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Book of Abstracts

Declaration system as a Polish “gate” to seasonal employment – more pros or cons? Reflections on the planned amendments to the law on access to short-term foreign work in Poland

by *Monika Szulecka* (Polish Academy of Sciences – Poland)

The proposed paper aims to present the context and consequences of the functioning of facilitated access to seasonal employment in Poland for certain categories of foreigners. Since 2006, which means after Poland had accessed the EU and before it joined the Schengen zone, an exception from the obligation to possess a work permit was introduced in agriculture for workers from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. Farmers interested in foreign work did not have to apply for a work permit (which was costly and time consuming) in order to hire a foreigner for at most 3 months within 6 months. One year later this regulation covered other sectors of the economy and in 2008 the max. time of migrants’ work in Poland based on the declaration to employ a foreigner seasonally was extended to 6 months within 12 months. The declarations registered at the local labour offices in Poland facilitated getting visas in Polish consulates. With time, citizens of three other countries covered by the Eastern Partnership agreements (Moldova, Georgia and Armenia) joined the beneficiaries of the system.

The scale of using the regulation, measured through the number of registered employers’ declarations, has been visibly increasing, especially since 2014. In 2008 there were 156.7 thousand of declarations registered, in 2014 – 387.4, in 2015 – 782.2 and 634.3 only in the first half of 2016. Vast majority of them were registered for Ukrainian citizens, who thus had basis to apply for a visa to get to Poland (and in practice to other Schengen countries). Although the numbers do not reflect the actual foreign labour force in Poland, they confirm the fact that Poland has a leader position among EU countries as far as seasonal employment of TCNs from Eastern Europe is concerned. The presented numbers, unfortunately, do not allow for stating whether the regulation attracted foreign seasonal workers and caused that they lawfully work in Poland or do so in informal fashion (both in Poland or in other countries of the EU). Such statements may be drawn from scientific research or based on estimations. Lack of knowledge raises a question about protection of foreign worker’s rights, especially in the context of several kinds of abuses observed in the way the system has been used by employers, potential employees and especially the intermediaries (mostly informal).

In the light of the changing regulations on foreigners’ access to the labour market in Poland on short-term basis, linked mostly to the planned implementation of the Directive on Seasonal Work, the critical look at the regulations in force and the planned laws is necessary. It becomes more piling if the increased inflow to Poland, especially from Ukraine, and increased security concerns are taken into account. The paper will address such questions as the role of the declaration system in stimulating inflow to Poland, the observed positive and negative phenomena linked to the functioning of this system and the expected changes linked to new laws to be introduced. The analysis will refer to a number of empirical studies devoted to migration policy, migration control and economic adaptation, in which I could take part since 2007, especially to RDS studies and a survey carried out in 2012, 2015 and 2016 at CMR UW. A special emphasis will be put on the agricultural sector, in which the declaration system has played an important role and the role of intermediaries turned out to be crucial. Especially in this sector concerns about new law to be introduced due to EU requirements are visible.

Farm workers' struggles and agriculture in Italy: an analysis of the new law about caporalato

by Gennaro Avallone (University of Salerno – Italy)

Italian Parliament has approved in October 2016 the law against illegal recruitment of agricultural workers by informal intermediaries (caporali), named “Dispositions about fight against phenomena of black work and labor exploitation in agriculture and for wage realignment in the agricultural sector”. The law entered into force 3 November 2016 and has introduced some changes about both the historical practice of caporalato and farms' behaviors. The law has introduced more guarantees for the protection of workers' rights and a significant increase of the penalties: up to 6 years of imprisonment and the confiscation of property for employers who are found guilty of this crime.

Farm worker's mobilizations and struggles in recent years, from Rosarno to Boreano, from Foggia to Latin, from Nardò to Saluzzo, but also in the Piana del Sele and in Caserta, have contributed to a law in which the positive aspects are not lacking. Important changes have been introduced, providing useful tools that could help identify the responsibilities of employers as well as those of caporali. However, the law is only a step, although forward, which will require other steps, because it does not address fundamental issues, making difficult achieve the stated aims of combating illegality and exploitation of labor.

In this communication, the goal is to show strengths and weakness of this law especially from the point of view of migrant manpower, who cannot be waiting for long trials. So, it could be happening that this law will become a good manifesto against both informal/illegal intermediation and labor exploitation, but not able to really fight against these social relations of production. If it is true, then it is possible that migrants' struggles will not stop and that, also using this law, a new cycle of struggles could cross the Italian agriculture and countryside in the next future.

Facets of migrant labour contribution in Greek agriculture: Precarity, mobilities and social integration

by Loukia-Maria Fratsea and Apostolos G. Papadopoulos (Harokopio University of Athens – Greece)

Since the early 1990s, migrant labor has gradually become a structural factor of rural development; supporting and/ or expanding the agricultural production in Southern Europe and Greece in particular. Given the demographic, social and economic constraints in many rural areas, migrants have provided a necessary labour force for the survival of rural and farming households as well as the competitiveness of family-owned businesses. This ‘multifunctional’ labour force has been internally differentiated not only in terms of the labour tasks that various ethnic/migrant groups perform, but also, through their different social mobility and integration pathways. Despite the constant changes, migration policy has been instrumental in the development and maintenance of such exploitative labour regimes founded upon the creation of regular, semi-regular and irregular migrant labour force tiers.

Contemporary discussions of migration often focus on examining the characteristics and migrants’ integration prospects in urban and rural areas of Greece. Nevertheless, the recent economic recession has in many ways altered the integration and social mobility trajectories of immigrants in Greece. Migrant unemployment and poverty significantly increased surpassing that of the indigenous population, but more importantly, migrant lives slid into precariousness. One may argue that migrants, either urban or rural, were among the hardest hit victims of the unprecedented crisis.

The paper is based on a systematic analysis of the available statistical data provided by the Greek Statistical Service and also on empirical data collected at different time periods - before and during the economic crisis, in rural Greece. The analysis of the empirical material highlights the various types of incorporation of migrant labour in rural areas of Greece and the emerging ‘ethnic’ strategies of integration. There is special mention to temporary and seasonal migrant labour. The distinction between different ‘types’ of strategies and mobility patterns (i.e. internal / international, permanent/seasonal and social mobility/ immobility) place the emphasis on migrant’s agency and the interaction with structural and institutional opportunities and constraints.

