

JRC SCIENCE FOR POLICY REPORT



EUR 29779 EN

MIGRATION IN EU RURAL AREAS

This publication is a Science for Policy report by the Joint Research Centre (JRC), the European Commission's science and knowledge service. It aims to provide evidence-based scientific support to the European policymaking process. The scientific output expressed does not imply a policy position of the European Commission. Neither the European Commission nor any person acting on behalf of the Commission is responsible for the use that might be made of this publication.

Contact information: fabrizio.natale@ec.europa.eu

JRC Science Hub

<https://ec.europa.eu/jrc>

JRC116919

EUR 29779 EN

PDF ISBN 978-92-76-08600-0 ISSN 1831-9424 doi:10.2760/544298

Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019

© European Union, 2019

Reuse is authorised provided the source is acknowledged. The reuse policy of European Commission documents is regulated by Decision 2011/833/EU (OJ L 330, 14.12.2011, p. 39).

For any use or reproduction of photos or other material that is not under the EU copyright, permission must be sought directly from the copyright holders.

How to cite this report: Natale, F., Kalantaryan, S., Scipioni, M., Alessandrini, A. and Pasa, A., Migration in EU Rural Areas, EUR 29779 EN, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2019, ISBN 978-92-76-08600-0 (online), doi:10.2760/544298 (online), JRC116919.

Image credit: © European Union 2019 except cover NASA/GSFC/METI/ERSDAC/JAROS, and U.S./Japan ASTER Science Team.

The figure in the cover page represents an area with a high presence of green houses in Almeria, Spain. This type of agriculture is heavily relying on work by migrants.

Title Migration in EU Rural Areas

Abstract

This report provides a quantitative overview of migration in rural areas for the entire EU. It includes a description of socio-demographic characteristics and main indicators of integration of migrants living in rural areas and employed in EU agriculture. More geographically detailed analyses for Spain and Italy explore patterns of concentration of migrants in specific Local Administrative Units in relation to local characteristics of agriculture. Finally, the report describes how the salience of and attitudes towards immigration differ when considering respondents living in cities, medium and small size towns, and rural areas. Overall, the report contributes to raising awareness of the poorly studied phenomenon of migration in rural areas. Migrants living in rural areas and working in agriculture, despite representing a relatively small group if compared to migrants in cities, have a fundamental role in sustaining certain types of agricultural production in constant demand of temporary work. At the same time, they tend to fare worse for most indicators of integration not only in respect of natives but also in respect of migrants living in cities and towns. Given these characteristics, migrants in rural areas would deserve special attention when designing integration policies.

Table of Contents

Executive summary	4
Introduction	7
Chapter 1 Migrants living in rural areas.....	11
Chapter 2 Migrants working in agriculture	26
Chapter 3 Residential patterns of migration and characteristics of agriculture at the local level in Spain and Italy.....	39
Chapter 4 Salience and attitudes towards immigration and integration	46
Chapter 5 Integration of migrants in European rural areas: developing a policy response.....	54
References.....	59
List of figures.....	62
Acknowledgements.....	63

Executive summary

This report provides a quantitative overview of migration in rural areas for the entire EU. It contributes to raising awareness of the poorly studied phenomenon of migration to EU rural areas, which is often neglected in research and policies.

Migrants living in rural areas and working in agriculture, despite representing a relatively small group if compared to migrants in cities, can have a fundamental role in sustaining certain types of agricultural production in constant demand of temporary work. At the same time, they tend to fare worse on most indicators of integration not only in respect of natives but also in respect of migrants living in cities and towns.

Given these characteristics, migrants in rural areas, both EU mobile citizens and from Third Countries, would deserve special attention when designing integration policies. However, three main factors pose particular challenges in this respect:

- first, the temporary nature and often irregular nature of the work of migrants in agriculture makes it more difficult to quantify needs and target intervention;
- second, the territorial specificity would require local and regional rather than nation-wide intervention;
- third, local authorities may be less equipped to respond to a rapid onset of a large number of immigrants with dedicated integration services.

The first chapter of this report describes the **residential and territorial** aspects of migration in rural areas, providing an analysis of socio-demographic characteristics and living conditions of migrants from EU Member States and from Third Countries by degrees of urbanisation (cities, towns, and rural areas). The second chapter focuses on the **labour market** and compares migrants employed in agriculture with migrants employed in other sectors and with natives. The third chapter includes more **geographically detailed analyses** for Spain and Italy. These analyses show how local patterns of concentration of migrants in specific Local Administrative Units relate to the presence of labour-intensive agriculture with high demand for temporary work. The fourth chapter describes how the salience and **attitudes** towards immigration differ when considering respondents living in cities, medium and small size towns, and rural areas. Finally, the fifth chapter gives an overview of the main **EU policies** dealing with the integration of migrants in rural areas.

While providing, to our knowledge one of the first quantitative analysis at EU level of migration in rural areas, our study faces the important limitation of under-representing the real size of the phenomenon and the vulnerability of migrants employed in agriculture. This limitation stems from the difficulty to capture in official statistics at EU level the temporariness and often-irregular nature of employment conditions of migrants in agriculture. Cases of exploitation of migrants labour, in particular for Italy and Spain, are extensively described in the more country-specific migration literature and repeatedly emerging in the news.

More detailed findings of the report are the following.

Residential and territorial aspects

- In the EU, migrants (defined as foreign-born) represent 14.5% of the total population living in cities in contrast to 10.2% living in towns and 5.5% in rural areas. These aggregate figures indicate that migrants tend to be overrepresented in cities in respect of towns and rural areas. However, when unpacking the data by single Member State it is possible to observe strong differences in relation to the tendency of migrants to settle in rural rather than urban areas. Among the Member States with a large population of migrants, this tendency is particularly pronounced in the case of Italy and Spain.
- Among migrants from TC living in rural areas there is a higher share of less educated with respect to natives and to TC migrants and EU mobile citizens living in other areas. In addition, whilst for natives, TC migrants and EU mobile citizens in cities and towns there is an improvement of education levels at the aggregate level, this positive trend is not present in the case of TC migrants living in rural areas.
- When considering indicators of integration, TC migrants in rural areas register a higher share of the population in lower income deciles and at risk of poverty. Over time, the at-risk-of-poverty indicator is worsening in the case of EU mobile citizens in rural areas and in the case of TC migrants in all settlement types.
- Across the Member States, there is strong variation in the difference between the risks of poverty of migrants versus natives living in rural areas. This gap, both for EU and TC migrants is particularly large in Spain and Italy, which have the largest absolute populations of migrants living in rural areas.
- TC migrants in rural areas tend to be more disadvantaged in the labour market, as evidenced by higher unemployment rates compared to all other groups. At a single country level, the difference in unemployment rates between migrants and natives living in rural areas is generally lower for EU mobile citizens than for TC migrants. Large differences can be observed in particular for TC migrants in Spain, Greece France and Italy but also in Finland and Sweden.

Labour market

- The labour market analyses clearly indicate that the proportion of rural employment, which is filled by migrant workers, is gradually increasing over time. Between 2011 and 2017, for the whole EU there was an increase of from 4.3% to 6.5% in the share of migrants in total employment in the agricultural sector. This tendency is driven by Spain, Italy and Denmark where the share of migrants employed in agriculture is of several percentage points higher than the share of migrants employed in all other sectors.
- In respect of natives, migrants employed in agriculture are more likely to work in elementary occupations, be employees and to have temporary forms of recruitment.
- Although it is still early to evaluate the full quantitative scope of the Seasonal Workers Directive, the available data for 2017 shows that most of the seasonal workers' permits in Spain, Italy and Estonia are issued for the agricultural sector.

Geographically detailed analyses

- The two case studies for Italy and Spain indicate that, in particular in the case of rural areas the population of migrants is expanding in areas where the population of natives is decreasing. Given the different sizes of the two population groups, the difference in trends does not necessarily imply compensation for the general population decline in those areas.
- These case studies also show more clearly in respect of the EU aggregated statistics that migrant in rural areas tend to reside in areas where there are intensive agricultural production and a high degree of temporary employment. Other studies have also highlighted how these are also areas of extensive irregular employment and precarious living conditions.
- Another case study in the report dedicated to the migration of Ukrainians to Poland highlights the need to complement European official statistics with national data to capture important flows linked to temporary migration. Temporary movements of Ukrainians to Poland represent the largest flow of work-related and short-term residence permits in the entire EU. These movements are partly explained by the pull factor of labour demand in agriculture and shaped by the intermediation of recruitment agencies and by special entry regimes for temporary migrations.

Attitudes

- The analysis in the fourth chapter, looking at the divide in attitudes between cities and rural areas, finds that areas of residence do not have a large influence on the perceived salience of migration. Small differences in attitudes about immigration between towns, cities and rural areas can be found, particularly when considering the disaggregated data for single countries.
- Attitudes towards immigration are more clearly explained by the socio-demographic profile of respondents and in particular by their level of education age and occupation.

Policies

- Reliable data are necessary to support policy response.
- In the field of integration of third-country nationals, the competence is shared between the EU and MSs, but these last ones remain primarily responsible for integration policies. The EU has been supporting MSs in their integration policies, through various initiatives and funds.
- The presence of migrants in rural areas presents challenges (for example, remoteness, isolation, limited access to targeted services, and limited capacity to respond to inflows) and opportunities (for instance, to contrast depopulation dynamics and the lack of active labour force in specific sectors, innovative bottom-up solutions) for both third-country nationals and hosting communities.
- The coordination of the European, national, regional, and local level is fundamental to implement properly the tools available to support both public authorities and the population to receive and integrate migrants.

Introduction

Migration in EU rural areas: an understudied field

The attention to migration in metropolitan areas has so far gone to the detriment to the analysis of migration processes involving rural areas and small towns. These processes, although less relevant in absolute terms and more specific in terms of affected regions, play a critical role in the transformation of agriculture and agro-food industries and may contrast depopulation trends in rural areas. In addition, there are signs that the divide between residents in rural and urban areas spilled over the social and political domains.

While the study of rural migration has received extensive attention in the US, there are not many quantitative analyses addressing the rural dimension of migration at the EU level in recent times. Available studies are generally based on qualitative analyses and considering specific countries and migratory corridors. Some examples include analyses conducted for rural areas in Italy (Corrado 2018), Spain (Hoggart and Mendoza 1999; Morén-Alegret and Solana 2012), Greece (Kasimis 2003; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005), Sweden (Hedberg and Haandrikman 2014) and more recently Poland (Górny and Kaczmarczyk 2018). Two books provide a compilation of several of these studies, respectively in an international context (Jentsch and Simard 2009) and with a special focus on the Mediterranean area (Corrado, de Castro, and Perrotta 2016).

Immigration towards rural areas can be considered part of a more general trend of diversification of migration. This diversification is not only deriving from the increase in the variety of countries of origin but also from the fact that migrations are increasingly directed to countries and regions within countries which were not experiencing a high level of immigration in the past. A common challenge for these new immigration destinations is represented by the speed of change in ethnic diversity rather than by a large number of migrants. The rapid onset of migrants in areas, which were not traditionally confronted with high presence of migrants in the past, poses unique needs in terms of integration (Winders 2014). New immigration destinations normally lack dedicated infrastructure and services to cope with the influx of migrants; migrants cannot benefit from the formal and informal support from pre-existing migrants' networks; and the domestic population may be less familiar and open to accept diversity.

The available studies in the literature identify some key characteristics of the phenomenon of migration in rural areas. However, there are still important gaps in providing comparative statistical and quantitative analyses especially for the EU (Rye and Scott 2018). Such comparative analyses are essential for taking into account the specificities of migration in rural areas especially when developing policies at EU level. This report contributes to filling a gap in the quantitative analysis by providing a systematic overview of the available statistical knowledge on this phenomenon.

Migration in rural areas in the context of a segmented labour market: why it is important

Immigration to rural areas is particularly significant to show that the demand for temporary labour in agriculture still represents an important pull factor. Besides construction, tourism and domestic work, agriculture has played a fundamental role in determining immigration flows. The characteristics of the agricultural labour market entail a high dependency on seasonal and precarious labour, which is no longer supplied by the domestic labour force. Improvements in education, women's emancipation and increasing aspirations opened opportunities to young

people and women from rural areas in developed economies to escape the option of accepting low-paid jobs in agriculture. In an increasingly segmented labour market, immigration from low-income countries has become the solution to fill labour shortages in secondary sectors. This tendency is both socially and economically determined. Migrants especially when they view their position in the country as temporary are more likely to accept jobs of secondary social status, which locals tend to avoid (Alonso and Piore 1981).

There are at least four reasons why migration in rural areas would deserve greater attention from research and policy.

The first reason is linked to **residential and territorial aspects**. Migrants may settle in rural areas or peripheral area of large cities mainly due to the affordability of housing without necessarily working in agriculture. By substituting a dwindling native population in rural areas, they can play a fundamental role in maintaining the socio-economic viability of areas subject to depopulation and ageing. Many aspects of the demographic impacts of migration in rural areas are still poorly understood and represent an active field of research in spatial demography and rural sociology. Some of the questions being addressed relate to: the differences of international migrations in respect of other processes of counter-urbanisation and gentrification; the changes brought in identities and in social and demographic structure of rural communities; the effects linked to temporary, seasonal and circular forms of migration; and how to account for migration in regional development strategies (Hugo and Morén-Alegret 2008).

The second reason relates to the contribution of migrants in the **agricultural labour market**. The industrialization, specialisation and intensification of agriculture since the mid of the 20th century have been accompanied by the reduction of employment in agriculture and a higher share of temporary and wage labour in respect of family labour. These needs for recruited labour have been increasingly met by employing foreign workers since the 1990s. These trends are particularly evident in the greenhouse, nursery, fruit and vegetable farming sectors, which remain labour-intensive and require high inputs of labour in particular during the planting and harvesting periods.

Evidence in several countries of the world shows that with economic development, agricultural employment is at the same time decreasing and becoming not elastic to variation in wages (Zahniser 2018). This reflects the fact that the internal supply from domestic workers, who are less willing to work in agriculture, cannot satisfy the demand in agricultural labour. Under these conditions, labour demand is matched either through mechanization or with the import of agricultural labour from countries at an earlier stage of development and with more elastic farm labour supply (Taylor and Charlton 2019). The fact that migrants complement rather than compete with local agricultural workers is shown by the experience of Mexican *bracero* workers in the United States in the mid-1960s. The discontinuation of the *bracero* program represented an abrupt and strong reduction in the share of Mexican workers in seasonal farm work in the US. This abrupt interruption of a decades-long immigration programme, rather than producing changes in farm wages and increase the recruitment of domestic workers, resulted in the mechanization of some sector (such as in tomatoes production) and in the shifting of production to less labour intensive sectors, in cases where mechanization was not yet economically or technically viable (Clemens, Lewis, and Postel 2018).

More recently, in the US there is a rising concern that restrictions in immigration, enforcement of immigration law, and larger demand for agricultural work in Mexico could mean the end of farm

labour abundance (Zahniser 2018). Similar concerns are emerging in the case of migration from Ukraine to Poland and for UK in relation to Brexit¹. In this case changes in the temporary migration legislation in 2017, the entry into force of the EU Seasonal Workers Directive (European Union 2014), and the immigrants' preference to work in other sectors than agriculture may explain a reduction in the number of temporary permits used in agriculture (see Box 2).

The third aspect supporting the importance of migration in rural areas is linked to the specific needs for **integration** posed by the temporary nature of work and by the often-illegal status of migrants employed in agriculture. Several studies (see review in Rye and Scott 2018) provide ample evidence indicating how illegality, poor working conditions, and the dependency from the role of intermediaries for recruitment, are defining characteristics of employment of migrants in agriculture. Given these characteristics, migrants in rural areas represent a predominantly vulnerable group, which would deserve particular attention when formulating social inclusion policies. At the same time, the often-transitory nature of employment in agriculture may hinder any attempt of stabilisation and integration in the longer term. The challenges posed by the integration can therefore be summarised in the need to provide special attention to vulnerable groups which are however difficult to recognise and target given the transitory nature of the work in agriculture.

The fourth reason is related to the different **attitudes** towards immigration that can be encountered across cities, towns and rural areas. Several analyses in the political science and electoral studies literature indicate that these differences need to be framed in a divide between cosmopolitan and parochial attitudes rather than along the traditional ideological categories of left versus right and liberal versus conservatives (De Vries 2018). The divide in attitudes may be explained by two sets of factors:

- socio-demographic factors, which bring people with more cosmopolitan views to reside in cities rather than in rural areas (Maxwell 2019) and;
- characteristics of the areas themselves and in particular the higher rate of change in ethnic diversity and the more adverse consequences of globalization experienced in recent years by rural areas (van Gent, Jansen, and Smits 2014).

The content and limitations of this report

This report provides a quantitative analysis of migration in EU rural areas mainly based on data from the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) and European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). These two surveys represent the main sources to monitor the integration of migrants available at EU level. They provide a breakdown of the resident population by degrees of urbanization – namely, cities, towns, and rural areas – and by sector of employment. The report includes a series of descriptive statistics comparing shares of population and basic integration indicators by migratory status, place of residence and sector of work. To this, the report adds a further empirical section dedicated to attitudes towards immigration in rural areas and a final chapter providing an overview of EU policies on the integration of migrants in rural areas.

¹ See the following links for examples of news reporting about shortages of migrants' labour in agriculture:
<https://www.euronews.com/2019/06/12/uk-suffers-from-shortage-of-seasonal-fruit-pickers-this-summer>
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-17/brexit-worries-make-seasonal-hiring-harder-for-u-k-farmers>
<https://www.economist.com/united-states/2017/07/27/if-america-is-overrun-by-low-skilled-migrants>
<https://www.globalmeatnews.com/Article/2018/04/13/Global-issue-for-agricultural-foreign-workers>
<https://www.novinite.com/articles/196132/Lack-of+Bulgarian+and+Romanian+Migrants+Could+Lead+to+Shortage+of+British+Asparagus>

The report is structured as follows:

- Chapter 1 describes residential aspects looking at the characteristics and social conditions of three population groups of natives, migrants from the Member States and migrants from Third Countries, across three degrees of urbanisation of cities, towns and rural areas;
- Chapter 2 considers the situation of migrants employed in agriculture in comparison with those employed in other sectors;
- Chapter 3 includes a more geographically detailed analysis for Spain and Italy showing how local patterns of concentration of migrants in specific Local Administrative Units relate to the characteristics of agriculture;
- Chapter 4 describes how the salience and attitudes towards migration, expressed in Eurobarometer surveys, change between respondents living in cities, medium and small size towns, and rural areas;
- Chapter 5 gives an overview of the main EU policies dealing with the integration of migrants in rural areas.

Migrants in rural areas are a smaller group with respect to those living in cities, and their conditions of employment are often characterised by informal contracts and irregular work. Because of this, the statistical data sources available at the EU level and used in this report entail the risk of under-representation of the real size of the phenomenon. More detailed analyses available in the literature for specific countries and regions provide ample evidence about the precariousness of the conditions of migrants employed in agriculture.

Significant numbers of migrants in rural areas are currently found in several Member States such as Sweden, France and Germany. However the report examines more in-depth the cases of Italy and Spain, since in these countries, together with Greece, migration in rural areas coincides with employment in agriculture².

The main benefit of this report lies in providing, to the best of our knowledge, one of the first quantitative, EU-wide overviews of migration in rural areas. This overview highlights the importance of migration for the agricultural economy and in contrasting demographic trends in specific regions. It contributes to raising awareness on the fact that migrants residing in rural areas and working in agriculture are a particularly vulnerable group. One of the main conclusion of the report is that the temporariness of employment in agriculture and comparatively lower performance along most of the immigrants' integration indicators make integration in rural areas at the same time necessary but difficult to target through policies. The challenge to integrate migrants in rural areas is amplified by the fact that they are geographically circumscribed to specific regions and to areas that until recently have not experienced the public policy issues related to the presence of immigrant communities.

² For several decades after the Second World War, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece have been primarily countries of emigration, supplying labour for the more industrialised Northern European countries (for an overview, see Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2014; Bade 2003; Bade and Eijl 2011; Castles 2006). Such international migrations from Southern European countries occurred in parallel with internal movement of large shares of the population from rural areas to industrial cities (King et al. 2000). Since the 1970s, the economy of Southern European countries converged with Northern Europe while maintaining some unique characteristics. Their economy has remained centred on small enterprises in agriculture, tourism and services with high levels of informal labour and a dualism between primary and secondary labour markets. Since the 1980s, Southern European countries have become at the same time countries of origins and new immigration destinations, attracting an increasing number of migrants from Northern Africa, Asia, Southern America and Eastern Europe.

Chapter 1 Migrants living in rural areas

This chapter presents sociodemographic characteristics and main indicators of integration of migrants taking the perspective of the type of area of residence. We analyse a set of indicators relative to the following three subgroups of population: natives (as the benchmark), EU mobile citizens, and migrants from Third Countries. These groups are compared across areas of residence classified according to the three degrees of urbanisation: cities, towns and rural areas. Besides basic demographic indicators such as age structure, education, and length of residence, in order to describe the economic conditions of migrants we use three further indicators: income distribution, share of population below the risk of poverty threshold, and overcrowding rate³. Unemployment figures at EU aggregate and Member State levels are included in the analyses. These analyses are based on microdata from the EU-LFS, covering the period 2011-2017, and from the EU-SILC, covering the period 2011-2016 (see Box 1 for a more detailed description of data sources).

³ For the choice of the indicators we referred to the list of indicators proposed by Zaragoza declaration on the integration of migrants and reports monitoring migrant integration in the EU such as (Albertinelli and Statistical Office of the European Communities 2011), (OECD and European Union 2018).

Box 1 Datasets used and related limitations

The two main data sources used in Chapters 1 to 3 are the EU-LFS and EU-SILC. These two data sources are characterised by a high degree of harmonization and are regularly used to monitor migrants' integration in the EU. According to information provided by Eurostat, the two surveys are designed to optimise data comparability among Member States. However, there are certain limitations to consider while interpreting figures derived from these surveys. Both surveys target the whole resident population and not specifically the migrants, leading to the following coverage issues⁴:

- **“Recently arrived migrants:** this group of migrants is missing from the sampling frame in every hosting country, resulting in under-coverage of the actual migrant population in the EU-LFS and EU-SILC.
- **Collective households:** the two surveys only cover private households. Persons living in collective households and in institutions for asylum seekers and migrant workers are excluded from the target population. This also results in under-coverage of migrants in the survey.
- **Non-response of migrant population:** a significant disadvantage of the surveys lies in the fact that a high percentage of the migrant population does not respond to them. This may be due to language difficulties, misunderstanding of the purpose of each survey, arduousness in communicating with the interviewer, and fear on behalf of migrants of a possible negative impact on their authorisation to remain in the country after participating in the surveys.
- **Sample size:** given the nature of the EU-LFS and EU-SILC as sample surveys, these cannot fully capture the characteristics of migrants in Member States with very low migrant populations.⁵
- **Information on country of citizenship and country of birth:** this information is asked from all persons aged 15 or older in private households sampled in the EU-LFS and in the EU-SILC for those aged 16 and over. This results in an under-estimation of the number of migrants by country of citizenship and country of birth”.

Both the EU-LFS and EU-SILC provide information on the degree of urbanisation of Local Administrative Units of residence of the respondent. This categorisation of Local Administrative Units is based on the population density in clusters of 1 km² grid cells⁶. Depending on the share of the population living in the different types of cluster, the Local Administrative Units are classified into three degrees of urbanisation.

- **Cities (densely populated areas):** at least 50% of the population lives in high-density clusters.
- **Towns and suburbs (intermediate density areas):** less than 50% of the population lives in rural grid cells and less than 50% lives in high-density clusters.
- **Rural areas (thinly populated areas):** more than 50% of the population lives in rural grid cells.

The classification of Local Administrative Units as rural based on population density does not necessarily coincide with the agricultural nature of production in the areas. In fact, EU-LFS suggests that about 68% of those employed in agriculture reside in rural areas while 25% reside in towns and 7% in cities. A final limitation in this report is related to the fact that these surveys not necessarily cover individuals irregularly present on Member States' territory or seasonal workers – two migrant categories that are particularly relevant in the agriculture sector.

⁴ <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/migrant-integration/methodology>

⁵ When processing the statistics by EU Member States and other segmentations, such as the degree of urbanization and employment in agriculture, the sample size referring to the migrants' population may become progressively less representative.

⁶ For more details, see Territorial typologies by Eurostat. Available at https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Territorial_typologies#Typologies. Last accessed 15 May 2019.

Share of migrants by degree of urbanisation

Figure 1.1 shows the distribution of foreign population in cities, towns and rural areas over time and by origin based on two definitions: country of birth and country of citizenship.

