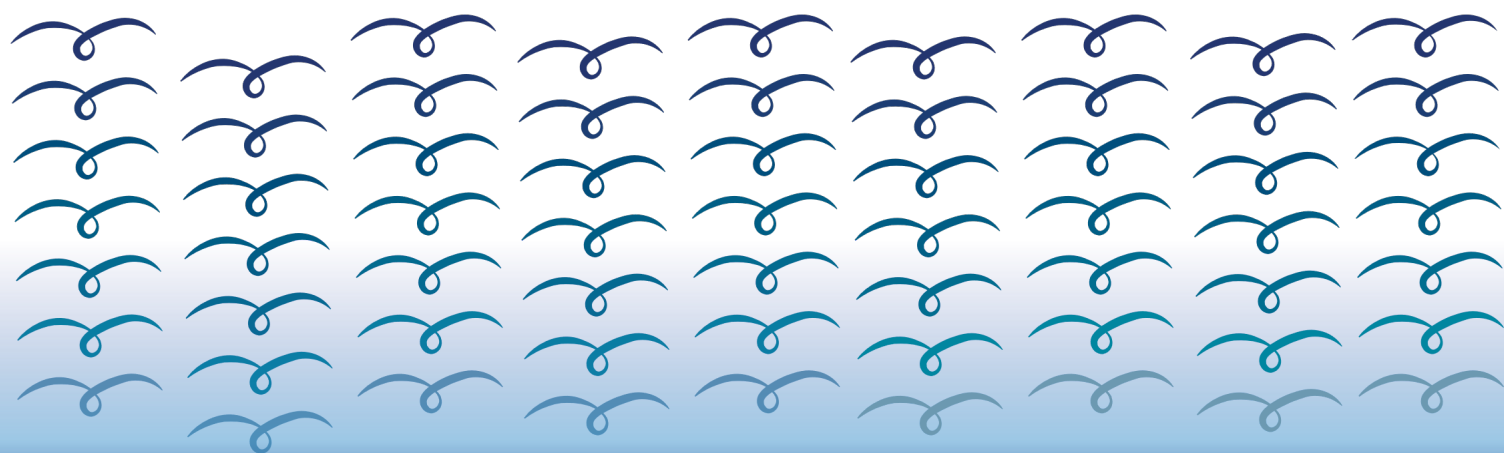




Advancing Alternative Migration Governance



Covid-19 and Seasonal Migration in Europe: A Comparative analysis of Poland, Spain, The Netherlands and Germany

D3.5

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1. Introduction

This deliverable for Work Package 3 (WP3) of the Advancing Alternative Migration Governance project (ADMIGOV) explores the circular and temporary migration schemes in Member States of the European Union (EU). A particular focus has been paid on agriculture as one of the mostly affected sectors due to the outbreak of COVID-19. More specifically, this report presents and brings together the results from field research conducted in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and Poland. The research is structured as such that it reflects, using the terminology found in the ADMIGOV inception documents, a ‘bottom-up’ perspective, namely the empirical data were gathered based on actors involved in the day-to-day practices related to temporary migration rather than in the formulation of laws, prescriptions, policies, principles, or strategies.

This comparative analysis is based on national reports from EU member states and has as principal objectives, to examine the practices and policies of temporary migration developed in the last decades; subsequently it aims to analyze the impact of the pandemic on the agricultural seasonal workers by illustrating the four case studies collected from data stemming from fieldwork collected on the ground. In other words, the empirical data are there to allow the researchers to eventually distinguish between the existing so called “good practices” that shall be fostered and maintained, from the downfalls in the systems and possible loopholes, which possibly allow employers and other organizations to bend the national laws and regulations. Concerning the common understanding of ‘good practices’, the WP3 follows the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (2015) and the New York Declaration (2016) as indicators. Overall, a multi-perspective approach from Eastern, Western and Southern Europe can prove beneficial for a successful overview of the current state of temporary migration in the EU and what follows next.

The unexpected outbreak of the COVID-19 during the research project brought into the surface very vibrant case studies, as circular and temporary migration is predominantly based on a limited stay at the host country and a final return after the termination of the contract to the country of origin of the migrant. Restrictions on movement in 2020 functioned as a catalyst to the entire EU temporary migration practices. Therefore, agriculture, which is the focus of all the four national reports, profoundly relies on the arrivals of foreigners for harvesting the crops. Thus, the circumstances in 2020 managed to emphasize the role of temporary migrants in different EU states and what happens when these are lacking.

1.1 Objectives and key research questions

The COVID-19 crisis and the closure of borders has significantly affected the mobility of seasonal migrants. The European agriculture highly depends on these categories of migrant workers, the EU states have been confronted with the need of adaptation of diverse strategies, in order to

react effectively on this urgent occasion.

In the light of this context, WP3 entails 4 main objectives:

- To analyze how seasonal labour demands are covered in a context of closed borders, thus how policies, regulations and practices linked to the governance of temporary and circular migration schemes in the field of agriculture have changed in a context of emergency due to COVID-19 across Europe.
- To examine how the pandemic has affected the working and living conditions of seasonal workers.
- To identify and collect best practices at the national and transnational level to address seasonal labour demands in response to the closure of borders.
- To analyze different state responses and how these have worked in practice to address seasonal labour demands from a cross-country perspective, by covering different geographic areas of Europe (East, South and West)
- To elaborate policy recommendations to improve the governance of temporary and circular migration schemes in the field of agriculture at the national and EU levels.

In order to reach these objectives a set of key questions were posed:

- Which were the effects that the lockdown had on temporary workers' rights and labour and living conditions?
- Which were the national responses towards labour markets and labour demands during the COVID-19?
- Which is the role of diverse stakeholders (i.e., employer organizations/trade unions/recruitment agencies/NGOs/public administrations) in the management of temporary migration and agricultural schemes?

1.2 Methodology

Aiming to structure the fieldwork and set common objectives, WP3 researchers collaborated on a common field guide, which helped setting common directions and the scope of the research. All researchers managed to adjust the fieldwork, during the COVID-19 pandemic, according to the national regulations on movement, either face-to-face or digitally. The research was conducted by different teams with a shared understanding of:

- **Research techniques:** Research would rely on qualitative methods to generate data through in-depth semi-structured interviews. In some cases, this has been complemented by a review of press articles, considering the difficulties to reach the interviewees during the months of lockdown.
- **Target group:** representatives of public institutions (ministries of labour, governmental agencies, municipalities), employers' organizations (general or

specific, working in the agricultural sector), employers (from agriculture), trade unions, recruitment agencies, migrants' networks, NGO's, experts (researching on labour migration)

- **Definition of temporary migrants:** The team remains open to all the potential groups that may fit under the category of temporary workers. This will allow the researchers to better comprehend previous temporary migration schemes and compare them with the period of the Covid-19 and the possibly new agreements that emerged during that time.

All in all, the way that the interviews were conducted, the specific stakeholders that were interviewed and the research questions were left deliberately open-ended for the researchers to customize, according to the national needs. Each team was able to make autonomous decisions about the research, which has posed certain limitations in terms of comparative analysis.

1.3 Structure of the report

This comparative report is structured as such that in the second section all the practices, policies, and legal frameworks from the countries under research are analysed. Providing an overview of what has changed throughout the last decades, which previous ongoing issues were tackled and how, and if these are currently implemented and functioning well.

Then a focus is placed on the Covid-19 and how the pandemic impacted the temporary migration schemes, which alternatives were given and how each of the countries responded to their own labour demands. National policy responses follow as each of the countries have different labour shortages in agriculture and manners of production, from mechanized to more labor-intensive ones.

Finally, the recruitment strategies, working and living conditions are a crucial part of the report, which help identify the similarities and differences in the EU member states and their approaches towards temporary migration. Significant attention was paid on the violation of migrants' rights, including abuses within the working place. For a long time, agricultural seasonal work has already been referred as one of the most hazardous occupations when it comes to workers' rights.

The third section aims to present good practices, which were described in all case studies. The ADMIGOV project takes seriously the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 (2015) and the New York Declaration (2016). For this reason, it promotes exemplary cases when temporary migration is beneficial simultaneously for the governments, the migrants, and the host community. Temporary migration is usually portrayed as a win-win-win agreement between the government, the employers, and the employees. Yet, adverse practices halt this chain of success and become a burden to positive outcomes.

The researchers wished to present a rather more realistic and applicable set of policy recommendations. For that reason, these have been split into different time frames. Short-term

recommendations could be applied in the upcoming agricultural campaigns for 2021, while mid-term and long-term suggestions refer to actions planned for the upcoming years.

Lastly, the report concludes with some final remarks about the similarities and differences between the cases presented.

2. Circular and seasonal migration across Europe

The EU member states need migrant workers to meet the labour shortages in diver sectors of the economies, while there is sort of limited legal opportunities for low-skilled migrants to migrate and work in the EU. The states depend on migrant workers in sectors such as agriculture, hospitality, and tourism. In 2016 temporary workers accounted for 42% of paid workers in annual work units in agriculture in the EU 15 (ILO 2016).

The approaches of the EU member states to temporary migration are very diversified. Some member states like Germany and the Netherlands, with the longest history of labour migration recruit seasonal migrants from other EU member states such as Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria (internal mobility), while others recruit mainly third country nationals (international mobility). Spain relies on the seasonal migrants coming from Morocco and Poland, as the newly receiving country employs temporary migrants predominantly from Ukraine.

The experiences of labour migration policies of member states are truly diverse, at the same time, the EU's approach towards legal labour migration seems to be very fragmented, without a long-term strategy, which provides solutions in this area. The existing approach does not always respond to the challenges of the European labour market. The main questions, which needs to be answered while developing the EU migration strategy, is how to ensure that the employers can recruit migrant workers, and how to simultaneously cater for the rights of these temporary migrants.

The European Commission in the recent years has implemented some programmes to harmonise seasonal migration in the EU. The President of the European Commission designated as the Commissioner for migration, Dimitris Avramopoulos mentioned that making new migration policy is a priority in its program, based on four components: legal migration, protection against irregular migration and development of international protection and effective border management (European Commission 2015).