The governance of mobility in agro-industrial commodity chains: Patterns of differential inclusion, fragmentation and segregation in Italian agricultural districts and beyond

by Irene Peano (University of Bucharest)

In this paper, I elaborate on more than four years of engaged research on different aspects of migrant farm labour and its organisation in several districts across Italy, as well as in some of the countries of origin of the workforce, particularly Romania. I draw attention to the complex dispositifs through which the workforce is fragmented, controlled and exploited. Firstly, I analyse the evolution of migration policies in recent years, also in connection with the process of EU enlargement, arguing that the previously significant binding of the right to stay to the possession of a valid labour contract by Italian immigration laws has lost some of its centrality, especially as far as the agricultural sector is concerned. At the same time, I caution against over-simplistic accounts which portray current farm-labour dynamics in terms of a “refugeeisation of the workforce”: first of all, because they neglect the most significant component of the agricultural labour force itself, namely EU workers, thus feeding into the spectacularisation and depoliticisation of the border, that privileges exoticised black bodies and their framing as subjects in need of humanitarian help. And, secondly, I argue that this focus on the segment of the workforce that, by virtue of the suspension of any other form of legal entry, is compelled to seek asylum risks mis-representing such subjects as fully entitled under immigration regulations, whilst in fact a majority of them are kept on the brink of irregularity and many lose their right to stay through time. Thus, the evolution of migration policies does not change their underlying function of creating forms of differential inclusion, whilst other dispositifs of mobility control – such as access to residency and the increasing fostering of circular forms of labour migration - concur to create graduated forms of exclusion and rightlessness. Finally, the paper will address the spatial forms and effects of mobility control, that create labour-camp-like settlements which foster heavy forms of segregation along racialised, gendered and ethnicised lines.

Migrant's agency in global agricultural chains? Evidences from the case of Bolivian migrants in Argentina's agriculture and Moroccan migrants in the enclave of Piana del Sele (Salerno, Italy)

by Yoan Molinero Gerbeau (CSIC – Spain)

The global chains literature has proved to be very useful in analyzing how global capitalism has been articulated - notably since its neoliberal phase - by interrelating territories and productive processes in world markets that have fueled the process of global accumulation, perpetuating thus, but also resizing, the center-periphery logic of the world-system.

However, as highlighted by Mezzadra and Nielson (2013), the perspective of global chains has tended to consider migrants - who in certain chains occupy the central space of the living labor link - as passive entities that are the object of exploitation and have no autonomy. Whether by omission or deliberately, this perception perpetuates colonial standards by forming "structuring structures" that organize our representation of the world and therefore the world itself (Sayad, 2011).

This article proposes to dismantle the colonial stereotype that underlies this perception of migrants, to demonstrate that in the global agricultural chains, a fundamental pillar of the maintenance of the capitalistic world-ecology (Moore, 2015; Molinero and Avallone, 2016), these do not merely constitute a passive reserve army but have autonomous projects. To do so, two case studies will be taken as a reference presenting completely different situations that allow to illustrate the main argument of this article. On the one hand, the insertion and position occupied by migrants in the Italian agriculture will be analyzed, revealing examples of autonomy in one of the most restrictive frameworks for migrants. On the other hand, the case of Bolivian migrants in Argentine agriculture will be analyzed, to show what is probably the case where the autonomous project of migrants in this sector has gone the furthest.

Social coalitions and political dimensions of strategic coupling in global agro-food production networks. Notes for a Research Program

*by Carlos de Castro (UAM – Spain),
María Elena Gadea Montesinos and Andrés Pedreño Cánovas (University of Murcia – Spain)*

The coupling of the food industry in the global agro-food networks has been one of the main development strategies of the region of Murcia and has historically led to a deep process of institutional, productive and social restructuring in which numerous economic and political actors have collaborated.

Since the 80's, the different approaches (among others, GCC, GPN, Regional Studies) that has focused on these processes of connection between the dynamics of the global economy and regional development strategies have tended to provide a depoliticized vision of these processes or a vision based on a very restricted concept of politics (Gereffi et al, 2005; Coe et al, 2008; Pike et al, 2011, 2006; Martin, 2015).

Following the line recently opened by a small number of studies (Levy, 2008; Glassman, 2011; Cumbers & MacKinnon, 2011; Coe & Hess, 2011) and based on empirical evidence from a research on the agro-food industry in the Region of Murcia (Spain), this communication aims to broaden the understanding of the political processes in the processes of strategic coupling.

The main idea is to emphasize the political and contested nature of these processes of regional restructuring aimed at facilitating the strategic coupling of a region in global food production networks. One of the dimensions of this political and contested nature of the strategic coupling is the formation of social coalition of economic and political actors.

Our hypothesis is that the expansion of the agro-food industry in the Region of Murcia since the 80s has been driven by a complex and contentious coalition of economic, social, political and institutional actors at different levels (regional and extra-regional) that has been changing over time.

These social and political coalitions are responsible for promoting processes of productive, institutional, legal... transformations in order to create the conditions that facilitate economic actors the access to the resources which are necessary to participate successfully in the global production networks.

Indeed, the development of the agro-food industry depends on access to a broad set of resources: water, land, labour, finance, technology, commercial networks, etc. The point is that the access to these resources depends on the existence of a social coalition of actors from local and extra-local networks of corporate power and from local and extra-local networks of political power. A coalition that can operate at several scales, which varies over time and that may have a different composition for each of the resources. In order to illustrate the process, this communication will show some information about social coalitions created around work, technology and water.

Approaches to Sustainability and Resilience of Local Agro-Food Systems

by *Javier Sanz Cañada* (CSIC – Spain)

During the second half of the 20th century, there has been a dramatic rise of globalization in agriculture and food production. The big food and retailing enterprises have been extending their scopes of action worldwide, which has been strongly enhanced by a change in the technological paradigms of foodstuffs logistics and distribution. The intermediate agro-food markets and the consumer markets have increasingly acquired rates of concentration in the biggest transnational food processing and retailing firms. These large enterprises have adopted leading competitive advantages in prices and costs which have come to prevail over the entire agro-food value chain. As a consequence, not only commercial margins of farmers and first-processing agro-food industries tend to be quite narrow, but mounting environmental, agricultural, food and social imbalances have taken place globally as well.

