

 HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

E-PAPER

Temporary Migrant Workers in Greek Agriculture

**APOSTOLOS G. PAPADOPOULOS AND LOUKIA-MARIA
FRATSEA**

Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation, June 2017

Temporary Migrant Workers in Greek Agriculture

by Apostolos G. Papadopoulos and Loukia-Maria Fratsea

Contents

1 Introduction	3
2 The Greek context	4
3 Basic characteristics of Greek agriculture	8
4 Family farming and agricultural employment	10
5 Migrant workers and agricultural production in the Region of Western Greece	13
5.1 The local agricultural production systems	13
5.2 Migrants in the Region of Western Greece	18
5.3 Migrant workers in the strawberry fields of «Manolada»	20
6 Conclusions	24
References	26
The Authors	29
Imprint	29

1 Introduction

This paper seeks to discuss the issues relating to temporary migrant labour in Greek agriculture within the current context of continued economic recession and taking into consideration the evolution of the migratory phenomenon in Southern Europe.

Since the first years in which migrant inflows became prevalent, i.e., the early 1990s, the secondary labour market has been the main arena for the economic integration of migrants in Greece. This particular mode of migrant integration has been pivotal for the social and economic incorporation of migrant populations in the country. More importantly, Greece has gradually become one of the most important countries of arrival in Europe, both for irregular migrants and for asylum seekers. In many instances, these two categories of movers have become intertwined and difficult to disentangle. The secondary labour market has thus become congested with various categories of movers who are either determined to stay or to move around socially /geographically within Greece, or to seek routes into other EU countries.

Within the complexity induced by EU migration policy, the refugee quotas assigned to each country, vested interests and inconsistencies, and migrant trajectories/strategies, the role of temporary migrant labour appears to be highly volatile. Moreover, temporary migrant labour may well be seen as a catch-all term, which can accommodate different migrant populations or categories of movers at different times, depending on migrants' needs and objectives, the preconditions of the local/regional labour markets, and the policy context.

The labour market situation is of major importance for the pace and process of migrant integration in rural Greece. The majority of migrant labourers are positioned in the secondary/informal labour market, which is continually reproduced on the basis of new migrant flows triggered by the wider socio-economic transformations in Third World countries and by the geopolitical position of Greece as an EU member state. For those migrants who manage to cross the border as irregulars, agricultural employment guarantees tax-free income for those who see themselves as temporary workers and do not have aspirations to improve their way of life in rural Greece. However, in the long term, the basic structural characteristics of Greek agriculture impose severe constraints on those migrant labourers who wish to improve their standard of living in the country.

Within the context of economic recession, the secondary labour market has become increasingly precarious for migrant labourers. A recent report on a group of Pakistani migrants working in Argolida (Peloponnese) tells of their tough situation in the Greek agricultural labour market:

«Few workers say they actually receive any of the money they are owed, but they choose to stay for lack of a better option and in order to avoid arrest and deportation»

(«My biggest regret»: Being a migrant worker in Greece, *Aljazeera*, 20 April 2017).

In response to their precarious position, labour insecurity and low socio-economic status migrant labourers increase their geographical mobility between different rural areas where food and agricultural production remains prevalent. The migrants' increasing engagement in similar agricultural tasks allows them to be characterized as agricultural labourers, an «agricultural proletariat» or «rural precariat».

Strawberry production has been selected as an exemplary case that illustrates the complexities of how migrant labour is employed, controlled and integrated in rural Greece; seasonal labour retains its role in the local production system. Moreover, the Greek strawberry industry has developed a model distinct from that of other countries (such as the US and Spain), which produce significant volumes of strawberries.

The paper is divided into five sections: Firstly, the Greek experience is presented briefly in an attempt to contextualize the case of «Manolada». Secondly, the basic characteristics of Greek agriculture are discussed and the evolution of the various types of agricultural employment analyzed. Thirdly, there is a thorough treatment of the various agricultural production systems that exist in the Region of Western Greece, with a particular emphasis on intensive strawberry production and migrant populations in relation to those production systems. Fourthly, the specific case of «Manolada» is discussed in detail and the issues arising from migrant labour control are raised. Finally, the conclusion sheds light on central themes regarding temporary / seasonal migrant labour in Greece.

2 The Greek context

After the collapse of the Central and Eastern European regimes in 1989, international migration towards Greece grew in scale. In the 1990s, Greece was transformed from an emigration to an immigration country. Greece's geographical location as the eastern gateway to the EU, its extensive coastline and easily-crossed borders, its geographical proximity to countries where migrants originate (e.g., Albania, Romania and Bulgaria), and the ongoing and rapid economic change that had continued to narrow the distance separating Greece economically and socially from countries of Northern Europe since Greece's accession to the EU in 1981, are some of the key factors that explain its transformation into a migrant-recipient country. The 1981 population census recorded 180,595 foreigners (1.9% of the total population), one third of whom were EU nationals. Ten years later, in 1991, the figure had fallen to 167,276 foreigners (1.6% of total population), one fifth of whom were EU nationals. During the 1990s, Greece received the highest percentage of immigrants in terms of size of population and workforce. In 2001, there were 762,191 foreigners in Greece, accounting for 7% of the total population, while in 2011, Greece's immigrant population numbered 912,000 people, or 8.4% of the total population. The largest national groups among migrants are Albanians (52.7% of immigrants), Bulgarians (8.3%), Romanians (5.1 %), Pakistanis (3.7%) and Georgians (3%).

Recently, the latter half of 2015 witnessed unprecedented numbers of people entering the EU irregularly. This movement was triggered by the conflicts and crisis in Syria. At its peak, in October 2015, over 200,000 people arrived in Greece in a single month. In 2015, 911,471 migrants and refugees arrived in Greece. Between 2014 and 2015, the number of apprehended migrants rose an astonishing 1,080%, given that only 72,632 people had arrived in Greece in 2014. In the first 11 months of 2016, the number of migrants and refugees arriving in the country dropped to 201,176.^[1]

Over the last twenty-five years, the number of migrant workers in agriculture and in rural areas in general has continued to increase. The geographical proximity to Albania increased their numbers in the Greek countryside and would later facilitate the emergence of a «cyclical» form of migration determined by the seasonal needs of the primary sector (Labrianidis and Sykas 2009a). Currently, geographical proximity to sending countries is being replaced by geographical accessibility (Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2015). Hence, new flows of migrants from Asian and African countries are migrating to Greece's rural regions in search of employment.

In recent years, the continuous rural exodus of previous decades, the ageing of the rural population and the reluctance of young people to work in agriculture have contributed to labour shortages just as rural restructuring through a shift towards more labour-intensive crops along with the development of non-agricultural activities in various rural regions have created additional labour needs. In other words, the presence of immigrants in rural Greece is due to a combination of demographic, social, economic and structural factors linked to labour shortages in local host societies (Kasimis *et al.* 2003; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005; Kasimis 2008; Kasimis *et al.* 2010).

Research into migrant agricultural employment underlines the fact that it is not a substitute for local employment; rather, migrants have covered local employment deficits and restrained wages in agriculture, and in so doing helped reduce production costs and increase the competitiveness of the products in international markets (Lianos *et al.* 1996; Vaiou and Hadjimichalis 1997; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005).

Migrants have contributed to the Greek countryside in five key areas: Firstly, migrant employment in agriculture has been important in maintaining and/or expanding agricultural activity. Secondly, the availability of a foreign labour force has played a significant role in releasing farmers from heavy agricultural work, enabling them to better organize the production and improve the marketing of their products, or even to seek additional non-agricultural income. Thirdly, in regions where agriculture continues to play an important role in the local economy, the impact of the migrant labour force extends from the maintenance of certain farms to their modernization and expansion. Fourthly, migrant employment has also been important in other activities such as construction and tourism in rural areas.

1 The data is provided by the Ministry of Citizen Protection.

Finally, immigrants have contributed to the demographic renewal of some remote regions of the country (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005).

An important feature of agricultural employment that needs to be considered when examining migrant labour in rural areas is its seasonality. Agricultural labour demand peaks during harvesting season when the availability of labour is crucial to the success of the farm. During this period, labour shortages are met by two types of seasonal / temporary labour:

Firstly, by migrants who are highly mobile geographically and move constantly between different rural areas in an attempt to increase their income. Different researchers have studied the geographical mobility of Albanian, Bulgarian and Romanian populations in Greece (Labrianidis and Sykas 2009b; Papadopoulos 2012; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2013). In this context, Albanian migrants have shown high geographical mobility, whereas more recently Asian migrants exploit community networks to move from urban to rural areas for short-term employment (Papadopoulos 2012; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017). Secondly, the existing policy framework for the seasonal employment / circular movements of migrant labourers foresees specific procedures for attracting citizens from various countries outside the EU. This means that inter-regional, transnational and/or cross-country movements of migrants are designed and implemented for short time periods (e.g. up to 6 months). For example, in the Greek case, a number of bilateral agreements have facilitated such a process of seasonal / circular movement with Albania (Law 2482/1997), Bulgaria (Law 2407/1996) and Egypt (Law 1453/1984).

