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Abstract	The recent economic recession has severely affected peoples' lives in Greece, but it has also triggered various resilience practices/acts performed by people residing in rural areas. Coastal and island areas, though affected by the decline in economic activities, seem to have developed resilience repertoires in the face of the emerging challenges. The main objective of this chapter is to explore the dynamics of social groups/local stakeholders, their resilience prospects during the economic crisis, and the challenges they face when conceiving and realizing local development goals in two island communities in the Aegean. Our approach underlines the social and ethnic heterogeneity of rural areas, which brings into the picture the human geography and historicity of the local as well as the perplexity of local/global interactions raising at the same time issues of social cohesion and/or exclusion. The concept of '(im)mobilities'—used in reference to the various categories of (non)movers, such as international migrants, internal migrants, (short and long) stayers, religious minorities and locals—is pivotal for deciphering the resilience dynamics in the two island communities. More importantly, the linkages between (im)mobilities, cosmopolitanism and insularity are considered pivotal for exploring the resilience dynamics in the two study areas.	

Keywords (separated by “ - ”)	(Im)mobilities - Resilience dynamics - Newcomers - Insularity - Cosmopolitanism - Greece

Chapter 8
Transformative Mobilities and Resilience Dynamics in Rural Coastal Greece in a Time of Recession

Apostolos G. Papadopoulos and Loukia-Maria Fratsea

8.1 Introduction

Contemporary debates on rural development discuss rural areas as fluid places which cannot be seen in isolation from other areas and, most importantly, from urban areas. The stereotypical perceptions of rural areas as declining and problematic spaces are strongly contested by the evidence illustrating their vast diversity and significant potential for the EU economy and society (Perpiña Castillo et al. 2018: 12). More to the point, demographic and migration trends, the deployment of transport infrastructure, globalisation, the intensification of agricultural production, the abandonment of marginal lands, urban development, housing patterns, etc. are some of the factors which impact on the alleged stability of rural areas and create a complex picture depicting for considering their dynamics.

Additionally, it is common knowledge that rural residents are not a fixed category made up purely of a permanent population of farmers, fishermen or other groups traditionally associated with the local economy and society. Increasingly, non-indigenous population groups end up living in rural areas, simultaneously posing a number of issues for the particular locales. The main argument is that both urban and rural population groups interface in the rural domain (Pahl 1966; Paquette and Domon 2003; Mahon 2007), a neglected fact which, if researched more, would help us gain a better understanding of the socioeconomic dynamics involved (Lacour and Puissant 2007; Papadopoulos and Ouils 2014).

While many rural places have witnessed significant turbulence connected to population movements (e.g. changes in housing and land markets) (Stockdale et al. 2000) others seem to have seen their economies revitalized (Stockdale 2006; Fonseca 2008; Rye 2018). The rural is seen as an arena of intersecting and/or transformative mobilities interwoven with mobility and fixity, while the interaction

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between various social groups and stakeholders poses new challenges for these areas. In this setting, economic development priorities and goals are redirected/reconfigured on the basis of the various/mixed mobilities and the social groups enacting in each area. The interactions between different social groups, as well as their engagement in the local development processes are conducive to the rural development model promoted by social actors in an area.

The recent economic recession of 2008/9 posed new challenges for rural and urban areas alike. Indeed, the recession had a severe impact, particularly in the southern European member states (Matsaganis and Leventi 2014). The implications of the crisis were particularly acute for Greece, which lost 26% of its GDP, where unemployment rose to 27.5% [in 2013] while youth unemployment exceeded 50% (OECD 2016: 20). Focusing on Greece, the social cost of the economic recession and the implementation of fiscal austerity measures and economic adjustment programs was particularly high. The risk of poverty and income inequality increased (Ketsetzopoulou 2017; Mitrakos 2018), while the labour insecurity and precariousness that characterise all southern European countries (Della Porta et al. 2016) is becoming a permanent characteristic of the Greek labour market, extending beyond particular forms of work (such as temporary employment, part-time employment, uninsured labour, etc.) and expanding far wider than the private sector (Karakioulafi et al. 2014).

Nevertheless, the impact of the economic downturn varied between regions, urban/rural areas, and between different social groups (Hadjimichalis 2011; Psycharis et al. 2014; Dijkstra et al. 2015; Ketsetzopoulou 2017; Papadopoulos 2019). The main impact of the crisis and the recession has been a contraction in employment and severe cutbacks in the delivery of public services and pensions. In this context, recent research has shown that, in general, rural areas appear to have a higher degree of resilience to the implications of the crisis compared to the large urban centres (Artelaris 2017; Balourdos 2017; Papadopoulos et al. 2019), while the crisis has also had asymmetric effects on various social and age groups, social strata and led to new forms of poverty (Ketsetzopoulou 2017; Matsaganis 2018). The pronounced social exclusion and poverty of rural areas in the pre-crisis period has, in the era of crisis/recession, transposed into social exclusion and poverty in rural areas, where it now relates to particular groups such as migrants, the 'working poor', precarious workers and so on (Papadopoulos et al. 2019).