As a counterweight to this globalized mass-production model, there has been recently a renewed attention to local agro-food systems (LAFS), which are a form of production of territorial ‘identity-based’ foods explicitly grounded in specific spatial dynamics of agriculture, food and consumption networks. LAFS involves generating territorial dynamics, based on collective action, as a way of valorizing local food identity and adding value to local resources, such as agriculture landscapes and ecosystems, local knowledge, local social networks, food traditions and cultures, and native vegetable varieties and animal breeds, among others. Besides this identity-based approach, the concept of local food can also stress on the spatial closeness and the strengthening of relationships between producers and consumers, resulting in short food supply chains. Furthermore, research on local foods can be interpreted as a way of investigating the development of local resources, arising largely from the analysis of relations between foods and the territory.

The present communication aims to provide a critical reflection with respect to the contribution of local foods to the sustainability and resilience of the agro-food systems. As the disturbances in the economic, social and environmental sustainability of globalized and mass-production food systems are nowadays increasing worldwide, many scholars, policy-makers and agro-food stakeholders are asking whether territorially-based LAFS would be more sustainable and resilient than the dominant agribusinesses.

The conference first reviews which are currently the main structural tendencies and disturbances of global food systems. Secondly, we introduce some conceptual features about sustainability and resilience in food systems. The main part of the communication tries to answer to the next question: which factors can enhance a higher degree of sustainability and resilience in local agro-food economies and in rural societies? Locally differentiated food production, territorial diversity (environmental, socio-cultural, economic, etc.), local embeddedness of producers and consumers and territorial governance, the development of short food chains, and the creation of common and public goods, appear to be some of the factors promoting sustainability and resilience of LAFS. Finally, an inter-disciplinary conceptual approach for the achievement of sustainable and resilient local foods is proposed.

Unlocking the market potentials to enhance sustainable agricultural development for smallholder farms.

A case of smallholder maize farmers in Nkonkobe Local Municipality

by Femi Fakunle and Leocadia Zhou (University of Fort Hare – South Africa)

The paper considers the factors that drive a strong and agricultural business market for small holder farmers, with particular attention to the investments that they make to unlock market potential, including the challenges they face in selling their produce. The paper uses primary data collected from one hundred farmers using random sampling technique. Data on demographic background of participants, their productivity levels in terms of costs and returns were also collected. Descriptive statistics such as means, percentages, frequency distributions and tables, as well as Likert scale model were used in analyzing the research objectives.

Emerging from the results was that while the productivity level of these farmers remains low, there was sufficient evidence of a high level of stress that the participating farmers encounter in accessing markets for their produce. Thus, highlighting the significance of unlocking the market potentials to these smallholder farmers as a crucial factor that needs immediate redress. This paper suggests that revitalizing marketing structures to make them more vibrant is the best step to enhance sells and promote sustainable agricultural development among small holder farmers.

Migrant shepherds and their role in sustainable pastoralism in the Mediterranean

by Michele Nori (European University Institute – Italy)

The restructuring of the agricultural world that has characterized economic development patterns in the last decades has contributed to the intensification of social and spatial differentiations in the rural world. In the Mediterranean, this phenomenon is particularly intense, due to the historical, geo-climatic as well as socio-political and economic features of the region. Main problems rural communities and agricultural enterprises in southern Europe face today relate to the exodus of rural youth in search of a more promising future out of the countryside, leading to demographic ageing and problems of generational renewal. A key factor that has helped counterbalancing the declining rural population is the relevant proportions of migrants that have come to inhabit and operate in the countryside in recent decades. The over-representation of migrant communities is particularly visible in certain areas and sectors of EU Mediterranean countries, with related phenomena of territorial reconfiguration and ethnic as well as gender specialisation, with distinct communities occupying specific ecological and productive rural niches.

While recent scientific investigation and literature has devoted attention to this phenomenon in high-potential areas with intensive agriculture production systems, little has been assessed about territories and communities in marginal ecosystems, such as the mountainous or arid areas that characterise important portions of Mediterranean EU. These are the areas where an active human presence does not have a merely economic dimension, but it holds as well relevant social and ecological roles; the ‘multifunctional’ role of people in these areas is determinant in maintaining these territories and ecosystems alive and productive. Migrants represent the main contributor of wage labour in agriculture, as well as main providers of domestic services in many of these areas.

This contribution looks specifically into the consistency and relevance of migratory flows to enhance the resilience of pastoralism, extensive livestock husbandry which makes effective utilisation of marginal territories in pastoral areas migrants contribute to maintaining and developing a traditional practice of the Mediterranean world, with important social, economic as well as ecological implications. Migrant shepherds in southern Europe mostly originate from similar agro-ecological settings in the Mediterranean region, and replicate migration patterns that have already characterised the sector as well as the region in recent decades. A number of potentials as well as problematics are associated to these patterns, with elements for discussion ranging from technical to social-political ones.

Recruitment and different mobility forms in wine-growing areas. Reflections from the D.O. Utiel- Requena

*by Francisco Torres (University of Valencia - Spain)
and María Elena Gadea Montesinos (University of Murcia- Spain)*

Since the 1980s of the last century, Spanish wine-growing areas have undergone significant restructuring processes in order to access or improve their position in increasingly globalized markets. These processes have not only affected production, but have also transformed the social organization of work. The minor importance of family farming and the exit of Spanish workers of agriculture have produced ethnification of agricultural work.

This paper analyses these changes in the D.O. Utiel-Requena (Valencia) and focuses on the changes in recruitment of temporary workers for the harvest, in the different forms that recruitment has taken in the last decades and in foreign worker's mobility strategies. We analyze the forms of recruitment and mobility of foreign temporary workers in three periods. First period, between mid-90s and 2001, it is characterized by hiring of foreign laborers, many of them in an irregular situation, who moved through different agriculture areas in circular migrations. The second, between 2001 and 2009, is characterized by the implementation of temporary worker program, mainly with Poland and Romania. Third period, from the beginning of the crisis to the present, is characterized by a variety forms of recruitment that turn the territory into the arena of migrant strategies which involve multiple and increasingly complex mobilities.

This paper is part of the CONACYT Project 182648, “La expansión de zonas vitivinícolas y el trabajo inmigrante. Estudio comparativo en Estados Unidos y España”, managed by Dr. Martha Judith Sánchez.

Perspectives of the social actors involved in the system of “contracts in origin” Results of a sociological field study in the Agricultural Sector of Almería (Southern Spain)

by Katja Lindner (University of Leipzig – Germany)

The communication will focus on temporary labour migration into the intensive agriculture of the Southern Spanish province of Almería, especially into the “Campos de Níjar”.