Four main types of seasonal / circular migration can be distinguished in the case of movements between Greece and Albania, all of which relate to the regular (legal) or irregular nature of the movements and the migrants' level of skills (Triandafyllidou 2013: 219–220):

- a) legal seasonal migration in agriculture or other seasonal employment, such as herding or tourism;
- b) irregular seasonal migration for employment in agriculture, construction or tourism;
- c) legal circular migration of low-skilled or semi-skilled workers for employment in construction; and
- d) legal circular migration of semi-skilled and highly-skilled people with a secure stay status in Greece (long-term stay permit holders or ethnically Greek Albanians) who travel between Greece and Albania to perform highly skilled work or to develop their own small businesses.

Another writer has argued that many Albanians consider migration to Greece for seasonal work in the agricultural sector as the least preferable form of migration, viewing it as something that poor and lower-skilled individuals do as a last resort (Vullnetari 2015: 144). Nevertheless, empirical evidence collected this year (2017) suggests that the continuing economic crisis has led a considerable number of Albanians, who had returned to their country of origin, to opt again for seasonal migration and employment in agricultural areas as a preferable way of supplementing their income. In addition, the recent introduc-

tion of a three-month visa for Albanian nationals has made it easier for Albanians to take up seasonal work in peak seasons, although they are working irregularly.

Consecutive migration laws have included specific provisions for seasonal / temporary labourers responding to the seasonal needs of the agricultural, fishing and service sectors in Greece (article 16 of Law 3386/2005; article 5 of Law 4018/2011; article 7 of Law 4251/2014). The gist of these provisions is that non-EU citizens can be admitted to work for a maximum of six months in any given year to cover the seasonal needs of the agricultural or other sectors in Greece. The key term for covering these needs is the word «metaklisi» (meaning «invitation» or «call»), which is operationalized in a rather complex way. Every two years, a joint ministerial decision is issued, which sets the maximum number of positions for seasonal employment by region and specialty / sector (Table 1). For the period 2017–2018, a total of 51,125 positions were designated for full-time wage labour, seasonal work, fishery workers and other high-skilled or semi-skilled jobs. It should be highlighted that 62% of those positions are allocated to seasonal migrant labour in agriculture and stockbreeding (Government Gazette Teuxos B, 338/13-2-2017).^[2]

Table 1: Allocation of «metaklisi» and of the needed seasonal labour (as a segment of metaklisi) by region, 2014–2018

	2014		2015–2016		2017–2018	
	Total	Seasonal	Total	Seasonal	Total	Seasonal
Western Macedonia	373	306	673	612	10318	8380
Epirus	50	14	0	0	1430	0
North Aegean	48	0	152	0	194	0
South Aegean	102	0	407	0	543	14
Sterea Hellas	449	1	1305	320	4054	1935
Thessaly	150	30	308	60	2301	620
Attica	0	0	433	0	2817	0
East Macedonia and Trace	0	0	418	40	2304	950
Ionian Islands	66	0	117	0	249	60
Central Macedonia	0	0	7461	6254	20691	14920
Peloponnese	109	26	178	50	1689	1400
Crete	78	0	88	0	705	170
Western Greece	3914	3776	8502	7552	3830	3040
<i>Achaia</i>	834	715	1582	1430	1600	1500
<i>Iliia</i>	3075	3061	6140	6122	1630	1500
Total	5339	4153	20042	14888	51125	31489

Source: Official Gazette Teuxos B 206/4-2-2014, Official Gazette Teuxos B 250/19-2-2015, Official Gazette Teuxos B 398/13-2-2017.

- 2 As seen in Table 1 there is an increasing local / regional demand for seasonal migrant labour. The annual number of positions for seasonal migrant labour has increased nearly four times between 2014 and 2018.

These positions are offered to third-country nationals invited from their own country to cover a specific seasonal position. The employers submit an application to the Regional Unit of their place of residence, which states the number of positions and information on specific migrants including their nationality, specialty and the duration of their employment. The employer also pays a fee (50 euro), guarantees that he will employ the migrants he invites to work on his farm holdings, and he has to provide specific information regarding the agreement and the payment of the migrants. Employers must also secure accommodation for the seasonal migrants they invite. According to data for the period 2007–2009, between 13,500 and 14,000 seasonal labour permits were issued per year (EMN 2010: 33).

In April 2016, a Law Amendment (Art. 13a Law 4251/2014) concerning the «*Employment of irregular third-country nationals in the agricultural economy*» states that farmers / employers may recruit irregular migrants (third-country nationals) or asylum seekers already resident in Greece, but only in regions where seasonal working positions exist and have already been approved and in line with the conditions laid down in the aforementioned law. This amendment provided for the use of «*ergosima*» (labour tokens) in agricultural employment, which would supposedly make it easier for employers to recruit and pay irregular migrants by legal means, since the labour token comprises insurance payments as well as the migrants' wages. This labour token initiates a type of «regularized» employment of irregular migrants, while at the same time ensuring payments into social security funds. This amendment is underpinned by the belief that it entailed limited bureaucratic procedures and that farmers / employers would be motivated to use labour tokens since they could declare wages paid as costs and thus pay less in tax.

It has been argued that the amendment served as a temporary solution for the agricultural sector in areas where a significant number of migrants work irregularly. Ironically, considering the existing legal framework for seasonal migration (i.e., *metaklisi*), the success of the current amendment is essentially based in the failure of *metaklisi*.

3 Basic characteristics of Greek agriculture

Agriculture has retained its importance in Greece during the recession, accounting for 12.6% of employment (470,600 workers) in 2016.^[3] Despite the long-term decline in agricultural employment, the relative importance of agriculture has been maintained, which is also due to the crisis of full-time employment in the secondary and tertiary sectors.

Agricultural products account for 22.5% of the country's total exports (2015), with one third being fruits and vegetables.^[4] Moreover, agriculture contributes 4% to Greece's GVA

3 The data are from the Labour Force Survey (LSF) and refer to Q3 of 2016.

4 Unpublished data from the Ministry of Rural Development and Food (September 2016).

(2015) (MRDF 2016). In general, the agricultural sector is characterized by low productivity, a fact revealed by the relatively low level of GVA per person employed. Greece, along with other Southern European countries, is dominated by small farms, a low degree of farm commercialization and low investments levels (Petric and Gloss 2013: 2).

Although the organization of farmers into co-operatives (which serves to limit the negative consequences of small-scale production and to increase the bargaining power of family farms) is a common practice in most other EU countries, agricultural co-operatives account for just 20% of the Greek market, compared with 40% on average in the EU (NBG 2015).

The apparent low productivity of labour in agriculture is mainly due to the large number of (unpaid) family members employed in the sector and their low average number of working days. We will argue below that employment in Greek agriculture is, for the vast majority of farmers, an activity identified with «underemployed». Farming is a seasonal activity and, in many cases, cannot secure full-time year-round employment.

The small size and high fragmentation of farm holdings are reflections of Greek agriculture's historical, cultural, spatial and geomorphologic heritage. The long-term and belated land reforms of the 1920s, the socio-cultural traditions relating to inheritance and dowries, and the unfavourable geomorphological environment of narrow, often hilly zones have contributed to the survival and reproduction of small-scale farming, resulting in increased production costs and low competitiveness (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2013).

By 2013, there were 709,500 farm holdings in Greece, a significant decrease (–13.1%) since 2000. The average size per holding was 6.8 hectares,^[5] which is low compared to the rest of the EU (the average for the EU – 28 is 16.1 ha). Only Slovenia (6.7 ha), Romania (3.6 ha), Cyprus (3.1 ha) and Malta (1.2 ha) have smaller average holdings (Eurostat 2015a).

Greece's farm holdings cover nearly 4.86 million hectares of utilized agricultural area (UAA), divided into the following categories: arable land (37.4%), permanent grassland and meadows (43.3%), permanent crops (e.g., olive trees, citrus fruits) (19.1%) and kitchen gardens (0.2%).

Structurally, the majority of agricultural holdings (76%) are less than five hectares in size, and as such cannot ensure full-time employment for more than one person. These smaller holdings account for less than 18% of the UAA. On the other hand, holdings covering over ten hectares account for ca. 11% of the total number of holdings and 71% of the UAA (Eurostat 2015b).

5 This number includes permanent grassland and meadows. If the latter are excluded from the calculations, the average for agricultural land used per farm drops to 4.5 ha (2013).

To offer another angle on the structural characteristics of Greek agriculture on the basis of the data pertaining to the economic size of the holdings,^[6] 68% of farm holdings (representing 16.4% of agricultural output) are small or very small, 21% are medium-sized (26.3% of agricultural output) and 11% are large (57.3 of agricultural output) (Eurostat 2016b).