The adaptation of Seasonal Workers Directive in 2014 (European Commission 2017) was an important step towards harmonization of this area, however the implementation of this directive is still ongoing, and it is difficult to predict, how effective will it be in the end in addressing the challenges of the EU labour migration. The Seasonal Workers Directive aims to: help meet demands for seasonal migrants, act against irregular migration and employment; protect the rights of migrants; develop the win-win situation for the countries of origin of the migrants and prevent human trafficking.

The dialogue with the countries of origin of temporary and seasonal migrants remains still extremely limited. The regulations of seasonal migration of third country nationals are based on bilateral agreements of the EU member states.

Some EU member states, as selected for this study, Germany and the Netherlands have a long experience on labour migration, including seasonal migration. These two countries, recruit seasonal migrants mainly from other member states (internal migration) Poland, Romania, Bulgaria etc. These internal movers, as the citizens of the EU access the same rights as local workers. However, this category faces in some regards similar challenges related to working and living conditions, as the seasonal migrants from third countries outside of the EU. In contrary to Germany and the Netherlands, Spain, and Poland recruit third-country nationals. Poland issues the most permits to Ukrainians, and Spain to citizens of Morocco.

Before presenting the development of the seasonal migration regulation in selected EU member states, it is worth mentioning that the main objective of any labour market migration policy is an interplay of supply and demand in the labour market. In the process of searching for labour migrants for the employers, the recruitment regulations and the costs are profound to consider. To meet the fluctuating seasonal needs employers, need to be able to recruit quickly, and that translates to flexible regulations and procedures. If the procedures are too complicated, time consuming or non-transparent both employers and migrants may choose informal employment, which brings potential risks for all parties involved.

Developing a well-thought system of seasonal migration is crucial for employers across Europe. Hence, it shall be based on diverse experiences and good practices from different EU member states.

As the research explicitly shows seasonal migration can be an especially important source of income not only for the migrants, but also for their families and the local communities. Implementing fair seasonal migration schemes might lead to be beneficial not only for the country of destination, but also for the countries of origin. This approach might help to better integrate the labour market and economic development. However, many member states still frame their seasonal migration schemes as solely a way of meeting labour shortages. For that reason, the European parliament endeavoured to change this old-fashioned way of seeing seasonal workers and insisted on equal treatment of these as if they are local workers ((Augere-Granier 2021).

2.1 Policy and legal frameworks in retrospective

As mentioned beforehand, there are significantly limited opportunities for legal labour migration in the EU, however, seasonal migration is an exception in this system. In almost all member states there are some regulations allowing employers to recruit migrant workers in such sectors as agriculture, tourism, construction, horticulture etc. In some states these sectors are significantly dependent on the work of migrant workers.

Having said that, the challenges faced by the labour markets are quite similar in all member states but there are still truly few initiatives aiming at a common development based on EU

strategies. There is a set of 28 separate national labour market policies, with highly diverse regulations on the living and working conditions, including salaries and so forth.

The difficulties in accessing the EU labour market for a set of migrants, in relation with the demands of the labour market in many sectors of the economy, this encourages the unravelling of irregular migration and overstays in the EU. It is interesting to look at the developments of labour migration regulation in the selected case studies.

In each section we start with the states with the longest experiences with labour migration, representing Western Europe, the Netherlands and Germany, followed by Spain representing Southern Europe, and we finish with Poland, which represents new member states, being in a rapid process of transformation from an emigration to an immigration country.

The selected cases representing three main groups of geographical locations and the historical developments of labour migration regulations in the EU. The cases are diverse in terms of the length of labour migration experiences, categories of migrants (internal mobility versus migration of third-country nationals) and the sectors in which migrants are employed. The selected cases differ also in terms of recruitment practices. In the Netherlands, Germany, and Spain the recruitment procedures seem to be more standardised, in contrary to Poland, where recruitment is based on more informal channels of existing migratory networks.

To better understand the differences between the selected cases it is necessary to also underline the structural differences on the labour market, responsible institutions, migration governance etc. This, however, goes beyond the aim of this report.

Germany

Germany represents one of the states with the longest history on labour migration. Germany's seasonal work programmes in agriculture date back to the late 19th century. At that time seasonal workers came mainly from Poland. This seasonal migration was reintroduced after Germany reunification in 1991. The main seasonal workers in Germany were from Poland and other Central-Eastern Europe. It is interesting to look at the development of labour migration regulations, which led to today's approach of German government.

In recent years Germany has opened its economy to migrants from all over the world (see e.g., the government's website "Make it in Germany") provided the fact that migrants have formally recognized skills. The origin of this approach lies in the Red/Green government (1998-2005) and more precisely the call of then-Chancellor Schröder for the introduction of a German Green Card system aiming to attract highly skilled foreign workers for the IT-sector. In the same year, *the Unabhängige Kommission Zuwanderung* (better known as the Süßmuth Commission after its chair Prof. Rita Süßmuth) was asked to propose a modernization of Germany's immigration policies, which until then, there was this notion that Germany is not a country of immigration. Labour immigration policies, therefore, always had the goal to limit the settlement of foreign workers. In subsequent years, in a sharp contrast the goal became to facilitate the settlement and integration of migrants. In March 2020, the *Fachkräftezuwanderungsgesetz* (Law on the recruitment of skilled workers) came into force, which facilitates and advocates the migration of

any third country national with professional skills, vocational or college training, who seeks a job in Germany.

The German Statistical Office could note in its national economic review for 2018 that the German economy greatly benefits from immigration, notably from new member states, as well as from third-country nationals arriving as refugees (Statistisch Bundesamt 2019: 33). Along with this welcoming of skilled foreigners there is the possibility for asylum seekers to take up employment (after the first three months of their procedures). Exempted from this option are asylum seekers stemming from safe countries of origin (presently: all West Balkan states as well as Ghana and Senegal). Should subsequently their application be rejected but their return cannot be effectuated, they can be issued with a tolerated status (*Duldung*). Such a status does not hold any rights but does protect against deportation as well as detention for illegal residence (which is criminalized under the German law). Normally this status is to be renewed every six months, but it may also be issued for shorter periods. This is done at the discretion of the *Ausländerbehörde* (a local office akin to the aliens' police or immigration office) (Eule 2018). When they are in possession of ID-papers or can demonstrate that they have none because of reasons beyond their control tolerated persons can seek/accept employment or enter vocational training (which often includes on the job training).

For a long time now, German agriculture is dependent on seasonal migrants. The official statistical data underestimate the role of seasonal migrants, they presented workers recruited through official agencies based in Germany, but they did not include agencies operating in other states. For the agricultural sector since mid-90s, the informal channels of recruitment played an important role. Seasonal migrants started to come back to the same employer and became circular migrants. It is very often the appearance of a pattern, where these seasonal migrants developed relationship with the employer and returned each season to the same place (OECD 2019). This situation is beneficial for the employer because even if the seasonal workers in agriculture are considered as low-skilled, they need certain skills and experience in the harvesting of the crops.

Germany has used the historical connections to benefit from Polish seasonal workers, mainly in agriculture and tourism. There is no doubt that recruitment of Polish migrants was easy for German employers. It is worth noticing, that even if the seasonal migration was an exception, the free mobility of Polish citizens was delayed by Germany till the maximum of seven years after accession. This example shows that EU member states tend to use temporary migration schemes to avoid long term migration. Temporary migration seems to be more beneficial and less costly from the states' point of view. In past five years when the inflow of Ukrainian migrants in Poland started to be very intense, German authorities implemented some regulations attracting skilled workers from this group to access the German labour market. This competition for migrant workers between member states seems to be an intriguing topic for further research.

The Netherlands

Same as Germany, the Netherlands represents the group of Western European countries with the longest history of labour migration. After the WWII labour migrants came to the

Netherlands mainly from former colonies and the Mediterranean region. The majority of these 'guest workers', who in theory came to the Netherlands for temporary employment, settled down and never returned to their countries of origin.

From the mid-1980s refugees' migration to the Netherlands gained considerable importance, forming a new category of migrants. The Netherlands saw the arrival of asylum seekers from war-torn former Yugoslavia. Others came to find a safe place from Iran, Somalia, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. People from these countries of origin assembled reached the number 330 thousand in the Netherlands. In 2013 the Dutch government introduced its *Law on a Modern Migration Policy* with the aim to simplify rules for regular (i.e., non-asylum based) admissions. Whereas earlier labour migration had been considered as something that was exceptionally allowed, it now had been made part and parcel of this Modern Policy. The aim was not to return to the low-and unskilled labour immigration from before 1973. Instead, the policy is geared towards highly skilled (college level) workers and entrepreneurs. Mid-skilled and lower skilled workers had meanwhile freely become available from the Central and Eastern European countries that had joined the European Union in 2004. Its citizens did not immediately have the freedom to work in the Netherlands (this had to wait until January 2007, and for Romanian and Bulgarian workers even seven years longer, i.e., until 2014). In this respect the Dutch government was more hesitant than those of Sweden, Ireland and the United Kingdom which had immediately opened their labour markets for workers from these new member states. As Kremer (2016) observes, the Netherlands was suffering from a "guest worker" trauma whereas at the same time the demand on the Dutch labour market was no longer for the type of workers, who had been recruited in the 1960s. And, indeed, expecting the same outcome –a part of the population that experiences difficulties integrating –would not have been merited.

Meanwhile, labour migration from third countries for other than 'knowledge workers' remains severely restricted. All such admissions are regulated by the *Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen* (WAV) (Law on Aliens' Employment). The general rule is that an admission serves the needs of an employer (i.e., is demand driven). Nevertheless, a growing segment of the permits is supply driven while serving the *Knowledge Migrant scheme* which allows recently graduated persons to remain in the country for a year whilst looking for employment, including the option to start a company. This option is also available to someone who has graduated from a selected foreign university (e.g., one of the top 200 as published by the Times Higher Education World University Rankings). Admissions from abroad must fill a vacancy, which cannot otherwise be fulfilled from the labour force already present within the European Economic Area (EEA). Depending on the precise nature, employers may or may not be required to demonstrate they have undertaken recruitment efforts within the EEA. Normally the permit to work and reside is valid for an initial one-year period. After five years, the migrant is completely free to remain and take on any job. Until then the permit limits them to a particular type of employment and employer.