In the context of an advanced sociological PhD project on interethnic competition and substitution processes between labourers from Northern Africa and Eastern Europe in the agricultural labour market of Almería I’ve got qualitative data gathered via almost 70 semi structured interviews and conversations with labour migrants (Morocco, Mali, Senegal, Romania, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania), farmers, big cooperatives and enterprises, employer associations, trade unions, public authorities, parochial actors as well as participant observations in green houses and the social worlds of the migrants. During the field research and in the process of data analysis emerged the “new” socio-legal constructed figure of the „seasonal labourer contracted in origin “. Although Almería is not a main destination of the seasonal workers with “contract in origin” who are coming to Spain, the collected data are able to offer a profound basis for a critical discussion of the EU directive on seasonal work.

The presentation will give especially an insight into the perspectives of the social actors involved and highlights the concept of “autonomy” as central for an understanding of the actor’s decision-making in relation to job-seeking strategies of immigrants and recruitment strategies of employers.

Formal and informal intermediaries in the recruitment of seasonal workers at Lleida's crop season (Catalonia, Spain): proceedings and impact

by *Juan Agustín González Rodríguez* (University of Lleida – Spain)

Currently, agricultural and agroindustry activities are the main economic motors of Lleida's southern region. Every year, there are a large number of people who come to the Segrià, la Noguera, Garrigues and Pla d'Urgell (Catalonia, Spain) searching for a job in the crop season. This phenomenon takes place from the time of cherry's harvest in June to the apple's output in September (Achón, 2013).

The vast majority of this group are immigrants and they are called seasonal workers. Some experts estimate they could reach the amount of 25.000 people (Gordo Márquez, Allepuz, Márquez Domínguez and Torres, 2015).

The crop season is a very specific moment of the year which only lasts a few months. Then, this period requires an extra effort to organize the arrival of new workers. At this time is when intermediaries come up. Those intermediaries could be formal or informal according to their ways of working. Those organizations have an important role in all matters related to the recruitment and the reception of immigrants (Achón, 2011).

This situation has motivated the present abstract, which will try to find out the ways those intermediaries have to organize the services they offer to seasonal workers.

Objectives

- To identify what kind of organizations and/or people make up what we call the formal and informal intermediaries.
- To detect what kind of actions those organizations take to perform their activities.
- To know the incidence that the intermediaries have among seasonal workers and employers.
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Methodology

This text came up from the project "*Los temporeros en las comarcas de la llanura de Lleida*" ("The seasonal workers in the region of Lleida's plain"). The project was founded by *Diputació de Lleida* and executed by members of the *Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración* and research group GR-ASE.

Thus, from mid-2015 to mid-2016, the research group made 900 surveys to seasonal workers and 150 surveys to employers in the regions of Segrià, Pla d'Urgell and La Noguera. Furthermore, the group made 40 in-depth interviews to agriculture business representatives, regional public institutions and some third sector organizations linked to seasonal workers.

Results and conclusions

This research allows to know how intermediaries work at Lleida's agricultural regions. Through a qualitative analysis of the interviews, our group found out what kind of people integrate those organizations and how they perform their actions. This information lets us know the impact of intermediaries at the crop season and, so, allows our team to make proposals to improve the organization in the future.

At the same time, we made a statistical analysis with the results of the surveys. This analysis permits us to know how many people (both seasonal workers and employers) go to intermediaries. Likewise, we also discovered what kind of subgroup of seasonal workers go to both typologies of intermediaries and which kind of employees go to them assiduously.

Tomatoes from Thursday: reflections from fieldwork with seasonal workers in Morocco

by Lydia Medland (University of Bristol – UK)

Situated on the Moroccan Sous plain in Southern Morocco is a town called Thursday, “*L Khmis*”. The other, more official name of the ‘Thursday’ town is, ‘Ait Amira’. *L Khmis*, Ait Amira, owes its name to the weekly market, held on Thursdays, which is known to have been existing for around four hundred years. Yet the most drastic changes have been seen in the last four decades since the first greenhouse was built in 1980. The population has boomed with people looking for agricultural work from all across the country. “Ait Amira is a little Morocco” I was told shortly after arriving. Thursday is now the day off for agricultural workers in *L Khmis*, Ait Amira. It is the day when there are less women seen in pick-up trucks transported to work in nearby greenhouses, and a drastic increase of people in the streets, and of course in the market. It is also the day when most resistance is visible to the intense working conditions and poorly paid work that both women and men endure on a daily basis, if they have found work. There is a labour movement in the region which is visible from the moment that you take the motorway out of the tourist town of Agadir. Banners demanding a minimum wage equal to that of other sectors are visible from the roadside.

My research seeks to build an understanding of the experience of seasonal work in a global context by engaging with seasonal workers in Ait Amira, Morocco. This presentation will take place just two weeks after returning from field research and therefore I hope to share my preliminary observations, reflections and the questions that I am left with after nearly five months living in the heart of the region. My field research involved a primary stage of several months of observation, followed by workshops and in-depth interviews. The starting points for my enquiry were to seek to understand the experience of seasonal work, the role of mobility in joining the labour force and the interpretation of global influence on work by seasonal workers. My approach to research is interpretative, emergent and participatory and therefore while narratives and theories of seasonal work are yet to be brought into relation to the data, I hope to share with colleagues some of my key initial findings after experiencing life in Thursday.

Seasonal work as a last resort or an opportunity? A study of Moroccan, Romanian and sub-Saharan seasonal workers' conditions and migratory paths in the region of Saluzzo (Piedmont, Italy)

by *Cristina Brovia* (University of Torino – Italy)

This presentation aims to question some issues linked to the working and living conditions, as well as the migratory trajectories of migrant seasonal workers in Italy. The analysis is based on qualitative research, and in particular on interviews realised with migrants from different countries – mainly Morocco, Romania, Mali, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast- working in the intensive agricultural area of Saluzzo (Piedmont, Northern Italy).

The investigation suggests that, despite different origins, legal status and migratory paths, working conditions are similar for all foreigner workers, generally including low wages and “grey work” practices. Better working conditions seem to be related more to the opportunity of being hired by a “virtuous” enterprise than to individual bargaining power linked to any specific characteristic or resource of the workers. Instead, remarkable differences between Moroccan, Romanian and sub-Saharan workers can be noticed concerning the access to the work itself and to housing solutions.