Despite the relatively low land concentration in large farm holdings, a significant proportion of UAA is leased by other farmers or (since 2010) is common land. The land tenure data for 2013 show that, overall, 42% of the UAA is owned by the farm holdings, nearly 26% is farmed by tenants, and 32% is shared farming (leased from common lands).

It is important to note that the farm holdings, which make use of rented or common land, are the relatively larger farms. More particularly, the vast majority (87%) of the UAA of small farms of less than 5 ha is owned land, while only 11.5% is rented and 1.5% is common land. In contrast, only 26% of the UAA farmed by the relatively large holdings of over 10 ha is owned land, whereas 29% is rented land and 45% is leased from common land. Therefore, large farms increase their size and production volume (especially in livestock farming) through various forms of rented land.

Farm holdings seem to have become increasingly specialized in recent years (2013) due to their particular focus within the local agricultural economy and also due to Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) support. Specialist permanent crops (e.g., olive trees, citrus fruits) make up the largest share (56%) of farms, followed by specialist field crop farms (19%), specialist grazing livestock farms (9%), mixed crop livestock farms (6%) and mixed cropping farms (5%) (Eurostat 2016a).

4 Family farming and agricultural employment

Family farming is an important activity in rural Greece and, according to the recent Farm Structure Survey (2013), 1,213,400 people were involved in such activity. When divided by the number of farm holdings, the result is 1.7 family members per farm. Due to the small size of farm holdings in Greece, the majority of family members do not work full-time on their farm. The calculation of family labour into full-time equivalents (i.e., Annual Work Units – AWU)^[7] shows that the equivalent of 395,300 people are employed full-time

6 The economic size is calculated on the basis of the farms' agricultural income, with farms with less than 2,000 euro in annual income considered very small and those with 2,000–8,000 euro considered small. Medium-sized farms are those with an income of 25,000–100,000 euro, and large farms those with an income of over 100,000 euro.

7 Annual Work Units (AWUs) are calculated on the basis of 1,800 hours per year, which is 225 working days with 8 hours per day.

on their family farms. This means that family members are on average «underemployed» (0.32 on average of a full-time employee) on their farms.

Table 2: Family and non-family agricultural labour in the Mediterranean countries, 2013 (AWUs)

Countries	Family labour	Regular non-family labour	Non-regular non-family labour	Total farm labour
	N	N	N	N
Greece	395,300	17,150	51,400	463,850
France	296,680	343,800	84,210	724,690
Italy	617,150	79,090	120,670	816,910
Spain	485,960	175,090	152,500	813,550
Portugal	250,060	48,490	24,910	323,460
	%	%	%	%
Greece	85.2	3.7	11.1	100.0
France	40.9	47.4	11.6	100.0
Italy	75.5	9.7	14.8	100.0
Spain	59.7	21.5	18.7	100.0
Portugal	77.3	15.0	7.7	100.0

Source: Eurostat, Farm Structure Survey 2013.

Overall, family members contribute 85% of total farm work on their farms, while the remaining 15% is divided between regular and non-regular non-family labour (Table 2). It should be mentioned that the vast majority of non-family labour is provided by (regular or irregular) migrants. Greece has retained a higher proportion of family labour in its agricultural sector than other Mediterranean countries within the EU. Moreover, the share of regular non-family labour is smaller in Greece (3.7%) than in the other four Mediterranean EU countries. Still, seasonal (non-regular) non-family labour accounts for over 11% of total farm labour and remains an important feature of Greek agriculture.

Table 3: Farming labour by category in Greece, 2005-2013 (AWUs)

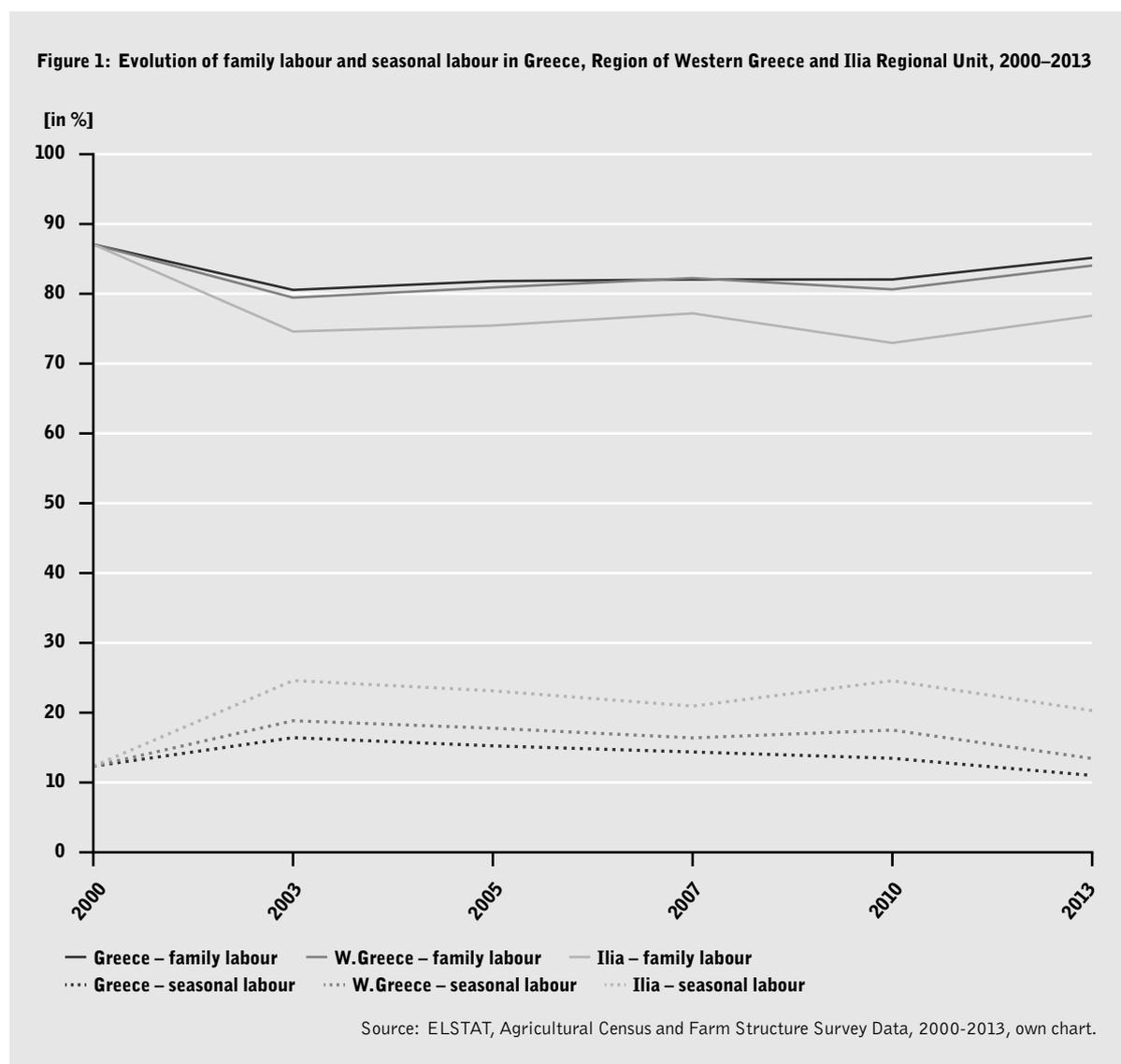
Labour categories	2005	2007	2010	2013
Family labour	492,200	467,330	354,440	395,300
Regular non-family labour	18,310	21,170	18,330	17,150
Non-regular non-family labour	90,290	80,210	56,760	51,400
Non-family labour	108,600	101,380	75,090	68,550
Total farm labour	600,800	568,710	429,530	463,850
% non-family labour	18.1	17.8	17.5	14.8
% regular non-family labour	2.9	3.7	4.3	3.7
% of non-regular non-family labour	15.0	14.1	13.2	11.1

Source: Eurostat, Farm Structures Survey 2005, 2007, 2010, 2013.

On the basis of Table 3, it is obvious that the percentage of family labour is in decline. However, the contribution of regular non-family labour remained stable in 2005–2010, with a small decrease in 2010–2013. It could be argued that in 2005–2013, the percentage of seasonal non-family / migrant labour decreased due to the economic recession, but also

because of the economic restructuring of rural Greece. It should be mentioned that some of the seasonal labour may be under-recorded by farmers for reasons relating to the irregularity of migrant labour and the desire to under-report production volume in order to evade tax by falsely lowering declared agricultural income.

The picture of seasonal agricultural labour appears more complex when looking at Greece's various regions and Regional Units. According to ELSTAT data on farm structures for 2000–2013,^[8] there is significant regional differentiation in seasonal agricultural labour. By 2013, the regions with the highest share of seasonal agricultural labour were: Central Macedonia (14.1%), Peloponnese (13.8%), Western Greece (13.7%) and Sterea Hellas (11.8%). Those with the lowest share of seasonal labour were: Epirus (5.5%), Western Macedonia (5.6%), Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (7.7%) and Northern Aegean (9.3%).