It is also possible for entrepreneurs to operate in the Netherlands. In such a case a business plan shall be submitted for evaluation by the *Netherlands Enterprise Agency* (Raad voor Ondernemend Nederland) (RVO). The *Immigration and Naturalization Services* (IND), which administers the application, bases its decision on the RVO's verdict regarding the viability of the proposal and its added value for the Dutch economy. Similar rules apply for those who want to start up a new business. A permit allows the applicant to remain in the country for a year during

which the business can be created and developed. It is mandatory to have a sponsor (facilitator) who is certified by the RVO. In case third- country nationals are being seconded to provide services in the Netherlands by an employer based in another EU member state, this should be reported to the *Employee Insurance Agency* (UWV) of the Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs (SZW). There is anecdotal evidence of growing numbers of Ukrainian nationals who have a Polish work permit and hired by a Polish firm are in this manner working in the Netherlands.

The Netherlands and Germany seemed to follow the same path, when it comes to the countries of origin of the seasonal workers. Both countries cover the labour shortages by recruiting workers from new member states of the EU. In both cases, recruitment agencies seemed to play an important role in the temporary migration. Seasonal workers have been very often employed by the agency and only after outsourced to the farmers in Germany or the Netherlands.

Spain

In contrary to Germany and the Netherlands, Spain started to change and into being an immigration country much later, together with other Southern European countries. Due to the importance of agriculture in Spain, the demand for seasonal workers has been growing extremely fast and made this sector highly dependent on migrants.

The development of migration policy in Spain is related to the regulations on the labour market. Despite frequent changes in the law (in 1985, twice in 2000, in 2001 and 2003) and the regulations that came in their wake (in 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2004), immigration policy (except for family reunification and asylum) has always been based on the notion that immigration had to fit in with 'the specific needs' of the labour market. This means, to begin with, that the entry of foreigners is bound to a specific employment offer. Employers, therefore, determine both the possibility of entry and the characteristics of the new immigrants. Hence, speaking of "a job offer that is not covered" also implies that official approval is only given for job offers that have not been filled by Spanish citizens, members of the European Community, or authorised residents. The aim is to ensure that national (or authorised) workers are not displaced by foreigners. While these two principals have remained permanent, the order in which they have appeared, and the nature of the job offers have been changing throughout time (Garcés-Mascreñas, 2012).

The passing of the *Organic Law on Foreigners* (Ley Orgánica de Extranjería, LOE) in 1985 laid the foundations for these two principals in linking concession of the work permit with the presentation of a job contract and the 'non-existence of unemployed Spanish workers in the kind of work proposed' (Article 17). This system, known as Régimen General (General Provisions), neither ordered nor promoted labour immigration but authorised the contracting of a specific foreign worker after assessing the situation of the national labour market.

With a view to guiding low-skilled migration through legal channels and breaking with the stringency of the Régimen General, the government (still PSOE-led) established an annual labour immigration ceiling after 1993. This second mechanism or quota system enabled the contracting of a predetermined number of foreign workers in a specific economic sector and province. The advantage of this, in comparison with the Régimen General, was that the job offers presented under the heading of the quota system did not have to be evaluated in the light of the labour

market. In other words, the needs of the labour market were determined prior to the offer of employment, and hence the employer supposedly gained in terms of certainty and speed.

After 2002 the quota system came to be the legal framework for contracting seasonal workers in the countries of origin. Preference had to be given to those countries with which the Spanish Government had signed an agreement (Morocco, Colombia, Ecuador, Romania, the Dominican Republic, Poland, and Bulgaria and later Mauritania and Ukraine). However, the criteria for determining the distribution of the quota remained in the hands of the employers. It is the employers who, on presenting a generic offer of work, 'propose' the country where contracting will take place. In practice, this dual framework (existence of bilateral agreements and employers' decisions) turned out to be contradictory: the reasons of state for choosing some countries over others (through bilateral agreements) did not always coincide with the demands of the employers. This disparity between the state's choice and that of the employers was particularly evident with the bilateral agreements signed with countries like Gambia (2006), Guinea Conakry (2006), Cape Verde (2006), Mali (2006) and Senegal (2007).

Contrary to Germany and the Netherlands, Spain relies on seasonal migration in a large proportion from workers coming from third countries. However, there are several workers from new member states, which before their countries accession to the EU, used to be circular migrants, mainly working in the agricultural sector.

Poland

Currently in Poland, a migration policy has not been developed that would define short-and long-term goals. However, it can be said that the Polish authorities opened the labour market for foreigners on a comparable scale, perhaps, to the influx of migrants to Western Europe in the post-war era. Developments in migration policies in Poland were the result of the European integration. Many instruments of migration governance were established because of a top-down approach (EU-national) rather than as a need for a real action. The implemented solutions and the opening of the Polish labour market was the result of Polish interests in Eastern neighbouring countries. Poland together with Sweden initiated the project of EU's Eastern Partnership, which was linked to simplified procedure of mobility of citizens of these countries.

The combination of economic growth, massive outflow of Poles to other member states after the EU accession impacted the demand for foreign workers and led the employer organizations to lobby for the opening of the labour market. The system of work permits, which is one of the main instruments of migrants' access to the labour market of host countries, has been greatly simplified in Poland. *The declaration of the intention to entrust work to a foreigner* system introduced in Poland allowed entrepreneurs to employ migrants without the need to apply for a work permit. This procedure was to enable seasonal and circular work in Poland, in sectors struggling with labour shortages. As Duszczuk (2012, p.149) emphasized, 'before the introduction of the declaration system, in the years 2004–2006 the interest of employers in legally employing seasonal foreigners was marginal'. The procedure allows employers to recruit foreigners for a period not exceeding 6 months within a 12-month period based on declaration. Citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Russia, Georgia, and Ukraine are allowed to use the simplified procedure in order to access the Polish labour market.

In Poland, the conditions of arrival and residency of foreigners are regulated by the *Foreigners Act* (12 December 2013). According to this Act, every person, who does not have Polish citizenship is a foreigner. Every foreigner in Poland needs a valid document enabling them to enter and reside in Poland. The employment of foreigners in Poland is regulated by the *Promotion of Employment and Labour Market Institutions Act*. Third-country nationals can work in Poland, if they reside legally on the territory, but they need to hold a work permit if they are not able to work based on the declaration of the intention to entrust work to a foreigner. Poland has opened the labour market for foreigners by introducing solutions that resulted in a mass influx of migrants. It was a response to a growing demand for foreign workers, first in agriculture and afterwards in all sectors of the economy. The declaration of the intention to entrust work to a foreigner, this procedure is available to citizens of Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine, who can work up to nine months in Poland without holding the work permit. By 2006 due to the economic growth, an outflow of Poles from the labour market, demographic changes in the population structure, demand for labour migrants increased. During the first stage of the influx, the agriculture sector had the highest number of declarations of the intention to entrust work to a foreigner registered.

Overall, stemming from all the case studies it appears that the national migration regulations are built on demand driven objectives. Each country aims to cover labour shortages with temporary migrants. In the cases of the Netherlands and Germany it can be noticed a preference on EU nationals while in the case of Spain third-country nationals are playing a significant role. When it comes to Poland, the Eastern Partnership seems to be a strong source for covering labour demands.

It can be noticed as well that traditional welfare states like the Netherlands and Germany have more restrictive admission policies than Spain and Poland. Apparently, a “guest worker” trauma circulates in both cases, while Poland for the past decade is experiencing a transformation from an emigration to an immigration state and does not share similar fears yet.

Finally, in the cases of Germany and Spain there are obviously contrasting interests between the governments and the employers when it comes to the migration policies. The employers in both countries wish for more liberal laws and diversity of workers while the governments sustain a more hesitant stance on the matter.

2.2 The impact of Covid-19 on seasonal migration schemes in agriculture

The unprecedented outbreak of COVID-19 has impacted the mobility of people. The declared by many countries, state of emergency, and the closure of borders, prevented seasonal migrants from arriving to their destinations for employment. Closed borders and blocks of transport impacted the ability of workers from outside the EU to come and take up jobs in the EU.

On the 16th of March 2020, the European Commission recommended restrictions on travels, which was followed by all member states. This all happened shortly before the mostly intensive period of the year for the agricultural sector in the EU member states. The pandemic made clear the contribution of the seasonal workers in the EU food production. The rapid changes due to the COVID-19 and the need to secure the food supply chain pushed the governments to develop

ad hoc solutions to ensure the maintenance of the EU Market. The European Parliament's agriculture committee rushed to ensure the European citizens that there must be no fears of shortages in food distribution (Fortuna 2020).

The scare of getting infected and the growing numbers of introduced restrictions, such as 14 days quarantine upon arrival in the destination country, and the same 14 days after return to the country of origin, made some seasonal migrants reluctant to leave their countries of origin, in a period of complete uncertainty.

A coordinated common EU response was advocated with a suggestion for more flexibility and resilience within the EU states (European Council 2020). The national governments started to adopt ad hoc solutions to allow seasonal workers to come and work in the agriculture.

It is interesting to look at the responses of the governments in selected countries. Spain as the biggest exporter of fruits and vegetables in the EU was hit by the pandemic in spring of 2020. In the Andalusian province of Huelva, only 7 000 of the 19 000 Moroccan seasonal workers, who in the normal circumstances work there, arrived, due to difficulties with the closed borders. This situation was a real risk for the spring and summer harvests in the region (ILO 2021).

In Germany, which recruits about 300 000 seasonal workers every year, the risk that some vegetables, especially asparagus, would not be harvest. As it was said before, farmers relying on seasonal workers circulating each year towards the same destination, were not likely to replace these with the local workers, who were without experience and necessary skills in the agricultural fields. These pandemic-related circumstances re-opened the debate about the role of seasonal migrants in the agriculture of the EU member states. It seems that the existing regulations very often overlook the contribution of this category of migrants to the economy and society. The malfunctioning living and working conditions, as well as discriminatory treatment, were prevalent during the political discussions.

