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Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Migration and Development: the German-Africa
Development Cooperation on Mobility Processes and its
Influence on Multi-level Governance“

verfasst von / submitted by

Natália Madsen dos Santos

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Univ.-Prof. i.R. Mag. Dr. Christoph Reinprecht



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Abstract

Migration processes are not a linear phenomenon. Given that the movement of people differs in terms of drivers and individual status, it is not simple to trace a singular pattern in human mobility. In this sense, this complex and increasingly relevant phenomenon requires an analytical framework that includes its regularities and patterns, as well as its differentiations and singularities. By viewing human mobility as an intrinsic part of a broader process of social change and development, the present research analyses how macrostructural changes and actors shape and are shaped by migration processes. Therefore, analysing the counterintuitive aspects of migration in development helps to formulate adequate responses to different framework conditions, in an attempt to optimize the constructive effects and minimize the challenges of migration in development. Finally, in order to understand how development cooperation projects are conducted in relation to human mobility and their impact on multi-level migration governance, the *Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme in the Horn of Africa* is examined as case study.

Keywords: Migration, Development, Development Cooperation, Human Rights.

Abstrakt

Migrationsprozesse sind kein lineares Phänomen. Da sich die Mobilität von Menschen je nach Treiben und individuellem Status unterscheidet, ist es nicht einfach, ein einheitliches Muster in der menschlichen Mobilität zu identifizieren. In diesem Zusammenhang erfordert dieses komplexe und zunehmend relevante Phänomen einen analytischen Rahmen, der seine Regelmäßigkeiten und Muster ebenso wie seine Differenzierungen und Singularitäten umfasst. Die vorliegende Forschung betrachtet die menschliche Mobilität als einen integralen Bestandteil eines umfassenderen Prozesses des sozialen Wandels und der sozialen Entwicklung. Sie analysiert, wie makrostrukturelle Veränderungen und Akteure Migrationsprozesse prägen und von ihnen geprägt werden. Daher hilft die Analyse der kontraintuitiven Aspekte der Migration bei der Entwicklung von angemessenen Antworten auf unterschiedliche Rahmenbedingungen, um die positiven Auswirkungen zu maximieren und die mit der Entwicklung und Migration verbundenen Herausforderungen zu minimieren. Um schließlich zu verstehen, wie Entwicklungszusammenarbeitsprojekte in Bezug auf menschliche Mobilität durchgeführt werden und welche Auswirkungen sie auf die mehrstufige Migrationsgovernance haben, wird das *Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme in the Horn of Africa* als Fallstudie untersucht.

Schlüsselwörter: Migration, Entwicklung, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Menschenrechte.

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Introduction

Migration processes are not a linear phenomenon. Given that the movement of people differs in terms of reasons (poverty, civil war, new opportunities, etc) and individual status (educational level, skills, income) it is not simple to trace a singular pattern in mobility processes. As the drivers of people's mobility are varied, the constellations of actors involved, the decision-making processes, and geographical destinations¹ compose a complex system with several causes and effects, impacting the social arena. Due to the increasing complexity and relevance of human mobility, a specific analytical framework is necessary, which includes the regularities and patterns of this phenomenon, as well as its differentiation and singularities, in order to understand its impact on society.

Connecting these concepts, by seeing human mobility as an intrinsic part of a broader process of social change and development (the *Aspirations-Capability Framework*²), the present research aims to understand the non-linear and counterintuitive relationship between migration and development, analysing how macrostructural changes (inequality, warfare, labour recruitment, migration policies) and actors (states, international organizations, migrants, civil society, networks, businesses) shape and are shaped by migration processes.

Hence, this study endeavours to explore not only the advantageous dimensions of migration for development, including skill transfer, knowledge sharing, and remittances but also its attendant challenges, such as brain drain, labour exploitation, and human trafficking. The objective is to formulate suitable responses tailored to varying contextual conditions, with the aim of optimizing the constructive impacts of migration on sustainable development while mitigating its associated challenges.

In doing so, an examination of the multi-level governance of mobility processes is imperative to comprehensively elucidate the configurations and influence of actors engaged in the management of migration. For this proposal, the project examines a German Development Cooperation program on mobility processes in practice, taking *The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme in the Horn of Africa*³ as a case study.

¹ Sterly, Harald. 2020. *Translocal Social Constellations and Mediated Communication in Bangladesh*. University of Cologne: 2.

² de Haas, Hein. 2021. "A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework". CMS 9, 8. Comparative Migration Studies.

³ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH. Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme in the Horn of Africa - Promoting safe, orderly and regular migration from and within the Horn of Africa. 2023. <<https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/117840.html>> (16.12.2022).

To this extent, the project is structured into four primary segments. The first chapter delves into an exploration of fundamental concepts and theories pertaining to migration, aiming to establish a foundational comprehension of this phenomenon and its interconnectedness with the ongoing process of globalization. The second section conducts a comprehensive examination of the multifaceted dimensions of development, along with an exploration of the Migration and Development nexus. Subsequently, the third segment critically scrutinizes the multi-level governance of mobility processes, recognizing the paramount significance of actors and their collaborative efforts in the domain of migration management. Lastly, the concluding chapter of the thesis undertakes an inquiry into the practical facets of Development Cooperation within mobility processes. This inquiry encompasses the identification of objectives, activities, and outcomes of the *BMM Programme in the Horn of Africa*.

Consequently, this thesis is comprehensively scrutinized through the lens of a Human Rights approach, with a profound emphasis placed upon human agency and dignity as foundational and indispensable elements underpinning the development policy formulation process. Within this framework, the concept of development adopted in this study aligns with Amartya Sen's multidimensional perspective of development, transcending the confines of purely economic metrics to embrace a more comprehensive outlook. This perspective centres on the substantive freedoms that people enjoy⁴, with their inherent capabilities and human agency serving as catalysts for the enrichment of their own choices and prospects.

Ultimately, that synthesizes primary and secondary sources drawn from a comprehensive body of academic literature spanning disciplines such as Sociology, Economics, International Relations, and International Law. In essence, it incorporates reports from prominent international organizations, with the utilization of Digital Archive Analysis as a data collection instrument. To systematically assess these materials, the chosen methodology entails Content Analysis, wherein the data is subjected to critical and doctrinal interpretations to yield qualitative findings.

⁴ Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Methodology

The use of a particular method and methodology helps the researcher to organize her/his assumptions to understand the issue from a systematic view of reality. In fact, this is an essential step during the research processes, because this is a “particular research design that guides research in choosing methods and shapes the use of the methods chosen”⁵. While the methods are the “techniques or procedures used to gather and analyse data”⁶, the methodology describes the strategy behind the choice, that means the way in which methods are used⁷. That said, methodology is a crucial phase that helps the research develop the knowledge in a coordinated way.

Thereby, this work uses as instrument for collecting the material the Digital Archive Analysis. In fact, archival analysis is one of the tools to know a certain area of knowledge. As part of the communication strategy, archives share evidence from their records, carrying their own effects and acting as their own agents. Thereupon, digital archives are designed to make materials easily available to researchers.

Additionally, this master thesis is conducted through a Transdisciplinary Approach, combining primary and secondary sources from extensive academic literature, such as academic articles and books, from Sociology, Economics, International Relations, and International Law, as well as reports from International Organizations (from GIZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, UN – United Nation, and NGOs, Non-Governmental Organizations), with data intended to inform policies and decision-makers, civil society, governments, and regional organizations on migration field. To this extent, this research examines the Better Migration Management Programme in the Horn of Africa⁸ digital files and reports to assess its objectives, principles, phases, actions, and impact. All these evaluations are conducted not only on a critical interpretation of the findings and conclusions of the reports, but also on doctrinal interpretations of the qualitative results.

For these reasons, the method chosen to analyse these materials is Content Analysis. In fact, content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from text to

⁵ Crotty, Michael J. 1998. *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. (1st ed.). Routledge, London: 11.

⁶ Ibid: 11.

⁷ Della Porta, Donatella and Keating, Michael. 2008. *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A pluralist perspective*. Cambridge University Press. New York: 12.

⁸ United Nations Network on Migration. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme. <<https://migrationnetwork.un.org/projects/better-migration-management-bmm-programme>> (16.12.2023).

the context of its use⁹. In order to understand the counterintuitive aspects of migration on the broader processes of development, the thesis firstly comprehends migration and development patterns and theories, and then combine this analysis with real development cooperation projects for managing migration. Through an Inductive Method, this thesis is based on qualitative empirical social research of reports and publications from International Organizations, with empirical evidence and interviews, to compare theory and practice, to see the effectiveness of the doctrine within real challenges and processes of migration.

Migration research has an impact on decision-making and public debates, being an essential tool in the governance of human mobility. Through qualitative research, migration studies draw on fieldwork, evidence, and patterns to develop responses to this challenging phenomenon. In fact, “the stages of qualitative research often move in a circular way, which makes the researchers reflect on the whole process at each stage”¹⁰. As migration is a dynamic social process, advances and setbacks guide the study, impacting society on multifaceted, interdisciplinary, and transnational scales.

⁹ Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage: 18.

¹⁰ Zapata-Barrero, Ricard and Yalaz, Evren. 2022. “Chapter 25 - Qualitative Methods in Migration Research”, in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 404.

Theoretical Framework

This master's thesis is primarily based on the Global Theoretical Framework, as it combines transdisciplinary theoretical discussions in the field of Global Studies. As globalization is a conscious political strategy to deal with the challenge of changing connectedness¹¹ this approach helps the researcher to look at the development of society not only through the internal lens of the nation-state but also through its connection with external configurations and their ability to bring new responses to domestic needs. In this sense, this thesis first goes beyond the perspective of economics, to outline a broader concept of development. Accordingly, it seeks to combine economic, social, and political aspects to work with development in a holistic perspective to comprehend new social forms to achieve sustainable development.

Furthermore, a Transcivilizational perspective¹² also helps the researcher to use globalization to the benefit of development. The Transcivilizational approach is a tool to supplement the international perspective, which tends to be excessively State-centric¹³. Indeed, the fundamentally state-centric feature of international or global society remains an important structural principle. However, international entanglements must encompass not only features and issues among states but also requirements that transcend national borders. This multicultural perspective on international society, in addition to strengthening non-state actors, is capable of responding to the aspirations and demands of non-Western peoples, bringing new standpoints and ways of dealing with society's challenges. By adopting transnational perspectives, the researcher can assess global realities that have been overlooked by state-centric and Western views. To pay attention to phenomena produced in all regions of the world and give voice to parts that are often forgotten, the investigation assumes more pluralistic civilizational perspectives, thus holistically advocating for the resolution of global challenges. As the term transcivilizational encompasses multiple nations¹⁴, this theory presupposes that there are diverse cultures both within a civilization and transcending them¹⁵ and, therefore a national-only scale constrains the development of specific regions, as well as the globe as a whole. In this way, the transcivilizational perspective can help respond to the expectations of diverse civilizational cultures and connect new elements to the development of society.

¹¹ Middell, Matthias. 2014. "What Is Global Studies All About?", *Global Europe, Basel Papers on Europe in a Global Perspective* 105: 40.

¹² Yasuaki, Onuma. 2010. *A Transcivilizational Perspective on International Law. Questioning Prevalent Cognitive Frameworks in the Emerging Multi-Polar and Multi-Civilizational World of the Twenty-First Century*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: 93-411.

¹³ Ibid: 123.

¹⁴ Ibid: 131.

¹⁵ Ibid: 131.

To work with the concept of Development, this research relies on a multidimensional perspective of development, based on Amartya Sen's approach, which looks at development not only from an economic perspective but also in terms of education, rights, security, democracy, equality, health, happiness, in the quest to expand the substantive freedoms that people enjoy¹⁶, with their capabilities and human agency as drivers to improve their own choices and prospects.

In terms of migration theories, this research draws on Hein de Haas' *Aspiration-Capability Framework* on mobility processes, which views migration as a broader process of social change and development. In fact, a genuine analysis of migration processes requires a multifaceted perspective, bringing together not only the structures, but also the actors that shape and are shaped by mobility processes. Therefore, through analysing the agency and structure on migration processes it is possible to conceptualize migration as a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate within certain sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures¹⁷. This specific framework allows the researcher to broader understanding of the counterintuitive and complex aspects of migration in the social arena. A holistic perspective on migration studies is essential to capture the most diverse forms of movement, as well as the different actors, drivers, and regions linked to human movement.

Finally, by analysing doctrine, international policies, and frameworks in migratory processes, the investigation is based on the sociological attitude to understand mobility processes and population dynamics in time and space, as well as on the approach of Human Rights and International Cooperation, in the search for human agency and protection.

¹⁶ Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

¹⁷ Dao, Thu Hien; Docquier, Frédéric; Parsons, Christopher and Peri, Giovanni. 2016. "Migration and Development: Dissecting the Anatomy of the Mobility Transition". IZA DP No. 10272: 05.

1. Considerations on Migration

Mobility processes are a complex and non-linear phenomenon. Indeed, migration is a diverse phenomenon not only in terms of geographic scope (countries of origin, transit, and destination) but mainly because it encompasses a variety of reasons for migrating. International migration has accelerated over the past fifty years¹⁸, together with globalization processes and improvements in communication, technology, knowledge transfer, and transport, means of modernization that facilitate the movement of people around the world. In this sense, the study of mobility processes has demanded the crossing of different areas of knowledge, since this phenomenon has a multifaceted impact on the fields of demography, economics, politics, sociology, and law. This intersection of study areas demonstrates the complexity of the phenomenon and the need for a holistic view when evaluating the patterns and the plurality of these processes. Hereinafter, migration research is mostly about interpretations rather than facts, since migration environment, policies, narratives, and practices, cannot be viewed as external value-free facts, but always as a reality that has been politically and socially constructed¹⁹.

The first correlation when mentioning migration may be its relationship with poverty, frequently associated with the flows of people from *developing countries*²⁰ in “the South” to *developed* regions in “the North”. Mobility processes, indeed, include people in vulnerable situations who flee risk and poor areas, but they represent only a part of these movements, which go far beyond the “*developing-developed*” or “South-North” framework. An investigation of global origin-destination movements indicates that while South-North flows around the year 2000 represented 37 percent of global international migration, the South-South movements accounted for 24 percent, flows within the global North for 16 percent and the North-Southern flows represented 23 percent of global people flows (Parsons et al. 2007: 37)²¹. Therefore, in the year of assessment, South-North mobility is related to only 37 percent of

¹⁸ Czaika, Mathias and de Haas, Hein. 2015. “The Globalization of Migration: Has the World Become More Migratory?”, IMR International Migration Review. Published by Wiley Periodicals, Inc. on behalf of the Center for Migration Studies of New York: 291.

¹⁹ Ibid: 404.

²⁰ In light of the multidimensional nature of the concept of development, the nomenclature ‘developing country’ inadequately encapsulates the diverse dimensions of a nation’s developmental trajectory. This research employs the term ‘*developing countries*’ while acknowledging the variegated social manifestations, unique societal requisites, and historical legacies of colonialism and hierarchical impositions.

²¹ Skeldon, Ronald. 2009. “Migration and Development: Contested Consequences”, in: Kremer, Monique; van Lieshout, Peter and Went, Robert. *Doing Good or Doing Better: Development Policies in a Globalising World*. Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid. Scientific Council for Government Policy: 324.

global international migration, while flows between other regions represent a huge and important amount of mobility processes.

This draws attention to the relationship between migration and territory, since the expansion of the movement of people, from rural to urban areas, is closely linked to the demographic transition. Transitions to modern society, market opening, and increased freedom of spatial movement are both cause and effect of other forms of increased mobility²². This circulation through spatial orders, linked to the growth of modern society, is related to the complexity and plurality of migratory processes and their non-linearity in terms of destination, occurrence, and purpose. In this sense, international migration is a fraction of global mobility processes, but it does not cover the entire phenomenon. Internal migration is also an important portion of mobility processes and a great example of this is the sub-Saharan Africa migration, which reported less than 10 percent of the global international migrant's amount²³. Conversely, 70 percent of sub-Saharan migrants moved within the region (Parsons et al. 2007: 36)²⁴. Therefore, although some regions of the world have high emigration rates, they are not necessarily related to the international movement of people. This increases the importance of analysing the phenomenon as a whole, considering all its involvements. Ultimately, international and internal migration differ not only in terms of opportunities and reasons, but mainly in relation to border regulation and state sovereignty. In fact, international migration entails at least two countries (origin and destination) and normally other actors affected and responsible for these flows (country of transit, Supranational Entities, International Organizations).

Another important fact to consider when studying mobility processes is related to the categorization of migrants. The migrant label²⁵ refers to an individual's status, which is not permanent and can change according to her/his willingness to move to a country other than their home country. On the one hand, such categorization raises ethical concerns²⁶, because defining people by just one aspect of their life does not integrate the multifaceted aspects of the individual and also categorizes a portion of individuals in pure numbers, creating a social niche, which can express a discriminatory connotation. The label itself does not reflect who people

²² Zelinsky, Wilbur. 1971. "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition", *Geographical Review*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd: 8.

²³ Ibid: 324.

²⁴ Ibid: 325.

²⁵ Talleraas, Cathrine. 2022. "Chapter 06 - Migration Forms: What Forms of Migration Can Be Distinguished?", in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 87.

²⁶ Ibid: 112.

are, how they identify themselves and what they do²⁷. In effect, before being labelled as migrant, this individual is a human being, holder of rights and protection. On the Other hand, the categorization of migrants can be beneficial, if not discriminatory, when it comes to guaranteeing rights. This is particularly important because the way in which migrants are labelled have an impact on the way people are understood, encountered, and treated²⁸. Vulnerable populations, such as refugees, are entitled to more rights and need more protection. Categorizing them into a certain social niche is a useful tool in managing and guaranteeing their legal rights. This means that some vulnerable portions of society need greater attention and protection, as they face situations in which special treatment is necessary. Absolutely, this does not mean that people other than migrants have less rights than migrants. This means that when they find themselves in a vulnerable situation, human beings, whether migrants or not, need and have the right to a broader guarantee of rights, necessary to realize their dignity and safety. A great example of a category that needs greater protection under International Law is asylum seekers. When asking for protection, these individuals need international protection as a separate group²⁹, since they are entitled with rights that labour migrants, for instance, are not. As the international legal frameworks concerning asylum seekers/refugees provide them with a distinct set of rights, it is especially important to apply these labels with particular care³⁰.

Finally, as mobility processes are a highly plural phenomenon, the types and reasons for migration are also multifaceted. Indeed, “growing immigrant populations have also diversified by coming from an increasingly geographically distant and diverse array of origin countries”³¹. This means that the concept of migration encompasses a variety of mobility processes, such as environmental migration, labour migration, rural migration, temporary and permanent migration, health-related migration, irregular migration, family migration, internal displacement, student migration, LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer) migration, refugees, and asylum seekers. Despite the varied reasons and geographical dimension that encourage migration, all these labels are related to human mobility, composing a highly diverse system that connects cultures and regions.

²⁷ Ibid: 113.

²⁸ Ibid: 113.

²⁹ Ibid: 114.

³⁰ Ibid: 113.

³¹ Ibid: 291.

1.1 Globalization

Globalization processes are inserted in a historical dimension. There is no global process without a historical dialectic through which new conjectures and developments emerged. In fact, the integration of different social and cultural aspects is encouraged from the lens of Global History, because the history of the spatial, temporal, and structural processes of human development has been written through the interaction and flow of people in all parts of the world, through non-linear transregional practices. Global moments, such as revolutions, state-building processes, and the emergence of new world orders³² are great examples of conjectures that have brought a new quality to the interconnectedness of peoples, cultures, and languages. In this vein, the global condition does not remain the same over time, because “the world exists as a material fact and everyday practice in the global organization of production and destruction”³³. This means that not only the growth of people flows, but also the integration of global markets, different modes of communication, and cultural exchanges empirically reconstruct the global condition constantly. Therefore, globalization cannot be defined as a singular and homogeneous processes arising in a nodal part of the world. On the contrary, there are numerous processes of globalization throughout history and happening simultaneously today. As Engel and Middell teach, the “critical junctures of globalization are historical spaces, moments and arenas of globalization in which spatial orders are contested and reshaped”³⁴. Therefore, it is through development processes, crises, and setbacks that globalization is translated into the social environment, reaching different segments of the world. Middell explains that “nation-states and nationalizing processes are an important part of that story but is not sufficient to study them in isolation”³⁵. Thereupon, integration in the international arena encompasses the actions of multiple actors, such as non-governmental and international organizations, multinational corporations, civil society, and academics, to name a few.

As globalization is a conscious political strategy to deal with the challenge of changing connectedness³⁶ this approach helps the researcher to look at the development of society not only through the internal lens of the nation-state, but also through its connection with external

³²Middel, Matthias. 2021. Global moments, Revolutions, and Critical Conjectures of Globalization, Lecture Global History, Global History Critical Conjectures Revolutions, Leipzig University, 25.10.2021.

³³Geyer, Michael and Bright, Charles. 1995. *World History in a Global Age*. The American Historical Review. Vol. 100, No. 4: 91.

³⁴ Engel, Ulf und Middell, Matthias. 2005. “Bruchzonen der Globalisierung, globale Krisen und Territorialitätsregimes – Kategorien einer Globalgeschichtsschreibung“ *Comparativ* 15 (2): 8.

³⁵ Middell, Matthias. 2020. “From Universal History to Transregional Perspectives: The Challenge of the Cultural and Spatial Turn to World and Global History in the 1970s and Today”, Edinburgh University Press, International Society for Cultural History, Volume 9, Issue 2: 258.

³⁶ *Ibid*: 40.

configurations and their ability to bring new responses to domestic needs. Therefore, globalization “encourages a close analysis of individual and collective reactions to the global condition”³⁷ due to the increasing connectedness of people, goods, and cultures. This means that various political projects have emerged from this interaction, driven by a range of actors beyond nations-states, who bring multifaceted solutions to the challenges of society.

Likewise, migratory flows are part of the globalization processes and, as globalization is not a homogeneous practice, global migratory systems also carry several dimensions. The history of human mobility shows different quantitative and qualitative shifts in these processes, according to the different regions of the world³⁸, emergence of new technologies, and the rise of global capitalism³⁹. For these reasons, the different forms of transnational migration are closely related to space-making practices. Mass migration processes go far beyond the territories of nation-states, as they are expressed in a multicultural geographic network, which has changed throughout history and continues to change constantly. Therefore, the history of global mobility is expressed through space-making practices and interconnectivity. In fact, the historical dialectic of global mobility is expressed as an unstable movement⁴⁰, combining peaks of transnational and transregional mobility and moments of deceleration. Indeed, transnational ties are reinforced by globalization, through networks, remittances, and rapid flows of ideas and knowledge. According to de Haas, increased literacy and education, along with improved access to “global” information through (satellite) television, mobile phones, and the Internet seem to have increased people’s aspirations and awareness of opportunities in other/new countries. Combined, these processes seem to have increased people’s capabilities and aspirations to migrate⁴¹. In this sense, globalization shapes and is shaped by migratory flows, since social transformations are drivers that accentuate mobility patterns and form the way in which transnationalism affects regions and countries.

1.2 Migration Drivers

Undoubtedly, globalization is affected by and affects migration, since the processes that drive human mobility are closely linked to global phenomena. As a basic methodological premise,

³⁷ Ibid: 40.

³⁸ See the *Atlanto-centrism* criticism in: McKeown, Adam. 2004. “Global Migration, 1846-1940”, in: *Journal of World History* 15, no 2: 155.

³⁹ Marung, Steffi. 2022. Session 11: A World on the Move? Migration in Global Historical Perspective, in Seminar Global History, Leipzig University, 04.01.2022.

⁴⁰ Middel, Mattias. 2022. Session 11: A World on the Move? Migration in Global Historical Perspective, in Seminar Global History, Leipzig University, 07.01.2022.

⁴¹ Ibid: 285.

people respond to extrinsic or intrinsic predisposing stimuli when deciding about migration⁴². Collective structures are responsible for shaping people's needs and hopes, as not only opportunities but also constraints affect people's propensity and ability to migrate. Therefore, the drivers of migration go far beyond the simple choice to migrate. In fact, they are fundamental social reasons that influence individuals' decision about migrating.

Migration drivers are intrinsically related to migration modalities. When analysing student and labour migration, for example, factors such as better economic opportunities, improved education, or higher social status, may be among the 'utilitarian'⁴³ reasons to migrate. On the contrary, in the case of refugees or asylum seekers, the drivers can range among climate change, political persecution, war, the need for protection, etc.

Furthermore, migration drivers can be seen through their temporality, selectivity, and geography. The aspect of temporality is related to the duration of the journey, whether there is a permanent or temporary driver. In this sense, natural disasters and violence, for example, may last until the abnormality ceases, while family migration may be characterized by the permanent change in the new context. Selectivity suggests that economic, social, and cultural changes affect individuals differently. A labour opportunity, for example, may only influence migrants who have a certain education level, required for that position. Finally, from a geographic perspective, global and local drivers represent the places affected by mobility processes (countries of origin, transit, and destination)⁴⁴

Micro and macrostructural causes affect individuals' decision to migrate, as the combination of people's aspirations, opportunities, and ability to move, boosted by social, political, and economic elements, prompt people to migrate. Migration decisions are, therefore, both situational and contextual, as they configure a complex of possible drivers available in time and space, which shape people's decision and ability to migrate⁴⁵. The interaction of drivers and propensities are essential players in the dynamics of human mobility.

