generation of children growing up in Wayisso began to leave the village to pursue primary or higher education in nearby towns or cities. Some of these children are as young as seven or eight.
7. However, not everyone has the resources to leave Wayisso. Who leaves and who stays varies by family and depending on the social networks and money they have to support family members' migration. Those who already have family members in the city can rely on these networks to migrate themselves.
8. In recent years, private foreign investors have invested in the area. Sher Ethiopia, a Dutch flower farm, and Verde Beef, a Dutch-American cattle farm, established production sites next to Wayisso.
9. These investments have attracted migration from other Ethiopian regions. The Wollaita, an ethnic group from Southern Ethiopia, are often employed as daily farm labourers or as workers on the Sher flower farms. However, local inhabitants from Wayisso don't like to work at Sher Ethiopia because of the bad working conditions and low pay.
10. Today, many in Wayisso remain farmers, and many others are leaving for education and new forms of work in neighboring towns or further away. However, only very few migrate internationally, as women leaving to the Gulf remain an exception.

**Questions**

**Read the factsheet and identify who were the people who stayed in Wayisso in the last 20 years and who were the people who left.** Also mention the main reason for their emigration.

*People who moved away from Wayisso:*

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*People who stayed in Wayisso:*

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**Reflect on factors that affected why people stayed or left Wayisso.** How did changes in the school system affect the situation for people in Wayisso? How did the arrival of international companies change the situation in Wayisso?

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The Ethiopian government is building a new railroad and highway system that would pass right through Wayisso. **How could this affect the future of Wayisso and the migration patterns of its inhabitants?** Would this development accelerate or reduce emigration, immigration and general mobility levels, and how?

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Write down **two aspects of development that affected people's wish to migrate** in the Wayisso and **two aspects of development that affected their ability** to do so.

*Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:*

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*Aspects affecting ability to migrate:*

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## Answer sheet – Case Study 1: Wayisso, Ethiopia

### People who left Wayisso:

- People who had higher education and more money than others left to escape agricultural lives and move to cities.
- Children left to pursue education elsewhere.
- Women often migrated to, or away from, Wayisso for marriage. More recently, they also migrate to the Gulf to earn money independently.

### People who stayed in Wayisso:

- Many people did not have the aspirations to leave in the first place, i.e. they could not imagine or did not desire a different life for themselves.
- Many people did not have the capabilities to leave, i.e. not enough money, social networks, knowledge to migrate.

### Factors that affected why people stayed or left Wayisso :

- The introduction of mass primary education brought (often overly rosy) information about urban life to Wayisso, which made people dream about life in the city.
- The implantation of international companies close to the Wayisso attracted Ethiopians from other regions to come and work in Wayisso. However, the low pay and bad working conditions do not provide an attractive alternative to life as a farmer.

### Different scenarios:

- The Ethiopian government could decide to destroy the entire village and relocate all inhabitants to a different place. This would disrupt the current economic and social practices of the inhabitants of Wayisso.
- Alternatively, Wayisso could profit from being at the crossroads of bigger cities. A small economy could develop around trading posts or resting places, which would create new livelihood opportunities for the inhabitants of Wayisso. This might also attract migrants from the surroundings to settle there. The greater connectivity of Wayisso could also increase overall mobility levels – inhabitants could work/study further away while still living in Wayisso. This would also facilitate the younger generation to move into bigger cities while remaining in contact with their families back home.

### Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:

- Education → Wanting an urban life with better access to higher education and housing quality
- Internet/social media → Wanting independence from traditional societal norms/family expectations such as marriage

### Aspects affecting ability to migrate:

- Education → Having more skills and knowledge to get informed about potential destinations and seizing opportunities there
- Past migration → Having better networks/connections with people at the destination