The European Commission in its Communication from 30th March 2020, presented *Guidelines concerning the exercises of the free movement of workers during COVID-19 outbreak*. In this document member states were asked to exchange information about their needs, and develop specific regulations allowing seasonal workers to come. The EC underlined the necessity to protect seasonal workers' health, by providing appropriate equipment such as masks or gloves. The protection of seasonal migrants was particularly important to also avoid the spread of corona virus around the communities that they work. Knowing that migrant workers are working and living together, the effective protection of these has been a challenge for the farmers across Europe. Most of the cases showed the quarantine measures were implemented, together with compulsory testing. However, the implementation of protection measures depended on the farmers, and their commitment to follow these. The distancing has been a challenge not only in the fields but in the transport and accommodation of the migrant workers.

The analysis of the implemented changes in the procedures by the members states showed that there were some common solutions such as: exceptions in travel restrictions for seasonal workers, extensions to visas and temporary work permits, attempts for regularisation to asylum seekers, in countries in which this status does not allow to work. There were many regulations implemented around protections, however, in everyday practice there were many problems

with protective equipment for migrant workers. The incredibly competitive business and the dependency of migrant workers in the agriculture made a pressure on national authorities to act quickly in order to secure the harvests.

Germany

As it was previously mentioned, German agriculture strongly depends on seasonal migrants. In April and May 2020 despite the COVID-19 about 80 000 of workers were expected in Germany. It means up to 40 000 per month. The associations of farmers were pressured by the German government to implement the COVID-19 regulations and at the same time support the inflow of migrants in the times of general restrictions and closed borders. On the one hand, the German government pointed out that seasonal workers would be the subject to strict entry and hygiene regulations, in order to protect the members of the community from spreading the virus. On the other hand, the authorities tried to find solutions to cover the labour demands.

The *Verband Süddeutscher Spargel-und Erdbeeranbauer* (VSSE) (Association of Asparagus and Strawberry Farmers) estimates 80% of its seasonal workers to hail from Romania and 10% from Poland, whilst the remaining are Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian and Bulgarian nationals, who by the way might well be living in neighbouring non-EU countries. More precise data, e.g., numbers of seasonal workers, are not available (Lechner 2020: 15). Many of those who normally arrive every year were hindered by travel restrictions imposed at the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Allowed was the arrival of 40 thousand workers in both April and May, as it was mentioned before (Initiative Faire Landarbeit 2020). However, the quota was not exhausted because recruitment proved problematic (Schneider and Götte 2020: 7). The VSSE (2020) reported for May it lacked 28 percent of workers. The restrictions were lifted in June. Citing the VSE Schneider and Götte note that the additional costs incurred for the employers by the pandemic had been 880 euros per worker (airfares and higher lodging expenses).

Undoubtedly, the pandemic showcased that Germany needs a redefinition of temporary migration schemes, if the country wishes to be more prepared for unpredictable situations. Migrant workers seem to be fundamental for the German economy, not only in agriculture but also in other sectors such as health and care sector or tourism.

The Netherlands

Based on data from Statistics Netherlands a sharp drop in labour migrants who are directly employed by a business, and which were subsequently replaced by Dutch workers has been observed. And as we already mentioned the drop is also in evidence among those who are employed by temp agencies but where there is no replacement by Dutch workers. These observations are limited to the period between the initial lockdown in March and June 1st. When asked about the consequences of the pandemic for workers in the agricultural sector our respondents observe that the supply of labour was not in any serious way affected and business was neither, due to the closing of restaurants and other catering companies which presumably made the demand for agricultural products drop, domestically as well as elsewhere in Europe which made exports decrease substantially (Siegmann and Quaedvlieg 2020:12). This may help

explain why the agricultural sector did not experience labour shortages, comparable with Germany or Spain in the same period.

There were many challenges in implementation of the protection measures. Enforcement of hygiene standards and distancing requirements appear not have been first on all governmental minds: “While some municipalities fined employers for violations of Covid-19 prevention measures, in Westland, a global hub of greenhouse horticulture, the municipality announced that, in order to guarantee food security, controlling the transportation conditions for workers offered by employment agencies was not a priority.” (Siegmann and Quaedvlieg 2020: 13). The costs of protection equipment for the employers working in the incredibly competitive business were seen in many cases as an unnecessary cost. The employers tried to reduced costs related to hygiene standards.

Spain

Spain as it was already mentioned, has the biggest agriculture sector from all four selected cases in this research. The country was hit intensely in the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. The implemented closure of borders put the agriculture business under risk with substantial losses of the crops.

In Huelva, the pandemic resulted in a 20% reduction of production and only 250,000 tons of strawberries were harvested due to labour shortages and the reduction of consumption linked to the difficulties of distribution outside Spain. Nonetheless, strawberries in whole Spain generated a value of 565 million euro (January-September 2020), somewhat less than the 595 million euro of 2019 (the whole year), according to FEPEX.

The closure of borders also, incurred in an economic cost related to the recruitment process of the Moroccan women that could not come. Thus, the government initiated dialogues with other countries to explore the possibility of undertaking a recruitment process. Potential candidates are in Latin America (e.g., Honduras, Peru, and Colombia) and in Eastern Europe (e.g., Moldavia). In fact, these negotiations are not new; employers’ associations have been asking the government to widen the list of countries for some years already, but the pandemic has accelerated this process.

Poland

In Poland seasonal workers are employed in all sectors of economy, not only in agriculture. Services, construction, household, care business are the sectors where temporary and circular migrants find employment. Poland did not face the severe challenges that Spain underwent or as Germany and the Netherlands, which had lack of workers caused by the closed borders.

A restriction that heavily influenced the situation of migrants in Poland was the closure of restaurants, cafes, and hotels, where migrants are mainly employed. Many companies and production companies reduced or stopped their operations. Even if migrants did not lose their jobs right away, in a lot of cases it eventually happened. It should be remembered that most Ukrainians working in Poland are short-term migrants (working for six to nine months). Another reason why Ukrainians left Poland was due to the rigid procedure of changing the employer. It

was particularly evident in the dynamically changing situation on the labour market (closing some sectors) that this one-employer procedure was inefficient. The experts interviewed pointed out the chaos that took place on the Polish-Ukrainian border in the first stage of the Ukrainians' departure.

Temporary migration has its characteristic about the concrete period of stays and the departure back to the country of origin. If that is delayed for an unknown period of time, then that creates vast uncertainty of who needs to return and when. In Poland, the dysfunctionality of the centres for processing migrants' papers was amplified after the end of the first lockdown with a lot of migrants not knowing what to do and what is their status at a given time. The pandemic has shown even more clearly the weakness of the system of certificates and permits for seasonal work as these are issued to a specific employer.

In a study by the NBP from July 2020, companies reported a decline in revenues in March and April. However, the surveyed companies declared that they were highly unlikely to lay off people, whether the employees are native Poles or migrant workers. The entrepreneurs declared that leaving their employees would lead to higher recruitment and training costs. The employers were rather inclined to change the organization of working time, suspend recruitment and new job offers. Workers also declared their willingness to employ migrants when the uncertainty related to the pandemic, comes to an end.

To sum up, the countries facing the most complex difficulties in recruitment of seasonal workers in the time of pandemic, were those with the biggest agricultural sector, Spain, and Germany. Seasonal workers are considered essential because they perform critical occupations in harvesting. These are the examples of activities which cannot be postponed, because it causes a big loss in the food production. In the Netherlands and Poland, the impact of the pandemic was lower in the short time perspective. Having said that in all cases the level of uncertainty for employers and migrants was exceedingly difficult.

To guarantee the recruitment of seasonal workers and prevent the critical sectors as agriculture from major losses, the governments needed to introduce preliminary measures. The next paragraph discusses the national responses during the pandemic.

2.3 National policy responses

As it was already discussed the unexpected outbreak of the pandemic of COVID-19 had put a pressure on the temporary and seasonal migration schemes of the EU member states. The situation and the challenges differ in the member states, due to the level of dependency on seasonal workers. Nevertheless, some potential bottlenecks can be identified. The unprecedented phenomenon of the pandemic can cause the unfeasibility of the arrival of potential migrants in the destination countries, but it might also cause the rush back home of the migrants, who are already working.

One of the challenges mentioned by migrants in the time of the pandemic was the access to information on the quickly changing restrictions and regulations. Proper information and communication are crucial during such crisis as the pandemic. The governments together with the local authorities are responsible to provide updated information addressing the most

important questions, in the native languages of the migrants. Migrants were confronted with the questions of lockdown measures, changes of legislation, legalisation of expired documents, possibilities of getting back home, even the simplest regulations as working hours of shops or hospitals. In the communication strategies, authorities should search for the cooperation with the NGOs and other stakeholders working directly with migrants. Any kind of communication channel should be updated and organized in the FAQ section, in order to avoid overload of questions and repetitions.

The success of the seasonal migration, especially in the time of crisis such as this of the pandemic, is related to the recruitment of the right candidates. Employers need to be able to recruit quickly and in the simplified procedure, in order to adopt to the changing circumstances. Delays in recruitment or in the visa/work permit procedures might have a negative impact on the national economies. Recruitment can go through the informal channels such as migratory networks, or through more formalized procedures involving public recruitment agencies or other institutions related to labour market, or private recruitment or outsourcing companies. The priority is a quick and flexible respond to employers' needs and the guarantee of migrants' rights.

The regular seasonal migration schemes seemed to be not very flexible. One of the examples of it, is the linkage of work permits to only one employer. It means that in the period of rapid changes on the labour market, any problem with the employer that might appear cannot be easily fixed as the migrant worker is not able to change the workplace. Even if his/her visa is still valid. Temporary measures implemented in the time of the pandemic have introduced some more flexible solutions, visa extensions and the possibility of changing the employer.