Therefore, the dimensions and factors of the drivers can be illustrated by:

i Demographic (population dynamics);

⁴² Czaika, Mathias and Reinprecht, Constantin. 2022. "Chapter 03 - Migration Drivers: Why do People Migrate?", in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 51.

⁴³ Ibid: 52.

⁴⁴ Ibid: 54.

⁴⁵ Ibid: 55.

- ii Economic (labour markets, employment, urban/rural development, poverty and inequality);
- iii Environmental (climate change, natural disasters);
- iv Human development (education, training opportunities, health services);
- v Individual (personal resources, migration experience and aspirations);
- vi Politico-institutional (public infrastructure, provisions, migration governance and policy, civil and political rights);
- vii Security (war, violence, political repression, transitory regimes);
- viii Socio-cultural (migrant communities and networks, cultural norms, gender relations) and
- ix Supranational (globalisation and (post)colonialism, transnational ties, international relations and geopolitical transformations)⁴⁶.

Finally, distinct socio-economic drivers influence individuals and regions differently. Due to push and pull factors, migration drivers may increase the potential that people have to migrate or may restrain the individual from moving, dynamics that influence and are influenced by the global condition.

1.3 Migration Theories

Migration as a field of research requires a holistic view, in order to capture not only the theoretical but also the empirical aspects of this phenomenon. Theories of migration have been a matter of impasse among scholars; hence the area has remained an under-theorised field of social inquiry⁴⁷. Indeed, this area of research still lacking in development is not able to keep up with the continuous growth of human mobility and capture this phenomenon together with the processes of globalization. In this sense, the different migration theories seek above all to understand the reasons for people's movement, their geographical direction and the forms of mobility. These academic frameworks try to trace patterns that may influence an individual's decision to migrate, in an attempt to get insights from these designs to understand the complexity of these flows.

It is possible to draw two main distinct models of migration theory, already known and well developed by scholars, namely 'Functionalist Theory' and 'Historical-structural' social theory. Between these two main models, several sub theories have been developed, in an attempt to

⁴⁶ Ibid: 56.

⁴⁷ Ibid: 67.

explain human mobility. On the one hand, the ‘Functionalist Theory’ has as subcategories i Neoclassical equilibrium models, from economics (John R. Harris; Michael P. Todaro, 1970); ii Push–pull models (Everett Lee, 1960s); iii Migration systems theories, mainly from geography and demography (Akinlawon Ladipo Mabogunje, 1970) and iv Network theories, primarily from sociology⁴⁸. On the other hand, ‘Historical-structural’ theories are related to i Neo-Marxist Conflict Theory; ii World systems theory (Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein 1974, 1980); iii Dependency theory (Andre Gunder Frank 1966); iv Dual labour-market theory (Michael J. Piore 1979); v Critical globalisation theory; vi Transnational (Steven Vertovec 2009) and vii Diaspora (Robin Cohen 1997; Nathan Safran 1991)⁴⁹.

The theories mentioned above vary according to the phenomenon niche that it intended to be evaluated, to explain a complex issue in generalised interpretations. For the purpose of this research, some of these models will be the subject of study.

1.3.1 Functionalist Theory

Functionalist social theory perceives society as an organism, which, like the human body, is composed of co-dependent parts, which together allow the whole functioning. Therefore, working as a system composed of interdependent players (actors, individuals, institutions), society has an inherent tendency towards equilibrium⁵⁰. By examining the roles of the actors in the construction of society, Functionalist theory seeks balance and social order. In this sense, Functionalist models see migration as a positive phenomenon that contributes to the productivity and prosperity of society⁵¹, as it is responsible not only for the movement of people but also for the flows of knowledge and goods. By evaluating the flows of people and resources among different places, this theory views migration as an optimisation strategy by individuals or families making cost–benefit calculations⁵². Therefore, individuals use migration as a plan to obtain better life opportunities. At the macrolevel, individuals’ moving choices are expected to contribute to a more optimal allocation of production factors, reducing economic gaps between origin and destination areas⁵³.

⁴⁸ Johnson, Karin A. C. 2020. “International Migration, Development, and Policy: Reconsidering Migration Transition Theory - A Way Forward”, Hatfield Graduate Journal of Public Affairs, Volume 4, Article 5: 05.

⁴⁹ Ibid: 07.

⁵⁰ Ibid: 04.

⁵¹ Ibid: 10.

⁵² Ibid: 49.

⁵³ de Haas, Hein. 2021. “A theory of migration: the aspirations-capabilities framework”. CMS 9, 8. Comparative Migration Studies.

From Functionalist theory, two main migration theories, namely Demographic and Economic, justify the transformations in mobility by correlating national population and fiscal increases⁵⁴. On the one hand, according to Wilbur Zelinsky's (1971), the Demographic Migration Transition Theory postulates that through time and space population and geographic transformations ascend, resulting in a shift from high to low levels of birth and mortality, according to with the social and economic development of a country. In this sense, Demographic Transition Theory concludes that mobility transitions are linked to progressive and irreversible social demographic changes brought about through modernization⁵⁵, resulting in four distinctive phases of society's development (i Pre-Industrial Society; ii Early Industrialization; iii Mature Industrialization; and iv Post-Industrial Society). On the other hand, Neoclassical Economic Migration theories (economic equilibrium models), from Sjaasad, 1962 and Todaro, 1969, see a linear relationship where economic revenue is inversely proportional to migration rates, which are expected to reach equilibrium⁵⁶. In this sense, this theory assumes that people migrate due to the divergence in economic prospects between countries of origin and destination. Consequently, choices about destinations are based on economic factors and individuals search for places where migration is positive for them. Therefore, an equilibrium is expected, where economic revenue is inversely proportional to migration rates and at a some point economic conditions (e.g., relative cross-national wage differentials) would become equal, resulting in zero net migration⁵⁷. Economic equilibrium models predicted that the development of the Global South would function as a direct substitute for migration (Taylor 1996, 11)⁵⁸, since by diminishing the economic gap between countries, migration rates tend to also decrease. Martin and Taylor (1996) worked with the 'migration hump' model, aimed at applying development policies as a means of reducing unwanted South-North migration. In their assumption, with increasing economic development of the Global South through international trade and gross national income, for example, migration rates would progressively increase, leading to a short-term migration surge and followed by a decline in migration to zero when national incomes were relatively equivalent⁵⁹. Therefore, through a rational and well-calculated decision, individuals migrate in search of economic convergence.

⁵⁴ Ibid: 12.

⁵⁵ Ibid: 05.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 04.

⁵⁷ Ibid: 05.

⁵⁸ Ibid: 04.

⁵⁹ Ibid: 07.

Once equilibrium is reached, mobility processes tend to stop and income convergence acts on the development of countries.

These Functionalist theories are, indeed, useful instruments for understanding the migratory phenomenon. However, some criticisms must be made, since they interpret human mobility as a singular and static pattern of society, in which once stabilized it is resolved. To this extent, understanding society and mobility processes as linear and predictable phenomena leads to an inadequate view of the world. Migration is included in the social arena, driven by and shaped by globalization. These theories, from a reductionist perspective, do not consider the plural dynamics and inequalities of mobility processes, as well as how government regulations and authorities can influence an individual's decision to migrate. On the one hand, Demographic models misinterpret economic, social, and political elements when they are based on particularly inflexible geopolitical circumstances. On the other side, Neoclassical Economic theories fail in explaining why most people do not migrate despite severe income differentials (Bogue, 1977; Hagen-Zanker, 2008)⁶⁰, disregarding the agency of individuals and portraying them as simply puppets seeking economic equilibrium. In fact, despite the implementation of economic development policies and the adoption of selectively restrictive immigration policies by the North, migration between *developing* to developed countries continues⁶¹. Therefore, mobility practices go beyond purely individual economic goals and affect society in a multifaceted way.

In conclusion, Functionalist theories portray migration primarily as a means for individuals to obtain better opportunities in the destination country. Weak in capturing the diverse drivers and consequences of migratory processes, these models standardize a complex social phenomenon. In fact, “knowing what motivates individual people to move does not really help us to explain the processes, patterns, and drivers of migration at the structural level”⁶², as this does not take into account macrostructural systems and the different and counterintuitive social aspects. The most complicated and unanswered questions, such as ‘why do wealthier, more ‘developed’ societies tend to have higher levels of immigration and emigration than poor and ‘underdeveloped’ societies?’; or ‘how can we explain that most migration does not occur from the poorest to the richest societies? Why does ‘development’ in origin countries often lead to increased emigration propensities?’ and ‘why do most people actually not migrate despite the

⁶⁰ Ibid: 50.

⁶¹ Ibid: 04.

⁶² Ibid: 13.

existence of huge income and opportunity gaps within and between countries?’⁶³ are not explained by these models, which clearly require the involvement of micro and macrostructural factors and actors that shape mobility processes.

1.3.2 Historical-Structural Theory

Historical-Structural theory analyses the structure of society in combination with historical dimensions, in an attempt to understand the development of society in the course of time. Therefore, this model evaluates how powerful elites oppress and exploit poor and vulnerable people, how capital seeks to recruit and exploit labour, and how ideology and religion play a key role in justifying exploitation and injustice, by making them appear to be the normal and natural order of things⁶⁴. Focused on the structures of society, Historical theories claim that there is an inclination towards the perpetuation and reproduction of inequalities, both geographical and between actors, analysing the social phenomenon through intersectionality, power relations, social change, and historical perspective. In this vein, Historical-Structural theories see migration “as being shaped by structural economic and power inequalities, both within and between societies, as well as the ways in which migration plays a key role in reproducing and reinforcing such inequalities”⁶⁵. By evaluating mobility processes from historical and structural perspectives, these models attempt to understand the interrelationship among historical legacies, developments, and the dynamics of global connectedness. Historical-Structural models are often based on the belief that “South-North” migration is an irrational process, which does not benefit migrants⁶⁶, since they are “used” by macro forces to exercise power and perpetuate inequalities.

From Historical-Structural theory, on the one hand, the Neo-Marxist Economic Theory highlights the forces and structures that shape the macro and micro transformations of society. This model emphasizes the economic, social, political, and cultural constraints inherent in individuals’ lives, which give rise to imbalances and perpetuate inequalities. In this vein, migration is motivated by demand for global and economic growth, driven by states and businesses (opening of markets, regulation of borders and power relations), in an attempt to favour those who are already in a vertically higher position of society (the wealthier, the more

⁶³ McGarrigle, Jennifer. 2022. “Chapter 10 - Lifestyle Migration”, in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 173.

⁶⁴ Ibid: 177.

⁶⁵ de Haas, Hein. 2012. “The Migration and Development Pendulum: A Critical View on Research and Policy”, in: IOM UN Migration, International Migration. *Migration and Development Buzz? Rethinking the Migration Development Nexus and Policies*, Volume 50, Issue, 12.

⁶⁶ Ibid: 324.

qualified, the privileged) and to further exploit vulnerable groups (the poor, the irregular, the ethnically diverse). On the other hand, the World System Theory claims that “capitalist systems destroy traditional economic structures and livelihoods, and thereby shape domestic and international migration patterns” (Wallerstein, 1974)⁶⁷. From a postcolonial perspective, this model clarifies that postcolonial systems resemble those of colonialism due to neoliberalism and corporate capitalism, including transnational ties (Fawcett, 1989)⁶⁸.

Historical-structural models are of great relevance to explain voluntary migration of individuals with broad positive and negative freedoms. In the case of irregular or forced migration, these theories do not assess the lack of protection and restrictions that people may face. The lower the protection and support given to migrants, the greater the vulnerability faced by these individuals, facilitating their exploitation for the sake of economic growth. Furthermore, these models do not consider human agency in the mobility process, as they portray migrants as inactive actors who act in accordance with powerful macro-forces.

1.3.3 Problems with current migration theories

In fact, mobility processes cannot be defined either as capital flows or as political systems of economic growth. While Functionalist theories have a large descriptive analysis of specific forms of human mobility, such as skilled migration, Historical-Structural models focus more on the role of States in restricting and regulating the entry of migrants, as well as the exploitation of individuals by macro-forces.

Chiefly, traditional migration theories neglect essential aspects that make up the migratory phenomenon. The choices and aspirations of individuals at the time of migration are poorly analysed and considered by these models. Social, economic, and educational accesses are basically ignored by these models, which do not analyse the role of material sources, knowledge, skills, and networks in shaping the decision to migrate. Moreover, these concepts fail to acknowledge that individuals do not migrate solely as an instrumental role but are also motivated by various drivers and impulses linked to their social status. Finally, these approaches do not consider that structures of inequality and social hierarchies shape mobility processes among different groups, historical periods, and geographic contexts. An assessment of distinct analytical levels (macro-, meso-, and microlevels) becomes imperative for comprehending

⁶⁷ Ibid: 174.

⁶⁸ Ibid: 54.

structural patterns and social contexts, thereby enabling an enhanced understanding of migration dynamics.

Indeed, migration is a highly complex phenomenon, which requires different levels and perspectives of analysis. Social transformations, geographical and historical singularities, and political aspects are interconnected and shaped by globalization. In this sense, the lack of a ‘common frame of reference to explain ‘facts’ and ‘findings’ from various disciplinary and paradigmatic perspectives’⁶⁹ tends to ignore the root causes and consequences of mobility processes, as well as their main drivers and types. A Global Theoretical Framework, which holistically captures social phenomena from a multi-layered perspective, is necessary in the field of migration. A conceptual framework that amalgamates diverse social theories and embraces emerging disciplines is requisite for conceptualizing migration as an inherent component of a broader process encompassing globalization and development. In fact, a ‘meta-theoretical framework able to simultaneously incorporate agency and structure in explaining migration and which acknowledges that the vast majority of migrants face some level of constraint yet also have some level of choice’⁷⁰ captures the multiplicity of migration occurrences and integrates the interplay of social, political, and economic arrangements within a richer understanding of mobility processes.

Finally, as Professor Hein de Haas poses:

“A full understanding of contemporary migration processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone or by focusing on a single level of analysis. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels and assumptions”⁷¹.

Therefore, aspects such as education, economic status, culture, ideas, politics, regions, poverty, personal aspirations, choices, rights, and power have a strong influence in defining migration processes. Being a non-linear and counterintuitive phenomenon, mobility processes cannot be framed as a singular and generalized phenomenon, which has a starting point and a specific end. As an intrinsic part of a broader process of social transformation, development, and globalisation⁷², this phenomenon goes beyond a predictable and deterministic analysis model.

⁶⁹ Ibid: 03.

⁷⁰ Ibid: 09.

⁷¹ Ibid: 10.

⁷² Ibid: 30.

1.3.4 Aspirations-Capability Framework

A genuine analysis of migration processes requires a multi-layered perspective, which brings together not only the structures, but also the actors that shape and are shaped by human mobility. Hein de Haas, professor and migration researcher, explains that to capture the substantive drivers, patterns, and impact of migration, an evaluation of agency and social structure must be incorporated into the study. Through analysing the agency and structure of migration processes it is possible to conceptualise migration as a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate within given sets of perceived geographical opportunity structures⁷³. This means that, on the one hand, migrants and actors linked to migratory processes have agency to transform these processes⁷⁴, and on the other hand, macrostructural factors, such as social change and globalization processes, impact and are highly impacted by migration. Therefore, through de Haas *Aspirations–Capabilities* framework, human mobility is seen as “an intrinsic part of broader processes of social change” and development, as macrostructural forces and changes design migrants’ capabilities and aspirations to move. Rather than a ‘cause-and-effect’ response⁷⁵, the capability approach appears as a broader perspective to comprehend this non-linear phenomenon. “The resulting framework helps to clarify the complex and counterintuitive ways in which processes of social transformation and ‘development’ shape”⁷⁶ and are shaped by human mobility, encompassing the most diverse forms of movement, from different regions, motives, and actors.

As a social process, migration cannot be seen in isolation from the broader processes of change of which it is a constituent part⁷⁷. Reasons for migration, along with demographic, economic, social, political, and cultural elements of society, are driving forces that impel individuals to move or stay. Figure 01⁷⁸ expresses the intrinsic relationship between social change and migration, with both as constant causes and effects of the phenomenon.

⁷³ Ibid: 02.

⁷⁴ Ibid: 01.

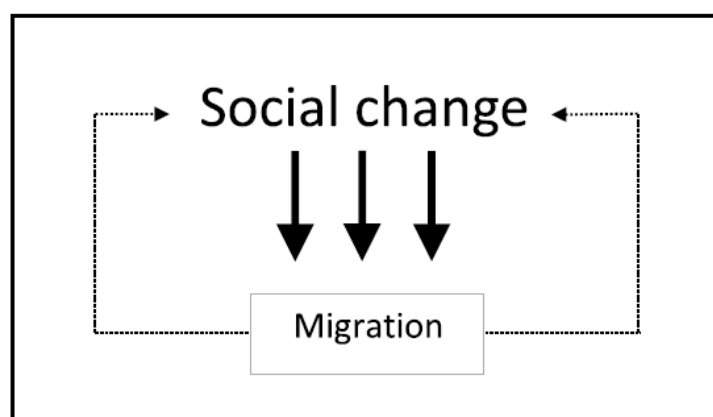
⁷⁵ Ibid: 02.

⁷⁶ Ibid: 24.

⁷⁷ Ibid: 12.

⁷⁸ Ibid: 13.

Figure 01: Migration as an intrinsic part of broader social change



In a reciprocal relationship⁷⁹, the elements that influence the globe, such as, climate change, wars, economic growth, and education are responsible for boosting human mobility geographically. At the same time, once displaced, migration continues to have a social and geographic impact on the society of origin and destination. Remittances, diasporas, and knowledge transfer are great examples of the mutual impact of migration, both in the country of origin as well as in the destination.

Through this broader perspective on human mobility, which encompasses actors and social change, a “more realistic understanding of the ways in which macrolevel changes affect people’s migratory agency”⁸⁰ is constructed. Given that these macrostructure transformations are non-linear and complex, through this framework it is possible to understand interrelationship between the drivers and the consequences of mobility processes, and better measure the impact of this phenomenon at individual and collective level. Hence, by perceiving migration as an integral component of broader processes of social transformation and development, it becomes feasible to incorporate facets intrinsic to globalization, incorporating various groups, degrees, and forms of movement within the same analytical framework.

1.4 Structure and Agency

Since the *Aspirations-Capability* framework is based on the structures and actors that shape mobility processes, it is essential to understand the central meaning of these elements.

On the one hand, structure is related to uniformities, models, and power relations within society. Government regulations, businesses, and laws, for example, are some macro elements that affect social relations. In terms of migration, structures simultaneously restrict the migration of

⁷⁹ Ibid: 13.

⁸⁰ Ibid: 16.

particular social groups, while facilitating the migration of other groups along very specific geographic and social routes⁸¹. Border regulation and recruitment are linked to a possible facilitation or restriction of a certain social group. The comprehensive array of structural conditions within both the origin and destination locales engenders intricate prospective frameworks, eliciting diverse responses from individuals and social groups, thereby influencing people's capabilities, aspirations, and social dynamics. Therefore, structures play a core role in establishing migration arrangements across space and groups.

On the other hand, agency is intrinsically related to the capability to act in accordance with an aspiration or preference. As a fundamental human freedom, migratory agency reciprocally affects the structural conditions⁸², since individuals' knowledge, material sources, and networks enable people to aspire (or not) to move, according to their cultural, economic, and educational capacities. In this sense, human mobility is related to the movement of people, but also to the ability (freedom) to choose where to live, including staying in your place of origin⁸³. In fact, in certain restrained situations of war or poverty, people are often unable to leave, due to lack of economic capabilities or even political persecution. Simultaneously, mere departure from one's place of origin does not guarantee acceptance by the destination country, as entry may be restricted for certain individual. The agency to move, therefore, is also associated with the agency to stay at home, as individuals' aspirations and perception of a good life may claim.

The capabilities approach conceptualises human mobility ((the freedom of people to choose where to live) as a capacity to improve well-being in its own right ('migration as freedom')⁸⁴. On the contrary, the exercise of this freedom of movement becomes manifest when both positive and negative liberties empower individuals to exercise their freedom (in choosing their place of residence). Negative freedoms are described as the absence of obstacles and constrains⁸⁵. This means that the movement of individuals does not encounter barriers, for example, through border regulations, oppression and discrimination, to take place. Positive freedom 'derives from the wish on the part of the individual to be his own master'⁸⁶, having the means to act in accordance with his/her choices and aspirations, whether through education, skills, economic resources, or even simply curiosity. Indeed, the negative and positive liberties

⁸¹ Skeldon, Ronald. 2008. "International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: A Passing Phase?", *Population and Development Review* Volume 34, Issue 1: 15.

⁸² Ibid: 27.

⁸³ Ibid: 31.

⁸⁴ Ibid: 19.

⁸⁵ Ibid: 24.

⁸⁶ Ibid: 24.

are valuable instruments to comprehend the impact of macrostructural forces (governments, regulations, recruiters, law), in shaping people's aspiration and capacity to migrate. In this line of analysis, the absence of external constraint (negative liberty) is not a sufficient condition for people to exert migratory agency, because they need a certain degree of 'positive liberty' that allows them to enjoy genuine mobility freedom⁸⁷. For instance, as is the case of Germany and the EU Blue Card⁸⁸ it grants, governments can provide policy regulations that allow entry of qualified professionals, enabling them to live and work in the country. However, if individuals do not possess the education and qualifications necessary to fill this vacancy, the absence of capabilities (positive freedoms) may prevent them from exercising this substantial opportunity. In this sense, people may aspire to escape situations of poverty, distress, and danger but they still need certain 'positive liberties' (capabilities) in the form of resources such as money, social connections, knowledge, and physical ability, in order to be able to move⁸⁹.

The intersection of positive and negative liberties within the context of broader social macrostructures underscores the non-linear nature of human mobility. This is because processes of social transformation and development either enhance or curtail individuals' capacities for movement. Hence, considering the intricate influences of macrolevel forces on human agency, it is imperative to acknowledge that human mobility is contingent upon social transformations, and without these global processes of change, migration would not have attained its current magnitude.

Similarly, by conceptualising mobility processes as an intrinsic part of broader processes of social change and development, as well as a function of aspirations and capabilities to migrate⁹⁰, a broader and more sensitive meaning of human mobility is stated, encompassing not only its most diverse forms, but also the role of structure and agency as symbiotic indicators of these processes. The interaction between these dynamics exposes the complex and non-linear drivers and consequences of migration, capturing its diverse effects and dimensions.

Since the human movement is fundamentally connected to the broader process of social change, the *Capability-Approach* framework better describes the phenomenon from a holistic

⁸⁷ Ibid: 24.

⁸⁸ "The EU Blue Card allows third-country nationals with a university degree and a job offer that a specific annual minimum income guaranteed to live in Germany and to work" – *free translation*. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge. Blaue Karte EU. Arbeiten und leben in Deutschland <https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/MigrationAufenthalt/BlaueKarteEU/flyer-blaue-karte.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=7#:~:text=Die%20Blaue%20Karte%20EU%20erm%C3%B6glicht,zu%20eben%20und%20zu%20arbeiten> (04.04.2023).

⁸⁹ Ibid: 24.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 17.

perspective, allowing the researchers to capture the multi-layered factors affected by and affecting human mobility. Hence, De Haas aligns the augmentation of individual capacities and ambitions with both human and economic development. This leads to higher levels of migration, as when individuals expand their capabilities and knowledge levels, they tend to discover new opportunities and aspire to better qualities of life. Therefore, human and societal development are systematically related to the movement of individuals.

Thus, the *Aspirations–Capabilities* model clarifies why development measures (economic, educational, infrastructure) and social changes (war, climate change, industrialization, political and geographical transitions, etc) are linked to increased migration levels. Consequently, it is within these counterintuitive dynamics of macrostructural transformations that individuals' capacities and perspectives evolve, and it is through human agency that they are compelled to migrate in pursuit of their aspirations.

2. Development and Migration

2.1 Development

Defining development is definitely not a simple task. Development is a heterogeneous concept, encompassing different dimensions and levels of analysis. Indeed, advances in social conditions and economic progress, in the search for improving human well-being, are a starting point for understanding the concept and functions of development within society. Certainly, economic growth is one of the many requirements for development. Better infrastructure and the addition of more resources to the production system lead to productivity growth, consequently increasing the demand for workers, according to the level of production. With high demand for labour, incomes will increase. Consequently, if increasing incomes can structurally reduce poverty, the economic dimension does indeed appear to play an important role in development policies. However, defining development with a purely economic dimension not only expresses a simplistic and poor perspective, but also ignores essential elements that can be used to improve human life.

