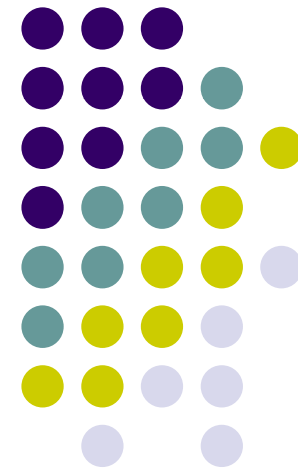


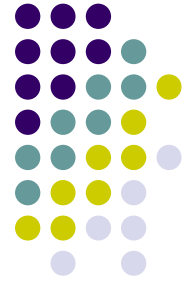
Migration Flows and Local Labour Markets in Rural and Insular Spaces: The Case of Zakynthos in Ionian Islands (Greece)

*International Conference
entitled:
“Connecting
Worlds:
Emigration,
Immigration and
Development in
Insular Spaces”,
Angra do
Heroismo, Azores,
29-30 May 2008*

*Charalambos Kasimis, Professor, Agricultural University of Athens
Apostolos G. Papadopoulos, Assistant Professor, Harokopio
University of Athens*

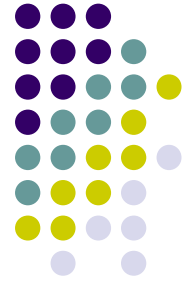


Structure of the presentation



- 1. Migrants in rural Europe**
- 2. Migrants in rural southern Europe**
- 3. The main characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in rural Greece**
- 4. Empirical research findings**
- 5. Conclusions**

Migrants in rural Europe



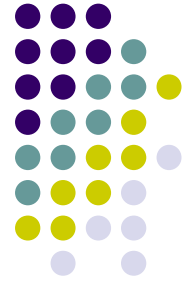
- **Evidence from European countries shows a significant increase in migrant employment in agriculture, rural regions and the agro-food sector during the last 20 years**
- **A number of reasons can be referred to:**
 - **The demographic decline that followed the rural exodus and the urbanization process**
 - **The restructuring of agriculture, which again implied negative demographic changes with a consequent decline of indigenous labour available**
 - **The restructuring of rural areas and the development of new economic activities as well as new consumption patterns linked with leisure and recreation which create increasing labour demands**

Migrants in rural Europe



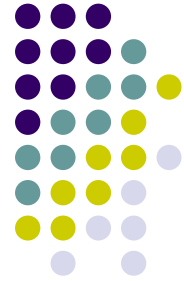
- **The social rejection of rural employment by indigenous labour not attracted by seasonal employment and not always meeting the conditions in terms of motivation, skills, mobility and, more importantly, low wages and bad working conditions**
- **Rural labour is lowly paid without the security of full-time employment and, in the case of the unemployed, it could lead to the loss or reduction of unemployment benefits**
- **The social security payments which are not always paid by the employers**
- **It is worth noting that demand for seasonal agricultural work is reportedly increasing in countries like UK, Germany, France, Norway**

Migrants in rural southern Europe



- **Migrants are considered as the «new mercenaries» of European agriculture, i.e. by the year 2000 over 500,000 were employed as seasonal wage labour**
- **This phenomenon has different dimensions and growing importance in southern Europe**
- **It is connected to agriculture's particular weight in the southern European economies and societies and to the abandonment of agriculture and rural regions by the indigenous populations**
- **These often labour-intensive regional economies have been fuelled by migrants arriving from the Balkans, Africa, and even Asia, to work in economically restructured rural areas and increasingly specialized seasonal agriculture**

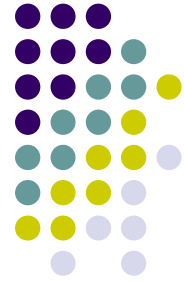
Migrants in rural southern Europe



Main features of rural immigration:

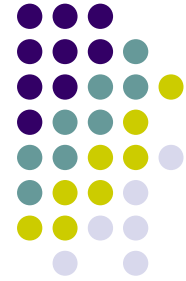
- **The largest parts of migrants do the less specialised jobs in conditions of ethnic segregation and under a gender division of labour differentiated regionally**
- **They show a quick adjustment to farm work despite the fact that they may not have rural origins**
- **There is a replacement of ‘older migrants’ with ‘newcomer migrants’ originating from Eastern European and African countries, establishing new divisions among the immigrant labour force**
- **Rural migrants seem to constitute a ‘new rural class’, which, however, has its own internal divisions and integration ‘tiers’**

Migrants in rural southern Europe



- **Depending on the different national contexts, the continuation of the arrival of illegal migrants perpetuates a model of agricultural production which severely constrains their social integration**
- **A common feature for the southern European countries is the fact that migrants – after their initial agricultural employment - move to other economic sectors after their regularization**
- **The investigation of the attitudes of indigenous rural population towards the migrants shows that there is a widespread acknowledgement of their positive contribution**
- **Nevertheless, insecurity is still expressed, negative stereotypes still maintained and a form of ‘resistance’ to the acceptance of the cultural differentiation that their presence implies still observable**

The main characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in rural Greece

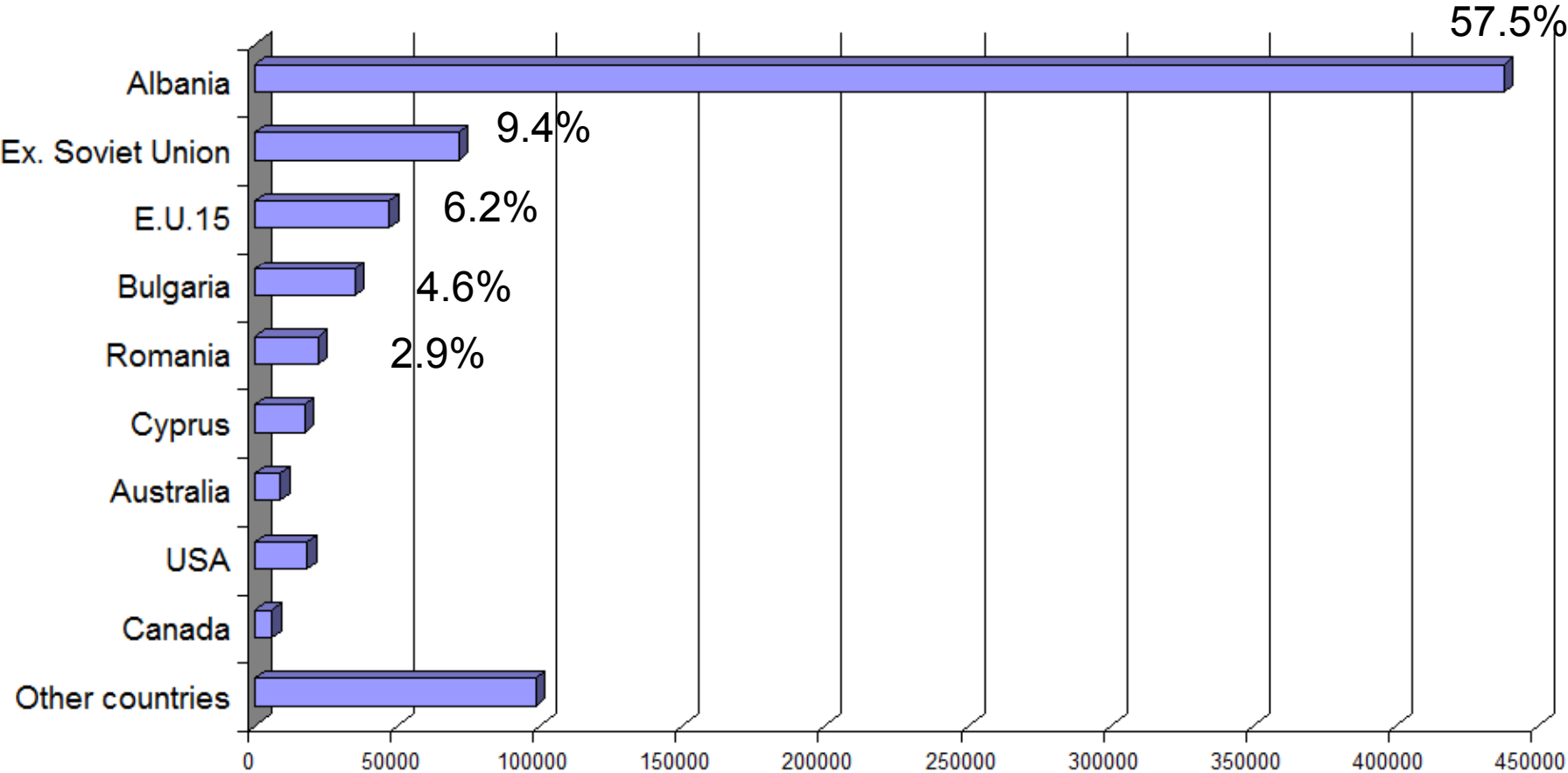


- **The collapse of many Central and Eastern European regimes in 1989 transformed migration to Greece into a massive, uncontrollable phenomenon. Although Greece was at that time still one of the less-developed EU states, by 1990s it received the highest percentage of migrants in relation to the size of its labour force.**
- **Many factors explain the transformation of Greece into a receiving country. These include its geographic location, which positions Greece as the eastern "gate" of the EU, with extensive coastlines and easily crossed borders. The geographic access remains a central factor in patterns of migration to Greece.**
- **Moreover, there has been demand for a labour force independent of trade union practices and labour rights legislation. This is due to the rapid economic changes which affected the country, the improved living standards and higher levels of education attained by young people. This should be coupled with the large size of the informal, family-based economy as well as the seasonal nature of industries like tourism, agriculture, and construction.**

The main characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in rural Greece