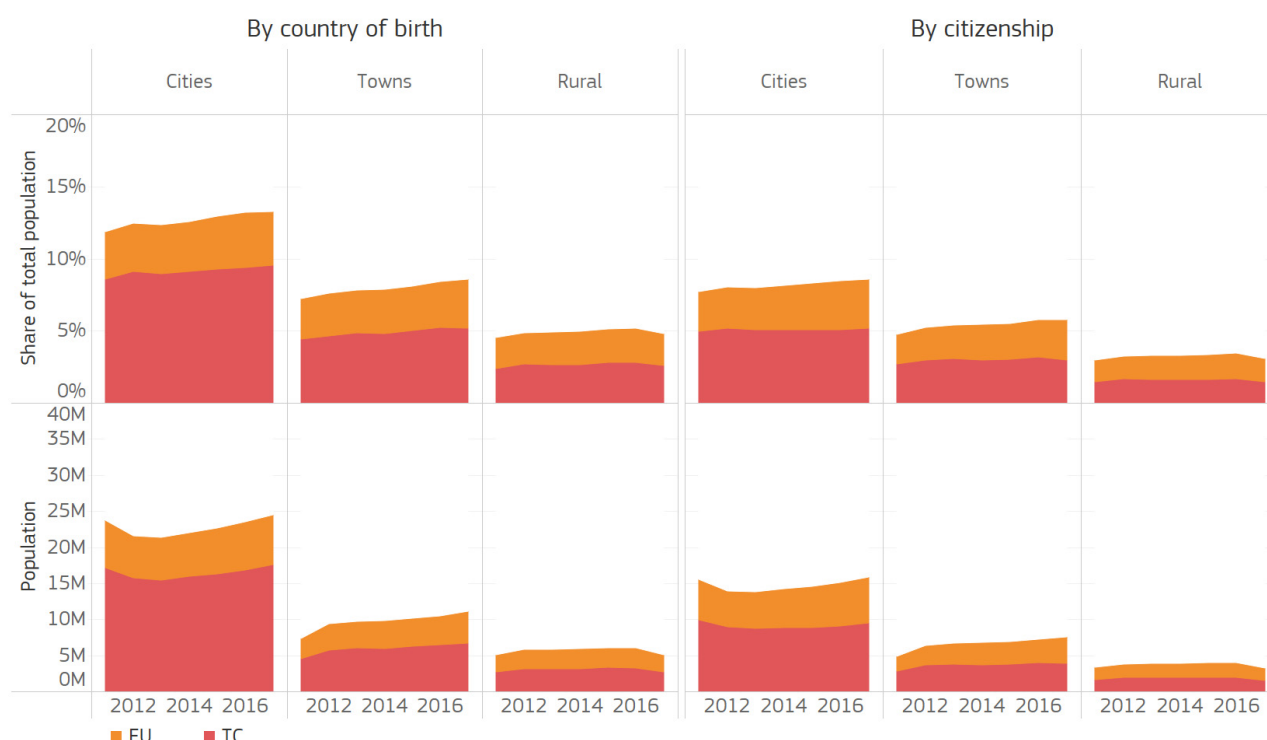


Figure 1.1 Share and absolute number of foreign population by origin (country of birth and citizenship) and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011 - 2017).⁷

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

The comparison demonstrates that the definition has a significant impact on the resulting distribution of population. In rural areas, TC migrants are significantly higher both the absolute and relative numbers if migrants are counted according to a country of birth definition (2.7 vs 1.5 million in 2017). Instead, the discrepancy detected for EU mobile citizens is lower (2.3 vs 1.7 million in 2017). This is at least partially explained by the reluctance of EU citizens to acquire another Member State citizenship, unlike TC nationals who might be more willing to naturalise as the EU citizenship grants a set of residence and freedom of movement rights⁸⁹.

In 2017, EU and TC migrants represented, respectively, 2.6% and 2.9% of the total population living in rural areas. This contrasts with 4.4% for EU mobile citizens and 10% for TC migrants in the case of cities, 4.2% for EU mobile citizens and 6% for TC migrants in towns¹⁰.

The trends since 2011 show that the share of the population of migrants in towns and cities was increasing, whereas in rural areas it was stable. Between 2011 and 2017, the native population

⁷ Germany is not included in this and other figures presenting time series of EU-LFS data for the period 2011-2017 since until 2016 Germany was not providing statistics with a breakdown of the population by country of birth or citizenship.

⁸ Throughout the report, we adopted country of birth criterion to define migrants distinguishing between the following two groups: 'TC migrants' stands for individuals born in a non-EU country; 'EU migrants' stands for individuals born in another EU Member State. In some cases, clearly flagged in the report, the nationality criterion is used.

⁹ Second generation migrants are not included in these two migrant categories regardless of having citizenship of the destination country. Please, note that none of the EU Member States grants automatic and unconditional citizenship to children born in their territories to foreign citizens (Global Database on Modes of Acquisition of Citizenship - Globalcit n.d.).

¹⁰ These figures do not coincide with those reported in Figure 1.1 as the latter one does not include Germany.

residing in rural areas decreased from 106.8 to 100 million. The number of EU and TC migrants residing in rural areas has remained relatively stable at 2.4 and 2.7 million respectively.

These figures at aggregate level indicate that migrants are more likely to live in cities and towns rather than rural areas. However, the shares of population in rural areas that are migrants varies significantly when considering figures by Member States as shown in Figure 1.2.

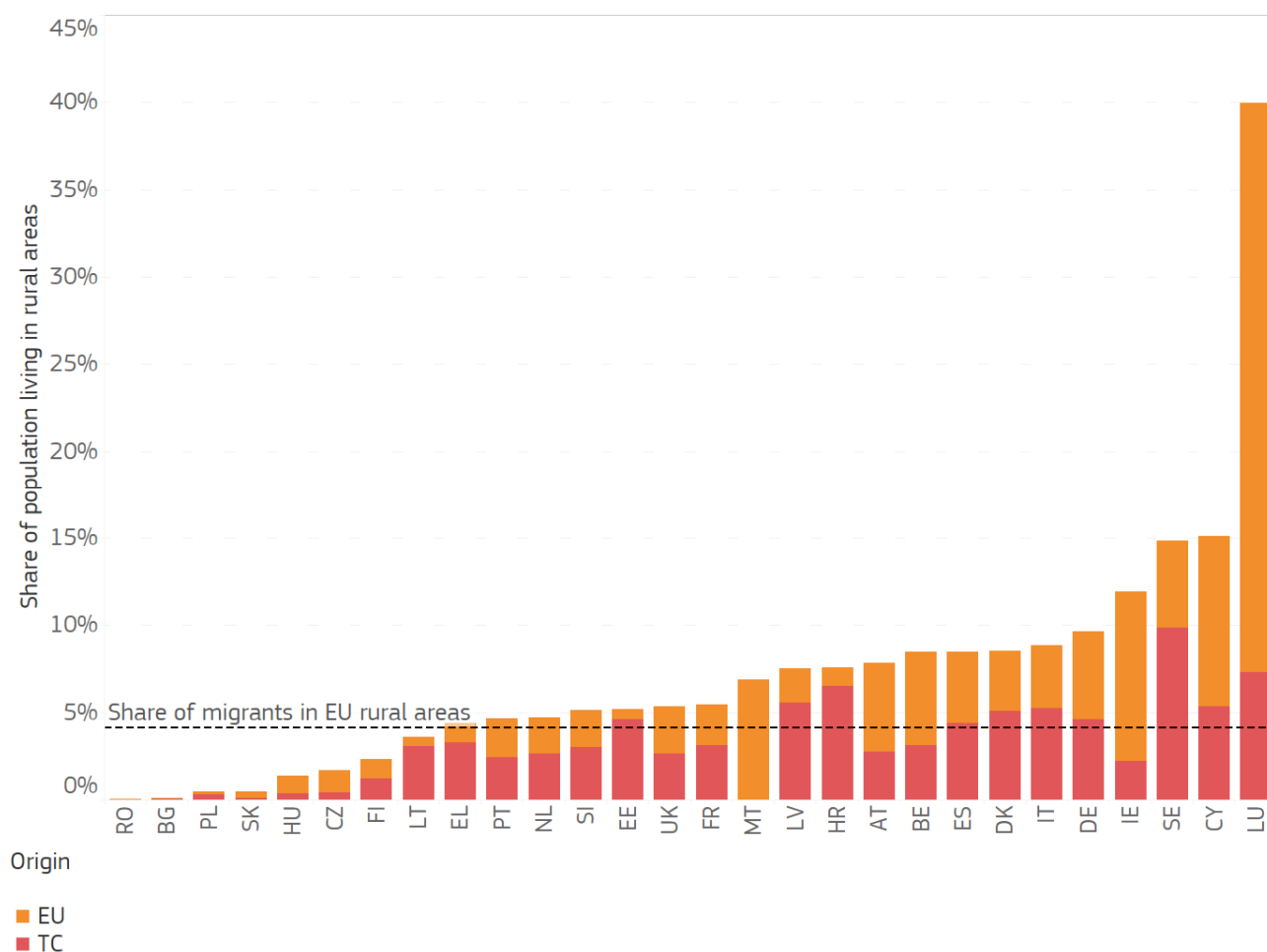


Figure 1.2 Share of migrants in rural areas by origin and Member States (2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

Note: figures for Bulgaria, Malta, Romania and Slovakia should be considered with caution due to the limited (<50) number of observation in the EU-LFS.

The share of foreign-born is below the EU aggregate in Poland, Czechia, Finland and Lithuania. The top five countries with the highest presence of migrants' population in rural areas in relative terms are Luxemburg (40.0%), Cyprus (15.1%), Sweden (14.9%), Ireland (11.9%) and Germany (9.6%).

The share of TC migrants in rural areas is the highest in Sweden (9.9%), Luxembourg (7.3%) and Croatia (6.5%), while the share of EU mobile citizens in rural areas is the highest in Luxembourg (32.7%), Cyprus and Ireland (9.7% each) followed by Belgium (5.3%), Austria (5.1%) and Germany (5.1%).

Figure 1.3 captures the propensity of migrants to settle in rural areas versus cities by showing the difference between the share of migrants in the total population living in rural areas and the share

of migrants in the total population living in cities in each Member State. The vertical axes represent this gap in percentage points (pp). A negative value indicates that migrants are over-represented in cities with respect to rural areas¹¹. The dark blue colour stands for the year 2017, while the shading represents previous years going from light to darker over time. The size of the circle is proportional to the size of the migrants' population in rural areas.

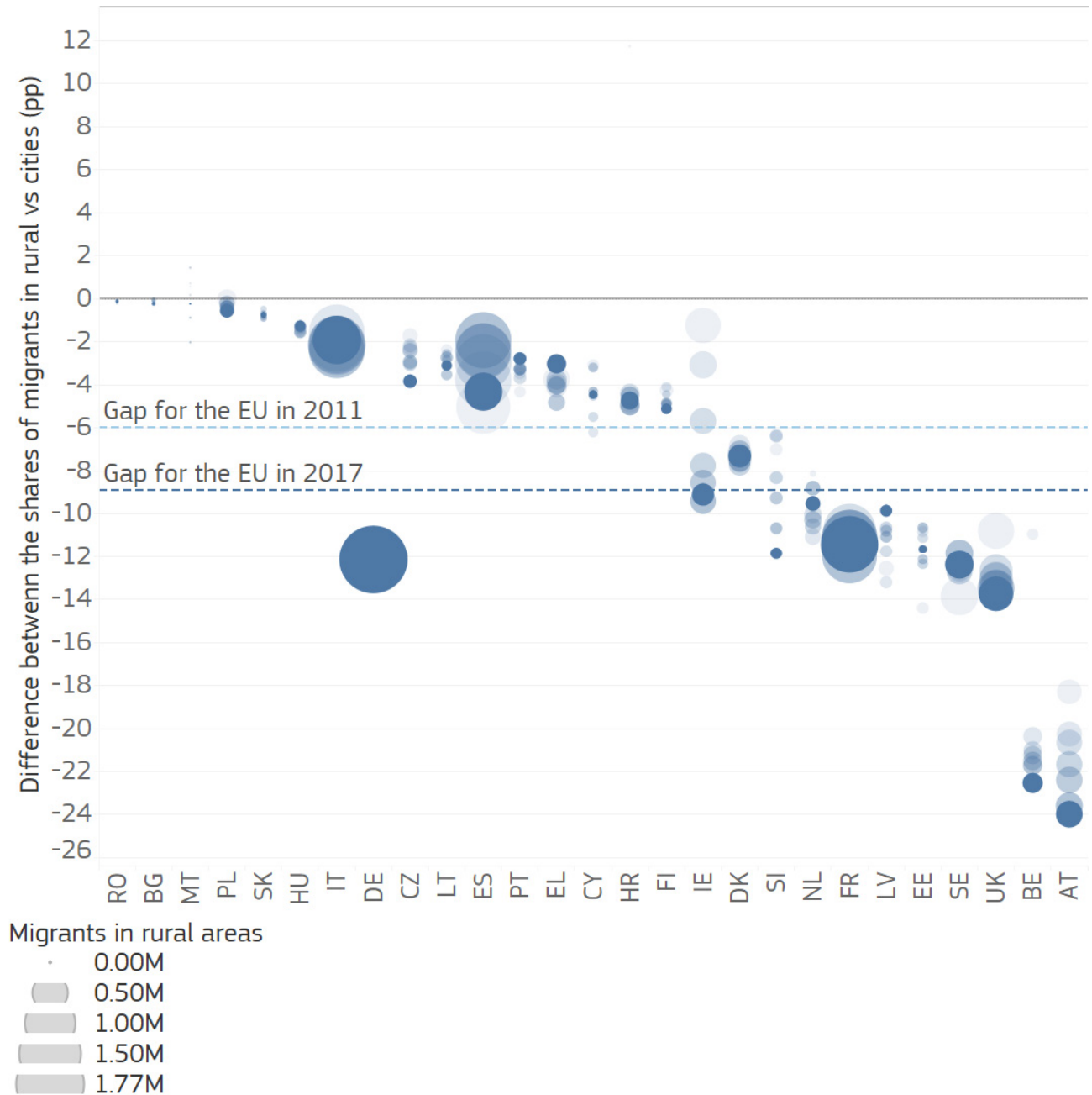


Figure 1.3 Difference between the share of migrants in total population living in rural areas and the share of migrants in total population living in cities by Member State (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

Notes: figures for Bulgaria, Malta, Romania and Slovakia should be considered with caution due to the limited (<50) number of observation in the EU-LFS.

¹¹ For example in the case of Germany 22% of the population in cities is represented by migrants and 10% in rural areas. This is resulting in a difference of -12 pp.

In general, across the EU the migrants more often settle in cities rather than in rural areas. The gap between the two shares was around six pp in 2011. It has widened further reaching nine pp by 2017.

Both the observed gap and its dynamics vary significantly across Member States. In Poland and Hungary, the concentration of migrants is similar across types of settlement. The widest gap (more than 20 pp) is observed for Austria and Belgium. Italy and Spain have high absolute numbers of migrants living in rural areas and a small difference in the share between rural areas and cities. On the contrary, UK, France and Germany have large migrant populations living in rural areas but these populations represent low shares compared to those residing in cities.

Between 2011 and 2017, the Member States' specific gaps remained either stable or further widened. The gap widened the most in Ireland, Slovenia, Austria and Belgium. The opposite is observed for Portugal, Greece and Latvia. In the case of Spain, there was an increasing trend for migrants to settle more in rural areas between 2011 and 2016, which was reversed in 2017. In the case of the UK, it is possible to notice a constant trend for migrants to settle in cities rather than in rural areas.

Age

Figure 1.4 gives a representation of the age structure of the different population groups by degree of urbanisation of the place of residence. Age brackets are grouped in two classes of working versus not working age to facilitate the detection of differences in age dependency ratios across population groups.

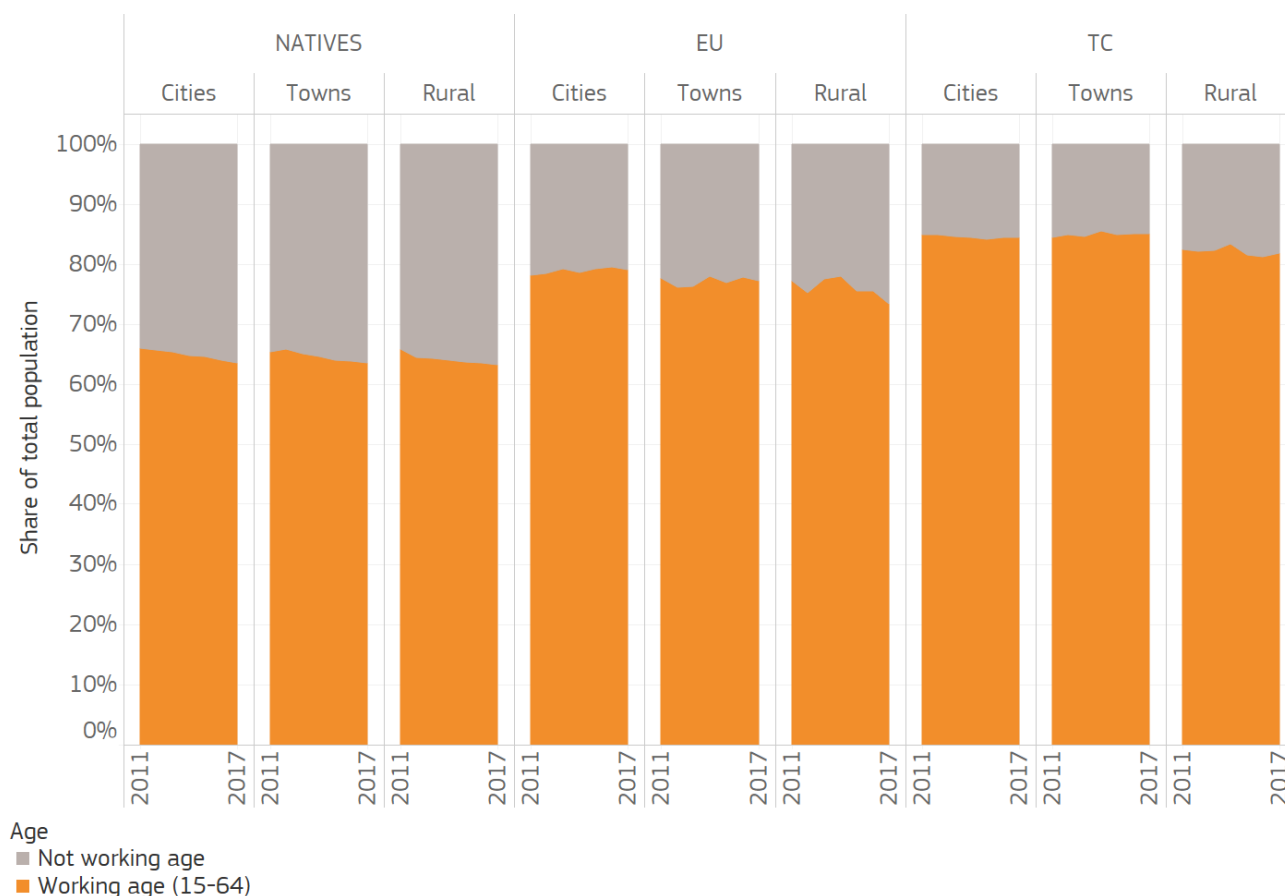


Figure 1.4 Share of working age population in total population by origin and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011- 2017).
Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

The relative weight of working age population varies across origin groups. The share of working age population is the lowest among natives (63%) and it demonstrates a decreasing trend between 2011 and 2017. This evidence points to the phenomenon of ageing of population in the EU. The share of working age population is the highest among TC migrants regardless of the type of settlement (85%). Slightly lower values are recorded in the case of EU mobile citizens (73-79%).

The fact that the immigrant populations – both EU mobile citizens and TC – have higher shares of working age population points to the positive demographic effects in contrasting an ageing trend among the natives. However, these effects do not appear to have different relevance in rural areas with respect to towns and cities.

Education

Figure 1.5 presents different population groups by two education levels: low education corresponds to lower secondary (ISCED 0-3), and high and medium education corresponds to upper secondary and third level of studies (ISCED 4-8)¹².

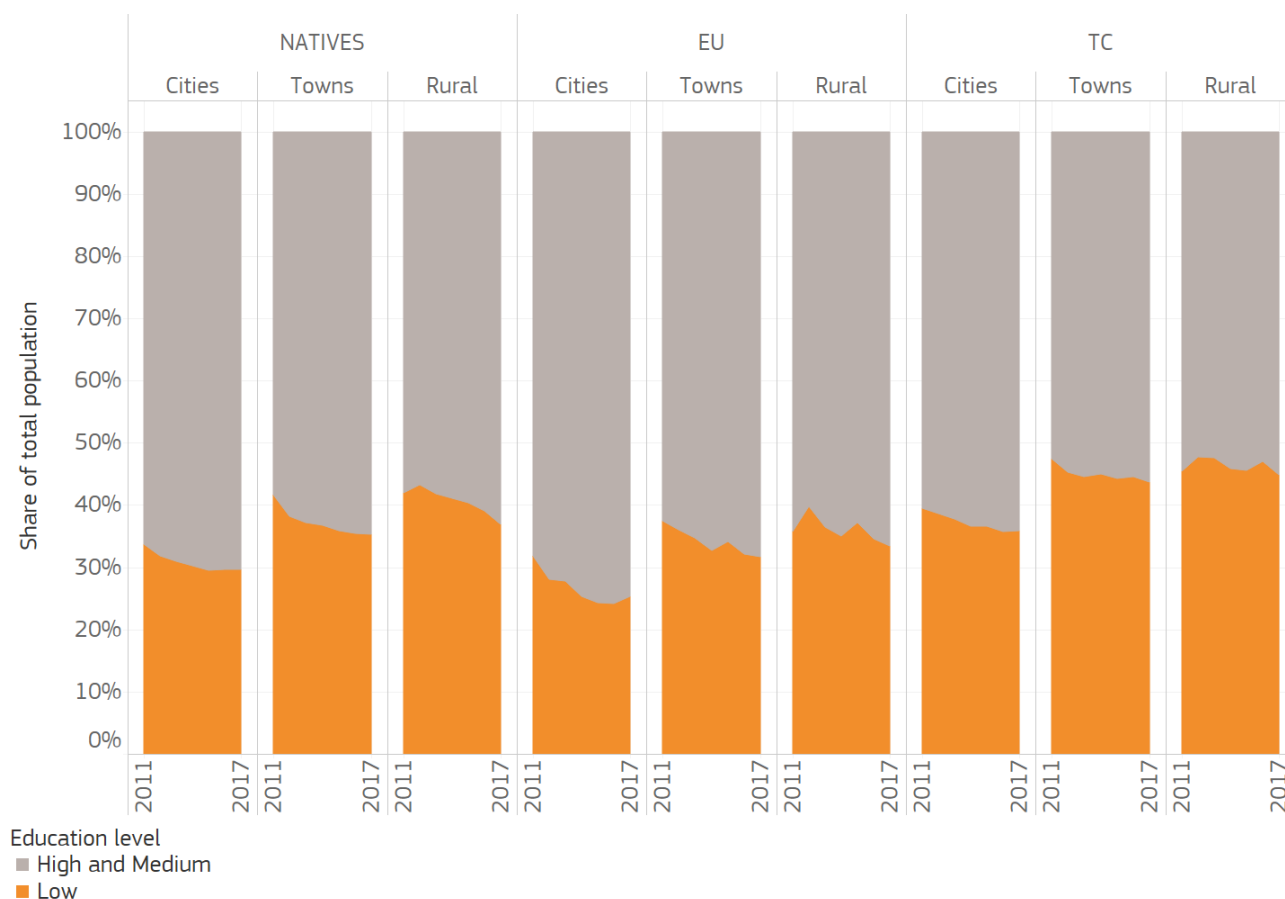


Figure 1.5 Share of population by education levels, origin and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011 - 2017).
Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

The share of people with low education levels among natives is the lowest in cities (less than 1/3 of population). It has decreased over time in all types of settlements. The decrease is particularly evident for natives living in rural areas: from 40% in 2011, to 36.8% in 2017.

In the case of EU mobile citizens, the share of less educated people is lower with respect to other population groups in all settlement types. Between 2011 and 2017, it declined in cities and towns by approximately seven pp compared to a decline of three pp in rural areas.

The share of people with lower education level is higher among TC migrants in all three types of settlements and compared to both natives and EU mobile citizens. The highest figures are observed for those residing in rural areas - above 45%. While the share of low educated among TC migrants decreased in cities and towns, it remained stable in rural areas.

¹² International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) is the reference international classification for organising education programmes and related qualifications by levels and fields. For more details, see Eurostat Statistics Explained Available at [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_\(ISCED\)](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_(ISCED)). Last accessed on 27 May 2019.

Length of residence

Figure 1.6 compares the length of residence between the two groups of migrants from EU and TC. A high share of migrants with many years of residence in the country may be indicative of the fact that the migrant population is stabilising.

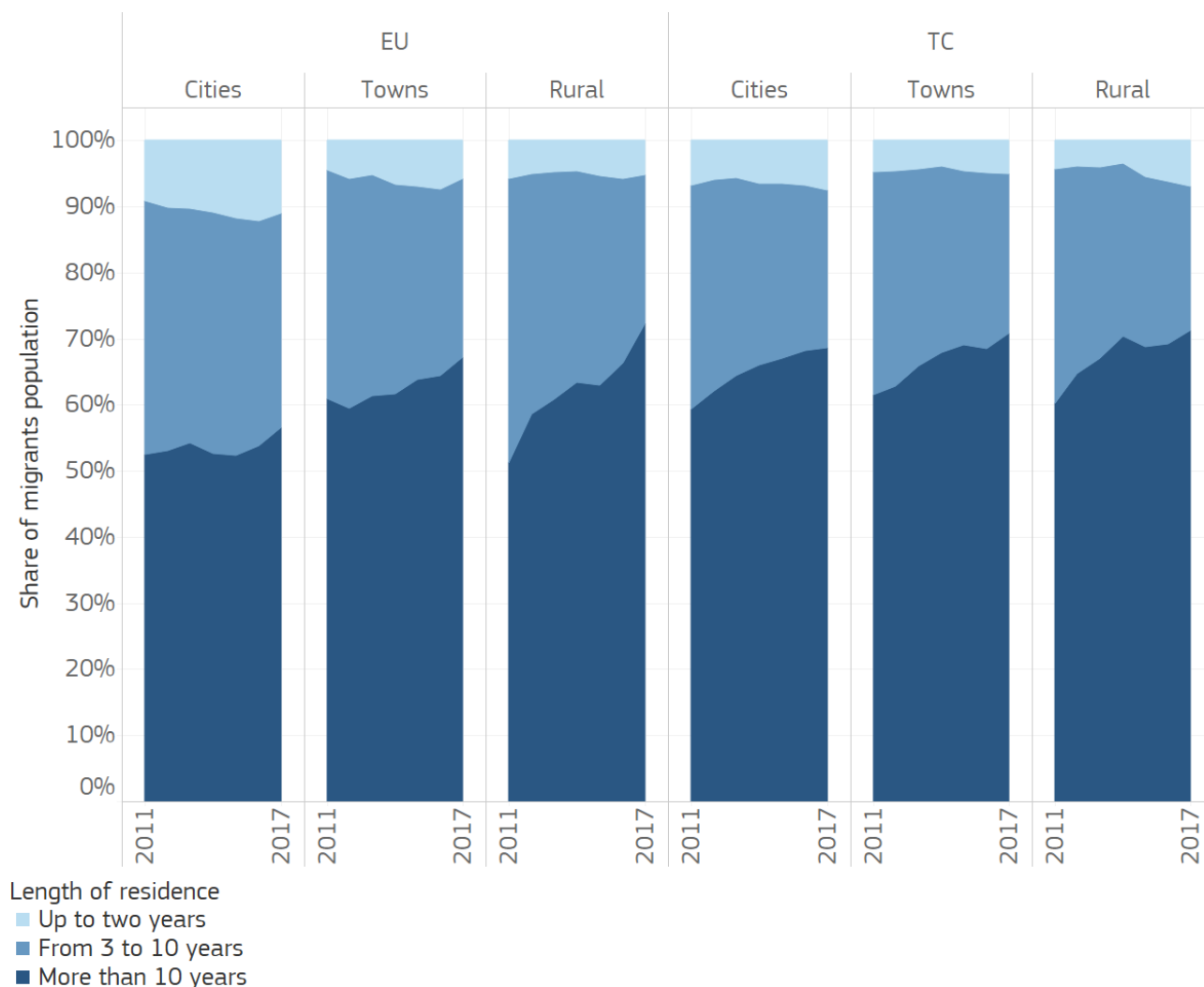


Figure 1.6 Share of migrant population by length of stay, origin and degree of urbanisation (2011 - 2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

For both groups (EU and TC migrants) the share of those with length of residence of more than 10 years has increased in all types of settlement. The growth is more prominent for EU mobile citizens in rural areas (from 51 to 72%). For both origin groups those residing in rural areas for more than ten years constitute more than 70% in 2017.