The Netherlands

The Netherlands had to cope during the pandemic and still copes with the sudden unemployment of temporary workers. The labour shortages due to the border blockage caused the migration of less workers and therefore that led to a domino of less production. With less income in the agricultural industry the workers were found in an unstable situation and in some cases, it resulted in the loss of jobs or the inability to manage to survive the costs of living in the Netherlands. The daily *De Volkskrant* (Dirks 2020) reported how the local government of the city of Rotterdam (located close to the Westland, a region with a high concentration of greenhouses) assists Polish workers and their families who become homeless because of lacking income and abusively high rents. It is reported moreover that many migrants have never registered with the municipality. This is likely to complicate applying for unemployment benefits (to which one should add that these benefits might not suffice to pay the excessive rent for an informally occupied apartment). The informal nature of a rental agreement may be the reason why people are not recorded in the population register: the landlord might be found out. Figures from Statistics Netherlands show that out of nearly 179 thousand Polish workers less than half (77 thousand) are recorded in the municipal population register (out of twelve thousand Bulgarians eight thousand are registered, Romanians respectively 23 and eleven thousand, figures for 2017). Registering is mandatory for anyone remaining for four months or longer.

The same Volkskrant report mentions working conditions in the greenhouses to be in violation of COVID-19 rules: maintaining a minimum distance of 1.5 meters between workers is largely being ignored. The NGO FairWork (working on anti-trafficking) reports of workers who lost all resources because they were unexpectedly terminated at their job. These people asked for help with considerably basic issues like where to get food and a roof over their heads. There is no reason to believe agricultural workers were particularly hit (the examples given were of hospitality and household related employment).

In case of the Netherlands the loss of job and the consequences link to this, seemed to be the most challenging problem in the time of COVID-19 pandemic. We must underline that in this case we have different category of seasonal migrants, namely internal movers from new member states, who are in the more privileged position than migrants from third countries.

Germany

In the spring and summer of 2020 attempts were noted to mobilize asylum seekers in order to replace the seasonal workers that normally arrive from Poland (30%) and Romania (65%) (Der Spiegel 2020). The *Verband Süddeutscher Spargel und Erdbeerbauer* (VSSE) (Association of Asparagus and Strawberry Farmers) estimates 80% of its seasonal workers to hail from Romania and 10% from Poland, whilst the remaining are Hungarian, Slovenian, Croatian and Bulgarian nationals, who by the way might well be living in neighbouring non-EU countries. More precise data, e.g., numbers of seasonal workers, are not available (Lechner 2020: 15). Many of those who normally arrive every year were hindered by travel restrictions imposed at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. A survey this summer among asparagus and berry farmers showed that replacing experienced seasonal workers with domestically available workers such as unemployed people, asylum seekers, students and others was only a partial success. It turned out to be exceedingly difficult to keep workers in the fields who were new to this type of heavy labour. Fifty-nine percent of unexperienced workers left the job early. In seventy percent of those cases this was because of physical difficulties. The speaker of the VSSE, which organized the survey, remarked that asylum seekers did not differ from Germans in this respect. The experience is that only people who have serious financial needs are willing to do this type of work. In other words, substituting workers who could not travel to Germany because of COVID-19 restrictions proved to be problematic.

Spain

This year with the pandemic, workers have been submitted under much more stress with the excuse that there was not enough labour demand due to the non-arrival of Moroccan women and the fewer Eastern European workers. The positive side is that with the fear of being infected and pass it on to the rest of the family, workers have complained more about working conditions, which was not so usual years before. This has also been amplified with the presence of workers from other economic sectors (e.g., hospitality) that were impressed in witnessing the bad labour conditions in agriculture. Since these had a more eventual work relationship, they were less afraid of the potential consequences of lodging complaints and engaging in social criticism with organisations like *Jornaleras en Lucha*. In Lleida, CCOO managed to file a complaint against an

employer on behalf of a group of 17 Spanish workers, but this had side effects for the foreign workers of the same company, who were dismissed thereafter.

During the months of lockdown, inspections were telematic, asking farmers to send all the required information (e.g., payslips, shifts, the names of the workers, pictures of the workers with face masks or gloves). According to many interviewees from trade unions and the Third Sector, this did not help in identifying irregularities and in the end the number of inspections may have been lower than what was initially planned. However, after much pressure from the organised civil society and the representation of the poor working conditions in the media, in May the Minister of Work in Madrid (Yolanda Díaz from the left-wing party Podemos) ordered more labour inspections in the whole country. Farmers and employers' associations felt very attacked by the media and the government (after being called racist and responsible for having workers under conditions of semi-slavery) they even asked for the Minister's resignation. Yet, thanks to this ministerial order more labour inspections took place (with the body of inspectors of Madrid) and more irregularities were uncovered. In the case of Huelva, this has been especially relevant, as until there have not been inspectors from outside the province, irregularities have not been reported. According to some interviewees this may point to some inefficiency or even some degree of collaboration between the body of inspectors of Huelva and the entrepreneurial sector.

Huelva seems to have been more affected than Lleida, as it also had less time to look for alternatives amid the campaign and the early stages of COVID-19. In relation to the working conditions, the pandemic has made the structural problems more visible, and vulnerabilities have become greater. Besides the usual issues such as underpayment or irregularities in hiring practices, workers have been put under much more stress. This has accelerated situations of conflict that in some cases have led to dismissals after complaints by workers.

Poland

There is this problematic situation, where Poland has fully transitioned to an immigration country, however, the government's attitude illustrates an ignorance of this fact. Most of the information about new regulations related to the COVID-19, are published in Polish and then it takes several days until clarifications are given in other languages. Particularly, in periods of crises like this of a pandemic, this can be nerve-breaking for the temporary migrants, who might misunderstand some regulations and find themselves unconsciously going against the lockdown laws. It is estimated that in the first two months of the COVID-19 pandemic (March–April), over 200,000 people left Poland, which means a 10 % drop. Ukrainian migrants particularly feared of being unable to return to their home country and took spontaneous decisions, which was partially due to the mismanagement of the Polish government as the distribution of new regulations was done in a way that migrants could not feel secure. Particularly, the fact that there was not enough information about the state of the pandemic in the Ukrainian language, made a lot of migrants feel unsafe about their legal status as migrants and their health (Minich and Kravchuk 2021).

Due to the introduction of restrictions because of the epidemic, the consequences of which were difficult, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises, the Polish government

prepared legislative changes which were to provide economic support. The introduced laws were called the 'anti-crisis shield'. As a result of pressure from entrepreneurs employing migrants, e.g., agricultural unions or associations of the processing and meat industries, anti-crisis shields also included solutions for migrants. Entrepreneurs were very afraid of the Ukrainians leaving, knowing that most of them cannot be replaced with Polish workers. Solutions introduced by the Polish government to alleviate the effects of the lockdown included several provisions related to foreigners living and working in Poland. The most important provisions of the 2 March 2020 Act that stipulates the deadline for the submission of residence permits applications. Implementation of this impacted the decision of seasonal workers to stay in Poland or to return after a short back home trip.

2.4 Recruitment mechanisms

As it was already mentioned there are diverse strategies of recruitment implemented by the EU member states, based on formal or informal practices, involving public and private actors. In the recruitment procedures the level of flexibility is important for employers to react quickly enough in changing circumstances. Recruitment can be linked to the predeparture support. The predeparture measures can be provided in the cooperation between country of origin and destination. It might be a good way to educate migrants about their rights, living and working conditions. The predeparture support linked to recruitment might also give the employers the chance to find right workers for the occupations. Predeparture support might as well include the cooperation of diverse stakeholders such as international organization, NGOs of various kind, as well as private recruitment companies.

In this recruitment the protection of rights of seasonal workers remains the priority for all participants of this process.

Germany

In contrast to the Netherlands recruitment and employment of Central and Eastern European workers through officially registered temp agencies is considerably less significant. On 30 June 2019, a total of 895.176 temp workers were employed on the German labour market (Agentur für Arbeit 2020). Of those 57 percent were foreign nationals. Looking at the sector agriculture, forestry, husbandry, and horticulture we see comparatively even much smaller numbers: 5.107 of which 2.033 foreign workers (Ibid.). These figures do fluctuate with the seasons but do not suggest significant hiring of foreign workers: for 2019 the highest number of employed people stood at 5.256 (July) and the lowest at 3,398 (December). Hence, we could be tempted to conclude temp agencies do hardly or not at all play a role in agricultural seasonal work. However, this depends on one's understanding of the nature of such agencies. Furthermore, workers who are employed for less than 70 days (per annum) do not pay towards unemployment insurance and pension funds. The statistics cited are only enumerating workers who are insured. We do know the approximate overall number of seasonal workers to be 286.3009(2016) (Schneider and Götte 2020: 4). Fifty-five percent of those are male and 45% female workers (Op cit.). Of those working in agriculture (Landwirtschaft) next to these seasonal migrants, the work is being done by 449 thousand family members and 205 thousand permanently employed foreign workers (Heuser and Hammer 2020). It is normal practice for

employers to directly employ their seasonal workers and to maintain a long-term relationship with them individually and their networks. However, there are also intermediaries who take on a role otherwise a temp agency might perform for those who are not already known to an employer nor part of such network.

Mainly Bulgarians and Romanians. The desire to be able to hire from non-EU countries is also voiced by the speaker for the VVSE. He specifically identified the Westbalkanregelung as a suitable and yet not fully functional tool for this. Plans for bilateral agreements with West Balkan states as well as Georgia are also welcomed as it is expected that labour supply from EU member states gradually dries up. Already in the past decade it was in evidence how Polish workers, who traditionally were the seasonal workers on the German fields, made way for Bulgarians and Romanians. The resulting competition for those seasonal workers who are willing to come might improve hiring practice as Schneider and Götte were told by the Association of East German Asparagus and Berry Fruit Growers: “Facing a scarcity of potential workers, employers with a sustainable strategy and a good network aim to recruit independently by offering work to labourers from previous years.” (2020: 8).

The Netherlands

Their recruitment either is by “traditional” connections between certain locations in Poland, Bulgaria and Romania and Dutch farmers. This then mainly serves harvesting crops from the fields –typically seasonal work. Or recruitment is through intermediaries (i.e., temp agencies). “Polish migrants are most often recruited through employment agencies in Poland that are local offices of Dutch companies or Polish agencies collaborating with Dutch agencies (Siegmann and Williams 2020).

