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**Migrant's working conditions in agriculture & reproductive
work in Greece: a gendered analysis**

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S.R.T Social Reproduction Theory

Abstract

Migrants, men and women, in Greece have played an essential role in producing agricultural goods. However, many migrants are involved in precarious work on the farm, and women have to shoulder additional burden of household chores. The primary objective of this research is to explore the experiences and perspectives of female migrant workers doing the same jobs as their husbands in the agricultural sector in Greece as regard precarity and how they are combining the work done on farm with that of the household. Data collection for this study was carried out in the rural farming communities in Arcadia and Messenia located in the Peloponnese region in Greece through semi-structured interviews for 10 migrant workers. Reproductive work shaped by the precarious work, is analyzed by using the theory of Social Reproduction, while the precarious working conditions was analyzed from the lens of theory of Precarity. The findings show that women perceived precarious work differently than men, and were more willing to propose changes of the working process and conditions, while men were more demanding in terms of citizenship provision, after many years of work in the sector. While we were seeking to address the gendered differences of working conditions in the sample, and compare them, we saw that both men and women are experiencing precarious working conditions, with the different dimensions of precarity such as: status precarity, labour precarity, workplace precarity, life precarity to be experienced differently by men and women. However, those with extended family members living with them and those with older children spent fewer hours doing household chores as they got support from them. The same thing cannot be said of those with younger children living without extended family.

Relevance to Development Studies

Studies have already show us that migrant women working in agriculture in Greece also face precarity in their employment, however, migrant women who work together with their husbands in the same capacity on the farm have received little attention. Exploring the experiences of migrant's women that work together with their husbands in family farms in Greece is highly important in understanding the gender effect on their precarity. This is important because female migrants' workers are not a homogenous group. We have those that migrated alone to work on the farm, we have those that migrated with their families, we have those that migrated with families, but the husband does not work in the agricultural sector, and most importantly, the type of jobs that they do in the farms differs from each other which is crucial to their vulnerability and precarity.

Keywords

Migrant Worker, Agriculture, Precarity, Household, Reproduction, Female

Chapter 1 Background to The Study

1.1 Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1990s, Migrant labour has increasingly turned out to be one of the essential elements in rural development and agricultural production in Southern Europe, particularly in Greece (Papadopoulos et al., 2018). Migrants, men and women, in Greece have played an essential role in producing agricultural goods (Kasimis et al., 2003; Kasimis, 2008; Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013; Papadopoulos et al., 2018). This is because most of the work they do is often avoided by the Greeks (Kasimis et al., 2010:260). Generally, farm work is considered tedious, complex, precarious (Palumbo & Sciarba, 2018:13) and ranked top among dangerous jobs, with mining and construction leading the pack. At the same time, migrants' workers who are engaged in farming from their country of origin are not new to a different kind of strenuous physical labour. McLaughlin & Hennebry (2013) argued that they find the farming work more demanding in their host country due to their inability to exercise control over their working conditions. "As foreigners, they often feel that they are given the most difficult tasks and are expected to work harder to impress employers" (McLaughlin & Hennebry, 2013:6). Precarity is a global problem (Standing, 2018); the precariat is not limited to the developing world because the developed world is also witnessing a surge in the female precariat. Female migrant workers are often worse affected by challenges such as exploitation by farm owners, low wages, and wage disparities in EU countries (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017).

Women migrants in Greece agricultural sector continue to be the precariat by providing housework and care when necessary and without income. Women migrants, in particular, contributes significantly to the 'reproduction' of the agricultural family and the society as a whole. In many places of rural Greece, farmers or labourers are working in the primary sector by taking care of the live-stock, participating in the cultivation of vegetables and processing the agricultural products into local traditional food (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013; Papadopoulos et al., 2019). According to Papadopoulou most of the women migrant population work part-time instead of full time, with 90% of them working as part-time workers while the rest work full-time. Since job insecurity is one of the components of precarious work, women are more likely to fall deeper into precarity when compared to men because of women lower workplace power. Moreover, many of them still don't have citizenship (Papadopoulos et al., 2018), and their work (reproductive) is under-valued by the economy and the society as a whole (Lyberaki, 2011:114).

While studies have shown the correlation between family migration and earnings, couples' employment and how the migrant women's income rises have transformed the gendered roles in the household (Heyse, 2011), the fact that women are active participants in the migration process does not mean women experience the same conditions as men (MRCI, 2008:16). Studies have also shown that patriarchal dynamics deeply rooted in cultures put women in the boxes of specific "roles" in the house and the job market. This means that women have taken over all the work being done in the household, taking care of the children and elders voluntary (Haddad, 1997; Bhattarai & Pant, 2013; Lecoutere & Wuyts, 2021). Except that the women themselves, after migration, are employed in precarious jobs, which can, in turn, reproduce inequality (Estevez-Abe and Hobson, 2015: Lutz, 2016).

Against the backdrop of the discussion above, this thesis focuses on the experiences of female migrants' workers in Greece family farms. Greece occupied the top spot among Mediterranean countries within the EU when it comes to the prevalence of family labour in its agricultural sector (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017: 11). As a result, many migrant families

find work on family farms in the country. However, for an effective policy recommendation to be made, one should investigate what their needs are and have a better grasp of their way of thinking about their life's prospects. The women in this area were ruthlessly exploited, working in temporary jobs both outside and inside the household, usually in small family business farms, to increase the family income (Kasimis, 2008; Papadopoulou et al, 2018) is a symptom that requires more profound research. This present study intends to contribute by bridging this critical gap. Using primary data from first-hand interviews, we make the first steps towards a better understanding of the precarity experiences of migrant women farm-workers in Greece.

1.2. Research Problem

It has been established in the previous section that migrants have played a significant role in the development of the Greek agricultural sector by providing the essential work to the sector and the space for Greek landowners to invest more in farming innovative technologies. However, the agriculture sector is essentially seasonal, which creates a tendency towards the need to depend on employing members of the migrant's family (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017). Family farming is one of the characteristics of the agricultural sector in Greece, and in many farm holdings, around two family members are employed seasonally in the farms (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013). Family farms contributed 85% of the farm employment in Greece, and they provided the highest job opportunity for migrants (regular or irregular) in the country (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017:11). It is widespread for migrant workers with their families to engage in seasonal agricultural work in family farms in Greece, especially in the rural areas where most agricultural activities occur. This is common among migrant workers from Albania, Indian, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, and Romanians working in the agricultural fields (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017). The migrant workers with their families are often employed by farmers, not as substitute workers but as supportive labour to the labour provided by the family members.

While there is a plethora of literature on the challenges faced by migrant women in the agricultural sector as well as within the reproductive work offered in the households of rural Greece (Greek Equality Secretariat, 2018; European Union, 2018; Papadopoulos et al., 2017; Papantoniou-Frangouli, 2011), the problem is that little is known about the experiences of migrant women that work with their husbands in the field and not in a capacity of supporting roles. Previous studies that have looked into the experiences of female migrants' workers in family farms in Greece have focused more on the domestic roles that migrant women workers performed on the farms. For instance, Kasimis & Papadopoulos (2005) study highlighted that while male migrant workers picked up the fruits or worked on the field, the women worked inside. "That is, [migrant] men work outside [the factory] while their women work inside the packaging floor as packers" (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2005:112).

Also, a study by Kasimis et al. (2010) shows that women that accompanied their husbands to work on the farm are, in most cases, employed in services (domestic services or preparing food for those working on the farm). For Pappas (2009:6), the role of most female migrants' workers in the family farms they are employed mirrored the societal assigned gender role in assisting the labour in the farm. Recent studies by Papadopoulos et al. (2017) and Papadopoulos and Fratsea (2017) that looked into migrant's workers working conditions also did not consider migrant women working in the field with their husbands but focused on the precarity of migrant's workers in agriculture. Other studies (Kasimis, 2008; Papadopoulou, et al., 2018) focus was on different forms of precarious situations that range from sexual exploitation, low wages, working long hours, among others that both male and female migrants have to deal with in their attempt to earn a living.

Although we already know that migrant women working in agriculture in Greece also face precarity in their employment, migrant women who work together with their husbands in the same capacity on the farm have received little attention. Therefore, exploring the experiences of migrant's women that work together with their husbands in family farms in Greece is highly important in understanding the gender effect on their precarity. This is important because female migrants' workers are not a homogenous group. We have those that migrated alone to work on the farm, we have those that migrated with their families, we have those that migrated with families, but the husband does not work in the agricultural sector, and most importantly, the type of jobs that they do in the farms differs from each other which is crucial to their vulnerability and precarity. Most studies suggested that the type of work done on the farm shapes the precarity the migrants are exposed to. However, migrants' women that do the same work as their husbands working conditions in the agricultural sector, together with their reproductive work, taking place inside the household, is a topic not explored till now through the lenses of gender.