On the one hand, it is not possible to deny the importance of economic growth in development. On the other hand, it is overly simplistic to work with just one piece of an entire puzzle. Over time, strictly economic interpretations of development (i.e., economic growth measured in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita trends)⁹¹ denies a broader perspective of human development. For instance, GDP figures fail to account for informal economic activities, which occur within agricultural settings, women's labour contributions, and households. In addition, there is a lack of transparency about how income is distributed among people. While economic growth is an essential part of development, human development is a continuous condition for advancement. In fact, the Human Development Index (HDI), has been used in successive annual reports by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), since 1990, to synthesize, alongside GDP per capita, quality of life variables such as literacy, health, life expectancy, infant mortality, human rights, and gender equality into composite indices⁹². By capturing specific elements of human development, the HDI evaluates indicators beyond the economic bias, obtaining a multifaceted perspective of human needs. Therefore, in order to achieve sustainable development, a broader enhancement in human well-being is expected.

Amartya Sen, through his *Capability Approach*, reformulates the meaning of development, seeking to achieve human freedom as a means to achieve development. Employing a people-

⁹¹ Ibid: 169.

⁹² Ibid: 169.

focused perspective that centres on individuals and their well-being, Sen characterizes the phenomenon, prioritizing the enhancement of human lives as a fundamental objective of development. For him, per capita income (or wealth) is only instrumentally important⁹³, it is just a means to achieve a broader end, namely “the achievement of intrinsically valuable aspects of life”⁹⁴. In this sense, by obtaining human agency, capability, and well-being human freedoms are expanded and fundamental progress can be accomplished. These advancements cover different categories of human development, ranging from political and social development to cultural and educational elements.

The process of broadening the substantial freedoms accessible to individuals and enhancing their capacity to lead lives aligned with their own aspirations and their conception of a dignified existence empowers people to exercise choice and control over their lives. For Sen, “income growth itself should not be the litmus test for development theorists but the question whether the capabilities (or freedoms) of people to control their own lives have expanded”⁹⁵. Amartya’s freedom is expressed in five different dimensions, namely, i political freedom; ii economic freedom; iii social opportunities; iv transparent guarantees; and v protective security. Likewise, with freedom as a core element of the development process, Amartya Sen covers broader aspects of human life, showing that these aspects are basic freedoms that allow individuals to participate in economic interaction within society. For example, for an individual to be able to actively participate in the arrangements of the economy and market, a minimum of social conditions are necessary, such as literacy, rights, and health. Under social barriers, economic, political, and cultural participation are denied to these individuals, meaning that substantial fragments of human development are not being recognized. Sen explains that “the basic objective of human development is to enlarge the range of people’s choices to make development more democratic and participatory.” (UN, 2011). Accordingly, individual liberties and the elimination of human deprivations are constitutive of development. Barriers to human freedom are intimately linked not only to the lack of social facilities, guarantees, and rights, but also to the removal of sources of denial of freedom, such as poverty, inequality, neglect of public services, and repressive states.

Positive and negative liberties, as well as the elimination of the persistence of deprivations are means to achieve development with social effectiveness. Indeed, poverty and social deprivation

⁹³ Velástegua, Pablo Garcés. 2020. “Humanizing Development: Taking Stock of Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach”, *Problemas del Desarrollo, Revista Latinoamericana de Economía*, volume. 51, núm. 203: 03.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*: 03.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*: 19.

are intrinsically linked to development, as they deny individuals the possibility of actively choosing and leading a good life. Sen sees poverty as a state of “unfreedom” or incapacity, which deprives people of their freedom to satisfy hunger, to obtain adequate nutrition, shelter, or learn⁹⁶. According to Sen, “the benefits of education, therefore, exceed its role as human capital in the production of commodities, since a broader perspective of human capability would take into account – and value – these additional roles”⁹⁷. Therefore, as a social barrier to the achievement of freedom and capabilities, poverty can be seen as one of the biggest obstacles to human development, as it not only restricts people’s access to basic needs, such as drinking water, food, and electricity, but also reduces their chances and capabilities to make choices for their personal and social lives. Once again, economic achievements are crucial because they help people achieve these basic human conditions. Nevertheless, to reduce poverty and keep its levels low, not only income measures should be taken. Rising income is one of the steps towards human development, but structurally this category alone leads to cycles of development and setbacks, with a high probability of people returning to poverty. This is the main reason why economic growth is a *necessary* condition for human development, but not a *sufficient* condition (Frankema, 2018). For example, public policies on qualifications, literacy, and intellectual capacity not only increase people’s chances of finding a better job (thus increasing their incomes), but also their chances of maintaining (and improving) their levels of education, health, and other social aspects of life. According to Sen, “the intensity of economic needs increases – not diminishes – the urgency of political freedoms, that means the direct importance of basic capabilities, their instrumental role in enhancing political attention, and their constructive appeal in conceptualizing needs in a social context”⁹⁸. The improvement of human agency, in which people have space in the social arena to be part of its construction and improvements, allow them to become active agents of change, capable and responsible for building and expanding their freedoms. Therefore, the increase in mass income, not accompanied by individual freedoms, not only delays the development of people, but also the progress (internal and external) of countries.

For Sen, the intent of development theory is to understand the causes of poverty and human deprivation, in order to formulate viable proposals that stop or reverse it. In this sense, a solid framework of public policies, education, and individual guarantees, for instance, serve as a

⁹⁶ Xaba, Mzingaye Brilliant. 2016. “A qualitative application of Amartya Sen’s ‘development as freedom’ theory to an understanding of social grants in South Africa”, CODESRIA, *Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, Vol. 20, No. 2: 103.

⁹⁷ Ibid: 373.

⁹⁸ Ibid: 195.

stimulus to political and economic freedom, therefore, to the exercise of individual freedom. Thereupon, the growth of political and civil liberties is a central process in the direction of development⁹⁹, since the freedom to participate in a critical evaluation in the process of social formation is among the most important existential freedoms. Furthermore, for Amartya freedom is linked, on the one hand, to *process*, which means social choice and political participation as an integral part of development (decision-making processes), and on the other hand, to *opportunities*¹⁰⁰ to achieve the individual goals and develop human capacities. Additionally, Sen highlights the importance of human capabilities in contrast to the concept of human capital¹⁰¹, since the capabilities enable people to actively make choices and be agents in leading their lives.

Ultimately, considering capability as “the vector of the potential function that an individual can achieve (Sen, 1999)”, Sen’s Capability Approach places its emphasis on human development as a mechanism for attaining social development. By working with a multidimensional concept of development, which encompasses social resources and subjective instrumental values, Sen discards that development is reached through naive methods of opening markets or income growth. The expansion of social and political freedoms are the most emancipatory means to accomplish a true and sustainable development.

2.2 Migration and Development – the counterintuitive aspects.

Through Amartya Sen's reconceptualization of development and understanding it in its multidimensional dimension, what are the links between migration and development? When following de Haas’ *Capability Approach* to human mobility, migration is related to a broader process of social change, as it shapes and is shaped by these transformations. In this sense, what are the impacts that migration has on the development? How are the intrinsic dimensions of migratory aspirations and capabilities related to broader processes of social change and development? Are migration processes boosting or retarding development? How to balance the positive and negative aspects of migration? How to manage human mobility so that this process is beneficial not only for states, but mainly for the actors who are linked to this phenomenon?

Just as the processes of development within a society are a regular phenomenon that occurs across time and space, human mobility follows the same logic. Indeed, “migration has always

⁹⁹ Knopf, Alfred A. 2001. “Amartya Sen. Development as Freedom”, Inc., *Reseñas de libros y revistas*. Amartya Sen. *Globalization, Inequality and Global Protest*, SAGE Publications: 05.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid: 06.

¹⁰¹ Ibid: 07.

been, and will always be, an integral part of development”¹⁰². Societies continually change with the opening of businesses, rural exodus, and industrialization and human mobility accompanies this cycle of expansion and contraction. Going beyond economic approaches, IOM’s (International Organization for Migration) 2013 World Migration Report shifted the focus from economic development to the happiness and well-being of migrants and their families¹⁰³. From the point of view of human well-being, the international community, together with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), comprehend that migration has impacts and consequences on human development, making it extremely necessary to build a global framework of sustainable development that includes mobility processes. As an illustration, in the pursuit of universal primary education, a fundamental prerequisite lies in the establishment of schools that are conveniently accessible to children and their families. If there is no minimum access for children to schools, children either lack academic opportunities or families tend to migrate to places with broader learning opportunities. Thus, development policies to improve education from the primary level onwards will have profound implications for human migration¹⁰⁴, as well as on the development of society and human development. Indeed, everything is interconnected, since the improvement of human capabilities (in this case, education), development, and migration are all elements of the same phenomenon, social transformation. Migration is, therefore, “an age-old response to variations in economic and opportunity differentials, as well as to security, social, and political factors”¹⁰⁵.

Examining the relationship between migration and development is a stage for great debate, with controversial perspectives. In fact, “migration transition theories emerged in the 1960s and 70s as part of a debate about development and the consequences of globalization and whether migration caused development or whether development induced migration”¹⁰⁶. From pessimist ‘brain drain’ and dependency views, since the 1970s, to neo-optimistic ‘brain gain’ in 2000¹⁰⁷, the discussion about the impact of migration on development draws the attention of states, businesses, and international organizations. From 2000 onwards, new political initiatives and development plans drew attention to the so-called Migration-Development nexus (Van Hear

¹⁰² Ibid: 03.

¹⁰³ Geddes, Andrew. 2022. “Chapter 20 – Migration Governance”, in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 399.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid: 327.

¹⁰⁵ Ullah, Akm Ahsan. 2022. “Chapter 19 - Migration and Development”, in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 297.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid: 05.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid: 11.

and Sørensen 2002)¹⁰⁸ and the possible stimulus of growth in both the country of origin and destination.

On the one hand, associated with Structuralist Social theory, hence, neo-Marxist, dependency, and world systems theories (Frank, 1966, 1969; Wallerstein, 1974, 1980), migration pessimists see human mobility as a negative phenomenon, contributing to the further underdevelopment of the economies of the countries of origin and the weakening of their sociocultural cohesion (Hayes, 1991)¹⁰⁹. Viewed through this lens, mobility processes represent overarching facets of capitalist expansion, eroding traditional livelihoods, displacing rural populations, and compelling them to integrate into the urban proletariat as a means of sustenance. For them, this process increases inequality and fosters capitalist power, causing local underdevelopment (Frank, 1969, 1979 and Papademetriou, 1985). Additionally, Migration Transition theories views immigrants from *developing* countries (Global South) as a threat to social stability and economic opportunities and have proposed development policies that could produce a “migration transition” in the South, where it was assumed that a better economic development would act as a substitute for migration and lead to minimal emigration, thus reducing overall immigration to the Global North¹¹⁰. Nevertheless, these strategies did not yield a migratory transition.

On the other hand, allied to neoclassical migratory economic and “developmentalist” modernization theories, migration optimists consider that human mobility has had a positive impact on the development process in sending areas, since through remittances¹¹¹ and knowledge transfers, countries of origin are benefiting from the resources, experience, and skills that migrants acquired during their move. From an optimist perspective, through counter-flows of knowledge after their return, migrants are seen as active agents of economic growth, since these exchanges tend to contradict the “brain drain” argument, arguing that labour productivity in sending areas is low and that unemployment and underemployment are often high¹¹², as in some cases there is a lack of job opportunities in the sending areas for more qualified individuals. Finally, migration enables people to increase the return on their skills and

¹⁰⁸ Ibid: 170.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid: 12.

¹¹⁰ Ibid: 03.

¹¹¹ Ibid: 11.

¹¹² Ibid: 13.

their “human capital”, which is for their own benefit as well as for the benefit of the economies as a whole¹¹³.

Figure 02¹¹⁴ highlights the main paradigms on migration and development, which consider the causes and effects of migration on development.

Figure 02: Opposed Paradigms on Migration and Development

OPOSED PARADIGMS ON MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Migration pessimists		Migration optimists
“Structuralist” social theory	↔	Functionalist social theory
Dependency theory	↔	Neoclassical theory
Disintegration/uprooting	↔	Modernization
Net South–North transfer	↔	Net South–North transfer
Brain drain	↔	Brain gain
More inequality	↔	Less inequality
Remittance consumption	↔	Remittance investment
Dependency	↔	Development
Divergence	↔	Convergence

Source: Adapted from de Haas (2010a).

It is essential to consider that both perspectives (optimists and pessimists) investigate human mobility as an integral segment of development, affecting and being affected by it in different levels.

The Mobility Transition theory, coined by Wilbur Zelinsky, 1971, explains that societies go through five distinct phases of development, from pre-modern to advanced societies, which are accompanied by various forms of internal and international migration patterns¹¹⁵. The theory raises the hypothesis of a curve, as an inverted-U, which correlates per capita income levels with emigration levels. In this sense, the *Migration Hump* (Martin, 1993)/*Emigration Life Cycle* (Hatton and Williamson, 1994) proposes that “international migration increases with development until an economy reaches an as yet undefined point along a development transition and then declines”¹¹⁶. The non-linear association between development and emigration rates contradicts the perspective of neoclassical theories of human mobility, which primarily attribute individuals’ migration decisions to income disparities and anticipate that reducing income

¹¹³ Ibid: 13.
¹¹⁴ Ibid: 12.
¹¹⁵ Ibid: 05.
¹¹⁶ Ibid: 334.

differentials between origin and destination countries will diminish the prevalence of international migration.

Neoclassical visions neglect that human mobility rises along with the development in the sending regions. Through advancements in education, it is possible to see these processes. In fact, enhancements in education in the initial phases of a country's development, tend to increase the capabilities of those individuals. This allows the individual to have a greater analysis of the quality-of-life options they have, with a higher intellectual level. In this way, potential migrants can choose to remain in their country of origin, if this suits their aspirations, or to migrate, if their country of origin does not offer job vacancies compatible with their qualifications. The "education levels, taken in isolation, likely prove crucial in understanding the foundations of the mobility transition curve since the hypothesized drivers underpinning the relationship likely affect individuals of various educational attainments differently"¹¹⁷. Economic and educational development can have variable effects on individuals' inclination to migrate, contingent upon the opportunities and disparities within both the origin and destination countries. As development progresses, emigration rates may rise, particularly due to an increasing proportion of university-educated individuals within the native population, as this demographic tends to exhibit the highest proclivity for emigration, a phenomenon not as pronounced in less developed contexts. This paradoxical phenomenon can be elucidated by recognizing the multifaceted nature of migration, encompassing diverse drivers, patterns, and objectives.

By following migration theories, de Haas proposes to incorporate the notions of agency and individual aspirations into transition theory, conceptualizing migration at the microeconomic level as a function of aspirations (as characterized by an inverted-U shaped relationship) and capabilities (that increase monotonically with development)¹¹⁸. Increased awareness of opportunities, and consequently of individual aspirations, tends to intensify inclinations towards migration. This explains why developed societies tend to have structurally higher levels of mobility and migration (de Haas, 2010b)¹¹⁹ and why in *less-developed* countries the propensity to move is lower among the less-educated/low-skilled individuals. "This non-linear relationship between development and migration levels clearly challenges functionalist, and historical-structural migration theories, as well as push-pull models, which all implicitly or

¹¹⁷ Ibid: 08.

¹¹⁸ Ibid: 04.

¹¹⁹ Ibid: 14.

explicitly assume that reducing poverty and economic disparities will reduce migration”¹²⁰. In fact, development drives higher emigration rates and only after a society stabilizes its development curve does the outflow of people tends to reduce.

Certainly, there are academic and political perspectives that see migration as detrimental for development. Migration may, however, be positively linked to it. No country has achieved a high level of economic development without being accompanied by a redistribution of its population to urban areas. The concentration of workforce force in cities has been a structural part of progressive patterns of development, and migration to cities has been one of the fundamental components of this transformation¹²¹. The rural exodus and the movement of people encourage knowledge and cultural transfer, affecting the way society behaves and develops its own industrialization model. Movement of people from agricultural areas was intensified according to and in conjunction with the industrialization process. In fact, “the major causes of migration were economic”¹²² and had the improvement of means of communication and transport as a boost in the movement of people to areas with new opportunities, thus satisfying their aspirations. Rather than being an integral component of development, migration is a consequence and a cause¹²³ of it. Not a separate phenomenon, the nature of migration is shaped by levels of development and transformation within a society.

As an integral part of development, migration processes cannot be the reason for any underdevelopment in a country. A prevalent misconception exists wherein the phenomenon of migration is erroneously attributed to development, alongside the fallacious belief that an absence of development serves as a catalyst for migratory movements. In fact, “migration does not cease with development”¹²⁴, since development tends to increase the circulation of people from less-developed economies, because after a minimum of development, individuals can acquire more resources to move. With higher educational backgrounds, individuals not only attain more qualified skills, which can be used in the destination area, but are also informed about opportunities that exist in other areas. Indeed, “rather than reducing migration pressure, development can drive migration in the short term by boosting expectations and increasing the resources required for movement (Ascencio, 1990)”¹²⁵.

¹²⁰ Ibid: 14.

¹²¹ Ibid: 321.

¹²² Ibid: 01.

¹²³ Ibid: 01.

¹²⁴ Ibid: 334.

¹²⁵ Ibid: 300.

In the context of *less-developed* regions, people's access to education, markets, and social services are constrained, restricting their possibilities for *safe* migration. It turns out that, "the more difficult the access of the poor to non-exploitative forms of (labour) migration is, the higher is the probability that the impacts will fit within the predictions of the migration pessimists, particularly with regard to the potential contributions of migration to sustainable"¹²⁶, since the human movement in these irregular conditions, will strengthen capitalists inequalities and distance individuals from a possible human development, maintaining structural social disparities. The result of migration will, in fact, impact a society depending on its own societal composition, only reinforcing the status quo in which this region already lives. In places "where structural inequalities are relatively low, positive development conditions succeed, and there is access to basic social conditions, such as health, education, rights, migration is more likely to play the positive role predicted by the migration optimists"¹²⁷. Enhancing human and social development can be achieved through public policies to improve the basic needs of individuals and reduce inequality. Human mobility acts as an engine of this advancement, working in tune with progress. When a society is in the process of development, migratory movements reinforce this progress. On the contrary, in *underdevelopment* regions, human mobility tends to highlight differences among individuals and their economic levels.

For these reasons, it is essential to analyse the effects of Migration and Development nexus, differentiating its levels of investigation. When evaluating micro-level angles, related to the impact of mobility processes in household families, small communities, and individuals, more positive conclusions can be highlighted, since this analysis encompasses basic and fundamental transformations obtained through migratory impulses, such as remittances, which can be used to improve their living conditions. The purpose for which households use these new resources has become easy to measure, which has been demonstrated by numerous empirical researches on the field. The Migration Out of Poverty (MOP) data¹²⁸, for example, is a clear example of empirical research into the contribution of migrants' remittances of goods and valuables to their families of origin, and their use in improving living standards and opportunities. Interesting results from MOP's empirical research will be analysed in the following items.

¹²⁶ Ibid: 14.

¹²⁷ Ibid: 14.

¹²⁸ MOP, Migration Out of Poverty. Exploring the links between migration and poverty through research, capacity building and policy engagement. <<http://www.migratingoutofpoverty.org/>> (06.01.2023).

Comparisons between households, however, cannot be used as an argument that migration contributes to more general processes of national development and structural reform¹²⁹. When evaluating migration and development interrelationship at a macrolevel, the task becomes more challenging. Assessing “national development”, addressing inequalities and the contribution of migration to structural reform¹³⁰, requires multidimensional levels of analysis, ranging from socio-economic, cultural, and political impacts, at a minimum. “In practice, migration impacts are generally mixed across these different dimensions”¹³¹, not homogeneously influencing the different macrostructural social levels.

Migration can therefore play both a positive and negative role in social, economic and political changes in countries of origin. However, this is deeply dependent on broader levels of development in the region. To drive social advancement, migration depends on how macrostructural patterns (governments) pursue sustainable development. It is for this reason that migration is not a *component* that triggered development, but rather an *element* of it, being its causes and consequences, which is facilitated or constrained according to the social transformations that shape and are shaped by human mobility. As Heinemeijer et al. (1977) clarifies, “development is a prerequisite for investment and return by migrants rather than a consequence of migration”¹³². If states are not successful in implementing development conditions in their regions, human movement will not function as a substitute for public policies. Therefore, it is “more appropriate to talk about migration in terms of having a *development potential*”¹³³, rather than being *responsible* for development.

2.2.1 The Migrant Capital

Migrants retain the skills acquired in their places of origin, as well as the knowledge, networks and experience acquired throughout their movement. Migrants’ skills, networks, resources, and knowledge can be known as migrants’ “capitals”¹³⁴, elements acquired throughout their singular experience of mobility. The transnational nature of migrants’ capitals is essential to understand their impact on the development of a society, since through these resources, migrants contribute financially, socially, and culturally¹³⁵ in the sending and receiving regions.

¹²⁹ Ibid: 15.

¹³⁰ Ibid: 14.

¹³¹ Ibid: 15.

¹³² Ibid: 19.

¹³³ Ibid: 21.

¹³⁴ Joint Migration and Development Initiative (JMIDI). 2015. “Introductory module on migration and local development. Migration for Development”, International Training Centre of the ILO. International Organization for Migration (IOM). Geneva, Switzerland: 54.

¹³⁵ Ibid: 63.

There are four principal categories of migrant capital, namely, *social*, *financial*, *human*, and *cultural capital*. First, *Social Capital* can be explained through migrants' networks and connections. The ties created through the movement of individuals facilitate the exchange of knowledge, the flow of information, skills, ideas, and cooperation (see more in Diaspora). These connections are useful instruments for professional networks and for interaction among territories, individuals, and resources¹³⁶. Second, *Financial Capital* is related to investments and remittances made by migrants. Migrants' financial capital has received the most attention in recent decades, due to the size of remittances received by *developing* countries (USD 414 billion in 2013), and the continuous increase in the amount of remittances despite economic and financial crisis (an increase of 6.3 per cent in 2013)¹³⁷. The establishment and operation of transnational trade enterprises exert influence not only upon the labour markets within their destination nations but also within their countries of origin. This influence arises from the diverse allocation of resources, encompassing purposes such as savings, commerce, educational investments, and humanitarian assistance. The third category of migrants' capital is *Human Capital*, related to migrants' capabilities, education, and skills, capable of contributing to local development. Migrants' individual skills influence their ability to find a job, directly affecting their income and quality of life. The search for employment by low-skilled individuals opens up the possibility of labour exploitation and low wages, impacting their migration experience and potential for prospective development. On the one hand, the so-called 'brain-waste'¹³⁸ is also related to Human Capital, since when migrants are hired for positions that are overqualified, simply because they are foreigners, it impedes both human development and local development. On the other hand, the 'brain-gain'¹³⁹ can yield advantages for families and communities of origin via the transmission of knowledge and expertise, as well as the enhancement of individual qualifications facilitated by a returning migrant. Finally, *Cultural Capital* is the exchange of ideas, experiences, norms, that migrants have beforehand and acquire throughout their migratory experience. This transfer of cultural background benefits the destination area, which can develop new ways of managing society, with diversity and innovation, but also the place of origin, contributing to new perceptions acquired by the migrant, upon his return¹⁴⁰. It is essential to highlight, however, that the presence of these categories of migrants' capital does not necessarily imply effects on development, since they

¹³⁶ Ibid: 54.

¹³⁷ Ibid: 56.

¹³⁸ Ibid: 57.

¹³⁹ Ibid: 57.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid: 58.

are potential elements that can be used in human and social development, in sending and receiving countries, depending on human agency and social possibilities made available to individuals to include these tools in the social arena.

These categories of migrants' capital affect and interact with each other, shaping the nature of the migration experience and the impact it has on society. These influences vary, then, according to different regions and territories since the origin-destination flows are quite diverse and human mobility impacts regions differently. At the local level, a migrant's capital has the potential to affect the sending area through remittances and the development of local structures, knowledge transfer and training projects, business investment and trade, and cooperation through supporting member access to human needs. Simultaneously, the migration experience exerts a discernible influence on the recipient region, contributing to local economic advancement through avenues such as entrepreneurial ventures, investments, tax revenue augmentation, labour force supplementation, demographic expansion, cultural diversification, and the diffusion of skill sets. The prospective impact of a migrant on different territories has the power not only to build bridges between regions, but also to create a network of values, practices, and habits beneficial to the entire community. Undoubtedly, these beneficial influences for development depend on the capacity and goodwill of individuals, as well as of governments that integrate and accept foreign influences.

As explained, the Migration-Development nexus¹⁴¹ varies according to several factors, such as economic, political, geographical, environmental, infrastructure, networks, social governance, and rights. The contributing factors (causes) and outcomes (effects) of this relationship must be evaluated together, in order to understand the drivers and impacts of one phenomenon on the other, in different territories. The “research clarifies that migration contributes strongly, both negative and positive, to development in both countries of origin and destination”¹⁴², highlighting the counterintuitive aspects of the Migration-Development nexus.

2.2.2 Remittances

After having analysed the counterintuitive aspects of migration and development, it is essential to comprehend the use and impact of remittances on development. In fact, remittances allude to the transfer of monetary resources and goods by a current migrant from the country where

¹⁴¹ Ronald Skeldon. 2008. “Migration and Development”, United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Bangkok, Thailand: 20.