Interviews have also shown a great variety of migratory paths that can hardly be reduced to few models such as stable versus circular migration patterns. In fact, different factors such as the access to the EU of European eastern countries, the financial crisis coupled with the drastic diminution of governmental quotas for seasonal workers, has led to the development of different forms of mobility, strategies and projects. Starting from some migrants' stories and paths, we will question how, in this context, seasonal agricultural work can assume different significations and functions in the migrants' perspective: often perceived as a forced choice or a last resort face to unemployment and extreme precariousness, it still represents for some people an opportunity to obtain a work permit and to collect a small amount of money in order to plan their next movement or to complete a poor income.

A triple enclave comparison. Differences and similarities in recruitment and working conditions among Romanian farm workers in Cuneo (Italy), Kent (UK) and Lleida (Spain)

by Matteo Beletti (University of Florence – Italy)

The migration flows from Eastern to Western Europe has been one of the most important in the last decades at continental level. In this work a focus will be done on the case of Romanian migrants working in the agricultural sector in particular areas of Italy, UK, and Spain.

The aim of this work is to highlight differences and similarities in recruitment and working conditions among the three enclaves of Cuneo (Italy), Kent (UK) and Lleida (Spain). The work will briefly explain the agricultural context and the general characteristics of the agricultural labor in the three areas. In the second part, based on fieldworks developed in the areas and on the analysis of 31 interviews to Romanian farm workers, we will try to summarize the situation described by the workers interviewed, focusing on recruitment and working conditions. Finally, we will try to understand if and how the different national migratory policies regulating agricultural and seasonal work have an influence on the conditions of the Romanian workers interviewed.

Individual outcomes for youth Romanian migrants in agriculture

*by Alin Croitoru (Center for Migration Studies (CeSMig)/ University of Bucharest – Romania),
Georgiana Toth (National Institute for Research and Development Urban-Incerc – Romania)
and Monica Șerban (Research Institute for Quality of Life (ICCV)/ Romanian Academy – Romania)*

Migration is one of the main mechanisms of transformation of the Romanian society after the collapse of the communist regime. There are nowadays over 3 million Romanian citizens who live abroad and another significant number of people who lived abroad for a while and returned to Romania. In this general context, our presentation is focused on the case of young migrants who lived for at least 6 months in another European country and now returned to Romania. We are mainly interested in exploring subjective evaluations of individual outcomes of the migration experience in terms of human capital (skills and competences) accumulated abroad. In order to understand better the specific features of the experience of migration, the paper distinguishes between two different profiles of migrants, as follows: temporary migrants who worked in agriculture versus temporary migrants who had other types of employment experience abroad. For each of these types, we analyse their work experiences abroad and after return and we emphasize differences in individuals' evaluation of the skills and competences gained abroad in the labour market context in the origin country. The qualitative data we use were collected in 2016 in two different regions of Romania within the framework of the Horizon 2020 – YMOBILITY project. These in-depth interviews conducted with young returned migrants offer a general image on their family and educational background at origin, channels used for emigration, motivations for the return decision, as well as their future plans.

The circular migration in the South of France in the field of agriculture: a chosen or imposed domination?

by Teresa de Oliveira (ZSI Center for Social Innovation - Austria)

This study focuses mainly on examining the triple win relationship applied to the circular migrant concept, as announced by the European Commission in the Communication on circular migration and mobility partnerships in 2007. This work is based on the objective of studying the pattern of circular migration in the South of France that has been developed and applied in field of agriculture field for many years. The agricultural field has itself witnessed the transition period from a family model to a highly developed one and has been steadily exposed to the international system's fluctuations.

Circular migration has long existed and is especially prominent in the agricultural sector. The use of seasonal foreign labor is a structural prerogative of agriculture in the European Union, particularly in France. By putting Moroccan circular migrants at the center of our analysis, we propose analyzing, in terms of all processes of circularity (repeated movements; comings and goings), the motivations of migrants to choose circular migration as a form of mobility, their conditions of life and work in France, and finally the return to the country of departure. Reviewing the most prolific scientific contributions in the field of international migration applied to circular migration, the author adopts nevertheless, a perspective in which circular migrants would be subject to the vagaries of the discretionary power of farmers, as well as a highly competitive and fluctuating sector, which has considerable impacts on the life and work of the Moroccan circular migrants in the South of France.

As regarding the methods applied, we had interviewed were 20 Moroccan circular migrants in 3 departments in the South of France: Bouches-du-Rhône, Gironde and Vaucluse and we had applied a non-participant observation and semi-structured interview. We had applied a triangulation of sources of information, by adding other relevant stakeholders who actively participate in the implementation of the mobility programs between the EU and Morocco – the political/administrative institutions and farmers. Their inclusion within this work is essential in order to understand their perspective regarding the concept of circular migration. The results of the study suggest that circular migration is not the preferred form of mobility, is rather the only legal form of mobility that may guarantee income for them and their families. Circular migration is part of a strategy of economic survival, in order to overcome underemployment or unemployment situations in their country of origin. Moroccan circular migrants would prefer to settle permanently in one country.

These mobility programs are designed and planned to be rigid and selective which induces an atmosphere of domination. Despite being aware of these constraints, migrants accept them in order to benefit from them. Finally, circular migration between Morocco and France responds to urgent economic situations and deficits, but it is questionable whether it will guarantee profits and long-term gains whatsoever in either the host country or in the country of departure.

A spatial analysis on the labor trajectory of Albanian immigrants in Greece

by Maria Dardoumpa (University of Thessaly – Greece)

One of the most important migration inflows concerning the Greek territory during the last 20 to 25 years, has been the one of Albanian nationals. It is important and unique for the country's history, because of its density, duration and intrinsic social and cultural characteristics it has manifested.

Our aim is to find out, if, in the case of Albanian migrants, agricultural labor has been a trajectory phase to other labor sectors. For doing so we are to use spatial analysis methods, using population and labor force territorial data, in order to construct and interpret the patterns of this specific immigration flow in the country. Are the territorial changes of the density of Albanian nationals in Greece, changing according to labor force criteria? And if so, what are the characteristics of this transition.

Using economic, educational and labor force data for the Greek regions, we will try to categorize them based on the variable of agricultural activity. Then, using Greek census data, we will try to map and visualize the movement the population of Albanian nationals manifested during the past years in the Greek regions. Based on the type of movements we are to observe, and taking into consideration the restrictions our methodology imposes, we aspire to draw some conclusion on the labor force trajectories of the Albanian immigrants in Greece, based on their actual spatial movement.