While the share of EU mobile citizens with the length of residence up to two years residing in rural areas has remained relatively stable (5%), the figure for TC migrants increased both in absolute and relative terms from 2014 onwards. From 2011 to 2017, the number of TC migrants in the considered group increased from 113 000 to 185 000 (by 2.6 pp). The rise of the share of recently arrived TC migrants in rural areas may signal an expansion of migration to rural areas or a higher incidence of temporary migration.

Income

Figure 1.7 is based on Member States' specific income distribution in deciles. For our purposes, an individual is considered to have a low income if his/her monthly (take home) pay from their main job is within the first two deciles of the income distribution¹³.

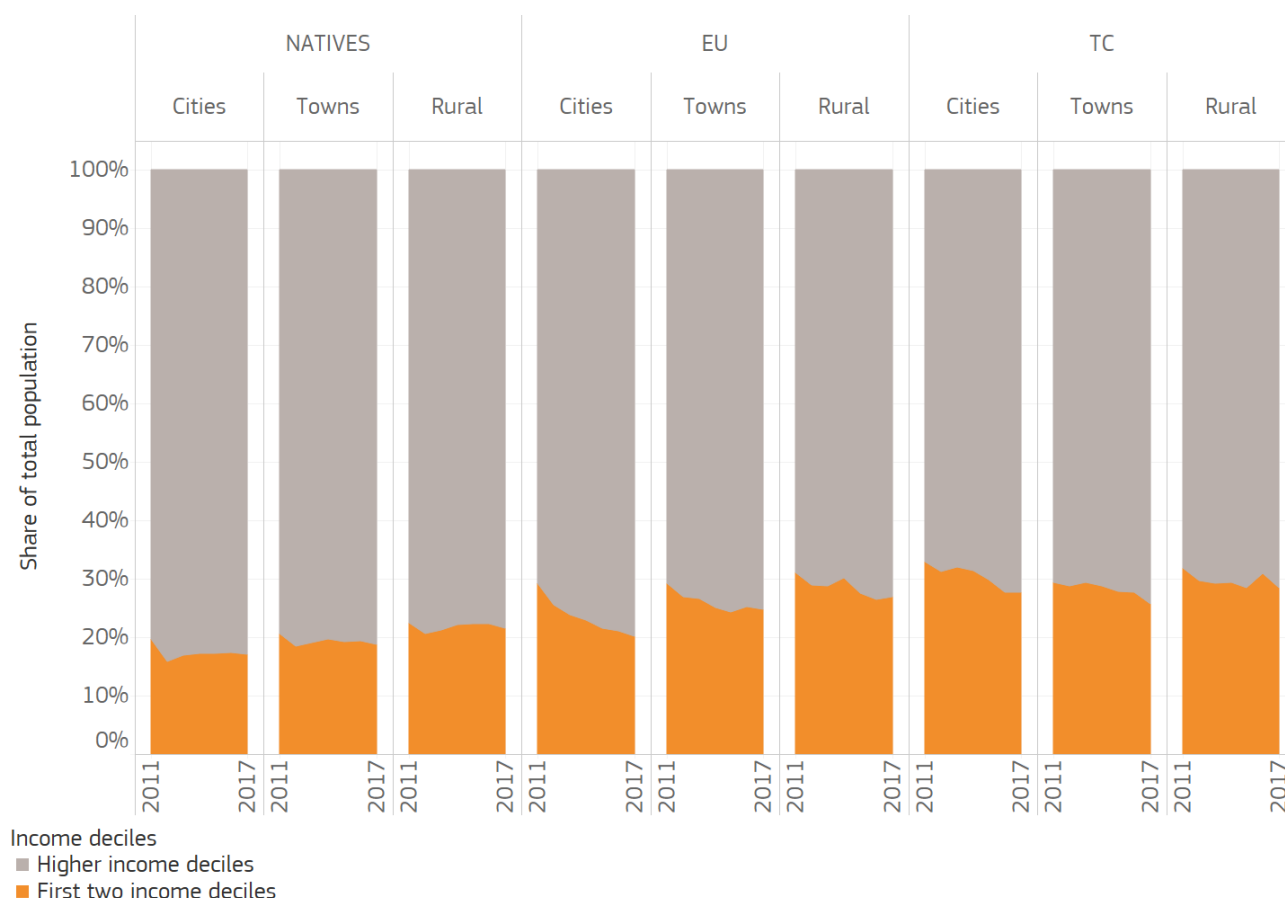


Figure 1.7 Share of population in lower income deciles by origin and degree of urbanisation (2011 - 2017).
Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

The share of population with low income is the lowest among natives living in cities (17.1% in 2017). The figures are only slightly higher in towns (18.8% in 2017) and in rural areas (21.5% in 2017).

The corresponding figures for migrants are significantly higher. In rural areas, the share of EU and TC migrants with low income was approximately 30% in 2011 with no major difference between the two groups. Some positive dynamics over time are recorded for EU and TC migrants living in cities and towns, while the picture is more constant in the case of migrants living in rural areas.

¹³ Please, note that this indicator based on EU-LFS is included to complement the information provided by the share of population at risk of poverty from the EU-SILC. The two are not directly comparable. Moreover, for the first indicator (the share of population in the first quintile of income distribution) the underlying EU-LFS variable (INCDECIL -the only variable capturing the income level of the respondents) Eurostat warns that the variable has comparability issues and hence analyses intending to use income information from the EU-LFS are hence possible to a limited extent only. For more information see, the EU Labour Force Survey Database User Guide. Available at <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/1978984/6037342/EULFS-Database-UserGuide.pdf>. Last accessed 16 May 2019

Risk of poverty

Figure 1. shows the share of population at risk of poverty based on information coming from the EU-SILC. This variable is one of the most commonly used indicators to measure the level of living conditions of the EU population. It relates to one of the five headline targets of the Europe 2020, to reduce poverty by lifting at least 20 million people out of the risk of poverty or social exclusion by 2020.

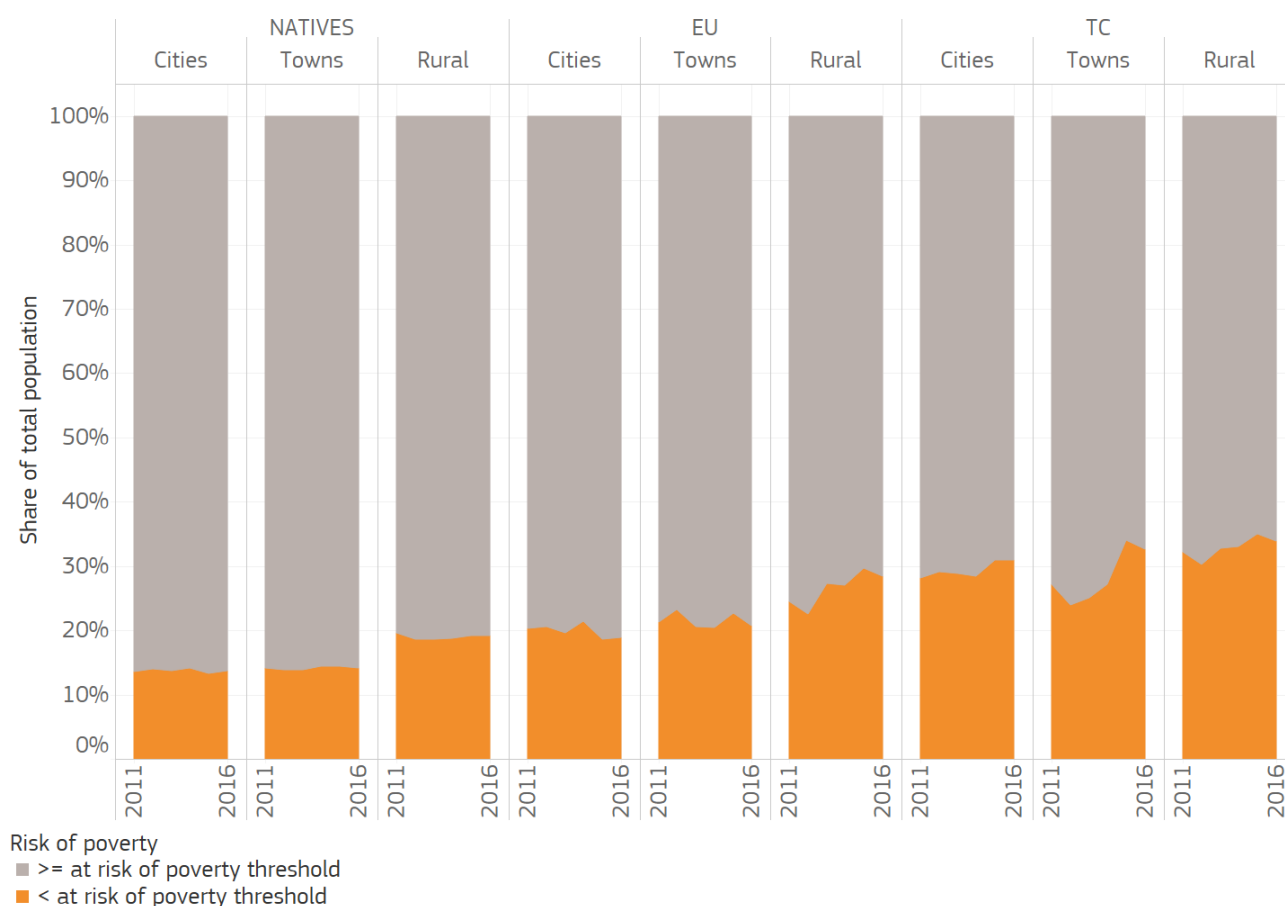


Figure 1.8 Population with disposable income below the at-risk-of-poverty threshold by origin and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011-2016).

Note: The at-risk-of-poverty threshold is equal to 60% of median of the disposable income. Slovenia and the Netherlands are not included due to missing information regarding the degree of urbanisation. Source: own elaboration of EU-SILC microdata.

The share of those with disposable income below the threshold of risk of poverty is the lowest for natives living in cities and towns (14%) and slightly higher in rural areas (19%).

Residents in rural areas are generally at higher risk of poverty compared with those living in towns and cities. TC migrants are at the highest risk of poverty in all three types of settlement.

When considering the trend over the period 2011-2017, the indicator is relatively stable in the case of natives and EU mobile citizens living in cities and towns, while it is worsening among EU and TC migrants living in rural areas. In these cases, the share of those at risk of poverty increased over the considered period reaching 28% and 34% respectively.

Figure 1.9 provides the same statistics about the share of population at risk of poverty in 2017, by single Member State and focusing on the population living in rural areas. In particular, the charts

compare on the two axes the risk of poverty of migrants (EU on the left and TC on the right vertical axes) and natives (horizontal axis). The more countries are distant from the diagonal and towards the upper part of the graph, the more their population of migrants living in rural areas is disadvantaged in respect of natives in the same country. In other words, the distance from the diagonal can be interpreted as the gap between migrants and natives in terms of poverty once taking into account the poverty level of natives in the same country.

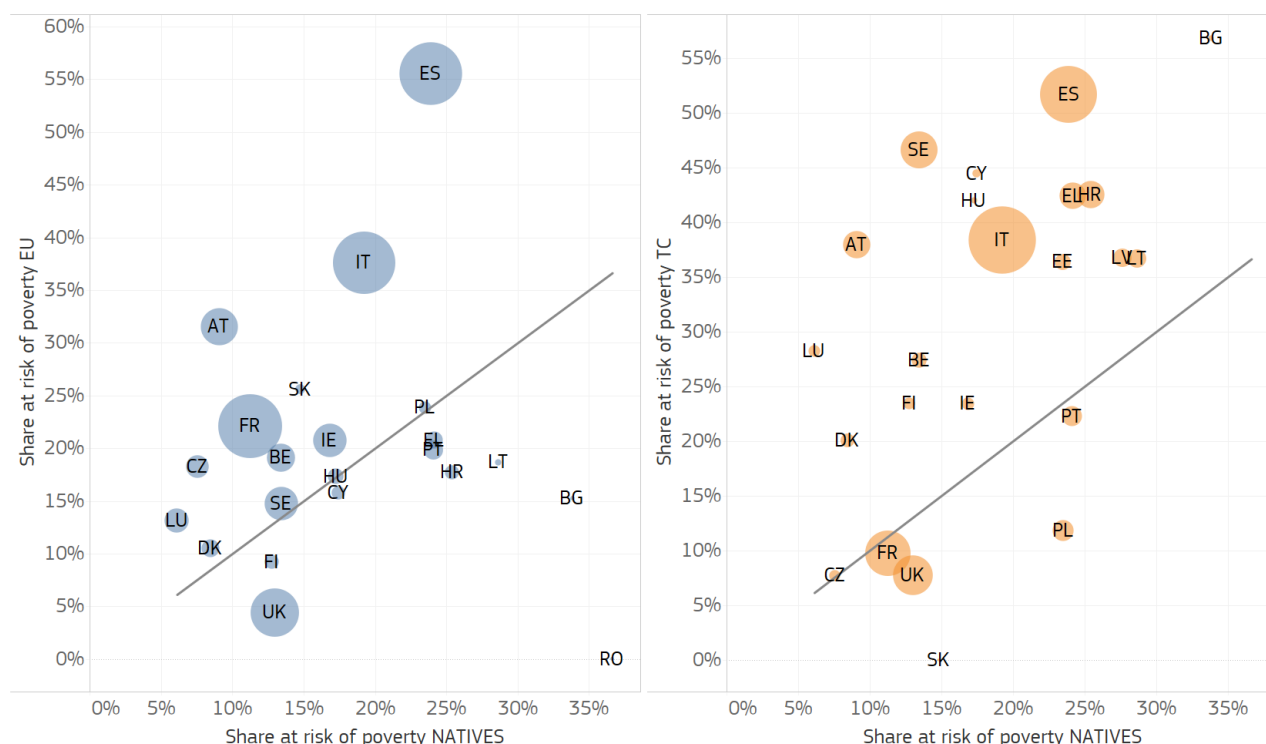


Figure 1.9 Comparison of the risk of poverty indicators between and natives and migrants in rural areas, by country (2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-SILC microdata.

Note: The more distant are the values from the diagonal, the more migrants are disadvantaged with respect to natives. The size of circles is proportional to the underlying migrants' population of a country. Figures on the left pane for Bulgaria, Latvia, Poland, Romania and Slovakia as well as on the right pane for Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechia, Hungary Romania and Slovakia should be considered with caution due to the limited (<50) number of observation in the EU-SILC.

In most of the Member States, both EU and TC migrants have a relatively higher risk of poverty if compared to the native populations. Some exceptions are EU mobile citizens in UK and TC migrants in UK and France.

The gap is generally higher for TC migrants with respect to EU mobile citizens. Among countries with larger populations of migrants (captured by the size of the circles), the gap in poverty between natives and EU mobile citizens is particularly high in Spain (31.6 pp), Austria (22.4 pp) and Italy (18.4 pp). In the case of TC migrants, the highest gaps are recorded in Sweden (33.1 pp), Austria (28.9 pp), Spain (27.8 pp) and Italy (19.1 pp).

Overcrowding

Another indicator often used to measure the level of integration of migrants is the overcrowding rate shown in Figure 1.10. This indicator provides an indirect measure of financial resources available to households. A person is considered as living in an overcrowded household if the household does not have an appropriate number of rooms with respect to the size of the household¹⁴.

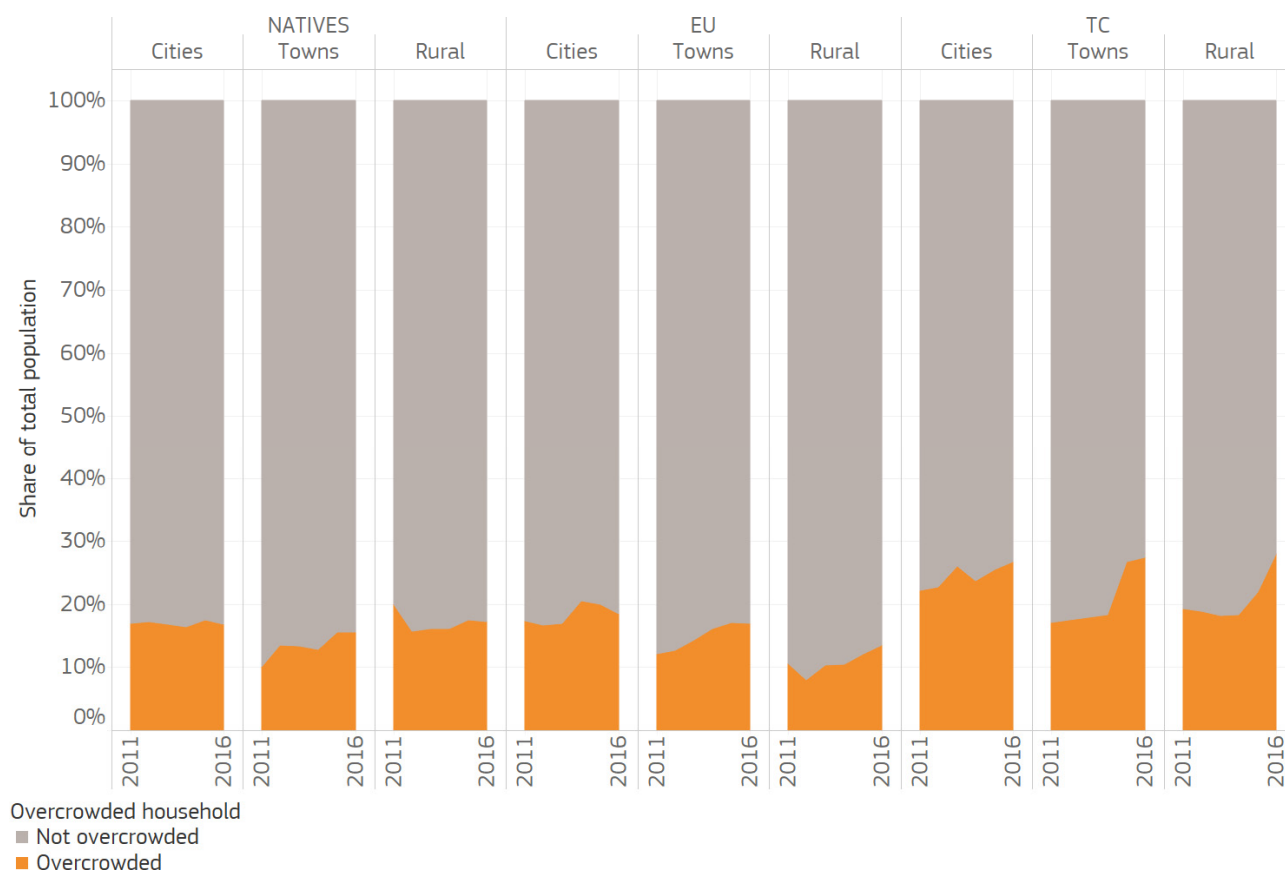


Figure 1.10 Overcrowding rate by origin and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011-2016).

Source: own elaboration of EUSILC microdata.

While for all three origin groups the overcrowding rate is higher in cities, for TC migrants it is equally high in all three types areas of residence – more than one fourth of households in this group. The overcrowding rate of TC migrants has increased since 2014 in particular in towns and rural areas reaching around 28% in 2016.

The percentage of EU mobile citizens who live in overcrowded residential units is higher in cities and towns. Interestingly, it is relatively modest in rural areas – only 13% that is the lowest in all origin and settlement type groups¹⁵.

¹⁴ According to Eurostat definition a person is considered as living in an overcrowded household if the household does not have at its disposal a minimum of rooms equal to: room for the household; one room per couple in the household; one room for each single person aged 18 and more; one room per pair of single people of the same gender between 12 and 17 years of age; one room for each single person between 12 and 17 years of age and not included in the previous category; one room per pair of children under 12 years of age.

¹⁵ As it is indicated in Box 1, the obtained results refer to private households only as collective households are excluded from the underlying survey. This might bias the overall picture especially if collective households are characterised by higher overcrowding rate or inequally present in cities, towns and rural areas.

Unemployment

Figure 1.11 presents the employment status of the active population by origin and settlement types. The employment gap between natives and migrants is one of the most used measures of integration of migrants.

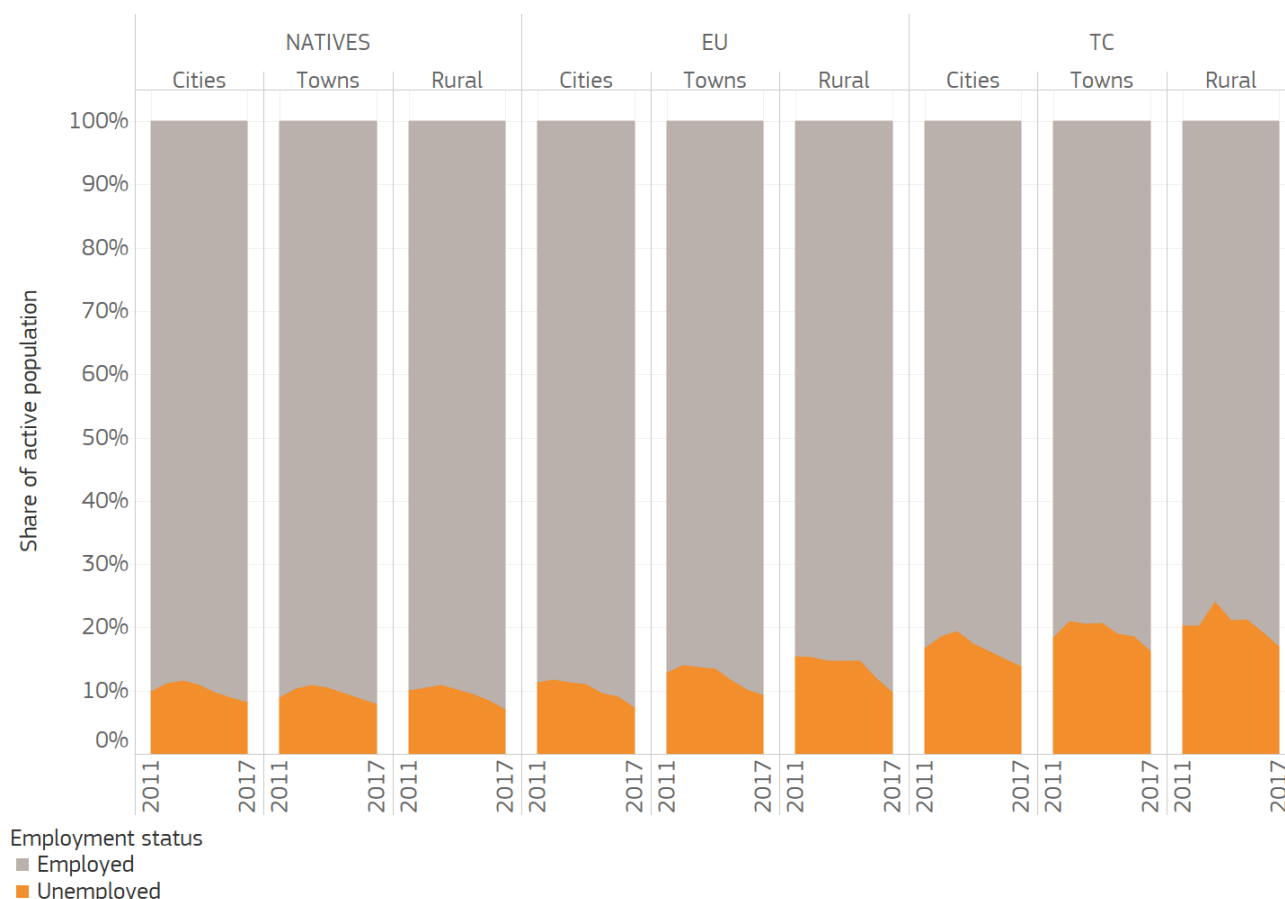


Figure 1.11 Employment status of the active population by origin and degree of urbanisation, EU (2011 - 2017).
Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

For all three groups, the unemployment rate peaked in 2013, after which it gradually returned to levels below those observed in 2011. The highest figures are detected for TC migrants in rural areas (24%). While for natives, the unemployment rate is currently higher in cities than in towns and in rural areas, for EU mobile citizens and TCs it is higher in towns and rural areas (above 10 and 17% respectively).

Looking exclusively at 2017, we can notice the following:

- the unemployment rate of natives across the types of settlements is similar (approximately eight per cent);
- the unemployment rate of EU mobile citizens is in line with the one of natives in cities, slightly higher in towns (1 pp) and the highest in rural areas (3 pp);
- the unemployment rate among TC migrants is higher compared to the other two groups in all three types of settlements;
- the unemployment rate in rural areas is the highest for TC migrants (17%), compared to EU mobile citizens (10%) and natives (7%).