¹⁴² Ibid: 304.

s/he is settled to his/her origin region. These transfers vary, supporting households not only in economic terms, but also in other forms of well-being. Remittances from migrant workers to their countries of origin have increased over the last decade, causing their contribution to GDP to surpass foreign direct investments, since, in 2016, for instance, official remittance flows to *developing* countries reached over US\$400 million, representing more than 70% of the global remittance flows (Remittance Prices Worldwide, 2017)¹⁴³. Therefore, the flow of money and resources through remittances have a huge economic impact on the income of households as well as the sending country.

These transfer flows can be seen as a strong instrument in promoting development. On the one hand, investment in remittances can have substantial positive effects on economic growth in origin communities, from which also (poorer) non-migrants can benefit to some extent¹⁴⁴. In fact, remittances foster consumption, which not only allows individuals to expand their living standards through goods and services, but also the country will also be impacted by the flow of capital and openness of marketing. This “trickling down” also explains why migration and remittances indirectly contribute to increasing incomes and decreasing poverty of all members of sending communities, including non-migrants¹⁴⁵, since the increase in consumption has real impacts on different areas of the economy, such as health, business, and foreign exchange.

On the other hand, remittances can be a useful source of income redistribution, as the amount received by families can be invested in improving education, health, agriculture, and household improvements. From a human development perspective that focuses on people’s well-being and capabilities, as proposed by Amartya Sen (1999), this constitutes progress and should be seen in a positive light¹⁴⁶. A survey based on the analysis of data from the Migration Out of Poverty database¹⁴⁷, using Ghana’s Quantitative Survey, 2018 Questionnaires unit of analysis¹⁴⁸ provides a significant source for analysing not only individuals’ movements, reasons, destiny, educational capabilities, and skills before and after migration, but mainly the opportunities and

¹⁴³ Kente, Maty and Mbaye Linguère Mously. 2021. Migration, Remittances, and Sustainable Development in Africa. Routledge: 82.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid: 16.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid: 13.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid: 13.

¹⁴⁷ MOP, Migration Out of Poverty. Migration data, <<http://www.migratingoutofpoverty.org/themes/migration-data>> (06.01.2023).

¹⁴⁸ MOP, Migration Out of Poverty. 2018. “GHN2018_Individual_data” database. Ghana quantitative survey data <<http://www.migratingoutofpoverty.org/themes/migration-data/ghanaquant>> (08.01.2023).

salaries of migrants at the destination area¹⁴⁹. For the purpose of this research, the frequency of transfers made by Ghana migrants and the use of these remittances by households of origin will be analysed. Questions such as “frequency of remittances” and “the main purpose given by households to the remittances received” were asked to the focus group (Ghana 2018 interviews¹⁵⁰), and the answers were collected by the researchers, by importing the base data, recoding, and labelling the available numbers into their predefined divisions, by applying a systematic top-down, non-random cluster sampling process.

Regarding the frequency of sending remittances, Figure 03 shows that the majority of migrants (33,6% - 238 individuals) sent remittances *every couple of months*, followed by *monthly* referrals (19,5% - 138). In addition, 1,1% (8) of individuals sent the transfer weekly. Finally, 30,5%, 216 of the migrants (second position) sent *only on special occasions or emergencies*. In this sense, 54,2% (384) of the interviews represent a frequent sending of referrals.

Figure 03: Frequency of the remittances

Characteristic	N = 708 ¹
Frequency	
Every couple of months	33.6%[238]
Every six months	5.2%[37]
Every year	8.3%[59]
Fortnightly	1.7%[12]
Monthly	19.5%[138]
Only on special occasions or emergencies	30.5%[216]
Weekly	1.1%[8]
¹ %[n]	

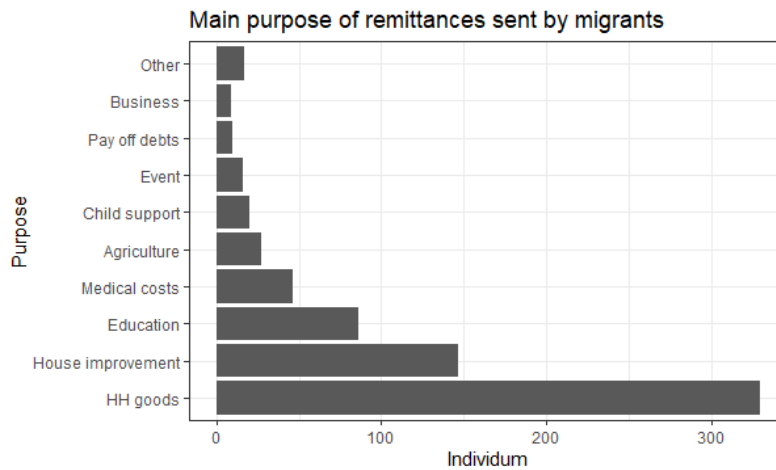
In relation to the main purpose given by households to the remittances received, from Figure 04 it is possible to obtain information for 708 individuals out of the 712 who sent remittances to households (99% of the amount). To this extent, the main use of the money received by origin is for the advancement of the *household goods* (46,6% - 330 individuals) and *House improvements* (20,8% - 147). Next, *Education* represents 12,1% (86) of the use of the amount

¹⁴⁹ dos Santos, Natália Madsen and Novoa, Pedro. 2023. “Can migration boost the development of individuals in the place of origin, after a person has migrated from there? If so, in which ways?”, unpublished document, seminar 290019-1 Migration and Population Dynamics in the Context of Global Change and Development.

¹⁵⁰ In Ghana 2018 Data Analysis 1429 households were interviewed, composing migrant and non-migrant households.

received, while *Medical cost* symbolises 6,5% (46). Moreover, *Agriculture* represents 3,8% (27) and *Child support* 2,8% (20).

Figure 04: Main purpose of the remittances sent by migrants



This is an important part of the survey, as it represents the destiny/use of the money sent to households and the plausible possibility of measuring the improvement (development) of household life after the migration of a person from this household. In fact, the way in which remittances are being used by the place of origin sheds light on how migratory processes can contribute to improving the lives of not only (if so) those who had migrated, but also those who had remained in the place of origin. This table objectively shows the improvement in the quality of life of people in the place of origin, directing the money received towards education, health, house improvements, and agriculture, as a way of enhancing human needs. Through the use of received money, this section is a representation of the multifaceted face of poverty and that people’s needs go far beyond income.

Although the research is based on a small scale of territory, time, and number of individuals, from this investigation it is possible to see that the remittances received from migrants had helped to improve households in several ways. The use of the money sent home had different proposals, according to the needs and interests of individuals in the households. While resources may not be sufficient to assess poverty, indicators of resources remain important and are often used to proxy functioning¹⁵¹, to understand the purpose of sources in *developing* human capacity. Remittances are therefore capable of impacting and improving human development and capital.

¹⁵¹ Alkire, Sabina; Foster, James E.; Seth, Suman; Santos, Maria Emma; Roche, Jose M. and Ballon, Paola. 2014. “Multidimensional Poverty Measurement and Analysis: Chapter 1 – Introduction”, Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative (OPHI), OPHI Working Paper 82: 07.

Naturally, just as Migration and Development nexus have their counter-positive effects, remittances can also have a detrimental individual and social impact. Primarily, the substantial magnitude and persistent growth of transfer flows engender the perception of their potential as a promising reservoir of financial resources for fostering development. Labour migration encompasses several dimensions, since skilled workers can encounter better employment opportunities, while less-qualified or in cases of ‘brain-drain’, migrants may find poor working conditions and forms of exploitation. In this sense, remittances can be sent to the country of origin at a high human cost, since migrants may face several sacrifices to be able to transfer and improve the conditions of their households. Furthermore, remittances may give rise to a “culture of dependency”¹⁵², because some families may rely on the transfer of capital to lead their lives, creating a dependency on migration processes. Secondly, the rapid growth of remittances has contributed to the increasing attention given to migration as a potential development resource by – mainly European – governments, development agencies, and organizations, such as the UN and the European Union (EU)¹⁵³. This international attention on the potential of remittances cannot, however, work as an excuse for the government and international organizations. Indeed, remittances can play an important role in human and capital development, but migrants are not responsible for removing social barriers and structural constraints. Economic, political, and social development are the primarily responsibility of states and their governments. Through human agency, migrants can undoubtedly contribute to the development of society, but they are not responsible, alone, for creating public conditions for human development. Any such approach would mean placing the responsibility for development firmly on the migrants themselves¹⁵⁴, that should not be used as a substitute for state actions in developing basic services for sustainable development. Finally, remittances are often substantially concentrated in the migrants’ place of origin, reaching a small and local portion of society. “Unlike aid, or official development assistance, which can be targeted at specific groups and specifically for poverty eradication¹⁵⁵”, remittances are generally targeted at specific areas and groups, which tends to reinforce inequalities within communities. In addition, remittances can create inequalities between recipients and non-recipients (since the poorest are often unable to migrate)¹⁵⁶, and are only a temporary source, which can generate dependency and delay human agency.

¹⁵² Ibid: 57.

¹⁵³ Ibid: 09.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid: 10.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid: 05.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid: 57.

Chiefly, the nexuses between migrants' resource flows and their place of origin can be expressed by different methods. In this sense, *Social Remittances* "are the constant interactive circulation of ideas, values, and practices, and are also about demonstrating power and success (Levitt, 2016)¹⁵⁷". Remittances, therefore, can be carried out through non-economic forms of transfer, related to experiences, habits and beliefs acquired by the migrant during his/her movement. In fact, "political and cultural remittances include ideas about democracy, entitlement, transparency, morality, and cultural codes that move not just from host to sending country but are circular, building on the social and cultural capital that migrants start out with before migration (Levitt and Lamba-Nieves 2011)¹⁵⁸". These social transfers have a massive influence on the households of origin and individuals, as they reflect experience and knowledge brought to improve the human agency of individuals who did not migrate.

In conclusion, like the Migration and Development nexus, remittances contain positive and negative aspects for society and human development. Flows of money, sources, and ideas can be incorporated into local development to improve the lives of individuals, but they do not have (and should not have) the potential to function as a substitute for states' responsibility for sustainable development. In fact, "despite their development potential, migrants and remittances can neither be blamed for a lack of development nor be expected to trigger take-off development in generally unattractive investment environments"¹⁵⁹, acting as drivers of human and social growth when it is already on an ascending scale through public development policies made by governments.

2.2.3 The Labour Migration and The 'Brain-drain'.

Remittances can improve human capital, but it is essential to understand that they derive from labour migration and migrants' efforts to acquire forms of income. Thereupon, labour migration is related to the movement of individuals, with employment opportunities and prospects as drivers for job change. This form of mobility is mainly related to economic reasons, because people often move in search of better living conditions and increased income, as well as better working conditions or wage differences. Additionally, like other forms of migration, labour migration can occur internationally or internally, within the borders of a country.

In response to the imperatives of a globalized economy, there exists a need for individuals possessing a high degree of expertise and qualifications. In this sense, developed economies seek to hire individuals based on their skills, education, and abilities. In fact, the demand for

¹⁵⁷ Ibid: 138.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid: 178.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid: 20.

labour in developed countries is predicated upon sustained economic growth in these areas¹⁶⁰, which makes them search for qualified migrants, with the potential to assist economic development in that region. As a result, there is an emigration of talented personnel from *developing* economies, which may not be able to provide them with vacancies suited to their training and capabilities or, in other cases, salary conditions are not consistent with the individual's qualifications. In fact, more than a simple causality between the exodus and the qualified people, there is a drain of talents from the *developing* world with negative consequences¹⁶¹ for the origin regions, which loses individuals who could add and help with development. The well-known "brain-drain" illustrates the emigration of talented and skilled individuals to an area that frequently offers higher living conditions in terms of income, safety, health, and political stability. This phenomenon is, in fact, beneficial for the receiving region, as it increases the qualified workforce, which can generate higher technical knowledge to improve the country's development. At the same time, these migrants collect taxes and contribute to the economy of the destination country beyond their skills. However, "countries are attracting the best and the brightest people from the *developing* world and draining countries of origin of the talent required to bring about their development"¹⁶², seen as a negative consequence for the sending regions, which lose people who could contribute with their knowledge, qualified labour, and taxes.

Acting as a balance, the exodus of skilled personnel can be compensated through the sending of remittances. As already analysed, remittances can work as a contribution to the households' income and well-being, mitigating, at least at the micro-level, the departure of qualified migrants.

In this regard, it is essential to highlight the inclination to hold migrants responsible for any social deprivation or delay in the development of a country. As mentioned, migrants can act as drivers of development, when a country already has minimum frameworks for social progress, with policies and economic structures that act in line with this impulse. Migrants themselves are not the cause of any *underdevelopment* and the exodus of skilled professionals tends to be a consequence of lack of social opportunities, so its roots. "In discussions of the brain drain, a danger exists that primacy is accorded to this minority as a cause of a lack of development rather than to economic, social, and, most critically, political structures back home"¹⁶³.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid: 323.

¹⁶¹ Skeldon, Ronald. 2010. "Managing migration for development: Is circular migration the answer?", University of Sussex: 01.

¹⁶² Ibid: 330.

¹⁶³ Ibid: 12.

Additionally, any endeavour to limit or control the output of these brains will not impede movement. On the contrary, this may lead to irregular hiring and alternative forms of illegal movement.

Another point of attention in labour migration is the so-called “Brain-waste”. Even highly skilled individuals may emigrate due to adverse political, economic, and environmental conditions, which may result in these people needing to find any job opportunity that allows them to remain in the destination country. Although in their home countries these individuals would be recognized for their educational qualifications and diploma, when migrating, these people may encounter barriers in the recognition of their profession and, therefore, subject themselves to work that does not correspond to their educational background. These processes can lead to difficulties in the social and economic integration of migrants, discrimination, and exploitation. Additionally, due to the need to remain outside their countries of origin, whether high or less-qualified migrants, they can be subject to various forms of labour exploitation, hazardous working conditions, and forced labour. These abusive treatments have effects at micro and macrolevels because they impact the vulnerability of migrants, as well as reinforcing inequality, migratory poverty, and cycles of exploitation. Likewise, labour exploitation of migration is an expression of human rights violations, which affect dignity and rights.

2.2.4 Diaspora

The term diaspora alludes to the dispersion of individuals from their place of origin, having different reasons and drivers. These individuals often create communities within the new regions. These groups are substantially heterogeneous, as they bring different cultures and perspectives, as well as a diverse education, abilities, and political background. In fact, seeing “migration within a transnational perspective allows the research to consider migrants’ simultaneous acceptance as part of different social worlds—those of their origin and destination society and possibly, too, of a third, diasporic social space”¹⁶⁴. Diasporas play, therefore, a huge impact on the sending and the receiving country, as they not only bring their cultural roots to the new region, but also frequently preserve connections with their homeland, being a source of sharing ideas, new perspectives, and skills acquired through your movement.

Due to the impact that diaspora communities can exercise within countries, an analysis of their importance in the migration and development debate is necessary. In fact, diasporas have “been seen as a resource that can be tapped or “leveraged” for the development of home areas”

¹⁶⁴ Ibid: 180.

(Kuznetsov 2006)¹⁶⁵, as these communities can help increase global connectedness and foster economic growth. First, through remittances, diasporas can enhance the quality of life of families in the place of origin. Second, through investment and trade those individuals appear as catalysts of connections between countries, facilitating international commerce, businesses, and foreign investment. This allows not only the opening of markets, but also the creation of new jobs. Third, through network and cultural exchange, diasporas boost cooperation among different societal actors, such as governments, businesses, and educational institutions, in addition to bringing their cultural heritage, capable of promoting tourism. In fact, “migrants and their descendants who are residentially based abroad can become geographically mobile “transnational agents” and “diasporic actors” stimulating development in homeland communities by setting up businesses, investing in growth enterprises, and becoming politically or philanthropically active” (Faist and Fauser 2011)¹⁶⁶. The knowledge exchange and capabilities through these individuals contributes to the expansion of information in the destination area, which benefits from new ideas and technologies, as well as the country of origin, which through “Brain-Gain” can obtain a valuable education and labour contribution with the return of the migrant.

It is essential to highlight that diasporic communities can contribute to the development of origin and destination regions, since governments and social agents can act together with groups, creating a fertile space for the economic involvement of these entities. It is, therefore, “the development of the state of origin that drives the contribution of the diaspora rather than the other way round”¹⁶⁷. When a country does not foster its social structures or promote multidimensional development in its region, the impact of diaspora becomes limited. Therefore, the influence of the diaspora within a country may vary depending on the appropriate impetus for multidimensional development given by that region’s own governmental structures. There is a “need to create an information-rich enabling environment that offers incentives for the diaspora to invest”¹⁶⁸ and collaborate with the country's growth.

The United Nations has used the term “transnational community” as an alternative for diaspora. In fact, “the transnational nature of diaspora implies that these people are crucial when it comes to connecting countries and communities, because they can call on multiple networks, relate to

¹⁶⁵ Ibid: 06.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid: 175.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid: 333.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid: 179.

different identities and share a sense of belonging to more than one community”¹⁶⁹, associating these communities not only with geopolitical connectedness, but also with issues of identity. Transnationalism is, in fact, “much more than just linkages, or a co-ethnics between migrants and communities back home”¹⁷⁰, encompassing multifaceted questions of geopolitics, identities, and global interconnectedness.

The contribution of migrants to development depends on their involvement in the economic, social, cultural, and political spheres of the new region. This engagement undoubtedly involves two sides of the same coin. Initially, participation within a community depends on the will of individuals. The contribution to the development of a region requires active participation of the migrant. However, with the same level of importance, efforts to foster integration and allow these immigrants to positively build connections and cooperate on a country’s development path are essential elements of this multifaceted process. In fact, the integration of migrants involves a multi-layered approach, ranging from social integration to rights and health issues. Indeed, social and cultural integration refers to the inclusion of immigrants in the country’s social growth, such as networks, activities with locals, and cultural exchange. This also includes adjusting new norms and behaviour, without disconnecting the migrants from their values and culture. Integration courses are great examples of initiatives that seek to understand migrants’ background and bring them a sense of belonging. Additionally, economic and educational integration are also vital parts of this process. In fact, the migrant’s participation in fair labour and vocational training benefits individuals in improving their personal skills and the country that receives their contributions in the workforce and collection of fees. Social services and healthcare are also fundamental portions of integration processes. Sufficient housing assistance, for example, provides them with decent living conditions, in addition to maintaining the demographic organization of the region. Finally, political and rights integration, through access of legal documents and participation in political organizations, allow migrants to understand their responsibilities within that society, as well as utilize their human agency in seeking to enhance their community opportunities.

Given that the movement of individuals has a huge impact on the sending and the receiving country, how does a fair integration process influence the development of both regions? In fact, “migrants’ integration to the territories of destination and, when relevant, reintegration into the territory of origin upon return, are the basis on which their potential as development actors can

¹⁶⁹ IOM, UN Migration. International Migration Law. Glossary on Migration. 2019 <https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml_34_glossary.pdf> (12.04.2023).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid: 14.

be maximized”¹⁷¹, since successful integration permits immigrants become active actors and influence the prospective development of the local. Fostering the potential of migrants and ensuring their protection and well-being are ways of decentralizing cooperation and enabling more diversified development efforts in a society. Undoubtedly, “migrants’ cannot reach their full potential without having meaningful possibilities to participate in public life, and without being fully integrated into society as a whole”¹⁷².

By fully integrating migrants, transnational networks can be built between sending and host regions, acting positively to develop both places. Migrants who are “economically well integrated in the host country are more likely to have meaningful transnational engagement with their origin-country society, including sending remittances”¹⁷³ and investing in local business and in the improvement of households of origin. The ties, in fact, encompass social, cultural, and economic dynamics with the potential to benefit all actors involved.

That said, sending and receiving regions are essential actors in fostering integration. Countries of origin can facilitate the transition, through frameworks that support and empower individuals during their migration processes. Additionally, after the migrant returns, these territories of origin can encourage cooperation to connect newcomers to local commerce, allowing migrants to use their new potential and benefiting the country’s market with qualified labour. In the host region, integration policy frameworks are able to cover the multifaceted dynamics of social protection, guaranteeing civic integration and social cohesion in these processes. Indeed, “integration has consistently been a goal for German municipalities to initiate cooperation with origin countries”¹⁷⁴, which strengthens ties between both regions, benefiting development at the micro and macro levels.

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPI)¹⁷⁵ brings together and compares governments initiatives and frameworks to encourage integration, in the most diverse social areas. This essential tool evaluates dynamics such as access to nationality, discrimination, and political participation to foster equality and improve the protection and well-being of individuals. Through MIPI, 8 policy areas are analysed in 56 different countries, encouraging civil society action and motivating the exchange of information, knowledge, and practices in the area of integration. Additionally, the way a state deals with integration significantly effects the

¹⁷¹ Ibid: 78.

¹⁷² Ibid: 78.

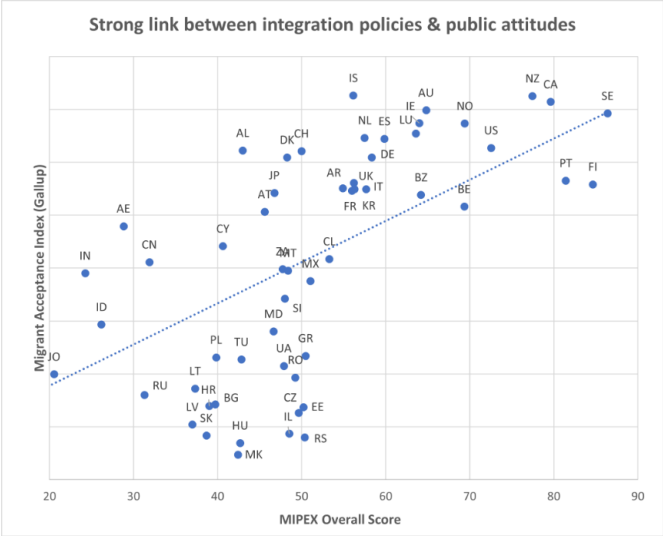
¹⁷³ Ibid: 181.

¹⁷⁴ van Ewijk, Edith and Nijenhuis, Gery. 2016. “Chapter 08 - Translocal Activities of Local Governments and Migrant Organizations”, in: Garcés-Masareñas, Blanca and Penninx, Rinus. *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe Contexts, Levels and Actors*. IMISCOE, Springer: 131.

¹⁷⁵ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020 <<https://www.mipex.eu/>> 12.04.2023.

population’ attitudes towards accepting immigrants. Integration strategies work as a strong catalyst that shapes national acceptance of migrants’ entry. Figure 05¹⁷⁶ shows the link between migrant acceptance and integration policies around the world.

Figure 05: Strong link between integration policies & public attitudes



In terms of integration, the “reference for comparison is often equal treatment with nationals or a broader framework of opportunities/obstacles or liberal/restrictive”¹⁷⁷. Integration is a dynamic and a continuous process that includes political frameworks, collaboration, and respect. Building up dialogue, ties, and partnership allow the construction of a sustainable development, incorporating its multidimensional aspects and maximizing the benefits of mobility processes in a triple-win, encompassing the country of origin, the destination, and the individuals involved in these processes.

¹⁷⁶ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020 <<https://www.mipex.eu/>> 12.04.2023.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid: 398.

3. Multi-level Governance in Mobility Processes

3.1 Governance and Territories

In migration studies, the transnational spaces¹⁷⁸ are particularly important because they refer to geographical areas in which human mobility materializes. These territories encompass not only the sending and receiving countries, but also the cities, the regions, and even the sea (transit areas), which are part of the geographic space in which the mobility processes occur. Territories are, therefore, a core element in human mobility, as they shape the causes, consequences, and patterns of these processes and are shaped by the social dynamics associated with them.

That said, it is essential to see mobility and globalization processes as dialectical processes of de- and re-territorialization¹⁷⁹. The regimes of territorialization, which began mainly after the Second World War¹⁸⁰ are not a static process, as new systems have emerged in society throughout history, linked to multiple crises of territorialization¹⁸¹. Made by social interactions¹⁸², territories are the predominant form of organization of society. As a central framework in the interplay of geographies of flows and systems of controls, the spatial configurations are a plural arena for political dialects and decision-making process. Thereby, spaces are produced in different ways, in response to different reactions of people around the world. They can be expressed not only as material phenomena, such as cities and nation-states, but also as historical, temporal, and even immaterial events that have shaped the globalization processes. Professor Engel brings an excellent example of the analytical view of these Portals of Globalization when examining the partnership between the African Union and the United Nations. He explores the role of these institutions in the heart of managing the reterritorialization of contemporary globalization processes, the newly established social spaces of communication, and the forms of cultural learning emerging from these entangled spaces¹⁸³. Therefore, it is through the analysis of the Portals of Globalization¹⁸⁴ that it is possible to understand the space-making policy inserted in the arenas of re-spatialization and how transnational social spaces are interconnected and permanently change. The lens of Portals of

¹⁷⁸ Ibid: 54.

¹⁷⁹ Middell, Matthias and Naumann, Katja. 2010 “Global History and the Spatial Turn. From the Impact of Area Studies to the Study of Critical Junctures of Globalisation”, in: *Journal of Global History* 5,1: 4.