The exploration of the resilience concept has led to the emergence of a rural resilience approach that has gained momentum in the relevant literature (Scott 2013; Papadopoulos 2019). In fact, various spatial levels -community, rural, regional- were considered appropriate for illustrating the adaptability of society to externally induced shocks (Hassink 2010; McManus et al. 2012; Scott 2013; Wilson 2013; Martin and Sunley 2015; Evenhuis 2017). Three issues have remained central to any resilience approach since the early discussions: the relationship between resilience and vulnerability; the relationship between resilience and sustainability; and the ability of community/rural/regional systems to cope and/or respond to changes that come from the outside and challenge their systemic coherence and sustainability (Adger 2000). In this connection, resilience is closely linked to the potential of

local/rural development, although it is not evident, in the relevant literature, how far or in what way resilience connects with population movements and/or rural/urban interactions (Martin and Sunley 2015; Papadopoulos 2019).

Focusing on coastal and island areas where rural/urban interactions are more explicit, the issue of resilience is of vast importance due to the various challenges these areas face (Karymbalis et al. 2014). Despite the significant diversity among coastal and island areas, which is recognised in the various attempts to construct typologies and taxonomies on the basis of agreed upon criteria (Spilanis et al. 2009; Tsilimigkas et al. 2016), these areas require a more in-depth study of the contextual parameters under consideration, which include sustainable development, sustainability, peripherality and marginality (Salvati 2013; Galani-Moutafi 2013; Karambela et al. 2017). When referring to islands in particular, the notion of attractiveness is useful for understanding temporal, spatial and even seasonal changes in population, product and service flows between places (Kizos 2007: 134). However, as may be expected, island attractiveness varies among different groups of dwellers. For permanent inhabitants, both insularity and attractiveness are non-seasonal and based on long experience, while for the group of newcomers (both seasonal and permanent), insularity and attractiveness are rather 'symbolic', influenced by seasonality and structured around antithetical concepts (Kizos 2007: 135). In this context, insularity includes a whole array of movers, quasi-movers and non-movers such as island-born non-migrants, internal migrants within an archipelago, emigrants who return regularly, returned migrants, tourists and visitors (ranging from short-stayers to long-stayers), immigrants from wealthy countries (including retirees), and immigrants from poor countries (both documented and irregular) (Leontidou and Marmaras 2001; King 2009). Therefore, the islands' permanent social structure and seasonal social geographies (i.e. of migrants, tourists, stayers, etc.) should be seen as parallel/complementary rather than competing social realities (Leontidou and Marmaras 2001; Kizos 2007; King 2009).

The main objective of this paper is to explore the dynamics of social groups/local stakeholders in two island communities (Syros and Andros) in the Aegean Sea, their resilience prospects during the economic crisis, and the challenges that they face when conceiving and realizing local development goals. The concept of '(im)mobilities'—referring to the various categories of (non)movers such as international migrants, internal migrants, (short and long) stayers, religious minorities (especially in Syros) and locals—is pivotal for deciphering the resilience dynamics in the two island communities. More importantly, the linkages between (im)mobilities, cosmopolitanism and insularity are considered important for exploring the resilience dynamics in the two study areas. The remainder of the chapter is structured in three main parts: first, there is a brief theoretical discussion of the main conceptual framework enabled by the empirical findings. Next, there is an analysis of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the two island areas, along with a discussion of new developments in reference to their economic recovery and development vision(s). Finally, the concluding section illustrates the emerging trajectories connected to the resilience dynamics on the two islands.

8.2 Transformative Mobilities and Resilience Dynamics in Rural Areas

We have argued elsewhere that "intra-regional and inter-regional mobilities and transformations reflect the interweaving of rural and urban characteristics in particular rural locales" (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2013: 287), stating explicitly that mobilities have a transformative capacity due to their ability to co-produce (rural) space. The intensification of mobilities between rural and urban areas not only reinforces the disengagement of permanent rural residents from traditional employment patterns, it may also imply the engagement of ex-urbanites with employment/leisure tasks in the countryside. In this guise, 'rurality' seems to be reproduced, continuously, upon new characteristics, engaging anew both movers and stayers and rebalancing the production and consumption functions of the countryside.

Rural areas are shaped by population mobilities and, more importantly, by outmigration/rural exodus of the younger generation, due to the limited employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector (Rees and Kupiszewski 1999; Champion 2001). This kind of mobility further undermines the viability of rural areas and their social cohesion. Another type of mobility relates to population flows heading into rural areas, subdivided into returning, mobile population/movers and in-migrants to rural areas. A third type includes mobility for work (economic migration), recreation or tourism and for seasonal stays in rural areas. In total, the different types of population movements (re)connect rural areas with urban areas, creating different scales of mobility, movements of varying degrees, and speeds and motions of movements between urban and rural areas (Milbourne 2007; Bell and Osti 2010).

Rural mobilities research is directly related to the wider socio-economic and spatial transformations that impact upon rural places and on activities attached to these places, in turn giving emphasis to production and/or consumption (Halfacree and Boyle 1998; Halfacree 2009). The frequently used notions of 'multifunctional agriculture' and 'multifunctional countryside' refer to the mixing of productive and consumption activities at different spatial levels through the inclusion of infrastructure, leisure and environmental goods (Papadopoulos 2004; Slee 2005; McCarthy 2005; Woods 2007, 2009; Wilson 2009). The ways in which rural areas are viewed and conceptualized vary according to the users' perspective (e.g. residence, work, visit, viewing from a distance) (Perkins 2006; Smith 2007; Mahon 2007), while different characteristics of rurality are highlighted or the social construction of the 'rural' contains different meanings depending on the various social groups' (everyday, regular, partial, seasonal) engagement with or 'gazing at' the rural (Halfacree 2001; Wylie 2007; Gallent et al. 2008; Woods 2011).