Our basic concern is that with the methodology designed, on the basis of NUTS 3 regional data, we are to make an important spatial generalization and miss the intro-regional diversity. Having studied, though and being familiar with the Greek urban and rural territory, we may consider Greek regions enough intro-homogeneous to be studied as a unit, as well as the difference between them important enough to reveal measurable diversity.

Through this spatial and labor movement we aim to describe, our goal is to also present the general history of the Albanian migration flow in Greece, as it is depicted in the Greek academic literature so that we may compare and verify our results.

Types of Romanian migration to agriculture and types of migrants. A case study

by Alexandra Deliu, Monica Șerban (Research Institute for Quality of Life (ICCV)/ Romanian Academy – Romania) and Mădălina Manea (Center for Migration Studies (CeSMig)/ University of Bucharest – Romania),

In the recent history of Romania, international migration has become a consistent phenomenon particularly linking the country with numerous destinations across Europe. Almost all over the continent and especially in the EU countries, Romanians could be met working in different areas, in different sectors, for different periods. In the case of low skilled Romanian migration, migration in construction, housekeeping and taking care of elders got prominence in scientific papers. Even though there are signs of a consistent involvement of Romanians in seasonal and agricultural work, this migration, from the perspective of the origin country, was hitherto marginally investigated.

Historically, Spain is one of the first European destinations where Romanians found employment in agriculture. The bilateral agreement that Romania and Spain concluded in 2002 contributed to the development of this type of migration. However, Romanian migration to agriculture in Spain was not limited to the official (and formal) channels. Large number of people found employment in agriculture through informal means, usually with the help of migration networks. However, who is/was taking a formal and regulated route (as that established by the recruitment program put in place by the bilateral agreement) and who is/was taking an informal one and which are the migration trajectories of these two categories of people are two questions largely unexplored. We have tried to answer them by investigating migration to agriculture from one Romanian village: Seaca.

Seaca is a village near the Southern border of Romania from where people started to migrate in the beginning of the '90s. Spain is the main destination, but people followed an array of strategies to reach it. To work in agriculture, two main paths were used: the formal one (recruitment in origin) and another informal (migration through networks). Our investigation suggests that there are consistent differences between the people who chose one of the two paths, in terms of age, gender and, in this specific case, also in terms of ethnicity. The migration trajectories (defined here unidimensionally, as an alternation of periods of residence abroad and in Romania) seem to be differently structured: migration through official channels tends to model a trajectory defined by circularity, while migration through informal channels is leading to long term migration.

The empirical basis of the analysis consists of qualitative interviews conducted in Seaca in December, 2016 with migrants and former migrants, within the framework of FP7 TEMPER research project.

Labour migration to rural Europe: a review of the evidence

by **Johan Fredrik Rye** (NTNU - Norway)
and **Sam Scott** (University of Gloucestershire, UK)

Since Hoggart and Mendoza's paper on 'African immigrant workers in Spanish agriculture' in *Sociologia Ruralis* in 1999 there has been a proliferation in interest in labour migration to rural Europe. It is now clear that the rural realm is being transformed by immigration, and that low-wage migrant workers, mainly in the food production industry, are playing a particularly prominent role in this transformation. The paper argues that it is time to take stock of the literature and, specifically, to assess the key substantive issues shaping the relationship between low-wage labour migration, the contemporary food production industry, and rural change. Seven questions are identified that together highlight the nature and extent of the contributions made by the extant literature. These seven questions are as follows: 1) What explains the growth in demand for migrant labour in rural areas? 2) How do states regulate low-wage migrant labour supply into rural areas? 3) How are migrant labour markets subdivided and segmented? 4) How are rural migrants' experiences shaped by intermediaries? 5) Is there evidence of mistreatment of migrant workers in rural labour markets? 6) How do marginalised migrant workers wrest back control? 7) What are the distinctly rural dimensions of migrant integration? The paper seeks to answer these seven questions, drawing on the existing literature, before identifying research gaps and future research directions.

Labour Market, public policies and migratory networks: Fragmentation of the working class in the fields of Almería

*by Alicia Reigada, Marta Soler Montiel, Manuel Delgado Cabeza (University of Seville)
and David Pérez Neira (University of León)*

Currently one of the main crop producers in Europe, the greenhouses of Almería are a particularly representative example of agro-food globalization dynamics and the changes it has been bringing about at different levels. Bearing in mind the ongoing labor market transformations, this paper will discuss a typical feature of intensive agriculture in Almería: the increasingly complex international worker migration and working class fragmentation processes. For that purpose, it will focus on the following issues: labor evolution and substitution processes, workforce and migration social composition and patterns, hiring channels and modalities, and the conception and patterns of workforce mobility/land settling which coexist nowadays in Almería farmhouses. This labor market configuration entails a heterogeneous and complex scene, based on the construction of differentiated and hierarchical work categories and the emphasis on inequality-based social relationships.

This paper posits that, similar to what happens in other global cropping areas, working class fragmentation has become a shaping force in Almerian labor market, which also guarantees the continuity of the model. Furthermore, it considers that migratory and labor policies (through immigration regulations and laws, and labor legislation), along with other factors, play a major role in this working-class fragmentation process.

This work is supported by fieldwork-based qualitative and quantitative data under the project “Sostenibilidad social de los nuevos enclaves productivos agrícolas: España y México” (ENCLAVES) [Social Sustainability of New Farming Areas: Spain and Mexico], led by Andrés Pedreño and funded by the Spanish Science and Innovation Department (2012-2014, CSO2011-28511).

Dead season? The contribution of gender analysis to the understanding of the migratory utilitarianism in Temporary Migration Programs

by Emmanuelle Hellio (CNRS – France)

Through contracting in origin, Strawberry growers in Huelva chose to select mainly women in Morocco. If we compare this recruitment to older and masculine ones, like the contracts OMIS/OFII in South of France, we find similarities in the forms of mobilization and management of workforce: refusal in each case to mix men and women inside a same program, locking of juridical status to prevent definitive installation, impossibility to enter with spouse or children. In temporary seasonal workers, whether masculine or feminine, we could say that it is work and not sex that counts.