8 ELSTAT (Greek Statistical Service) publicizes disaggregated data on farming and agricultural employment allowing for more detailed labour categories.

The differentiation in seasonal labour is even higher when looking at the Regional Units. Those Regional Units with a more developed agricultural sector or a combination of agriculture and tourism tend to manifest a higher share of seasonal agricultural labour: Pella (20.8%), Ilia (20.4%), Imathia (20.1%), Dodecanese (19.9%), Chalkidiki (19.5%), Attiki (19.5%), Viotia (18.2%), Corinthia (17.5%), Pieria (16%) and Fthiotis (15.6%).

In this context, in the Region of Western Greece, and more particularly within the Regional Unit of Ilia seasonal agricultural labour remains a very significant feature when compared to the rest of the country. Figure 1 depicts the changes in seasonal agricultural labour in Greece, Western Greece and Ilia for 2000–2013. More specifically, the share of seasonal agricultural labour in Ilia increased to around 25% by 2003, and it remained at roughly that level until 2010, when it began to drop, reaching to 20.4% by 2013.

5 Migrant workers and agricultural production in the Region of Western Greece

5.1 The local agricultural production systems

The area of «Manolada» belongs administratively to the Regional Unit of Ilia and the Region of Western Greece. However, strawberry cultivation in the area extends beyond the Regional Unit of Ilia to include part of the Regional Unit of Achaia. «Manolada» is one of the main settlements around which strawberry cultivation has increased steeply over the last decade or so.

The region comprises the western part of Central Greece and the northwestern corner of the Peloponnese. The region covers 11,350 km², of which the majority of the land is mountainous (45%) and hilly (26%), with only 29% considered to be plain areas. The region also has an extensive coastline and borders the Ionian Sea and the Gulfs of Amvrakikos, Patras and Corinth.

Currently, according to the administrative reforms introduced as part of the Kallikratis Programme (Greek Law 3852/2010), the Region of Western Greece is divided into three Regional Units – Aetolia-Akarnania, Achaia and Ilia –, which are further subdivided into 19 municipalities. The Regional Unit of Aetolia-Akarnania, which is the largest in Greece (5,448 km²), includes high mountain areas and many natural and artificial lakes. The landscape of the Regional Unit of Achaia (3,274 km²) is also characterized by striking contrasts. The Regional Unit of Ilia, which covers an area of 2,621 km², is an exception since it consists mainly of plains (60%) through which the rivers Alfeios, Pinios, Erymanthos and their tributaries flow. The plains of Ilia are the largest in the Peloponnese, but the region is

also known for the coastal wetlands of Kotichi and Kaiäfa, which are areas of rare natural beauty and ecological value.

Based on the 1991 census, the Region of Western Greece had a total population of 707,687; the 2001 figures revealed a slight increase on this figure. Currently, the population of the Region of Western Greece has fallen by 6% to 679,796, but nevertheless it remains the fourth largest in Greece in terms of population (Table 4).

Table 4: Population evolution in the Region of Western Greece, 1991–2011

Regional Unit	1991	2001	2011
Achaia	299,640	320,680	309,694
Aetolia-Akarnania	226,579	220,174	210,802
Ilia	175,566	183,945	159,300
Total population of the Region	701,785	724,799	679,796

Source: ELSTAT, Population Census 1991, 2001, 2011.

Historically, agriculture and stockbreeding have been the main economic activities of the local population, alongside tourism. Olive, grains, wine, pepper, fruit, vegetables, dairy and fish products are important for the local economy, supplying the food processing industries that operate in the area. Even though employment in the primary sector has fallen over the last 20 years from 35% of the region's employment in 1991 to 18% in 2011, the primary sector is still considered a fundamental pillar of the region's growth and development (Table 5). Nevertheless, the size of and income generated by the agricultural sector varies between the three areas. Thus, while agricultural activity is central to the society and economy of the regional units of Aetolia-Akarnania and Ilia, with 24% and 30% respectively of the labour force employed in the primary sector, it plays a less significant role in Achaia, which is more industrialised, service-oriented and urbanized than the rest of the region (Kasimis *et al.* 2007).

Table 5: Share of agricultural employment in the Region of Western Greece, 1991–2011

Regional Unit	1991	2001	2011
Achaia	20.2	13.7	8.8
Aetolia-Akarnania	48.9	38.1	21.0
Ilia	43.5	38.9	27.0
Total population of the Region	35.4	27.3	18.2

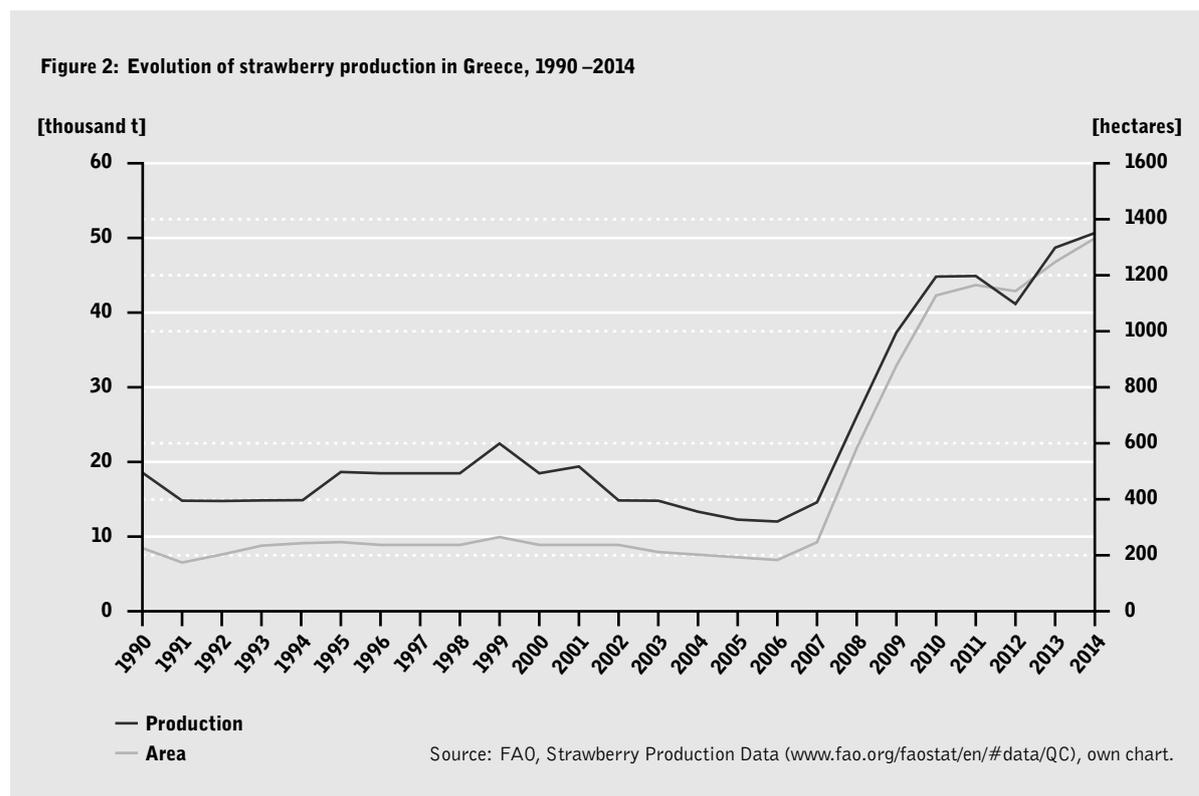
Source: ELSTAT, Population Census 1991, 2001, 2011.

A recent study confirms that the structural weaknesses and productivity problems besetting the primary sector of the Region of Western Greece stem from: a) the small size of the farm holdings and high level of fragmentation (3.4 ha); b) the ageing rural population; c) the low level of farmer education and training; d) the underdeveloped trade and marketing of agricultural products; e) the poor organization of co-operative organizations and the high diversification of agricultural productivity and income within the region, where a lack

of other employment opportunities intensifies inequality (Region of Western Greece 2015: 5–6).