1.3. Positionality

I have spent considerable time in the rural areas of Arcadia in Greece, where I could observe daily life and gain personal experience talking with women about the difficulties they faced during their working life as farmworkers. Al-so, after watching the documentary called "Heil Arcadia" about contemporary life in the region of Tegea in Arcadia, I used to spend much time during my summer days until my recent adult life. The documentary made me realize the vital role of the migrants in Agricultural production and the region's social life. Their presence in the region contributed to the renewal and sustainability of the rural population and was not restricted to the production sector.

However, my encounter with a migrant woman that I met after visiting a place in rural Crete, a Greek Island with a considerable share of the primary sector activities, was the last straw the broke the camel's back and started thinking about how I can contribute to the body of knowledge that will prof-fer a way forward to the injustice that migrant workers face in Greece. She was an orphan, abandoned by her parent, who worked there on a family farm, married to a local. The woman had expressed an urgent desire to leave the village. "Chrysa – she told me – I want to leave the village. Can you take me with you?". Later, I was told by her relative that her husband was abusive, practicing violence over her. Another man who was not a close relative of her husband also told me that she had once called the police during an emergency incident asking for help. I could not think of any idea how to provide "support" without having his family turning against her.

Therefore, I was motivated to conduct this study is based on the issue of injustice. Increased participation of migrants and, more specifically, of women in the agri-food sector and farming in combination with the low wages in Agriculture draws a picture of poverty that needs to be changed. Decent wages and better working conditions can contribute to agricultural development, i.e., to a more favourable state of gender equality, bridging the gender-income gap, empowering women, and contributing to food sovereignty. All of the above have decisively shaped my perspective on the issue of migrant women farmworkers and have made me realize a significant gap existed in the literature of many countries, Greece being among them. I believe that there is room to remove this extreme case of gender discrimination, especially in the agricultural sector, empowering women working there and creating jobs for women in this sector. The understanding of their experiences can be a starting point that can lead to social change.

1.4. Research Objectives

My broad goal for this research is to contribute to the existing literature with empirical qualitative data, instead of monotonous econometric analysis to the debate on migrant's women presence, participation and roles in the agricultural sector of Greece. In order to appreciate their roles, agency and struggles and reshape the narrative around their work. Secondly, to challenge my assumptions about migrants' living conditions, experiences, and life in rural Greece. However, the primary objective of this research is to explore the experiences and perspectives of female migrant workers doing the same jobs as their husbands in the agricultural sector in Greece as regard precarity. In order to achieve this objective, two specific objectives were identified. The first one is to examine and explore the conditions that migrant women face in Greece's agricultural sector and how they compare with the same conditions that their husbands (men) are facing? The second specific objective is to explore how these women, considering that they do the same jobs as their husbands on the farm, combined work in agriculture with housework and care and the role of gender in such circumstances.

1.5. Research Questions

1. What are the conditions that migrant women face in the agricultural sector in Greece, and how do they compare with the same conditions that men are facing?
2. How do migrant female workers combine work in agriculture with house-work and care, and what is the role of gender here?

1.6. Organization of Study

This research will be divided into six chapters. The first contains an introduction to the research topic, my positionality regarding the topic, and the statement of the research problem. Also, in the first chapter, the research objectives, the main research question, and the sub-questions are explored. The second chapter focuses on the literature review in which the theories of precarity, social reproduction, and the nexus between the two theories were explored and the empirical studies with regards to migrant labour precarity in general and Greece in particular. The third chapter outlines the methodological approach adopted in conducting this research—specifically, the research area, the target population, and the methods of analysis. The fourth and fifth chapter discusses the findings of the data collection. While chapter 4 include the analysis of the obtained data and discussion of results that address the conditions that migrant women face in the agricultural sector in Greece and how do they compare with the same conditions that men are facing? Chapter 5 focuses on how female migrant workers combined work in agriculture with housework and care and the role that gender plays in the phenomenon. In the sixth chapter, an attempt will be made to summarize the findings from chapters 4 and 5, and recommendations for policy intervention.

Chapter 2: Conceptualising Migrant Worker Precarity and The Nexus with Social Reproduction Theory

2.1 Introduction

The primary focus of this chapter is to explore existing literature and theories about the precarious working conditions of migrant's workers, particularly those in the agricultural sector in Greece. The chapter is divided into five sections, and the first section discusses the context of precarious work and precariat working conditions of migrant workers in the agricultural sector. The discussion in the second section highlighted the importance of the theory of precarity concerning working in the Agricultural Sector and the vulnerable position of migrants. The third section discussion is on the Social Reproduction Theory used to examine gender roles in the households. In the fourth section, the nexus between the theory of precarity and social reproduction theory was brought to the fore of the debate and how it helps navigate the understanding of the working conditions of migrant's women in the agricultural sector in Greece. The last section is the conclusion of the chapter

2.2. The Greek Context: Precarious Work & Precariat conditions of migrating workers in Agriculture: the context of Greece.

The concept of precarious work is recognisable in the broader rural scheme. It is described as temporary or non-standard employment that are in most cases unprotected, insecure, poorly paid which cannot be used to support a household (Kasimis et al., 2015; Standing, 2018). The term "precarious work" is often connected with different types of employment such as home-based workers, self-employment, on-call work, part-time or fixed-term employment (Standing, 2018). All these types of precarious work can be seen in all sectors, from manufacturing to agriculture and the service sector. In the Golden period of Capitalist development, this type of labour is more often famous in the so-called "Developing World"; however, it has become a reality in the so-called Developed World.

The Greek economy has passed from a phase of de-industrialisation and recession. The leading sector now is the services sector and the primary sector. Some of the more distinct characteristics of precarious work and living conditions are flexibility, informality, no regulation, no health insurance provided by the companies. A massive share of the job market is characterised by precarity, with the primary sector mostly affected (Kasimis et al., 2015). However, in Greece, migrants are most likely to consist the class of precariat in the developed countries, coming from the so-called third world countries or from Southern Europe and their contacts in most times are limited to six months due to the seasonal nature of their work (Papadopoulos et al. 2021). The employers in Greece make detailed information (such as nationality, duration, speciality) available to the regional unit regarding the employment agreement or contract (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017: 8). Since 2007, the migrant workers in Agriculture have continued to be on the rise. Available statistics show that 14,000 seasonal labour permits per year were issued between 2007 and 2009. By 2017, 51,125 positions were designated for full-time wage labour, with 62% (31,489) of them seasonal migrants' workers (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017: 7). Statistics of the labour force show a high concentration of primary sector migrant workers in the rural areas of Greece, namely in Peloponnese, Central Macedonia, and Thessaly (ibid).

Additionally, family farming is one of the fundamental traditional activities because of land fragmentation (Koutsou et al., 2011, Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013; Charatsari, 2014). As a result, the high production costs forced the farmers to accept low production prices and give low wages (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2013). This situation creates a vicious cycle of low competitiveness. In the family farms, the family contributes about 85% of the total work needed, while 15 % of the work is conducted by regular and non-regular non-family labour, provided mainly by migrants, promoting the survival of family farming in Greece (Papadopoulos & Fratsea, 2017).

However, the commercial agricultural sector or large farms in Greece that employs many migrant workers has attracted public discourses as a sector, not only as an occupation but regarding conditions of work and the psychological effects. The seasonality, the low wages, the arduous character of the work, and the psychological exposure to anxiety and pressure characterise the precarious agricultural labour market. The working conditions, usually onerous and without being a matter of bargaining between workers and land-lords or without being contracted, shape the “identity” of most often appeared in the literature as “precariat” (Papadopoulos et al. 2021). Besides, the restrictive immigration regimes, high working elasticity, lack of social protection schemes, and competitive exporting shape the conditions of precarity (Anderson, 2010).