However, temporary migration program being characterized by an articulation between the capitalist sphere and the domestic economy in the country of origin, by the use of gender relations in their material and ideological versant, we have to recognize that the modalities of this articulation are obviously different for men and women that are not in the same positions in these relations.

Through this communication, we will try to understand what function sex relations play in agroalimentary globalization, a globalization that is declined in the space we study as an asymmetric integration of South shore by North shore, through temporary migration program that impose an assignation to circulate, and give birth to escape dynamics.

Migrant women and globalized agriculture in Morocco: A new dynamic with multiple effects: the case of the Souss region

by Mohamed Bouchelkha and Bahija El Haiba (Ibn Zohr University – Morocco)

The migration of the Moroccan women was invisible. Its departure often occurred within the context of family reunification both inside and outside Morocco. However, a new context will allow the migratory movements of women all time in the history of the country. Thus, since the end of the 80s of the last century, we have noticed an impressive evolution at the level of individual migration of the woman who becomes the carrier of her own ‘ Migration project’.

- What are the factors that have contributed to the emergence of this new phenomenon?
- How important the social changes, known by the Moroccan society, will constitute a favorable context for this ‘emancipation’ of migrant women?
- How the new foreign oriented agricultural production model will contribute to the creation of new patterns of migration, marked by a strong presence of women?
- How could the rush of foreign investors accelerate the magnitude of the female migration towards the region of Souss?

The objective of this text is to target a female migratory movement that has a special appearance. It turned via the interior of the country without being independent of an agricultural economy offering a large capacity of seasonal hiring. The focus will also be on the conditions of life and work of these migrant women. This shows more space and also the host society. In this context, the ‘strategies’ and the actors are active in attempt to provide answers to the challenges that are faced on a daily basis.

The suggested text will present the results of the work and recent field surveys targeting migrant women working in the main channels of the fruits and vegetables of the region.

Neocolonial dynamics in the strawberry export sector in Morocco

by *Juana Moreno Nieto* (Aix Marseille University – France)

This paper is focused on the genesis and evolution of the strawberry production and export sector in Morocco and its links with the off-shoring of foreign companies, particularly those of Spanish origin. We will try to show that, although it is considered to be a highly performative sector, this agricultural model tends to reinforce the subordinated position of Moroccan agriculture in the global economy and in turn constitutes an extension of the colonial dynamics that existed in the territory. The paper is based on the results of ethnographic research conducted in the strawberry export sector in the irrigated perimeter of Loukkos, on the northwest coast of Morocco.

The transnational commodity chain of counter-seasonal “Moroccan” strawberry traces an asymmetrical international division of labor that reproduces existing inequalities among core and peripheral countries in global capitalism. The research, inputs elaboration and final distribution activities, that concentrate most of the value of the chain, are developed in central countries. In contrast, field production and fruit conditioning, labor intensive and less lucrative activities, are established in Morocco. However, the centrality of foreign capital in the Moroccan strawberry sector simultaneously nuances and reinforces this statement.

The off-shoring of Spanish agricultural companies, intertwined with the action of different economic agents that have been present in the region since the Protectorate era, in the late eighties. These companies invested capital but also exported the “*Know How*” of strawberry production as it was being developed in Huelva (the main strawberry production province in Spain) at the moment. Later on, Spanish companies that settled in Morocco would be the initiators of the “seasonal workers program” developed between both countries in order to provide Huelva’s strawberry sector with Moroccan female workers. All this demonstrates the complexity and diversity of the links connecting counter-seasonal strawberry production in this area of the Mediterranean.

Currently, although Spanish companies are still central, the capital is much more diversified. On the one hand, there are now many Moroccan agricultural producers. On the other hand, many multinational companies have entered the export sector. These companies have identified the Loukkos area as an ideal platform to produce and export counter-seasonal berries to European industries and consumers due to the “comparatives advantages” that it offers: proximity to Europe, good weather and, in particular, cheap labor and favorable legal and tax conditions. These companies concentrate most of the profits produced in the strawberry sector in Morocco and hold a quasi-monopoly over exports, exercising a dominant position over agricultural producers.

Romanian youth migration – opportunity structure and life strategies. A case study

by **Mădălina Manea, Alin Croitoru** (Center for Migration Studies (CeSMig)/ University of Bucharest – Romania), and **Alexandra Deliu** (Research Institute for Quality of Life (ICCV)/ Romanian Academy – Romania)

Particularly starting with 2007, the number of Romanians choosing to migrate to the United Kingdom has constantly increased. Today, UK is one of the main destination countries for Romanian migration. Particular to this migration is its high level of heterogeneity: it is a destination for economic migrants, students, as well as for people who are attracted by the cultural environment. In this complex array of motivation and trajectories, migration to agriculture seems to gain momentum.

The analysis this paper proposes is centered on *circular migration to UK for labour in agriculture*. We are interested to investigate how young men from a Romanian village decide to migrate to the UK, focusing mostly on whether migration is part of a life strategy for them or it is simply a strategic behavior understood as response to a particular opportunity structure at a given moment in time. We are asking what role migration occupies for the new generations of men in their transition to adulthood.

To answer the question, we make use of semi-structured interviews with migrants and key informants, which were taken in December 2016 in a small village, Pietroasele, in South-Eastern Romania. The village is particularly interesting for this research, as it has recently formed informal networks (roughly since 2012), which recruit young men for seasonal work in two farms in the central and southern parts of the UK. For most of the interviewees, the decision to migrate seemed to be simply an answer to an offer to work abroad they received from their friends. After they had one experience at the farm, however, some of them were already talking about a strategy on a longer term, where migration was a way of reaching their goals on a personal and a professional level.

Between Localness and Deterritorialization: challenges in Southern European small-scale farming

by **José Duarte Ribeiro** (Middle East Technical University – Turkey)

Between the knowledge and power negotiation dynamics of all involved actors there is a need to address and to question if the current rural development strategies based on local food qualification schemes under Geographical Indications are being implemented towards the extended development of the regions, their local communities and therefore to the fully protection (in the case of wine regions) of wine *terroir* on a broader sense than *only* origin and quality. That need for questioning led a past research into two high quality wines regions Nemea (Greece) and Basto (Vinho Verde region, Portugal). In this two regions discussions and conflicts were taking place on the re-construction of local/traditional knowledge and thus on the re-construction of both regions wine *terroir*. Therefore, those discussions arose challenges to rural development of the regions between the preservation of *localness* (implicit on the protection by labels of origin) and the threats of *deterritorialization*.