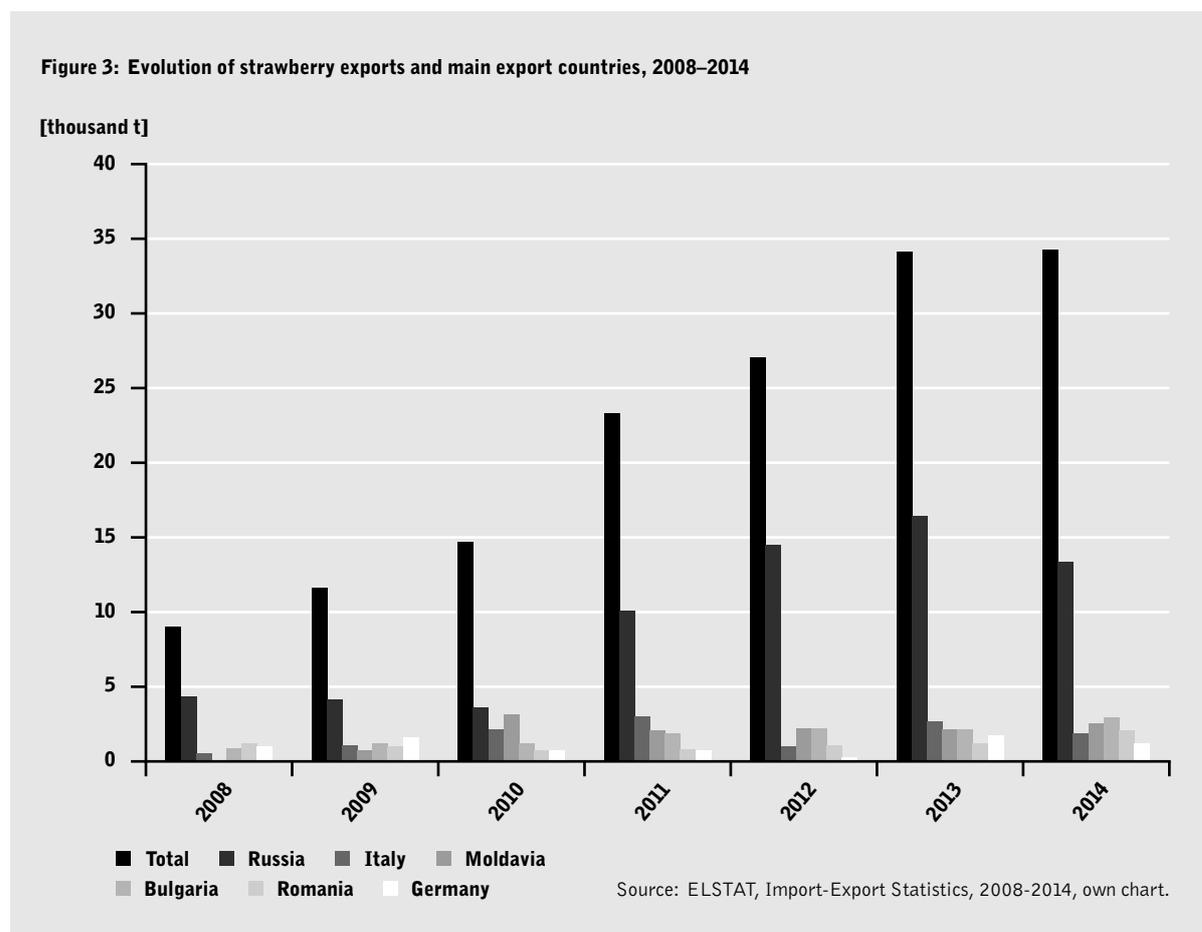
It is worth mentioning that up until 2005, tobacco – a labour-intensive crop – was one of the main and most profitable products in the Regional Unit of Aetolia-Akarnania and its cultivation of great economic, agricultural and social importance for the area. However, the reform of the CAP in 2006 resulted in the complete abandonment of tobacco cultivation as local farmers turned to grains, olives and stockbreeding. This policy shift had important implications for the restructuring of local agriculture and for rural employment in general. It is worth mentioning that tobacco was considered a powerful multiplier for the local economy, and following the CAP reform the number of tobacco growers in the area declined from 10,000 to 43, a situation that also affected areas related to tobacco farming (i.e., irrigation systems, pesticides, fertilizers).

The expansion of horticulture and greenhouses in the valley of Ilia, where 3% of Greece's total agricultural production is cultivated, is highly significant. Ilia ranks second in Greek tomato and potato production (12% and 10% of national production, respectively), and it has the largest area of greenhouses in Greece (Newspaper *Ilia-Live*, 21/2/2015). Horticulture and greenhouse production in Ilia extends over 8,736 ha (Region of Western Greece 2015).



It is in the Regional Unit of Ilia, and more particularly the Municipality of Andravida-Kyllini and the surrounding area, that over 90% of Greece's strawberries are grown. Strawberry cultivation has grown in recent years in terms both of production and cultivated area, reaching 49,780 tons and 1,350 ha respectively in 2014 (Figure 2). What is equally

important, the strawberry industry has steadily oriented itself towards exports, which have been rising since 2005, and initially went to Western European countries (e.g., Switzerland) and in more recent years also to Eastern Europe (Russia, Bulgaria, Romania). In fact, Russia is now the largest single market for Greek strawberries, accounting for 48% of strawberry exports in 2013, and local strawberry growers argue that it is the preferences of Russian consumers that determine their quality requirements. This statement is borne out by the 2013 figures for other markets (Figure 3), which were insignificant when compared to Russia, namely 7.6% went to Italy, 6.2% to Moldova, 6% to Bulgaria and 4.8% to Germany. Only in 2014 did exports to Russia decrease, falling to 39% as a result of the embargo placed on the export of agricultural products to Russia (Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017: 134–135).



The expansion of strawberry cultivation should be seen within the wider context of agricultural restructuring in Greece (i.e., modernization, intensification, increasing export orientation, etc.) and the availability of agricultural labour, both permanent and seasonal. Empirical evidence suggests that a number of factors have contributed to the rise in strawberry cultivation in and around the Municipality of Andravida-Kyllini, perhaps most significantly the replacement of fresh strawberry plants with frozen ones, allowing for a longer harvesting period and better organoleptic characteristics. Moreover, the modernization

and intensification of cultivation was accompanied by the establishment of an export-oriented co-operative and, finally, the availability of cheap migrant labour just when it was needed (for a more detailed analysis of the strawberry industry, see Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017: 134–136).

A number of researchers have emphasized that the aforementioned factors have also been crucial for the expansion of the strawberry industry in both the US and in Spain. In the case of California, Wells (1996; 2000) and Guthman (2016) both highlighted the importance of migrant labour for sustaining and expanding the industry. Moreover, the US strawberry cultivation model is based on the control of migrant labour through the adoption of sharecropping. This model combines sophisticated cultivation methods, the use of technological innovations and the effective management of (mainly Mexican) migrant sharecroppers. In Spain, the so-called «Huelva model» (Huelva being an area where the demand for migrant labour rose steeply due to the expansion of strawberry production) is increasingly cause for debate (Marquez Dominguez *et al.* 2009). In the Huelva model (*contratacion en origen*), migrant labourers are recruited from their countries of origin, restricted to particular employers and low-status jobs that indigenous workers reject, compelled to work hard by the constant threat of being replaced by other migrant labourers and, finally, encouraged to return home with the promise that they will get another opportunity to earn money for their family (Mannon *et al.* 2012: 98). A key aspect of this model is that the labourers are female migrants from Morocco, that is, people who were considered more likely to submit to the demands of strawberry growers (Zeneidi 2011; Hellio 2014).

All in all, it turns out that the availability of a labour force is crucial if farms are to be able to succeed, expand and intensify their production. Crops such as tobacco, tomatoes and strawberries are labour-intensive, especially during harvesting season; for instance, it is estimated that strawberry cultivation in Greece requires 700–750 daily wages per hectare per year.

Up to the mid-1980s, local workers, both men and women, met the farms' labour needs while internal migrants arrived at harvest times to meet short-term labour demands. As family involvement in farm work declined, there has been a proportionate increase in non-family agricultural employment. Following agricultural restructuring and the expansion of agricultural production in the regional units of Aetolia-Akarnania and Ilia, by the early 1990s migrant labour had emerged as a crucial component of non-family agricultural employment, covering seasonal and permanent needs.

To sum up, the agricultural sector of the Region of Western Greece is characterized by a high degree of diversity. On the one hand, there was a growth of a CAP-supported agricultural system (Aetolia-Akarnania); on the other, the expansion of an intensive agricultural production system (Ilia). However, both agricultural systems rely on a common denominator: the availability of a permanent and seasonal workforce.

5.2 Migrants in the Region of Western Greece

International migration to the Region of Western Greece dates back to the 1990s, when the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe collapsed. During that period Albanians, Bulgarians and Asian migrants arrived in various part of the region in search of employment. Based on the 1991 census, foreigners accounted for a negligible proportion of the local population. A decade later, a sevenfold increase had resulted in a foreign population in excess of 35,000 people; in 2011, the foreign population was still growing. According to the latest census, migrants now account for more than 9% of the total population in Ilia, as well as making up a considerable share of the residents in Aetolia-Akarnania (Table 6).