## Case study 2: Fez, Morocco



### 10 key migration and development facts about Fez

1. Fez was established in 789 and has been Morocco's capital until French colonisation in 1912. Today, it counts around 1.2 million inhabitants.
2. Fez was always a major destination for Moroccans from the countryside, a trend that accelerated since the 1970s. Many rural-urban migrants come to work in the city's (largely informal) artisanal sector or to achieve better life quality in terms of access to services, healthcare or education.
3. Since the 1990s, Fez has also become an important place of origin for emigration, particularly towards France, Spain and Italy.
4. One study found that around 20% of Fez's population were in fact living abroad (compared to 10% national average). Of those, 73% come from families that are not originally from Fez but from other parts of Morocco. This indicates that Fez is as stepping stone from internal to international migration.
5. Moroccan emigrants leave in the pursuit of better professional opportunities, but also to gain freedom for personal development, particularly to escape Morocco's repressive political environment and the often-constraining socio-cultural norms and (gendered) family expectations.
6. As a UNESCO cultural heritage site since 1981, Fez has also become a touristic attraction. The flourishing tourism sector has since 2000 attracted many European migrants and Moroccan returnees who invest in Fez's economy. Many are buying and renovating traditional houses in the old city center to transform them into high-end hotels or restaurants.
7. These investments led to local development and job creation. It also exposed locals to foreign habits and lifestyles. Together with the growth of internet and social media, this expanded the life horizons of Fez's inhabitants and their expectations in terms of diversity of lives and opportunities across the world.
8. Historically, Fez was also always a destination for pilgrims and religious students from Western Africa because the founder of the Muslim Tijani fraternity, a religious order, was buried in Fez in 1815.
9. Since the mid-2000s, more sub-Saharan African migrants (particularly from Senegal, Mali, Cameroun, Ivory Coast) have been moving to Fez to pursue higher education, to work or to use Fez as a step on their way to Europe. A facilitating factor is that many Western African citizens do not need a visa to travel to Morocco.
10. 75% of West African migrants have secondary education and 14% university education, of whom many work in Fez's many call centres and the wider communication sector.

### Questions

**Read the factsheet and identify who were the people who moved to Fez in the last 20 years and who were the people who migrated abroad. Also mention the main reason for their migration.**

*People who moved to Fez:*

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People who moved abroad:

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**Reflect on factors that affected why people moved to Fez or abroad:** How did historical religious ties and recent political developments shape migration patterns to Fez? How did growing international tourism and the spread of internet and social media affect wishes of people to migrate internationally?

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The Moroccan Higher Education Ministry has launched Morocco's first *National University Hub* in Fez in 2021, which connects the cities' private and public universities and offers space for more than 160,000 Moroccan and foreign students. **How could this affect the future of Fez and the migration patterns of its inhabitants?** Would this development accelerate or reduce emigration, immigration and general mobility levels, and how?

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Write down **two aspects of development that affected people's wish to migrate** to/from Fez and **two aspects of development that affected their ability** to do so.

*Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:*

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*Aspects affecting ability to migrate:*

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## Answer sheet – Case Study 2: Fez, Morocco

### People who moved to Fez:

- Fez is a destination for Moroccan migrants from rural areas who look for better livelihoods.
- Fez has always attracted religious migrants and pilgrims from Western Africa, particularly Senegal, and more recently also students and pilgrims.
- Fez is also attracting migrants from Europe and Moroccan returnees who invest in tourism, especially in hotels and restaurants.

### People who moved abroad:

- Since the 1980s emigration from Fez increased. Many emigrants from Fez come from families of internal migrants.
- Moroccans looked for better economic opportunities abroad, but people also left because of Morocco's politically repressive environment. Also the traditional family expectations made young people look abroad to gain more personal freedom.

### Factors that affected why people moved to Fez or abroad:

- Fez has always attracted migrants from Western Africa because it is an important religious city. More recently, Fez has also become attractive for people from Western Africa who seek to study or work because they do not need a visa to travel to Morocco. For those who want to move further to European countries, for which visas are difficult to get, Fez is an interesting intermediate stop.
- Global connectivity via tourism, internet and social media has exposed locals from Fez to a diversity of lifestyles, languages and habits, but also to alternative societal models with more political freedom and social safety and opportunities for personal development. This has in part increased people's wishes to emigrate abroad, but it has not necessarily increased their ability to do so.

### Different scenarios:

- Expanding higher education in Fez will likely lead to more people moving to Fez: students from Western Africa and the Moroccan countryside, Moroccans from other cities and Moroccan returnees from abroad to work in these universities.
- Partnerships with universities abroad might also stimulate student exchanges across Africa or the Mediterranean.
- Simultaneously, higher education will give students (and their families) with stronger professional aspirations more social capital and connectivity to pursue international migration after their studies.

### Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:

- Education → Wanting an urban life with better access to health care, higher education and housing
- Internet/social media, tourism → Wanting independence from traditional societal norms & wanting to live in a politically freer society

### Aspects affecting ability to migrate:

- Education → Having more skills and knowledge to get informed about potential destinations and seizing opportunities there
- Past migration/remittances → Having more money to invest into migrating and networks/connections with people at the destination

### Case study 3: Sofia, Bulgaria



#### 10 key migration and development facts about Sofia

1. Sofia is the capital of Bulgaria and has a population of about 1,25 million residents. Sofia's population, just like that of Bulgaria, has decreased over time, due to low birth rates, high death rates and high emigration.
2. From 1945 until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989, the country was ruled by the Bulgarian Communist Party. Agriculture was mechanized, which freed agricultural workers from the land. These workers migrated to rapidly industrializing urban areas such as Sofia.
3. While internal migration was very common, until 1989, emigration from Bulgaria was restricted. When it took place, it was either through state-controlled labour migration or due to ethnic or political motives, for example Bulgarian Turks migrating to Turkey and Jews leaving for Israel.
4. Starting in 1989, the transition from a socialist to a market economy resulted in high unemployment and low living standards across Bulgaria. Emigration of low-skilled seasonal and high-skilled workers increased, leading to fears that the country's most skilled workers were turning their backs on Bulgaria ( 'brain drain').
5. In 2007, Bulgaria joined the European Union. This meant that Bulgarians could suddenly travel visa-free to approximately 150 countries and gradually access the EU labour market.
6. Over the 2000s, Bulgaria's economy has been characterized by the privatization of industry and industrial closures, leading to low and uneven economic opportunities across the country. In 2014, economic growth accelerated again, but has remained still much lower than EU averages.
7. Politically, Bulgarians have been experiencing instability, high levels of corruption, as well a limited access to services and healthcare.
8. Today, Sofia is Bulgaria's power house: Sofia's industry-based economy has rapidly transformed into a service economy and it is now a hub for higher education and foreign investment. It hosts 20 percent of Bulgaria's total workforce and generates most of Bulgaria's gross domestic product (GDP).
9. The opportunities offered in Sofia have led to increasing rural-urban migration towards the city and the depopulation of some rural areas. Young people from villages have often more emigration intentions than young people in Sofia.
10. In parallel, new investments by international companies in various sectors of Bulgaria's economy are producing a shortage of highly skilled specialists in Sofia, which might incite Bulgarians abroad to return to Bulgaria.

#### Questions

**Read the factsheet and identify who were the people who moved to Sofia or migrated abroad in the last 20 years.** Also mention the main reason for their internal/international migration.

*People who moved to Sofia:*

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*People who moved abroad:*

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**Reflect on factors that affected why people moved to Sofia or abroad.** How did changes in economic structures affect the wishes of people to migrate internally or internationally? How did Bulgaria's membership in the EU affect the ability and wishes of people to migrate internationally?

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Together with the World Bank and the EU, the Bulgarian government pursues a national development plan that includes large investments for *Sofia Tech Park*, a science and technology hub just outside of Sofia. Its goal is to advance innovation and entrepreneurship in Bulgaria in the next 15 years. **How could this affect the future of Sofia and the migration patterns of its inhabitants?** Would this development accelerate or reduce emigration, immigration and general mobility levels, and how?

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Write down **two aspects of development that affected people's wish to migrate** to/from Sofia and **two aspects of development that affected their ability** to do so.

*Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:*

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*Aspects affecting ability to migrate:*

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## Answer sheet – Case Study 3: Sofia, Bulgaria

### People who moved to Sofia:

- Uneven industrialization led to high levels of inequality across Bulgaria, with some rural areas in extreme poverty and opportunities concentrated in Sofia. This triggered internal migration from the countryside to Sofia.
- More recently, there is also a shortage of highly skilled specialists in Sofia, which might incite Bulgarians abroad to return to Bulgaria.

### People who moved abroad:

- Emigration was very difficult and limited until 1989. Since then, emigration increased as people look for more political stability and economic opportunities, leading to a perceived 'brain drain'.

### Factors that affected why people moved to Sofia or abroad:

- The shift from a socialist to a market economy in 1989 resulted in the closure of industries, high unemployment and low living standard, leading to high emigration. In contrast, Sofia successfully transitioned to a service economy and offers more opportunities than the rest of the country in terms of jobs and education. Therefore, many people are moving within Bulgaria to Sofia. As investments into the city are growing, more and more highly skilled professionals prefer to stay in Sofia.
- Joining the EU has increased people's ability to migrate internationally, because of freedom of movement and access to work in all EU countries. EU membership has also removed travel visas for many other countries in the world. At the same time, the political instability, limited career opportunities as well as corruption in Bulgaria compared to other EU countries may also increase people's wishes to migrate.