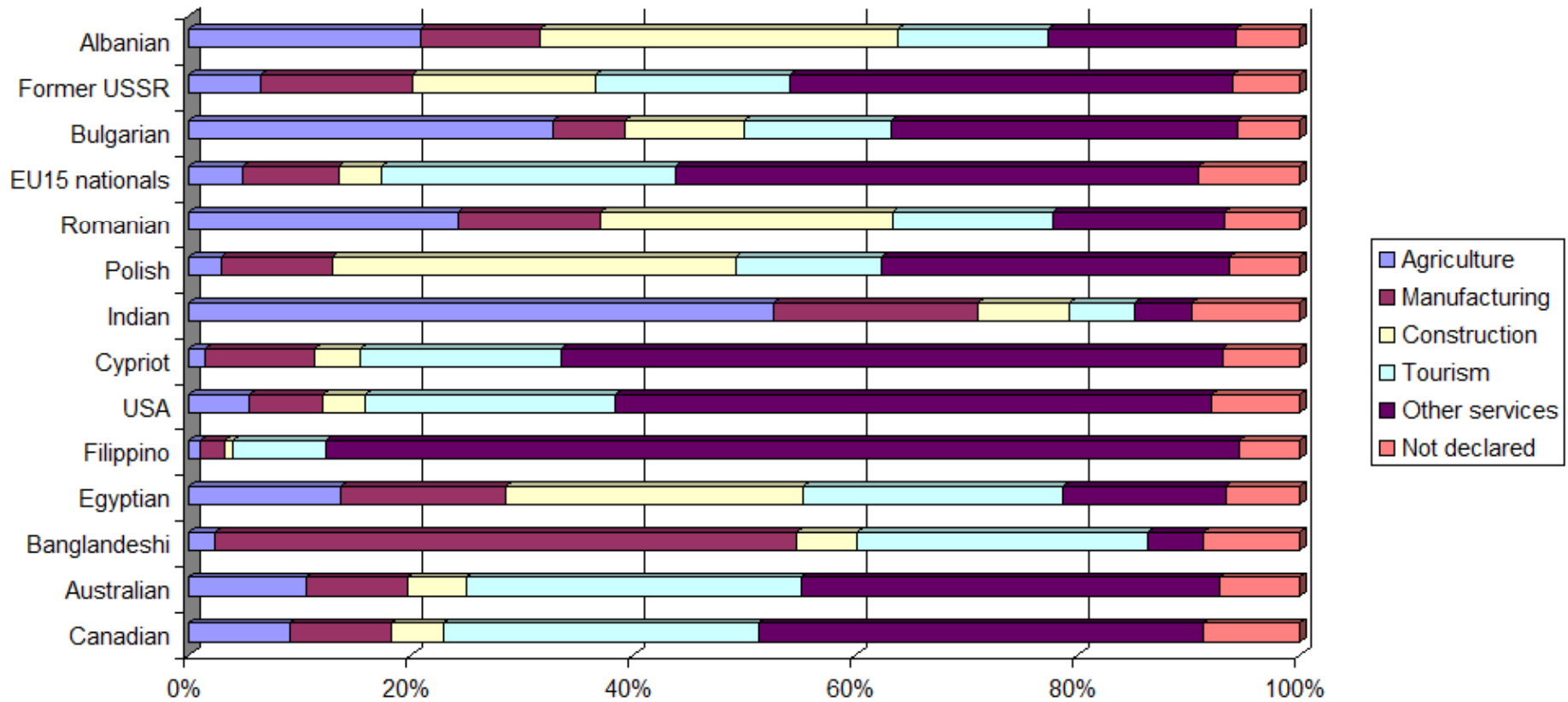
Figure 1. Foreign population by nationality (2001)



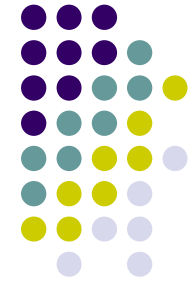
The main characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in rural Greece



Figure 2. Employed immigrants by nationality and economic sector

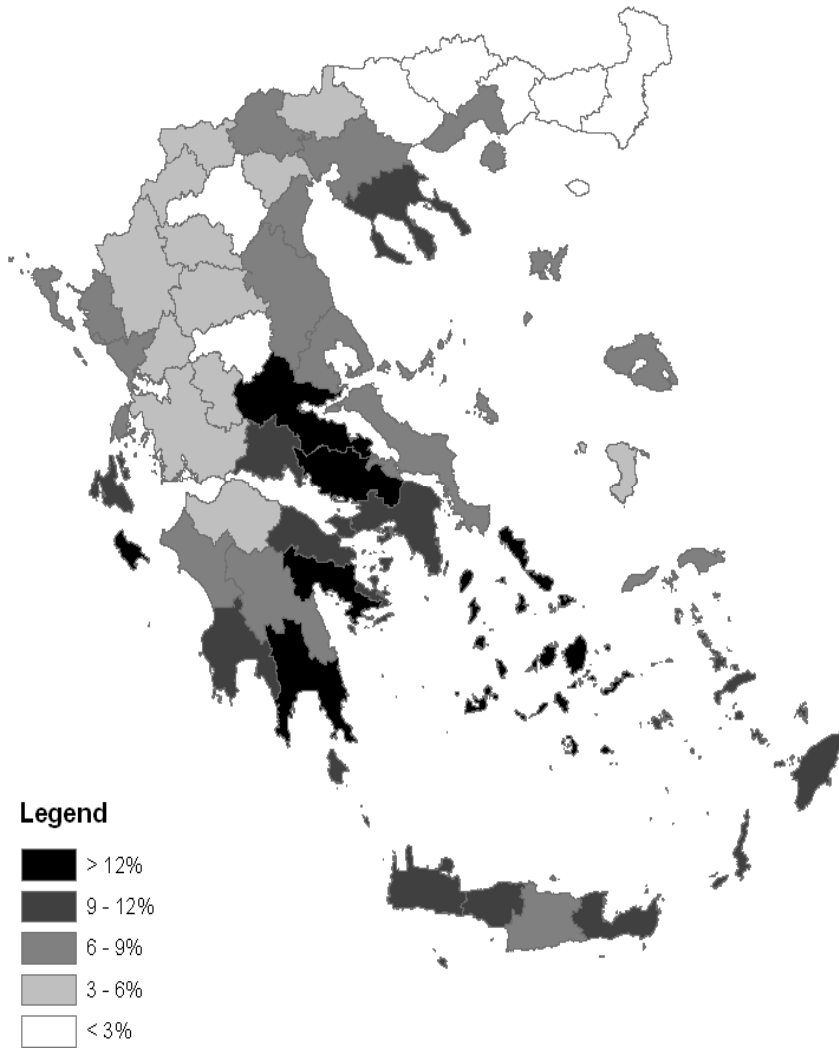


The main characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in rural Greece

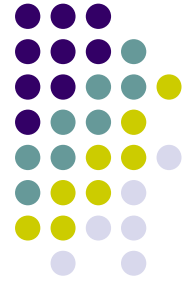


- **The data from the 2001 Census reveal that migrants are over 7 per cent of the national population (762,191 foreigners)**
- **Recent estimates give over 1.2 millions and more than 10 per cent of the population. Albanians remain the dominant migrant group at about 65 per cent of the total migrant population**
- **In the 1990 to 2001 period of mass migration to Greece, migrants arrived in two waves. The first was that of the early 1990s, in which Albanians dominated. The second arrived after 1995 and involved much greater participation of migrants from other Balkan states, the former Soviet Union, Pakistan, and India**
- **The majority of Albanians arrived in the first wave; however, the collapse of enormous "pyramid schemes" in Albania's banking sector in 1996 also spurred significant migration**
- **In the post-2001 period there is a third wave which consists mainly of Asians, Africans, but new flows from Bulgaria, Romania and other Eastern European countries should not be underestimated**

Map 1. Share of Immigrants in the Labour Force

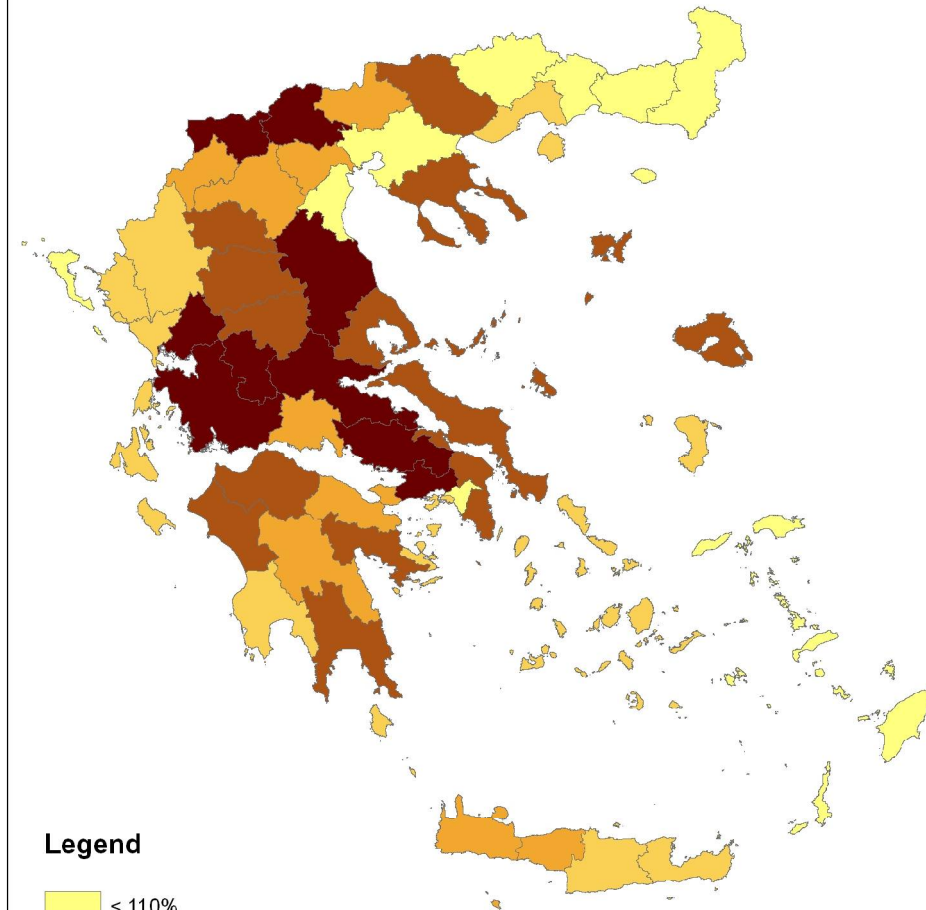


Data Source: Population Census 2001

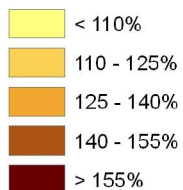


- **The highest concentration of migrants is in the Attica region (50 per cent) followed by Central Macedonia (14 per cent) and Peloponnese, Crete, Central Greece, Western Greece (5 per cent). All other regions have percentages below 5 per cent.**
- **The prefectures with the highest percentages (exceeding 10 per cent) are those with important touristic development (Zakynthos, Cyclades, Cephallonia, Dodecanese, Lasithi) or those with significant agricultural development (Boeotia, Corinthia, Argolis).**
- **Zakynthos shows a percentage of 13.54 per cent, which is the highest in the country.**