Figure 1.12 demonstrates the heterogeneity of the unemployment rate gap between origin groups (EU and TC migrants each compared to natives) among those living in rural areas across Member States. In general, the unemployment rate of TC migrants (right pane - more dispersed) diverges from that of natives more than the unemployment rate of EU mobile citizens does (left pane - more compact).

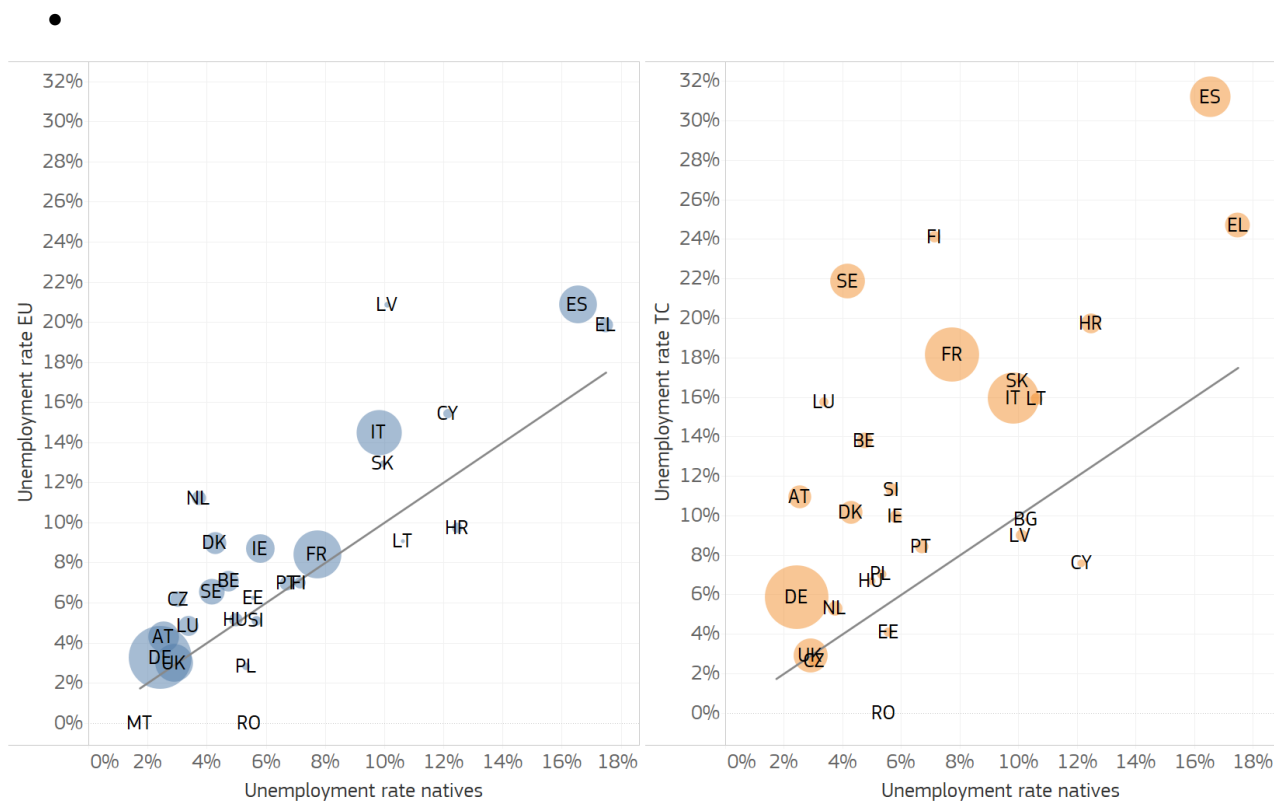


Figure 1.12 Unemployment rate in rural areas, EU mobile citizens and TC migrants vs natives (2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

Note: the size of circles is proportional to the active populations of migrants. Figures for Bulgaria, Czechia, Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania and Slovakia should be considered with caution due to the limited (<50) number of observation in the EU-LFS.

The largest gap is observed for TC migrants in Sweden followed by Finland and Spain – 18, 17 and 14 pp respectively. The exception is Cyprus where in rural areas the unemployment rate among TC migrants is lower than among natives.

With the exception of Latvia and the Netherlands, the unemployment rate of EU mobile citizens stands in the range of what is observed for natives. In Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, Slovenia the unemployment rate for EU mobile citizens is equal to the one of natives. In the UK and Portugal, identical unemployment rates are observed for all three groups: 7 and 3% respectively.

While looking at the unemployment rate gap between TC migrants and EU mobile citizens. Most of the time the unemployment rate for EU mobile citizens is lower than for TC migrants. The largest gap is observed in Sweden (22 vs 7%), Finland (24 vs 7%), and France (18 vs 8%).

Chapter 2 Migrants working in agriculture

Share of migrants working in agriculture

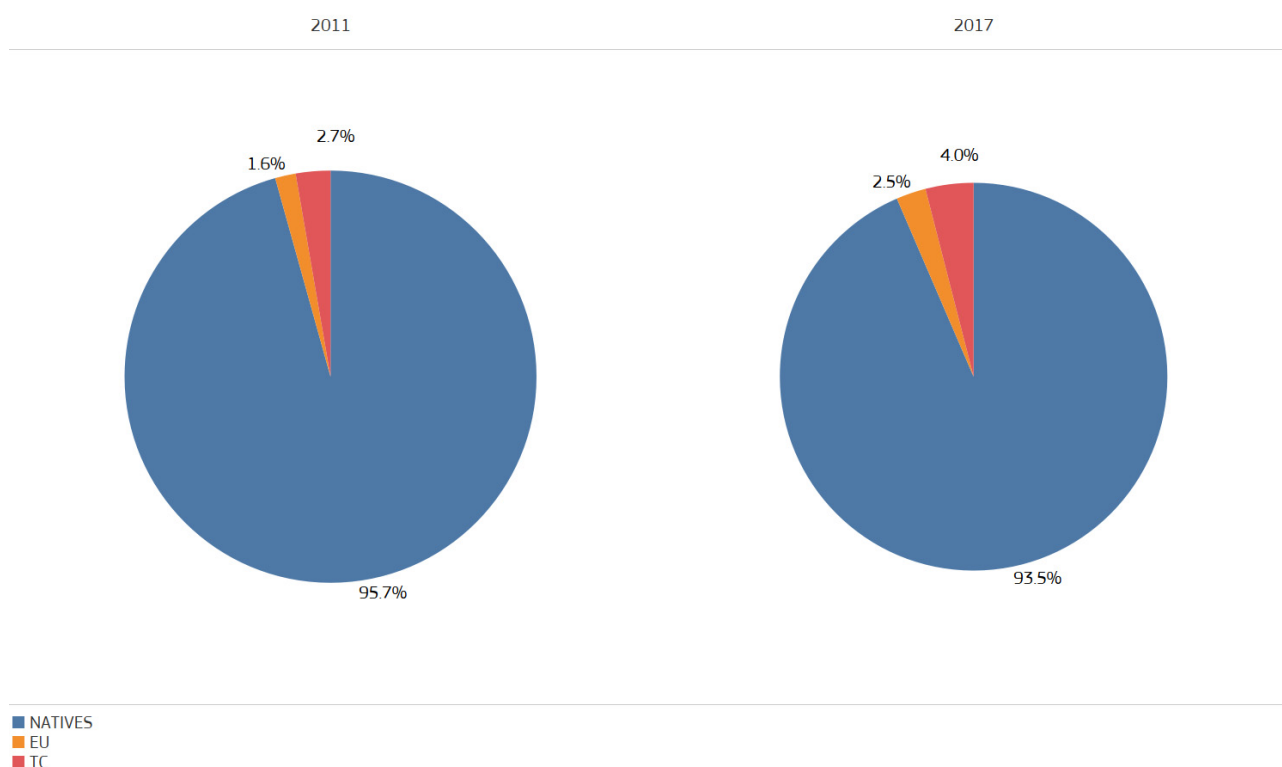


Figure 2.1 Total population employed in agriculture, by origin, EU (2011, 2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

The share of EU and TC migrants in the total employment¹⁶ in agriculture was very limited in 2011: 1.6 and 2.7 % respectively. Between 2011 and 2017, both the relative and absolute figures changed significantly. The total number of people employed in agriculture in EU decreased by more than a million: from 10.1 to 8.9 (equivalent to 12% of 2011). This decrease is exclusively due to natives. In 2017, there were 1.3 million fewer natives employed in agriculture with respect to 2011 (13% decrease). This was only partially compensated by EU and TC migrants: the two groups increased by 58.5 (36 % increase) and 83.7 (31% increase) thousands respectively. The combined effect of the outflow of native and the inflow EU mobile citizens and TC migrants led to an increase of two pp in the share of non-natives among those involved in agriculture.

¹⁶ Based on EU-LFS statistics and ILO definition, Eurostat classifies individuals 'in three categories as employed, unemployed and economically inactive'. When referring to 'total population in employment', or simply 'total employment', we refer to the first of those abovementioned categories. The reader should not confound these expressions with those identifying specific 'professional statuses', again as defined by Eurostat, such as 'employees, self-employed persons and family workers'. The latter are treated in a section below, namely 'Professional status' (page 30). A detailed description of the terminology is available on the Eurostat website (Eurostat 2019).

Immigrants' employment in agriculture compared to other sectors

Figure 2.2 captures the extent to which immigrants tend to work in agriculture as compared to all other economic sectors, by Member State. The dark blue colour stands for the year 2017, while lighter shades represent previous years. The size of the circle is proportional to the absolute number of migrants employed in agriculture. A positive gap is recorded when the share of migrants in total employed in the agriculture sector is higher than the share of migrants in total employed in all other sectors. The vertical axis represents this gap in pp.

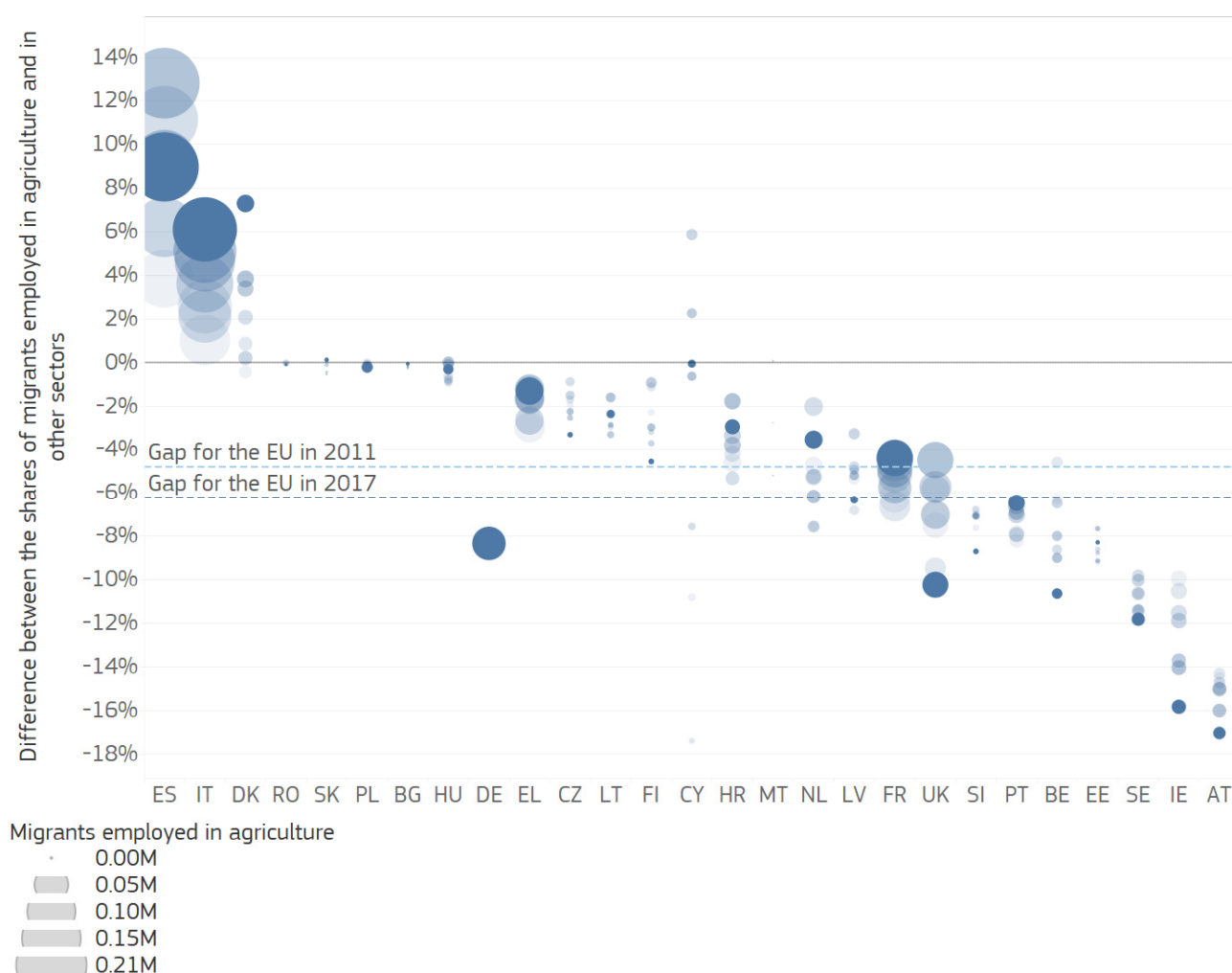


Figure 2.2 Difference between the share of migrants working in agriculture and the share of migrants in all other sectors (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

Note: The size of the circle is proportional to the number of migrants employed in agriculture. Figures for Bulgaria, Malta, Romania and Slovakia should be considered with caution due to the limited number of observation in the LFS.

The figure shows that in the majority of Member States the share of migrants among total employed in agriculture is lower than their shares in all other sectors pooled together. The exceptions are Spain, Italy and Denmark where the percentage of migrants among total employed in agriculture is from 6 to 9 pp higher compared to other sectors (2017). Over time, this positive gap was oscillating around nine pp in Spain, whilst it is widening in Italy and Denmark. The largest negative differentials (more than 10 pp) are observed in Sweden, Ireland and Austria. Looking at the time perspective, we

can notice that some negative differentials are closing, namely in Greece, Croatia, Netherlands, France, Portugal, while widening in UK, Sweden, Ireland and Austria.

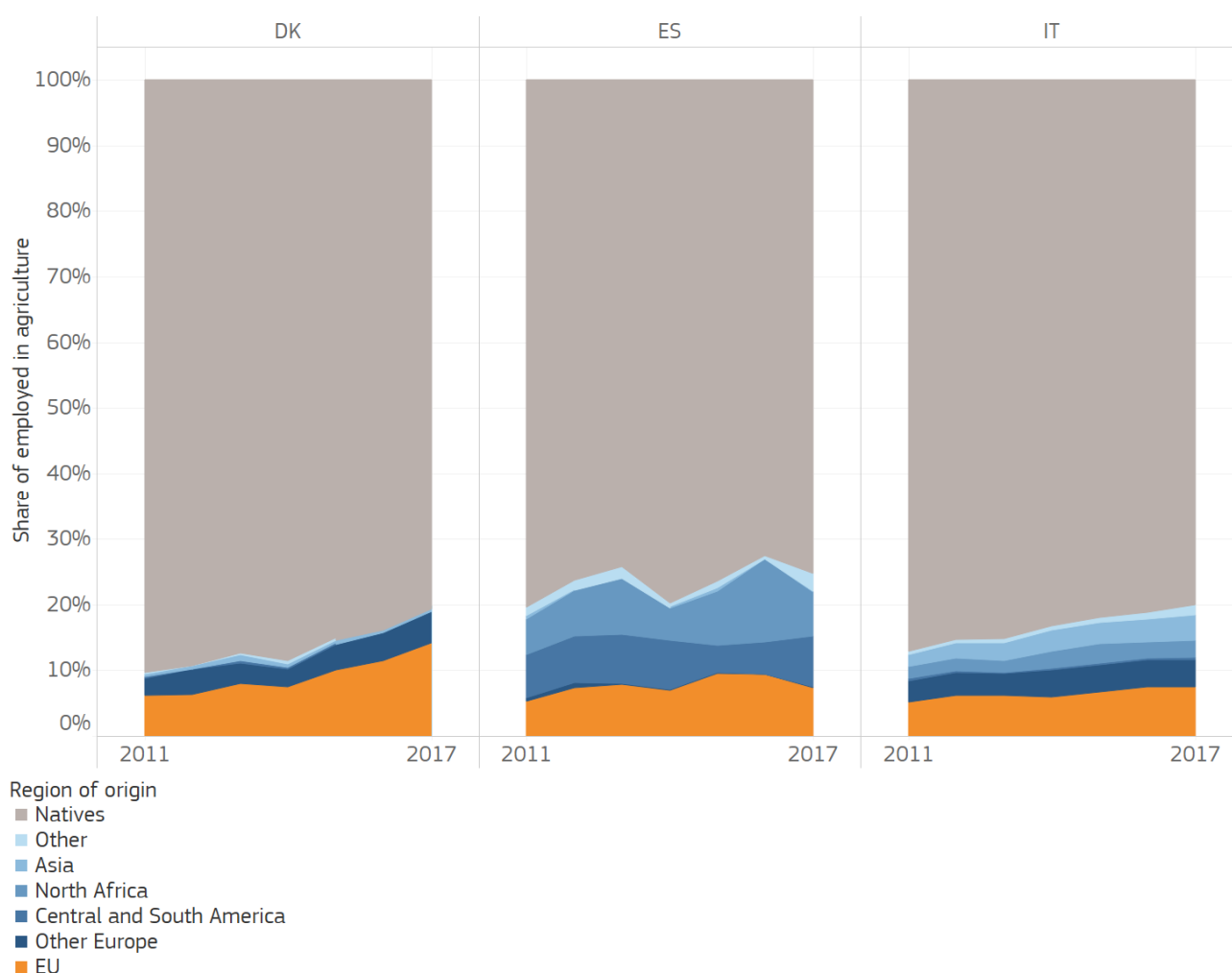


Figure 2.3 Employed in agriculture by origin in Denmark, Spain, and Italy (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of LFS data.

In Denmark, the share of migrants employed in agriculture steadily increased from 10 to 20% between 2011 and 2017. About 14% of those employed in agriculture are coming from another Member State (compared to 6% in 2011), and 5 % from non-EU European countries (2017) (Figure 2.3).

In Spain, the share of foreign workers employed in agriculture increased from 20 to 25% over the considered period, with a decline of 2014. While in 2013, the economic downturn in Spain resulted in the outflow of migrants from sectors where they were primarily employed (e.g. construction sector) the figure demonstrates that agriculture continued to attract migrants. This is pointing to the countercyclical nature of the agricultural sector. Moreover, it is possible to observe that in Spain (as well as in Denmark) there was an increase of EU mobile citizens in agriculture sector after the restriction for labour mobility of Bulgarian and Romanian citizens were lifted in 2014. In 2017, approximately 7% of those employed in agriculture were coming from another Member State, 7% from North Africa, and 7% from Central and South America.

In Italy, the share of migrant workers employed in agriculture steadily increased from 15 to 20% over the entire considered period. Compared with Denmark and Spain, in Italy the origin of migrants employed in agriculture is more diverse. In 2017, about 8% of those employed in agriculture are coming from another Member State, 4% from non-EU European countries, 4% come from Asia and 3% from Northern Africa.

Gender

Figure 2.4 illustrates the differences in gender compositions across sectors and origin groups. While non-agricultural sectors are gender balanced for all origin groups, the agriculture sector is characterised by a significant prevalence of men and this pattern reinforced over time. The share of men among natives and EU mobile citizens employed in agriculture was more than 60% in 2011 and it further increased, reaching 66% in 2017. More than three-fourths of all TC migrants employed in agriculture are men.

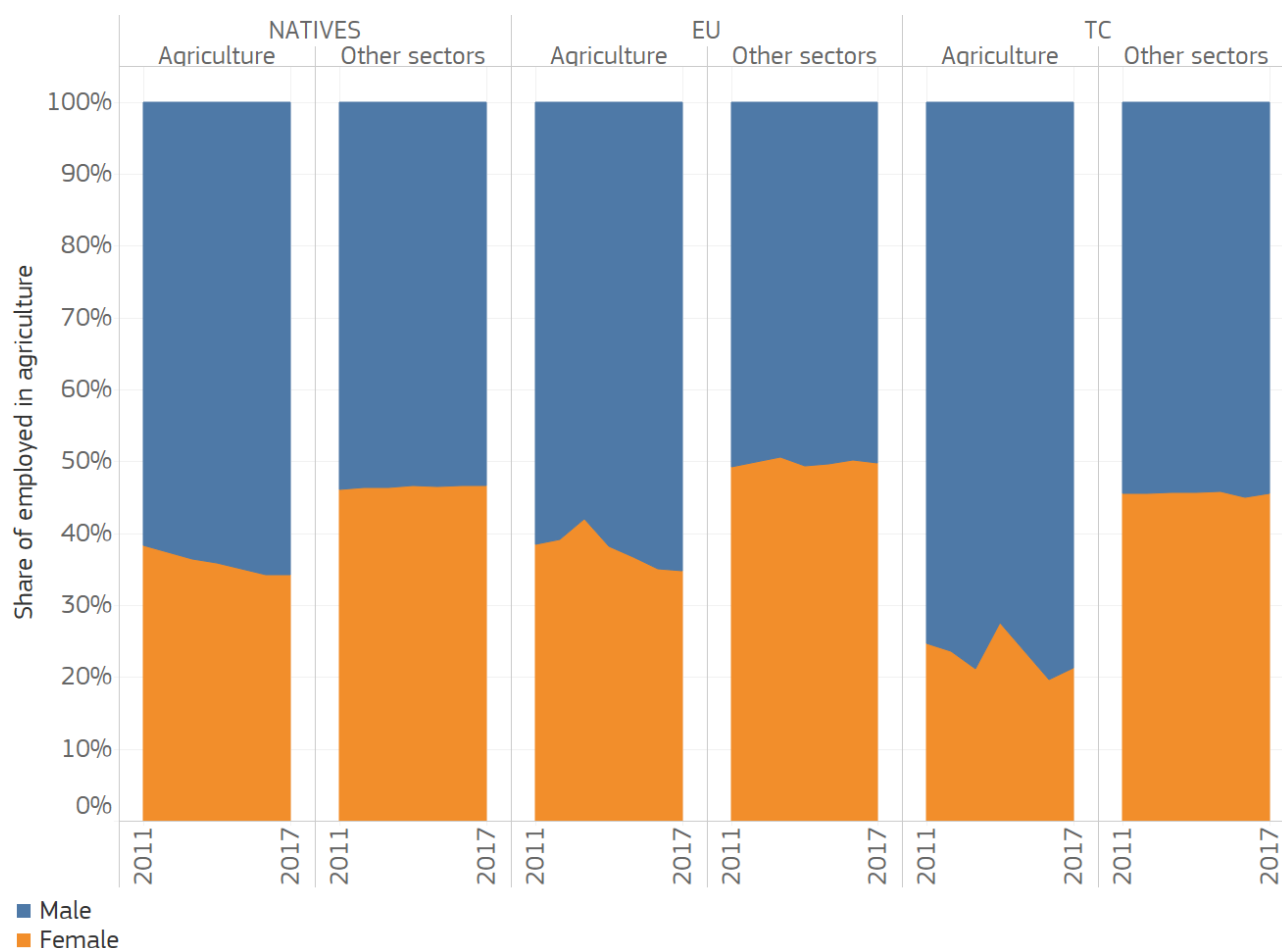


Figure 2.4 Share of employed in agriculture by origin and sex, EU (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of LFS data.

The spikes observed for EU and TC migrants in agriculture, respectively in 2013 and 2014, are explained by changes in origin composition of migrants in Spain and the UK. These changes are driven by the decline in the number of North African migrants (who are mostly men) and the inflow of more gender-balanced flows of EU mobile citizens after the restriction for labour mobility of citizens of the EU enlargement countries were lifted in 2011 and 2014.