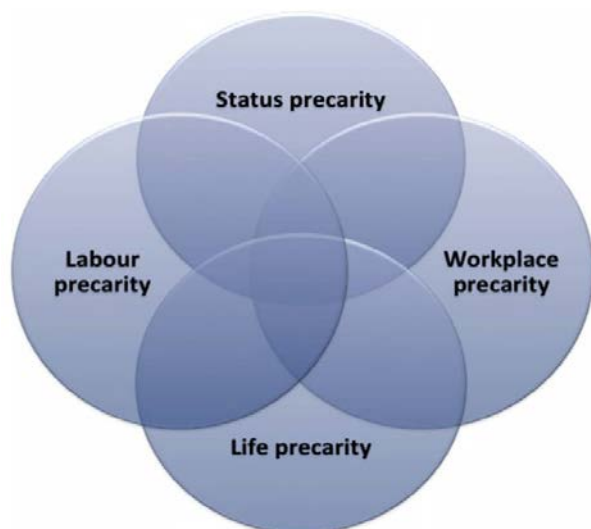
There is a broad literature on the role of rural women in the primary sector from their contribution to entrepreneurial activities, despite the social and institutional restrictions in the agri-food sector. In the last few years, there has been an increase in the flourishing of small farm businesses run by women (Kontogeorgos et al., 2016; Ragkos et al., 2018; Ball, 2020). Also, demo-graphical changes in the migration patterns in the Greek countryside have shaped the employment patterns in the countryside, two of which are of interest to this research (Papadopoulos et al., 2021). The evolving character of migration has led to more women working independently. According to Kasimis (2008:520-521), there are two main categories of migrant workers in Greece. The first one is migrant families employed as semi-permanent or permanent farmworkers deeply embedded in the gender division of labour. This habitually involves the husband’s employment in agriculture as a permanent worker while the wife works as domestic service and/or in the agri-food processing industry. The second category is where migrants’ families are employed as a family unit (husband and wife) to manage a farm as sharecrop-pers. This arrangement occurs when the farm owners lease out the farm to the migrant families and, in turn, share the farm’s proceeds with the farm owner.

2.3. The Theory of Precarity: Working in the agricultural sector and the vulnerable position of migrants.

The term of precarity has gained ground in different study fields but is considered a normalised phenomenon by the government, and in that way, they use it as a channel to control the migrants through biopolitical methods and governing through creating on purpose a condition of uncertainty (Lorey, 2011: 1). The conceptualisation of the precariat is often a term intersecting with the categories of 1) labour relations, 2) citizenship, and 3) social security (Standing, 2018). In contemporary literature with the central terminology is the term precariat instead of the proletariat. The globalised labour policies, the global value chains, and the oligopolistic power of the big firms create an ecology of “necessary vulnerability” in the economy (Vij, 2021; Hayes, 2014). On the one hand, do not leave migrant workers completely unemployed, but is letting them be exploited by racist employers who are using them to make a profit and later replace them with other vulnerable or desperate international migrants or refugees, who are not superfluous but valuable in the agriculture (Vij, 2021). Bauder

(2006) highlighted that migrants are considered highly valuable because they are vulnerable and easy to exploit.

Precarity as a concept is highly germane to this study. It helps in understanding the labour process and how it impacts the lives of the workers because precarity is situated at the juncture of citizenship and labour relations, as documented by various studies on migration (Shevchenko & Shevchenko, 2019; Schierup and Jørgensen, 2016; Schierup et al., 2014). Precarity is a multidimensional concept with several roles and meanings. According to Papadopoulos et al. (2018:202), precarity can take four significant forms, mainly status precarity, also known as legal precarity, workplace precarity, labour precarity, and life precarity. Papadopoulos et al. (2018) maintained that while the typology identified are germane to migrants seeking employment opportunities in developed economies, the different forms of precarity are not mutually exclusive because some of them overlap with each other.



Source: Papadopoulos et al (2018:202)

According to Anderson (2010), the precarious nature of migrant employment is deeply rooted and embedded in the migrant legal status because legality is what will give the migrants rights to a wide range of rights in the host society. This legal status could be temporary visas, work permits, refugee status, among others. Nevertheless, legal status in most cases led to labour precarity that exposed migrants' workers to low paid jobs, long working days and hours, non-flexibility, labour casualisation, and menial work that are prevalent in precarious employment (Papadopoulos et al., 2018:202). The third dimension is workplace precarity which is a subset of labour precarity. This has to do with the spatial feature of precarity that emerges from the migrant's workers actual places of work. These features include but are not limited to the sanitary and safety aspect of the work, morphology/physical setting of the workspace, work routines and daily shift, administration of labour groups, and the relationship between migrant workers and their various employers. The spatial aspect of the workplace is a crucial factor that shapes the daily experience of precarity for migrant workers. The fourth dimension is life precarity, or existential precarity, which many migrant workers are exposed to in their host community. Unequal access to basic amenities such as education, health, transport, housing, clothing, security, and most important, acceptance by the local society where they are working are rudimentary features of migrant workers standard of living and their sense of belonging (Papadopoulos et al., 2018:202).

Even though the various conceptualisations of precariat fall the term into the wilful criticism of lacking class analysis or being following the western epistemological dimensions,

it is true that in the concept of global migrant labour, workers have no class identity if they are obliged to work in multiple occupations during the year (Jørgensen, 2016, 2020). Except for precarity in working conditions, reinforcing mechanisms have underlying impacts, such as legislation, migration policies, working contracts, and accommodation conditions (Vij, 2021). Moreover, the legislation about the resident permits and the seasonality of the migrant's work creates a map of precarious working conditions that reinforce their precarious living and their inability to bargain better wages and living conditions (Papadopoulos et al., 2021). According to Floros & Joergensen (2020), these forms of precarious working conditions have been exacerbated by the global spread institutionalised idea of the “neoliberal revolution”, giving more power to the dynamics of market-driven solutions than government and social movements solutions. This work goes with the relevant living conditions: lack of social insurance and access to health services. There are some types of legal frameworks in Greece, and immigration policies and the labour market structure institutionalise this precarity.

2.4. Social Reproduction Theory (S.R.T.)

The primary objective of adopting the Social Reproduction Theory for this study is to show that the process of the reproduction of our own life cannot be distinguished in two spheres, the sphere of productive labour and the sphere of reproductive labour. This is because the production of goods and services, the reproduction of our selves is part of an integrated process. This theory has an outcome of acknowledging the gender and race oppressions as capitalistically occurred since specific roles and duties are distributed per gender and race (Ferguson, 2016). This theory help deepen our understanding of exploitation regarding gender, race and citizenship under capitalism (Ferguson, 2016). It helps explore how gender dynamism inside the household shapes the allocation of care work and housework inside the rural household. The S.R.T. provides insights into how seemingly unimportant factors like gender, sexuality, and citizenship play a role in how workers experience their lives and work outside the household and how gender dynamics play on the reproductive work context of the house.

Productive work plays a crucial role in the reproduction and survival of the rural household and the Agricultural occupation. Reproductive work consists of nurturing others, childbearing, care work and domestic work. The re-productive work has been provided by women and men, with the unequal, more significant contribution of women in the family or household or extended family for centuries. Even though women provide care work, which is pre-dominantly unpaid, men contribute as well. By searching the share of care work and reproductive work conducted by men and women in the family, we will explore the gender dynamics and the extent of work needed to reproduce the rural household. The rural household contributes to the production of Family farming, and consequently, to society's production as a whole, since without food, nobody can survive. As we all know the reproductive work takes time from our lives. This time needed for housework varies from different time and space, geographical area, and technological frontier.

2.5 The Nexus between Precarity and Social Reproductive Theory

A significant percentage of occupations and work that is taking place in the global South is informal work. For historical reasons, Greece used to consider part of the west, from Greece was part of the E.U. and considered Greece a developed country. However, after the

economic crisis, traits of the economy came to the fore, but Greece was in the category of fragile economies. The informal sector has played a big part in the developmental process, prevalent in consumption as a percentage in G.D.P. driving force. Traditionally workers in Agriculture are considered informal workers. The concept of precarity is suitable in explaining the conditions of work of the migrant workers or the migrant population who is living and working for Greece, especially those who are not having citizenship, because it explains not only the informal character of a job but the working environment, the relationship with the employer. If you are working in agriculture and do not have health care insurance, you do not have free access to the hospital and health care services in case of an accident. Moreover, all the above factors fabricate a livelihood with a lack of dignity, respect and feature evolution in the sector. The treatment of workers as disposable, racism in the workplace, sexual harassment, violence and police violence against workers create a distinctive “identity” of the precarious worker (Siegmann & Schiphorst, 2016).