Map 2. Women to Men Ratio
in Migrant Population

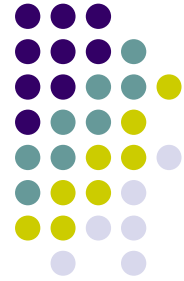
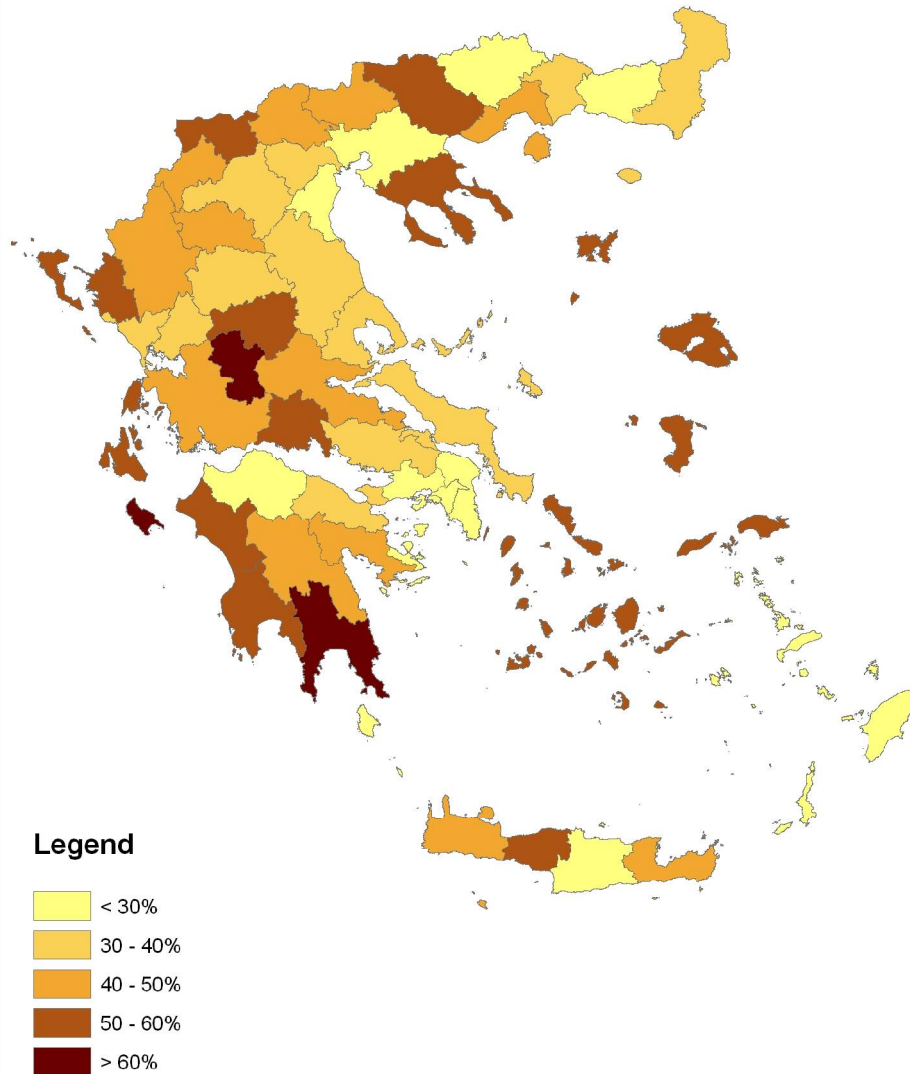


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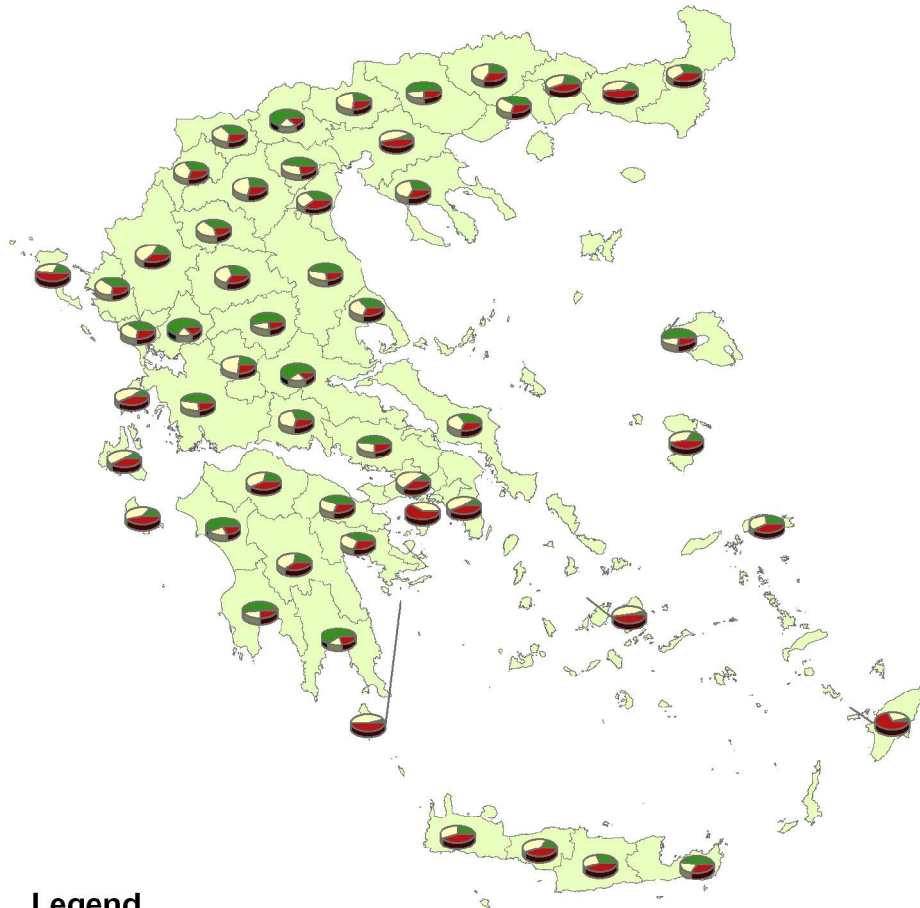
- **The female population is mostly urban placed. Athens gathers 50 per cent of the female population, when the corresponding proportion of male is 35 per cent. High is the female population in regions of high tourist and services development such as the island of Crete, the Dodecanese and Cyclades.**
- **The male migrant population is higher in the agricultural regions of the country like Larissa, Fthiotis, Boeotia, Pella and Imathia.**
- **Finding work is easier for women in regions with developed tourism and services whereas for men it is easier in regions with important presence of the agricultural and construction sectors.**

Map 3. Share of Immigrants Living
in Rural Areas






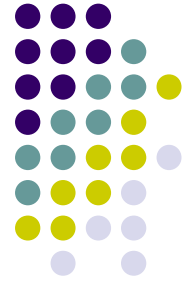
- **An important remark is that migrant population is mostly an urbanized population**
- **The share of migrants in the rural population is very significant in mountainous, remote and island areas, and more particularly in Evritania, Lakonia, Rethimno, Zakynthos, Chalkidiki, Cyclades, Corfu, Kefallonia etc.**
- **Anyhow, migrants are more “visible” in rural areas due to their limited population size when compared to urban areas.**

Map 4. Distribution of Immigrants
by Sector of Employment



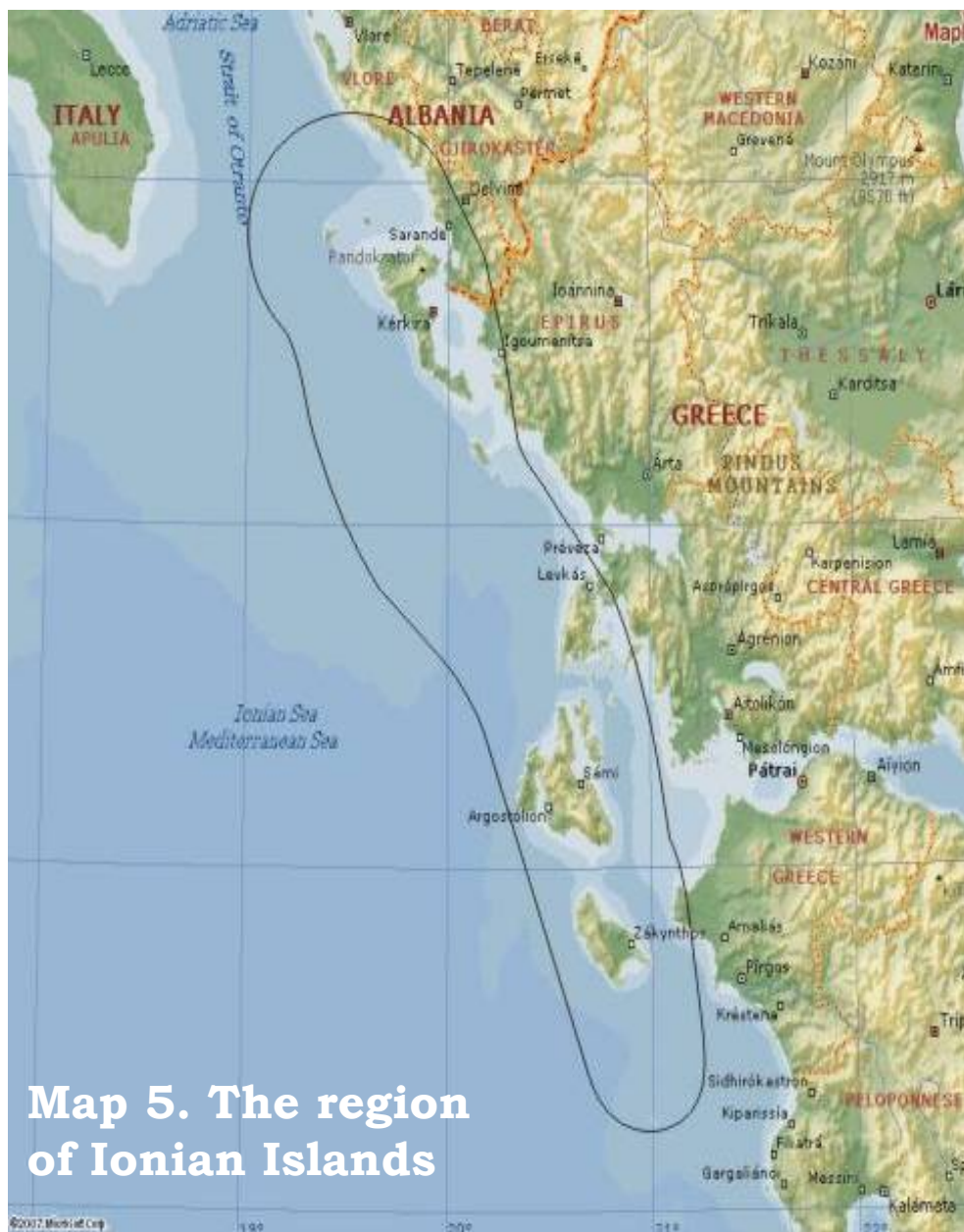
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-  1st Sector
-  2nd Sector
-  3rd Sector



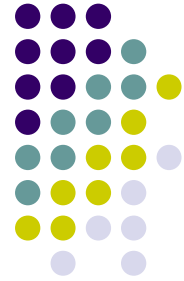
- **Migrants' presence in the different sectors depends on the sectoral mix of each area. At regional level, migrant employment in the agricultural and in the service sector has been important. Moreover, their employment in the construction sector is a special feature of regional labour markets where there is a dynamic service or agricultural sector.**
- **In the majority of the rural/regional labour markets migrants undertake the less skilled jobs, whereas in the more developed labour markets migrants have more chances to undertake semi-skilled or skilled tasks. In the remote labour markets, migrants take any job available, but most of those jobs are unskilled.**

The Region of Ionian Islands



- **The Region of Ionian Islands consists of 32 islands from which only 14 are inhabited**
- **It contains four prefectures:**
 - **Kerkyra (Corfu)**
 - **Lefkada**
 - **Cephallonia**
 - **Zakynthos (Zante)**
- **Population: 212,984 inhabitants**
- **Total area: 2,318 km²**
- **Types of area:**
 - 7% mountainous**
 - 17% hilly and**
 - 77% plains**

The Region of Ionian Islands



- **The Region is at the 10th position among the Regions of Greece (10,573 euro, i.e. 89% of the national average 2003 data) and produces 1.82% of the country's GDP**
- **The average annual rate of development between 2000 and 2003 was 5.6% (total of the country: 4.6% annually)**

Product per capita { **74.6% of the EU25 average**
89% in a country's level

The Region specializes in the service sector, which has a higher productivity level compared to the other productive sectors:

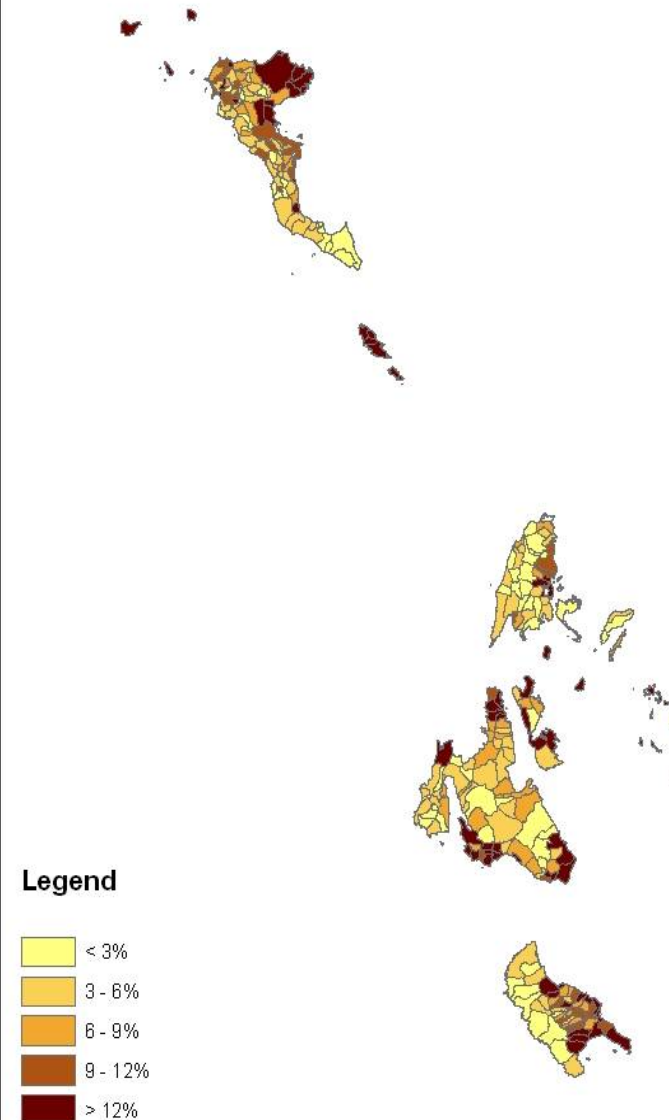
- **Kerkyra is first in the hotels and restaurants sector**
- **Lefkada is first in the education sector**
- **Kefalonia is first in the construction sector**
- **Zakynthos has a relatively large agriculture and fishery sectors**

The region is, also, considered as transit area for immigrants before they move to other parts of Greece and Italy

The Region of Ionian Islands

- **The percentage of immigrants within the total population exceeds that of immigrants in the total of country**
- **Immigrants tend to concentrate in the coastal zones of the Region and to the more economically developed areas (e.g. the northern part of Corfu, to the eastern part of Lefkada, to specific coastal areas of Cephallonia and to the eastern plain area of Zakynthos)**

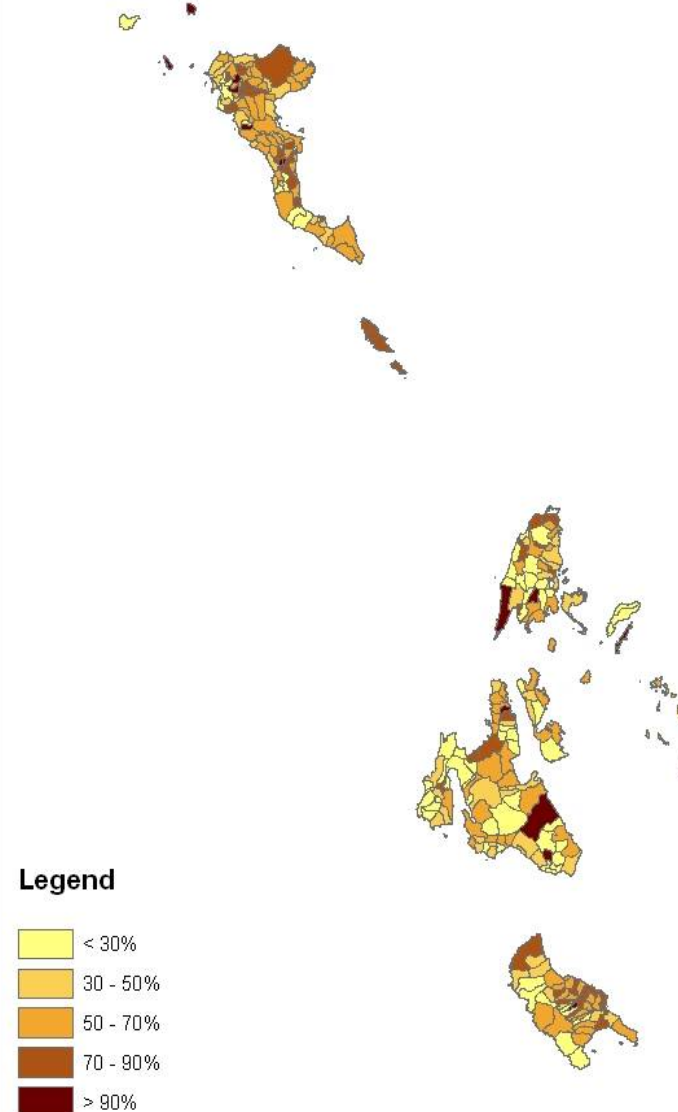
Map 6. Share of Foreigners, 2001



The Region of Ionian Islands

- **The Albanian nationality is the dominant one (69%), while there are small percentages of Bulgarians, Romanians and people from the former-socialist countries**
- **20% of foreigner population consists of return migrants who originate from the USA, Australia and Canada and from EU citizens (i.e. United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany) who have decided to live there after retirement**
- **In the immigrant population that originate from former Eastern countries the proportion of females is more significant, whereas the immigrants from Iraq, India, Pakistan or Egypt are mostly males**

Map 7. Share of Albanians to the Total of Foreigners, 2001



Empirical Research Findings: Methodology



- **The empirical research was financed by the INTERREG IIIB ARCHIMED 2000-2006 Community Initiative. The project is titled: “Human Resources and Development Planning on both sides of Ionian Sea” (HuReDePIS) (June 2006 – February 2008)**
- **The empirical research was carried out in two paradigmatic regions:**
- **A region with dynamic and intensive agriculture in the Prefecture of Elia, where dynamic and intensive agriculture is, eminently, developing over the past few years involving exclusively migrants as wage labourers (the Municipality of Vouprassia)**
- **A region with a complementary-mixed economy involving agriculture, tourism and construction in the Prefecture of Zakynthos (Municipality of Arkadion). The large share of migrants in this Prefecture makes the study of migrant flows and complementarity of labour markets particularly interesting**

Empirical Research Findings: Methodology

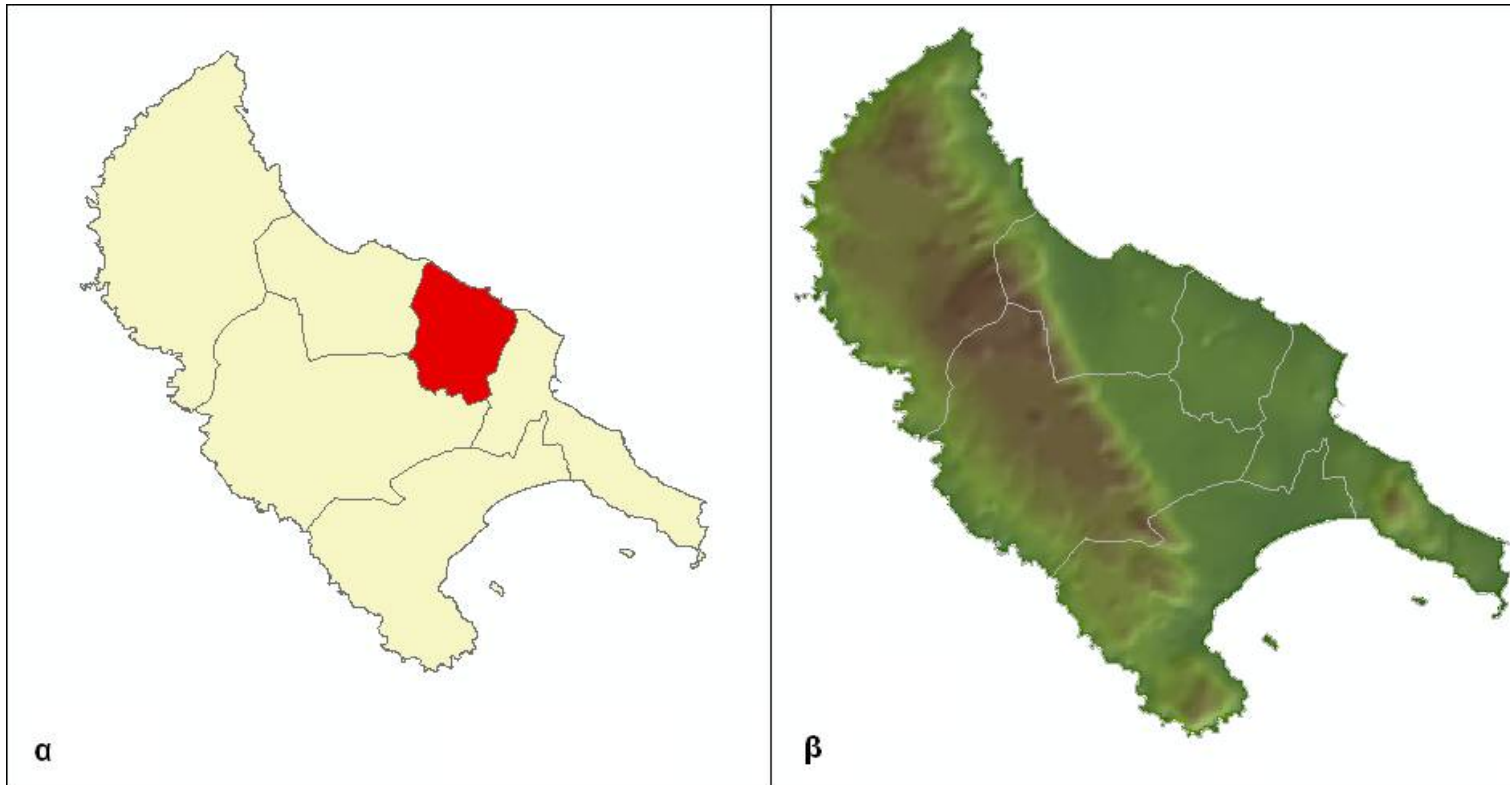


- **The research team applied the quantitative method for the study of migrants through the use of a questionnaire. The questionnaire was tested through a pilot study before the final implementation.**
- **The empirical material presented was collected in October 2007 (Prefecture of Elia, Municipality of Vouprassia) and in January 2008 (Prefecture of Zakynthos, Municipality of Arkadion).**
- **103 questionnaires were addressed to migrants in Vouprassia and 102 in Arkadion with the method of ‘snow-balling’.**
- **The sample was drawn by the information provided by the data base of migrants’ work permits, and was stratified by nationality. A small deviation from the sample was gender related because of the difficulty to approach women immigrants.**
- **Additional to the quantitative survey, a number of 18 semi-structured interviews were conducted with opinion makers and local employers. Here, we will deal only with the second study region, which is an insular area.**