Most importantly, the category of movers to rural areas includes those who aspire to a 'return to the land' (Halfacree 2007) or follow a 'counter-urbanization' trend (Fuguitt 2004) leading them to less densely populated areas. It is common knowledge that 'counter-urbanization', though researched for several decades, remains a complex phenomenon challenged by various disagreements over its exact definition (Fielding 1998; Champion 1998; Halfacree and Boyle 1998; Vartiainen 1989;

Mitchell 2004). Putting aside the discussion on the nuts and bolts of 'counter-urbanization', it becomes evident that new social groups are emerging in rural areas, which are identified with diverse social and economic practices, engaged with innovative and/or hybrid activities, and whose lifestyle differs significantly from that of permanent residents (Stockdale et al. 2000; Paniagua 2002, 2003; Stockdale 2006; Escrivano 2007; Mahon 2007; Stockdale 2014).

Moreover, a form of 'counter-urbanization' is associated with the movement of people to rural areas with natural resources, infrastructures and/or leisure services. Terms such as 'lifestyle migration' (O'Reilly 2000) or 'amenity migration' (Cadieux and Hurley 2011) include a wide range of migrant categories who, for a multitude of reasons, move to areas with rich natural resources or favourable climate conditions, or areas combining a host of characteristics which articulate a certain quality of life (Gossnell and Abrams 2011; Cortes-Vazquez 2017; Lekies et al. 2015; Matarrita-Cascante 2017).

Related to this discussion is the construction of the countryside as a place of recreation, whereby the countryside attracts permanent residents who are attracted by mixed urban-rural places that combine both rural and urban values (Paquette and Domon 2003; Lacour and Puissant 2007; Wylie 2007). The 'rural gentrification' approach contributes arguments which are particularly significant especially for investigating various components such as the intensification of social segregation, capital investment, rapid social change and cultural change (Phillips 2004, 2010; Nelson et al. 2010; Lagendijk et al. 2014) that appear to create certain types of socio-spatial enclaves within the rural landscape.

The presence of international economic migrants in rural areas is connected to a combination of demographic, social, economic and structural factors; it is also linked to labour shortages in local receiving societies (Hoggart and Mendoza 1999; Kasimis et al. 2003; Labrianidis and Sykas 2009a, b; Papadopoulos 2009; Kasimis et al. 2010). In the case of rural Greece, the employment of migrants has contributed to the following key issues: first, migrant employment in agriculture has been important in maintaining and/or expanding agricultural activity; second, the availability of migrant labour has released farmers from heavy agricultural work, enabling them to organize the production and improve the marketing of their products; third, migrant employment has been important in other sectors such as construction and tourism in rural areas; and fourth, migrants have contributed significantly to the demographic renewal of certain less favoured and remote areas (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005; Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2012). More recent research has expanded the discussion of the changing roles and actions of migrants (Papadopoulos and Fratsea 2017; Papadopoulos et al. 2018), while there are conceptualisations aiming at an overall account of the new transformations incurred by new rural immigrant destinations (McAreavey 2017).

Admittedly, the Greek literature on the issue of counter-urbanization and, more particularly, the 'return to the countryside' is rather limited. It either focuses on the characteristics of specific coastal rural areas that have attracted significant numbers of newcomers (Chalkias et al. 2011; Papadopoulos and Ouils 2014) or on more targeted research into the 'return' to rural areas due to the economic crisis, which

had an immense impact on the country (Gkartzios 2013; Anthopoulou and Petrou 2015; Anthopoulou et al. 2017; Gkartzios et al. 2017; Papadopoulos et al. 2019). More to the point, some writers have traced the trajectories of those people who seemed to have turned to agriculture in response to the economic recession (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2013; Kasimis and Zografakis 2014), while others emphasized young people's engagement with agriculture in the era of austerity (Koutsou et al. 2014; Petrou and Koutsou 2014). However, there is still significant gap in researching 'lifestyle' or 'amenity migration' and 'rural gentrification' in Greece, which may possibly relate to the seasonality of such movements, the heterogeneity of the phenomena, and/or the small size of the relevant populations.

The existence of new social actors in rural areas is tightly bound up with transformative mobilities -referring to a mixture of the numerous mobilities towards and among rural areas- which can be traced in both urban and rural areas. In fact, the concept of mobility transcends the rural/urban dichotomy, since the rural is acknowledged as at least as mobile as the urban (Milbourne and Kitchen 2014). Along with mobilities which are central to the structuring of people's lives, emphasis is also placed on (im)mobility, moorings, dwelling and stillness as well as on speed or liquidity (Urry 2007; Bauman 2007). AUT

Far from reducing migration to movement, we believe that the discussion that has developed around mobilities is particularly informative for the discussion on resilience dynamics in rural areas. Those who refer to a 'mobility turn' in sociology (Urry 2000, 2007), and those who have suggested a 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry 2006), argue in favour of a new way of thinking and looking at social phenomena—and, more particularly, migration—through the lens of movement (Hannam et al. 2006). However, mobilities is a complex assemblage of movement, social imaginaries and experience (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013; Salazar 2017) which needs to be seen in conjunction with the (re)construction of rural areas. Despite the initial identification of mobility with social mobility that refers to the social upgrading of people (Faist 2013), we are reminded that mobilities aim at bringing together the purely 'social' concerns of sociology (inequality, power, hierarchies) with the 'spatial' concerns of geography (territories, borders, scale) and the 'cultural' concerns of anthropology (discourses, representations) (Sheller 2014).