Informal work, of course, entails different dangers, compared to precarious where in some cases, it is contracted. For example, your employer does not pay social security for you in informal work, so you have to pay it your-self. This puts you in a situation where you should work more years than is expected. Moreover, in the agricultural sector, you are not working for specific hours; you usually start at 7.00 am, and your work ends at 7.00 pm. A pre-carious job can be contracted or not. The conceptualisation of precarious work and informal work converge in globalised labour markets. Some contributions to the conceptualisation of precarious work begin with the fact that it is an outcome of the diminishing or existing S.E.R., even though some occupations like those in agriculture and housework were already not covered by social protection schemes. So, scholars like Chun and Pape put precarious work in the category of work with critical work conditions and flexible contractual relations (Siegmann & Schiphorst, 2016:116).

While Arnold’s (2013:468) mentions that social precarity is a condition of social marginalisation at the same time, Vosko (2010) points out that: “in-formality is not only a matter of physical conditions but also experiences and living conditions” (Vosko, 2010: 2). Besides that, for Mezzadri, on the other hand, informalization, which in the cases of Greece is a relevant concept with the seasonal jobs of the Agricultural sector, happens by not providing employer-provided social security. Using gender as a starting point, she argues that workers’ power to demand better wages reduces (Siegmann & Schiphorst, 2016: 116). In Greece, the state has given the green light to employers to hire illegal international immigrants for the high seasonal demand of labour that is often happening in exported focused sectors, therefore, institutionalising precarity (Cavounidis, 2017; Floros & Jørgensen, 2020; Kukreje, 2021). The state offers no protection to migrants’ workers, making it difficult for the migrants to protect themselves from exploitation. However, it is essential to note that, between migrants, the solidarity networks are strong; they used to live as a family even though they did not have family ties. In many countries, even though many migrant workers have livelihoods, which are characterised by the precarity life traits, more often than not, they do not consider themselves as precariat (Jørgensen, 2016; Pye, 2017; Manolchev et al., 2021). Therefore, it is vital to understand how women migrants in Greece see their roles and identity in the productive and reproductive processer to advocate for better wages.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter discussion is deeply rooted in the review of literature that seeks to understand the precarious working conditions of migrant workers in the agricultural sector in Greece. The chapter established the three main components of conceptualising precarity: labour relations, citizenship, and social security. Since the vast majority of work available for migrants

in the agricultural sector in Greece is seasonal, many migrants do not have a choice but to accept temporary and insecure low-wage contracts. While Greece has welcomed hundreds of thousands of migrants in the last decade, the proximity of Albania to Greece makes Albanians the most populous demography of mi-grants in Greece. However, just as the Greek society, specific forms of work are gendered and expected to be provided by women within the Albanian migrant's community. Working as a family unit in different farms, in particular where migrant women work in family farms together with their husbands and at the same time take up all the household responsibilities. With the help of the theory of precarity about working in the Agricultural Sector and the vulnerable position of migrants and the Social Reproduction Theory used in the examination of gender roles in the households, the premise to understand the nexus between the theory of precarity and social reproduction theory as regards the working conditions of migrant's women in the agricultural sector in Greece was established.

Chapter 3. Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology is the core of any research, and any researcher planning to conduct a study must be concerned with several salient aspects of the intended study before deciding which type of methodological approach they want to follow (O'Leary, 2010: 92). To begin with, the research must not only be practicable, but it must also be doable. Furthermore, the researcher must be skilled in the intended methods they decided to adopt. The methodological design of this study follows the line of O'Leary's five questions or variables that are important for any researcher to consider before choosing their research approach to study. According to O'Leary (2010:98), the researcher must consider and answer the: What, Who, How, Where, and When questions. O'Leary's questions were judiciously well-thought-out as I measured the category of evidence or data essential to address the proposed research questions. I identified those that can provide me with the required information to produce data that are requisite to answering the research questions. How the required data are acquired, the location to collect the data, and when the process of data collection starts are well thought out during the design of this research. Credible research needs to clarify the methodological design (O'Leary, 2010:98); therefore, this chapter is organized into six different sections. In the first section, the brief description of the research design based on qualitative paradigm was discussed. The second section explains the justification for the study area selection. The third section discusses the process of selecting the respondents that participated in the study. The fourth section focuses on the method used in collecting the required data for the study, while the fifth section focuses on the method of data analysis. The sixth chapter focuses on the approach adopted for the data analysis, the seventh on ethical consideration, the eighth section on challenges, and the last section is the conclusion and summary of the chapter.

3.2 Research Design

The priority focus of any research design is how to answer the research questions of the proposed study. There are several ways to achieve this, it could be through ethnography or discursive approach or experimental approach, or other types of data collection approaches. However, the type or nature of the research determines the type of approach that is suitable for the study (Creswell, 2013:11). For instance, a study that intend to identify various predictors would be suited for a quantitative approach while a study that seek to understand the perspective or experiences of the subject of research will best be suited for qualitative approach (Patton, 2002; Creswell, 2013). Therefore, the design of this study is established on a qualitative descriptive design to address the research problem.

The objective of this study informed the choice of the qualitative paradigm for this study. The intention is to find a deeper understanding of the migrant's women presence and their interactions with men, participation and roles in the agricultural sector of Greece. In order to appreciate their roles, agency and struggles and reshape the narrative around their work. Secondly, to challenge my assumptions about migrants' living conditions, experiences, and life in rural Greece. Even though the qualitative approach is a demanding procedure, it is less structured and permits the researcher to explore a research problem. In this way, the research problem can take different formulation after the analysis of the interviews. As suggested by O'Leary, qualitative research design seeks to "gain an intimate understanding of the people, place, culture, and situations through rich engagement and even immersion in

the reality being studied" (O'Leary, 2014:130). It is an approach that emphasizes detailed accounts and stories reflecting the reasoning and emotional temperament, and reality of the local people that are subject of research. It is a flexible form of inquiry that aims to explore diversity (Kumar, 2019).

3.3. The Study Area

Data collection for this study was carried out in the rural farming communities in Arcadia and Messenia located in the Peloponnese region in Greece. Peloponnese is the most oversized island of Greece with heavy rainy periods during October and November and hot summer during (June-September) which makes it difficult for all year farming. Regardless of the climate that makes the farming practice seasonal in the region, the agricultural sector is vital for the region's economic development. The main products produced in the region are: figs, grapes and wine, oranges, olives and olive oil. Other products include apples, onions, potatoes, tomatoes, maroons, honey. At the same time, the economy of the region is driven mainly by the agricultural sector (Manolopoulou et al., 2018; Belegri-Roboli et al., 2011) and, to some extent, wine tourism (Karagiannis & Metaxas, 2020). Tens of thousands of migrant's workers flock to the region yearly in search of employment during the seasonal harvest for fruits for wine production. The majority of these migrants from the Balkans and Asia work with their families on the farms, picking strawberries and other kinds of fruits crucial to the region's wine tourism.

However, the choice of the region as the study area was influenced by the records of exploitation and violence against migrant workers in the agricultural sector that is prevalent in the region. Owing migrant workers' salaries for months is a common phenomenon in the region, and when the migrant worker voiced out their displeasure of owing them salaries, their employers either call police on them, threaten them with deportation, or threaten termination of employment. For example, in 2014, hundreds of migrants working as strawberry-pickers protested the non-payment of their wages for six months, and when they approached their employer, they were fired upon with many sustaining gunshot wounds (Howden, 2013). To worsen the case, the Greek farm owners that admitted to shooting the migrant workers were acquitted by the Greek court of the farmers. This kind of situation reinforced the idea of Institutionalizing migrant precarity, as suggested by Floros & Jørgensen (2020). In addition, since the majority of works on the farms lean towards fruit picking, many migrant women have the opportunity to do the same job as their husbands

3.4. Sample and Sampling Technique

Both snowballing and purposive sampling were adopted to gather data for my analysis. These methods were most appropriate for this study because they give the elasticity to move to the researcher to select among the lots of participants who met the criteria for the research design and will be able to give data that will address the research questions. More specifically, I use deviant case purposive sampling in order to be able to document the rare conditions of working in agriculture because of the pandemic and cases that are perceived as unusual to the worker even though it is difficult to generalize the findings using purposive sampling. However, I make use of snowballing sampling first as a point of contact. This means that I contacted one migrant worker that used to work in the Agricultural sector, and she introduced me to other 4 participants that also introduced me to 6 other participants.

While the number of participants contacted through snowballing is more than 10, the purposive sampling method was used to streamline and exclude those that did not fit into

the criteria of the participant's characteristics. The research recruited only migrant workers living in Greece and did not have citizenship or have applied for citizenship. All of them work in agriculture as labourers or farmers without owning land. The landlords or employers are indigenous people who own land, and employed workers, those employed by migrants that own land or farms, were not considered. Migrants who are not working in the field with their spouses were excluded from the sample. This is because the study sought to find the realities of challenges and experiences lived by migrants' women who work in the field with their husbands doing the same jobs while combing household duties.