¹⁸⁰ Middel, Mattias. 2021. *Global moments, Revolutions, and Critical Conjectures of Globalization*, Lecture Global History, Global History Critical Conjectures Revolutions, Leipzig University, 25.10.2021.

¹⁸¹ Middel, Mattias. 2021. *Global moments, Revolutions, and Critical Conjectures of Globalization*, Lecture Global History, Global History Critical Conjectures Revolutions, Leipzig University, 25.10.2021.

¹⁸² Ibid: 255.

¹⁸³ Engel, Ulf. 2017. “Headquarters of International Organizations as Portals of Globalization: The African Union Commission and its Peace and Security Policies”, in: *Comparativ*, Vol. 27 (2017), No. 3/4, 163.

¹⁸⁴ Dietze, Antje; Baumann, Claudia and Maruschke, Megan. 2017. “Portals of Globalization – An Introduction” *Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung*, Heft 3 / 4, S: 27.

Globalization is a tool to investigate the shifts in the management of global processes on multiple spatial levels¹⁸⁵. Therefore, the spaces encompass an interdisciplinary dialogue, resulting not only from the geographic space itself, but mainly from the practices, interactions, and actors that dispute for domination and social power.

Indeed, there are different spatial formats, but they are all organized in terms of power distribution. To exemplify this point, border regulation is a way of defining power within a spatial format. Certainly, the regulation of territorial borders constantly changes, following the growth of transnational social flows and spaces. This has a huge impact on migration processes. Actually, border governance is not, necessarily, a reaction to mass migration, but border regulation comes immediately with mass migration¹⁸⁶.

In this sense, the term governance refers to an organizational procedure that comprehends the challenges and the needs of a dynamic that calls for structure and control. Through governance, social issues are managed, and decisions are taken to implement and complete shared objectives. In fact, “governance acquires meaning through the ideas, processes, and practices that become associated with it”¹⁸⁷, through administrative and political processes that include different private or public actors. Although governance materializes formally and informally, it is generally associated with the power and authority of the State to make decisions that affect the social sphere. However, governance is associated with a ‘multi-level’ meaning that involves local, national and international actors, as well as non-governmental institutions and the private sector (Lavenex, 2016)¹⁸⁸. This multifaceted approach to governance works in conjunction with states, which remain an essential element. Additionally, governance is an ongoing process, which encompasses methods, systems, and procedures, which through organization and decision-making governs and coordinates social challenges. Pierre (2000) defined “governance as possessing a ‘dual meaning’”¹⁸⁹. While the first is that governance requires an attempt to understand change in underlying social systems, which means that governance necessarily requires some understanding of what is going on ‘out there’, the second factor is that governing organisations seek to manage the effects of these changes, as understood”¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁵ Marung, Steffi. 2022. Session 11: A World on the Move? Migration in Global Historical Perspective, in Seminar Global History, Leipzig University, 04.01.2022.

¹⁸⁶ Middel, Mattias. 2021. “Mobility of people: Migration and Cultural Encounters”, Power Point Presentation, slide 08, Lecture Global History, Leipzig University.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid: 311.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid: 314.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid: 314.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid: 314.

Therefore, governance involves not only actors and institutional structures, which through systematic decision-making processes rule and manage social interactions, but also policies, norms, laws, and frameworks that nationally or internationally are incorporated into these mechanisms in the search for societal stability and development.

Governance can be materialized at three main levels. The local level refers to the organizational schemes within local communities and cities. Furthermore, Global Governance is a permanent practice of building and organizing the political scenario beyond the nation-states. In this vein, different rules and regimes and the way in which territories interact with each other through the multiplicity of social drivers not only bring plurality to the international space, but also dissolve the hierarchical spatial order of political sovereignty. Finally, at the national level the role of governments and state structures are discussed on a global scale.

National governments enact rules, norms, and policies in accordance with their interests. They exercise political authority through decision-making processes and institutions that promote stability and protection to their citizens. In terms of mobility processes, national governments are the authority to rule the entry and stay of individuals. Despite the “state-centred governance”¹⁹¹ on migration control, national states also delegate this jurisdiction to other actors and agencies, enlarging the governability. For example, “cities have an important role to play as providers of basic services for shelter, food, health and education”¹⁹², since municipalities satisfy social and policy demands, interacting with regional and national levels of governance.

Governments take actions in an attempt to control irregular migration. In fact, “a analysis of 6500 migration policy changes in 45 countries since 1900 concluded that irregular migrants are the only category for which policies have almost consistently moved into a more restrictive direction over the entire post-World War II period (de Haas et al., 2018, p. 348)”¹⁹³. Migratory entry is a selectively measure implemented by national structures, in an attempt to select and segregate the welcome and unwanted migrants. In fact, “law is enforced selectively, and the governance can also hide or conceal ideas about migration and migrants that can lead to the racialisation of certain migration flows”¹⁹⁴. By setting different migration regulations,

¹⁹¹ Ibid: 314.

¹⁹² Spencer, Sarah and Triandafyllidou, Anna. “Chapter 12 - Irregular Migration”. in: Scholten, Peter. *Introduction to Migration Studies - An Interactive Guide to the Literatures on Migration and Diversity*. IMISCOE. Open access. Springer: 193.

¹⁹³ Ibid: 197.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid: 198.

governments manage and control migration flows to their benefits, seeking for those who are skilled and likely to improve the economic dynamics.

Internal control mechanisms, as an illustration, segregate undocumented migrants, thereby depriving them of essential social services. By not guaranteeing them basic access and fundamental rights, governments are indirectly able to force their return. Indeed, “selective enforcement by the police in the USA and Europe has been found to be influenced by the interests and values of key actors: the police, local residents, and city governments”(Leerkes et al., 2012)¹⁹⁵. This draws attention to the search, by migrants, for other social actors who can help in obtaining their most basic services, such as NGOs, social networks, and international organizations. These alternative measures guarantee them basic protection and minimum rights. Likewise, “irregular migrants are at the bottom of a hierarchy of rights in national laws and vulnerable to exclusion and exploitation”¹⁹⁶. The hierarchy of rights between nationals and non-nationals is already discrepant, but this differentiation in relation to irregular migrants, gives them the most vulnerable space in society. Then, NGOs have positively confronted exclusionary methods, challenging national barriers and constraints.

3.2 Migration Management

Since Governance is related to the power to control and rule social affairs, through decision-making processes, how is migration governance materialized?

In fact, “migration policy has for long been seen as the prerogative of the receiving state”¹⁹⁷, thus having the right to institute border regulations and rules in relation to the stay of migrants in the country. It turns out that the movement of people involves not only the host country, but also the state of origin, transit, and the migrants themselves. Thus, managing migration processes as a purely one-sided issue is a poor way of capturing the multidimensional aspects of human mobility. Thereby, “a more nuanced approach to migration policy has emerged: the idea that population migration can be ‘managed’, not just for the benefit of the destination state but also for the migrants and the states of origin”¹⁹⁸. This implies multilateral management among the actors involved, through dialogue and bilateral agreements that benefit all parties involved.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid: 196.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid: 199.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid: 01.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid: 01.

Initially, migration policies were instituted with the primary objective of safeguarding the territorial integrity of states by preventing the ingress of undesired individuals. Rooted in the foundational tenet of state sovereignty as a paramount principle within international law, the authority to govern state affairs emanated exclusively from the state's own government. As technological advancements and enhanced communication capabilities evolved, the dynamics of migratory movements intensified. Consequently, faced with mounting challenges in regulating the entry of individuals, states increasingly turned to leveraging these individuals as a means to further their own developmental objectives. In this sense, socioeconomic mechanisms were created and used “either as a means of inclusion to encourage economic growth by increasing the number of foreign workers to fill labour market demands or as a means of exclusion to protect the population from unemployment in an economic downturn by barring immigration”¹⁹⁹. Recognizing migrants as potential contributors to economic growth, states initiated policies aimed at facilitating the entry of foreign individuals with high qualifications, with a view to advancing their own economic development. As migrants settled in their host nations, the subsequent flow of remittances, knowledge, and resources back to their countries of origin gained prominence. These transnational interactions piqued the interest of origin countries, prompting their active engagement in the dynamics of migration. This engagement led to the emergence of bilateral agreements that expanded the purview of migration management. In parallel, the proliferation of migration crises and the surge of refugee movements across the globe necessitated the involvement of actors beyond the confines of individual states. International intervention became imperative to address migratory emergencies, with a multitude of actors assuming roles as guarantors of protection and support for migrants, especially when states sought to evade their responsibilities. International Organizations (IO) and NGOs, such as IOM, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Bank, and International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) began to get involved in migration dynamics to coordinate efforts and policies to deal with the main challenges of these processes.

Thereby, the international community plays an essential role in migration policy, influencing domestic management. This impact can be expressed through legal agreements and multilateral frameworks that deal with border regulation, migrants’ rights, labour migrations, asylum

¹⁹⁹ Ibid: 10.

frameworks (see the 1951 Refugee Convention), humanitarian aid, and the fight against human trafficking.

Given that human mobility shapes and is shaped by broader processes of social change and development, how can migration management be an integral part of sustainable development? How can migration governance become a development policy? Given that migration is not a separate phenomenon from development, migration management must function as an integral part of human and social development, through development policies. A “plan *for* migration rather than plan migration”²⁰⁰ is necessary to achieve the full potential of individuals for the benefit of development. Migration management can be seen as a political tool used as a triple-win, in which countries of origin, destination and migrants can benefit.

The Migration Governance Index (MGI), from the IOM, and the Inquiry among Governments on Population and Development, from the UN, analyse governance in the international movement of people. In fact, the MGI presents important recommendations in relation to migration management, evaluating policy frameworks from 50 countries, consisting of more than 90 indicators sorted in six dimensions of the Migration Governance Framework (migrant rights, whole of government approach, well-being of migrants, partnerships, mobility dimension of crises, and safe, orderly and regular migration)²⁰¹. This tool not only ensures transparency in migration management, but also presents ideas and frameworks that can be used positively among countries.

Given that migration is a multifaceted phenomenon, its governance must achieve multilateral coordination in order to maximize its benefits. International coordination is essential in sharing responsibilities in migration processes and creating development policies that support migrants’ social opportunities. For instance, “immigrant-receiving countries can increase the development potential of migration by creating legal channels for high- and lower-skilled migration and integration policies that favour socio-economic mobility of migrants and avoid their marginalization”²⁰². This expands migrants’ opportunities and enables them to fill their empowering places in society.

The multi-level governance “refers to interaction and joint coordination of relations between the various levels of actors without clear dominance of one level”²⁰³. A vertical workforce

²⁰⁰ Ibid: 335.

²⁰¹ Ibid: 399.

²⁰² Ibid: 08.

²⁰³ Ibid: 94.

allows coordination among different organizations, in favour of establishing better frameworks for managing migratory flows. The role of institutions in development is essential for development to occur in a sustainable manner. “Among international migration scholars, policy-making engagement is a common discussion topic at national and international conferences”²⁰⁴, as responsibility in public policy formulation truly addresses social challenges and creates mechanisms to overcome them. The assurance of strategies reflecting international commitment to the management of migratory flows encompasses a range of mechanisms, including the coordination for information exchange, the establishment of baseline treatment standards for migrants, the active involvement of local actors, fostering partnerships, continuous monitoring of legal adherence and the protection of human rights, heightened attention to socially marginalized individuals, the implementation of grievance procedures, and the promotion of anti-discrimination agendas.

Multi-level engagement in migration governance allows the most diverse forms of migration to be seen, as well as ensuring a mutual benefit in migratory processes. “This creates the potential for institutionalised modes of coordination to produce decisions ‘above’ the state, that can be both binding and implemented (Scharpf, 1999)”²⁰⁵ and ensure that a broader workforce balances complex responsibilities and effectively addresses migration challenges.

3.3 The importance of actors

A variety of actors are able to manage and impact migration dynamics more broadly, such as the work of local governments, NGOs, international organizations, private companies and civil society. These actors interact with each other in multiple forms and have the potential to affect structural factors that are causes and consequences of human mobility.

On the one hand, at a micro-level, migrants can exert their agency within social structural limitations. As Professor de Haas explains, “agency reflects the limited – but real – ability of human beings (or social groups) to make independent choices and to impose these on the world and, hence, to alter the structures that shape and constrain people’s opportunities or freedoms”²⁰⁶. Through action, migrants are able to influence the dynamics of mobility, working for their benefits and well-being. In effect, a certain category of migrants does not possess a minimum level of agency, since they may face extremely vulnerable situations, which do not allow them to act, as is the case of refugees or asylum seekers. These individuals are obliged to

²⁰⁴ Ibid: 15.

²⁰⁵ Ibid: 314.

²⁰⁶ Ibid:14.

flee their country due to conflict situations, such as wars, political persecution, and climate change. In this sense, it is essential to highlight that agency can be limited by social structures, and in these scenarios, broader challenges limit the opportunities and affect human freedom.

While Historical-Structural and Functionalist theories portray migrants as passive actors or victims who are pushed around the globe by the macro-forces of global capitalism and possessing minimal agency, Push–pull and Neo-classical models adopt the view that individuals migrate whether the benefits of migration exceed the costs, since migrants are motivated by individual cost-benefit calculations, reacting automatically to any stimuli which will bring them the cost-benefit²⁰⁷. In fact, all these theories portray migrants as mere instruments that act according to designed frameworks and reduce the agency and capacity of migrants not only to overcome the most challenging situations, but also to migrate for a variety of reasons, beyond purely cost-benefit designs. Migrants’ agencies encompass their capabilities and perspectives on the world, as well as their individual choices to shape and define their lives.

On the other hand, at the meso and macrolevels, in addition to the role of states, non-state actors (such as border control agencies, human rights institutions, and NGOs) are involved in migration affairs. With multiple purposes, these actors expand the management of migratory flows, acting in emergency situations, humanitarian actions, reception of asylum seekers and rescue operations. They are involved formally and informally, playing different roles and engaging with each other. “The partnerships are particularly important in promoting multi-stakeholder collaboration, as the exchanges stimulated cooperation between governmental and nongovernmental actors”²⁰⁸. These institutions can focus on a target group, such as women, children, religious people and facilitate integration and information flow among the individuals. These transnationals and multisectoral activities encompass economic, social, political, and cultural spheres of society. The role of actors in migration dynamics, as “agents that mediate migration processes”²⁰⁹ affects local policies and the local context, as well as the integration, support, and protection of migrants.

3.3.1 The European Union as an Actor

Another important actor in the multi-level governance of migration, beyond the governmental level, is the EU and its complex interaction among member states, non-state actors, and supranational institutions. As Geddes explains “migration governance in Europe has been

²⁰⁷ Ibid: 14.

²⁰⁸ Ibid: 133.

²⁰⁹ Ibid: 49.

driven since the 1990s by concern about the potential for large-scale migration flows, leading to an approach to strengthen border controls — efforts to stop those flows defined as unwanted by state policies such as asylum-seekers and irregular migrants”²¹⁰. Indeed, migration governance in Europe is a dynamic process, encompassing economic, political, and social elements as well as local and national involvements.

In turn, in the 2010s, a robust European policy on migration and asylum emerged, including multiple factors on return regulations, border control, standardization of asylum procedures, the EU Blue Card Directive on selective labour migration, and the Family Reunification Directive²¹¹, which impact national and supranational institutions on integration and management cooperation. The circulation of authority and control across European nations creates the necessity, on the one hand for the promulgation of basic migration management frameworks and, on the other hand, specific national regulations, in accordance with the particular demands of each government. Likewise, despite a broader governance system, national governments have the power to enact their own laws and regulations and define their particular challenges and objectives. The ‘crisis’ of 2015²¹², when more than one million people arrived in the EU, mainly from Syria²¹³ emphasized disagreements among member states within the European Union, alongside disparities in institutional frameworks, policies, and shared regulations concerning the safeguarding of asylum seekers and refugees. Therefore, despite the considerable authority given by its member states to the EU, immigration frameworks continue to be marked by constant disagreements and discrepancies among member states and between them and the EU.

It is essential to highlight the anti-discrimination approach that the EU takes in its policies and minimum frameworks. “Two directives issued in 2000—the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Framework Directive—establish a binding structure within which member states can develop their anti-discrimination policies”²¹⁴. In this sense, these compulsory procedures, i.e. anti-discrimination and equality, are key elements of European governance methods.

²¹⁰ Ibid: 319.

²¹¹ Ibid: 95.

²¹² UNHCR, The UN Refugee Agency. Over one million sea arrivals reach Europe in 2015 <<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/over-one-million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015>> (24.06.2023).

²¹³ Ibid: 315.

²¹⁴ Ibid: 102.

Multi-level governance is a common EU framework, which includes multiple actors in its policies, agreements, and affairs. This horizontal coordination approach also applies to EU migration management, which seeks the intersection among member states, countries of origin, international organizations, and non-state institutions in favour of a better formulation of the immigration strategy. There is no single model of migration policies, as there are countless designs and ways of dealing with the multiple dynamics of human mobility. There is, however, a high degree of interaction between nation states and the EU²¹⁵ in the formulation of immigration schemes.

Ultimately, local and national levels have been increasingly integrated and European Union member states have established co-development initiatives in order to better coordinate migration and integration dynamics. Several European countries have been reinforcing programmes to remain linked to municipalities in countries of origin, which strengthens the cohesion and integration²¹⁶, as well as allows local actors to be involved in migration management, policies, and frameworks.

3.3.2 Local Governments

Multi-level governance involves the verticalization of actions, at different levels of institutions and structures, for better strategic management. This inter-institutional mode of coordination sheds light to the role of local governments in multi-level governance. In fact, “local governance refers to the environment where all the interactions between different actors at the local level, ranging from local authorities to private sector, civil society etc., result in the formulation and execution of collective actions”²¹⁷. The local level is particularly important in developing migration strategies, as they respond to particular local challenges and interact with migrants and diasporas in a closer relationship. In attempting to foster social cohesion, local governments are easily able to recognize needs and priorities, such as demographic organization, labour requirements, and integration policies. Local governments are also capable of working in a close relationship with non-governmental and private sector initiatives and support their projects. Furthermore, local regulations can easily fulfil diversity and labour needs due to the need to coordinate the necessities of migrants. As Penninx and Scholten clarify, “cities, for instance, might work more closely with migration representatives and organizations than a

²¹⁵ Ibid: 97.

²¹⁶ Ibid:138.

²¹⁷ Ibid: 68.

national government would, to accommodate cultural activities of minorities in response to migrants' needs and demands"²¹⁸.

The engagement of migrants in local turn is also easily achieved, as a fertile environment allows them to act towards mutual cooperation. Migrants can be drivers of local governance, when empowered by this environment that enables them to contribute socially, through support measures and opportunities. In fact, "local authorities are key actors in connecting migration and development"²¹⁹ and migrants' commitment to development can be beneficial not only for them, but also for the sending and hosting region. Local governments are core actors in strengthening migrants' possibilities to contribute to development, enhancing their capabilities, and making their voices heard. On one hand, the activities of migrants possess the potential to influence good governance both in their countries of origin and destination. Conversely, effective local governance can bolster the developmental impact of migration and the contributions of migrants within these geographical domains. This alignment between the opportunities afforded to migrants and the capacities of local governments facilitates engagement in developmental pursuits, encompassing employment, revenue generation through taxation, trade facilitation, and increased consumption. Augmenting migrants' capabilities while ensuring the protection of their fundamental rights and freedoms, as well as empowering migrant communities, enables their participation in processes of social cohesion, leveraging their human, social, financial, and cultural capital. Moreover, the engagement of local authorities in collaboration with various other local actors, including civil society organizations, non-governmental entities, private sectors, and academic institutions, effectively fosters the enhancement of development policies, knowledge dissemination, and inclusive participation in decision-making. Importantly, sound local governance in the realm of migration also exerts an influence on the migrants' countries of origin. This influence is manifested through the repatriation of intellectual capital, the transfer of ideas, knowledge, skills, and resources, as well as the circulation of remittances and investments in the local economy. Such exchanges not only expand economic opportunities but also facilitate the establishment of bilateral partnerships between nations.

National and local frameworks that enable the empowerment of migrants are key elements in their engagement in development. Local opportunities and financial prospects efficiently deliver means of involvement and facilitate flows of information and resources among local

²¹⁸ Ibid: 99.

²¹⁹ Ibid: 74.

and national levels. In fact, “when local authorities undertake actions to empower migrant communities and engage them in local development in both territories of origin and destination, success lies in a variety of parameters that have to be taken into account in the design of strategies for engagement”²²⁰. Decentralization, the socioeconomic integration of migrants, the design of engagement strategies, and the space to act in the social sphere are initiatives that improve migration governance and allow the dynamics of human mobility to effectively maximize sustainable development at multiple levels.

3.3.3 The German Integration Policy

A multilateral attitude towards development also encompasses the social, economic, political, and cultural integration of migrants. “Integration is conceived as a ‘balance of rights and obligations’”²²¹ covering multiple dimensions. In the EU policy framework, for example, multi-level dynamics of migrant integration policies²²² include economic and political domains, as well as humanitarian considerations. A balance between aspects of belonging and identity should shape integration policies.

Germany, for example, “has established multi-level venues for coordination of integration policies, with a key role for national integration conferences”²²³, able to address the opportunities and the challenges of migrants’ entry. Established by the principles of recognition of diversity, inclusiveness, and respect for human rights²²⁴, German integration efforts encompass several social and human dimensions, such as education, access to social services, and anti-discrimination.

According to MIPI data, Germany has been slowly improving its integration policies, with a score of 58/100²²⁵. Measuring elements such as health, about market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, permanence residence, access to nationality, and anti-discrimination, Germany has strengthened areas such as employment, vocational training, and education for newcomers, but still remains with embryonic policies in areas such as family reunification, permanent residence and access to nationality²²⁶. In fact, “German integration policies are now relatively average for Western European/OECD countries”²²⁷, and

²²⁰ Ibid: 75.

²²¹ Ibid: 102.

²²² Ibid: 98.

²²³ Ibid: 101.

²²⁴ Ibid: 101.

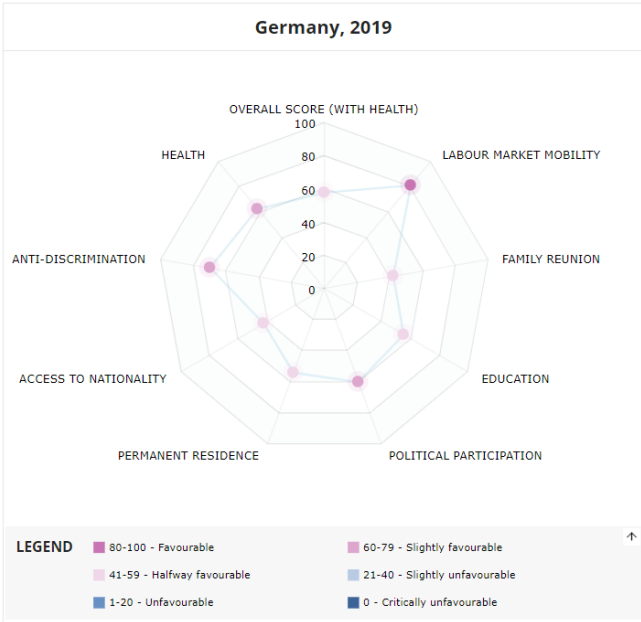
²²⁵ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

²²⁶ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

²²⁷ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

improvement in key factors is necessary to assist socio-economic equality between nationals and migrants. The key findings of Germany’s integration policies in 2019 show that “labour market mobility” is the most favourable element within the country’s integration policy. That means that Germany assists equal work opportunities for non-EU immigrants, as well as improves procedures to recognise foreign qualifications and skills²²⁸. However, some elements are still weak in German integration policies. Firstly, “family reunification” is halfway favourable, being more restrictive than most Western European/OECD countries, in terms of delays, eligibility restrictions for sponsors, and the language test abroad²²⁹. These policies significantly affect migrant’ access to the labour market and cultural adaptation. Secondly, “education” is also halfway favourable, meaning that education policies have slightly improved as a priority for integration policies in Germany, with policies slightly above-average for Western European/OECD countries²³⁰. In this sense, vocational training and schools’ opportunities can be improved within German immigration frameworks, in order to achieve equal opportunity for educational qualification and language assistance. Finally, “permanent residence” and “access to nationality” are also halfway favourable, requiring more inclusive and flexible requirements to boost a sense of belonging, socio-economic, and political participation²³¹.

Figure 06: Key Findings on German Policy Integration, 2019



²²⁸ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).
²²⁹ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).
²³⁰ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).
²³¹ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

Trends towards exclusion or inclusion of migrants impact the socio-political acceptance of foreigners. Lack of integration policies can increase discrimination, racism, and xenophobia, lowering social cohesion and well-being, as well as influencing migrants' employment opportunities. In fact, a "country's integration policies matter because the way that governments treat immigrants strongly influences how well immigrants and the public interact and think of each other"²³², being a strong element in the willingness and ability of migrants to actively participate in society. Multifaceted integration policies exert a discernible impact on the potential of migration to contribute to developmental objectives. The level of education among individuals within a nation correlate positively with their capacity to foster technological innovation and spur market enhancement. Enhanced access to housing for individuals corresponds to improved demographic planning within a given locality. Furthermore, a concerted effort to combat discrimination and the formulation of inclusive policies correlates with a reduction in violence rates. In fact, "the way that governments treat immigrants strongly influences how well immigrants and the public interact with and think of each other"²³³, being an essential factor of social interaction and inclusion, allowing immigrants to be integral parts and responsible for the development and mutual growth of society.