At the same time, mobilities cannot be comprehended without considering the spatial, which involves a number of aspects (scale, places and territories). More to the point, imagined places and/or territorial imaginaries are important components of mobilities and of peoples' actions in relation to their (non)movement. Looking at mobilities implies that we are able to theorize and analyse the de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation processes of people's lives. Therefore, the linkages between mobilities and the (re)construction of places/spaces brings into the discussion Massey's (2005) conception of the "throwntogetherness of places", which refers to the "even-shifting constellation of trajectories" (151). According to Massey, "multiplicity, antagonisms and contrasting temporalities are the stuff for all places" (159), while places are also arenas where there is a "practicing of place" and "the negotiation of intersecting trajectories" (154). In this way, there are competing imaginations of places and often there is no coherent 'now' for them. What is more,

place is negotiated by identities which are on the move. Following Massey's (2005: 141) line of thinking, and in contrast to viewing places as settled and pre-given with an alleged coherence disturbed by 'external forces', places are here presented as in need of invention; they pose a challenge.

In such a context, places can be seen as territories where rootedness (localness) and cosmopolitanism are reconciled as co-producing/co-constructing aspects of the spatial. Locals and cosmopolitans may be understood as interrelating entities and as having common interests in the survival of diversity (Hannerz 1990). It seems though that there are various types/meanings of cosmopolitanism which intersect with people's movements (Calhoun 2002; Calhoun 2008), although mobilities cannot be reduced to cosmopolitanism. A tendency towards 'cosmopolitanisation' is considered to be closely linked to de-territorialisation (a result of globalisation), meaning it is not simply presence and absence but also imagined presence (Beck 2002). In this guise, confrontation along the cosmopolitan/local divide is transformed into a cosmopolitan-local continuum whereby various forms of attachment to local/national/institutional protectionism are identified (Roudometof 2005; Olofsson and Ohman 2007; Haller and Roudometof 2010). It thus appears important to analyse the specific combinations of cosmopolitan/local attributes as these reflect upon specific communities/places/regions. The term 'rural cosmopolitanism' seeks to capture precisely the fact that cosmopolitan dispositions and practices become attributes of individuals and communities within the rural society (Cid Aguayo 2008; Popke 2011; Woods 2018).

When further developed, the above discussion leads to two basic approaches to the capacity of rural places to respond to globalization or major economic events: the first approach puts forward the need for allowing rural communities/localities/regions to 'open up', increase their adaptive capacity, transform, and thus become more resilient against external shocks (e.g. financial crises) that may increase their vulnerability; the second stresses that certain qualities and practices that already exist in rural communities/localities/regions may, when realised (e.g. by means of transformative mobilities and interactions), improve their resilience through sustainability (Papadopoulos 2019). The first approach corresponds to a sort of 'strong' resilience which implies that the influx of external actors (McGranahan et al. 2010; Bosworth and Atterton 2012; Herslund 2012) invigorates rural territories by forcing them to adapt, given the new changing conditions. The second approach points to a 'weak' resilience, stressing the recognition of rural territories' existing components, qualities and advantages (Sanchez-Zamora et al. 2014; Sanchez-Zamora and Gallardo-Cobos 2019) that allow them to develop coping/getting by strategies in harsh circumstances (in-migrants/movers play an important role in this).

The central concept here is that of resilience which, though questioned and/or criticised by some (Hassink 2010; Hudson 2009; Davoudi et al. 2012; Martin and Sunley 2015), is seen by others as an opportunity to re-frame development and practice (Scott 2013; Freshwater 2015; Evenhuis 2017; Faulkner et al. 2019). Moreover, the rapidly expanding literature has dealt with the issue(s) of community, rural and regional resilience to the financial crisis (Wilson 2010; McManus et al. 2012; Evenhuis 2017).

To sum up, the transformative capacity of mobilities has been discussed as an important factor of the resilience dynamics in rural areas within Europe. The different trajectories (re)constructing rural places were analyzed, while, at the same time, it was discovered that the cosmopolitan/local divide needs to be seen as a continuum that allows for significant rural/local diversity. The differentiation between 'strong' and 'weak' resilience provides an analytical tool for dissecting the components of resilience in specific rural areas.

8.3 Analysing the Mixed Mobilities and Resilience Dynamics in Two Insular Areas

8.3.1 Recent Population Dynamics on the Islands of Syros and Andros

The research was conducted in two island communities on the islands of Syros and of Andros, both of which are part of the Cyclades group in the Aegean Sea. In the period 2013–2018, extensive research was carried out which sought to investigate the changing socioeconomic conditions in the context of the economic recession on the two islands, while particular emphasis was placed to the role of the primary sector (agriculture and fisheries) in the development of the local economy. A mixed methodology approach was adopted which combined both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques. Quantitative data were collected in two time periods (2014 and 2017) on the basis of a geographically stratified probability sampling of residents who responded to a structured questionnaire. In total, 446 questionnaires were collected by means of face-to-face personal interviews. In addition, 45 interviews and five focus groups were conducted with local and regional stakeholders (local entrepreneurs, local authorities, local agricultural associations, fishermen, amateur fishermen, etc.).

Despite the fact that the two islands of Syros and Andros belong to the same group of islands (Cyclades) in the South Aegean Sea Region, they vary significantly in terms of population dynamics and socio-economic characteristics. Syros, at a distance of 144 km from Athens, is located at the centre of Cyclades islands. The island covers 83.6 km^2 and, due to the relatively large size of its capital Hermoupolis, which is the administrative centre of the South Aegean Region, retains a high population density. The northern part of Syros, called "Ano Syros" (Upper Syros), is mountainous and sparsely inhabited. The hill of Ano Syros is dominated by the Catholic church of St. George, which was built in the Mediaeval era. Syros has a large Catholic community and mixed marriages between Catholics and Orthodox are a frequent phenomenon. In Syros, the two churches celebrate Easter on the same day (on the Orthodox date), a tradition that strengthens the social bonds within the community.