It is estimated that 275 thousand workers are employed via temp agencies and another 49 thousand directly by growers/farmers (Siegmann and Williams 2020). The Aanjaagteam (2020) stresses that temp agencies can be very decent and service-oriented employers. It recalls one example of an agency that guarantees migrant workers a fixed income during their initial stay. Why this is a considerable benefit becomes clear once we learn that normal practice is that workers are hired on a so-called “zero-hour contract”. This means they are entirely reliant on the demand for their labour. Obviously, this means that in case of any disruption in a business operation the worker immediately loses their income.

Once temp workers have been employed for a certain amount of time their position should become more secure and rights are accrued. To avoid this from happening, the worker is re-hired through another agency which legally brings them back to square one. They remain in phase A, which is the term used for a contract in which one has no income when sick or in the absence of work.

Spain

Temping agencies are becoming a common actor to recruit workers in the agriculture, especially since the crisis of 2008 and the labour reform of 2012. Since then, banks put more restrictions to financially support campaigns and farmers and companies look for alternatives. Temping agencies offer the possibility to fund campaigns and comply with the payments to workers,

Social Security, and the Tax Office (hacienda) on time. Moreover, their job facilitates the recruitment process and allows more flexible arrangements, according to the needs of the production, which depend on the fact that the weather might suddenly change.

The first difference is in the profile of workers hired through GECCO: men from Colombia in Lleida and women from Morocco in Huelva. The process of selection undertaken by the national agency of labour promotion in Morocco (ANAPEC) follows specific criteria: women between 25 and 45 years old of rural areas with few socioeconomic resources and family responsibilities in order to ensure their return once their work contract finishes. Women from urban areas or very young women might not fit in this ideal type, since they do not have so much experience, may be more empowered and pose a greater risk of remaining in the country illegally. As a member of the sub-delegation of the government affirms, the key to success of GECCO is in the selection process and more time should be invested to undertake a better choice.

In terms of profiles, the great majority of people in the settlements come from Sub-Saharan countries many of whom (at least in Lepe and surroundings) work in the sector of citrus, not red fruits. Maghrebians (especially from Morocco and to a lesser extent from Algeria) are the second biggest group, but there are also some migrants from Rumania, Latin America and even some local poor individuals from Spain. According to the last census in 2017, 70% of people have a legal residence permit, although this percentage only applies to men, and it could vary significantly.

Overall, temping agencies, farmers' associations and cooperatives and companies are responsible for the employment of most seasonal workers in Spain. In some cases, however, there is a direct arrangement between the worker and the farmer and falls under the category of undocumented seasonal workers.

Poland

The circular migration in Poland is shaped by the labour market dynamics and driven by mainly migratory networks and private recruitment agencies. Migrants are an important element of the Polish labour market. In recent years, a clear change in the length of stay of migrants in Poland can be noted. It seems that short-term migration (seasonal and circular) is starting to transform into medium-and long-term migration. According to the data collected by the National Bank of Poland (NBP), men are the largest group of migrants and most of them come from Ukraine. When it comes to the age, the structure is diverse. There are over 45 years old as well as people who are under 25 and whose first-time employment is in Poland. Migration in Poland is predominately motivated. The economic crisis in Ukraine led to a large outflow of labour migrants in Poland. Exceptionally low wages, high unemployment and no stability were the main push factors, which encouraged these migration waves. Ukrainian emigration tends to be medium-to low-skilled. The education level of the migrants is lower than the average in Ukraine: only 16% of migrants had higher education, compared to 48% for the country as a whole. Men represent 70% of Ukrainian labour migrants. Only migration to Italy has a different gender composition, with 71% of migrants to Italy being women. Half of Ukrainian migrants originate from rural areas, as regards the age composition, the cohorts of 30-40 years and 40-50 years are

the most strongly represented, with each of them accounting for 26% of the total number of migrants, compared to just 14-15% of the total Ukrainian population (Pieńkowski, 2020, p. 34).

The recruitment of temporary migrants in Poland is based mainly of private companies, similarly in the Netherlands. There are as well outsourcing agencies operating in this area. In this case they recruit and employ migrants and send them to work for the employer. Due to the high inflow of migrants in the last years to Poland, there are a well-established migratory network existing, there are providing information to the potential migrants and support the newcomers with the necessary information about opportunity structure and procedures.

Same as in Poland in the Netherlands, and partly in Germany private recruitment agencies seem to play an important role. In contrary in Spain the recruitment of temporary migrants is under the control of the government through GECCO.

2.5 Working and living conditions

The living and working conditions of the migrants have always been a controversial topic in the EU. In the light of the COVID-19, the contribution of the seasonal workers in the EU food production became apparent. However, the policies did not change when it comes to working hours, payment and living conditions. Migrants reported that the accommodations, protection masks and COVID-19 distancing measures did not apply as promised aiming to protect them from the virus; it rather became even harsher as the employers neglected the countries' recommendations related to the pandemic. The COVID-19 highlighted how vulnerable these migrant groups are and their limited working and human rights. In Germany, there were long discussions of how the agricultural policy is not simultaneously a social policy (Klawitter, Lüdke and Schrader 2020). Reports about the working conditions in slaughterhouses, meatpacking and distribution centres showed cramped working conditions resulting in high infection rates. The example of Germany and the unsuccessful employment of workers, who are not familiar with the harvesting of the crops showed that seasonal and circular migrants carry with them valuable knowledge gained through experience in the fields. This unfortunately is not recognised and does not reflect their pay as they are get paid about 20% less than local workers. According to the ILO (2021) latest report, most temporary migrants work for about 10 to 12 hours per day with a low pay. Similarly, in Spain, the national report from the ADMIGOV team projected the maltreatment of the workers, the insufficient transportation to the farms and the vulnerability particularly of female migrant workers. The migrants' access to healthcare and the practice of their working rights seems to be still a topic where the EU must improve.

Germany

For three meals a day the workers are charged ten euro. The actual costs are not more than 8,37 euros. Workers are told their housing costs is twelve euros, while it costs no more than 3,85 euros. In effect, each worker is charged almost ten (9,78) euros more for facilities they have no alternatives for. More generally the Union reports instances of sub-standard employment conditions such as underpayment, overly long hours, and poor housing for which abusive deductions from wages are made. Often workers are not fully informed about their wages and hours because of language problems, which also causes them to sign contracts they cannot

read. In the slaughterhouses and meat packing industry major scandals arose because of many CEE workers being infected with Covid-19 while at work. Contact restrictions and hygiene standards were systematically disregarded (Schneider and Gotte 2020: 7). In June, a further scandal arose over a plant of the Tönnies Company in Gütersloh (North Rhine Westphalia) where most of its staff were found to be infected. The town it stands in came to a lock-down. The plant was largely staffed by Bulgarian and Romanian nationals. Tackling the issue was frustrated by the fact that often it was not known where these resided as they appeared to be unregistered.

Overall, it is apparent that low pay, bad sanitation, limited knowledge on the workers' rights and low standards of housing conditions are problems that exist in all four case studies.

The Netherlands

Our interviewees and the Aanjaagteam convey a unanimous picture of the problematic housing situation in which most migrant seasonal workers in the Netherlands find themselves. The principle may be solid, the practice is less so. In case the worker is employed via a temp agency this normally means the agency arranges the housing. By law, they have to offer housing, but the employee is free to find their own accommodation. Dutch law permits a maximum of 25 percent of the official minimal wage to be withheld in order to cover for the housing costs. The Dutch minimum wage lies around ten euro per hour, slightly dependent on the amount of weekly working hours. Actual wages tend not to deviate much from this minimum (see graph 4 for an illustration). If the employer arranges a health care coverage, these costs can also be deducted. Basic health coverage in the Netherlands costs about one hundred euro per month. When asked, the largest Dutch trade union (FNV) utters reservations about these package deals for the principle ought to be that a worker has the autonomy to spend his wages freely.

As housing and insurance are tied up to the employment, losing one's job can easily mean instant homelessness and problematic access to healthcare. "As a consequence, migrant workers are vulnerable and do not trust to stand up for themselves and do not dare to report abuses." (Aanjaagteam 2020: 15). The report further notes how the position of labour migrants is different from that of a Dutch employee. Regulations are geared towards independently acting citizens who know their way on the Dutch labour market and in society at large and who are able claim their rights by going to court or get assistance from their trade union if employers treat them unfairly (Ibid.). This fear of reporting abuse for fear of losing one's job is also observed by the anti-trafficking NGO Fair Work with whom we spoke for this project. These are general observations, however, that may not necessarily be a major issue in agriculture.

The sources at our disposal tend to report bad practices rather than providing examples of good or excellent employment and housing conditions. We should suppose those to exist, not least if employers depend on the annual return of their seasonal workers and cannot rely on a fresh supply provided by temp agencies. A report for 2019 by the Trade Union for Construction-Agriculture -Environment (Bauen-Agra-Umwelt) and PECO-Institut provides a very illuminating illustration of how employers save/earn from deducting unfair sums from the wages they pay their seasonal workers. The sums are relatively small but add up to considerable amounts.

Spain

Accommodation for agricultural workers appears to be a big problem in whole Spain, especially in the south. Whereas it has always been a matter of concern, in the last years the situation has worsened. This has to do with the expansion of harvested land and the recruitment of more workers, together with the inefficiency of governance mechanisms related to the organisation of agricultural campaigns. In Huelva, the problems seem to be more manifest in the proliferation of informal settlements and in Lleida they are more related to issues of substandard housing, crowded flats, and homelessness, even if this also affects the south of Spain.

In Huelva, prior to the crisis, there was no actor that centralised this service like in Lleida, so the initiatives of accommodation relied on the initiative of employers, NGOs, or local governments since the very beginning. The Foundation of Foreign Workers of Huelva (FUTEH) could contribute to identifying problems of housing and try to mediate, but it was not in charge of building lodgings. Along with this privatisation, the public funding to maintain or improve housing for agricultural workers has been affected and there seems to be confusion on the budget lines dedicated to this concept. While the regional government affirms that City Councils can apply for such funding, these affirm that there is no open call. This reflects again one of the multiple conflicts of competences between administrations.