²³² Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

²³³ Migrant Integration Policy Index. 2020. Germany, 2019 <<https://www.mipex.eu/germany>> (18.07.2023).

4. Development Cooperation

Development Cooperation (DC) is related to international partnerships, which seek to coordinate programs and practices, to establish an architecture that most effectively improves the living condition of individuals and supports sustainable development in *developing* countries. More complex than assistance, DC is broader than simply aid, comprising purpose-oriented²³⁴ practices and formal approaches that aim to shape efficient actions to encourage economic growth and reduce multidimensional poverty. DC links individuals and societies, seeking to improve infrastructure and well-being, according to the micro and macro-needs of a target country. As partnerships are intrinsically related to DC, the most different actors play essential roles in development actions. These actors are not only NGOs, but also private philanthropic foundations and multilateral agencies, with objectives and formal hierarchies. Through the provision of financial incentives, capacity enhancement initiatives, and technical support, these actors employ various methodologies and objectives to enhance a wide spectrum of development sectors, encompassing education, healthcare, infrastructure, agriculture, and governance. For instance, by fortifying structural capabilities and facilitating knowledge transfer and expertise sharing, these programs are tailored to cultivate and perpetuate the capacities of individuals, enabling them to engage in productive endeavours and enhance their prospects over the long term.

Development Cooperation, therefore, goes ‘beyond-aid’²³⁵ and purely financial contributions to countries in the process of development. Rather than adhering to traditional paradigms, these initiatives are oriented towards confronting contemporary global and national developmental imperatives. They serve as catalysts for the mobilization of domestic resources, in addition to seeking diverse sources of financing. Furthermore, they endeavour to achieve policy coherence for development within donor countries, reconfigure trade regimes and the architecture of international development in innovative ways, restructure international migration frameworks²³⁶, and address climate change mitigation in distinct geographic regions.

Indeed, the diversification of actors is beneficial, in terms of achieving a broader scope of societal needs (education, health, migration, gender), but it also encounters challenges in coordinating the most diverse objectives and models in implementing programs. The most

²³⁴ Armbruster, Lisa. 2014. *Cooperation Across Cultures: an Analysis of Intercultural Competence in Development Organizations*. IEE. Institut für Entwicklungsforschung und Entwicklungspolitik. Bochum, volume 205: 13.

²³⁵ Gore, Charles. 2013. “Introduction: The new Development Cooperation Landscape: Actors, Approaches, Architecture”, *Journal of International Development*: 01.

²³⁶ *Ibid*: 03.

traditional form of development cooperation is the promotion of greater national economic independence of *developing* countries, to facilitate their economic convergence with developed regions and enable them to achieve sustained economic growth and structural transformation, so that official aid is no longer needed²³⁷. A more comprehensive approach to the execution of developmental initiatives is rooted in a rights-based agenda, which aligns with the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals. This agenda is oriented toward the dual objectives of ameliorating extreme poverty and establishing a globally adequate standard of living, as well as addressing specific deprivations within the sphere of human development. Additionally, development cooperation programs are directed towards the provision of global public goods and the mitigation of risks associated with infectious diseases. In accordance with the United Nations perspective, given the multifaceted nature of development, it is imperative to orchestrate a harmonization of objectives and activities in the pursuit of development, ensuring that economic convergence is accompanied by sustainability and inclusivity²³⁸.

A more sustainable development cooperation architecture includes the consideration of regional particularities and national policies, respecting plurality and diversity and supporting independent growth of the region and individuals. In this sense, development programs cannot remain hierarchical and with a vertical approach, with donors as owners and controllers of *developing* regions. On the contrary, there must be a horizontal partnership, respecting the singularity, values, culture, and needs of the nation and rejecting management methods of neo-colonial domination. Indeed, alongside the overarching difficulties associated with harmonizing diverse objectives and methodologies within development programs, development organizations must also grapple with intercultural complexities and varying viewpoints concerning regional frameworks. Furthermore, they must adapt to a shifting paradigm regarding the roles and responsibilities that organizations are expected to assume within the realm of development interactions.

European development agencies, through their *ad hoc* projects²³⁹, have followed poverty reduction objectives, as well as good governance. Since the 1990s the European donors have emphasized the importance of respecting human rights and the rule of law, the democratic and pluralist systems, and equality in rights²⁴⁰. Additionally, European agencies deal with the

²³⁷ Ibid: 04.

²³⁸ UN ECOSOC, 2012.

²³⁹ Cox, Aidan; Healey, John; Hoebink, Paul and Voipio, Timo. 2000. *European Development Cooperation and the Poor*. Palgrave Macmillan: 72.

²⁴⁰ Ibid: 34.

sectoral approach, the decentralization mode of aid delivery, in health, education, roads, and agriculture, as well as other key reform programmes covering fiscal management, the civil service and local government²⁴¹. In fact, based on expertise and neutrality, European agencies pursue to diversify their aid channels and direct cooperation with authorities or organizations at the local level, allowing better targeting aid²⁴², due to proficiency and proximity to specific vulnerable groups. European Council Resolutions (1993 and 1996) define strategic goals in terms of people-oriented development and intervention in pursuing to resolve multidimensional development issues, targeting specific groups, such as old, women, landless, uneducated, deprived, and discriminated²⁴³. European society remains in step with this development-oriented policy. In fact, the 2022 EU citizens and development cooperation²⁴⁴ shows that almost 89% of respondents think it is important to partner with countries outside the EU to reduce poverty around the world, with 42% of the opinion this is “very important”²⁴⁵. Furthermore, participants are more likely to say that fighting poverty in partner countries should be one of the EU’s main priorities (80% of the interviewees)²⁴⁶.

Taking poverty as a multidimensional concept, European agencies evaluate not only with lack of monetary income or consumption as the roots of deprivation, but also the analysis of multidimensional vulnerabilities, such as insecurity of livelihood, physical weaknesses (stemming from malnutrition, sickness, old age, disablement), powerlessness and social exclusion, including discrimination by society particularly against women, and low-caste groups and ethnic minorities²⁴⁷. In this context, strategies aimed at improving access to fundamental components of well-being such as basic education, literacy, primary healthcare, nutrition, potable water, and sanitation, for instance, are undertaken with the objective of empowering individuals and mitigating societal disparities.

Hereinafter, there is a strong focus on improving the basic needs of individuals in terms of health care and education, preventive health, drinking water and sanitation, especially from Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the UK and France (mainly with respect to basic education)²⁴⁸. Among the main European Donors there are the Netherlands Directorate General

²⁴¹ Ibid: 73.

²⁴² Ibid: 76.

²⁴³ Ibid: 23.

²⁴⁴ European Commission. 2022. “EU citizens and development cooperation”, Special Eurobarometer, 521. KANTAR.

²⁴⁵ Ibid: 12.

²⁴⁶ Ibid: 16.

²⁴⁷ Ibid: 28.

²⁴⁸ Ibid: 31.

for International Development (DGIS), the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), and Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

In turn, German Development Cooperation, which also works with the concept of multidimensional poverty eradication, translates into a joint effort between the German Government and several German organizations that promote sustainable development in partner states. Germany plays an essential role in development cooperation practices and in addressing global challenges. Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development works with semi-governmental and nongovernmental organizations, crucial actors through which the federal owned Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) specifically the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit contributes with the greatest share²⁴⁹. In fact, BMZ coordinates the concept of absolute poverty and poor/disadvantaged groups as criteria for aid allocation²⁵⁰ and seek a development-oriented approach in its projects and practices. Since the 1960s, the German Foundation for International Development's Central Office for Foreign Affairs ("Zentralstelle für Auslandskunde der Deutschen Stiftung für Internationale Entwicklung" (atualmente GIZ)²⁵¹ participates in bi- and multilateral partnerships to address social developmental challenges. Through capacity building (training programmes, skills development, security teaching) German DC strengthens the capacities of partner nations so they can manage and improve their own development projects. The accentuation on environmental protection and conflict response are also among German DC priorities, with initiatives in renewable energy and humanitarian aid and emergency relief.

Unquestionably, the German Development Cooperation also exhibits a robust commitment to the support of migrants and refugees. In this context, initiatives aimed at tackling the underlying factors contributing to human mobility, such as poverty, climate change, and internal conflicts, manifest through the creation of novel employment prospects, the enhancement of skills and livelihoods, and the enhancement of infrastructure and healthcare access. Migration management constitutes another facet of the German DC's endeavours, involving the orchestration of strategies for the governance of migration and the response to refugee crises. These encompass humanitarian assistance, political coordination, safeguarding of rights, asylum system reinforcement, and border control measures. Through diplomatic channels, German agencies actively pursue the formulation of sustainable migration policies that address

²⁴⁹ Ibid: 12.

²⁵⁰ Ibid: 24.

²⁵¹ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH. 2021. „Ein Spiegel der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit“ <https://www.giz.de/de/ueber_die_giz/97949.html> (02.08.2023).

issues such as human trafficking, the protection of human rights, and equitable labor migration. These partnerships strive to harmonize actions and cooperate in the management of migration challenges while advocating for the safeguarding of vulnerable populations.

Human mobility is strongly impacted by development projects. Indeed, Development Organizations (DOs) must comprehend regional and specific contexts to act according to their challenges and demands. Programs must maximize the result for beneficiaries and the ideal of transnational solidarity²⁵², to express the sustainable development in their activities and promote human rights, the protection of individuals, and good governance in the context of the movement of people.

4.1 “Africa on the move” - Migration flows in Africa

Writing about African nations necessitates addressing the phenomenon of migration, as the historical trajectory of the African continent has been profoundly influenced by both internal and external population movements. This mobility has its roots in the precolonial and colonial eras, during which Africans were compelled to migrate within and beyond the continent. Notably, the transatlantic slave trade and the coerced displacement of Africans played pivotal roles in bolstering colonial economies and exerted a substantial impact on the historical trajectory and socio-economic development of African nations. Subsequently, the dynamics of post-colonial governance have also emerged as a significant determinant in the realm of African migration. European and EU perspectives have been powerfully shaped by the idea that there is scope for large-scale migration from African countries towards the EU²⁵³. Contrary to general thinking, post-colonial African migration mainly occurs within African countries, especially among neighbouring countries. In fact, about 5.6% of African refugees migrate out of Africa and the rest remain on the continent²⁵⁴. Furthermore, in West Africa, for example, more than 70 percent of intra-African emigration took place within the subregion²⁵⁵. To that extent, the “continent on the move”²⁵⁶, is driven by push and pull factors²⁵⁷ that promote intra-regional and

²⁵² Strautmann, Michael. 2022. *Interorganisational Coordination in Development Cooperation. How Communication at the Country Level Transforms. Fragmentation into Coherence and Complementarity*. Nomos: 208.

²⁵³ Ibid: 318.

²⁵⁴ Moyo, Innocent; Laine P, Jussi and Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe. 2021. “Intra-Africa migrations - an introduction”, in: Moyo, Innocent; Laine P, Jussi and Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe. *Intra-Africa Migrations*. Routledge, London: 4.

²⁵⁵ Ratha, Dilip; Mohapatra, Sanket; Ozden, Caglar; Plaza, Sonia; Shaw, William; Shimeles, Abebe. 2011. *Leveraging Migration for Africa: Remittances, Skills, and Investments*. World Bank: 2.

²⁵⁶ Flahaux, Marie-Laurence and de Haas, Hein. 2016. "African migration : trends, patterns, drivers", *Comparative Migration Studies* 4(1): 1.

²⁵⁷ Abebe, Tsion Tadesse. 2017. *Migration policy frameworks in Africa*. ISS Institute for Security Studies: 2.

intercontinental movement. Indeed, even in the post-colonial context, there are several aspects that influence African migration today, from socio-economic aspects, such as famine, poverty, lack of education, disease, and environmental and climate challenges, to the political process, such as the formation of states, borders, and armed conflict, to name a few. All these factors influence not only human mobility, but also the regions of departure and arrival. Appiah-Nyamekye Sanny and Rocca (2018) and the World Migration Report of IOM (2019) indicate that African migrants move widely within their respective regions, while the motivations behind intracontinental migrants vary considerably²⁵⁸. As a case in point, within the context of Eritrea, individuals encounter circumstances characterized by political and religious persecution, alongside a dearth of viable economic opportunities. Conversely, in Somalia, the populace experiences displacement primarily as a consequence of the interrelated challenges posed by terrorism and ongoing civil conflict. Sudan confronts violent conflicts between the centre and the periphery and South Sudan lives a civil war, from which more than 3.8 million people have fled both inside and outside the country²⁵⁹. Currently, there is a demographic cohort of ten million individuals residing in the region who have experienced forced displacement stemming from armed conflicts, episodes of violence, or infringements upon their human rights²⁶⁰.

An important push factor, for instance, is the demand for labour. Labour mobility, indeed, assumes a critical position within the context of migration, driven by the pursuit of improved prospects, disparities in income, and geographical proximity. In South Africa, for example, skilled migrants are preferred at the expense of those without the skills²⁶¹. Those, move to regions with better economic and social development, consequently with higher employment rates, leaving their regions with lack of employment. This also shows that selective migration is also a crucial component of intra-regional mobility, where compliance with the necessary procedures to enter another region (regular migration) impacts not only on the mobility of people, but mainly on their security.

However, the fact that some people do not meet the requirements for entering a new region (irregular migration) does not mean that they do not migrate. On the contrary, violence,

²⁵⁸ Achieng, Maureen and Fadil, Amira El. 2020. "What is wrong with the narrative on African Migration?", in: *Africa Migration Report – challenging the narrative*. International Organization for Migration (IOM): 3.

²⁵⁹ Angenendt, Steffen and Kipp, David. 2017. "Better Migration Management. A Good Approach to Cooperating with Countries of Origin and Transit?", SSOAR – Social Science Open Access Repository, Comments 33: 02.

²⁶⁰ Ibid: 03.

²⁶¹ Laine, Jussi P. and Moyo, Inocent. 2021. "Precarity of borders and migration regimes in the Southern African region", in: Moyo, Inocent; Laine P, Jussi and Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe. *Intra-Africa Migrations*. Routledge, London: 89.

conflicts, lack of opportunities, and even environmental challenges across Africa have led to a high number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)²⁶², who leave their regions in search of protection and opportunities. Worldwide, there are approximately 41.3 million people internally displaced within their country's borders due to conflict and violence and nearly 41 per cent of whom were in African countries in 2019²⁶³. These displaced persons frequently remain close to their countries' borders (not being formally registered as refugees) and face several humanitarian violations. First, these forced mobilities lead to numerous types of exploitation, ranging from labour deprivation and abuse to women and children trafficking and other coercive practices. Second, these irregular movements lead to crisis and conflict at the state borders of the host communities. The absence of management, legislation, and social structures to deal with IDPs characterize not only segregation and prejudice against peoples and regions, but mainly the violation of the human right of mobility, producing more suffering. Indeed, displaced persons are a clear example of stigmatisation and selective migration in African regions, showing that "migration is seen as a security issue leading to selective migration and the securitisation of migration"²⁶⁴.

Considering that migration is not only a political and social issue but is also contained in the pillars on which the regional and continental Pan-African identity is founded, its efficient and proper management is crucial for African development and affairs. In fact, cross-border integration in Africa requires debates and public management to reconfigure the mobility process on the continent. This complex intra-regional movement requires securitisation²⁶⁵ and administration. In fact, the crucial question is why the mobility of trade, goods, and market are regulated, encouraged, and allowed, while mobility of people is neglected?

Undeniably, in the last two decades economic growth has reached many African countries. Market and trade play important roles in this process. In many African countries, trade in goods and services is an important contributor to gross domestic product²⁶⁶. Naturally, these growth measures are directly linked to economic development and advancement. The problem is that most of the actions taken by African countries in pursuit of development are closely related to

²⁶² UNHCR. Internally Displaced People. <<https://www.unhcr.org/internally-displaced-people.html>> (08.20.2022).

²⁶³ Ibid: 53.

²⁶⁴ Ibid: 91.

²⁶⁵ Ibid: 100.

²⁶⁶ Vanore, Michaella. 2020. "Migration, trade, and development in Africa - Conceptual and empirical links". In: Mbaye, Linguère Mously and Konte, Maty. *Migration, Remittances, and Sustainable Development in Africa Book*. Routledge, 1st Edition.

adding more resources (inputs) to the system of production – ‘*extensive growth*’²⁶⁷. At the same time, there is no doubt that measures related to public policies and individual liberties were created (see higher rates of life expectancy, access to education, and diseases control, for instance). However, they are still extremely embryonic and neglected by political leaders. Stable policies and human recognition, which include managing migration processes, are not (yet) fully embedded in the basis for conducting African affairs. In this sense, if economic growth unaccompanied by structural opportunity and political stability leads to periods of growth and times of setbacks or stagnation, these are some of the reasons why Africa is witnessing late development and growth. Maintenance and sustainable economic growth are strongly related to (*re*)investment and attention not only in infrastructure and economic activities, but also in the areas of human development and agency.

Indeed, the growth of the middle class in some African countries causes the demand for specialized goods and services to increase²⁶⁸. Specialized goods require skilled professionals and knowledge to provide services according to the demand. All these processes are related to the need of regional integration, as the development of better systems and new infrastructure increase trade and market among regions. Since knowledge diffusion encourages regional interconnectedness, the movement of people through sub-regional communities that provide and receive techniques and skills arises. These exchange systems create mobility across the continent. In fact, rising educational levels in some African countries, coupled with the lack of local labour markets to incorporate these skills, are likely to put pressure on emigration to specific countries. Thereby, migration, development, and exchange (of people and goods) are strongly associated with the African context²⁶⁹ and regional governance frameworks should not only encourage intra-regional mobility as a step towards greater regional integration, but also better administrate and invest in these processes. In fact, free movement of goods and services cannot progress smoothly without that of people²⁷⁰. To this extent, the *2063 Agenda of the African Union* aspires to boost regional integration through the establishment of a continental free trade area, envisioning a continent with “seamless borders” where “the free movement of

²⁶⁷ Frankema, Ewout. 2018. “What is Development?” In: E. Frankema; E. Hillbom, U. Kufakurinani and F. Meier, zu Selhausen, eds. *The History of African Development*. An Online Textbook for a New Generation of African Students and Teachers. African Economic History Network. p. 18.

²⁶⁸ Ibid: 21.

²⁶⁹ Murat, Marina. 2021. “Migration and development”, Department of Economics 0194, University of Modena and Reggio E., Faculty of Economics “Marco Biagi”.

²⁷⁰ Abi, Samir and Warn, Elizabeth. 2020. “Reorganizing Borders in the Age of Free Movement in Africa. What is wrong with the narrative on African Migration?”, in: International Organization for Migration (IOM). *Africa Migration Report – challenging the narrative*: 87.

people, capital, goods and services will result in significant increase in trade and investments amongst African countries rising to unprecedented levels, and strengthen Africa's place in global trade" (African Union, n.d.)²⁷¹. Interregional movement of people, trade, and development are closely linked, each being deeply dependent on the others. Therefore, the question of how African states deal and should manage intra-Africa migrations is crucial to drive human and economic development on the continent.

4.1.1 African Governance in Migration

The African Union (AU) is composed of 55 African countries²⁷² and was established to replace the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). This transition symbolizes a political agreement with the interests and visions of Pan-African unity²⁷³. The AU seeks to promote cooperation in all areas of the continent's development, in three main goals (i to pursue continent-wide cooperation and integration amongst African states; ii creating the conditions for African states to engage in social, economic, and political relations; iii to design an institutional framework for African states to participate more effectively in the international market and in international negotiations on trade)²⁷⁴. In fact, the guiding philosophy of the AU has been Pan-Africanism, an ideology built on strengthening ties of solidarity among African peoples²⁷⁵. Therefore, mobility of people does not only require management, but also interstate unification and cooperation.

Indeed, the AU has developed numerous policy frameworks and regimes on African migration, which involve regions, actors, and organizations. One of the most important management policies is the *Migration Policy Framework for Africa and Plan of Action (2018 – 2030)*. The plan highlights AU priorities, policies, the Agenda 2063, the Sustainable Development Goals, and international migration management policies and standards.²⁷⁶ The document shares policy guidelines and principles on migration management, as well as the plan's priorities and resources. Additionally, the plan contains eight main pillars, aimed at facilitating safe, orderly,

²⁷¹ Ibid: 86.

²⁷² African Union. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African_Union> (08.22.2022).

²⁷³ Engel, Ulf. 2017. *The African Union's Peace and Security Architecture—From aspiration to operationalization*, Routledg, 6th Edition.

²⁷⁴ Tiekou, Thomas Kwasi. 2004. "Explaining the clash and accommodation of interests of major actors in the creation of the African Union". African Affairs. Royal African Society.

²⁷⁵ Makhathini, Mandisa Sunshine Melanie; Moyo, Inocent and Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe. 2021. "Human mobility in the Southern African Development Community region", in: in: Moyo, Inocent; Laine P, Jussi and Nshimbi, Christopher Changwe. *Intra-Africa Migrations*. Routledge, London: 70.

²⁷⁶ African Union Commission and AU Department for Social Affairs. 2018. Executive Summary - Migration Policy Framework for Africa and Plan of Action (2018 – 2030). Migration for Development in Africa, Addis Ababa.

and dignified migration (i Migration Governance; ii Labour Migration and Education; iii Diaspora Engagement; iv Border Governance; v Irregular Migration; vi Forced Displacement; vii Internal Migration and viii Migration and Trade)²⁷⁷.

Additionally, the AU also has developed a 50-year plan for Africa's development (*Agenda 2063*)²⁷⁸, which involves, among other guidelines, projects on African cross-border and mobility. In fact, the Agenda seeks not only to develop new programs, but also to enrich the ongoing projects on migration, having within its aspirations the objective of “develop capacity to manage the flow of cross border migration with attention to the concerns of Women, Youth and vulnerable groups”²⁷⁹. Furthermore, the Agenda identifies the free movement of people as a key ingredient in achieving other development aspirations²⁸⁰. Therefore, the AU policies projects on African migration not only emphasises the need for an efficiently managed cross-border integration for the benefit of the continent, but also recognise that the lack of management on people mobility has been holding back economic and human development in Africa.

In turn, the International Organization for Migration refers to the governance of migration as “the combined frameworks of legal norms, laws and regulations, policies and traditions as well as organisational structures and the relevant processes that shape and regulate States’ approaches with regard to migration in all its forms, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting international cooperation”²⁸¹. In this context, the concept of migration management encompasses the utilization of a spectrum of strategies, projects, and policies meticulously designed to maximize the advantages derived from human mobility, concurrently minimizing its adverse repercussions in terms of human suffering, transgressions, and infringements. It necessitates a comprehensive acknowledgment of the requisites and potentialities of the individuals engaged in migration, alongside a thorough evaluation of the economic facets

²⁷⁷ African Union Commission and AU Department for Social Affairs. 2018. Executive Summary - Migration Policy Framework for Africa and Plan of Action (2018 – 2030). Migration for Development in Africa, Addis Ababa.

²⁷⁸ The Agenda 2063 is the continent's strategic framework that aims to deliver on its goal for inclusive and sustainable development and is a concrete manifestation of the pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance. African Union, Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want <<https://au.int/en/agenda2063/overview>> (26.08.2022).

²⁷⁹ International Labour Organization. Africa's Agenda 2063 <https://www.ilo.org/africa/areas-of-work/labour-migration/policy-frameworks/WCMS_671946/lang--en/index.htm> (26.08.2022).

²⁸⁰ Ibid: 81.

²⁸¹ (International Organization for Migration, 2019:138).

inherent in this mobility phenomenon, including its fundamental driving forces such as poverty, famine, political instability, and armed conflicts.

A great example of African migration management is the *Joint Africa–EU Declaration on Migration and Development* (Tripoli Process, 2006). Established in 2001, the Tripoli Process is composed of 82 member states (among African and European countries) committed to managing migration in a comprehensive, holistic, and balanced manner, sharing responsibility and cooperation for these processes²⁸². Among the main areas of cooperation, the Tripoli Process recognises the nexus between Migration and Peace and Security, identifying specific mechanisms to improve, facilitate, and regulate mobility processes²⁸³. In fact, Peace and Security policies and the management of the migration challenges are adopted to enhance human development and cross-border integration. Designed to reduce the risks that migrants face, the Tripoli Process can be seen as a pillar of the broader Joint Africa-EU Strategic Partnership and as a key strategic framework of the EU-Africa to manage, prevent, and address challenges on mobility of people²⁸⁴. Certainly, Africa's migration frameworks include a spectrum of elements comprising coordination mechanisms, policy formulations, and legal instruments, encompassing both binding legislative measures and non-binding normative guidelines. Their overarching purpose is to confront prevailing challenges, mitigate human suffering, and optimize the advantages associated with migration for both sending and hosting regions. Consequently, these multifaceted processes necessitate a robust and comprehensive approach to regional integration, which entails active participation not only by African nation-states but also by regional entities in the formulation and implementation of mobility policies that drive the region's development.