Andros is located 67 km from the port of Rafina and is the northernmost island of the Cyclades group. It is for the most part mountainous, and while it is nearly five times larger than Syros, covering 380 km^2, its population density is a fraction of Syros'. Andros is divided administratively into three Municipal Units: the Municipal Unit of Korthi in the southern part of the island, the Municipal Unit of Chora (the capital) covering the central part of the island, and the Municipal Unit of Hydroussa covering the north and northwest. Historically, the Municipal Unit of Korthi was more agriculturally oriented, the sailing tradition was more prevalent in Chora, while Gavrio in the Municipal Unit of Hydroussa, the only port connecting Andros to Rafina, was a fishing village until 20 years ago, when it slowly started to develop its tourist infrastructures. Due to this diverse profile, the more perceptive residents are conscious of the fact that:

> Andros is actually three islands merged into one, each municipal unit represents a different island. We are divided into three localities, and each locality is a different world. (Female, Andros, late 40s, interview in 2014)

The human geography of Andros is highly diverse, since the three municipal units illustrate different social structures with different identities and socioeconomic/cultural representations. The wealthiest locality of Chora Androu is characterised by a somewhat polarized social structure containing, on the one hand, the wealthy ship-owners in whose hands the future of the area lies, and, on the other hand, the (former) sailors with their families as well as other professionals who are somehow dependent on the former for their well-being. This polarized social structure contrasts with the agrarian social structure of Korthi, which is more egalitarian due to the predominance of farmers, fishermen and small holders. The 'egalitarian' society of Korthi seems to encourage collaboration and solidarity among the locals. Finally, the third locality of Hydroussa contains two conurbations, one of which is more touristically developed (Batsi); the other is identified with the Island's harbour (Gavrio). This latter locality resembles other coastal areas with tourist development (since the 1970s) and has a more conventional social structure characterised by a predominance of middle strata and a modern mentality and practices.

Between 1951 and 2011, the population of the two research areas reflected a generalized decline, while the population of the Cyclades and the South Aegean Sea has been increasing since the 1980s. More specifically, Syros's population fell by 29% over the entire 50-year period, while in the decade 2001–2011 it increased by 7.6% (Fig. 8.1).

In contrast, Andros' population has continued to decline throughout the reporting period and shows an overall decrease of 38%. The only exception was during 1980s, when the population of Andros grew by 13%, although the population decline resumed in in the following decades. However, international and, more recently, internal migration has been important on both islands, either for sustaining population robustness or maintaining a labour force necessary for the smooth operation of the local economy.

In terms of population dynamics, there have been three important trends over the last 10 years. The first is the significant increase in the number of immigrants on

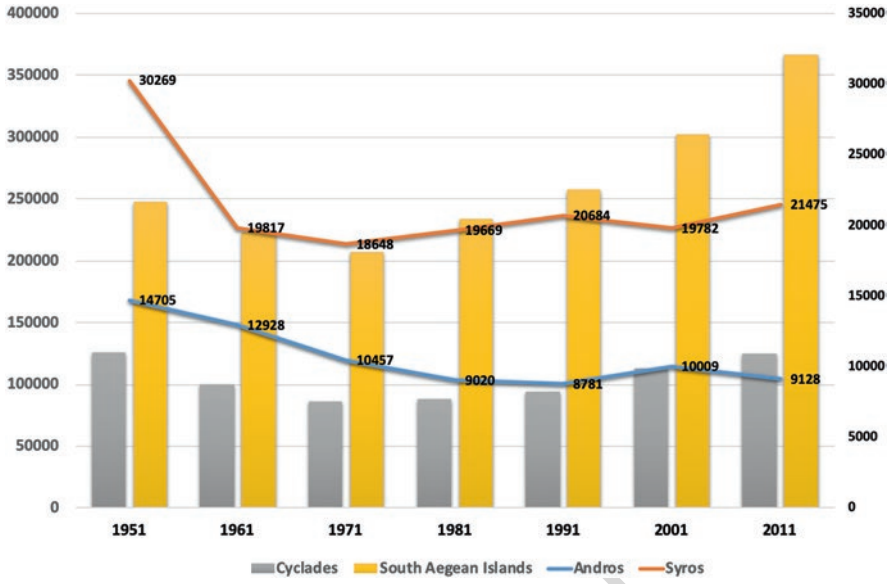

Fig. 8.1 Evolution of the *de facto* population in the two islands, compared with the Cyclades and South Aegean Islands. (Source: ELSTAT, Census Population data)

Table 8.1 Migrants by region of origin in 2001 and 2011 t1.1

	Syros		Andros		
Countries/region of origin	2001	2011	2001	2011	t1.2
EU-15	22.5	17.3	6.2	4.7	t1.3
EU- 10 (New accession countries)	11.3	14.5	2.5	6.0	t1.4
Albania	46.4	45.7	70.8	72.5	t1.5
Other European TCNs	6.8	7.2	5.1	5.1	t1.6
Asia	4.6	8.4	1.5	1.4	t1.7
Africa	1.3	0.8	0.2	0.1	t1.8
Other countries	7.1	6.1	13.6	10.4	t1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	t1.10