Table 6: Foreign population and share of migrant population in the Region of Western Greece, 1991–2011

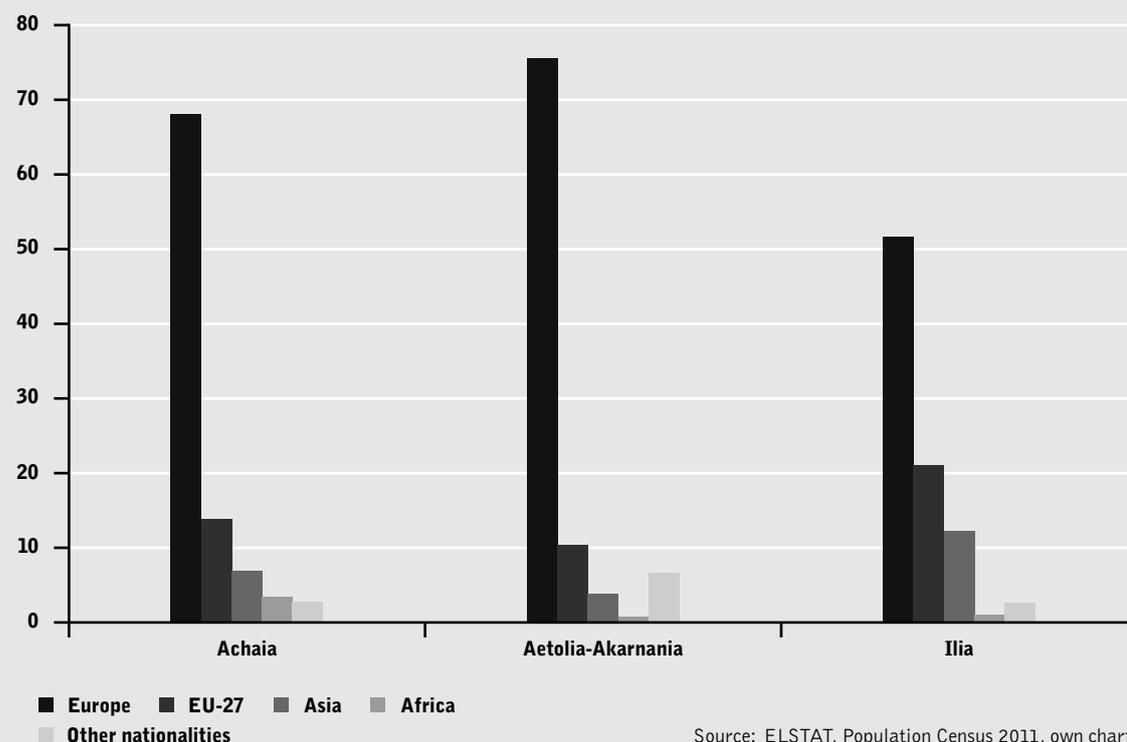
Regional Unit	1991		2001		2011	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Achaia	2,681	0.9	17,593	5.5	17,439	5.6
Aetolia-Akarnania	1,199	0.5	6,994	3.2	9,147	4.3
Ilia	0,656	0.4	10,627	5.8	14,889	9.3
Total population of the Region	4,536	0.6	35,214	4.9	41,475	6.1

Source: ELSTAT, Population Census 1991, 2001, 2011.

In 2001, the Albanians were the largest group of immigrants in the Region of Western Greece (69%), followed by Bulgarians (6%) and Romanians (3%). However, there was significant spatial differentiation in the composition of migrant nationalities in each Regional Unit. In the case of Aetolia-Akarnania, Albanian migrants represented more than 80% of the migrant population, followed by Bulgarians and Romanians. In the case of Ilia, Albanian migrants accounted for 62% of the migrants, followed by people of Bulgarian and Romanian origin and a small number of Bangladeshi migrants. A decade later, the Albanians remained the most numerous migrant nationality in both agricultural areas (see Figure 4), yet their relative numbers had fallen to 73% in Aetolia-Akarnania and just short of 50% in the Regional Unit of Ilia. In the latter, the Bulgarians and Romanians remain numerically significant along with a rising number of Bangladeshi migrants.

The official census figures provide an indication of migrant labour market participation in the Region of Western Greece (Table 7). Thus, back in 2001, 49% of the foreign-born labour force in the Regional Unit of Aetolia-Akarnania was employed in the primary sector, with the secondary sector absorbing 31% of foreign workers. Ten years later, these figures had fallen to 43% and 30% respectively. In the 2000s, in the Regional Unit of Ilia, agriculture accounted for 62% of the migrant workforce, with the secondary sector attracting almost 24%. By 2011, these figures stood at 66% and 16% respectively.

Figure 4: Migrant population by geographical area in Region of Western Greece, 2011



These differences in each region's migratory profile should be viewed in the context of each Regional Unit. In the case of Aetolia-Akarnania, tobacco growers were a major employer for Albanian migrants, who were also employed to harvest other crops (e.g. olives and citrus fruit). It became evident from fieldwork data that as CAP-supported and labour-intensive tobacco cultivation declined, considerable numbers of Albanian migrants turned to other crops on a seasonal basis, sought employment in other sectors, or even moved to other parts of Greece.

Table 7: Foreign employment by sector of employment in the Region of Western Greece

Regional Unit	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
Achaia	16.1	33.8	42.1
Aetolia-Akarnania	38.6	27.5	24.6
Ilia	61.0	14.4	17.5
Total population of the Region	40.3	24.1	27.8

Source: ELSTAT, Population Census 1991, 2001, 2011. Data compiled by the authors.

In Ilia, the expansion of the intensive agricultural sector, which is not covered by CAP price-support mechanisms, coincided with a rise in the number of migrants in the area. Put differently, number and role of the migrant labour force vary in accordance with the local production system – and any change in one affects the other.

5.3 Migrant workers in the strawberry fields of «Manolada»

The history of «Manolada» is characterized by internal and international population movements resulting from political and economic factors. In 1922, following the Asia Minor catastrophe and the population exchange, new residents moved to the village from Demouzdere in Turkey. The village was split in two: the local community of Manolada in the upper village and Nea Manolada (meaning New Manolada), where the refugees from Asia Minor settled.

Following the administrative reforms, the Municipality of Andravida-Kyllini now comprises four separate municipalities that have become municipal units: the Municipality of Andravida, the Municipality of Kastro-Kyllini, the Municipality of Lechaina, and the Municipality of Vouprassia.^[9]

Migration started in the early 1990s, when the newly arrived Albanians, Egyptians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis started to seek employment in local horticulture. Initially, the migrant population – the majority of which consisted of Albanians, Egyptians and a few Bangladeshis – represented a negligible proportion of the total population. In the years that followed, the migrant population increased considerably. However, while the Albanians continued to account for the majority of the migrant population up to 2001, since then, the migratory profile of the area has changed considerably, with the number of Bangladeshis increasing significantly and the number of Albanians, Bulgarians and Romanians decreasing.

There are significant differences among the immigrant population, both in terms of gender and family situation: Albanian and Romanian migrants who have been in Greece for longer tend to have settled with their families in the area. They usually live in apartments or houses, have better education and greater aspirations towards professional and social mobility.

«Today, the Albanians here are like us [locals]. You cannot tell the difference [from Greeks] they have their family, their home, their children, everything. And they are hardworking»

(Antonis, Mayor of Municipality of Vouprassia, July 2007).

For their part, the Bulgarians in Manolada tend to follow a more circular seasonal migration pattern, living in houses with their family / compatriots or in tents. In contrast, the Bangladeshi migrants, as in Italy, are predominantly single male migrants with a very low educational profile who live apart from their families in a foreign country, which obliges them to maintain economic and social relations with their families back home (Rahman and Kabir 2012). In Manolada, their housing situation appears to be worse than that of other ethnic groups, as the *«more fortunate usually cohabit with their compatriots in <col-*

9 In 2013, following the migrant mobilizations in the area, various newspapers used the name «Manolada» to refer to the wider geographical region.

lective» houses, while others live in makeshift tents made of cardboard, nylon and bamboo with an extension cord for electricity and a barrel of water» (Andreas, Labour Inspector, 2015).

Over the years that followed, the number of migrants grew hand in hand with an acceleration of intensive agriculture. Indeed, empirical evidence suggests that local farmers planned their cultivated area in accordance with the availability of labour. Of interest is the testimony of an Albanian migrant who has lived in the area for over 15 years:

«[The growers] asked us: How many of you are looking for work? I told him that there are about 18 or 19 of us. And based on this figure, the farmer decided what number of hectares to plant»

(interview with Aristos, 2007).

Horticulture expanded, and the cultivation of strawberries was especially notable. In fact, while in the 1970s strawberries were cultivated on some 30 ha in the area, by the following decade the cultivation had been transformed into an intensive export-oriented culture that covered 1,050 ha. In addition, in previous years the local production system had been constrained by the cost and limited size of the workforce; now, the farmers argue, the intensive agriculture accelerated dramatically due to the low labour cost, which in turn kept the farm labour costs down for the local growers – labour that was provided by mainly irregular migrants. Prior to the rise in the migrant workforce:

«[In the past] there was a confinement of intensive cultures. Now there isn't [such a limitation]. Just one grower may plant up to 50 ha [...] Today he may cultivate as much land as he wants. This is because he can find the labour needed.»