Besides the legal framework of GECCO, collective bargaining agreements also refer to housing and living conditions of agricultural workers. In Lleida, according to the collective bargaining agreement related to agriculture and livestock (*convenio agropecuario*) those workers who live further than 75km, must be accommodated at the expenses of entrepreneurs. Yet, 10% discount can be applied to payslips for accommodation costs (supplies of water, gas, and electricity), whilst respecting the rise of the minimum wage (SMI). However, in practice there seems to be some margin of discretion among employers and this is not always respected. In Huelva, there is no such obligation and according to the collective agreement it is rather just a recommendation, up to the good will of business owners. It does state that accommodation must be free, but it does not specify anything about the costs of supplies. Yet, several interviewees affirm that those entrepreneurs who offer housing tend to apply a discount for such costs as in Lleida.

Poland

Sanitation in the farms is questionable in some cases, the sanitary conditions in some rural areas can be in a bad shape, putting especially during the COVID-19, migrants' lives under risk. As it was already said the simplified procedure allow migrants to enter Poland and work legally. In the case of some sectors such as agriculture, domestic services or construction, locals and migrants in some cases work irregularly. Due to the high cost of employment (taxation, social security obligation) employers tend to abuse the workers and their labour rights. Some Ukrainian migrants reported they were forced to work, their passports were taken from them, and the employers did not pay them monthly, but promised to pay them by the end of their period of stay, knowing that they must leave the country. Many migrants are employed by the private employment agencies based on the civil law contract (Polish: *umowa zlecenie*), which prevents such migrants from the full access to social benefits. The employment contract includes certain notice periods, holiday leaves, sick pay, benefits, and allowances for overtime

work, which can be claimed in court. The contractors' civil law contracts not entitled to any of the above-mentioned rights.

Work undertaken by migrants is characterized by longer hours (often over 40 hours a week). Migrants are employed because of short-term employment contracts. Employers cite the lack of Polish employees willing to work as the main reason for employing migrants. Because the system of gaining access to the labour market is easy, most migrants work legally. Working conditions do not differ from those for local workers. Generally, migrants work in sectors that require manual and shift work, often with significant overtime. When it comes to accommodation, in large cities, migrants often live in shared rented apartments and this rental is commercial in nature. In Poland, access to social housing is exceedingly difficult, therefore migrants do not stand a chance to use such housing. The situation is different in small towns, where discrimination and marginalisation of migrants is seen more often.

3. Good practices and policy recommendations

The ADMIGOV projects aims to research on the topic of the COVID-19 and seasonal migration in the agricultural sector, on the one hand to analyse the existing policy schemes and their downfalls and on the other hand to pinpoint the so-called "good practices", which shall be reinforced and maintained. In all four cases, we observed several practices, which indeed represent the win-win-win pattern of successful temporary migration. It is important to address this positive side in order to reflect during the dialogues between stakeholders, why some policies and practices are effective for all who are involved and why others fail to benefit some. By "good practices" it is meant a blend of effectiveness, transparency, abiding by the law, respecting human rights, and aiming for improvement (Pasetti 2019). Eventually, when temporary migration is done safely and orderly and regular then it protects all sides participating.

Germany

Next to this openness for skilled foreigners there is the possibility for asylum seekers to take up employment (after the first three months of their procedure). Exempted from this option are asylum seekers stemming from safe countries of origin (presently: all West Balkan states as well as Ghana and Senegal). Should subsequently their application be rejected but their return cannot be effectuated, they can be issued with a tolerated status (Duldung). Such a status does not hold any rights but does protect against deportation as well as detention for illegal residence (which is criminalized under German law). Normally this status is to be renewed every six months, but it may also be issued for shorter periods. This is done at the discretion of the Ausländerbehörde (a local office akin to the aliens' police or immigration office) (Eule 2018). When they are in possession of ID-papers or can demonstrate that they have none because of reasons beyond their control tolerated persons can seek/accept employment or enter vocational training (which often includes on the job training). Again: people stemming from safe countries of origin cannot. These may, however, enjoy education. By the end of 2019 202.387

aliens benefitted from a toleration. Of those approximately twenty percent were employed. If the tolerated person fulfils further conditions signifying integration into German society, through further training or already possesses desirable skills, regularization is possible. During the first half of 2020, 739 aliens (including spouses and children) received a residence permit on these grounds (Deutscher Bundestag 2020: 27). Migrant can furthermore receive a permit because it has been established their return remains impossible to effectuate. This has happened to 54.420 persons (Op cit: 22).

The main route into Germany for workers without formal skills (a minimum of two years of vocational training) is through the West Balkan Regulation. This WBR was created in 2015 and came into force 1 January 2016 allowing access to the German labour market for citizens of Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, North-Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Kosovo. It was evaluated in 2020 by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) (Brücker et al. 2020 a,b). Based on this evaluation the government decided to prolong the WBR which was set to expire by the end of 2020. The WBR's purpose was two-fold: to effectively curb asylum migration from the West Balkan region (by defining these countries as safe countries of origin) and to satisfy growing German labour market needs. Unlike existing labour immigration rules, no proof of formal qualifications is necessary. However, a visa is required. The issuing of the visa requires a pre-arranged employment contract and a labour market test by the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit) to establish whether the vacancy might be filled by an EU-national or a refugee, who then would have priority.

The Netherlands

In 2013 the Dutch government introduced its Law on a Modern Migration Policy with the aim to simplify rules for regular (i.e., non-asylum based) admissions. The policy facilitates the movement mostly of Eastern European temporary migrants and in some cases functions well for the coverage of the labour needs of the country.

In terms of effects on (un)employment among labour migrants in the agricultural sector some data are available. This is a consequence of the creation of a so called Aanjaagteam (loosely translated as boost team) in May 2020 by the Dutch Cabinet. The Team was created in response to reports of such incidents as mentioned above and the government wanted an inventory of practices, experiences of labour migrants and advice for future policies. The Team itself subsequently ordered a report on the development within the agricultural sector. From this report we learn, among other things, how the employment through 2020 developed, compared to previous years. A large part of the employment in this sector involves temp agencies. The Netherlands has 14 thousand of such agencies as the sector was deregulated some decades ago. Some are large and solid employers but there are also less serious and even criminal agencies (Aanjaagteam 2020). The latter tend to be small operations.

Spain

In Catalonia, Unió de Pagesos is the actor who has traditionally been involved in the management of temporary workers' schemes together with trade unions (CCOO and UGT) and the Spanish government to bring contingents from Latin America, Eastern Europe, Morocco and

—from 2005 to 2008—Senegal (Gualda, 2012). It was the first union in whole Spain that started the process of temporary labour workers schemes in Colombia in the late 1990s. Before the economic crisis of 2008, Unió de Pagesos (through its foundation Pagesos Solidaris) used to manage the intermediation of 12,000 or 13,000 workers to be hired by different farmers and cooperatives, including those who came under GECCO and those living in Spain. Yet, the crisis brought about a dramatic rise of unemployment and national workforce was set as a priority. This resulted in a reduction of funding, which made the service of labour intermediation almost disappear. In the last years, it has only managed a pool of 2,000 or 3,000 workers in whole Catalonia, of which between 300 and 500 come from Colombia (only repeaters). In the collective imaginary of employers and some politicians, there is still the perception that GECCO in Catalonia was (and still is) an exemplary policy in terms of governance of temporary workers. At the time Unió de Pagesos oversaw the service of labour intermediation it seemed easier to adjust supply and demand with real numbers and better control the needs of accommodation. The union was able to coordinate with the main Councils and farmers of the area of Baix Segrià (Seròs, Aitona, Alcarràs...) and solve any problems that could emerge. The reduction of formal quotes from 2008 led to the privatisation of GECCO (Molinero, 2018), where employers' associations maintained the recruitment outside Europe, but this was arranged privately with nominal contracts. In this new scenario public administration lost control of the recruitment process and the decentralised nature of temporary workers' schemes was accentuated.

In Huelva, the projects of AENEAS (2004-2006) and MARES I & II (2010-2013) that took place as an initiative of the City Council of Cartaya and the EU to implement temporary workers' schemes were also regarded as a good practice and a model of circular migration. It complied with the three principles of this policy: fulfilment of economic needs, control of illegal immigration and co-development. Moreover, the creation of the Foundation of Foreign Workers of Huelva (Fundación de Trabajadores Extranjeros de Huelva, FUTEH) in 2007 contributed to the selection process and in the accompaniment of Moroccan women during their stay in Spain. This Foundation counted with 18 Moroccan mediators and offered services of translation and training, including Spanish lessons and topics such as the importance of returning home, health and hygiene, sex education, living together, use of pesticide products and intercultural mediation.

Temping agencies are becoming a common actor to recruit workers in the agriculture, especially since the crisis of 2008 and the labour reform of 2012. Whereas some are small and do not count with many resources, others struggle to provide personal assistance and get more involved in the management of workforce, such as Sendas Gestión in Lleida. This agency appears to be a good practice in terms of arranging services of transport, revising accommodation with decent standards, elaborating an observatory of lodgings, or assisting workers individually, especially in cases of illness. With the pandemic, they have also helped them in arranging the sick leaves' benefits when they needed it.

During the pandemic the negotiation with the national government, several actors participated: AFRUCAT, ASAJA, the sub-delegation of the government in Lleida, the mayors of the most affected towns (Aitona, Alcarràs, Seròs...) and the main trade unions. Since there was a unified

commission between the Ministries of Agriculture, Transport and Health, it was relatively easy to get the approval of this certificate. Agricultural workers were considered essential workers and the government allowed their mobility without specifying any limitations between autonomous communities or provinces.

Poland

In 2017, another liberalization of the regulations on the movement of people from Ukraine to Poland was introduced. On 11 June 2017, the provisions on visa-free travel for short-term stays of up to 90 days in the Schengen area entered into force. Visa-free travel applies only to Ukrainian citizens who have biometric passports. Regulations authorize residence but do not authorize work. Employment regulations fall under national legislation. Very often, the liberalization of the visa-free regime is seen as a gateway to an uncontrolled influx of migrants. However, in the case of Poland, the system of the declaration of the intention to entrust work to a foreigner facilitates easy access to the labour market. Access to visas for Ukrainians coming to Poland was also good practice because the introduction of visa-free travel did not result in a sharp increase in the number of migrants. Moreover, the declaration has been deemed as a successful mechanism.