Source: ELSTAT, Population Census 2001, 2011 t1.11

Syros. Indeed, even though the share of international migrants is relatively small −5.6% in Syros, compared to 16.7% on Andros- it is important to note that between 2001 and 2011, migrants in Syros increased by 156%, while on Andros the number of international migrants increased by 93%. The large percentage of foreigners/immigrants in the local population on Andros points to the fact that it is essentially a multicultural society. Indicatively, one in five inhabitants of Andros is a foreigner. In addition, Table 8.1 presents the distribution of foreign/immigrant population by country of origin in the two research areas. Here again there is a difference between the migrant populations of the two regions. On Syros, Albanian immigrants account

for almost half of all foreigners (46%), while significant numbers are citizens of EU countries (17%) as well as citizens of countries that have recently joined the EU (15%). On Andros, Albanians make up the vast majority of foreigners on the island (73%), while other countries (11%) account for smaller percentages. Secondly, there is a significant seasonal variation in the population of the two islands. For example, during the summer, it is estimated that the population of Andros quadruples, which increases pressure on the island's resources. Adding to the aforementioned population trends is the fact that there is a sizeable population mobility of people originating from other parts of the country—mainly urban centres—towards the two islands. During fieldwork, it became clear that, taken together, these population trends—internal migration, seasonal movements and international migration—play an important role in the rejuvenation and resilience of the two islands.

Comparing the demographic profile of the two island communities, the respondents on Syros are relatively older with a medium to high education, while Andros' respondents seem to be younger on average with a higher educational profile. Employment opportunities vary seasonally and there is extensive underemployment and undeclared employment in the local economy that cannot be easily recorded; nevertheless, during fieldwork, most respondents were employed.

Up until the onset of the downturn, Syros' economy was based on public sector employment and the operation of Neorion, one of the oldest shipyards in Greece. Tourism and agricultural activities made a limited contribution to local income. Andros, on the other hand, has had a long shipping history from the late eighteenth century which was internationally-oriented and an important occupation for the male population of the capital; indeed, naval remittances and shipping sector-related revenues were considered by the locals a primary developmental factor. Since the mid-1980s, other parts of Andros, such as Batsi, have developed an economy based on internal tourism, construction, second homes and retirement migration. Currently, Syros has a fairly limited primary sector (3.1%), a fairly developed secondary sector (21.4%) and an adequately developed tertiary sector—mainly public services and tourism (75.5%); Andros, in turn, largely depends on primary sector activities (15%), while the secondary (27.4%) and tertiary (57.6%) sectors are also developed (ELSTAT 2011). In the early years of the crisis, there was a general impression among residents that island regions were protected against the implications of the downturn. Nevertheless, as the recession deepened and the fiscal austerity measures increased, both islands were affected by the crisis, albeit in different way. On Andros, the contraction of the construction sector and crisis in the real estate market significantly affected the local economy, whereas on Syros wage and pension cuts in line with fiscal consolidation measures accompanied by the further decline of Neorion and the fall in internal tourism weakened the local economy.

Given the mix of mobilities that affect the two research sites, we may discern two wider population groups: the 'locals', being people who were born, grew up and lived for most of their adult lives in the two research areas, and the 'newcomers', referring to the individuals who were born and raised outside these areas, but decided to migrate to Syros or Andros later in their adult lives. The latter group is rather diverse, as it consists of individuals who lived and worked in Athens but

during the economic crisis decided to move to the islands in search of new employment opportunities, but also individuals at different stages in their life cycle who were living in other areas and decided to move to the islands in search of employment or a better and more fulfilling quality of life. Generally, when considering the socioeconomic characteristics of the 'locals' and 'newcomers', the former group is relatively older with a lower educational level, while newcomers consists of individuals who are on average younger and with a medium to high educational level.

These two population groups -locals and newcomers- intersect in the case of individuals who share a common characteristic: they have previous experience of living/working abroad, either as migrants who travelled abroad for education or employment, or as sailors. Based on the empirical data, in each area approximately 30% of the respondents have lived in abroad for an average of 6 months. We may argue that it is in the group of 'newcomers' and this intersection group that one can identify a condition consisting of more 'cosmopolitan' thinking and behaviour. Even though it has been widely noted in the recent literature that 'cosmopolitans' are a rather diverse group (Hannerz 1990), it would seem that a type of rural cosmopolitanism' (Popke 2011; Woods 2018) emerges in rural coastal areas, which is connected to the new activities rediscovered in both areas, but more importantly with various expectations and demands for quality of life, well-being and local development. Those cosmopolitan and mobile individuals may contribute to the resilience of their islands, as they play important roles in the new activities which have been emerging recently, as well as to progressive perceptions relating to local economic development and the environment.

8.3.2 From Crisis to Recovery: In Search of a New Development Vision

The population groups that live in the two research areas have different perceptions regarding their quality of life, show a diverse perception of the rural-coastal landscape of the place where they have settled, and view the degree of economic development of their place of residence differently. These perceptions have changed over the years of economic recession, but it is clear, too, that the development vision, particularly that of the new residents, has gained momentum. In other words, one can identify merging together of the cosmopolitans and newcomers' perceptions to the residents of the two coastal areas.

Perceptions about the qualities of the rural-coastal landscape do not differ significantly between the two population groups and the two research areas. On both islands, the residents consider their place to be 'peaceful', 'idyllic', 'humane', 'safe', and 'friendly'. Additionally, there is a general consensus between the locals and the newcomers that environmental factors, such as the natural and marine environment and community cohesion, expressed primarily as a sense of security, tranquillity, belonging and bonding with the other community members, are among the

basic factors that determine the quality of life in the two research sites. Despite the adverse economic conditions, economic wellbeing, incorporating the existing economic opportunities and cost of living, followed in the ranking.