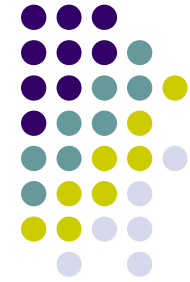
Empirical Research Findings



The study area of Arkadion (Prefecture of Zakynthos)



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

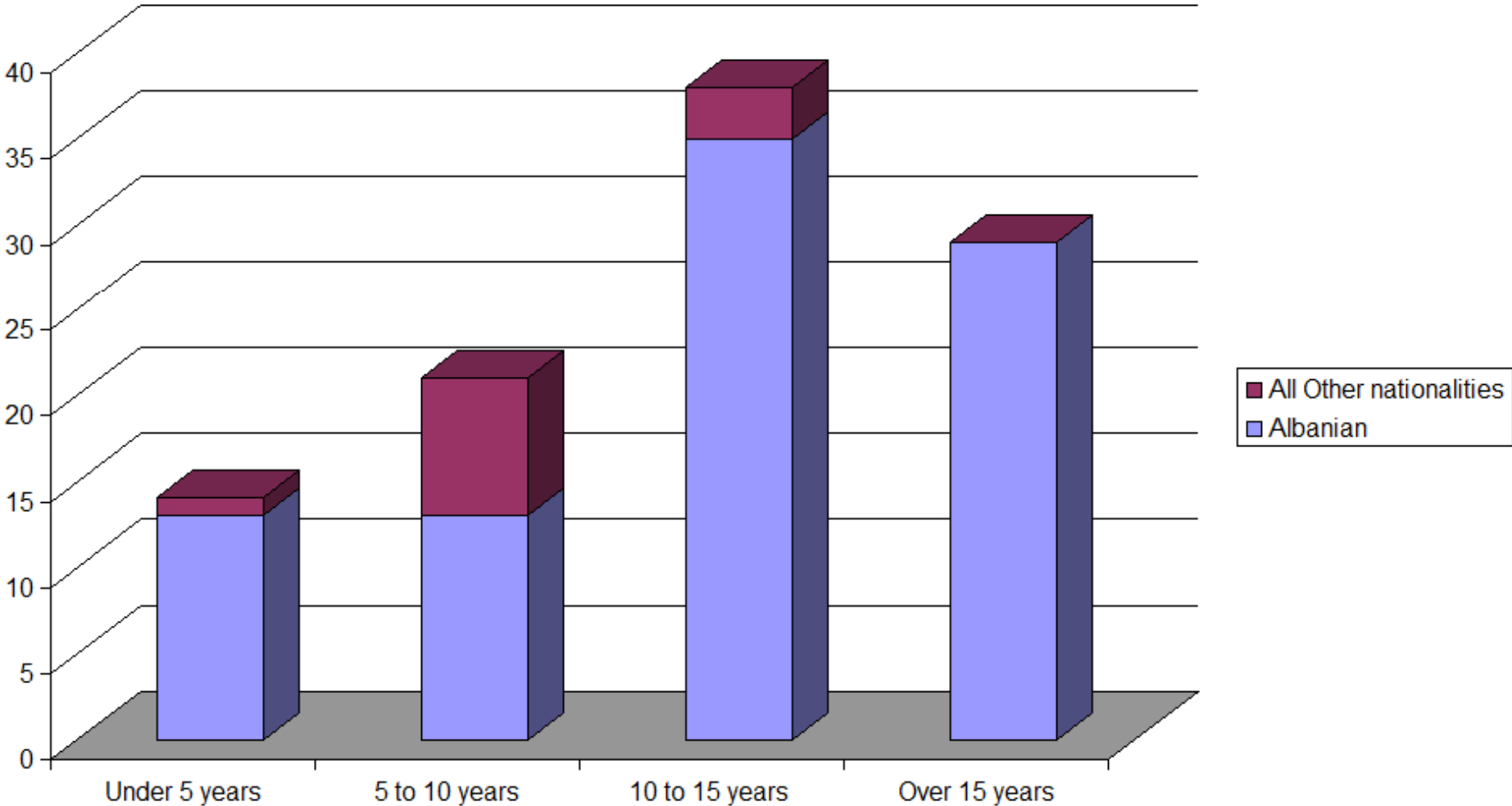


- **Nearly 12 per cent in the sample are women and 88 per cent men**
- **Almost 88 per cent of the migrants are of Albanian nationality followed by Bulgarian of a small percentage around 4 per cent.**
- **Nearly two thirds of migrants have lived in the country for more than 10 years. Newcomers are of a limited size (13.7 per cent have less than 5 years in the region) indicating that migrants in Arkadion show a stability and there are elements of integration**
- **Albanians have an average of 11 years of stay in Greece compared to just over 7 for other nationalities.**
- **The time of arrival is related to the status of legality of the different nationalities. Albanians, as early comers, have a better record of both family reunification and legalisation.**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 3. Duration of stay in Greece by nationality



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

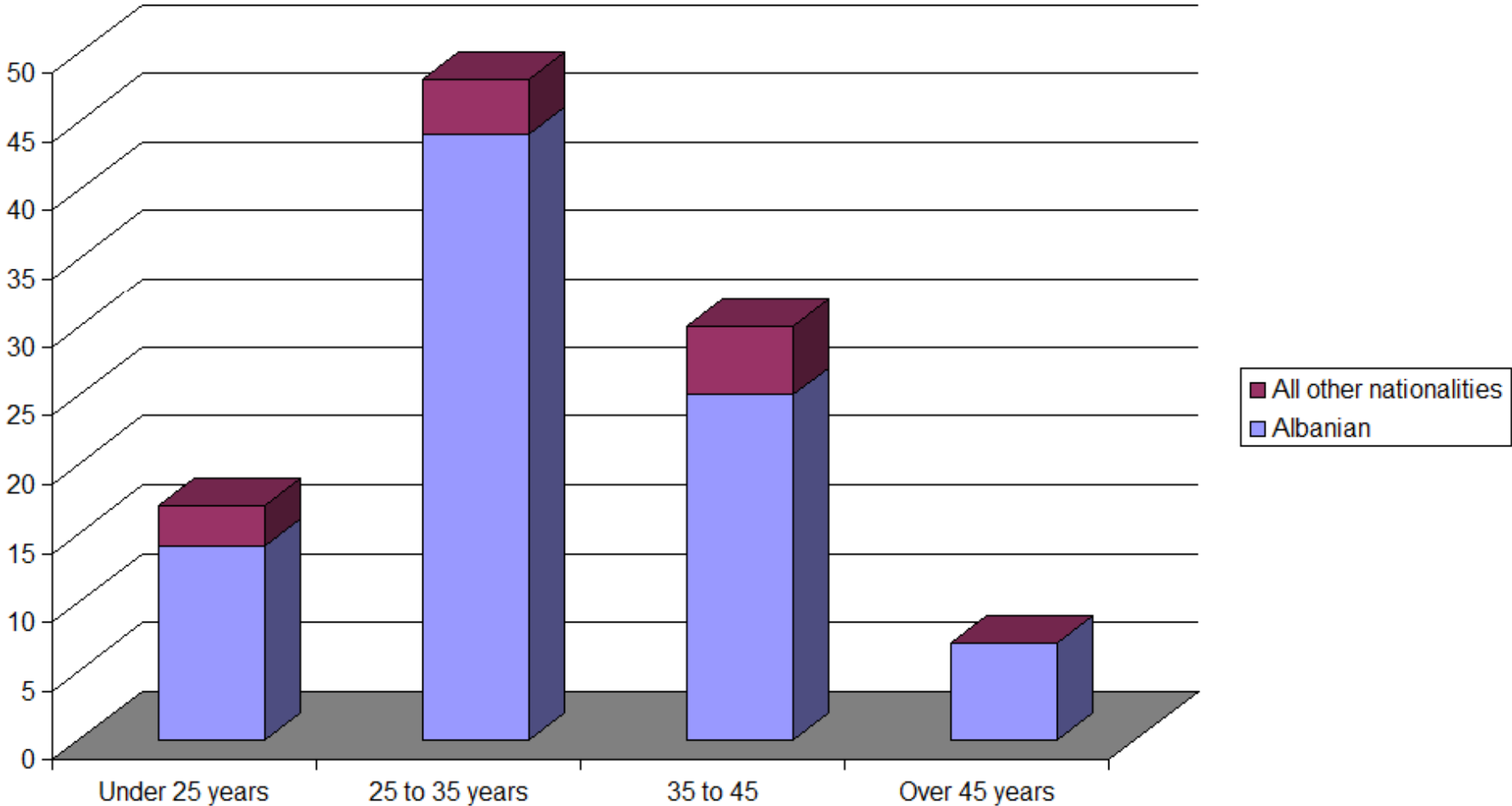


- **Migrants are mostly married with children in the region**
- **More specifically, 76.5 per cent of the total is married. A large majority of married couples (86 per cent) have children**
- **The Albanian family has an average size of 3.29 members, while 8 out of 10 reside in Greece**
- **For other nationalities the average size of family is 2.62 members and 6 out of 10 have their families in Greece**
- **As for the age composition of the migrant population of interest is the fact that nearly 64 per cent of the sample is under the age of 35 years and 36 per cent over 35 years.**
- **This confirms the well known fact that migrants are a very young population and their contribution to the demographic regeneration of the receiving countries and regions is very crucial.**
- **Albanians seem to be younger than the other nationalities**

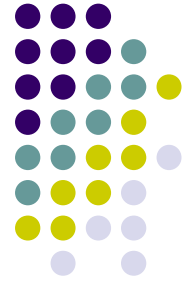
Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 4. Age composition of the migrant population