However, there is a gap between African Union frameworks and the implementation of these policies by the African States and Regional Communities. In fact, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) was designed based on aspects of conflict prevention (which includes AU Border Program) and post-conflict reconstruction support (contemplating Africa Solidarity Initiative)²⁸⁵. Therefore, the promotion of peace, security, and stability is the

²⁸² Ibid: 13.

²⁸³ Ibid: 15.

²⁸⁴ IOM. UN Migration. Tripoli Process. Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration and Development <<https://www.iom.int/tripoli-process-joint-africa-eu-declaration-migration-and-development>> (29.08.2022).

²⁸⁵ African Union Peace and Security Architecture. 2016. FOI Studies in African Security. Swedish Defence Research Agency. FOI/Eken Produktion.

responsibility of the AU in coordination and harmonization with the programs and policies of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs)²⁸⁶.

The RECs are composed of eight African Union partners²⁸⁷, which also establish treaties and protocols on the free movement of people that complement the AU's migration provisions²⁸⁸. One of the objectives of the RECs is to facilitate regional economic integration among the members of the individual regions, which should lead to the integration of the entire African continent²⁸⁹. The regional frameworks are mandatory and applicable to all member states comprising the REC. In this sense, there are two great examples of regional frameworks adopted by RECs that deserve to be highlighted. First, as an example of hard law is the implementation by its member states of the *ECOWAS' Protocol Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment* (1979). The Protocol aims to achieve free movement of people and the right of residence through three main pillars, namely, i the right of entry and abolition of visas; ii the right of residence; and iii the right of establishment²⁹⁰. This means that any ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) citizen in possession of a valid travel document and international health certificate can visit another member state for up to 90 days under the free visa requirement²⁹¹. By becoming part of the Protocol, member states agree to progressively remove all restrictions to the movement of labour and the protection of internally displaced persons. In addition to the Protocol, there are numerous soft law policies with mobility initiatives and management. For instance, adopted in 2006, the *Migration Policy Framework for Africa* highlights that well-managed migration brings benefits to both countries of origin and countries of designation and predicts that migration will be one of the major topics of the 21st century that will challenge African policymakers²⁹².

Therefore, all these documents not only recognize the importance of including mobility practices in the African Agenda, but also show that efficient management of migration processes can benefit both origins and host countries. In fact, instead of closing borders and

²⁸⁶ Engel, Ulf. "The Changing the AU Commission in Inter-African Relations. The Case of APSA". Nine. pp. 186-206.

²⁸⁷ The Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) based at the Horn of Africa, the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA).

²⁸⁸ Ibid: 95.

²⁸⁹ Ibid: 73.

²⁹⁰ Ibid: 08.

²⁹¹ Ibid: 08.

²⁹² Ibid: 12.

regressing into state-centric thinking, these institutional frameworks claim to rethink and reframe the management of African borders²⁹³. Indeed, the establishment of bilateral agreements, the implementation of effective policy measures, and the securitization of migration can serve as instruments for safeguarding the lives of millions and enhancing the progression of cross-border integration among various states and regions. The substantial incongruity observed between the frameworks devised by the African Union and the degree of acceptance and execution of these recommendations by individual nation-states underscores the necessity for collective action involving member states, Regional Communities, and the African Union itself. This concerted effort is indispensable to ensure the efficacy, practical implementation, and continual enhancement of the public policies that have been formulated. There is an urgent call for the need to consider migration as a key component of development, which enhances the continent's development and, above all, protects human beings²⁹⁴. Chiefly, harmonious practices at the national and regional level, well-designed policy frameworks, and mutual support among member states and regions, strengthen existing projects that have the potential to transform future continent's governance.

In the African basic aspirations, the freedom of movement of people, capital, goods and, services for continental and regional integration agendas are included²⁹⁵. However, border control in Africa is a complex process, which involves not simply state sovereignty, but mainly social challenges such as trafficking, transnational organized crime, terrorism, irregular migration, and human rights violations. The *African Union Strategy for Enhancing Border Governance in Africa* defines border management as “national and international coordination and cooperation among all the relevant authorities and agencies involved in border security and trade facilitation to establish effective, efficient and coordinated border management, in order to reach the objective of open, but well controlled and secure borders”²⁹⁶. Indeed, border management in Africa has been designed to better administrate the movement of people across regions, as a way of enhancing formal economic development through expanded services and trade²⁹⁷. Based on the principles of i respect of borders existing upon achievement of national independence; ii commitment to pursue structural prevention of conflicts and establishment of the African Union Border Programme; and iii the need to put in place a new form of pragmatic

²⁹³ Ibid: 100.

²⁹⁴ Ibid: 66.

²⁹⁵ Ibid: 81.

²⁹⁶ Ibid: 83.

²⁹⁷ Ibid: 79.

border management²⁹⁸, the policies do not seek to remove all borders in the continent, but rather manage the uncontrolled irregular movement of people by facilitating and supporting integrated cooperative and interagency approaches to border management²⁹⁹. For example, by adopting the variable geometry concept, which recognises that “all countries cannot move at the same pace, and therefore individual, bilateral and multilateral measures can be undertaken by member States outside the Integration Agenda to make progress towards the attainment of free movement of persons”³⁰⁰, disagreements among distinct management approaches by regions can be removed and obstacles in implementing new migration management actions can be overcome, with the implementation of inter-agency cooperation and regional integration.

4.1.2 The EU Migration Management in Africa

Given that African countries face major development issues, due to political instability and civil wars, for example, this involves a limited capacity to manage the movement of people and borders. The lack of the resources to govern migration on the continent³⁰¹ directly impacts its ability to overcome its challenges alone. For these reasons, the governments of African countries have strengthened their partnership with the European Union and European countries to better manage the flows of individuals within and outside the continent.

Following this cooperation, in 2014, the EU countries with states in East Africa and the Horn of Africa initiated the Khartoum Process, aimed at reducing irregular migration and improving the migration management³⁰² in the continent. Since then, European and African states have been building development policies to manage human mobility, with key areas of priority: reducing irregular migration, strengthening external border security and assisting boats in distress, strengthening the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and creating regular immigration options³⁰³. Regarding the funds linked to African migration management, the European Development Fund had invested Eur 30.5 billion, the Internal Security Fund focused on borders and visas Eur 3.6 billion, the Return Fund Eur 676 million, and the External Borders Fund Eur 1.8 billion, related to projects supported by more than 63 agreements³⁰⁴.

²⁹⁸ African Union. *Border Governance in Africa: An African Union Strategy*. 2020. AU Department for Peace and Security, Addis Ababa: 06.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid*: 83.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid*: 82.

³⁰¹ Maru, Mehari Taddele. 2021. “Migration Policy-making in Africa: Determinants and Implications for Cooperation with Europe”, European University Institute, EUI Working Paper RSC 2021/54, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Migration Policy Centre: 04.

³⁰² *Ibid*: 02.

³⁰³ *Ibid*: 03.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*: 01.

For the EU, migration is an urgent and priority topic, as it has strong impact on its countries. Although African countries consider other national issues urgent, human mobility is an important issue for them, as the view of African policymakers is that ‘migration containment’ undermines the Africans’ effort to address poverty as a root cause and to promote free movement arrangements in Africa as one of the roads to prosperity³⁰⁵. In fact, extreme poverty is considered the leading cause of the migration of youth Africans along dangerous and sometimes fatal routes that involve illegal crossing of borders without adequate documentation³⁰⁶. In this context, African governments perceive migration as a mechanism for poverty alleviation and as a means to address various other significant challenges encountered within the continent.

Henceforth, the collaboration between European and African governments regarding migration policy is characterized as a “strategic partnership”, comprising dialogues, formal agreements, as well as underpinned by economic interdependencies and power dynamics. Notably, African governments exhibit ambivalence concerning their engagement in an intercontinental border regime, given that Africa's border governance strategy is fundamentally rooted in community involvement and a pliable border framework marked by limited state control. Additionally, financial and development aid affect African migration management in critical ways. African policymakers can prioritise agreements that can alleviate the foreign currency shortage faced by their economies³⁰⁷, as aid transfers and remittances are the constant foundation of foreign currency. European migration diplomacy exerts a considerable influence on the policy formulation processes within numerous African nations, as the availability of financial resources assumes a pivotal role in shaping the contours of African migration policies.

On one hand, the European Union concentrates its efforts on enhancing developmental practices, encompassing areas such as technological capacity, the safeguarding of rights, and the provision of healthcare services. Conversely, in many African regions classified as significant sources of migration to the EU zone, stringent migration management policies have been instituted, marked by tendencies toward the criminalization and securitization of migration, which have significantly impeded the facilitation of free movement arrangements. The EU’ approach seeks to strengthen border control and emphasises sanctioning instruments, such as visa denials. The EU mostly focuses on countering irregular migration, while local

³⁰⁵ Ibid: 05.

³⁰⁶ Ibid: 05.

³⁰⁷ Ibid: 22.

priorities and expertise as well as roots causes of poverty eradication also have a strong impact on the emigration of individuals. African policymakers maintain a strong conviction that the creation of employment opportunities under favourable conditions within their domestic contexts serves to mitigate the fundamental catalysts of irregular migration. Moreover, they posit that allocations towards education, along with the provision of skills development and employment training, not only serve to catalyse entrepreneurial endeavours but also function as attractive stimuli for inbound investment.³⁰⁸ In this sense, development cooperation programs that create opportunities for the expansion of human agency and the qualification of individuals are of great importance among development and migration management policies. In fact, acting on the root causes of mobility (such as extreme poverty) has a strong impact on irregular migration flows, because those who move irregularly are those who face poverty and social exclusion and have no alternative but to risk their lives in search for dignity. In this way, the promotion, by Africa and the EU, of entrepreneurship development, the establishment of medium and small-scale urban enterprises and rural job creation programs³⁰⁹ impacts on individuals' livelihoods and addresses irregular movement within and outside from Africa.

With migration agreements between Africa and the EU focused on managing migration, more than 39 African countries have developed or are in the process of adopting policies, strategies, migration profiles and action plans, with particular emphasis on countering irregular migration, trafficking in human beings and people smuggling³¹⁰, critical challenges to be managed in migration and crucial for the sustainable development of African individuals and support for local demands. With the help of development cooperation programs, African governments have made significant efforts to reduce unemployment and address the root causes of irregular migration, such as the establishment of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET)³¹¹, as well as the implementation of projects to improve health services, education, and housing.

Constructive dialogue and the proficient execution of financial initiatives possess the potential to aptly govern migration dynamics. Initiatives that exclusively favour one party's interests, such as measures focused solely on limiting and regulating individual entry, prove insufficient in generating appropriate responses to the prevailing situation. Addressing issues of equal significance involves the relinquishment of colonial legacies, ameliorating post-colonial

³⁰⁸ Ibid: 09.

³⁰⁹ Ibid: 06.

³¹⁰ Ibid: 03.

³¹¹ Ibid: 06.

dependencies and hierarchies. Simultaneously, it is imperative to foster partnerships that demonstrate respect for local cultural nuances and align with regional demands, thereby dismantling neo-colonial impositions that may be veiled under the guise of assistance and solidarity.

4.2 Case Study – The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme in the Horn of Africa

As elucidated in the preceding chapters, migration management exerts its influence not only on states characterized by high levels of human mobility, as exemplified by Africa in this analysis, but also on countries serving as points of entry and transit. An effectively structured migration governance framework serves to diminish irregular migration patterns, combat human trafficking, and rectify human rights violations. This, in turn, yields a profound impact on the lives of migrants themselves and extends its ramifications to all nations involved, given that challenges can be mitigated, and the contributions of migrants maximized.

The theoretical framework has demonstrated that human mobility is intrinsically linked to broader processes of development and global transformation. Various global scenarios and encounters either facilitate or restrain human movement, thus affecting the countries involved. These nations are tasked with managing the phenomenon when it escalates beyond control, while individuals contend with both the causes and consequences of irregular migrations in their pursuit of dignity.

However, the practical aspects of migration management warrant scrutiny. How do strategies for managing migrations manifest in reality? To what extent does cooperation among countries contribute to sustainable development in the context of migration processes? Are the implemented programs effective, impacting not only the flow of individuals but also their human development?

The majority of non-coerced migration is inherently demand-driven. This is attributable to the fact that when individuals become aware of opportunities in different geographic regions and possess the requisite educational and qualification credentials to meet those prospects, they exercise their agency and may consequently opt for migration. Research shows that it is not the poorest of the poor who usually migrate – especially to Europe – because the process of migration and arrival at the destination for them often incurs very high costs³¹². Conversely, individuals who lack the requisite economic resources and capabilities may allocate their efforts

³¹² Ibid: 07.

and financial resources toward meeting their fundamental necessities, with the aim of enhancing their overall quality of life. The economic vulnerability prevalent in specific regions predisposes individuals to engage in exploitative practices that offer a potential escape from poverty or vulnerable circumstances. Forced migration, in this context, is more closely associated with poverty rather than a deliberate choice. It is imperative to clarify that poverty, in itself, does not necessarily imply migration, as individuals with limited means often lack the resources to undertake safe migration journeys. However, in such cases, poverty becomes intertwined with irregular migration, as individuals confronting dire circumstances may be compelled to flee regardless of the prospects awaiting them elsewhere. It is within this framework that factors like human trafficking and other forms of exploitation affecting migrants find their roots in poverty.

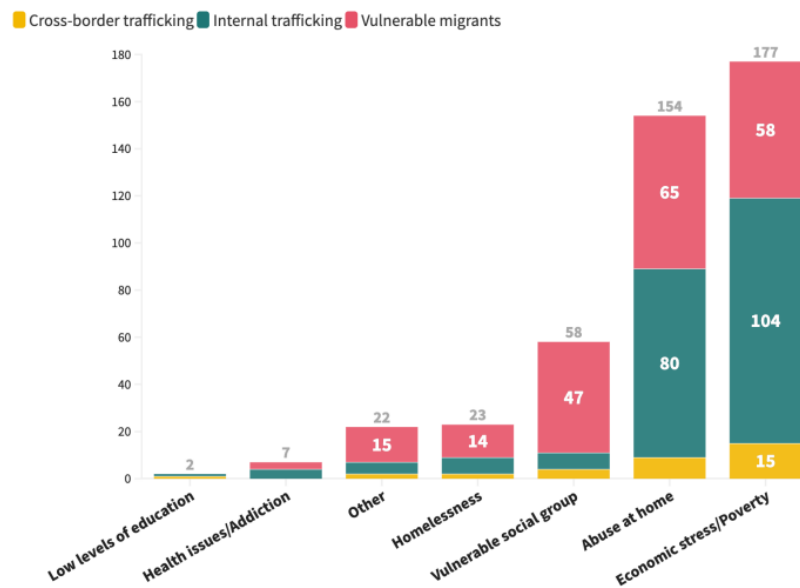
The biggest contributor to the vulnerability of poor migration is economic stress and poverty, because when people struggle to pay for food or rent, school or healthcare, they become desperate for solutions³¹³. Figure 07³¹⁴ shows the vulnerability factors that boost poor individuals' movement, indicating economic stress/poverty (177 individuals), abuses at home (154)³¹⁵, and social vulnerabilities (58) as the highest rates. This shows that a lack of action and management of the roots of structural poverty, drives irregular migration and *unwanted* entry of individuals into developed countries.

³¹³ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH; British Council; Civi Pol Conseil; IOM, The UN Migration Agency and UNODC, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. 2022. "Regional Mapping of Trafficking and Vulnerable Migrants' Routes: Collective CSO Data on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa", Co-founded by the European Union. Freedom Collaborative: 41.

³¹⁴ Ibid: 41.

³¹⁵ Mostly in female individuals: women and girls run away from homes in which they are neglected and abused, putting them at risk of severe exploitation while they attempt to change their circumstances - survey shows that 84% of individuals who flee out of their regions for abuse at home are women, while only 16% are man – Ibid: 42.).

Figure 07: Vulnerability factors



Vulnerability factors include a spectrum of social determinants that significantly impact human existence, encompassing factors like access to suitable housing, healthcare, and educational attainment. Additionally, economic dimensions play a crucial role, as financial distress can compel individuals to engage in situations of exploitation in their pursuit of preserving their dignity.

In this context, it is imperative to take into account all these facets when formulating policies for the management of migration. Indeed, development organizations should actively participate in comprehensive developmental initiatives that span across both economic and social domains, recognizing their intrinsic interconnectedness and their collective influence on the root causes and modalities of human mobility.

Over the course of time, Germany has consistently held a leading position in the realm of development cooperation initiatives, encompassing areas such as migration policies and projects. In addition to its efforts to attract highly skilled professionals through recruitment programs, Germany also actively engages in the governance of migration processes in various regions. These endeavours not only serve to curtail irregular migration but also encompass the provision of humanitarian assistance and the implementation of developmental projects.

The Better Migration Management programme is a great example of German Development Cooperation program on migration. As a regional programme in the Horn of Africa (Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda), the program is financed

by the European Union (EUR 105 million) and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (EUR 17 million) and has the IOM, the British Council, CIVIPOL, GIZ GmbH, and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) as implementing partners³¹⁶. Created to be implemented in partnership with the African Union Commission and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the programme accompanies national authorities and institutions to reinforce safe, orderly, and regular migration in the region, applying a human rights-based approach³¹⁷. In pursuing a close work with the African Union, the German government along with the other actors envisages a consolidated approach of cooperation to contribute to the United Nations' Agenda 2030, its Sustainable Development Goals, and the AU's Agenda 2063 towards '*The Africa We Want*'³¹⁸.

In fact, over nine million displaced people are currently on the move within the Horn of Africa, with the majority having found refuge elsewhere in their country of origin, but a quarter of them have crossed the border into a neighbouring country³¹⁹. With a strong need for cooperation and management, migration policy is being employed in the Horn of Africa, focused on regional needs, but associated with international legislation. Accordingly, up to 50 000 migrants and victims of trafficking have benefited from protection services supported by the programme³²⁰, as new structures are being implemented to support and protect migrants.

GIZ is one of the principal players of the BMM Program, calling the goal of the project as "to improve migration management in the region, and in particular to address the trafficking and smuggling of migrants within and from the Horn of Africa" (GIZ 2016c: 10)³²¹. Indeed, as a continuation of the Khartoum process, initiated in 2014, the BMM program strengthens cooperation with member countries, and pursues concrete fields of action in i policy harmonization; ii Capacity building; iii protective measures; and iv raising public awareness

³¹⁶ IOM, UN Migration. Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (23.07.2023).

³¹⁷ IOM. The Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (23.07.2023).

³¹⁸ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. 2020. „Annual Report 2020”. GIZ African Union Office. Partnerships for Impact <https://www.giz.de/de/downloads/giz2020_en_African_Union_Annual_Report_2020.pdf> (24.07.2023).

³¹⁹ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. „Better migration management: Safer migration in the Horn of Africa. An interview with Martin Weiss” <<https://www.giz.de/en/workingwithgiz/65600.html>> 24.07.2023.

³²⁰ European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (24.07.2023).

³²¹ Gerloff, Naemi. 2018. „Better Migration Management. Die GIZ in Euro-Afrikanischen Grenzregime“. *Movements Journal*. Vol. 4, Issue 2/2018: 176.

identified³²². In the context of policy harmonization, the objective is to establish a comprehensive and enduring approach to the governance of migration. This entails collaborative efforts with key stakeholders, including both governmental entities at various levels (national, regional, and state) and non-state actors. Such collaboration is intended to facilitate the coordination and promotion of regulated and secure migration pathways. Through the implementation of legislation, policies, frameworks, and operational protocols for the coordination of migration, these initiatives lend support to countries of origin, transit, and destination in developing strategies tailored to the specific demands of their respective regions. Through the augmentation of regional collaboration facilitated by the inception of inter-governmental coordination mechanisms and the formulation of national policy strategies, the program deploys frameworks aimed at enhancing human rights and fostering interstate cooperation, with the ultimate goal of proficiently managing migration. Undoubtedly, regional governments assume a pivotal role within the context of the BMM initiative. Given the regional emphasis of the project, it is committed to enhancing migration management by means of capacity-building efforts that bolster the capabilities of partner countries. This entails the adoption of standardized methodologies and the delineation of regional-specific priorities. Through a concerted pursuit of efficient coordination, the BMM endeavours to implement training programs, facilitate data collection, procure necessary equipment, and offer support mechanisms designed to fortify the institutional capacity responsible for the adept administration of migration processes. Furthermore, the core focus of the BMM revolves around the promotion of migration management grounded in the principles of protection and human rights. Aiming to protect individuals affected by human trafficking and other vulnerabilities, the program maps protection services, develops standardized procedures to identify those in need of protection, and establishes police, judicial and migration policy authorities in partner countries to prosecute human traffickers and improve border management³²³. Focused on reducing vulnerabilities, the program implements assistance practices and access to information guaranteeing that irregular practices are counter and individuals have their dignity protected. Additionally, BMM intends to raise awareness on migration policies and (i)legal practices, to reduce migrants' risks and create alternative options for safe migration. Through promoting campaigns, public events and community conversations, the program reaches governments, civil society organizations and migrants. Among other activities, curricula for universities and other law enforcement training institutions have been

³²² Ibid: 177.

³²³ Ibid: 03.

implemented³²⁴, strengthening cooperation and coordination at various levels in migration management. Finally, border management is also a crucial objective of the BMM. For the programme, the reinforcement of control mechanisms, with well-informed and equipped police structures and border posts, supports migration management and promotes regional initiatives towards greater political coherence and better legal channels for migration³²⁵.

The BMM is built upon an understanding of the potentially positive contribution of orderly migration and the design and implementation of all actions follows a context and conflict-sensitive approach³²⁶. Activities are rights-based and in accordance with international law and conventions. Respect and consideration for vulnerable groups, human rights, and concern for gender issues³²⁷ underlies BMM activities and applies to all actors involved in the program (countries, non-state actors and civil society) to ensure the protection of migrants and violations cease. As a fundamental standard, both GIZ and the EU/BMZ steering committee exercise oversight over the activities of the BMM program, with the explicit aim of guaranteeing the preservation of this principle.

The BMM Programme is divided in three main phases. Established in 2016, the Phase I comprises the overall institution and coordination of the four main objectives of the programme. Expertise France and the Italian Department of Public Security were also implementing partners in Phase I (2016-2019), having the GIZ as the head of the implementing partnership³²⁸. In this first stage, the Programme mainly strengthens the capacity for digital management of migration data, including data protection for evidence-based policy recommendations, and the assessment of the vulnerability situation of migrant workers³²⁹, in order to structure bilateral labour agreements. Based on the outcomes of the Phase I, the BMM Phase II focuses on consolidating a regional and holistic approach to migration management and ensuring its sustainability beyond the duration of the programme³³⁰. Founded by the EUTF with EUR 30 million and the

³²⁴ United Nations Network on Migration. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme. <<https://migrationnetwork.un.org/projects/better-migration-management-bmm-programme>> (29.07.2023).

³²⁵ Ibid: 179.

³²⁶ IOM, UN Migration. Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (23.08.2023).

³²⁷ IOM, UN Migration. Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (23.08.2023).

³²⁸ IOM, UN Migration. Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (23.08.2023).

³²⁹ German Cooperation. Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. Better Migration Management. Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management (BMM) programme in South Sudan <<https://smartdatafinance.org/storage/2021-09-29/5Zhh7F8EAkOKigh.pdf>> (26.08.2023).

³³⁰ CIVIPOL. Missions and Projects. BMM - Better Migration Management, <<https://www.civipol.fr/en/projects/bmm-better-migration-management>> (13.08.2023).

German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) with EUR 5 million, the Phase had a duration of three years (October 2019 to September 2022)³³¹. Improvement of core objectives, as well as support to national and regional authorities in coordinating migration frameworks, regulation, and laws were also implemented. The development of policy cooperation, the formation of specialized anti-trafficking units and qualitative investigations of trafficking and smuggling cases have been adapted and improved³³². Finally, the Programme entered its Phase III in October 2022 (to September 2025), in an attempt to harmonised migration coordination and strengthen cooperation between countries of origin, transit and destination in the Horn of Africa³³³. In terms of antitrafficking interventions, a total of 31 civil society organisations (CSOs) have collected and provided data and 517 submissions relating to 34 countries has been compiled in the report ‘Regional Mapping of Trafficking and Vulnerable Migrants’ Routes³³⁴. The compilation of data related to trafficking serves as an indispensable repository of essential information regarding trafficking routes and the diverse forms of exploitation. This informational asset assumes a central role in attenuating the susceptibilities to exploitation and abuse encountered by irregular migrants. Furthermore, the methodical acquisition of data not only provides efficacious countermeasures against human trafficking but also expedites the formulation of strategies that, through cooperative alliances and concerted endeavours, can be deployed at regional levels to safeguard and provide assistance to victims. Furthermore, BMM launched a comprehensive awareness campaign about human trafficking in the public transport sector, training actors, such as bus drivers and informing passengers by posting helpline messages on the head rests in buses³³⁵. With As a consequence of this measure, an escalating volume of individuals have

³³¹ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (07.08.2023).

³³² CIVIPOL. Missions and Projects. BMM - Better Migration Management, <<https://www.civipol.fr/en/projects/bmm-better-migration-management>> (13.08.2023).