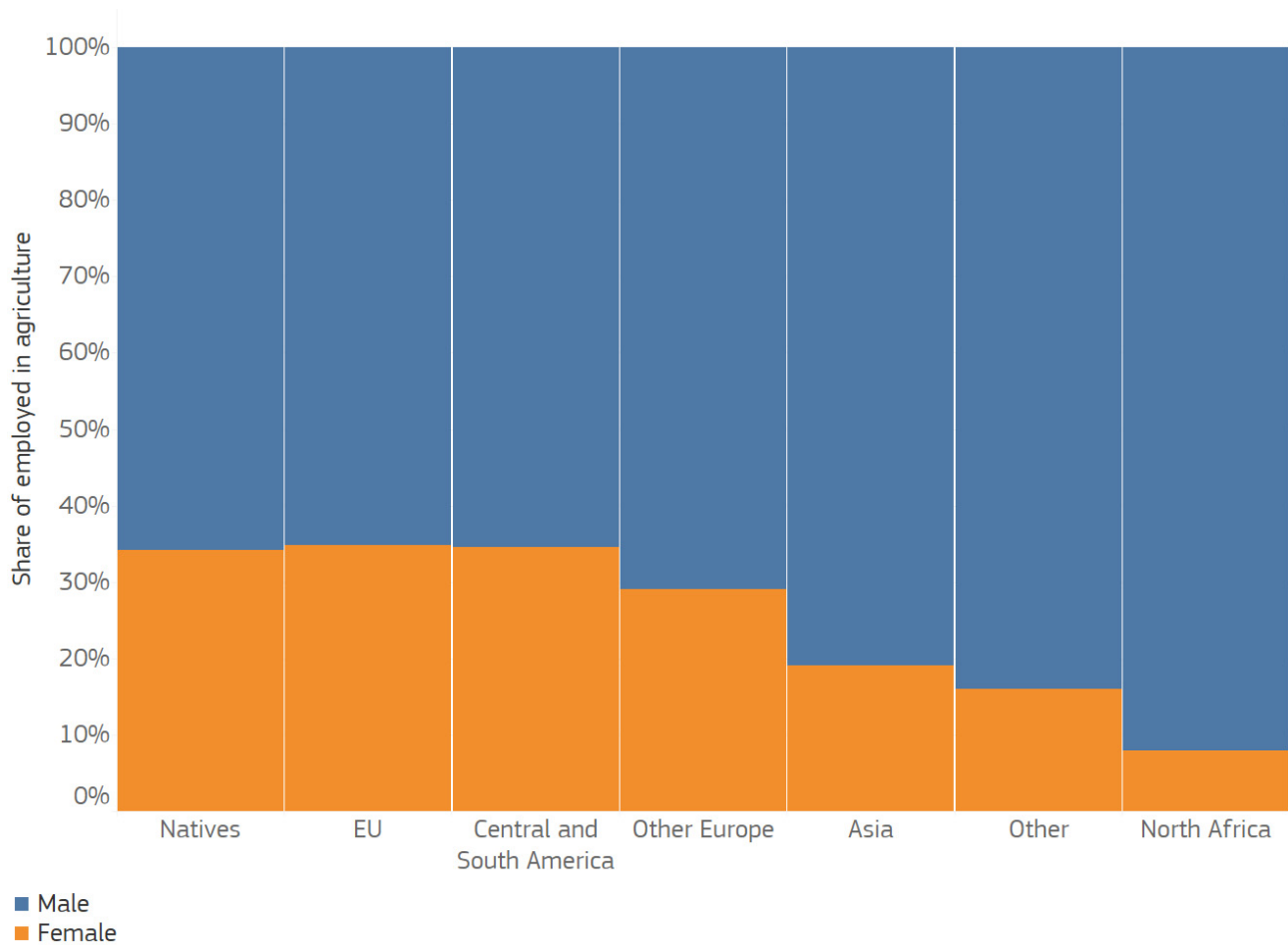


Figure 2.5 Share employed in agriculture by detailed origin and sex, EU (2017).
Source: own elaboration of LFS data.

Figure 2.5 illustrates how the origin of migrants is an important factor in defining the gender composition of those employed in agriculture. Among natives, EU mobile citizens and migrants coming from Central and South America the share of men among those employed in agriculture is about 65%. It is significantly higher among migrants coming from non-EU European countries (71%), Asians (81%). North African migrants working in agriculture are almost exclusively men (92%).

Type of occupation

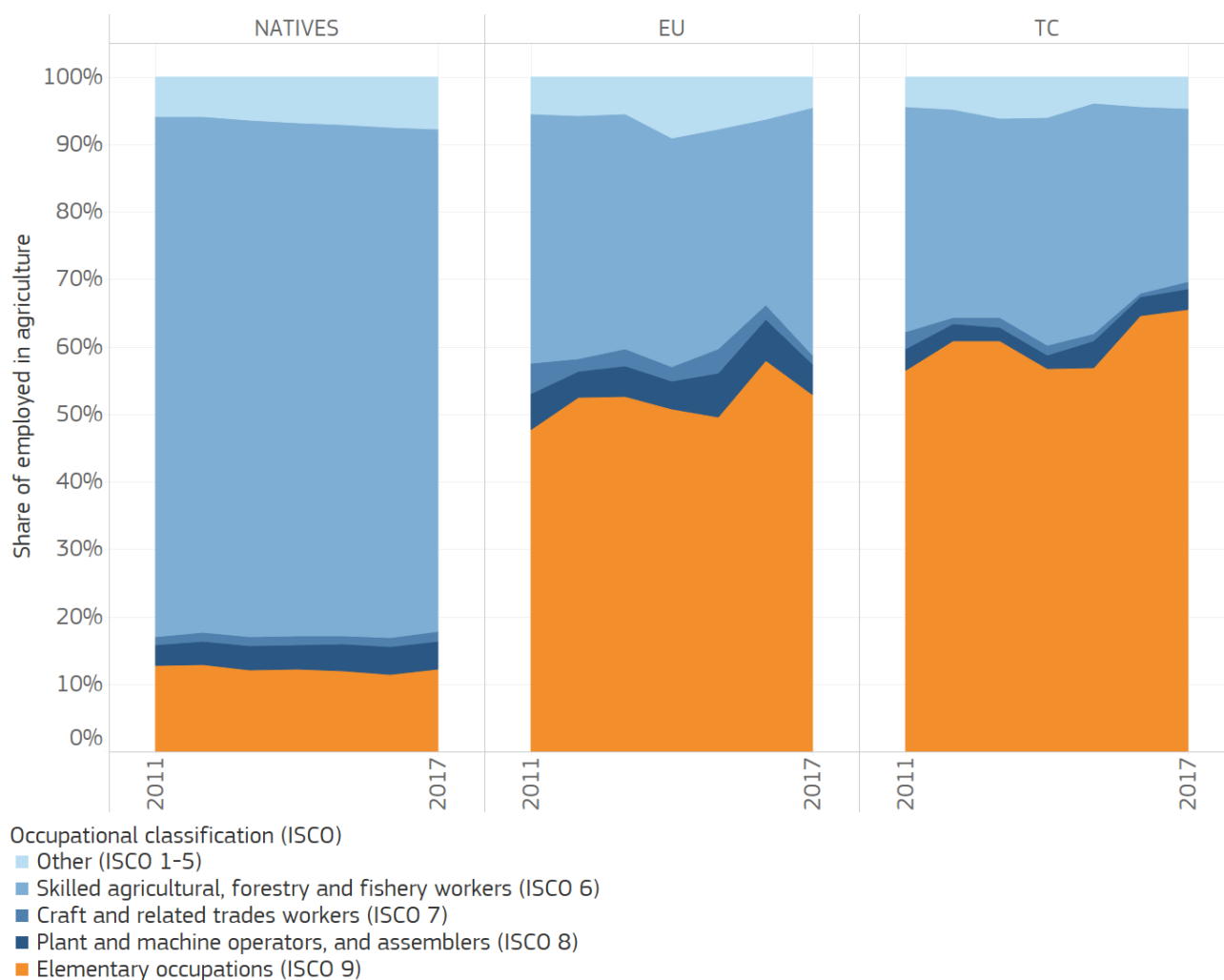


Figure 2.6 Share of employed in agriculture by occupation and origin, EU (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of LFS data.

Figure 2.6 displays the distribution of those employed in agriculture based on ISCO occupational classification and country of origin¹⁷. It points to large occupational discrepancies between natives and immigrants in the agriculture sector. Among natives, while 75% of the employees are classified as ‘skilled agriculture, forestry and fishery workers’, only 11% are categorised as ‘Elementary occupations’. Conversely, only slightly more than a quarter of TC migrants and one-third of EU mobile citizens are qualified as ‘Skilled agriculture, forestry and fishery workers occupational group’. Moreover, the share of EU mobile citizens and TC migrants in ‘Elementary occupations’ is five and six times higher than for natives.

¹⁷ The ISCO-08 divides jobs into ten major groups: Managers (ISCO 1); Professional (ISCO 2); Technicians and associate professionals (ISCO 3); Clerical support workers (ISCO 4); Service and sales workers (ISCO 5); Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers (ISCO 6); Craft and related trades workers (ISCO 7); Plant and machine operators, and assemblers (ISCO 8); Elementary occupations (ISCO 9); and Armed forces occupations (ISCO 10 - excluded). More information is available at: <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/isco/index.htm> (Last accessed 14 May 2019).

Professional status

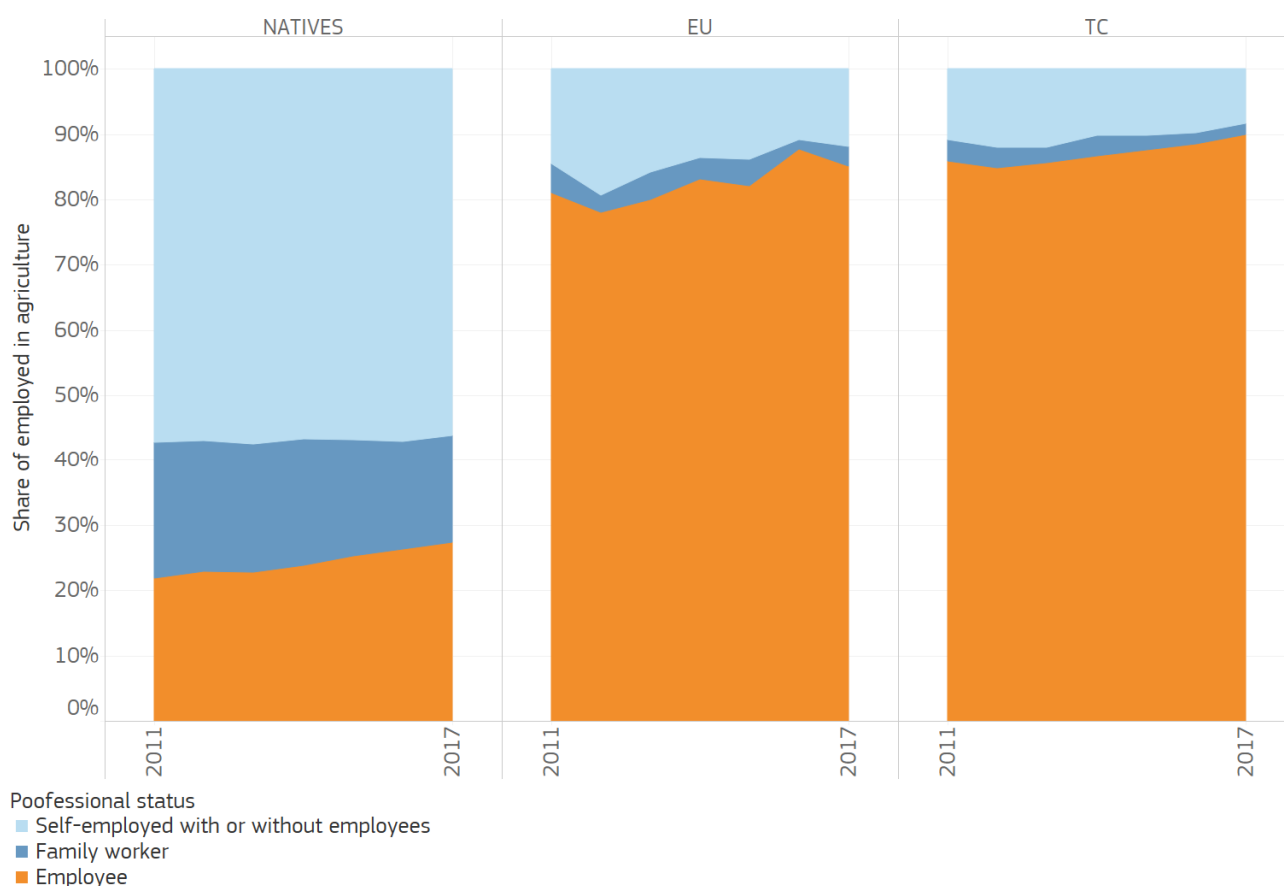


Figure 2.7 Share of employed in agriculture by professional status and origin, EU (2017).

Source: own elaboration of EU-LFS microdata.

Figure 2.7 indicates that more than half of natives employed in agriculture sectors are self-employed and 16% are 'family workers', leaving only 27% as employed. The share of employed among EU mobile citizens and TC migrants is three times higher compared to natives (almost 90%). The share of self-employed among EU and TC migrants is more than five times lower with respect to natives (approximately 10-11%). Less than two per cent of foreigners is family workers.

Incidence of temporary employment

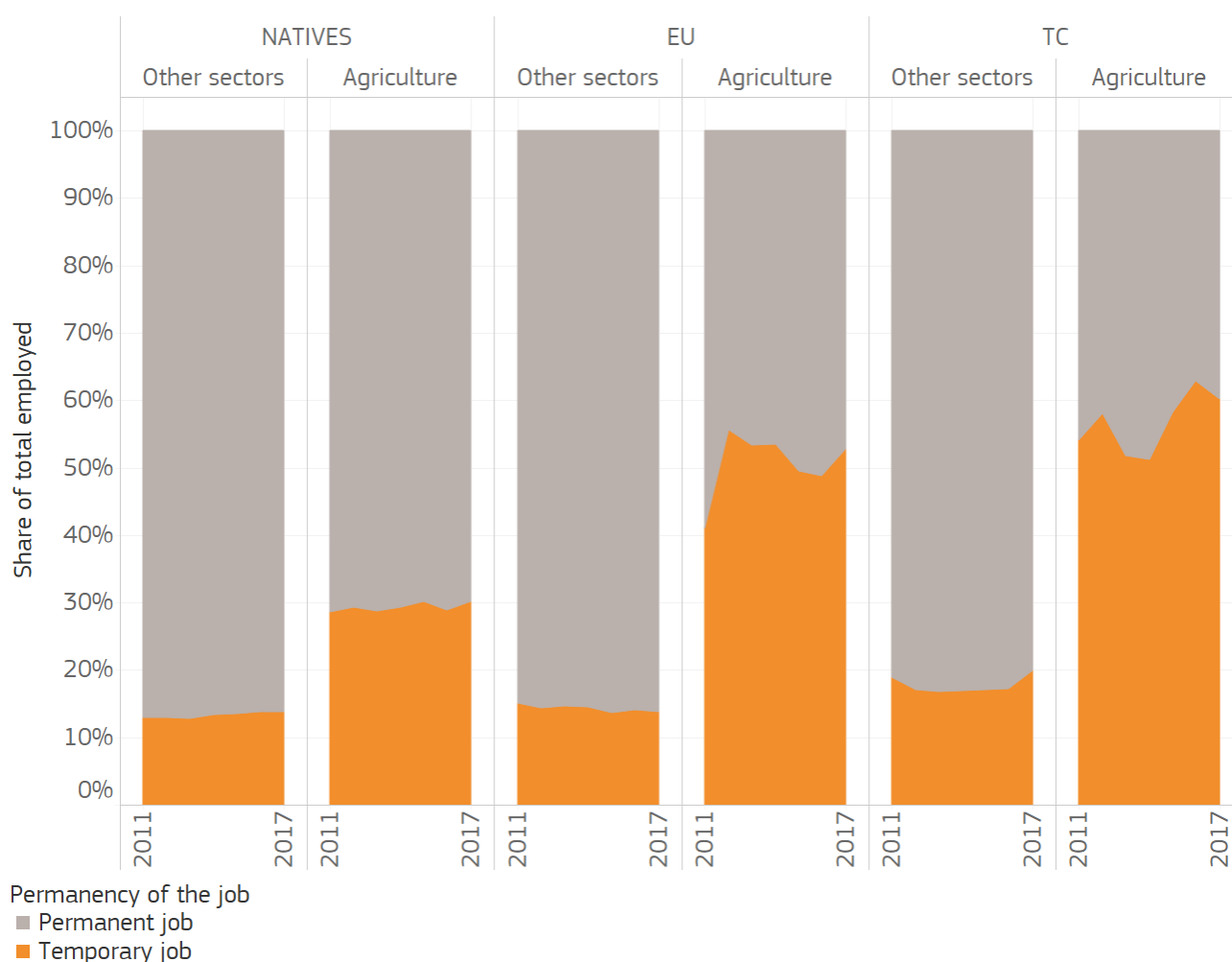


Figure 2.8 Incidence of temporary employment by sector and origin, EU (2011-2017).

Source: own elaboration of LFS data.

The share of those having temporary jobs is higher in agriculture compared to other sectors (Figure 2.8). This is true both across origin groups and over time.

The incidence of temporary employment in agriculture was the lowest among natives in 2011 and it remained stable over the considered period (about 30 %). Among EU mobile citizens, it was 41% in 2011 and increased to 53% in 2017. Approximately 60% of TC migrants employed in agriculture had temporary jobs in 2017, up from more than half in 2011.

Overall, the agricultural sector appears to be more exposed to temporary jobs. This can be the result of the peculiarities of the sector (e.g. seasonal patterns of work). However, the degree of this exposure is not equal across origin groups. Both EU and TC migrants are more frequently employed in temporary jobs, and this trend is growing over time.

Authorisations for the purpose of seasonal work

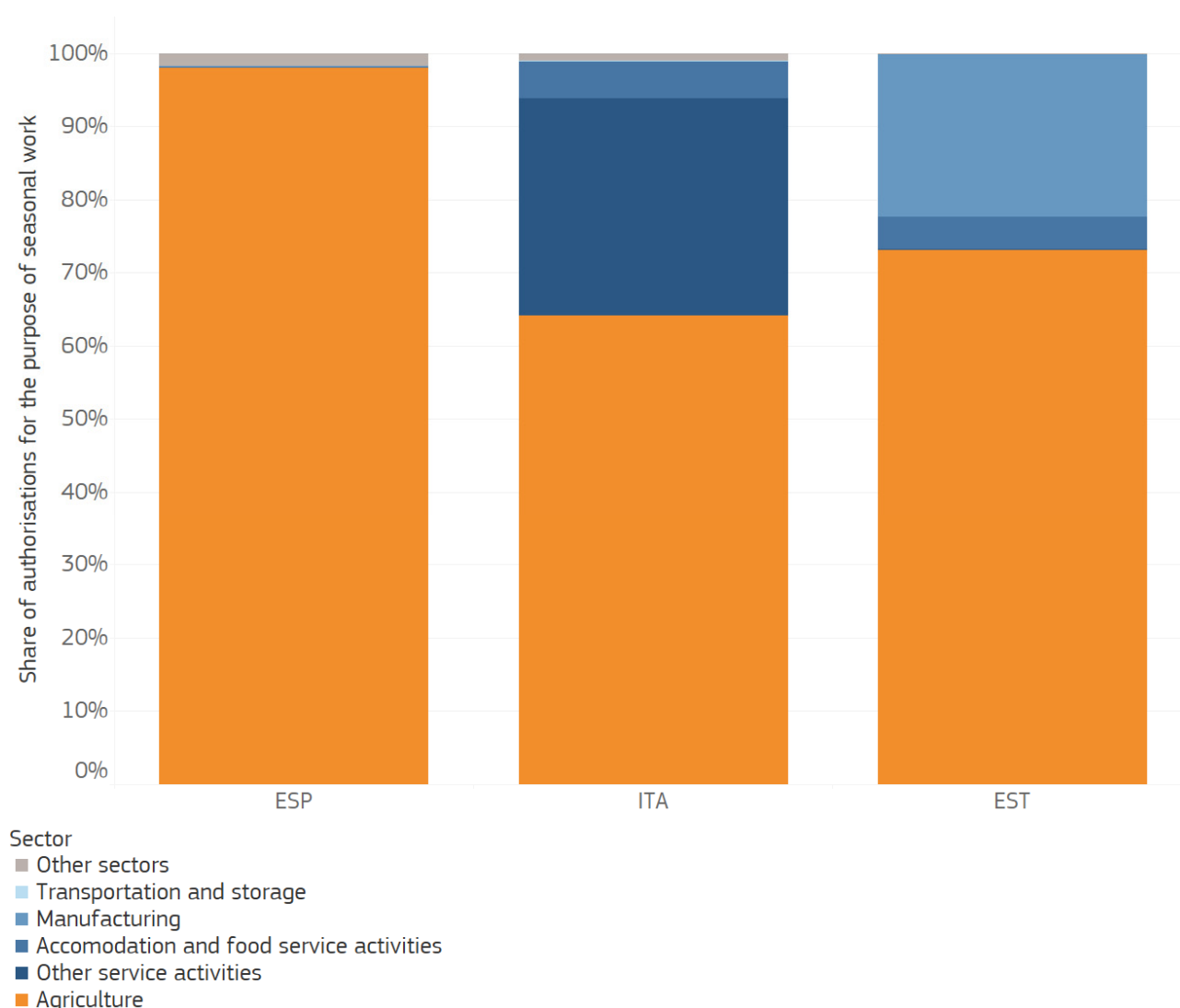


Figure 2.9 Distribution of authorisations for the purpose of seasonal work in Spain, Italy and Estonia (2017).

Source: own elaboration of EUROSTAT data on seasonal work (migr_rssw2).

In 2014, the EU adopted the Seasonal Workers Directive (2014/36/EU) which is aimed at harmonising Member States' laws regarding the entry, stay and certain labour rights of non-EU seasonal workers, preventing exploitation as well as meeting labour market needs for seasonal work in the EU. The Directive was adopted in 2014 and should have been implemented by the Member States by 30 September 2016¹⁸. The Fitness Check on the EU Legislation on Legal Migration adopted on 29 March 2019¹⁹ states that in view of the recent implementation dates, only a partial evaluation was possible in the case of the Seasonal Workers Directive. The statistics on authorisations issued for the purpose of seasonal work were first released in 2018 for the 2017 reference year²⁰. Out of 10 795 authorisations reported by Eurostat for 2017, 9 088 (84.1%) were issued for the agriculture sector. Out of those issued for the agriculture sector, 63 % were issued by Spain, 25 % by Italy, and

¹⁸ Please note that the UK, Ireland and Denmark are not bound by this Directive.

¹⁹ SWD (2019) 1055

²⁰ Eurostat, Authorisations issued for the purpose of seasonal work by economic sector, sex and citizenship [migr_ressw2]. The statistics on first permits issued for remunerated activities for seasonal workers is available starting from 2008 (First permits issued for remunerated activities by reason, length of validity and citizenship [migr_resocc]). However, figures up until 2016 are not necessarily in compliance with the Seasonal Workers Directive for which harmonised reporting requirements enter into effect as of 2017 data and there are many gaps related to seasonal work reporting. (SWD(2019) 1056 final). Moreover, the dataset does not provide information on the sector of employment.

8 % by Estonia. The majority of authorisations were issued for Moroccans (5 174), Ukrainians (952), Indians (862), Colombians (748) and Albanians (614).

Figure 2.9 shows the distribution of authorisations for the purpose of seasonal work, by sectors and for the three countries with the largest number of authorisations issued. In the three countries, the majority of authorisations were issued for agriculture: 98, 64 and 73 % respectively for Spain, Italy, and Estonia. This is influenced by the choices made by the Member States when transposing the Seasonal Workers Directive, as they had to list those sectors of employment, which include activities that are dependent on seasonality²¹.

²¹ The Member States may modify that list, where appropriate in consultation with the social partners. The Member States shall inform the Commission of such modifications. Article 2 of the Seasonal Workers Directive (2014/36/EU).

Box 2 Immigrants' temporary work in agriculture – the case of Ukraine to Poland

The case of temporary migrations from Ukraine to Poland is emblematic of the central role played by the demand for labour in agriculture in representing a strong pull factor for migration. Given the temporary nature of these migrations, the LFS data and international immigration statistics are not fully capturing the relevance of these important flows. The LFS reports a total stock of 164.5 thousand migrants from Third Countries living in Poland in 2017, while OECD data on immigration by citizenship indicate an annual flow of 106 thousand immigrants to Poland in 2016.

EU statistics on residence permits indicate that the number of permits issued to Ukrainians in Poland has increased from less than 7.5 thousand in 2009 to almost 560 thousand in 2017 (Figure 2.10). This constitutes by far the largest bilateral corridor for legal migration to the EU. In 2017, the residence permits of Ukrainians to Poland were representing 23% of the total number of residence permits issued in the EU. Approximately 94% of these permits had duration below 12 months and 96% were related to work reasons.

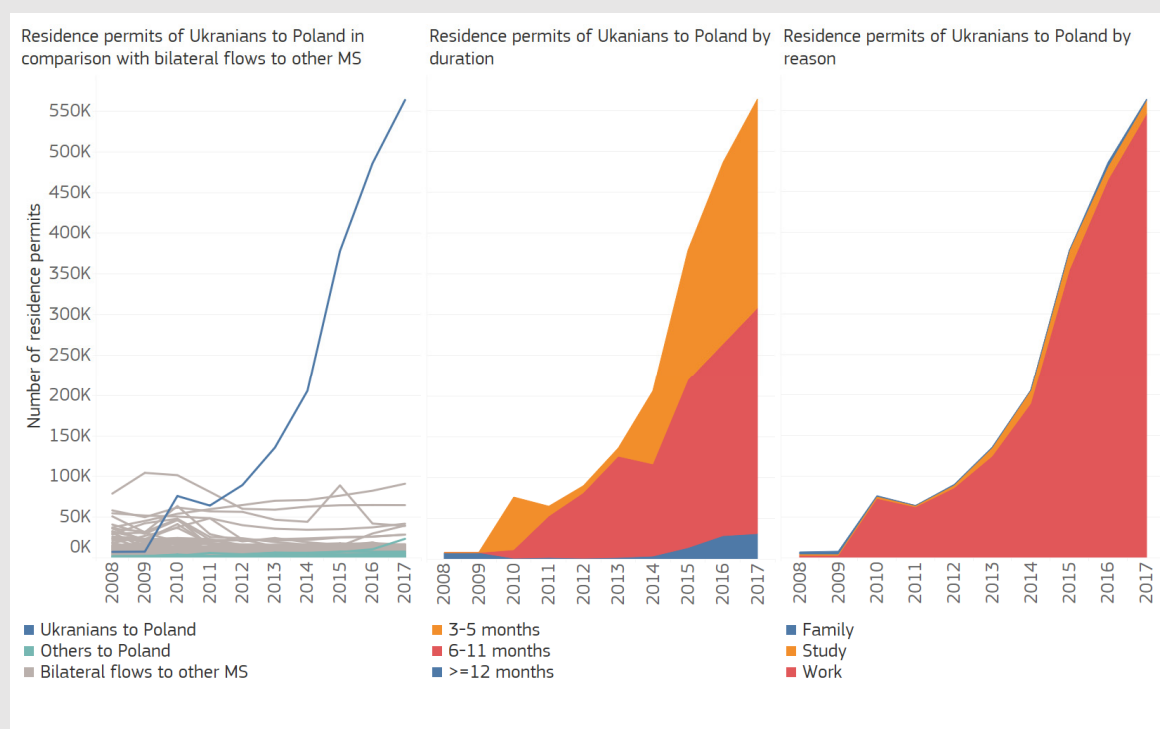


Figure 2.10 Residence permits of Ukrainians to Poland (2008-2017).