With four migrant women working on the farm with their husband and six migrant men working with their wives on the farm, and the various demographic features of the participants in the study made it possible to gather data that contain varied views which could represent the views of many migrants' workers and the true reflection of the situation in the community. All the participants have formal education.

Table 1: Background Profile of Interviewees

Names	Pappa	Mohinder	Stavros	Miranda	Mangi	Sonia	Victor	Ramona	Rapsal	Koutime
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Nationality	Indian	Indian	Albania	Albania	India	Albania	Albania	Romania	India	Romania
years of residing	20	22	30	17	20	14	31	9	20	20
Years of work in Agric sector	20	22	30	17	20	5	21	9	2	20
Type of employment full time/part time	part-time employment (precarious)	full time employment 6-2p.m.	full-time employment without insurance	full-time employment (without contract)	full time	seasonal worker, full-time worker 10 hours	seasonal (no work during winter)	full-time	seasonal	full-time
Living alone/Family	family	Family	family	family	Family	familyparent	Family	family-grandpa	Family	Family
N0 of children	1	0	2	2	0	0	2	3	0	2
Net income	1000	977	790	300	900	300	790	800	833,5	600

Source: Author

3.5. Methods of Data Collection

Qualitative interview, to be precise, the semi-structured interview tool was used to gather primary data for this study. The decision to adopt a qualitative semi-structured interview help provide descriptive working conditions of migrant workers and how these conditions are compiled with the reproductive work. Since the study aims to understand the occurrence of specific conditions and experiences in Greece, semi-structured interviews offer the opportunity for migrant workers to share their perspectives of precarious conditions and reproductive work. Specifically, it will allow us to grasp the difference's perspective between the male and female migrants' workers. Besides, quantitative research cannot value participants' experiences, feelings, burdens, and psychological conditions. Although qualitative interviews can be time-consuming and expensive, the method was considered to be suitable for the reason that it permits the researcher to accommodate unanticipated situations by fine-tuning the designs, ask to follow up questions based on the responses of the interviewees or helping

simplify questions that were misheard or misunderstood by the respondents which are often not available in quantitative questionnaires survey.

Therefore, the semi-structured interview guiding questions were designed to capture the experiences, perspectives, and reality of the migrant women workers compared to men or their husbands targeted for the data collection. None of the selected men and women were interviewed in the present of their spouse, this was done in a way that allow them to speak freely and share their experiences. Semi-structured interviews help keep the respondents focused and not distracted with non-relevant responses to the research questions. As a result, 15 guiding questions were asked, and the shortest time for each interview section was 45 minutes, while the longest time was 1 hour 15 minutes. The interview process lasted three weeks to cover all the ten respondents selected to participate in the study. I conducted the interviews through the phone, and the data was gathered on an excel sheet and translated from Greek to English. I recorded all the conversations with my phone, and the data collected were transcribed and translated into English.

3.6. Data Analysis Approach

Thematic Analytical (TA) approach was deployed as the data analysis instrument to analyze the data collected to address this study's research objectives and questions. What makes the approach to be more suitable for this study was because there is no specific criterion concerning the propose study sample size; it all depends on the research question and the nature of the data collection. As suggested by Braun & Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is beneficial for qualitative research because it attempts to spot patterns in themes that emanated from the primary data gathered during interviews. Moreover, the method is flexible, particularly in probing and inferential studies where the researchers are uncertain of type of pattern that can emerge from their study (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78). Thus, the most prevalent themes were identified from the review of the data collected from the responses of the semi-structured interviews, which were supported with the concept of precariat and social reproduction theory. After identifying the common themes from the respondent's responses, the identified themes were organized based on the proposed research questions.

3.7. Ethical Consideration

Before, during, and after the data collection process for this study, priority was given to ethics. The first step was to secure the consent of the respondents, which was achieved formally and verbally. The respondents were assured that they had the right not to answer any questions that made them uncomfortable and could disengage from the process anytime they deemed it necessary. Confidentiality of the identity of the respondents was kept anonymous for two reasons. Some of the questions asked might expose the women to spousal abuse, which might, in turn, get them into trouble. By keeping their identity anonymous, they were free to speak their minds freely without fearing any backlash. The ability of respondents to speak freely gives credibility to the data collected. I gave more time and space to speak their minds to the women and the international workers who did not know the Greek language fluently to build rapport, mutual trust, and empathy (Saunders et al., 2003).

3.8. Challenges

When I first arrived in Arcadia, I visited some restaurants and the Hotel of the neighbouring village to search for participants for my study; migrant workers used to work as waiters of

fuel station employees in the area of Tegea. I finally found one woman who is working part-time as a labourer in Agriculture. In the Hotel, I found a second woman from Arcadia through the connections of the Hotel owner. I called two women in situations where their husbands picked up the phone instead of them; it was customary for them to use the same phone with their partners. In one case, when I asked the migrant workers if they wanted to be interviewed by me, the man told me that he would like to discuss it with his wife. Later they both didn't respond to my calls. Migrants from the region of Tegea, in Arcadia and workers from Athens were more willing to participate and talked openly without fear about the challenges they faced with their employers.

The challenges I faced during the fieldwork had to do mainly with the fact that I had to build rapport despite the difficulties and the burdens of the pandemic and the wildfires in rural Peloponnese, close to my house. It was not easy to come close and communicate with people whom you had never seen in person. So, I spent some minutes explaining to them the purpose of the interview and that I was going to send them the study results to trust me and open up. Secondly, there was a time limitation since I visited the areas during the summer period, when is the time of vacation for some workers or picking time for others who are working. I sent them messages before the interviews on their phone to ensure their availability to tackle this issue. In some other cases, I just called them before the interview and arranged a time and day of interviewing on the phone. All the interviews were on the phone because of the pandemic and the outbreak of corona cases in my village in Arcadia.

Thirdly, as a person, I have never worked in the agricultural sector, so I needed to talk with people who used to work in the past and were some of my relatives: my father, my grandpa and the to read the diary of my grandma in order to empathize their experiences. Additionally, some of the participants consider their working conditions known to everyone, so they did not want to spend time explaining in their experiences in detail. They used to mention the words: "you know how it is now..." or the words: "as you all know", but I had observed that many people do not know, because they are avoiding working in the Agricultural sector, considering it as low status, poorly paid job.

Chapter 4. Female Migrant Workers Working Conditions compare with men?

4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation and the analysis of the data collected from the interviews of migrant workers in the agricultural sector in the rural areas of Greece. The discussion of the findings of this chapter is deeply rooted in the narratives of the migrant workers on their working conditions on farms. The data were analysed through the lens of theories concerning precarity and social reproduction. Questions were asked to understand the conditions that migrant workers face in every plantation during the harvest, alongside the adverse effects of the pandemic on their occupation. Other issues discussed during the interviews are whether and how they are affected by the use of pesticides and if they face any violence or discrimination during their work. Also, questions about their wages and whether they have social insurance, how many hours they work, every day or if they work all year round nonstop were asked. Besides that, they were asked if they wanted to change something in their conditions of working.

4.2. Occupational Hazard and Health Risk

One of the components of precarity that define precarious work migrants' workers encounters in the agricultural sector is an occupational hazard and health risk (Karafolas, 2012; Osborne & Wynne, 2019; Kukreja, 2019). There are a lot of air-borne hazards such as fungal, grain dust, spores, mites, pollen that produce chronic health issues such as skin diseases, cancers, respiratory infection, among others. Also, the effect of heavy machine vibration can damage the body, but some tasks may place them at a higher risk to occupational hazards and do not expose them to just one risk factor (Babu & Karthik, 2016; Rostamabadi et al., 2019; Moshou et al., 2020). One of the respondents shared her concerns about the "I do not care attitude" in the use of pesticides without any protective gear that can protect the workers from health risks.

"When we pick cherries, the employers do not even care, they spray the chemicals a day before we pick the cherries, and this is death and very dangerous to human health. I know some might think this is not a serious issue because they are not sick now, but in the long term, the health consequences are dire" (Miranda, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

Occupational hazards can come in different forms, it can be physical (climate, noise, lightning), Psychosocial (stress, tiredness), biological (viruses, bacteria, plant, animals, birds, e.t.c), chemical (toxic chemical such as pesticides, insecticides e.t.c), and ergonomics such repetitive movement, lifting incorrectly, and poor housekeeping (Osborne & Wynne, 2019:3). Therefore, it is not surprising that the migrant workers that were interviewed shared different experiences. While some are concerned about the effect of pesticides on their health, others are concerned about the harsh climatic working conditions. One of the migrant workers highlighted how the work setting that he found himself in Greece occupied the top spot of his worse life experience.