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

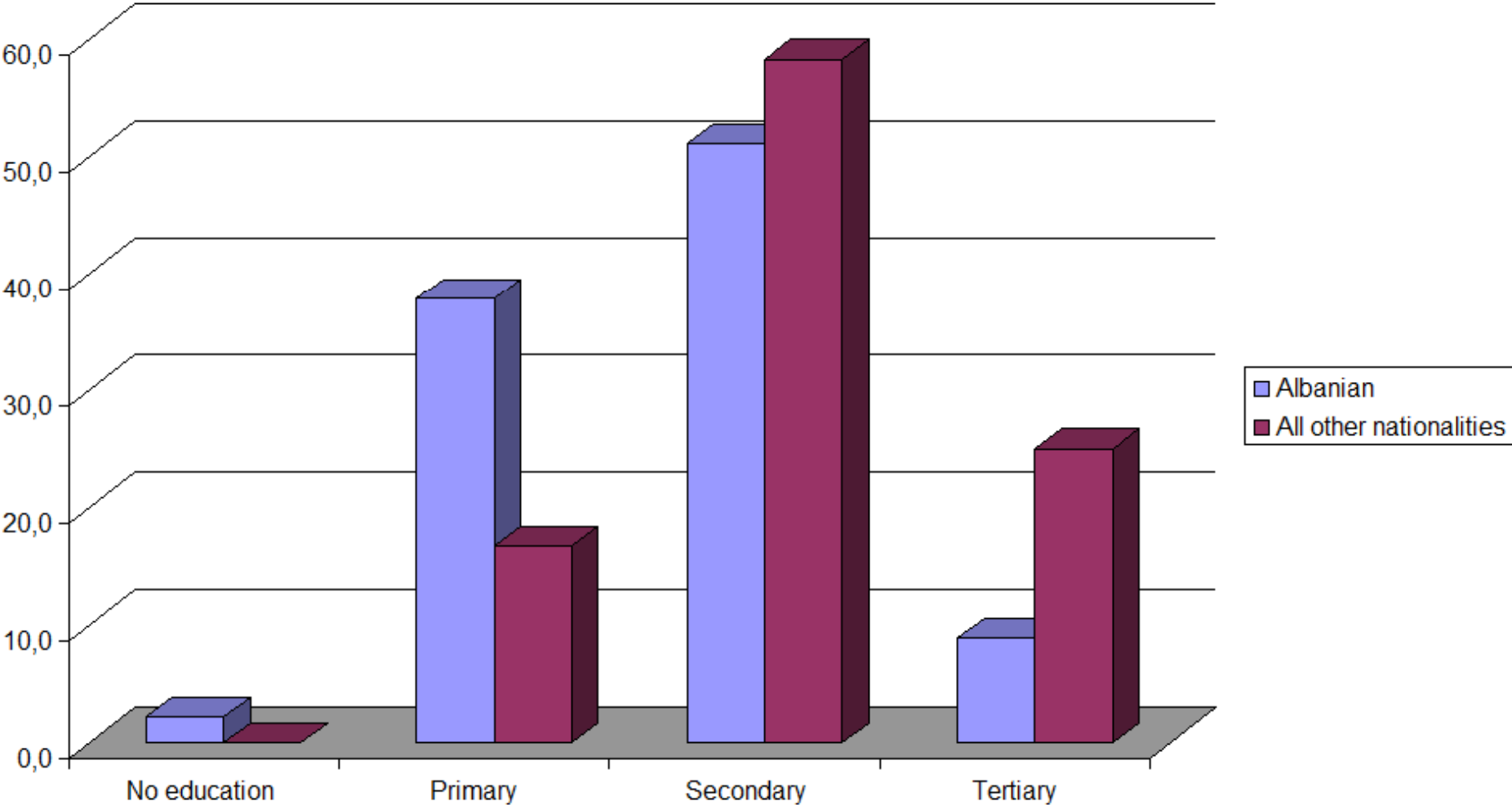


- **Migrants have a fairly satisfactory education level. Only 2 per cent of them are illiterate and nearly 2/3 has secondary and tertiary education**
- **The percentage of migrants with primary education is lower (35.3 per cent) than that of the local population (40.14 per cent); the percentage for secondary education is the same (52 per cent) for both populations**
- **Just over 50 per cent of the migrants speak “good” or “very good” Greek and just less than 20 per cent speak “little” or “no Greek at all”**
- **However, the percentage of those who can read “good” or “very good” Greek is just over 25 per cent and of those who can read “little” or “no Greek at all” is around 50 per cent**
- **Only 10 per cent claims to write “good” or “very good” Greek and nearly 74 per cent “little” or “no Greek at all”.**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 5. Level of education



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

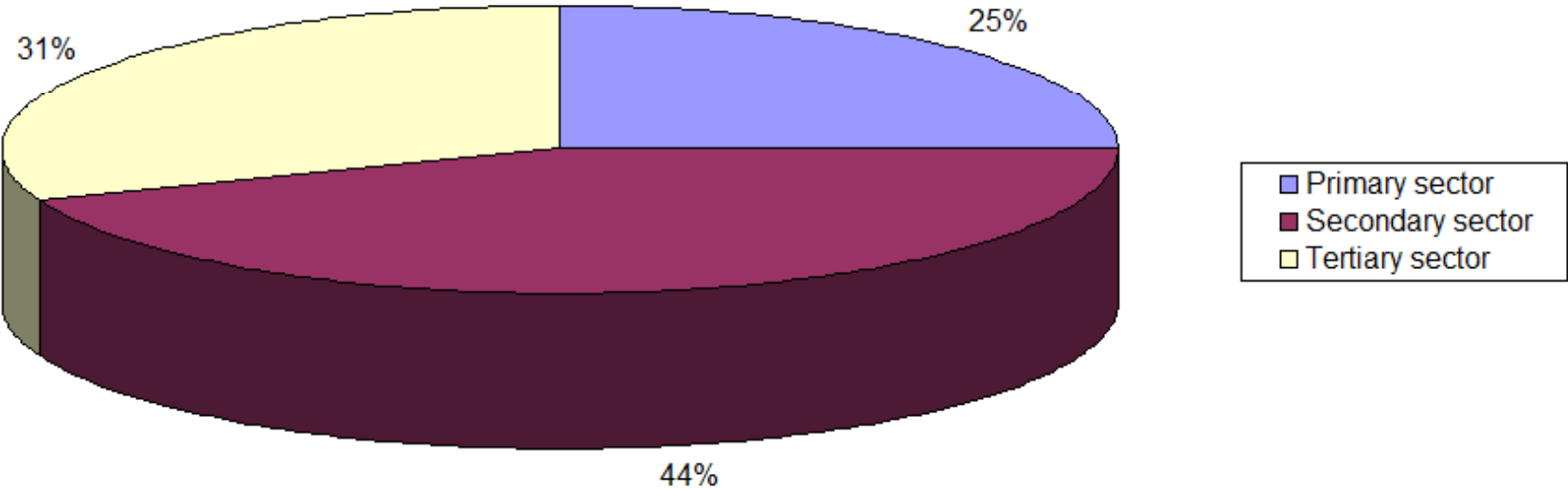


- **The condition of employment of migrants back in their country of origin, before their arrival in Greece, was almost equally divided between active and non active population. More specifically, 48 per cent were employed, 9 per cent unemployed and the rest 43 per cent were non active (mostly as pupils or students).**
- **Albanian migrants were the only migrants engaged in the primary sector in their country of origin**
- **When asked about the reasons of their emigration they widely declared the economic (82.4 per cent). Albanians, in particular, showed even higher percentages in that compared to other nationalities**
- **For 86.3 per cent of the respondents Greece was the country of destination when the decision to emigrate was taken. For those who had decided to go to another country, Italy was the most popular option**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



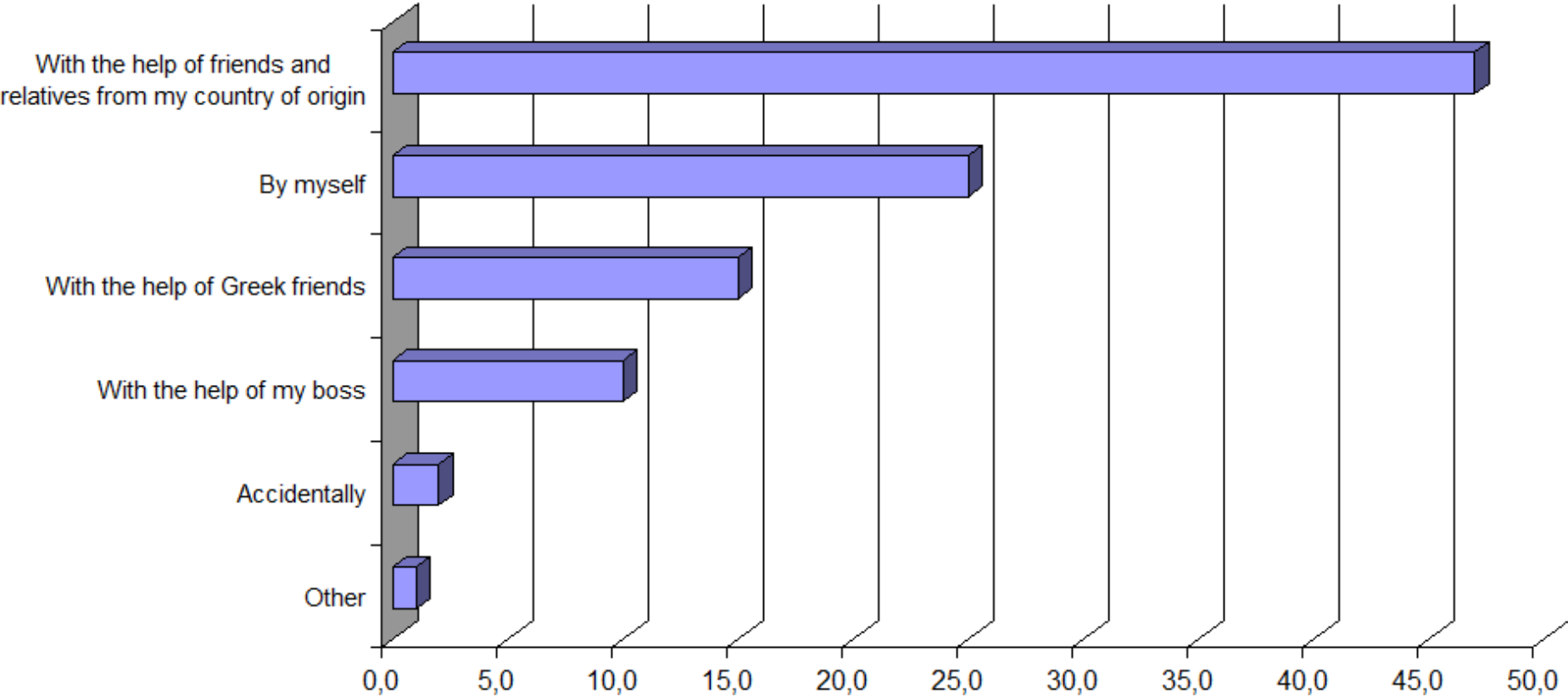
Figure 6. Employment sector in the country of origin



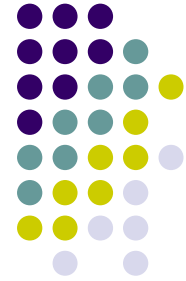
Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 6a. Means of finding present job



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



- **Nearly 9 out of 10 migrants are wage workers and for those holding independent jobs the majority (8 out of 11) is contractor in the construction industry and concerns exclusively Albanians, whereas the rest 3 migrants are Asian restaurant owners.**
- **The sectoral analysis of migrant employment shows that migrants are almost equally divided between construction (42.6 per cent) and services/tourism (43.6 per cent), while agriculture is limited to 13.9 per cent**
- **What is of interest is the fact that in Zakynthos there is high pluriactivity of migrants and a regular seasonal alternation of jobs between the different sectors that confirms their multifunctional role in the local economy**
- **A good percentage of migrants (41.6 per cent) hold a second job but Albanians dominate by far (95 per cent of second jobs are held by them)**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