More recently, an ongoing research will try to ask similar questions, but this time with a wider scope, along with a comparative analysis between Turkey and Portugal.

This research proposes a profound analysis to Turkey's agriculture adjustments to CAP within EU accession process through a comparative study with Portugal's transformations prior and after CAP. The analysis will help to unveil a political agenda, while seeking to understand the ongoing changes happening in Turkey. The expected outcomes will provide indicators of a standardization process according to the dominant European agrarian model as that political agenda of CAP. The fundamental problem about these adjustments is the striving transformation of small-scale farming, which is the predominant agricultural structure both in Portugal and Turkey. To study the effects of the transformations, the research will focus on wine regions as case-studies. A comparison that promises insights on the increasing vulnerability of small farmers and the risk of (even further) de-ruralization due to the growing globalized commodification in agriculture, in which Geographical Indications do not only constitute a protection but rather an (allied) instrument of such commodification.

The biopolitics of malaria in Greece: migrant expulsions and evolutionary racism as drivers of disease

by **Panagiota Kotsila** (UAB/Entitle – Spain) and **Giorgos Kallis** (ICREA/Entitle – Spain)

In 2009, at the dawn of its socio-economic crisis, Greece saw the re-emergence of malaria for the first time since 1974. Findings from the Evrotas River Delta -the epicentre of malaria in Greece- disclose disease as the result of interacting human and non-human ecologies produced in a webwork of power relations. Based on a grounded theory approach and results from qualitative methods of inquiry, this paper examines the socio-political roots and repercussions of the disease's spread in the country over the last five years, on which the so far produced literature has been deafeningly silent. The spread of disease was exacerbated not only by the feeble reactions of the public health institutions, entangled as they were in nation-building priorities and local politics, but also by the deep-rooted social, economic and political expulsions of vulnerable groups, namely migrant land workers and especially those from malaria endemic countries. A reactionary state mechanism managed to temporarily gain control over malaria, but in doing so, it produced stigmatizing discourse and discriminatory practices against these minorities. The state's gaze towards the undocumented migrant shifted back and forth according to the disease's fluctuations: from an invisibilized homo sacer (Agamben, 1998) to a subject of biopolitical control (Foucault, 2003) and the scapegoat for disease causation. This article showcases and highlights the mutually reinforcing mechanisms producing malaria and racism, and therefore the risk of public health concerns hosting and breeding xenophobic or otherwise exclusionary reactions if disease is not problematized and treated as a question of equality and justice.

The work of indigenous Mexicans in Californian agribusiness: harvesting strawberries in the Oxnard field

by Anna Mary Garrapa (UNAM – Mexico)

Immigrant seasonal workers are a paradigmatic case of flexible workforce and play a key role in the socio-economic context of many rural areas, as in the case of California (USA). The multinational corporate model has been consolidated in the sector of strawberries and red berries in California, involving the transformation of the diverse commercial and productive actors. Particularly we will investigate the rural area of Oxnard. In the Oxnard strawberry fields all the operational activities of production and daily management of labor are the responsibility of the various farmers, that deliver the fruit to the commercial companies with which they have trade agreements. The need for multinational companies to improve yields has led to a series of transformations in the organization of production, which is directly related to the reconfiguration of the agricultural labor system.

The presence of many immigrants coming from Mexico in the rural areas of California is closely linked to an agrarian restructuring begun in the second half of the 1970s. The spread of specialized crops, with a high economic value and demanding a high intensity of work (fruits, nuts, vegetables and nursery), led to an expansion of the agricultural labor market and a transformation from the mechanization to a 'Mexicanization' of California's agricultural industry (Palerm, 1991). The most recent immigrants come from indigenous areas of southern Mexico, especially the Mixtec and Zapotec areas. In a context of a sharp contraction of the agricultural labor force, available in the local area, these immigrants, many of whom are still undocumented, constitute a very flexible and cheap labor resource, especially during the peak production months. We will then focus the investigation on the social and labor relations in the harvesting of strawberries and other berries in Oxnard territory, with special attention to the living and working conditions of migrant agricultural workers coming from the indigenous areas of southern Mexico.

Philanthropy and assistentialism. Formulas to legitimize circular migration programs of foreign agricultural workers in Catalonia

by Olga Achón (University of Barcelona – Spain)

The aim of this paper is to analyse the role of the most important agricultural entrepreneurial Catalonian organization, Unió de Pagesos (UP), as manager of assistentialist programs in Spain and co-development projects in Colombia, in the context of recruit and hire of guest workers. Since the first recruitments in Catalonia (1998), UP has developed and perfected a philanthropic model, which focuses on providing social assistance in Spain to the recruited workers and generating co-development programs in their home countries, in order to give legitimacy to their system of recruit and supply of labour. It has been due to its foundation - Agricultores Solidarios- that these assistentialist and philanthropic programs have been developed. Its main activities are the development of projects that specifically relate to training and social assistance, on the one hand, and the training of co-development agents and the implementation of co-development projects, on the other. Our research has developed mainly through participant observation and interviews. Our fieldwork started at the earliest period when the first experiences of assistance and co-development were undertaken by the foundation Agricultores Solidarios. This paper will describe and analyse the training and assistance programs developed in Spain, as also the co-development programs in their home countries

Migrations, labor and agriculture: which kind of resistances in the global agri-food?

by Alessandra Corrado (University of Calabria – Italy)

Global agri-food system in neoliberal corporate regime is based on new forms of labor exploitation and casualization, processes of dispossession and proletarianization, land grabbing, appropriation of value, growing dependency and vertical integration within value chains under the control of monopolistic powers. Neoregulation at national and supranational levels have enhanced these dynamics and the reformulation of classes of labor. Migrations and immigrant labor are structural elements of this restructuring process of global agri-food.

Ethical labels and forms of fair trade are promoted by local policies and producer organizations but within the conventional system. Indeed, original form of unionism, alternative agri-food and solidarity/popular economy networks, food/labour justice movements try to support small producers and workers building patterns of sustainability, new alliances and economic spaces, in some cases for example participating in the food sovereignty movement. However, criticisms are raised about the real capacity of these experiences to oppose corporate neoliberal agri-food. This contribution aims at analysing and discussing the different forms of resistance against exploitation of workers and smallholders in the agri-food system pointing out the main features and specific goals, the capacity to innovate building solutions to collective needs, or to really challenge the structure of power relations.