"I have worked in the agricultural sector all my life since I was a little boy, so I am not new to working on the farm before I migrated to Greece. Working here is tough

because of the mixture of extreme heat and extreme cold during summer and winter. Because the agricultural work here is seasonal, you do not have any choice than to work in extreme weather if you won't make a living" (Stavros, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).

Another migrant worker supported the claim of harsh climatic working conditions as a major concern that makes their work to be precarious.

"It difficult for us to work during winter days because you are outside in the cold, and during summer, you are outside in the hot weather again. We were working for long hours from the morning till the afternoon, and it was very tiring! The conditions were not the best. Contrary to that, it is the type of work that you cannot do anything."(Sonia, Female Migrant worker, August 2021)

However, the possibility of getting sick while working under extreme weather is a significant concern for all the respondents that were interviewed, and some of them would like to see some changes in the working conditions of migrants in the agricultural sector. For instance, Sonia, who has been in Greece for 16 years, maintained that working with high temperatures affects their effort and performance. Therefore, the working conditions need to be looked into.

"I would like during summer and because of the heat to work fewer hours, to have a bigger break, especially during the afternoon when the sun hits harder. Alternatively, when the weather is cold, some protective measures should be taken. Unfortunately, employers do not care." (Sonia, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

From the discussion with the migrant's workers interviewed, both male and female migrant workers expressed concerns about the health risks and occupational hazard that comes with their work on the farm because they are exposed to pesticides and extensive heat or cold. While some of the workers interviewed mentioned that they don't have a problem with pesticides because they use biological cultivations and traditional seeds, others are concerned about the effect of pesticides on their health. It is important to note that the experience shared by the migrant's workers is not homogenous; it comes with mixed reactions across both genders.

4.2. Long Working Hours with Low Wage

The discussion with the migrants that were interviewed revealed that the received wages are meagre compared to the length of their working time. Their payments are not enough to make ends meet, let alone have the good life they had hoped for when they were migrating to Greece. The majority lamented that they don't have the ability or luxury to save money when what they are earning is not enough to even take care of their daily needs. Therefore, many of them are forced in searching for other jobs to supplement the earnings they make from the agricultural sector as labourers. One of the migrant's women said:

"For me, working 8 hours in the agricultural sector is very difficult! Is a tedious job. You are working Under the hot sun... and you are not paid like in other states for your work in the agricultural sector. You can't compare the conditions of work! For example, I have worked in UK, Germany, Italy, and the terms are not like here in Greece. It is more difficult here in Greece, they do not pay well. I get paid per day. I get 30 euros a day. The daily wage for 8 hours of work." (Miranda, Female Worker, August 2021)

Ramona, a mother of three children, maintained that working as a migrant farmworker in Greece is strenuous and the received payments for such a difficult job does not worth the effort and sacrifice. She said that most of them have to make house cleaning and other jobs to support the income they received from the farm work.

"The money that we make is not enough even for a meze (small snack in the Greek slang)! We do other work on the parallel; I have to look for house cleaner jobs. Although, we do not declare it to the tax services, to tell you the truth, because what we declare is not enough even for a meze! You make 100 euros, and they leave in pi and fi (in due time)! Nothing is enough for you ..." (Ramona, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

However, the migrant workers that were interviewed are hopeful that their wellbeing can be improved with wages that are commensurate with their work on the farm because their current take-home pay cannot take them home. One of the respondents said that;

"I would like to have money; I would like to value the work we do! Because most of the time, our work does not value. I want to change the afentika, the merokamata (daily wage) because it is really low. Tell me what you can buy with 30 euros? Furthermore, if you work extra time, you are earning just 50 euros, which means 20 euros in addition to the 30 euros. However, these amounts of money are not enough for a living if you count all the accumulated additional costs. Moreover, the problem is that you can't go every day for work; during winter, you cannot work every day." (Stavros, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)"

Various studies show that the relatively strenuous nature of agricultural work and the low wages of migrants working in the field exacerbate the level of the precarity of migrant workers (Karafolas & Alexandrakis, 2015; Vullnetari, 2015). A woman from Romania told me that she would prefer to have longer breaks and fewer working hours, which I believe is essential for strenuous occupations. The woman said that;

"It would be preferable if we worked lesser hours because it's strenuous work, and there are several tasks that are overload this work, other tasks that are making our everyday living unbearable and the everyday life" (Koutmine, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).

While the majority of the migrant workers interviewed desired to see their income changing and their working hours be reduced, two of the workers whose wage was greater to the others maintained that their wage was dependent on the market demand and the profits of their employees leave them with no choice or room to complain. Moreover, they argued that their incomes are dependent on the profits and incomes of others, which is in line with Palumbo & Sciarba (2018) saying that the "systems of admission of migrant workers based on a seasonal, temporary and circular migration model may produce forms of dependency on employers, which presents the risk of leading migrant workers to "accept" exploitative and abusive practice as they are afraid of losing their employment and, accordingly, their residence permit" (Palumbo & Sciarba, 2018:8). Pappa, a 52-year-old male, underlined the fact that his income is dependent on the profits of their employers:

"What I want to change is the situation with the pandemic, I want everyone to be well and the shops to be open. For the income we get, it's ok I don't have any issue. What can I tell you? If everyone changes their income, we can change ours too. You only count me? Let the people be comfortable and let them go shopping ... If the afentika (employer) earn more, the workers would earn more. If now the boss goes so and so,

how is possible to pay bigger wage to the worker?" (Pappa, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

Regardless of the position of the two male migrant workers that believed that what they are earning depends on how much the employers are making a profit, the consensus that can be drawn from the argument is that all the migrant workers that were interviewed seem to suggest that, less value is being attached to the work that migrants do on farms and this is evident from the meagre pay for farmworkers. Besides that, women were the ones who pointed out the issue of devaluation of their work, more than men.

4.3. Job Insecurity and Lack of Social Protection

The interesting observation of the analysis showed that 6 out of 10 participants reported cases of exploitation or injustice. Reports of injustice by the worker often appear in terms of not being recognized by the state of Greece, such as not being paid equally, not having citizenship, not having the right to take a day off because of injuries, not being a beneficiary for compensation after surgery or not being paid at all. While the other 4 participants did not report any injustice, it was observed that some of them did not speak Greek fluently, which limited their ability to report or to understand my questions clearly. However, it was evident from their responses that most of the respondents still considered their working conditions in the agricultural sector exploitative. Sonia, from Albania, said that migrants don't have a say when negotiating reasonable wages that are commensurate with the work they are expected to do on the farm since they need income to survive. As a result, they put up with much injustice and make decisions to be exploited and have some money to feed their family or refuse to be exploited and remain jobless and watch their families go to sleep hungry. When asked if she has experienced injustice and exploitation in the course of her work in farms, she replied that;

"Yes, injustices are happening, and exploitation is taking place. And you have to choose between negotiating that or discuss with the employer, or you are going to leave and find a different job." (Sonia, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

Another worker described the injustice in terms of not having compensation or returning the costs of his surgery that he was required to cover, concluding that the health insurance coverage is not enough for them.

"I have had surgery on my waist and legs, surgery on my legs due to fatigue and I do not have a break. Where to get, 3 months with crutches and I have not received any money from OGA and I pay normally my insurance! For example, those with IKA insurance, when they undergone surgery, they get some money 40 % or 50%, if I am not making any mistake. Those who have OGA they do not take anything back. "
(Stavros, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

The lack of a legal framework for the employment and residence of migrants in Greece meant that the majority were employed in the informal labour market. The precarious legal status of the most migrant population also contributed to their precarious employment status (Papadopoulos et al., 2021;40). This is worsened during the pandemic, and it had a significant effect on the working conditions of the migrant workers that were interviewed. According to Stavros, an Albanian migrant working on a farm;

"We were not much affected by the pandemic because we work outside. Unfortunately, the state does not recognize us for us to be considered unemployed and stop working.

As a consequence, you will be outside and working. Employers do not pay much working days "merokamata", they do not cultivate much now". (Stavros, Male Migrant Worker, Interview. August 2021).