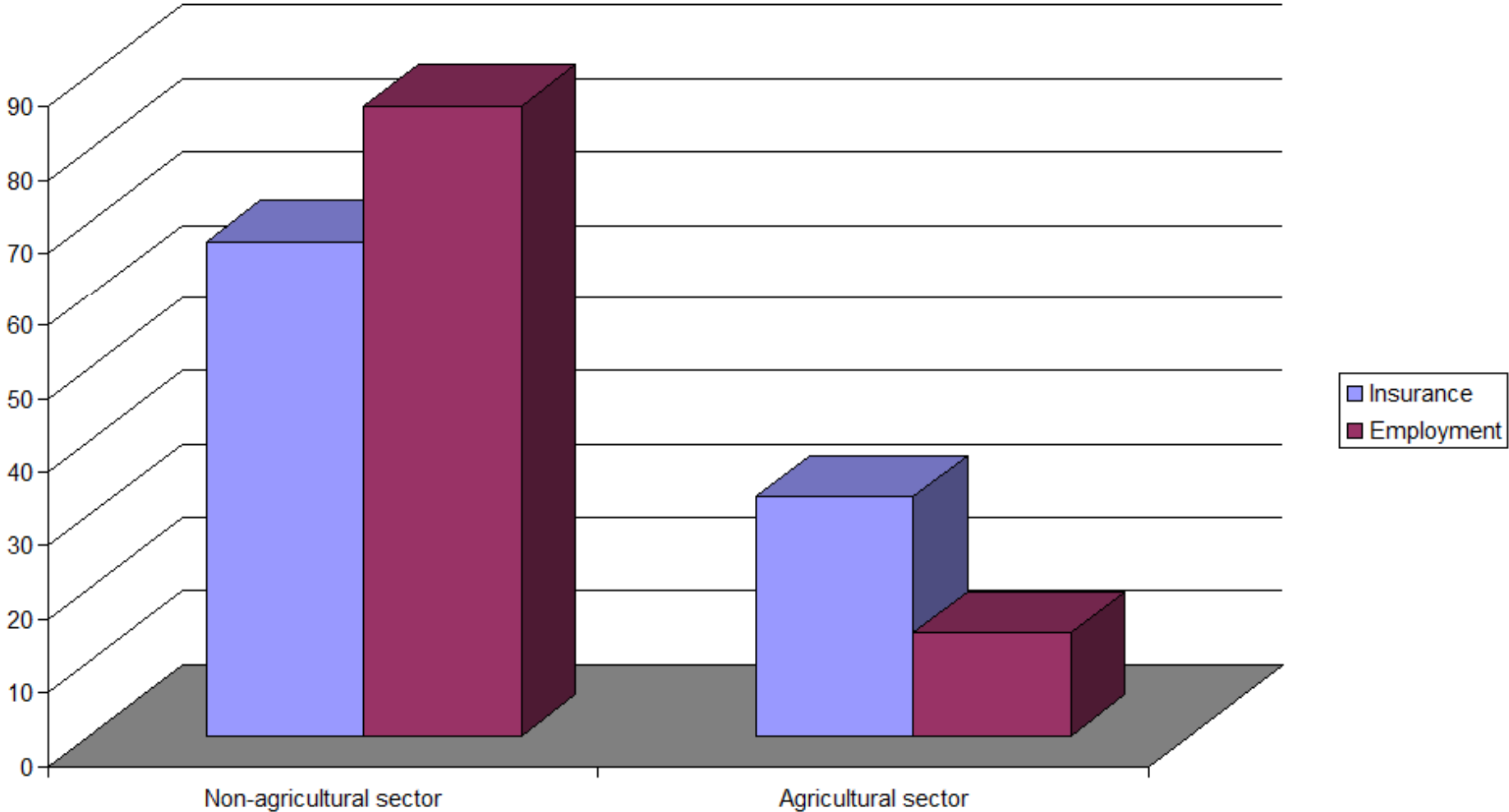


- **The majority of migrants in Zakynthos are insured (81.4 per cent). Of interest is the fact that 53 per cent of them were insured in IKA (Foundation of Social Insurance), 32.5 per cent in OGA (Organisation of Agricultural Insurance) and 14.4 per cent in other organisations.**
- **If we compare this picture with that of the sectoral employment of migrants we can see an overrepresentation of those insured in OGA (agriculture), against those insured in non-agriculture related organisations.**
- **This is due to the negation of some employers in construction and services to insure their employees and to the lower cost of agricultural self-insurance**
- **Moreover, this asymmetry may be justified by the multifunctionality of migrants' employment in the local economy as well as their significant multiple job holding**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Chart 7. Social insurance and employment assymetry



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

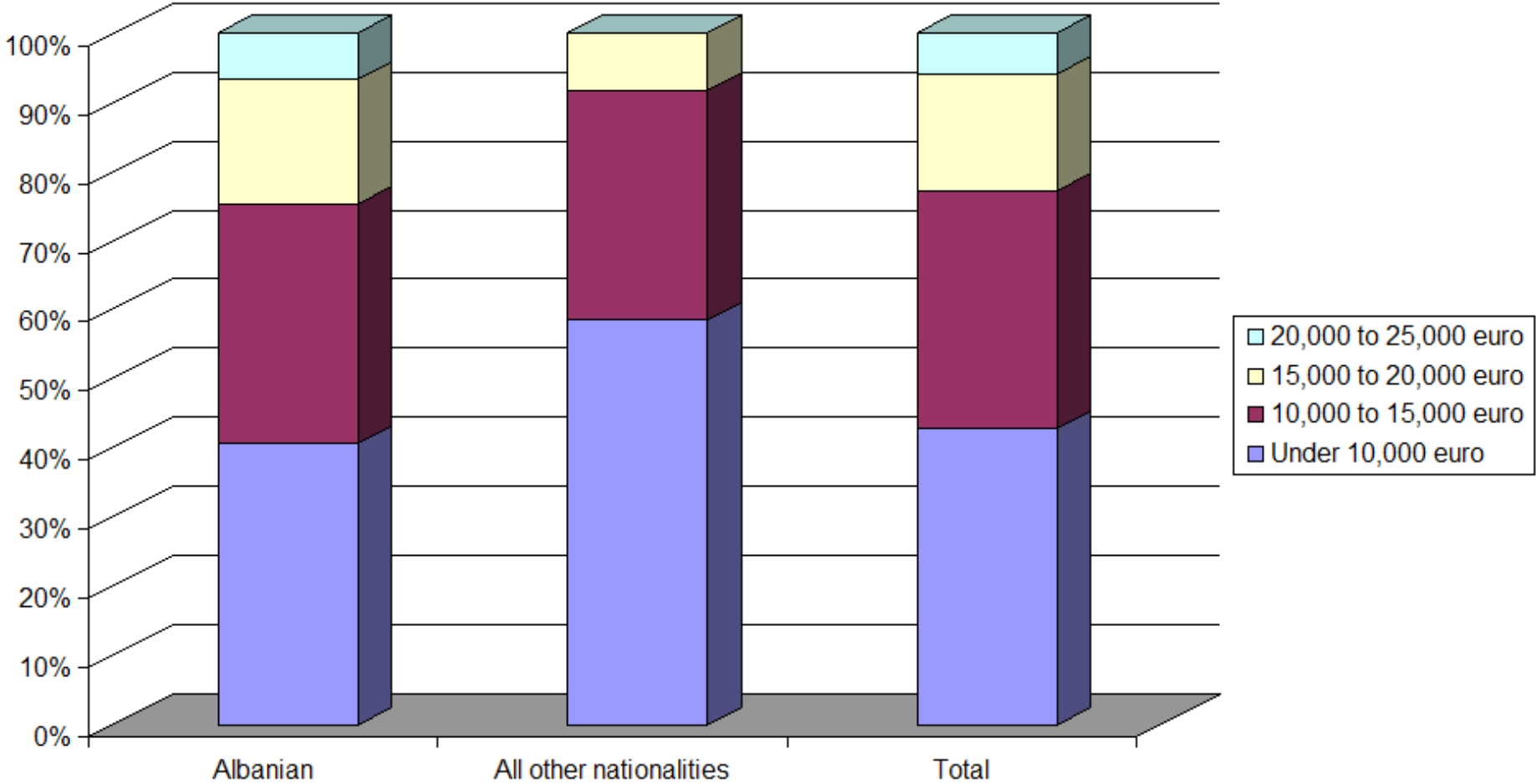


- **Albanians have higher annual average income from the main job (9,672.76 against 8,303.33 for other nationalities) and again higher total annual income (11,498.10 against 8,632.50 for other nationalities) explained largely by the second jobs that a good number of them hold**
- **This becomes clearer when we look at the income classes of the migrant population. Nearly 6 out of 10 Albanians are in the classes over 10,000 euros when 6 out of 10 of other nationalities are below 10,000**
- **Job satisfaction is expressed by an unexpectedly large number of migrants. It seems that the availability of jobs explains most of that satisfaction. 70 per cent of those questioned declared that they were ‘very’ or ‘enough satisfied’ with their job**
- **When they are asked whether they plan to change job in the near future, nearly 62 per cent reply negatively. This is due to the fact that for 7 out of 10 migrants their present job is considered better than the previous one because of better working conditions (45.8 per cent) and stability (25.4 per cent)**

Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



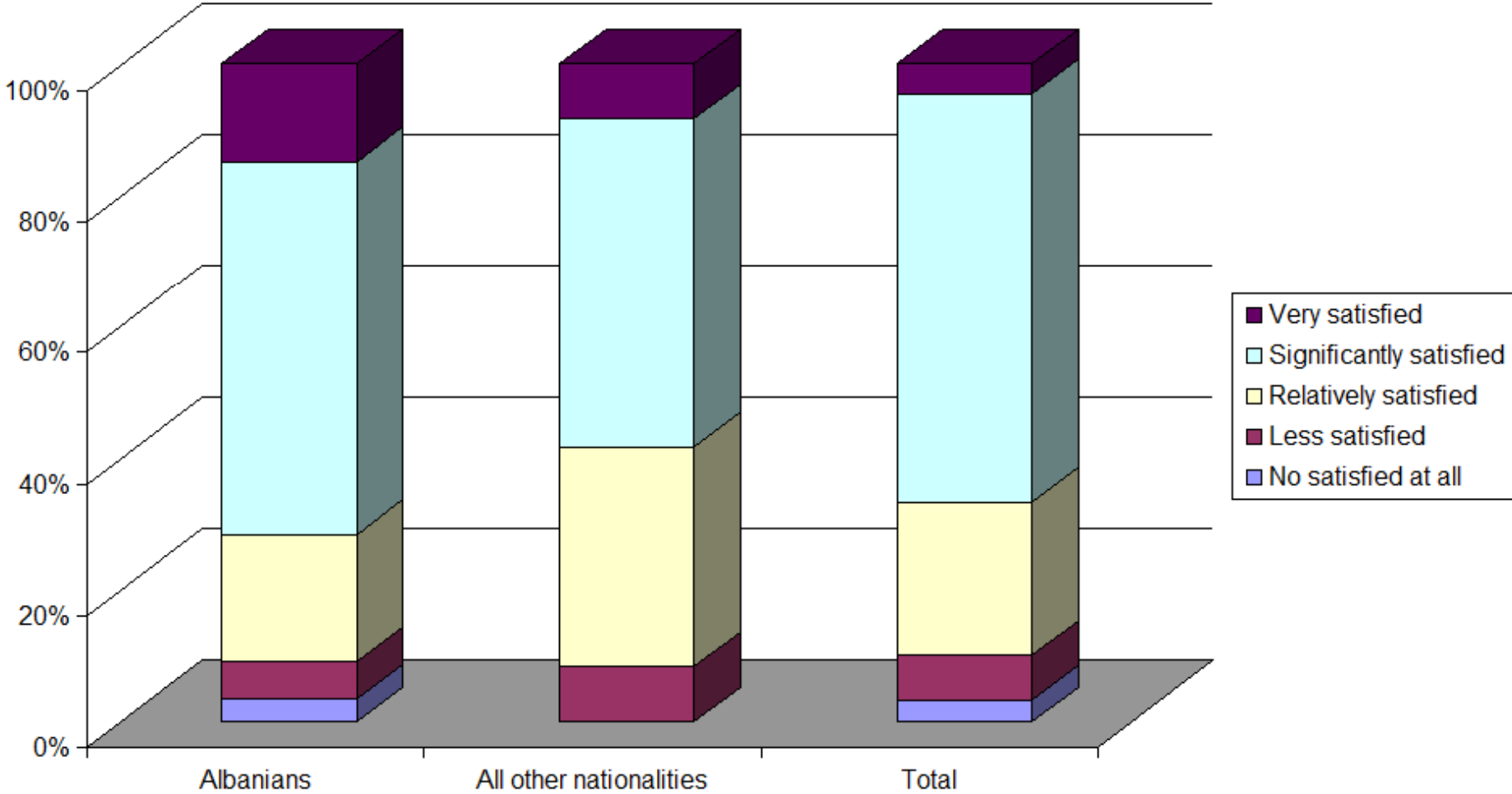
Figure 8. Distribution of annual individual incomes by nationality