Note: excluding residence permits for humanitarian and other reasons. Source: own elaboration of EUROSTAT data (*migr_resfirst*).

National Polish data from the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy and recent analyses (Górny and Kaczmarczyk 2019) provide a clearer picture of the important role of agriculture in respect of this large number of residence permits. A great part of the increase in residence permits of Ukrainians to Poland can be linked to a simplified procedure for temporary migration introduced in 2006 to guarantee a constant supply of labour in agriculture, in particular in the fruit sector.

This procedure represents a flexible entry system bypassing the more stringent and formal requirements foreseen for formal work permits (and the labour market test in particular). The procedure is based on the employer's declaration of the intention to employ a foreigner that needs to be registered at the local labour office (an obligation to register an entry of departure of a foreigner has been introduced only in 2018). According to this procedure, the employed person can work up to period to six months without the need of having a work permit if the employment refers to selected persons and workers are originating from Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Moldova, Russia or Ukraine. Since the introduction of this procedure, the number of declarations of intention to employ foreigners have increased steadily reaching 1.8 million in 2017. Importantly this number does not translate directly into the real inflow of migrant workers as not all of the documents are being used. The estimated number of seasonal workers was as high as 1.1 million in 2017 (and slightly increased in 2018).

While the entry through this channel was expanding, the share of declarations used for agriculture has been decreasing from 35% in 2015 to 17% in 2017. By considering all forms of temporary migration, the absolute number of permits used in agriculture has decreased for the first time in recent years, from 220 thousand in 2016 to 200 thousand in 2017. The diversion in the use of the simplified procedure from agriculture to other sectors and the overall decrease of temporary migrations destined to agriculture are questioning the ability to satisfy the future labour demand in specific regions and in the fruit sector through the import of temporary workers from Ukraine. There are three possible explanations for the declining ability of Polish agriculture to attract temporary foreign workers. The first is linked to the role of recruitment agencies, which has been expanding in relevance since the introduction of the simplified procedure. These agencies may act as gateways for the transfer of workers preferably towards other sectors and Member States rather than to Polish agriculture. The second reason may be linked to the restructuring of the legislation and the entry into force of the Seasonal Worker Directive, which has made more stringent the rules for entry in respect of the simplified procedure (for an overview, see Peers 2016, 384–88). The third reason may depend on the preferences of migrants themselves to work in other sectors rather than in agriculture.

Chapter 3 Residential patterns of migration and characteristics of agriculture at the local level in Spain and Italy

The analyses in Chapter 1 and 2 do not allow capturing different territorial processes taking place in rural areas in regions, provinces, and Local Administrative Units within each country. It is particularly important to understand if at lower geographical scales the inflow of migrants is compensating for depopulation trends in specific rural areas, and if these trends depend on the structural characteristics of agricultural production.

To tackle these issues we relied on spatially detailed data on the presence of migrants obtained from the *Padrón Continuo*²² in Spain and from the Italian Statistical Institute (ISTAT). The downloaded data sets include annual figures on the evolution of the migrants' population between 2011 and 2017 in around 7 500 Local Administrative Units in Spain and 7 770 in Italy.

For each local administrative unit we calculated the trends of population changes for natives and migrants by computing simple correlations between the annual population and years²³.

Figure 3.1 shows the distribution of these correlations by degree of urbanisation of the Local Administrative Units and for the two population groups of migrants and natives. The panels on the right report the difference between the trends of migrants and natives. The horizontal lines are averages across all administrative units and the grey bars report 95% confidence intervals.

A high value in difference between the two trends is indicative of cases where a demographic process of depopulation for natives is associated to an increase for migrants. Since, these differences are not taking into account the order of magnitude of the changes they should be interpreted as signals that demographic processes are moving in two opposite directions, rather than substitution between populations in absolute terms. The population of migrants may increase but giving its smaller size this increase may not compensate for the decrease of the much larger population of natives.

²² http://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736177012&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254734710990

²³ A positive correlation is indicative of an expansion of population during the period considered while a negative value can be considered as evidence of trend for depopulation.

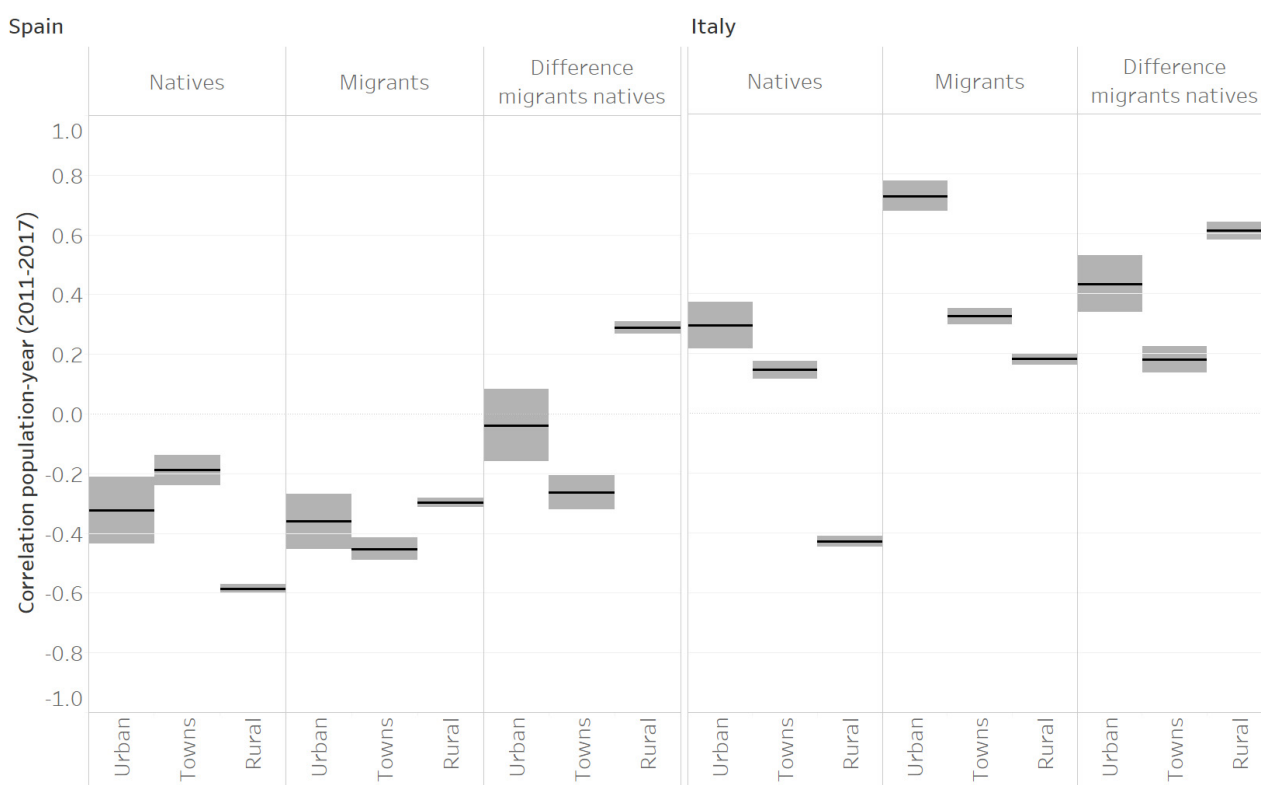


Figure 3.1 Population trends in Spain and Italy in the period 2014-2017 by degree of urbanisation and origin.

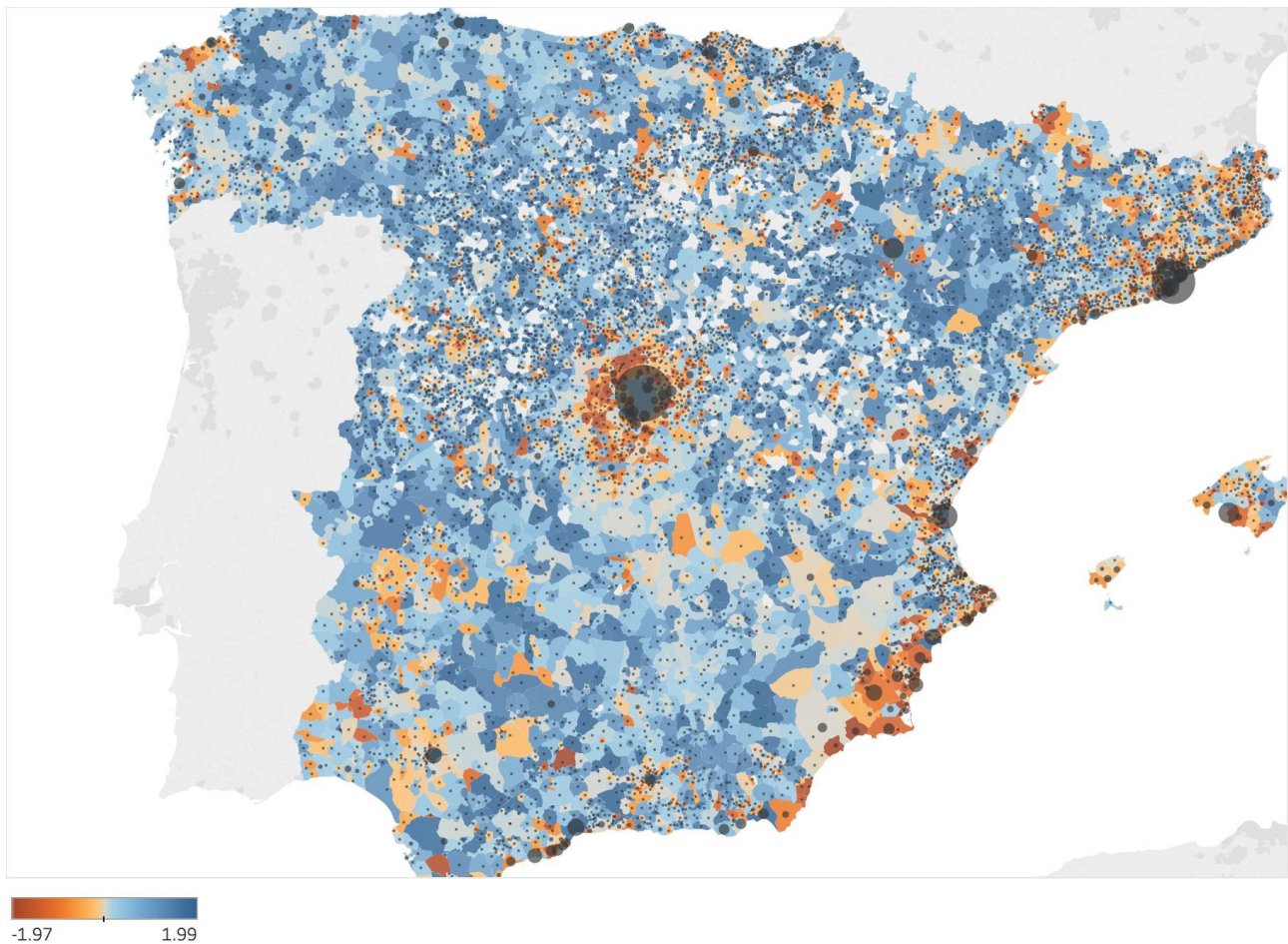
Note: the lines represent averages across Local Administrative Units and grey bars 95% confidence intervals. Source: own elaboration of population data from Padrón Continuo and ISTAT.

In the case of Spain, there is an average tendency for a decrease in population in all groups and areas. This is consistent with the decrease recorded at the aggregate level for the entire country²⁴.

Within this general trend, in the case of rural areas it is possible to observe a more pronounced decrease in the population of natives in respect of that of migrants. The tendency for substitution of migrants with natives is more pronounced in rural areas. The difference between the two trends in cities and rural areas is clearly emerging when looking at the right panel of Figure 3.1.

The map in Figure 3.2 gives a geographical representation of these differences for each Local Administrative Unit in Spain. In the case of urban areas surrounding large cities like Madrid, Barcelona, or Valencia, and along the Mediterranean coast, it is possible to observe that the population of natives is increasing and the population of migrants is decreasing. The opposite tendency, with migrants coming in and natives leaving, is emerging in Local Administrative Units in the interior and less populated areas of Spain.

²⁴ Between 2017 and 2011, the population of natives decreased by 3%, EU mobile citizens by 28%, and TC migrants increased by 0.4%.



*Figure 3.2 Difference in the trend of population between natives and migrants between 2011 and 2017.
Note: a positive value indicates that increasing trends for migrants is corresponding to a decreasing trend for natives.
Source: own elaboration of population data from Padrón Continuo and ISTAT.*

In the case of Italy, the comparison of trends in Figure 3.1 shows an expansion of natives in urban areas and towns and a decrease in rural areas. In the case of migrants, the positive trend is more pronounced in cities in respect of towns and rural areas. When considering the difference between the two trends, the strong tendency of depopulation of natives in rural areas leads to the emergence a clearer effect of substitution for rural areas, despite the expansion of the migrants' population in rural areas is not as large as in the case of cities.

As a further step in the analysis, we merged the data on the resident population with the statistics of the last Agricultural Census at the local level. The main objective of this part of the analysis was to explore if high concentrations of migrants and changes in the migrants' population can be explained by the characteristics of agriculture and in particular by the high share of temporary work and presence of labour intensive farming typologies.

The left chart in Figure 3.3 displays the relationship between the average share of migrants and the share of the agricultural surface with horticulture in Spain. Each symbol is representing a local administrative unit excluding cities. The dotted box highlights cases of Local Administrative Units with particularly high shares of migrants and high presence of horticulture and the map gives a geographical representation of these cases.

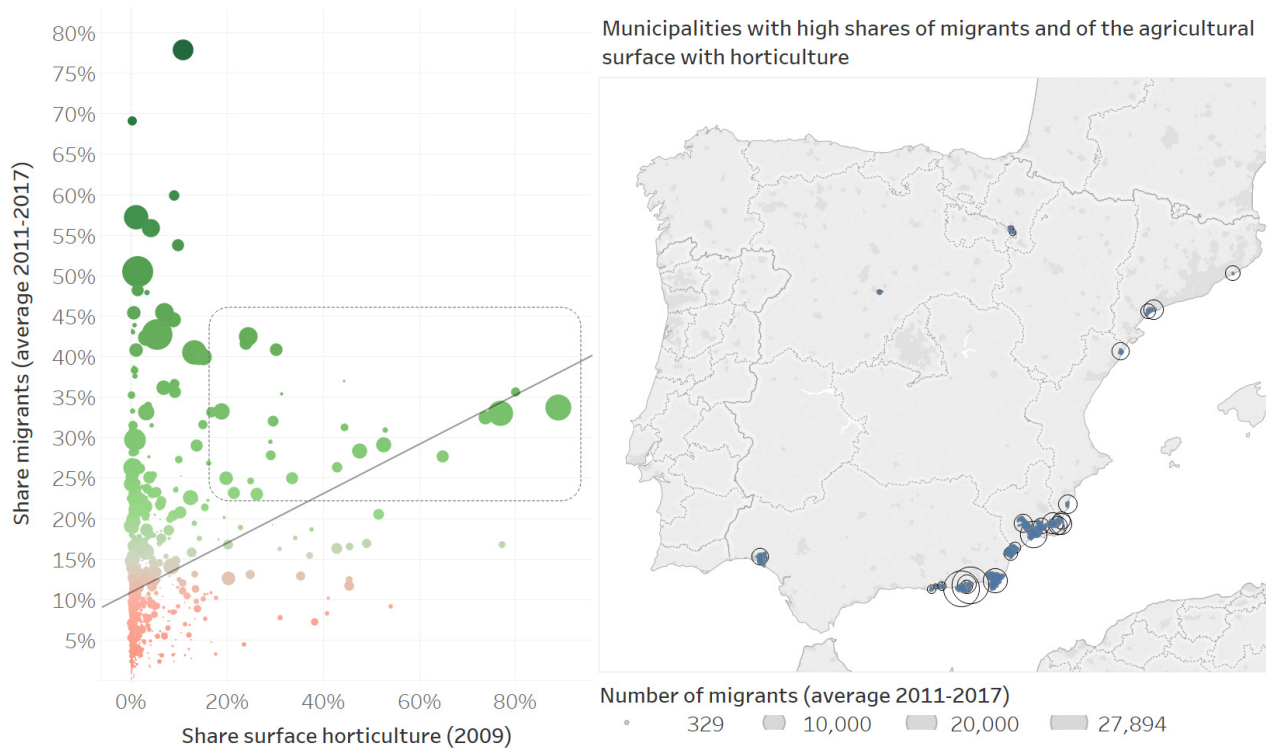


Figure 3.3 Relation between the share of migrants (2011-2017) in Local Administrative Units in Spain and the share of agricultural surface with horticulture (2009).

Note: the box in the chart and the map on the right highlight Local Administrative Units having particularly high values for these two variables. The circles in the map are proportional to the population of migrants residing in the Local Administrative Units. Source: own elaboration of population data from Padrón Continuo and the Agricultural Census 2009 in Spain. Local Administrative Units exclude cities.

Even though in some cases the high share of migrants is not directly linked to farming, there is an overall positive relationship between the two variables. This relation is confirmed by a regression model estimated using ordinary least squares where we control for overall population size and degree of urbanisation of the Local Administrative Units (see Box 3). The results of this regression model indicate that the share of agricultural surface with horticulture in the Local Administrative Units is positively associated with the presence of migrants. A positive relationship is detected for horticulture and greenhouses but not for tobacco cultivation (Column 1). Moreover, non-family work is positively associated with the presence of migrants. The regression includes a set of dummies to capture the effect attributable to the type of area. The negative coefficients at towns and rural areas dummies in Column 2 indicate that cities continue to be more attractive destination for migrants in Spain. The majority of coefficients reported in Column 2 are not significant which can be explained by the low inflow of migrants in Spain during the considered period.

The importance of the relation between high shares of migrants and the presence of horticulture is clearly emerging in cases often described in the literature on migration in rural areas in Spain. These cases are shown in the box and plotted in the map on the right part of Figure 3.3. They include the municipalities of in the areas of the Poniente Almerienense (e.g. El Ejido), the strawberry fields of Huelva and the agricultural fields around Murcia and Castelló de la Plana.

Box 3 Regression models on the relation between the presence of migrants and characteristics of agriculture in Spain and Italy

Spain

	Share of migrants in 2011	Δ migrants/population 2011-2017
	(1)	(2)
<i>Non-family work (in full time equivalence)</i>	0.054*** (0.007)	0.001 (0.004)
<i>Horticulture (% of agricultural surface)</i>	0.310*** (0.096)	0.043 (0.062)
<i>Greenhouses (% of agricultural surface)</i>	0.237*** (0.054)	-0.012 (0.030)
<i>Tobacco (% of agricultural surface)</i>	-0.243** (0.123)	0.135* (0.069)
<i>Towns</i>	0.046*** (0.008)	-0.025*** (0.003)
<i>Rural areas</i>	0.052*** (0.009)	-0.039*** (0.004)
<i>Log (population 2011)</i>	0.024*** (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.001)
Constant	-0.081*** (0.013)	0.059*** (0.007)
Observations	8 105	8 105
R-squared	0.168	0.021

Italy

	Share of migrants in 2011	Δ migrants/population 2011-2017
	(1)	(2)
<i>Temporary employment (in full time equivalence)</i>	-0.087*** (0.006)	0.029*** (0.004)
<i>Horticulture (% of agricultural surface)</i>	0.151*** (0.024)	
<i>Fruits (% of agricultural surface)</i>	0.017* (0.010)	
<i>Greenhouses (% of agricultural surface)</i>	-0.094 (0.078)	0.151** (0.059)
<i>Towns</i>	0.014*** (0.003)	-0.009*** (0.001)
<i>Rural areas</i>	0.012*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.001)
<i>Log (population 2011)</i>	0.005*** (0.001)	0.001*** (0.000)
Constant	0.010* (0.005)	0.003 (0.003)
Observations	7 693	7 502
R-squared	0.049	0.040

Note: The dependent variable is the share of migrants in total population in 2011 (Column 1) and its change over period 2011-2017 (Column 2). The sets of independent variables vary across countries due to the heterogeneity of information provided by the agriculture censuses the two countries. Robust standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 3.4 is analogous to Figure 3.3, this time related to Italy. In this case, the analysis considers the change in the share of migrants calculated through the correlation cited above and the share of temporary work total work agriculture.

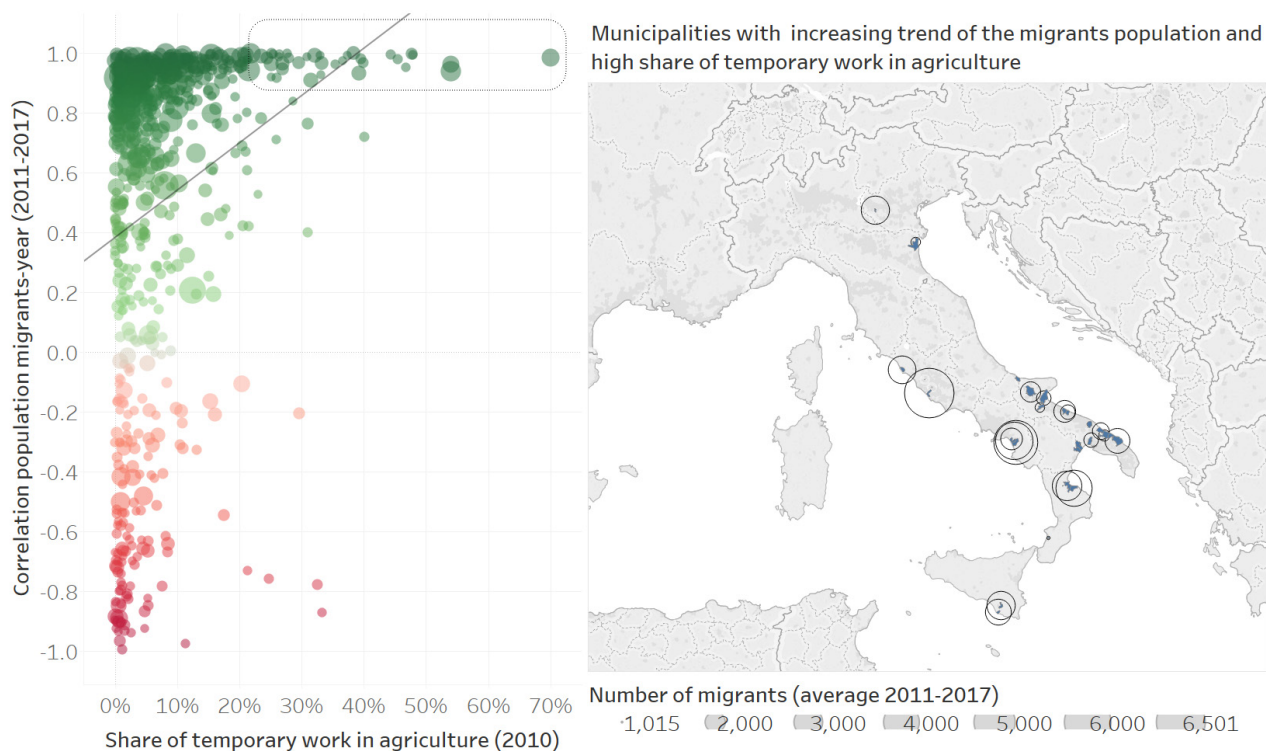


Figure 3.4 Relation between the change in the share of migrants in Local Administrative Units (excluding cities) in Italy and the share of temporary employment in total agricultural work (2010).

Note: the box in the chart and the map on the right highlight Local Administrative Units having particularly high values for these two variables. The circles in the map are proportional to the population of migrants residing in the Local Administrative Units. Source: own elaboration of population data from ISTAT and the 6° Agricultural Census 2010 in Italy.

Also in the case of Italy both the descriptive plot in the left panel of Figure 3.4 and the regression analysis in Box 3, confirm the presence of a positive association between the share of migrants and characteristics of agriculture. In particular, the positive relationship detected for horticulture and fruit production indicates that a larger share of surface in labour intensive agriculture is positively associated with the presence of migrants (Column 1). Moreover, a higher share of temporary work and presence of greenhouses is positively associated with the increase of the share of migrants in Italian communes. Also in the case of Italy, the negative coefficients for the towns and rural areas dummies in Column 2 indicate that overall, cities are more attractive for migrants.

The areas in the box and plot show the most relevant cases where a high increase share of migrants corresponds to a particularly high share of temporary work in agriculture. These cases include well-known areas described in the migration literature and often reported for problems of exploitation of irregular migrants (Corrado 2018). Some examples include Local Administrative Units in the green houses area of Ragusa, the tomatoes and fresh vegetables production area of Salerno and the Sele plain (Eboli, Battipaglia), and in the fruit production areas of San Ferdinando and the Rosarno-Gioia Tauro plain.

Overall, both the analysis for Spain and Italy show how geographical residential patterns at the local level can in many cases be explained by a particular type of agriculture requiring high inputs of temporary and seasonal work. These patterns are more difficult to capture quantitatively at higher administrative levels of provinces and regions where the small importance of agriculture and the overall tendency of migrants to concentrate in cities risks hiding territorial specificities.

Chapter 4 Salience and attitudes towards immigration and integration

Beyond a description of the general features of the immigrant population living in rural areas, it is also interesting to know what is the perception of immigration and integration among people living in rural areas, and whether and to what extent this differs from people living in other, more urbanised locations.

Past academic studies showed that people's place of living matters in terms of attitudes towards immigration (Alba and Foner 2017). Media attention has recently focused on a rural-urban divide, purportedly shaping much of the current social, economic, and political challenges in Europe (Chassany, Wisniewska, and Ehrenberg-Shannon 2017; Rachman 2018) and beyond (Leatherby 2016). More recent studies have portrayed Europe as a land of 'Cosmopolitan' large cities where immigration is viewed positively, and 'Nationalist' countryside, where the opposite is the case (Maxwell 2019). Such division, it is argued, is the result of compositional effect, meaning that individuals sort themselves into cities or rural areas for demographic and cultural reasons. As a corollary of these broader dynamics at play, attitudes towards immigration become more polarised between different degrees of urbanisation. Other studies²⁵ have provided further evidence for this debate. Drawing on original, geo-coded surveys conducted in four Member States, a project has shown that attitudes towards immigration differ only slightly depending on the rural or urban residence (Sub-national context and radical right support in Europe (ScoRE) 2019). This is mainly because, when controlling for other socio-economic factors such as age, education, or income, differences based on place of living tend to disappear.