Community solidarity as a component of a 'better' quality of life than in urban centres was referred to repeatedly in the interviews. More to the point, when describing the harsh economic environment, the respondents mentioned the responsiveness of the local population to helping the most vulnerable and hardest hit by the downturn. In the words of a resident of Andros:

> There is no way I can know that a guy we grew up with, or a friend is 'hungry' [i.e. cannot afford to live] and just leave him in that state. If I have 100 euro, I will say: "Take half and we will be 'hungry' together". There is still this state of mind here; the role of the family and the local society. (Male, early 50s, Andros, interviewed in 2014)

Moreover, there was an important mobilization on the part of the church—Orthodox and Catholic—while a number of local networks and community associations were organized to support the poorer strata materially and/or financially. Thus, on both islands, community solidarity emerged as a significant factor in attempts to alleviate the consequences of the economic recession and cuts in public services.

However, when asked whether their quality of life has improved or deteriorated over the last ten years of economic recession, there were slight differences between the responses of the respondents from the two regions. Three out of five respondents on Syros and Andros believe that their quality of life has not improved. A similar proportion in both areas are unsure whether their quality of life has improved or deteriorated (14% in Syros and 10% in Andros). Yet, it is important to note that fewer than one in three respondents in both regions believe their quality of life has increased over the last decade (28% in Syros and 30% in Andros). However, comparing the two population groups reveals that on Syros, the newcomers appear to be more optimistic, since they believe their quality of life has improved in recent years, while on Andros, locals and newcomers alike consider their quality of life to have improved in some areas and remained stable in others. This somewhat more positive assessment of quality of life on the part of the newcomers comparing to the locals also manifests itself when they are asked to justify their responses. The impact of the economic crisis on the local area and the livelihoods of the respondents is at the heart of their assessment. However, those respondents—the majority of whom are locals—who argue that quality of life has not improved over the last decade, tend to explain this with references to the impact of the financial crisis, proposing issues such as rising unemployment, decreasing in consumer spending, reduced tourism and reduced purchasing power. In contrast, those respondents—the majority of whom are newcomers—who assess the quality of life in the area as somewhat improved, tend to highlight local amenity attractions and the natural and/or marine environment, and even to see new economic opportunities. In other words, it seems that, in general, those who have moved to the two islands recently see an improvement in their quality of life despite the harsh economic environment, because as they describe, they consider their move to be a 'clean break', a 'fresh start' and a 'new beginning' far from the recession's impact on urban centres.

> I have moved from Athens to Andros and I took over the family business. Cultural activities, the natural environment, a life without stress and the short distances between work and home, play an important role in quality of life. (Female, newcomer, late 40s, Andros, interviewed in 2018)

Others have gone further and welcomed a positive outcome of the crisis: the regeneration of their place of residence. As they argue:

> [quality of life has improved] during the years of crisis. People have returned to the island. Houses that were shut up for years have opened, and children and young people are back. (Male, Newcomer, Mid-fifties, interviewed in 2014 in Andros)

The degree to which particular economic sectors contribute to the economic development of the two islands differ between them and between the two population groups. Back in 2014, when asked to prioritize the basic economic sectors that contributed to local economic development, on Syros the majority of the locals said the basic sector that contributed to the development of the island was the local shipyard [Neorion] (54%), followed by the administrative (public sector) services (46%) and tourism (45%). In contrast, the majority of newcomers on Syros pointed to the tourist sector (63%), followed by the administrative (public sector) services (37%) with the local shipyard ranked in third place (37%). On Andros, the majority of the locals considered shipping and naval remittances (46%) to be the main sectors which contributed to the economic development of the island, followed by tourism (43%) and agriculture (33%). In contrast, the majority of 'newcomers' believes that local development is based primarily on the tourist sector (63%), followed by construction (37%) and agriculture (34%), ranking shipping in fourth place (29%). Overall, amidst the economic recession, in both island communities the 'newcomers' seem to deviate from the local development narrative constructed by the 'locals' on the basis of the traditional economic activities of the Neorion shipyards, considering the tourist sector to be the main component of the area's economic development.

Since 2014, this situation seems to have reversed. In fact, by 2017 on Syros, the tourism sector was the one contributing most to local economic growth (68%), followed by the administrative sector (33%), the local shipyard (25%) and the agricultural sector (22%). Similarly, on Andros, tourism (72%) is by far the most important sector for the island's economic growth, followed by shipping (52%), which still supports the island's households. The agricultural sector (18%) is the third most important for the economic development of the region, and commerce (10%) ranks last. Interestingly, comparing the views of the locals and the newcomers, it seems that both population groups on the two islands have moved away from the 'traditional' development path followed before and during the years of the crisis in an attempt to counterbalance the negative implications of the economic recession. In other words, it would seem that the 'newcomers' development narrative has gained ground against the local narrative.

In this context, the 'newcomers' acted as pioneers and were followed by the locals, who moved away from the dominant narrative of limited opportunities and instead re-discovered, or even invented, new development pathways. For example, it became evident during fieldwork that a number of locals and newcomers had

turned to agricultural activities, or even attempted to combine agricultural activities with tourism in order to maximize their income.