### Different scenarios:

- Economic growth and innovation could significantly change Bulgarians' wishes to migrate. Professionals with specific skills in the growing sectors, but also workers who would support these industries indirectly, e.g. cleaning services, catering, personal services, would profit from the investments by gaining opportunities within Bulgaria. Sofia Tech Park might also accelerate return migration of highly skilled Bulgarians who live abroad.
- However, emigration would only significantly decrease if other (non-economic) conditions also improve – such as access to healthcare, education and good quality housing as well as lower corruption, crime and better administrative and judicial processes by the state.

### Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:

- Specialization of labour market, international investments → Wanting professional opportunities that match their skills
- Internet/social media, political integration → wanting to live in a less corrupt and more equal society

### Aspects affecting ability to migrate:

- Political integration → Having more possibilities to migrate, e.g. within the EU
- International investments, remittances → Having more money to invest into migrating

## Case study 4: Manchester, UK



### 10 key migration and development facts about Manchester

1. Manchester is a city in the North-West of England. 20% of its population of 580,000 are born outside of the UK (compared to 10% nation-wide). It is also an unequal city, with some of the UK's poorest and richest neighbourhoods.
2. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the industrial revolution kickstarted large-scale immigration to Manchester, beginning with Irish migrants working in the mills and followed by Jewish migrants fleeing persecution in Eastern Europe.
3. As an industrial urban core, Manchester is also a historical destination for internal migration. However, since the manufacturing industry started to decline in the 1970s, British people have chosen to move away from Manchester for employment or lifestyle reasons, either to London or more rural places, aided by better transport infrastructure and homeworking.
4. To counteract the decline of Manchester's attractiveness, since 2000, the local government has invested into projects to reduce inequality between neighbourhoods and transform the city into a knowledge economy hub.
5. EU enlargement to Eastern Europe in 2004 changed immigration to Manchester, as citizens from eight new countries (e.g. Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary) gained access to the UK labour market. Since the 2008 economic crisis, immigration from Spain and Italy has also increased.
6. Today, the biggest migrant communities in Manchester are the Pakistanis, Irish and Polish, followed by Nigerians, Chinese and Indians.
7. In contrast to the hotly debated issue of immigration, there are little data and debates on emigration. However, the UK has always been a country of departure: During colonial times, British citizens settled around the globe, to escape poverty, get work opportunities or serve in the colonial administration.
8. Today, around 5 million British citizens live abroad – for work or their retirement. Top destination countries are Australia, Spain, the US, Canada, Ireland, South Africa and France.
9. The 2016 referendum on 'Brexit', and the process leading to the UK leaving the EU in January 2020, affected migrants' everyday lives in the UK: An anti-immigration rhetoric and a political narrative about 'taking back control of the UK's borders' led to exclusion and insecurity among migrants, some of whom decided to leave the UK.
10. Brexit also affected migration patterns to and from the UK: Both the three million EU citizens in the UK and one million British citizens in the EU suddenly faced an insecure legal status. Some could apply for permanent residency or citizenship in their place of residence, but many had to adjust their lives, returning back home or abandoning their migration plans.

### Questions

**Read the factsheet and identify who were the people who moved to Manchester or migrated abroad in the last 20 years.** Also mention the main reason for their internal/international migration.

*People who moved to Manchester:*

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*People who moved away from Manchester:*

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**Reflect on factors that affected why people moved to or away from Manchester.** How did Manchester's rise and falls as a manufacturing hub affect people's wishes to migrate into or out of the city? How did political changes associated with the EU (enlargement/Brexit) affect people's wishes and possibilities to migrate?

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Since 2000, Manchester is investing into becoming a knowledge economy hub and center for distribution, logistics and high-tech industry. Advances in artificial intelligence, however, raise fears about how automation and robotics will affect these industries and the local labour market. **How could this affect the future of Manchester and the work opportunities of locals and migrants?** Would AI accelerate or reduce emigration, immigration and general mobility levels, and how?

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Write down **two aspects of development that affected people's wish to migrate to/from** Manchester and **two aspects of development that affected their ability** to do so.

*Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:*

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*Aspects affecting ability to migrate:*

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## Answer sheet – Case Study 4: Manchester, UK

### People who moved to Manchester:

- Historically, people moved to Manchester in the context of industrialization, to work in the manufacturing sector, especially from Ireland and Eastern Europe, later on from Pakistan, India, China and Nigeria.
- Since the 2000s, more and more Europeans moved to Manchester in the context of EU free mobility, especially from Poland.