(interview with Petros, 2007)

Nevertheless, «things started to change» (interview with Aristos, 2007) for the migrant population after the consecutive regularization laws (1997–8, 2001 and 2005) that resulted in the legalization of a significant number of immigrants.

Albanian migrants looked for better, more skilled, secure and better-paid employment either in the agricultural sector (for example as foremen) or in the construction / service sector. Numerous scholars have documented the socio-economic mobility of migrants in Greek rural areas (Labrianidis and Sykas 2009b; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005; Papadopoulos 2012; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2013). In the years that followed, the number of Bangladeshis continued to increase as the relative number of Albanians, Bulgarians¹⁰ and Romanians decreased. The «gaps» left behind as the increasingly mobile Albanian migrants left were filled by the newly arrived Bangladeshis.

10 After 2009, when Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU, a significant proportion of Greece's Bulgarian and Romanian migrants took up seasonal employment, making use of the free movement directives.

A new «ethnic hierarchy» moulded by past and recent migration flows emerged in the area in a process that must be viewed within its wider political and labour market context (Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017). First, the increasing employment of Bulgarians and Bangladeshis in intensive agriculture, and particular in the strawberry fields, underpinned two important developments. On the one hand, their – in most cases – irregular or semi-irregular status restrained agricultural workers' wages, which in turn kept strawberry production costs low, allowing farmers to expand their cultivation. On the other hand, and following the immigrant regularization laws, the majority of Albanians began to actively pursue occupational mobility within the agricultural sector (i.e., look for jobs as supervisors / foremen) or to seek employment opportunities in the local secondary sector (i.e., construction and manufacturing), which were more profitable until the onset of the recession (Papadopoulos 2009; Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2013).

In 2007, a fire in a makeshift camp in «Manolada» focused public attention on the migrant workers' appalling living and working conditions, their precarious status and the exploitation they faced. A year later, nearly 1,500 migrants – the majority from Bangladesh, India and the Balkans – went on strike, gathering in the central square of the village to demand better wages and humane working and living conditions. However, their demands were met with brutal violence. Two journalists from the *Eleftherotypia* daily newspaper covered the story, revealing the tragic housing and employment conditions and attracting the attention of the public authorities. This migrant mobilization resulted in an increase in the migrants' daily wage to €25–€28.

In 2013, 150 Bangladeshi workers went on strike in «Manolada» in an attempt to claim unpaid wages. Based on the testimony of the workers, rather than paying them their wages, their employers hired other temporary migrants to work in the fields. Fearing that they would not be paid, they went to the two employers who were present; one of the employer's armed guards fired on the group, severely injuring thirty of them (ECHR 2015). This incident made headline news, and news stories appeared that described the exploitation that migrant workers suffered picking «blood strawberries»^[11] in the fields of «Manolada». In the case «Chowdury and others v. Greece» the «*European Court of Human Rights found that the treatment of Bangladeshi migrants amounted to forced labour contrary to Article 4 of the European Convention of Human Rights, and that the authorities had failed to prevent or adequately respond to the situation*» (Open Society Foundations, 30/3/2017).

The court ruled in favour of the Bangladeshis and ordered the Greek state to pay damages of up to €16,000 to each of them for having «failed in its obligations to prevent the situation of human trafficking».

Currently, we can distinguish four basic types of migrant agricultural worker employed in the strawberry fields of «Manolada»:

11 During that period, a social media campaign was launched under the name «Blood Strawberries» with a view to boycotting strawberries cultivated in Manolada.

- First, *permanent agricultural workers*; usually employed as foremen at the agricultural holding, they perform more demanding and skilled jobs and usually supervise the planting and the harvesting. They are usually of Albanian origin with a long presence in Greece and a good knowledge of the language.
- Second, *seasonal-permanent workers*; usually Bangladeshi, Bulgarians and Romanians, who live locally, they work planting and picking strawberries in the greenhouses and/or planting and picking strawberries in the fields, depending on the season. They are usually irregular and/or without a work permit. Generally paid less, their goal is to save as much money as possible in order to send remittances to their families back home.
- Third, *seasonal migrant workers performing skilled agricultural tasks* such as pruning; usually locally resident Albanians who have experience in specialized tasks, and who may move to neighbouring villages when needed.
- Fourth, *seasonal migrant workers performing unskilled agricultural tasks*; usually, Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians or Bangladeshis, they either migrate in a circular pattern from their country of origin or move to Manolada at harvest time from other parts of Greece and are typically employed in unskilled, precarious, seasonal jobs without social security benefits.

Migrant labour in Manolada is internally differentiated into myriad levels as a result of divisions created along axes such as ethnicity, type of employment, education, legal status (regular / semi-regular / irregular), time spent in Greece, and access to social capital. This social differentiation among migrant groups leads to significant variation in the social integration processes (in terms of level of exploitation and precarity) and/or in shaping migrant agency. In the recent past, Albanian migrants improved their position by moving to non-agricultural sectors and/or becoming the «*trusted ones*» who «*are just beneath the boss, taking charge and managing the Bangladeshi labour force*» (Andreas, Labour Inspector, 2015).

On the other hand, Bangladeshis and other nationalities became trapped in the labour intensive agricultural sector. It would thus seem that it is these migrants who lack access to upward social mobility and thus to local social incorporation, who find themselves on the margins of local society, and who are therefore more affected by labour precarity. For Bangladeshi migrants, their «labour/spatial entrapment» – living and working in enclaves in a highly segmented labour market doing temporary, low-paid, heavy or dangerous work – is tightly bound up with the dominant capitalist production model based on labour control.

Over the last six years, the economic recession did not have the same implications for the strawberry growers as for the rest of the country. In other words, the economic crisis «*hasn't touched the local strawberry sector*». Rather, the cultivated area devoted to strawberries has kept expanding and now covers 1,200 ha. As one local farmer argues: «*The whole area has become one big greenhouse*» (interview with Takis, 2015). The end result is that the wider coastal area around Manolada, New Manolada, Varda, Neo Vouprasio and

Lappa has witnessed a rapid expansion of strawberry fields. On the basis of recent observations, the diffusion of the crop is so significant that it is now borders on the environmentally protected zone of Kotychi and Strofyliia.

In the light of the predicted impact measures relating to the recession will have on the cost of strawberry production, namely that the price of the main agricultural inputs may increase (due to the suggested increase in Value Added Tax on agricultural supplies), the only way available for growers to curb production costs and lower investment risks is through lowering labour costs. At a time when farm labourers earn from €20 to €22 a day, it appears that if strawberry cultivation is to expand further, there is only one way to manage the cultivation risks – by further increasing the precarity of migrant labour.

6 Conclusions

Temporary migrant labour has long been a central feature of Greek agriculture, which has benefited a great deal from the migrant inflows since the beginning of the 1990s. The vast majority of agricultural migrant labour has been integrated through its participation in the secondary labour market, where precarity, insecurity and low wages predominate. The differentiation between regular / permanent and temporary / seasonal migrant labour has created socio-economic divisions between the various migrant groups according to their legal status, their time spent in Greece and also along ethnic lines.

Gradually, the older, legal migrants have moved up the local social ladder by obtaining regular / permanent agricultural positions or changing economic sector and taking up jobs in construction and/or services. Albanian migrants in particular have exploited their potential and made good use of their social capital to achieve their target of improving their well-being and socio-economic position in Greece.

Temporary / seasonal migrant labour has been a major entry point into the labour market for irregular migrants and asylum seekers newly-arrived in Greece. The challenge of seasonal migrants is that they include a rapidly changing mosaic of migrant groups. The replacement rate of this migrant category depends both on migrant inflows and migrant outflows (to other countries / economic sectors) as well as on legalization schemes implemented in the host country.

In fact, given the lack of effective implementation of migration policies and regularization programmes, which are designed to minimize irregular migrant flows and regulate local labour markets, temporary / seasonal migrant labour is affected by ethnic segregation.

The case of «Manolada» is exemplary in the sense that it illustrates the complexity of the social arrangements affecting agricultural migrant labour within an intensive production system that fuels antagonisms among the various migrant groups, on the one hand, and between migrant labourers and farmers / employers, on the other. The intensification of

the control over seasonal migrant labour to increase the profitability of the export-oriented agricultural production system has triggered clashes between migrants and employers.

The particular model of migrant labour control developed in «Manolada» differs from the American and Spanish models, which are based, respectively, on sharecropping and the circular migration of women. The mechanisms of ethnic segregation and the racialization of farming tasks emerged as the fundamental components of the «Manolada» model, showing also the structural weaknesses and drawbacks caused by the highly selective and production-oriented migration policies implemented in Greece.