4. Conclusions

In almost all member states in the EU many sectors of labour market depend on seasonal migrants, coming from other member states or from third countries. Some states have a long experience in development and implementation of employment-based migration, however there are still many challenges that need to be addressed on all levels of governance. The EU member states have developed their overly complex and diversified, using a whole variety of tools. Labour migration is strongly related to the economic priorities and needs, and seasonal migration seems to be the answer, which does not involve many costs for the state's authorities. In theory, seasonal migration should be beneficial for all parties involved, creating a win-win-win situation.

In order to achieve this, there are still a lot of initiative that must be taken, in order to identify emergency challenges mainly in living and working conditions of seasonal migrants. Temporary migrants are vulnerable groups prone to marginalization, discrimination, and gender-related violence. Women are exposed in several cases of sexual abuses. The housing and transport to the farm's conditions are not always promising with cases of homelessness or substandard housing. Inadequate inspections, loopholes in the system and policies that themselves are not holding tight contribute to the aforementioned.

To work on the changes in temporary migration schemes, the EU member states need a dialogue, cooperation, and exchange of good practices. The question how to implement such policies most effectively, should be also discuss on the EU level. The European Commission has taken steps to harmonize seasonal migration, but this is beginning of this process.

The COVID-19 pandemic, which was a shock for all member states, showed the fundamental role of seasonal migrants for agriculture across Europe. Restrictions related to coronavirus, impacted the mobility, which put agriculture in risk of increase of production costs and therefore in prices. At the same time the crisis put a pressure on the governments to redesign temporary migration schemes.

As it was mentioned in the report the selected cases are diverse in terms of structure of labour market, categories of seasonal migrants, recruitment procedures etc. However, there are some similarities in the challenges faced by migrants and employers that need attention from the national and EU institutions.

the pandemic highlighted the reliance on food productions in the EU members states from seasonal migrants. The development of the initiatives and changes this area should be included in broader concept of migration governance, including not only economy and labour market, but also fiscal policies, welfare policies, health care, education, and integration measures.

the development of common European labour standards, including the principal rights at work for seasonal migrants working in the EU member states.

- the pandemic proved that seasonal migrants have developed skills and experiences, which are very often unrecognized and underestimated. Seasonal workers are not easily replaced by the local workers without experiences in the field.
- one of the particularly important issue is the unequal wages mainly in the agriculture. There are very divers systems implemented in the EU member states, hourly, weekly, and monthly salaries. There are many inequalities in wages between men and women. Extension of minimum wages on the seasonal workers might be a good step towards harmonization in this area.
- living and working conditions of seasonal migrants should be the priority. There is a need for more inspections and monitoring mechanisms implemented by national governments. However, there is a space for dialogue on the EU level how to work on the harmonization of standards, and coherence between migration and employment regulations.
- seasonal workers are vulnerable to any kind of abuse and discriminatory practices, it should be a system of monitoring to detect any violation of seasonal migrants' rights. The system one the one hand should be based on inspections, on the other on supporting workers, by providing information of their rights in the destinations country, as well as predeparture information about rights and services/ institutions available.
- the bilateral agreements should be right based, guaranteeing the basic rights of seasonal workers, and their protections. The agreements should work on the principle of win-win-win situation, protecting migrants, and though their work reducing the imbalances in way of living between country of origin and destination.
- another area which needs a particular attention is the recruitment processes. In many countries' recruitment is based on informal channels, which are effective and connect

potential migrants with the employers. However, there is a risk in this kind of informal recruitment because it can be difficult to monitor. The recruitment institutions should be local or region-oriented, due to the better access to local employers and understanding of local needs.

- after the COVID-19 pandemic national authorities should be aware of the necessity of more flexible procedures, which enable quick responses to labour shortages in the agriculture and food sector.
- one of the limitations presents in many seasonal migration schemes in the EU member states, is the work permit linked only to one employer. As the pandemic showed these solutions limits the flexibility of workers and employers. This is also particularly important for detection of abuses. Seasonal workers are very often afraid of reporting abuses in the workplaces because their work permit is linked to one specific employer.

The analysis of seasonal migration schemes clearly showed that COVID-19 pandemic, even if it is an unfortunate phenomenon for the humanity, it could be a good moment to redesign existing models, analyze the strengths and weaknesses. The demands on the labour market are similar in all member states, it is why the governance of this area needs a deeper partnership between member states, the EU institutions and country of origins. Seasonal migration can be beneficial for all parties: employers, migrants, countries of destination and country of origin.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Short-term:

- Increase of the inspectors responsible for the labour checks and the uphold of national laws and regulations.
- Temping agencies, private organisations, employers, and other middlemen who bend the national laws should be prosecuted.
- Cooperation between all actors involved in agriculture should be promoted.
- Foster the access to health care among temporary migrants

Mid-term:

Promote and reward good practices.

- More training for employers related to working rights, discrimination, and social inclusion.
- Improve the living and housing conditions for migrants.
- Reinforce social services that work with labour rights.

Long-term

- Regulate irregular migration and their access to employment.

- Collect data more systematically and well documented.
- Create an EU body that regulates temporary migration.
- Start preparing policies for more mechanised production chains.

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Annex: joint sample of interviewees

Interviews in the Netherlands

1. Imke van Gardingen (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, FNV)
2. Leo van Beekum (Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging, FNV)
3. Peter Loef (Glastuinbouw Nederland) interviewed twice
4. Erik Kaemingk (Greenports Nederland)
5. Jeroen Voorveld (ABU)
6. Steve Fok (LTO Nederland)
7. Frank van Gool (OTTO Workforce)
8. Jeroen Vijlmans (VHG)
9. Ton Schoenmaekers (VNO/NCW)
10. Joep Thönissen (Vereniging Huisvesters Arbeidsmigranten)
11. Jasper Dalhuizen & Martin Slaats (Ministries of Agriculture/ Employment and Social Affairs and members of the Aanjaagteam)
12. Anna Ensing (FairWork)
13. Helena Kosec (FairWork)

Interviews in Germany

1. Thomas Wilhelm (NGO Tür an Tür, Augsburg)
2. Dr. Mariella Falkenhain (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt Berufsforschung, IAB, Nürnberg)
3. Miriam Raab (IAB, Nürnberg)
4. Michael van der Cammen (Agentur für Arbeit, Nürnberg)
5. Simon Schumacher (Verband Süddeutscher Spargel-und Erdbeerbauer, Bruchsal)
6. Franziska Schreyer (IAB, Nürnberg)
7. Dr. Carola Burkert (IAB, Hessen)
8. Georg Sieglen (IAB, NRW)
9. Dr. Susanne Worbs (Bundes Amt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF, Nürnberg)
10. Prof. Dr. Birgit Glorius (TU Chemnitz)

Interviews in Poland

Code of interview	Organisation / Institution	Area
INT-Policy 1	Mayor of Wrocław's Plenipotentiary for Residents of Ukrainian Descent	Policy
INT-NGO 1	Foundation <i>Nasz Wybór</i> (Our Choice)	NGO
INT-Policy 2	City Council of Wrocław	Policy
INT-Economy 1	Visa and Work Agency	Economy
INT-Research 1	Centre for Migration Research University of Warsaw	Expert
INT-Policy 3	Social Welfare Centre Warsaw	Policy
INT-NGO 2	Caritas Poland	NGO
INT-NGO 3	Nomada Association for Multicultural Society Integration	NGO
INT-Policy 4	Ministry of Family and Social Policy	Policy
INT-Policy 5	Department of Civil Affairs and Citizens, Lower Silesian Governor's Office	Policy
INT-Research 2	Warsaw School of Economics	Expert
INT-Policy 6	Wrocław Centre for Social Development	Policy
INT-Policy 7	Regional Employment Office	Policy
INT-NGO 4	Multiculturalism and Integration Observatory	NGO
INT-NGO5	Foundation <i>Dom Pokoju</i>	NGO

Interviews in Spain

Code of interview	Organisation / Institution	Area	Province
ST-LL1	Subdelegation of the Government in Lleida	Policy	Lleida
ST-LL2	Delegate of the Catalan Government in Lleida	Policy	Lleida
ST-LL3	City Council of Lleida	Policy	Lleida
ST-LL4	Temping agency Sendas Gestión	Economy	Lleida
ST-LL5	Employers' association AFRUCAT	Economy	Lleida
ST-LL6	Agrarian union Unió de Pagesos	Economy	Lleida
ST-LL7	Employers' association ASAJA	Economy	Lleida
ST-LL8a and ST-LL8b	Trade union CCOO	Trade union	Lleida

ST-LL9	Citizen Plataform Fruita amb Justícia Social	Social	Lleida
ST-LL10	Càritas Lleida (charity)	Social	Lleida
ST-LL11	Red Cross	Social	Lleida
ST-LL12	Foundation Pagesos Solidaris	Social	Lleida
ST-LL13	Assossiation Arrels Sant Ignasi de Lleida	Social	Lleida
ST-LL14	Activist, member of Casa Nostra Casa Vostra	Trade union	Lleida
ST-HU1	Subdelegation of the Government in Huelva	Policy	Huelva
ST-HU2	General Direction of Coordination of Migration Policies in Andalusia	Policy	Huelva
ST-HU3a and ST-HU3b	Provincial Government of Huelva	Policy	Huelva
ST-HU4	Mayor of Lepe	Policy	Huelva
ST-HU5	Mayor of Lucena del Puerto	Policy	Huelva
ST-HU6	Freshuelva	Economy	Huelva
ST-HU7	Frutas la Tinajita S.L.	Economy	Huelva
ST-HU8	Trade Union Sindicato Andaluz de Trabajadores (SAT)	Trade union	Huelva
ST-HU9	Trade Union CGT	Trade union	Huelva
ST-HU10	Activist, Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha	Social	Huelva
ST-HU11	NGO Mujeres 24 Horas	Social	Huelva
ST-HU12	NGO Asisti	Social	Huelva
ST-HU13	Press La Mar de Onuba	Social	Huelva
ST-HU14	NGO Mujeres en Zona de Conflicto	Social	Huelva
ST-HU15	NGO Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos (APDHA) Huelva	Social	Huelva
ST-HU16	ASNUCI	Social	Huelva