### People who moved away from Manchester:

- People moved away for work, retirement or lifestyle reasons, to London, more rural parts of the UK or abroad, to Australia, the US, Spain or France.

### Factors that affected why people moved to or away from Manchester:

- The industrial revolution transformed Manchester into a key destination for internal migrants and workers from Ireland and Eastern Europe who saw new job and life opportunities in the city. The industrial decline of Manchester since the 1970s was accompanied by a decline of labour migration and people leaving the city, finding life elsewhere more attractive.
- Political developments such as EU membership and Brexit deeply affected migration patterns. While EU enlargement created possibilities for EU migrants to work and live in the UK, after Brexit, migrants already settled in the UK felt a rise in xenophobia, with some deciding to return to their countries of origin. At the same time, these developments also made it more difficult for UK citizens to live abroad.

### Different scenarios:

- AI, automation and robotics could lead to many losing their jobs, not only for workers doing manual jobs, but also for those working in knowledge-based jobs. This could mean that unemployment and emigration from Manchester increases, while fewer would migrate to the city given little work and life opportunities.
- However, history shows that humans adapt to technological advances, and so it is more likely that the impact of AI will lead to the reorganization of work and jobs, rather than their loss. This transformation will likely affect mobility in Manchester by changing the profile of migrants who will move to and away from the city. Ultimately, if AI leads to higher productivity and innovation, it will increase the city's attractiveness and standard of living, and by consequence overall levels of immigration.

### Aspects affecting wishes to migrate:

- Specialization of labour market, industrialization → Wanting professional opportunities that match their skills
- Technological advances → Reorienting life priorities away from work and wanting higher life quality outside of the city

### Aspects affecting ability to migrate:

- Political integration → Having more/less possibilities to migrate, e.g. within the EU
- Infrastructure → Having more opportunities to work and live in two different places for commuting

## ↘ Further resources

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### **Photo material**

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### **Data**

- *World Bank (2022). World Development Indicators.* <https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators>

## **↘ Links and additional material**

### **In English**

#### **INTERACTIVE WEBSITES**

##### **Co.Ke - Visual storytelling photography project about Kenyan development and entrepreneurship**

In 2009, the fiber optic cable reached the country Kenya. By now, 89% of Kenyans have access to the Internet. "co.ke" shows a detailed portrait of young, acting entrepreneurs of the startup movement in Kenya and its capital Nairobi. It is an attempt to take an extended perspective on established image patterns of current African reporting and gives a counter-narrative of typical narratives portraying African countries as "underdeveloped".

<https://janekstroisch.de/co-ke>

#### **DOCUMENTARIES AND FILMS**

##### **Tomatoes and greed – the exodus of Ghana's farmers**

By Elke Sasse for Deutsche Welle

What do tomatoes have to do with mass migration? Tomatoes are a poker chip in global trade policies. Subsidized products from the EU, China and elsewhere are sold at dumping prices, destroying markets and livelihoods in Africa in the process.

Focussing on Ghana and Italy, this documentary gives unique insights into how trade

policies, development policies, development processes and migration are linked in the Euro-African context. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rIPZ0Bev99s>

## ***In other languages***

### **DOCUMENTARIES AND FILMS**

**Latvia: Brain Drain** (Language: French or German with English subtitles)

By Nathalie Georges for ARTE.tv

Latvia has lost 13% of its population in the last 20 years. Due to the pandemic, there has been an upsurge in the number of young people deciding to return home. Brexit is also fuelling the trend: a third of the Latvian diaspora currently still live in Great Britain. This ARTE.tv documentary gives insights into the complex dynamics of emigration, immigration and return migration in a European context.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=amqp2gU9634>

**Voices in motion: the film that shows the other face of migration**

(Language: Spanish with English subtitles)

Produced by Friedrich Naumann Foundation Madrid

In Barcelona, 28% of residents were born in a different country from Spain. In times of crisis, hate speeches try to use migration as the scapegoat. However, migrant populations widely contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of modern societies. This documentary showcases the stories of five people with migratory backgrounds living: An actor, an entrepreneur, a PhD graduate who mentors migrant professionals, a poet and an activist speak about how they contribute to their society and claim for better recognition and acceptance of people, beyond where they come from.

<https://globalcad.org/en/2022/09/21/voices-in-motion/>