The response: “the state does not "recognize" us” above, meaning that the migrants do not have social insurance scheme. This means that they cannot be formally recognized as unemployed and given a temporary income during unemployment. Studies have shown that many migrants' precarious legal status typically performed the most dangerous, hazardous, and unskilled workers in the agricultural sector (Fassani & Mazza, 2020; Papadopoulos et al., 2021). One of the most vulnerable groups that suffered the consequences of COVID19, documented by various studies, is migrants' workers, especially those that do not have residency status (Fassani & Mazza, 2020; Bochtis et al., 2020; Rasnaca, 2020). They are excluded from government policy response that captures citizens of their host countries, especially since most of them do not have the 'worker' or the 'unemployed' status. Therefore, they are not protected from the pandemic's severe economic and health effects (Rasnaca, 2020). While women, mentioned that they usually pay for their own social insurance, not provided by the employers, or that they don't have insurance scheme. However, the findings from the discussion with the male migrant workers show that some of the workers believed that exploitation of migrant's workers depends on the employer's attitude because some of them understand what does working in the fields mean, and as a result, treat their employees more favourably. On the other hand, women, accused their employers for treating them unjustly, by not providing insurance and decent wage:

4.4. Gender dimension of Migrant’s Precarity

The perception of the precarity of works done on the farm differs between men and women interviewed, although there are some areas in which they agreed upon. The table below shows the

Table 2: Gender Influence on Migrant Workers Experiences

Name	Pappa	Mohinder	Stavros	Miranda	Mangi	Sonia	Victor	Ramona	Rapsal	Koutime
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employment	Parttime	Fulltime	Fulltime	Seasonal	Fulltime	Seasonal	Seasonal	fulltime	Fulltime	Fulltime
Income	1000	977	900	300	900	300	790	800	833	600
Working Hours	6	8	9	7	9	7	10	9	9	10
Type of Work	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker	Picker
Remark about Work Done on Farm	There is nothing special in what we do	It just a normal job that we have been doing for decades	Working condition is very bad but don't have a choice	Working condition not favorable	Cannot complain but would love better working conditions	Working condition not favorable	We know the nature of the job so nothing new in what we	Working condition not favorable	Working condition not favorable	Working condition very bad

Source: Author

As demonstrated earlier in this chapter and the table above, all the five women that were interviewed pointed out the fact that the working condition and arrangement need to be changed, while the majority of the men insisted that the nature of the job cannot be changed because that is the nature of the job. For instance, three out of the five men interviewed defined the conditions and activities of the “work not special”, which is “well known” in the public discourse. A female migrant worker from Romania said that;

“The ‘fields’ have nothing special; this is known by everyone. It is difficult for us to work during winter days because you are outside in the cold and again during summer you are outside in the hot weather. What can you say? It is not something special. Apple trees and peach and other types of trees... during winter we prune. In the summer, we harvest, we pick tomatoes and other types of products” (Koutime, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).

Some of the male migrant workers express that there is nothing special in the work they do on the farm, and the difficulties attached to the work should be expected from anybody venturing into farm work and as a result, nothing can be done to change the lower wages. The working condition is tantamount to what Kukreja (2019) described as attempting to rework their masculine status through such self-exploitative contests. Kukreja maintained that: “these competitions, predicated on the neoliberal individualising of workers and their success, displace exploitation by linking piece-rate earnings to muscular masculinity and individual capacity” (Kukreja, 2021:164). The implication of the Kukreja argument is that male migrant worker who did not fit the perceived masculinity requirement for certain farm work are insusceptible to exploitation. One male migrant worker said that those who appear strong physically are given a better contract by the employer, and they are guaranteed to retain their jobs in the face of downsizing the labour force. However, the fate of those that did not fit the masculinity requirement is uncertain. He said that,

“The job we do on farms did not require you to be muscular, but the employers will look down on you if you are skinny. For example, I applied for a job a few years ago, and the employer offered to pay me a ridiculous amount by referring to my physical stature. He said he doubts if I can perform like other men that are working on the farm (Victor, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).”

Fruit-picking contests are an efficient and creative labour management practice wherein fluid masculine subjectivities are harnessed to weed out “inefficient” workers, subdue labour unrest, erode worker solidarity, and maximise labour extraction without adopting overt labour disciplinary mechanisms (Kukreja, 2021:164). Unfortunately, the self-exploitative contest did not only affect other males that are deemed not strong enough, but it also put women in a precarious state of work. While both men and women migrant workers are exposed to occupational hazards and health risks, some safety and health risks are either more noticeable among female farmers or specifically applied to female farmers.

“Being a woman and working like a man is unpleasantly severe. Unfortunately, many women could not cope with this and, as a result, work for few hours which in turn affect the wages to be earned at the end of the day” (Miranda, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

Ramona, who happened to be the highest earner among the migrant women workers interviewed experiences helped understand how gender shaped women’s precarity in the workplace. She said that predominantly male employers’ perspective about women’s ability to perform at the same level as men even when they do the same job contributed to the low wages for women and irregular employment and working hours. According to her:

“My husband and I approached one farm owner, and during the discussion about our wages, he offered different wages for both of us, and I was furious because we were going to do the same job. The employer insisted that I cannot compare my strength with that of my husband, and besides, I will have to leave the farm early because of the kids at home” (Ramona, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).

According to C Young (2010), many employers believe that household and family commitment that is predominantly on the shoulder of women undermine the amount of time and effort women can dedicate to work responsibilities, and as a result, jeopardise their employment situation. It was revealed from the discussion with the respondents that a top earner is a man who makes around 1000 euros per month while the lowest earner is a woman that makes 300 per month. The table above shows how gender shaped the precarity of migrant women doing the same job as men on the farm. The top earners were men while the lowest earners were women; even when they work the same hours, the wage disparity is still visible. It also shows that a part-time male migrant worker earns more than all the full-time or seasonal female migrant workers. The statement of Miranda a female migrant work is a typical example of the pressure that the employer perception about women affect migrant women working on the field

“We were told to work harder, but no matter how hard you work, it will not be enough for this person. But so, it is in general, in all jobs. Did you understand; As much as you work... and okay you as a person have to work to get this money... I think I work a lot!” (Miranda, Female Migrant Worker, August 2021)

The best explanation for this disparity can be understood from. It is straightforward that the precarity of migrants is gender-based and is significantly differentiated by sector and the type of work expected from the employer (Kasimis et al., 2015). Kukreja argument help understand why there is a disparity in the wages among the male and female migrant workers even though they work hard as men.

Conclusion

Concluding, while we were seeking to address the gendered differences of working conditions in the sample, and compare them, we saw that both men and women are experiencing precarious working conditions, with the different dimensions of precarity such as: status precarity, labour precarity, workplace precarity, life precarity to be experienced differently by men and women. Firstly, we observed that women earn lesser than men, mainly for two reasons. 1) they don't have the opportunity to work for the same hours because the work is more strenuous even for some men that cannot win the battle of expected muscular masculinity. 2) they are paid less because most employers consider them less committed and have other duties like taking care of household responsibilities. Their wages range from 300 per month to 900 euros per month, considering the non-fixed working time per week allocation. Women were more persistent on the fact that their work was devalued by the employer. While men, believed that the nature of the job can't change and that their income depends on the profits of the employer, even though is not enough. Considering the dimension of workplace precarity, women mention traits that describe it, like the hazardous working conditions because of exposure to pesticides, while men who were working on biological cultivations were not much affected. Mostly men wanted to speak out about the injustice of not having a citizenship, while women didn't mention that issue. Life precarity was enhanced by the lack of social security both for men and women. Finally, women, experienced differently workplace precarity considering it as pressure to perform during extreme weather conditions, while men didn't see it as challenge but as the “nature of the job”.

Chapter 5. How Migrant Female Workers combine work in agriculture with house-work and care

5.1. Introduction

This chapter focus on answering the second research question that seek to understand the how migrants' workers in the Agricultural sector combine work in the household and work in the fields. Questions were asked about number of hours do their spouses work comparing to them and how they decide the allocation of the work? Moreover, we discuss how they are taking care of their children and if anyone helps them. The table 3 below shows the distribution of household duties, number of hours spent as well as where how they cope with both household chores while working on the farm.