> Agriculture can boost the local economy [now]. Agriculture is like a 'rough diamond' which local society should carve in combination with [investing in] the local manufacturing of agricultural products and marketing. (Male, early 50s, Andros, newcomer, interviewed in 2017)

These efforts or 'local practices of resilience' (see Papadopoulos et al. 2019) were more reluctant in the period 2013–2014 and more prevalent by 2016–2017, when it had become evident that the continuation of the economic recession demanded more radical responses on the part of the local population. As illustrated in Fig. 8.2 below, newcomers appear to be more optimistic regarding the current economic environment and consider this period to be a good time to embark on an entrepreneurial or business activity. On the contrary, locals in both areas appear to be less risk averse and are more reluctant to start a business in the light of the obstacles and challenges raised by the downturn and austerity measures.

When asked to propose the sectors that were the most profitable and suitable to invest in given the current economic environment, the majority of respondents on both islands proposed the tourist sector. However, comparing to the locals in Syros, one eighth of the newcomers think the agricultural sector is the most suitable, while on Andros this figure rises to one fifth of the newcomers. Interestingly enough, almost one third of the locals, and the 'cosmopolitans' in particular, suggest the agricultural sector as most suitable for future investments.

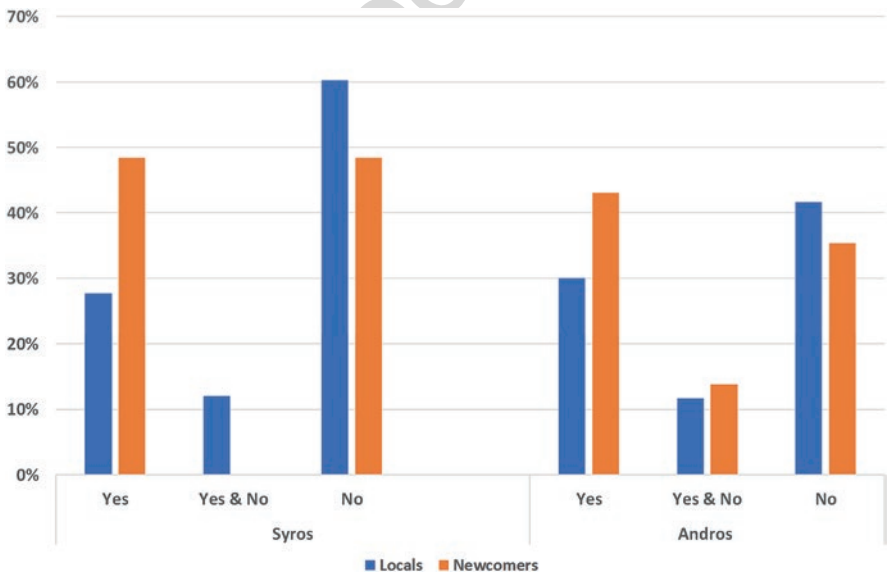

Fig. 8.2 Do you consider the current period a good time to take up a business initiative? (Source: Fieldwork data, 2017)

8.4 Conclusions

The discussion above has shown that the various mobilities seem to have impacted on the resilience dynamics in two rural island areas in Greece. The demographic and socioeconomic profile of in-migrants/movers means they have an important impact. Their 'cosmopolitan' attributes and practices have allowed them to improve their socioeconomic situations, while their development imaginations/aspirations seem to have inspired local development planning.

Rural places are being (re)constructed as a result of the negotiations between the various trajectories, the competing identities and interactions between the locals and the so-called 'cosmopolitans', who are not as attached to the local. Elements of a local/rural 'creative class' (Herslund 2012) are emerging, an observation supported by the fact that the in-migrants/movers are more knowledgeable and tend to engage in entrepreneurial activities.

In both island areas, the locals reminisce about an imaginary 'glorious past' which relates on Syros to the Neorion shipyard, and on Andros to the naval remittances which were such a significant factor in the local economy. However, the 'cosmopolitans' seem to deconstruct this 'glorious past' and propose a new conceptualisation of desirable local economic development and governance (Shucksmith 2018). The new imaginaries for the island areas involve an expansion of the service sector, high value services and tourist development.

However, the resilience dynamics differ between the two island areas depending on the dominant economic sectors and local resistance to the cosmopolitan drift. More particularly, the existing internal divisions among the locals (the religious divide on Syros and the territorial differentiation on Andros) remain significant in the local arena and allow for the survival of parochialism/localism. The resurgence of localist attributes may give rise to alternative imaginaries in the two island areas, promoting close linkages between agriculture and tourist services along with a sense of community belonging. What locals consider a traditional way of life (a slow pace of living, quality food and quality natural resources) may well continue to attract more 'cosmopolitans' in search of local experiences. In fact, the dynamics of resilience can be better observed when the socioeconomic tendencies have been established and rural places, as spaces which are home to flows, become recipients of sustainable development.

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Author Queries

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Queries	Details Required	Author's Response
AU1	The reference citations Bauman (2007), Beck (2002), Champion (2001), ELSTAT (2011), Matsaganis (2018), Paniagua (2002), Sheller (2014), Urry (2000, 2007), Wilson (2009, 2010) have been cited in text but not given in the reference list. Please provide details in the list.	
AU2	The reference citations Davoudi (2012), Della Porta et al. (2015), Hudson (2010), Lekies et al. (2017), Salvati (2012), Stockdale et al. (2014) have been changed to Davoudi et al. (2012), Della Porta et al. (2016), Hudson (2009), Lekies et al. (2015), Salvati (2013), Stockdale (2014). Please confirm.	
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