³³³ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (07.08.2023).

³³⁴ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (07.08.2023).

³³⁵ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (07.08.2023).

sought assistance through the helpline, resulting in a heightened incidence of cases reported to the support centre³³⁶.

The significance of actors assumes paramount importance within the framework of the BMM (Better Migration Management) programme. The successful realization of program objectives hinges upon the facilitation of effective coordination and collaboration among all involved actors, encompassing countries of origin, transit, and destination, in addition to international organizations and civil society entities. Critical contributors to this program encompass government ministries, the judicial sector, law enforcement agencies, border management authorities, individuals impacted by trafficking and smuggling, local communities, civil society organizations, media outlets, and the general public³³⁷. The IOM, for example, contributes to the coordination between government institutions responsible for migration management at local, national, and regional levels and the development of strategies and policies³³⁸ in ensuring safe and regular migration in order to protect and prevent human rights violations. In order to institute enduring and comprehensively organized practices within the purview of migration management, it is imperative to embrace a holistic approach that encompasses all relevant stakeholders. This approach aims to attain the utmost diversity in the structures governing mobility processes and addresses the various levels of influence. These levels encompass international, national, and regional actors, all within a framework characterized by a horizontal and pluralistic perspective.

4.2.1 The main activities of the BMM Programme

The BMM Programme is dedicated to the pursuit of sustainable solutions and collaborative efforts in the realm of migration management. To this end, a multifaceted array of activities is undertaken to advance these objectives. These activities encompass initiatives such as aiding in the formulation of both national and regional migration policies, providing training programs aimed at combatting human trafficking, fostering capacity development, extending support to civil society entities in their efforts to accommodate newcomers, and implementing standardized mechanisms to facilitate efficient assistance to migrants and trafficking victims.

³³⁶ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (09.08.2023).

³³⁷ European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (10.08.2023).

³³⁸ IOM, UN Migration. Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa. Better Migration Management <<https://eastandhornofafrica.iom.int/better-migration-management>> (01.08.2023).

Among these diverse activities, educational courses serve as a fertile ground, ensuring the active participation of a wide array of stakeholders engaged in various facets of migration processes. In fact, the BMM has developed training events and courses free of charge, which provides knowledge not only about the risks of trafficking in persons and how to combat them³³⁹, but also course for adolescents to develop their social entrepreneurship³⁴⁰, discover their interests and abilities to enter the job market and contribute as a competitive workforce, improve governance and build capacity to address regional challenges and social needs. Courses to form national authorities are also a goal of the Programme. The first postgraduate diploma course on migration in the region launched in May 2019, aiming to enable important actors in the IGAD member states to become experts on migration and border management³⁴¹ and strengthen the cooperation between neighbouring regions and societal actors.

The BMM has also instituted a practice encompassing the engagement of local communities. The “making their voices heard”³⁴² project brings together migrants and returnees, host communities’ members and local government officials to, through community platforms, allow the inclusion of local perspectives in policy-making processes³⁴³. The diversity of participants enriches the development of recommendations that exert a direct influence on the implementation of novel practices and training initiatives. For instance, in the case of Somalia, the BMM has facilitated enhancements in radio communication systems employed by immigration officials stationed in Berbera and Wajaale, promoting seamless communication with their headquarters in Hargeisa³⁴⁴. This improvement serves to bolster the exchange of crucial information and ensures secure communication channels for the execution of

³³⁹ Joint Migration and Development Initiative (JMIDI). 2015. “Introductory module on migration and local development. Migration for Development”, International Training Centre of the ILO. International Organization for Migration (IOM). Geneva, Switzerland.

³⁴⁰ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter October 2022 – May 2023” <<https://www.giz.de/de/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-october.pdf>> (16.08.2023).

³⁴¹ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter October 2022 – May 2023” <<https://www.giz.de/de/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-october.pdf>> (16.08.2023).

³⁴² German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (16.08.2023).

³⁴³ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (17.08.2023).

³⁴⁴ German Cooperation Deutsche Zusammenarbeit. Co-founded by the European Union. “Better Migration Management Horn of Africa. Newsletter April 2022 – September 2022” <<https://www.giz.de/en/downloads/giz2022-en-bmm-newsletter-september.pdf>> (17.08.2023).

operational activities. Such measures guarantee increased efficiency and enhanced protection for migrants engaged in cross-border operations and counter human trafficking efforts.

The proper functioning of institutions is also among the Program's actions. In Djibouti, nationally and locally, BMM strengthens coordination between state institutions at local, national and regional levels³⁴⁵, to enable them to design harmonized strategies on migrant governance. Capacity-building measures, such as the implementation of technical equipment, computers, and office furniture³⁴⁶, support monitoring measures and the corresponding actions.

Child protection practices are also a strong part of the BMM. According to UNICEF, in 2016 44 million children were living in forced displacement, particularly in the Horn of Africa region, which has significant host, transit, and destination countries for irregular migration of children³⁴⁷. In this vein, the BMM has created the 'Best interests of the child' committee, in Ethiopia, with the function of helping its partners in implementing standard operating procedures (SOPs) and national³⁴⁸ referral mechanisms in the best interest of the Child. The project endeavours to discern suitable alternatives for the safeguarding of children and the promotion of their well-being. By extending aid to child victims of trafficking and fostering collaborative efforts among agencies dedicated to investigating these illicit practices, it ensures the establishment of efficacious mechanisms aimed at curtailing and redressing child abuses. Finally, the inclusion of safe spaces to enhance the protection of migrating children and capacity building for social workers³⁴⁹ are also implemented in an attempt to enhance children protection assistance.

4.2.2 The main results and achievements of the BMM Programme

The Programme has been implemented since 2016 and is actively involved in 23 African countries³⁵⁰ through its regional reforms and projects on migration governance. Among the

³⁴⁵ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. „Security, reconstruction and peace: Responsibility for Africa – Making migration safer and improving prospects for the people” <<https://www.giz.de/en/workingwithgiz/65584.html>> (04.09.2023).

³⁴⁶ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. „Security, reconstruction and peace: Responsibility for Africa – Making migration safer and improving prospects for the people” <<https://www.giz.de/en/workingwithgiz/65584.html>> (04.09.2023).

³⁴⁷ AKVORSR. 2018. “Child migrants need protection - conference supported by BMM”, <<https://eutf.akvoapp.org/dir/project/5492/update?id=21837&home=1>> (01.09.2023).

³⁴⁸ CIVIPOL. Missions and Projects. BMM - Better Migration Management, <<https://www.civipol.fr/en/projects/bmm-better-migration-management>> (01.09.2023).

³⁴⁹ European Union. Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. Better Migration Management Programme, <https://trust-fund-for-africa.europa.eu/our-programmes/better-migration-management-programme_en> (23.08.2023).

³⁵⁰ GIZ, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH. „Security, reconstruction and peace: Responsibility for Africa – Making migration safer and improving prospects for the people” <<https://www.giz.de/en/workingwithgiz/65584.html>> (18.08.2023).

principal results, the BMM has assisted approximately 50 000 migrants and victims of trafficking, established 21 new or revised national migration policies, strategies and legal frameworks, and engaged 22.750 actors in the support of migration governance³⁵¹. Additionally, about 11 620 actors participated in trainings on the investigation and prosecution of human trafficking and integrated border management, curricula developed and embedded into the regular curricula of 17 national training institutions of law enforcement agencies in 5 countries³⁵². Investments have enhanced protection of migrants and given to communities the means to actively improve their demands and manage their challenges. In this sense, 584 capacity building measures for 11,616 governmental and nongovernmental actors implemented investigation and prosecution of trafficking, integrated border management, and the referral of migrants and 49,856 vulnerable migrants and victims of trafficking directly and indirectly protected and supported³⁵³. With the coordination among 22,754 governmental and nongovernmental actors³⁵⁴ in assisting Migration governance, migration frameworks and policies, as well as cross-border solutions have been implemented to assure the rights, agency, and protection of migrants.

4.2.3 Analysis of the BMM Programme

Despite the myriad positive impacts that the BMM Program has engendered within the sphere of migration, a critical analysis is essential to foster continual growth and enhancement. The collaborative efforts of the European Union, the German government, and various other actors have indeed advanced the management of migration processes and the protection of migrants. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that, from a political perspective, the interests of the European Union encompass not only the welfare of migrants but also the safeguarding of its policy objectives. Irregular migration not only imperils a country's stability but also places it in

³⁵¹ European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (14.08.2023).

³⁵² European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (14.08.2023).

³⁵³ European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (15.08.2023).

³⁵⁴ European Commission. “International Partnerships. Promoting safe and regular migration in the Horn of Africa. The Better Migration Management (BMM) Programme” <https://international-partnerships.ec.europa.eu/policies/programming/projects/promoting-safe-and-regular-migration-horn-africa_en> (15.08.2023).

a precarious position with regard to potential human rights violations, particularly in processes of expulsion or forced return, within the international context. Political and criminal sanctions can and are imposed by international organizations on states that violate the fundamental rights of migrants. The *Hirsi Jamaa v. Italy Case*³⁵⁵ serves as a prominent illustration of the European Court of Human Rights imposing sanctions on Italy for its collective expulsion of refugees. Within this context, border management strategies aimed at addressing irregular migration, human trafficking, and terrorism primarily serve the interests of the policymakers responsible for these policies. They establish frameworks and conditions primarily in the best interest of their respective countries, with potential positive effects on individuals involved taking a secondary role. Expulsion and forced return represent clear instances of practices enacted primarily in the best interests of the destination country, which repatriates individuals to regions where political persecution and human rights violations were the catalysts for their displacement. Labelling projects that aim to prevent the entry of individuals in need as "management projects" only serves to perpetuate prejudice and segregation. Therefore, the establishment of programs designed to keep refugees out of Europe and fortify its borders fundamentally fails to provide a comprehensive solution to the situation. The securitization of migration, characterized by stringent border controls and the refusal of entry to specific individuals, results in the criminalization of migrants and the criminalization of poverty, as it is often the economically disadvantaged who may attempt irregular entry into a country in search of dignity. Stringent and prejudiced deterrence measures neither address the underlying causes of migration nor effectively manage human mobility. Preventive strategies such as deportation, detention, and hierarchical border control exacerbate the drivers of irregular migration, including social exclusion, extreme poverty, and limited opportunities, placing these migrants in even greater situations of vulnerability and depriving them of their rights.

Moreover, the execution of these projects can at times be notably intricate, necessitating collaborative efforts from various stakeholders across different levels of engagement. The accurate identification of migrant needs and the delivery of aid to vulnerable individuals and groups require international coordination but, more importantly, regional coordination, with due acknowledgment and respect for the specific characteristics and requirements of each community and demographic group. The regional strategy of the program should offer comprehensive solutions across the entire region and promote enhanced coordination among

³⁵⁵ Case of *Hirsi Jamaa and Others v. Italy* European Court of Human Rights Grand Chamber Judgment. Published by Oxford University Press. *International Journal of Refugee Law* Vol. 24 No. 2 pp. 389–467.

the recipient countries. Diligence in the execution of activities and the consideration of factors distinct from practices implemented in Europe, for instance, ensure a respectful and effective approach. This approach prioritizes the individual's needs when formulating policy frameworks.

Transparency and accountability represent fundamental components in the effective implementation of a program. The operational procedures and decision-making processes must align and comply with the expectations of all stakeholders, including civil society and migrants, who frequently have limited access to information and channels of protection. Moreover, a deficiency in accountability may engender abuses and result in inadequate protection of individuals' rights. Indeed, adherence to stringent principles and regulations governing human rights standards, coupled with the prohibition of certain practices, also contributes to the non-acceptance of violative practices by the participating states, as exemplified by Eritrea and Sudan, regimes facing allegations of systematic human rights violations. The refusal to legitimize authoritarian structures and the exclusion of contentious stakeholders represent strategies aimed at averting detrimental practices. Ultimately, the disconnection of enforcement mechanisms and border control practices from efficient support and assistance for migrants elevates the likelihood of human rights violations occurring and becoming enduring practices within program activities.

Collaborative efforts directed toward achieving an equitable, multi-tiered, and human rights-centered approach to migration management constitute indispensable components for addressing the persistent challenges associated with human mobility. The involved stakeholders must engage in collective action, facilitating coordination and the implementation of appropriate measures, thereby fostering a sustainable and legitimate framework for managing migratory processes.

In conclusion, the BMM Programme is designed to address the complexities of migration management through a coordinated, multi-level approach involving countries, stakeholders, civil society organizations, and migrants themselves. On one hand, it has implemented pivotal instruments in migration governance using a human rights-based methodology to tackle intricate issues related to human mobility, including human trafficking, social exclusion, limitations on human agency, access to basic necessities, training, and protection. The support activities for migrants have enhanced individuals' capabilities and addressed their social needs while affording them protection. The coordinated implementation of migration management

policies and frameworks has conferred legitimacy upon the involved actors and has effectively generated secure migration processes. On the other hand, effective project implementation and the prioritization of human lives, rather than political interests, must be the primary concerns of these practices that operate in the name of human rights protection. A human rights-based approach to the project should place the fundamental rights of individuals at the forefront, with frameworks and mechanisms that ensure the enjoyment of these rights and prioritize human beings above broader political considerations. Finally, the establishment of structures that offer long-term prospects is fundamental to ensuring the sustainability of development within migration processes.

5. General Discussion

The primary aim of this project is to investigate the intricate relationship existing between Migration and Development phenomena, encompassing a comprehensive analysis of their underlying foundations, drives, and counterintuitive facets. In pursuit of this comprehensive understanding, an examination of the practical functioning of developmental programs designed for the management of migration is undertaken. This examination enables an evaluation of the programs' efficacy, methodologies, and execution, while also facilitating an assessment of their alignment with the theoretical constructs under study and the identification of areas requiring improvement and reform. With that said, this study yields several noteworthy conclusions:

Indeed, Migration and Development exhibit an intrinsic relationship. It is impossible to discuss migration without addressing the developmental status of a given region. In the context of development, as previously elucidated, it becomes imperative to adopt a comprehensive definition that can accurately encompass the multifaceted dimensions of human needs. While the economic aspect of individuals' lives holds significance, political, social, and educational dimensions play a pivotal role in fostering human agency and development. Consequently, greater development tends to coincide with increased migration as it augments work opportunities and broadens awareness of diverse life prospects. The assertion that "Most non-forced migration is demand-driven"³⁵⁶ underscores the idea that individuals tend to relocate once they become aware of opportunities in other regions and possess the qualifications required to pursue those prospects. In accordance with this perspective, the implementation of programs and practices that enhance developmental aspects within a country does not serve as a deterrent to migration. On the contrary, such initiatives may lead to heightened levels of qualification that exceed the job opportunities available within the region. This disparity between highly qualified workers and a scarcity of job opportunities contributes to increased emigration rates. It is only in the long term, when the socio-economic prospects of a state have achieved a stable level of development, that migration levels tend to decline. This developmental sequence does not imply the cessation of emigration but rather a reversal in the net flow. Having understood that development does not prevent migration, we may ask if this is the sole nexus between migration and development. As previously explored, what development can potentially deter in terms of migration is **irregular** migration, given that the drivers of irregular migration are inherently linked to structural poverty. Undoubtedly, extreme

³⁵⁶ Ibid: 04.

poverty stands among the primary causes of irregular migration, as it propels individuals in search of dignity and survival. In fact, poverty does not inherently lead to migration, as individuals who are impoverished typically lack the means to undertake costly migration journeys. However, under extraordinary circumstances, such as conflict, famine, and disease, individuals are inclined to migrate from their regions in pursuit of refuge in safer areas. This implies a direct association between poverty and irregular migration, as individuals confronted with extreme circumstances will seek to leave their regions irrespective of the resources required for this endeavour. Undoubtedly, addressing the underlying factors of extreme and structural poverty has the potential to mitigate the flow of individuals who engage in irregular migration in pursuit of dignity. This is because, when people are not confronted with perilous circumstances in their quest for dignity, they are more inclined to allocate their time and resources towards improving their basic necessities rather than risking their lives in complex flight processes.

Therefore, efforts aimed at alleviating poverty can concurrently alleviate the impetus for migration, given that individuals in the most impoverished circumstances are prone to engage in irregular migration in pursuit of a basic standard of living. Consequently, public policies geared towards combating structural poverty and fostering sustainable development are inherently intertwined with the Migration and Development nexus. As Taddele Maru states, “for potential migrants to abandon the allure of migrating irregularly, the incentive infrastructure for staying needs to be almost equal or more attractive to the expected reward in terms of income and other benefits the migrants aim to gain from migrating”³⁵⁷. Indeed, migration on its own does not trigger processes of economic and social development. It is through concerted efforts in the realms of migration and development policies that the two phenomena, migration and development, can either mutually benefit or detrimentally impact each other. A comprehensive analysis of the drivers of migration, along with the diverse manifestations of migration within society, is essential to elucidate the reasons behind this dynamic and why “migration plays a positive development role in some cases and less positive or even negative roles in others”³⁵⁸.

Conversely, policies aimed at poverty reduction can diminish the impetus for migration, just as migration itself can exert a favourable influence on poverty reduction. Notably, remittances and aid transfers are regarded as consistent sources of economic development and foreign exchange.

³⁵⁷ Ibid: 07.

³⁵⁸ Ibid: 10.

Indeed, financial investment plays a substantial role in shaping the framework for African migration policies. Targeting remittances as a source of strong currency and important for poverty eradication, African governments have created institutions and laws to encourage the flow of remittances and the diaspora is expected to remit tax payments to the home government in foreign currency³⁵⁹. The sending of money by migrants, as well as involvement in local business is stimulated by African governments, which tend to synchronize their policies with supporting the sending of financial transfers. For instance, the National Bank of Ethiopia reported in 2014 that migrant remittances through formal channels constituted almost three times the value of foreign direct investment and export earnings, and amounted to 5.5 per cent of GDP, while remittances through unofficial channels were estimated to be twice the number of official transfers³⁶⁰. Likewise, remittances and foreign aid exert a limited influence on a country's overall development when they are not complemented by additional initiatives designed to ensure sustainable development. In such cases, there exists the risk of reinforcing a country's financial reliance on external economic resources in the absence of broader developmental strategies.

Migrants undeniably represent potential contributors to development; nevertheless, their capabilities, educational attainment, state of health, and rights constitute fundamental prerequisites for them to exercise agency within the social milieu. Migrants are neither the root cause of underdevelopment nor solely responsible for fostering development within a region. Quite the contrary, they emerge as active agents in the societal landscape, possessing the capacity to augment both the social and economic potential of a country, provided that the means to exercise their human agency are safeguarded by the respective state entity. Hence, the prevailing development conditions within the origin region significantly influence the potential contributions that migrants can make to their regions, as well as the driving forces behind migration. Indeed, “public policies that improve the functioning of legal, economic and political institutions, and the access of ordinary people to education, health care and basic rights, are crucial not only for creating a fertile ground for development in general”³⁶¹, but also to guarantee that their movement is supported by choice, capacities, and empowerment, free from forced movements, exploitation, and human rights abuses.

³⁵⁹ Ibid: 12.

³⁶⁰ Ibid: 11.

³⁶¹ Ibid: 10.

Moreover, the significance of migration management holds paramount importance in fostering a constructive relationship between migration and development. On one hand, the global governance of migration possesses the potential to inadvertently collaborate with irregular movements, illicit trade, and human trafficking, often neglecting the attendant challenges and illegal practices while pursuing political gains. Conversely, a well-structured migration management framework wields the capacity to formulate policies and frameworks that surmount the obstacles inherent in these processes and establish avenues for aligning both individual and national development objectives. As demonstrated, local authorities and international actors possess the capability to support migration through the development of empowerment programs targeting migrants and their respective communities. This can be accomplished through knowledge dissemination, training initiatives that enable individuals to enhance their individual and collective capacities, the establishment of networks, the creation of social spaces to amplify migrants' voices and articulate their needs, and the identification of pertinent areas where migrants can effectively contribute within their respective regions.

Furthermore, the coordination among the actors engaged in migration governance plays an integral role in the Migration and Development nexus. Given the multifaceted character of migration, the establishment of cooperative frameworks involving international, national, and regional participants, as well as non-state actors involved in this complex phenomenon, becomes imperative. A collaborative approach to migration facilitates the cultivation of shared comprehension pertaining to policies, border management, labour migration, and human rights. Horizontal dialogue and cooperation aimed at realizing sustainable development within the context of migration entail the identification of region-specific priorities and the concerted effort to surmount potential neo-colonial power dynamics inherent in the provision of assistance, in which 'external' perspective can neglect the realities of migration³⁶² of regions and impose practices disguised as assistance, but with political and exclusionist roots.

In the context of globalized world, "development policy has transformed into a global structural policy that goes beyond poverty reduction with transnational issues"³⁶³, expanding and also influencing migration management. Development cooperation programs are primarily oriented toward the dissemination of knowledge and societal practices that contribute to the promotion of human agency and the sustained advancement of a region. These cooperation programs must maintain their focus on fostering social and economic empowerment, providing support for

³⁶² Ibid: 318.

³⁶³ Ibid: 174.

infrastructure, delivering humanitarian aid, and safeguarding rights and the rule of law. Policies aimed at inclusion and poverty reduction exert an influence that extends beyond the regions facing these pressing challenges. Instead, efforts in developmental reform have repercussions on a global scale and enhance social cohesion. Processes of social transformation and development exert an impact on regional, national, and international domains and economies, as the intricate web of global interconnectivity binds together peoples and regions irrespective of their economic prowess, geographical attributes, or level of development.

Finally, the Migration and Development nexus cannot be disassociated from a Human Rights approach, since this “foster a sustainable process of human development”³⁶⁴ and is the basis for any practice that involves human agency. Migration and development policies should adhere to human rights standards and, in particular, take into account the vulnerable and marginalized segments of society, reinforcing their protection and ensuring the provision of specific rights essential “for them to reach their full human development potential”³⁶⁵ and attain social inclusion. Cross-border solutions are imperative and necessitate a vigilant consideration of the risks associated with irregular migration, human trafficking, and human rights violations. The safeguarding of migrants’ rights constitutes a shared responsibility spanning countries of origin, transit, and destination, as well as encompassing non-state actors engaged in migration processes.

In conclusion, it becomes evident that development is intricately linked to human development, transcending a mere economic paradigm, and exerting direct influences on the factors driving migration as well as its potential outcomes. Simultaneously, human mobility exerts immediate effects on the developmental landscape. This project endeavours to underscore the imperative of integrating migration governance within the framework and policy formulation of development strategies. By embracing such an approach, migration can emerge as a constructive phenomenon benefiting not only the countries of origin, transit, and destination but also the migrants themselves, establishing a circular process that proves advantageous for all actors involved and those who are impacted by these dynamic processes.

³⁶⁴ Ibid: 122.

³⁶⁵ Ibid: 122.

6. Future Research

Since migration is an ongoing and non-linear phenomenon, related to broader processes of social change and development, it becomes imperative to maintain an ongoing commitment to the examination of migration processes and the Migration and Development nexus. Indeed, a continuous assessment of the impact of development cooperation programs on migration management, individual' human agency, societal development, the protection of human dignity, and the fight against human trafficking is indispensable, as these social phenomena unfold over the course of years and evolve in conjunction with other globalization processes. Indeed, migration research needs to be sited and contextualised (King, 2018) and always placed within a given process (Zapata-Barrero, 2018)³⁶⁶, because the examination of the migration phenomenon hinges upon the **interpretation** of diverse and authentic contexts rather than relying solely on singular and constrained depictions of individuals' mobility. As discussed in the chapters of this research, the achievement of sustainable development within mobility processes involves several factors that necessitate a multidimensional implementation encompassing rights, policies, and human agency. Sustaining development over time demands a protracted period of well-managed practices and robust interventions aimed at addressing the underlying causes of structural poverty. Only through years of effective implementation, coupled with ongoing improvements and multi-level coordination, can the quantitative and qualitative effectiveness of migration policies be assessed, enabling the creation of new avenues of work aligned with evolving social contexts and grounded in a sustainable development and human rights approach.

³⁶⁶ Ibid: 404.

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List of Abbreviation

APSA (African Peace and Security Architecture)
AU (African Union)
BMM (The Better Migration Management Programme in the Horn of Africa)
BMZ (Germany's Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development)
CEAS (Common European Asylum System)
CSOs (Civil Society Organisations)
DC (Development Cooperation)
DFID (UK's Department for International Development)
DGIS (Netherlands Directorate General for International Development)
DOs (Development Organizations)
ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States)
EU (European Union)
GDP (Gross Domestic Product)
GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit)
GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit)
HDI (Human Development Index)
ICMPD (International Centre for Migration Policy Development)
IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons)
IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development)
ILO (International Labour Organization)
IO (International Organizations)
IOM (International Organization for Migration)
LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer)
MGI (Migration Governance Index)
MIPI (Migrant Integration Policy Index)
MOP (Migration Out of Poverty)
NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations)
OAU (Organisation of African Unity)
OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)
RECs (Regional Economic Communities)
SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals)
UN (United Nations)
UNDP (United Nations Development Programme)

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)

UNODC (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes)

Appendix

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