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



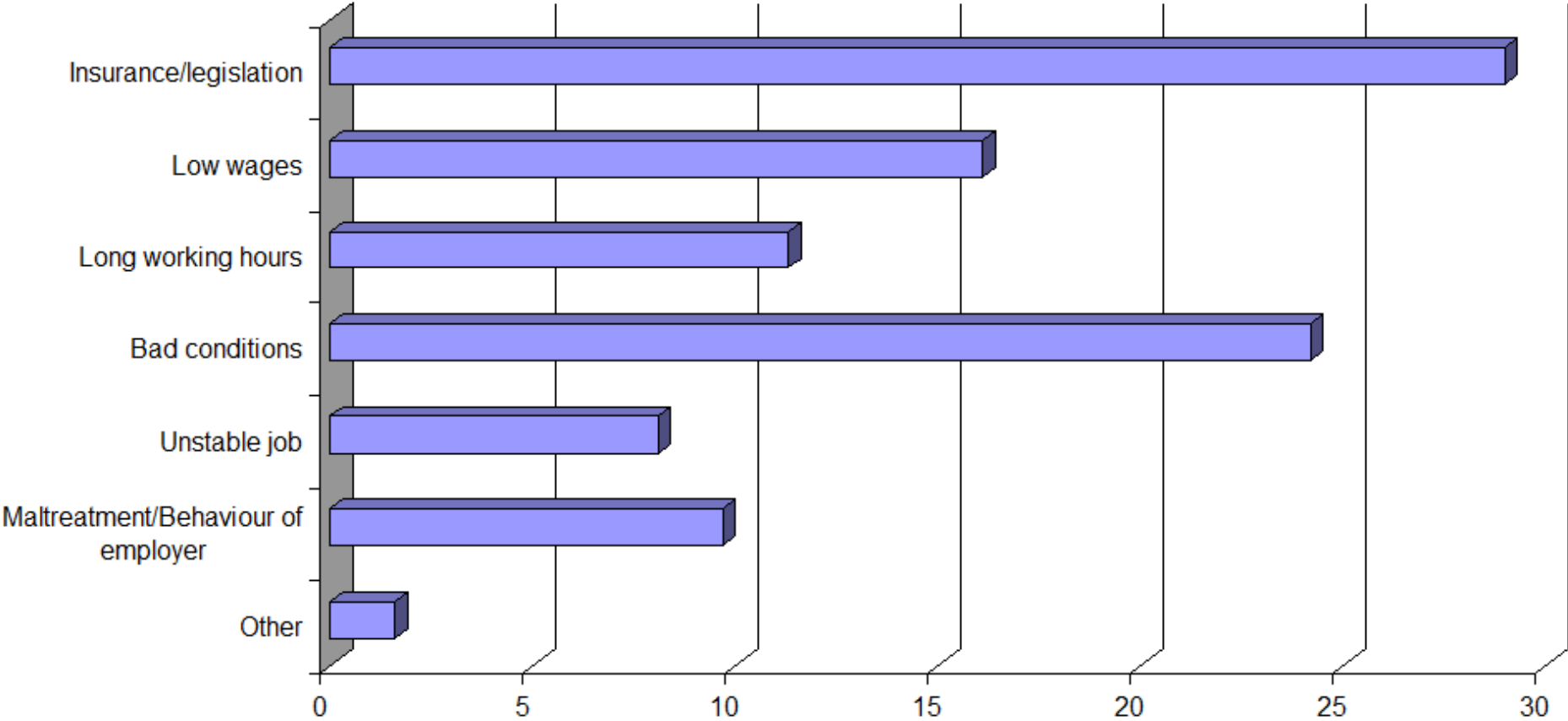
Figure 9. Satisfaction from current employment by nationality



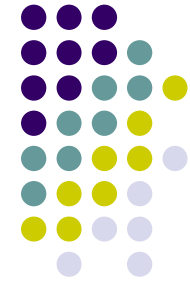
Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 10. Most important problem with work



Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos

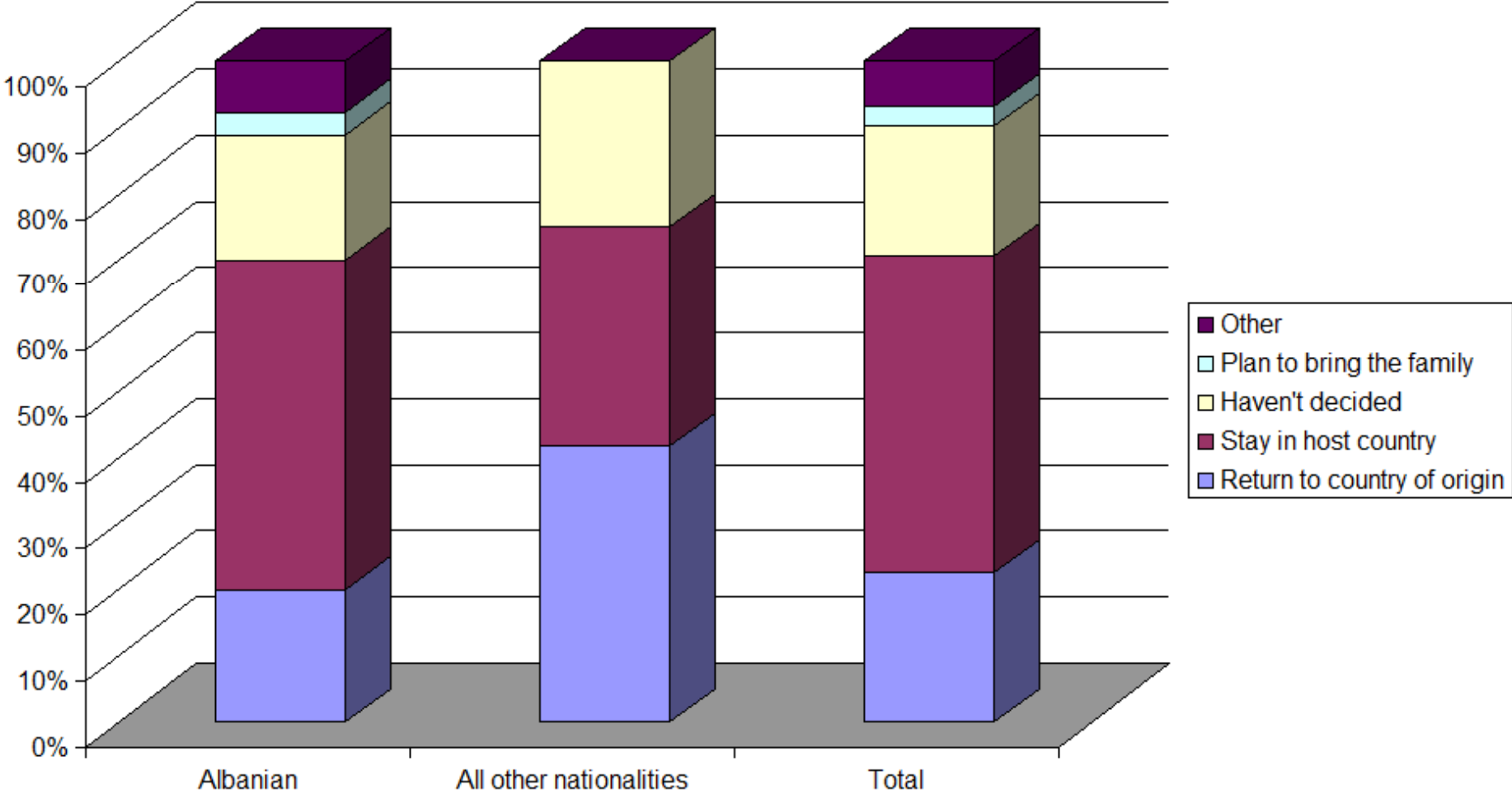


- **It is interesting to note that only 22.5 per cent of them plan to return home.**
- **Nearly half plan to stay in Greece (48 per cent plus 2.9 per cent), while one fifth (19.6 per cent) have not decided yet because of their children.**
- **An elaboration on that shows that migrants set priorities to ‘build a house’ (30.4 per cent), to ‘collect money’ (24.5 per cent) and to get an independent job and become ‘self-employed’ (22.5 per cent).**
- **When asked to say what their future plans depend upon, they place most emphasis upon their work (64.6 per cent) and secondarily upon their children (16.2 per cent) and regularization (12.1 per cent).**

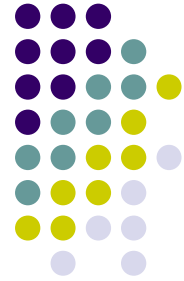
Empirical Research Findings in Zakynthos



Figure 11. Future plans of migrants

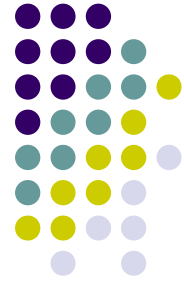


Conclusions



- **The picture of migration in rural Greece is highly diverse due to the continuous migration flows**
- **Immigrants covered different “holes” in the region’s labour market and increased the dynamic of the local economy**
- **There are signs of increased mobility of immigrants which has a further impact on the local labour markets**
- **Their presence has increased the “attractiveness” of the region and improved the living conditions**
- **Their adaptive capacity - especially that of Albanians - has been important and has increased the diversity of rural areas**
- **Those migrant nationalities which came early in rural labour markets have better chances to be economically and socially integrated in local host societies**

Conclusions



- **Albanians due to their long residence, their family organisation and their will to integrate show a comparatively better integration record and they seem to be trusted more than other immigrants**
- **As a result of their relatively better occupational and social position Albanians tend to obtain higher income**
- **The majority of migrants prefer to get more specialized and better paid jobs and they are directed towards outside the agricultural sector**
- **As for the future, Albanians show a higher inclination to stay in the local host societies, while other immigrant nationalities seem to adopt a more predictable behaviour (i.e. they aim to return to their country of origin)**
- **Last by not least, Zakynthos seems to be an attractive destination for migrants, who seem to have integrated more than in mainland areas due to the fact that they are part and parcel of the area's development**



Thanks for your attention!!