This section aims at measuring and describing such rural/urban divide in attitudes towards immigration by drawing on data from various Eurobarometer surveys. Briefly, what emerges from the descriptive analysis is the following:

- In the EU28 aggregate, respondents' place of residence is not associated with large differences in the perceived salience of immigration.
- While at the EU28 level there are small differences in the perception of immigration as a problem or opportunity depending on the place of living at the respondents, this cloaks large differences between Member States. The same is true when looking at the perception of successful integration of immigrants.
- When socioeconomic factors are considered, at the EU28 level, small differences in attitudes towards immigration between degrees of urbanisation persist. However, such differences connected to the place of living are substantially lower than differences connected with age, education, and occupation.

²⁵ See the results from the *ScoRE* project, the acronym standing for 'Sub-national context and radical right support in Europe' (available at <https://www.score.uni-mainz.de/>).

Salience of immigration

The Standard Eurobarometer is conducted twice per year and it contains questions related to the two most important issues for respondents²⁶ at three levels: at a personal level, for the respondent's country, and for the EU. These questions are generally, but not universally (Wlezien 2005), considered to gauge the *salience* of an issue, meaning how important a given topic is for respondents. Since 2010, immigration²⁷ features as one of the topics that respondents can select at all three levels. We explore these questions by unpacking them by the respondents' self-positioning²⁸ between 'rural area or village', 'small or middle-sized town', and 'large town'.

At the EU28 level, the salience of immigration seems to be highest when the question revolves around the EU, as compared to lower levels of importance at the country and particularly at the personal level (Figure 4.1). There seems to be little difference in the salience of immigration connected with the place of living²⁹, as the lines representing those living in three different areas are very close to one another (if not completely overlapping, as in the case of the left-hand panel). The only two exceptions are when salience was recorded at country and EU level in 2015, where the differentials between large towns and small and medium towns reached approximately 5 pp. That said, in those cases rural areas stood in between these two, suggesting that the largest gaps are to be found within urbanised areas, rather than between urban and rural areas.

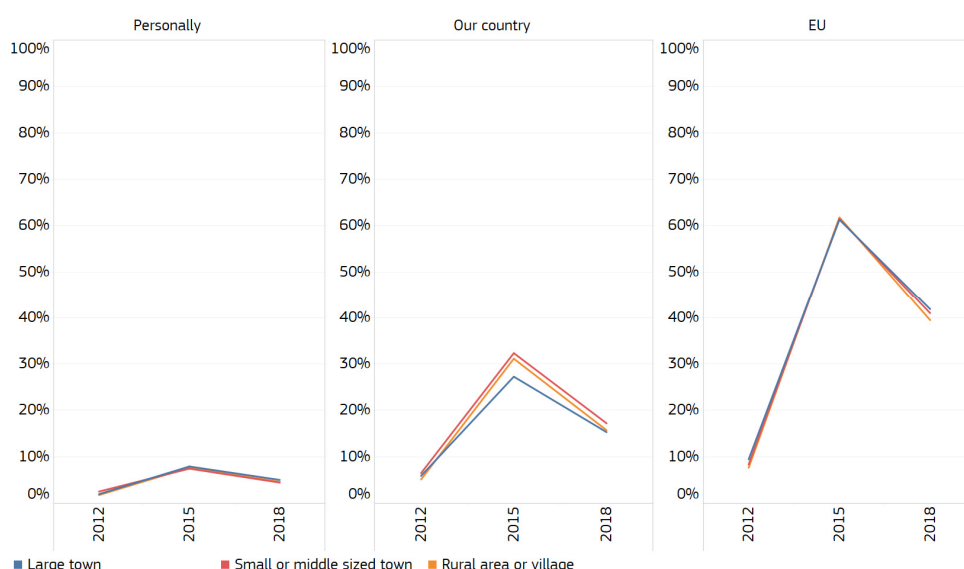


Figure 4.1 Salience of immigration at the personal, country, and EU level, by place of living, in 2012, 2015, and 2018
Source: Standard Eurobarometer³⁰ Note: shares of weighted positive answers to the questions: 'And personally, what are the two most important issues you are facing at the moment? Immigration'; 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing (OUR COUNTRY) at the moment? Immigration'; 'What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment? Immigration'. Percentages are calculated for every year.

²⁶ For the purpose of this chapter, we use weighted data by Eurobarometer. To achieve such weights, Eurobarometer compares the representativeness of the sample to official statistics, and focuses on gender, age, region and size of locality. While respondents may happen to be foreigners, the samples are not intended to be representative of the immigrant population. As Eurobarometer correctly and repeatedly points out, data extracted from the survey should be interpreted as estimations, whose accuracy is clarified out in the technical notes accompanying the surveys.

²⁷ There is no overarching definition of immigration provided by Eurobarometer. Because of this, we always report the full text of the questions read out to interviewees.

²⁸ In other words, and differently from previous chapters, the classification of degrees of urbanisation is not an official one, but one based on respondents self-assessment of their place of living.

²⁹ If we disaggregate these results by member states, the picture is not radically different. One of the few countries where we systematically observe large differences in the perceived salience of immigration by place of living is Austria. For other countries, differences in the perception of salience by place of living emerge only regarding specific questions. This is the case, for instance, of the question focusing on the most important issues at the EU level in France, where large gaps are recorded between the shares of those answering positively to immigration living in rural or urban areas (approximately 16 pp).

³⁰ Waves: Eurobarometer 89.1 (03/2018)(ZA6963); Eurobarometer 84.3 (11/2015)(ZA6643); Eurobarometer 78.1 (11/2012)(ZA5685).

Figure compares salience of immigration at a regional level to other possible topics by place of living of the respondents – namely rural areas, small- or middle-sized towns, and large towns – again for the entire EU28³¹. While there are issues for which the place of living does matter in terms of regional salience of immigration – for instance, ‘crime’, or ‘unemployment’, or concerns regarding ‘people and/or business going away’ – for others, including immigration, this does not seem to be relevant, as the three lines overlap to a considerable extent. In other words, residence in more or less urbanised areas does not seem to be relevant for respondents’ views on the salience of immigration at the regional level.

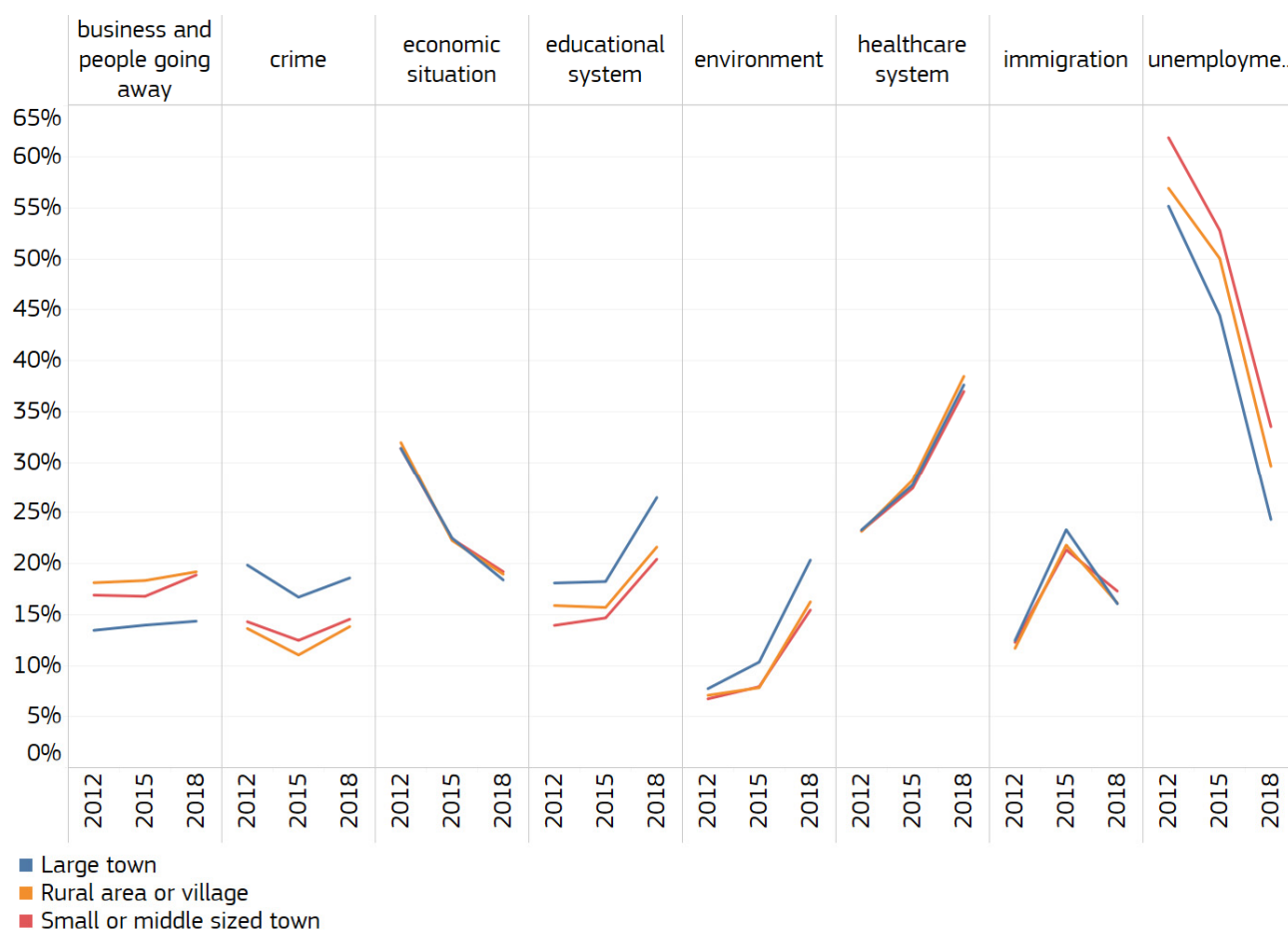


Figure 4.2 Salience of immigration in respect of other issues at the regional level, by place of living of the respondents, EU28 aggregate. Source: Flash Eurobarometer³²

Notes: shares of weighted positive answers to the question ‘What do you think are the two most important issues facing your region at the moment?’. Percentages are calculated for every year on all issues, including ‘don’t know’ and ‘other’. These latter two are not shown in the graph.

³¹ Further analysis shows that, in many countries, differences tend to be small, except a few cases such as Belgium, Ireland, or Malta. Also, differences in regional salience widens over time in some cases (e.g. Ireland, Estonia, Slovenia), while closes down for others (e.g. Bulgaria, Portugal, Slovakia). This is not shown here for reasons of space, but figures are available upon request.

³² Waves: 2018 Flash Eurobarometer 472; 2015 Flash Eurobarometer 427; 2012 Flash Eurobarometer 356.

Opinions of Europeans towards immigration and integration

Besides knowing whether the perception of the salience of immigration changes depending on the place of living, it is important to understand whether the attitudes towards immigration change according to a purported rural-urban divide.

At the EU28 level, immigration from outside the EU³³ is perceived slightly less as a problem (and more as an opportunity) in both 'large' (39%) and 'small and medium' (38.2%) towns as compared to 'rural' areas (40.3%). Immigration is perceived more as an opportunity in large (21.9%) and small and medium (20.4%) towns as compared to rural areas (18.5%). Approximately a third of respondents regarded immigration in a more multidimensional manner, namely as both an opportunity and a problem. This classification was selected by 31.6% of respondents in rural areas, compared to 30.7% in large towns, and 32.2% in small and middle-sized towns.

These aggregated figures aside, at the country level, there is a lot of variation (Figure 4.3). For reasons of space, we focus just on the classification of "immigration as a problem". Differentials in the perception of immigration as a problem between rural and urban areas are particularly large (over 10 pp) in Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, Sweden, and Slovakia. There are exceptions though. Slovenia, Croatia, Latvia, and Romania, are the most prominent cases amongst the seven countries where negative differentials occur, meaning that respondents in rural areas are less of the opinion that immigration is a problem as compared to those in large towns. If we compare rural areas to intermediate levels of urbanisation – i.e. 'small and middle town' –, we observe ten countries where differentials are negative. Therefore, while overall across EU28 we observe a small gap in attitudes towards immigration between rural and urbanised areas, this masks large differences between Member States.

³³ In this Special Eurobarometer, interviewees were explicitly and repeatedly asked to concentrate on immigration from outside the European Union when answering to questions.

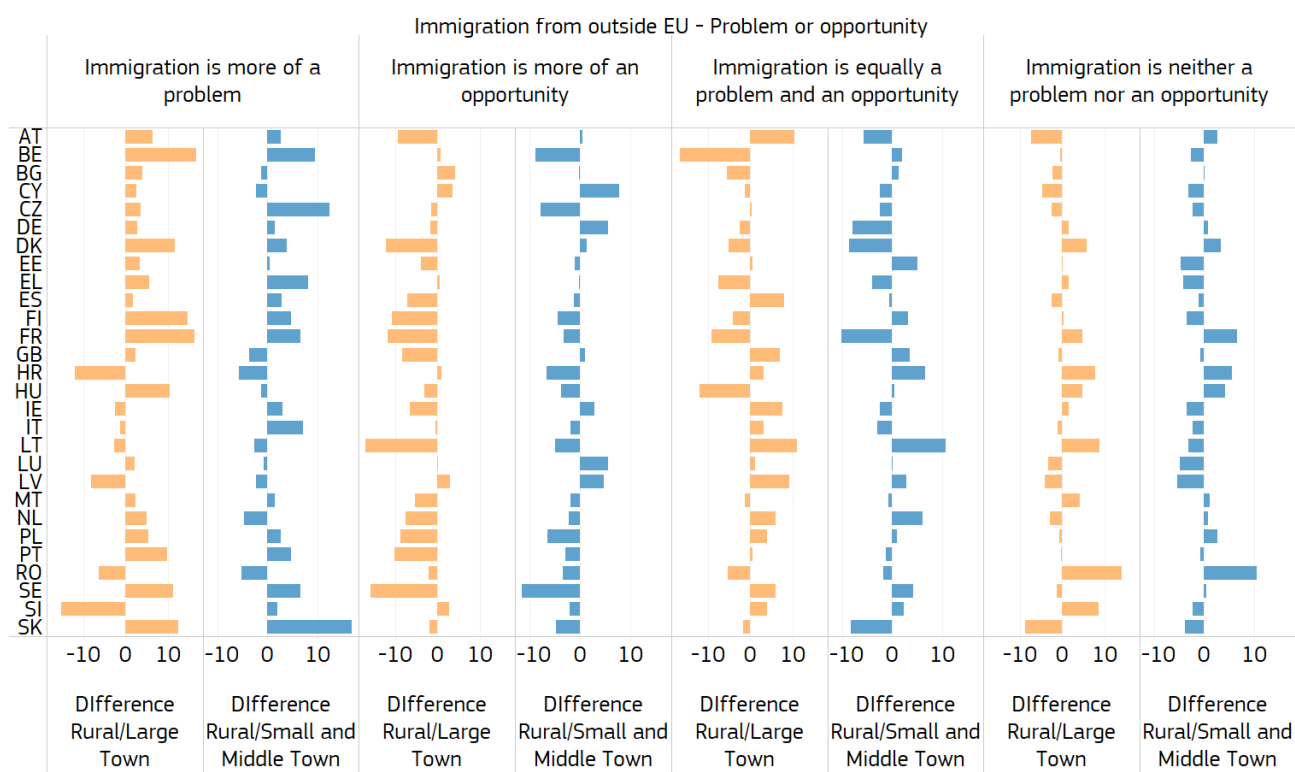


Figure 4.3 Percentage points difference between respondents perceiving immigration as a problem, an opportunity, equally a problem and an opportunity, or neither a problem nor an opportunity, by place of living and Member State
Notes: percentage point's differentials (subject to rounding error) are calculated by place of living for each Member State. Respondents were invited to answer to the following question: 'Generally speaking, do you think immigration from outside the EU is more of a problem or more of an opportunity for (OUR COUNTRY) today?' Source: Special Eurobarometer (2018)³⁴.

When it comes to the respondents' assessment of integration³⁵, there are two noteworthy trends to at EU28 level. First, the assessment tends to be more positive when respondents have to consider their local reality as compared to the national one. Second, in most EU countries, the share of respondents living in rural areas who think that immigrants from outside the EU have integrated successfully at the local level is lower than in both large, and small and medium towns. When the same question on effective integration is centred on the national level, while in the majority of countries those living in large towns have a more positive assessment of integration as compared to rural areas, the same is not true when the comparison is between rural areas and small and medium towns.

³⁴ Eurobarometer 88.2 (10/2017)(ZA6927).

³⁵ Again, it is important to remember that interviewees were explicitly and repeatedly asked to concentrate on immigration from outside the European Union when answering to questions.

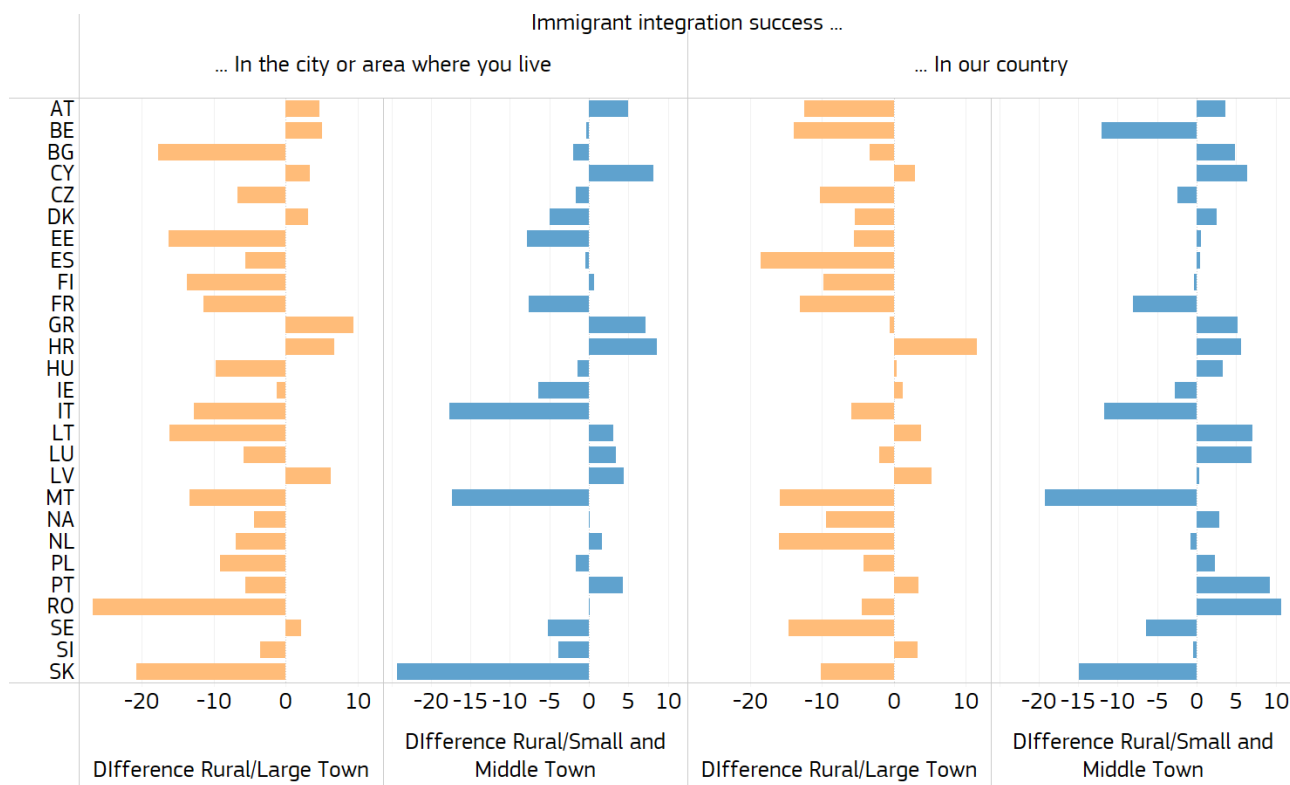


Figure 4.4 Perception of successful integration at country level by place of living, at the EU28 (top) as well at Member State level (bottom).

Source: Special Eurobarometer³⁶. Notes: percentage point's differentials (subject to rounding error) are calculated by place of living for each Member State. Respondents were invited to answer to the following question: 'Generally speaking, how successful or not is the integration of most immigrants living ... In the city or area where you live' and '... In (OUR COUNTRY)'. We re-coded the answers to these two questions into three different bins, and the graph shows only the first answer, namely 'Integrated'.

To explore whether the admittedly small differences that we witness in attitudes towards immigration between places of living are related to other factors, we can observe the extent to which these differences persist after we keep constant other individual characteristics that are well known from the literature to shape attitudes on immigration. While there are many such factors, for brevity we focus here on education, age, and occupation.

Figure 4.5 compares attitudes towards immigration³⁷ between different degrees of urbanisation, within each level of education³⁸, age, and for the occupations listed in the survey³⁹. In addition, the graph also shows the results of the survey in 2014⁴⁰ and 2018⁴¹. This enables us to observe

³⁶ Eurobarometer 88.2 (10/2017)(ZA6927).

³⁷ For the sake of simplicity, here we collapsed the four categories of attitudes towards immigration into two categories, namely positive and negative views.

³⁸ A note of caution is here in order, as the variable in Eurobarometer measuring education may be difficult to interpret. Indeed, Eurobarometer asks the following question 'How old were you when you stopped full-time education?'. This is not the same as asking for highest educational achievement, or years of completed education. The reader should be aware that, therefore, the different age brackets are not the same as, for instance, first, second, and tertiary educated as often seen in Eurostat statistics.

³⁹ In other words, the graph shows variation in attitudes towards different forms of immigration between rural areas, while holding constant certain demographics, such as education, age, and occupation. For instance, the first row should be read as follows: among those who stopped full time education when they were 15 years old, for what concerns immigration from within the EU, there were no differences between degrees of urbanisation in 2014, and between 1 and 3 percentage points in 2018; for what concerns immigration from outside the EU, differences between degrees of urbanisation ranged between 0 and 1 percentage points in 2014, and 0 to 2 percentage points in 2018.

⁴⁰ The survey was conducted in November 2014.

⁴¹ The survey was conducted in March 2018.

whether and to what extent opinions on immigration from both within the Union and from outside the Union have shifted over this period.

EU							TC						
Education	2014			2018			2014			2018			
	Rural area or Small/middle village	Large town		Rural area or Small/middle village	Large town		Rural area or Small/middle village	Large town		Rural area or Small/middle village	Large town		
Up to 15	47%	47%	47%	60%	59%	62%	30%	29%	29%	33%	33%	31%	
16-19	54%	53%	54%	66%	67%	69%	33%	33%	36%	35%	36%	36%	
20+	69%	69%	70%	76%	77%	81%	42%	46%	46%	44%	47%	46%	
Age													
15 - 24	68%	68%	68%	76%	77%	82%	46%	50%	48%	48%	51%	49%	
25 - 39	59%	62%	67%	70%	73%	79%	35%	41%	47%	38%	45%	47%	
40 - 54	55%	58%	59%	68%	68%	74%	35%	37%	39%	39%	39%	41%	
55+	53%	53%	53%	63%	66%	67%	32%	32%	31%	33%	34%	32%	
Occupation													
Self-employed	61%	62%	63%	71%	71%	80%	35%	39%	41%	39%	40%	44%	
Managers	66%	73%	69%	78%	82%	83%	41%	52%	47%	44%	52%	51%	
Other white collars	58%	58%	63%	70%	70%	75%	34%	36%	41%	38%	43%	40%	
Manual workers	53%	55%	61%	66%	69%	71%	32%	36%	41%	37%	40%	37%	
House persons	51%	55%	57%	64%	65%	71%	35%	35%	37%	38%	38%	38%	
Unemployed	50%	55%	51%	63%	63%	67%	34%	38%	34%	37%	32%	43%	
Retired	54%	52%	51%	62%	64%	67%	32%	30%	31%	30%	32%	30%	
Students	76%	71%	74%	82%	79%	85%	52%	50%	53%	53%	53%	54%	

Figure 4.5 Attitudes towards immigration from within and outside the ERU, by place of living and education, 2015 and 2018. Source: Standard Eurobarometer⁴².

Note: Respondents were asked their opinions on: 'Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you'. '1. Immigration of people from other Member States'; '2. Immigration of people from outside the EU'. The possible answers were: 'Very positive', 'Fairly positive', 'Fairly negative', 'Very negative', 'DK'. Those who answered 'Don't know' were excluded from the calculations. We collapsed the other answers into two groups, and the table above shows only the positive answers, namely those who answered 'very positive' and 'fairly positive'(subject to rounding error).

As an overall note, the graph makes it explicit that, at the EU28 level, attitudes towards immigration from within the Union are more positive than those towards immigration from outside the Union. Turning to education, what emerges is that, first, rural/urban differences in attitudes towards immigration, albeit small, persist when controlling for education. However, moving to perceptions regarding immigrants from outside the EU, it is interesting to notice that, among those who stopped full-time education under 15 years old, those living in rural areas have more positive views compared to those living in more urbanised areas. Second, as often observed in the literature (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014), attitudes tend to become more positive as education increases. These differentials are very large, ranging between 11 and 23 pp, depending on the year, the place of living, and what kind of immigration is considered. However, what we also notice is that the gap between those who stopped education after 20 years old and those that stopped at 15 is wider in large cities as compared to rural areas. This is true when considering both types of immigration, meaning from within and outside the Union. Third, and as a corollary of the first two points, considering attitudes towards immigration from within the Union, gaps between the degrees of urbanisation tend to grow with increasing levels of education, and those living in more urbanised areas have more positive views of immigration. Fourth, there has been a significant shift towards

⁴² Waves: Eurobarometer 89.1 (03/2018)(ZA6963); Eurobarometer 82.3 (11/2014)(ZA5932).

more positive views on immigration from within the Union between 2014 and 2018, and particularly for residents in large cities. When it comes to attitudes towards immigration from outside the Union, this has only marginally become more positive in the same period. In parallel, all gaps between places of living by education have increased between 2014 and 2018.