At the heart of the «Manolada» model is the precarity typical of the work, life and location of temporary / seasonal migrant labour. Both employers and local society consider this migrant category, consisting of Bangladeshi, as an enclave where actions and practices of exploitation and trafficking are prevalent.

Far from initiating the socio-economic processes connected to temporary / seasonal migrant labour, the economic recession has become a catalyst for accentuating the structural weaknesses and drawbacks that exist in Greek agriculture and in local economies and societies. Moreover, there are no provisions in place for designing and implementing operational migration policies for temporary / seasonal migrant labour, which remains unregulated and responds (somewhat spontaneously) to the ebb and flow of migrant movements.

References

- EMN (2010), *Temporary and Circular Migration: Experiences, Practices of Current Policy and Future Choices in Greece*.
- European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) (2015). Requête no 21884/15: Morshed Chowdury et autres contre la Grèce, introduite le 27 avril 2015.
- Eurostat (2015a), *Farm Structure Statistics*, December [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Farm_structure_statistics]
- Eurostat (2015b), *Family Structure Survey 2013: Main Results*, November [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Farm_structure_survey_2013_-_main_results].
- Eurostat (2016a), *Family Farming in the EU*, October [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Agriculture_statistics_-_family_farming_in_the_EU].
- Eurostat (2016b), *Small and Large Farms in the EU*, October [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Small_and_large_farms_in_the_EU_-_statistics_from_the_farm_structure_survey].
- Guthman, J. (2016). Paradoxes of the border: Labor shortages and farmworker minor agency in reworking California's strawberry fields. *Economic Geography*, 93(1), pp. 24–43.
- Helio, E. (2014), «We don't have women in boxes»: Channeling seasonal mobility of female farmworkers between Morocco and Andalusia, in J. Gertel and S.R. Sippel (eds), *Seasonal Workers in Mediterranean Agriculture: The Social Costs of Eating Fresh*, London and New York, Routledge, pp. 141–157.
- Kasimis, C. (2008), Survival and expansion: migrants in Greek rural regions. *Population, Space and Place*, 14(6), pp. 511–524.
- Kasimis, C. and Papadopoulos, A.G. (2005), The multifunctional role of migrants in the Greek countryside: implications for the rural economy and society. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(1), pp. 99–127.
- Kasimis, C. and Papadopoulos, A.G. (2013), Rural Transformations and Family Farming in Contemporary Greece, in A. Moragues Faus, D. Ortiz-Miranda and E. Arnalte Alegre (eds), *Agriculture in Mediterranean Europe: Between Old and New Paradigms*, Emerald Publications, pp. 263–293.
- Kasimis, C., Papadopoulos, A.G. and Pappas, C. (2007), *Diagnostic study of the immigration movements and their impact in the Regions of Western Greece and Ionian Islands*, Agricultural University of Athens.
- Kasimis, C., Papadopoulos, A. G. and Pappas, C. (2010), Gaining from Rural Migrants: Migrant Employment Strategies and Socio-economic Implications for Rural Labour Markets. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 50(3), pp. 258–276.
- Kasimis, C., Papadopoulos, A.G. and Zacoboulou, E. (2003), Migrants in rural Greece. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 43(2), pp. 167–184.

- Labrianidis L. and Sykas Th. (2009a), Geographical proximity and immigrant labour in agriculture: Albanian immigrants in the Greek countryside. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 49(4), pp. 394–414.
- Labrianidis, L. and Sykas, T. (2009b), Preconditions for the economic mobility of immigrants working in the countryside. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 36(8), pp.798–812.
- Lianos, Th. P., Sarris A.H. and Katseli L.T. (1996), Illegal Immigration and Local Labour Markets: The Case of Northern Greece, *International Migration*, 34(3), pp. 449–484.
- Mannon, S.E., Petrzela, P., Glass, C.M. and Radel, C. (2011), Keeping them in their Place: Migrant Women Workers in Spain's Strawberry Industry, *International Journal of Sociology of Agriculture and Food*, 19,(1), pp. 83–101.
- Márquez Domínguez, J.A., Gordo Márquez, M. and García Delgado, F.J. (2009) Temporary «contracts in origin» as policy to control immigration in Spain: the «Huelva model», *Cahiers de l'Urmis*, 12 June, published online. [Available from <http://urmis.revues.org/index878.html>].
- Ministry of Rural Development and Food (MRDF) (2016), *Brief review of basic features of Agricultural Economy*, Athens (unpublished report) (in Greek).
- National Bank of Greece (NBG) (2015), *Sectoral Report: Unlocking the potential of Greek agro-food industry*, [www.nbg.gr/greek/the-group/press-office/e-spot/reports/Documents/Sectoral%20Report_Agriculture%202015.pdf]
- Open Society Foundation (2017), *Litigation Chowdury and others v. Greece*, Available from www.opensocietyfoundations.org/litigation/chowdury-and-others-v-greece.
- Papadopoulos, A.G. (2009), «Begin from the bottom and move up»: Social Mobility of Immigrant Labour in Rural Greece, *Méditerranée*, 113, pp. 25–39.
- Papadopoulos, A.G. (2012), Transnational Immigration in rural Greece: Analysing the Different Mobilities of Albanian Immigrants, in C. Hedberg and R.M. do Carmo (eds), *Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces*, Dordrecht, Springer, pp. 163–183.
- Papadopoulos, A.G. and Fratsea, L.M. (2013), The Social and Occupational Mobility of Migrants as a form of labour market integration. *Geographies*, 22, pp. 73–90 (In Greek).
- Papadopoulos, A.G. and Fratsea, L.M. (2015), *Delineating the geographical mobility of African immigrants towards Greece: Between transnationalism and integration*. In Güven Şeker, Ali Tilbe, Mustafa Ökmen, Pınar Yazgan Hepgül, Deniz Eroğlu, İbrahim Sirkeci (Eds). *Turkish Migration Conference 2015 Selected Proceedings*. London: Transnational Press London.
- Papadopoulos A.G. and Fratsea L.M. (2017). Appraisal of Migrant Labour in Intensive Agricultural Systems: The Case of Manolada Strawberries (Greece). In Corra-

- do, A. Perotta D. and de Castro C. Editors, *Migration and Agriculture: Mobility and Change in the Mediterranean Area*, Routledge, pp. 128–144
- Petrick, M. and Kloss, M. (2013), Exposure of EU Farmers to the Financial Crisis, *Choices*, 28(2), pp. 1–6.
 - Rahman, M.M. and Kabir, M.A. (2012), *Moving to Europe: Bangladeshi migration to Italy*, ISAS Working Paper 142, Singapore, NUS/ISAS.
 - Region of Western Greece (2015), Cultivation Plan, Directorate-General for Rural Economy and Veterinary, Directorate for Rural Economy. Patras, Greece.
 - Triandafyllidou, A. (2013), *Circular migration between Europe and its neighbourhood: Choice or necessity?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - Vaiou, D. and Hadjimichalis, K. (1997), *With the sewing machine in the kitchen and the poles in the fields: cities, regions and informal labour*. Athens: Exandas.
 - Vullnetari, J. (2015), Albanian Seasonal Work Migration to Greece: A Case of Last Resort? In H. Vermeulen, M. Baldwin-Edwards and R. van Boeschoten (eds), *Migration in the Southern Balkans: From Ottoman Territory to Globalized Nation States*, IMISCOE Research series, Springer, pp. 143–159.
 - Wells, M.J. (1996), *Strawberry Fields: Politics, Class and Work in California Agriculture*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press.
 - Wells, M. J. (2000), Politics, Locality, and Economic Restructuring: California's Central Coast Strawberry Industry in the Post-World War II Period, *Economic Geography*. 76(1), pp. 28–49.
 - Zeneidi, D. (2011), Circular migration and misrecognition: the experience of spatial injustice of Moroccan women doing seasonal agricultural work in Huelva (Spain), *justice spatiale / spatial justice*, no 3, pp. 1–10 [available from www.jssj.org].

The Authors

Apostolos G. Papadopoulos is professor of Rural Sociology and Geography and has studied Sociology in Greece and the United Kingdom, while his PhD is in Rural and Economic Geography (University of Sussex). He has worked as senior researcher or project leader in numerous research projects - many of them related to migration. He is particularly interested in the impact of the economic crisis upon migration flows and rural areas in southern Europe.

Loukia-Maria Fratsea is a research associate at the Department of Geography, at Harokopio University of Athens and is currently completing her PhD thesis. Her research interests include agricultural transformation, migration and social change, social mobility, civil society and migration as well as rural development.

Imprint

Published by: Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung e.V., Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin

Contact: Kirsten Maas-Albert **E** maas-albert@boell.de

Place of publication: www.boell.de

Release date: June 2017

Licence: Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0)

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>

The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung.

You can find other E-Books here:

www.boell.de/en/publications