As well documented in the academic literature, age is inversely proportional to attitudes towards immigration. Figure 4.5 shows that this holds true disregarding the place of living. The gaps are very large, between approximately 18 and 11 pp between the youngest and oldest cohorts, depending on the year and what kind of immigration is considered. Furthermore, the gap between places of living seems to be growing between 2014 and 2018, particularly when it comes to attitudes towards immigration from within the Union.

Finally, differences in attitudes towards immigration from both within and outside the Union remain even after holding constant occupation. The most negative views are recorded among unemployed and retired people, whereas the most positive among students and managers.

Chapter 5 Integration of migrants in European rural areas: developing a policy response

The need for data to design policy responses

While Eurostat and other data providers have long been collecting and releasing statistics on international immigration at country level, subnational disaggregation covering all EU28 Member States is seldom available. The lack of data on the presence of migrants in urban, intermediate or rural areas can be challenging for policymakers, public authorities and stakeholders who have to structure interventions for the integration of third-country nationals, as difficulties faced by large cities are different from those of remote rural areas.

Nevertheless, in the frame of the Urban Agenda Partnership on the inclusion of migrants and refugees, some recommendations to improve evidence-based integration policies at the local level were published and Eurostat started to publish some integration indicators at infra-national level (both by the degree of urbanisation and by NUTS2 regions)⁴³.

The need to cater for the integration of migrants in rural areas has been recognised both by the European Parliament and in the European Commission's work programme. Through the European Network for Rural Development (ENRD), and the dialogue between the Directorate General of Agriculture and Rural Development and the Managing Authorities of the Rural Development Programmes, the European Commission is aware of the relevance of migration in rural areas, including refugees, even if data is not always included in official statistics. However, to better target the policy response, more constant and updated data would be necessary. For instance, migrants who are passing through rural areas as part of their migratory path have different needs than those migrants who settle there as refugees or than those who arrive in rural areas attracted by job opportunities in agriculture.

Indeed, the creation of data sorted by territorial typologies is the first step to take in order to plan interventions according to the local characteristics.

Challenges and opportunities of migration in rural areas

Migration in Europe is mostly an urban phenomenon (see Chapter 1). That said, in relative terms, immigration may still amount to a significant share of the population in some small villages⁴⁴. The presence of migrants in rural areas presents specific challenges and opportunities for both third-country nationals and hosting communities.

Third-country nationals located in rural areas might be in a more vulnerable situation because of remoteness, isolation and limited access to targeted services, such as psychological and social support, language learning, information availability, but also to basic services like health, education, and transport, because of the structural lack of those facilities in some EU rural areas. At the same time, if rural communities are not properly prepared to receive migrants, and if the local authorities have limited capacity to respond to inflows of migrants, negative attitudes may arise at the local level (see Chapter 4), especially in those places characterized by a stagnant economy where migrants' workforce may be perceived as in competition with EU citizens.

⁴³ https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migrant_integration_statistics

⁴⁴ For instance, the Swedish Rural Network reported that some villages which have received refugees have triplicated their population, op. cit., consulted on 22/05/2019.

The presence of migrants in rural areas can have positive aspects. Indeed, the ageing of the population and depopulation dynamics, that result, in some cases, in the lack of labour force to run basic services (such as care services for elderly people) and economic activities, including farming and forestry, are demographic phenomena that affect EU rural areas and an appropriate level of legal immigration may contribute to deal with those challenges. In fact, migrant workers already play a role in the European agricultural sector, especially in Southern countries (Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal), as confirmed also by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)⁴⁵, but also in other countries such as Poland, as indicated in this report. Third-country nationals do not necessarily compete with natives in the labour market of the agricultural sector, but they may compete with low skilled EU mobile citizens, as they are more likely to be employed in non-specialised positions (see Chapter 2). However, particular attention should be paid by policymakers to the respect of labour rights in the sector, as “work in agriculture is often precarious, and cases of infringements regarding labour rights, exploitation and forced labour have been reported across the EU”⁴⁶.

Legal framework and possibilities for a policy response to support the integration of migrants in rural areas

The EU migration policy has its legal basis in Article 79 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). The Article states that “The Union shall develop a common immigration policy aimed at ensuring, at all stages, the efficient management of migration flows, fair treatment of third-country nationals residing legally in the Member States, and the prevention of, and enhanced measures to combat, illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings”. Additionally, TFEU Article 78 indicates that the Union shall also develop a common policy on asylum, subsidiary protection and temporary protection. The implementation of these policies shall be governed by the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibility, including its financial implications, between the Member States (Article 80). However, MSs have been debating on external borders and internal freedom of movement since the creation of the Schengen area, as they had to face new challenges guaranteeing the free circulation of EU citizens. In addition, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) played a role in this process through its jurisprudence⁴⁷.

The nature of the subject and the principle of solidarity and fair sharing of responsibilities between MSs has required coordination among MSs. They have progressively established new cooperation mechanisms on immigration, asylum and visa matters⁴⁸, maintaining their right to determine volumes of admission of migrants coming from third-countries to their territory in order to seek work (Article 78(5) TFEU).

At the EU level, various directives dealing with EU mobile citizens and third-country nationals⁴⁹ were adopted since the 1990s⁵⁰. More recently, the Commission adopted the *European Agenda on*

⁴⁵ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, op. cit., 2018, p. 98.

⁴⁶ European Commission – Agriculture and Rural Development, Modernising & simplifying the CAP - Socio-Economic challenges facing agriculture and rural areas, 2010, p.10.

⁴⁷ For instance, Case C-369/90 Mario Vicente Micheletti and others v Delegación del Gobierno en Cantabria.

⁴⁸ For a comprehensive historical overview, see Fact Sheets On The European Union, Migration and Asylum: a challenge for Europe, 18/06/2018, [www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/PERI/2017/600414/IPOL_PERI\(2017\)600414_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/PERI/2017/600414/IPOL_PERI(2017)600414_EN.pdf), consulted on 22/05/2019.

⁴⁹ If from a legal perspective, the EU mobile citizens and third-country nationals face different frameworks and consequently different challenges that policy makers have to take into account, they may encounter similar situations in the labour market (see Chapter 2).

⁵⁰ For instance, Posted Workers Directive (96/71/EC) amended by Directive 2018/957/EU, Family Reunification Directive (2003/86/EC), Long-Term Residents Directive (2003/109/EC), Temporary Agency Work Directive (2008/104/EC), EU Blue Card Directive (2009/50/EC), Employers Sanctions

*Migration*⁵¹ (2015), which has established four pillars to manage migration better: reducing the incentives for irregular migration; border management – saving lives and securing external borders; Europe's duty to protect: a strong common asylum policy; a new policy on legal migration.⁵²

In the field of integration of third-country nationals, the competence is shared between the EU and MSs, but these last ones remain primarily responsible for integration policies. TFEU Article 79(4) provides for the possibility for the EU to "establish measures to provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals residing legally in their territories, excluding any harmonization of the laws and regulations of the Member States".

The EU has been supporting MSs in their integration policies for several years already. In 2014, the Justice and Home Affairs Council reaffirmed the *EU Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy*⁵³ adopted in 2004, which set out a common approach to immigrant integration across the EU. In 2011, the European Commission set out a *European Agenda for the integration of third-country nationals*, calling for a strengthened and coherent approach to integration, across different policy areas and government levels. The Commission has also developed, in dialogue with the MSs, common indicators to monitor results of integration policies and the EU has supported integration actions through dedicated funding and more broadly through instruments addressing social and economic cohesion across the Member States.⁵⁴ Moreover, the European Commission has taken steps to support MSs in the integration of third-country nationals through the adoption, in 2016, of *The Action Plan on the integration of third-country nationals*⁵⁵, which includes actions in the following policy areas:

- Pre-departure and pre-arrival measures, including actions to prepare migrants and the local communities for the integration process;
- Education, including actions to promote language training, the participation of migrant children to Early Childhood Education and Care, teacher training and civic education;
- Employment and vocational training, including actions to promote early integration into the labour market and migrants entrepreneurship;
- Access to basic services such as housing, healthcare and social inclusion, including actions to support exchanges with the receiving society, migrants' participation to cultural life and fighting discrimination.⁵⁶

Directive (2009/52/EC), EU Anti-trafficking Directive 2011/36/EU, Single Permit Directive (2011/98/EU), Seasonal Workers Directive (2014/36/EU), Intra-Corporate Transferees Directive (2014/66/EU), Students and Researchers Directive (2016/801).

⁵¹ COM (2015) 240 final, A European Agenda for Migration, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf, consulted on 22/05/2019.

⁵² For further information, COM(2019) 126 final - Progress report on the Implementation of the European Agenda on Migration, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/20190306_com-2019-126-report_en.pdf, consulted on 22/05/2019.

⁵³ Council of the European Union, 2618th Council Meeting Justice and Home Affairs, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/jha/82745.pdf, consulted on 29/05/2019.

⁵⁴ For more information, the European Web Site on Integration provides a database of good practices in the field of integration, <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/home>, consulted on 29/05/2019.

⁵⁵ COM(2016) 377 final Action Plan on the integration of third country nationals, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication_action_plan_integration_third-country_nationals_en.pdf, consulted on 22/05/2019.

⁵⁶ The Action Plan on the integration of third-country nationals, https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/legal-migration/integration/action-plan-integration-third-country-nationals_en, consulted on 22/05/2019.

MSs that deal with the integration of third-country nationals can use different EU funds to focus their intervention in rural areas, for instance: the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD), the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD).

Indeed, the Rural Development policy, also known as the second pillar of the Common Agricultural Policy, funded by the EAFRD, can contribute to the integration of third-country nationals especially under its Priority 6 - Promoting social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development in rural areas. Since 2016, the European Commission has requested the Managing Authorities of Rural Development Programmes to report on the operations that have a potential contribution to the integration of third-country nationals in rural areas (Article 14 (4) of Commission Implementing Regulation (EU) No 808/2014). There is also an effort by the European Commission through its Directorates-General responsible for the above-mentioned funds to support MSs on the coordinated use of those funds for the integration of migrants.⁵⁷ In January 2019, the Directorate-General Agriculture and Rural Development has also established an internal Social Task Force on social inclusion in agriculture and rural areas to see how attention to social issues in agriculture and rural areas could be improved.

The existing legislation on fair working conditions and on healthy, safe and well-adapted work environments may provide instruments to intervene at the national level through appropriate work inspections. At the European level, along with the directives previously mentioned (in particular the Seasonal Workers Directive (2014/36/EU)), the creation of the European Labour Authority⁵⁸ might also be a tool to effectively implement and respect labour rights (in particular of EU mobile citizens). However, it is too early to draw conclusions on this initiative.

Rural areas can be territories that offer innovative and often bottom-up solutions for successful integration in a context of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. Several initiatives, often implemented through measure 19 – Support for LEADER local development (CLLD) - of the Rural Development Programmes⁵⁹, were reported in various MSs (among others Austria, Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Italy, Sweden, United Kingdom)⁶⁰. The successful, well thought out integration of migrants in rural areas, with public support, can have positive effects on the revitalisation of rural areas: for example, further investments in services and better rural-urban connections through the improvement of infrastructures and public transport; or development of environmentally or territorially sustainable projects.

In conclusion, migration to rural areas can foster rural development, when this is the result of a choice of the local population and of the migrants themselves. It might have also positive effects on overcrowded urban areas, which are experiencing problems such as lack of housing, congestion,

⁵⁷ Among others initiatives, see European Commission, Synergies between the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and other EU funding instruments in relation to reception and integration of asylum seekers and other migrants, https://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/sites/fisheries/files/docs/body/20151109-synergies-amif_en.pdf, consulted on 05/06/2019; European Commission, Toolkit on the use of EU funds for the integration of people with a migrant background, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/themes/social-inclusion/integration-of-migrants/toolkit-integration-of-migrants.pdf, consulted on 05/06/2019;

⁵⁸ European Parliament, European Labour Authority, Briefing - Legislation in Progress, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/625101/EPRS_BRI\(2018\)625101_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/625101/EPRS_BRI(2018)625101_EN.pdf), consulted on 22/05/2019.

⁵⁹ Regulation (EU) No 1350/2013.

⁶⁰ European Network for Rural Development, The European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development - Migrant and Refugee integration, Projects Brochure, https://enrd.ec.europa.eu/sites/enrd/files/publi-eafrd-brochure-03-en_2016.pdf, consulted on 22/05/2019.

and pollution. The coordination of the European, national, regional, and local level is fundamental to implement properly the tools available to support both public authorities and the population, to receive and integrate third-country nationals and to enable them to play an active part in local communities.

References

- Alba, Richard, and Nancy Foner. 2017. "Immigration and the Geography of Polarization: Immigration and the Geography of Polarization." *City & Community* 16(3): 239–43.
- Albertinelli, Anthony, and Statistical Office of the European Communities. 2011. *Migrants in Europe: A Statistical Portrait of the First and Second Generation*. Luxembourg: Eurostat, European Commission : Publications Office of the European Union.
- Alonso, William, and Michael J. Piore. 1981. "Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies." *Population and Development Review* 7(3): 527.
- Bade, Klaus J. 2003. *Migration in European History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Bade, Klaus J., and Corrie van Eijl, eds. 2011. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe: From the 17th Century to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Castles, Stephen. 2006. "Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection?" *International Migration Review* 40(4): 741–66.
- Castles, Stephen, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller. 2014. *The Age of Migration. International Population Movement in the Modern World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chassany, Anne-Sylvaine, Aleksandra Wisniewska, and Billy Ehrenberg-Shannon. 2017. "The French Town That Shows How Marine Le Pen Could Win." *Financial Times*. <https://www.ft.com/content/309292d4-1a28-11e7-a266-12672483791a> (April 12, 2019).
- Clemens, Michael A., Ethan G. Lewis, and Hannah M. Postel. 2018. "Immigration Restrictions as Active Labor Market Policy: Evidence from the Mexican Bracero Exclusion." *American Economic Review* 108(6): 1468–87.
- Corrado, Alessandra. 2018. "Is Italian Agriculture 'Pull Factor' for Irregular Migration—And, If So, Why?" <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/italian-agriculture-pull-factor-irregular-migration-and-if-so-why> (April 15, 2019).
- Corrado, Alessandra, Carlos de Castro, and Domenico Perrotta. 2016. *Migration and Agriculture: Mobility and Change in the Mediterranean Area*. Routledge.
- De Vries, Catherine E. 2018. "The Cosmopolitan-Parochial Divide: Changing Patterns of Party and Electoral Competition in the Netherlands and Beyond." *Journal of European Public Policy* 25(11): 1541–65.
- European Union. 2014. *Directive 2014/36/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 February 2014 on the Conditions of Entry and Stay of Third-Country Nationals for the Purpose of Employment as Seasonal Workers*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A32014L0036> (May 23, 2019).
- Eurostat. 2019. "EU Labour Force Survey - Methodology - Statistics Explained." *Statistics Explained*. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU_labour_force_survey_-_methodology#EU-LFS_concept_of_labour_force_status (May 24, 2019).

- van Gent, Wouter P.C., Elmar F. Jansen, and Joost H.F. Smits. 2014. "Right-Wing Radical Populism in City and Suburbs: An Electoral Geography of the Partij Voor de Vrijheid in the Netherlands." *Urban Studies* 51(9): 1775–94.
- "Global Database on Modes of Acquisition of Citizenship - Globalcit." <http://globalcit.eu/acquisition-citizenship/> (May 22, 2019).
- Górny, Agata, and Paweł Kaczmarczyk. 2018. "A Known but Uncertain Path: The Role of Foreign Labour in Polish Agriculture." *Journal of Rural Studies* 64: 177–88.
- Górny, Agata, and Paweł Kaczmarczyk. 2019. "Understanding the Role of the Rural Sector in Foreign Employment in Times of Dynamic Changes in Immigration to Poland." *Manuscript in preparation*.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225–49.
- Hedberg, Charlotta, and Karen Haandrikman. 2014. "Repopulation of the Swedish Countryside: Globalisation by International Migration." *Journal of Rural Studies* 34: 128–38.
- Hoggart, Keith, and Cristobal Mendoza. 1999. "African Immigrant Workers in Spanish Agriculture." *Sociologia Ruralis* 39(4): 538–62.
- Hugo, Graeme, and Ricard Morén-Alegret. 2008. "International Migration to Non-Metropolitan Areas of High Income Countries: Editorial Introduction." *Population, Space and Place* 14(6): 473–77.
- Jentsch, Birgit, and Myriam Simard, eds. 2009. *International Migration and Rural Areas: Cross-National Comparative Perspectives*. Farnham, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Kasimis, Charalambos. 2003. "The Multifunctional Role of Migrants in the Rural Economy and Society of Greece." : 20.
- Kasimis, Charalambos, and Apostolos G. Papadopoulos. 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): 99–127.
- King, Russell, Gabriella Lazaridis, Charalampos G Tsardanidēs, and Palgrave Connect (Online service). 2000. *Eldorado or Fortress?: Migration in Southern Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press. <http://www.palgraveconnect.com/doi/10.1057/9780333982525> (May 8, 2019).
- Leatherby, Lauren. 2016. "US Urban-Rural Political Divide Deepened in 2016." *Financial Times*. <https://www.ft.com/content/f7c7dd96-ab65-11e6-ba7d-76378e4fef24> (April 12, 2019).
- Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. "Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?" *American Political Science Review*: 1–19.
- Morén-Alegret, Ricard, and Miguel Solana. 2012. "Foreign Immigration in Spanish Rural Areas and Small Towns: Current Situation and Perspectives." *Finisterra*: vol. 39 n.º 77 (2004).

- OECD, and European Union. 2018. *Settling In 2018: Indicators of Immigrant Integration*. OECD. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/indicators-of-immigrant-integration-2018_9789264307216-en (April 15, 2019).
- Peers, Steve. 2016. *EU Justice and Home Affairs Law*. Fourth edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Rachman, Gideon. 2018. "Urban-Rural Splits Have Become the Great Global Divider." *Financial Times*. <https://www.ft.com/content/e05cde76-93d6-11e8-b747-fb1e803ee64e> (April 12, 2019).
- Rye, Johan Fredrik, and Sam Scott. 2018. "International Labour Migration and Food Production in Rural Europe: A Review of the Evidence: International Labour Migration." *Sociologia Ruralis* 58(4): 928–52.
- Sub-national context and radical right support in Europe (ScoRE). 2019. *Sub-National Context and Radical Right Support in Europe. Policy Brief*. <https://www.score.uni-mainz.de/policybrief/>.
- Taylor, J. Edward, and Diane Charlton. 2019. *The Farm Labor Problem: A Global Perspective*. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=1916440> (April 30, 2019).
- Winders, Jamie. 2014. "New Immigrant Destinations in Global Context." *International Migration Review* 48: S149–79.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 2005. "On the Salience of Political Issues: The Problem with 'Most Important Problem.'" *Electoral Studies* 24(4): 555–79.
- Zahniser, Steven. 2018. "Farm Labor Markets in the United States and Mexico Pose Challenges for U.S. Agriculture." : 46.

List of figures

FIGURE 1.1 SHARE AND ABSOLUTE NUMBER OF FOREIGN POPULATION BY ORIGIN (COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND CITIZENSHIP) AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011 - 2017).....	13
FIGURE 1.2 SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN RURAL AREAS BY ORIGIN AND MEMBER STATES (2017).....	14
FIGURE 1.3 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION LIVING IN RURAL AREAS AND THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION LIVING IN CITIES BY MEMBER STATE (2011-2017).....	15
FIGURE 1.4 SHARE OF WORKING AGE POPULATION IN TOTAL POPULATION BY ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011- 2017).	17
FIGURE 1.5 SHARE OF POPULATION BY EDUCATION LEVELS, ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011 - 2017).....	18
FIGURE 1.6 SHARE OF MIGRANT POPULATION BY LENGTH OF STAY, ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011 - 2017).	19
FIGURE 1.7 SHARE OF POPULATION IN LOWER INCOME DECILES BY ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011 - 2017).	20
FIGURE 1.8 POPULATION WITH DISPOSABLE INCOME BELOW THE AT-RISK-OF-POVERTY THRESHOLD BY ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011-2016).....	21
FIGURE 1.9 COMPARISON OF THE RISK OF POVERTY INDICATORS BETWEEN NATIVES AND MIGRANTS IN RURAL AREAS, BY COUNTRY (2017).	22
FIGURE 1.10 OVERCROWDING RATE BY ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011-2016).	23
FIGURE 1.11 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE ACTIVE POPULATION BY ORIGIN AND DEGREE OF URBANISATION (2011 - 2017).	24
FIGURE 1.12 UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN RURAL AREAS, EU MOBILE CITIZENS AND TC MIGRANTS VS NATIVES (2017).	25
FIGURE 2.1 TOTAL POPULATION EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE, BY ORIGIN (2011, 2017).	26
FIGURE 2.2 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS WORKING IN AGRICULTURE AND THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN ALL OTHER SECTORS (2011-2017).....	27
FIGURE 2.3 EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE BY ORIGIN IN DENMARK, SPAIN, AND ITALY (2011-2017).	28
FIGURE 2.4 SHARE OF EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE BY ORIGIN AND SEX, EU (2011-2017)..	31
FIGURE 2.5 SHARE EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE BY DETAILED ORIGIN AND SEX, EU (2017).	32
FIGURE 2.6 SHARE OF EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE BY OCCUPATION AND ORIGIN (2011-2017).	32
FIGURE 2.7 SHARE OF EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE BY PROFESSIONAL STATUS AND ORIGIN (2017).	33
FIGURE 2.8 INCIDENCE OF TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR AND ORIGIN (2011-2017).	34
FIGURE 2.9 DISTRIBUTION OF SEASONAL WORK PERMITS BY SECTORS IN SPAIN, ITALY AND ESTONIA (2017).....	35
FIGURE 2.10 RESIDENCE PERMITS OF UKRAINIANS TO POLAND (2008-2017).	37
FIGURE 3.1 POPULATION TRENDS IN SPAIN AND ITALY IN THE PERIOD 2014-2017 BY DEGREE OF URBANISATION AND ORIGIN.	40
FIGURE 3.2 DIFFERENCE IN THE TREND OF POPULATION BETWEEN NATIVES AND MIGRANTS BETWEEN 2011 AND 2017.	41
FIGURE 3.3 RELATION BETWEEN THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS (2011-2017) IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS IN SPAIN AND THE SHARE OF AGRICULTURAL SURFACE WITH HORTICULTURE (2009).	42
FIGURE 3.4 RELATION BETWEEN THE CHANGE IN THE SHARE OF MIGRANTS IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS (EXCLUDING CITIES) IN ITALY AND SHARE OF TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT IN TOTAL AGRICULTURAL WORK (2010).....	44
FIGURE 4.1. SALIENCE OF IMMIGRATION AT THE PERSONAL, COUNTRY, AND EU LEVEL, BY PLACE OF LIVING, IN 2012, 2015, AND 2018	47
FIGURE 4.2. SALIENCE OF IMMIGRATION AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL BY PLACE OF LIVING OF THE RESPONDENTS, EU28 AGGREGATE.	48
FIGURE 4.3 PERCENTAGE POINTS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING IMMIGRATION AS A PROBLEM, AN OPPORTUNITY, EQUALLY A PROBLEM AND AN OPPORTUNITY, OR NEITHER A PROBLEM NOR AN OPPORTUNITY, BY PLACE OF LIVING AND MEMBER STATE.....	50
FIGURE 4.4 PERCEPTION OF SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION AT COUNTRY LEVEL BY PLACE OF LIVING, AT THE EU28 (TOP) AS WELL AT MEMBER STATE LEVEL (BOTTOM).	51
FIGURE 4.5. ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRATION FROM WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE ERU, BY PLACE OF LIVING AND EDUCATION, 2015 AND 2018.	52

Acknowledgements

The report was produced in JRC following a request from DG AGRI – Unit E4.

The publication has been co-ordinated and edited by Fabrizio Natale (JRC). Chapter 1 and 2 were authored by Sona Kalantaryan (JRC). Chapter 3 was authored by Fabrizio Natale. Chapter 4 was authored by Marco Scipioni. Chapter 5 was authored by Arianna Pasa (DG AGRI). Alfredo Alessandrini (JRC) performed the geographical analyses included in Chapter 3.

We are particularly grateful to: Laurent Aujean (DG HOME), Martina Belmonte (JRC), Pavel Ciaian (JRC), Simon McMahon (JRC), Kjersti Nes (JRC) and Guido Tintori (JRC) for their review and comments; to Orsolya Frizon Somogyi (DG AGRI) for the support throughout the project; to Agata Górny and Pawel Kaczmarczyk (University of Warsaw - Centre of Migration Research) for sharing their manuscript on migration in agriculture in Poland.

GETTING IN TOUCH WITH THE EU

In person

All over the European Union there are hundreds of Europe Direct information centres. You can find the address of the centre nearest you at: <http://europa.eu/contact>

On the phone or by email

Europe Direct is a service that answers your questions about the European Union. You can contact this service:

- by freephone: 00 800 6 7 8 9 10 11 (certain operators may charge for these calls),
- at the following standard number: +32 22999696, or
- by electronic mail via: <http://europa.eu/contact>

FINDING INFORMATION ABOUT THE EU

Online

Information about the European Union in all the official languages of the EU is available on the Europa website at: <http://europa.eu>

EU publications

You can download or order free and priced EU publications from EU Bookshop at: <http://bookshop.europa.eu>. Multiple copies of free publications may be obtained by contacting Europe Direct or your local information centre (see <http://europa.eu/contact>).

JRC Mission

As the science and knowledge service of the European Commission, the Joint Research Centre's mission is to support EU policies with independent evidence throughout the whole policy cycle.



EU Science Hub
ec.europa.eu/jrc



@EU_ScienceHub



EU Science Hub - Joint Research Centre



Joint Research Centre



EU Science Hub



Publications Office