Table 3: Household Chores Distribution

Name	Pappa	Mohinder	Stavros	Miranda	Mangi	Sonia	Victor	Ramona	Rapsal	Koutine
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female	Male	Female	Female	Female	Male	Female
Spouse also works in the same field?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hours on Household Work	1	1	1-2	3-4	0	2	0	3	0	2
Who Does Most of the work	Wife	Wife	Wife	Myself	Wife	Myself	Wife	Myself	Wife	Myself
Support in Household Work	Occasionally	Occasionally	Occasionally	Children	None	Parents offer support	Children	Father In-law	None	Husband support Occasionally
Remark about household work	Household duties is the responsibility of the wife	I would have love to help sometimes but I just don't have time	I only help when wife fall sick	I am used to it as a woman, that is how they raised us	We don't have a child, so my wife work less than 2 hours	My parents live with us and they help with the work	Husband don't see household work as male duty	Having extended family living with you can relief the burden	I don't have time for household chores	It is the duty of the wife to take care of house

5.2. Distribution of Household Chores

From the findings as demonstrated in Table 2 above, all the ten migrant workers interviewed agreed that female migrant workers do most household duties even though they are employed on the same farm doing the same jobs as their husbands. Two out of the five male migrant workers said they contribute zero hours to the household chores, while the remaining three said that they do help in household duties occasionally, especially when they are less busy or when their wives are sick. However, none of them spent more than 2 hours on household chores. According to Pappa, who is the highest earner among all the workers interviewed.

"I do not spend more than 1 hour on household chores. My wife does all the work, does the food, washes the clothes" (Pappa, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021).

As suggested by Palumbo & Sciarba (2018), "the burden of women, coming from the gendered roles and the gendered distinction of labour in the household" contributed to their

vulnerability and precarity (Palumbo & Sciarba, 2018:20). However, all the participants, both male and female, believe that the household chores are the woman's primary responsibility. Statements such as "The wife has to take care of the house" or "I am used to it as a woman, that is how they raised us" are common phrases in discussion with the participants of interview sessions for this study. For instance, Koutine, a female migrant worker from Romania, said that;

"Only women are responsible for the household work, I did not have someone to help me, and I was leaving the kids alone at home. Occasionally, my husband helps me housework, but most time I do it alone" (Koutine, *Male Female Migrant, Interview, August 2021*)

From the responses of both male and female migrant workers interviewed, it was evident that the traditional believes that women are housewives, regardless of the transition into the labour market that now offers them the opportunity to earn a living. They are still expected to take care of the children and the household while balancing their work outside the household. According to Zaidi & Chigateri (2017), many women working outside the house believes that their work never ends. It is just that they are signing off from the work to resume to another one in the house, this time, the household work is unpaid.

5.3. Presence of Children Play Key Role

The migrant's women I discussed with said that the children helped them combine household jobs with agricultural work. Miranda, a mother of two children, said that her children help her in the house duties. She maintained that children become more supportive as they get older. If not for her children, she would not be able to cope with household and farm works.

"My children helped me with chores. My husband does not help me; he is old-fashioned. I work at least 3 hours daily. It was more difficult when they were babies because I have to work less time on the farm, but now that they are a little bit older, they help with basic chores and this reduced my working hours at home" (Miranda, *Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August*).

Another female migrant worker corroborated the importance of the presence of children and their age. Sonia is a mother of two and has resided in Greece for 14 years but only started working in the agricultural sector as a picker. She said that it is not easy to combine raising a child and working full-time at the farm. She said she could only work on the farm when her kids are now grown-ups and capable of looking after themselves when she is on the farm working.

"For many years I could not do any tangible work because my kids were very young. My husband was the only one doing the job. Now that they are older, I can work on the farm and earn a living during the harvest time because the children are there to do most of the washing and cleaning of the house" (Sonia, *Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021*)

Mohinder, a male migrant worker, supported the position of children playing a big role in the burden of household work for women. He believed that his wife does not do much at home after they return from work because they have no children or anybody staying with them, which makes it easier for both of them. He said that;

“We are just two people, and the work done at home is just like the one you will do when you are living as a single and not married. So, the work that my wife does is just cooking and washing dishes for two, although I cannot say the something will happen if we have kids because as you know that kids can be very stubborn and that is work” (Mohinder, Male migrant Worker, Interviews, August 2021)

What can be deduced from the respondents’ responses is that households without children did not face the dilemma of household chores. However, the age of dependent children matters a lot to female migrant workers burden of additional working hours in the households. Studies have shown that women with no children or older children spent fewer hours in unpaid household work when compared with women with young children (Kocaqi et al. 2016: 50). This argument resonates with the findings from the interviews with all the migrant workers for this study. It was discovered that women with older children receive support from their children in doing household chores while those with no children spent less time doing household chores.

5.4. Extended Family Support

The household characteristics play a crucial role in lessening/ adding to the burden for female migrants’ women working in the agricultural sector. The findings show that women with children who are old enough to do house chores and those with parents or father-in-law staying with them received support in carrying household responsibilities. They spent lesser hours than women that have no extended family members staying with them. For instance, Ramona, a mother of 3 children, said that without the presence of her father-in-law, there is no way she can work at the farm because the kids are still young, and there is little the kids can do to help with the household chores. She explains how her father-in-law, who lives with them, helps them a lot when they go to work and leaves the children behind for him to look after. According to her statement

“I have the grandpa of my husband who is helping me. He is helping us a lot, by living in the same house with us. He is also taking over the bringing up of the three children. In the morning, we used to wake up early and go to the field, and after returning from work, we worked in the house if we found free time; otherwise, the grandpa was taking over. We thank God that we have the grandpa. To give you an example, the grandpa is preparing the food for the children, cleaning the whole house. The grandpa is doing what he can, and I am doing the rest when I have time” (Ramona, Female Migrant Woman, Interview, August 2021)

Another female migrant worker said she could cope because her parents live with them, and they help do most of the work home and only spent a few hours when she returned from work. She said that:

“My parents live with us, and they help with the work. I work on the farm for 8 hours, and when I get home, I am already tired, but I am not so bothered because I know that my parents are there to help with the kids and the dishes. I only do the housework at night before I go to bed. There is no way I would have been able to cope without my parents living with us” (Sonia, Female Migrant Worker, Interview, August, 2021).

The respondents’ response shows that female migrant workers who have family members living in the house and are ready to support them with the household chores have lesser burden work lesser hours in the house. As stated by Palumbo & Sciarba (2018:20), the

situation where supporting family members such as father or mothers-in-law or parents taking charge of household chores by adopting the gender assigned female role in the household contradicts the “orthodox feminist theory, who sees only women the carriers of the rural household” (Palumbo & Sciorba, 2018:20). From the participants’ responses, we can see that the gender roles can be reversed in some cases. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the majority of the migrant’s workers does not have their grandparents, parents, or in-laws residing with them. Many of them are still struggling to get citizenship that could allow them to relocate their parents or family members to join them in Greece.

5.5. Domestic Conflict

The findings show that conflict in the household due to the burden of household chores is not a prevalent one, although some of the women are under pressure to meet up with household responsibilities expectations from their spouses. As a result, there is tension in the household, although not a prevalent one. When asked if the household burden has led to household conflict, one of the respondents said that the pressure always comes when the food is not ready in time.

“Sometimes, yes! I had experienced pressure, when I was feeling very tired, or I did not have enough strength after working the whole day in the sun. My husband would expect to go and prepare food even though we had just come back together from work”.

Combining productive and reproductive roles has been recorded to lead to domestic conflicts with spouses because of their limited time. The study conducted by Rodriguez et al. (2016) shows that challenging gendered domestic roles coupled with an unequal division of household duties exacerbated the precarity of female migrant workers. Rodriguez et al. posited that the work stressors due to uncomplimentary work environment produce work-family conflict, which has a significant undesirable influence on the mental health of workers, particularly the women (Rodriguez et al., 2016). However, some believe household chores burden cannot be attributed to household conflict. One of the female migrants said that;

“Yes, women can be under pressure with household chores, but it is something they have been doing since they are young, so I do not think the issue should cause friction at home. Check very well; there will be other issues that led to the conflict and not on the issue of helping or not (Stavros, Male Migrant Worker, Interview, August 2021)

Many challenges always arise when women try to combine working on farms and reproductive roles in the household. This results in dire consequences on the quality of services rendered to reproductive roles. Studies have shown that it is unusual for some women to experience the spillover of the work stress into the family domains that can lead to tension within the family, and as a result, have a significant effect on their mental health (Rodriguez et al., 2016; Fan et al., 2019). However, the findings of this study show that while there is evidence of tension, it is insufficient to attribute such tension to the burden of household duties when combined with stress from work as a factor.

5.6. Conclusion

The chapter has established that women are primarily responsible for household chores despite doing the same job on the farm with their husbands. The female migrant workers that I spoke to spent extra 3 to 4 hours daily on household chores. As a result, the migrant women

working the agriculture spent 9-12 hours daily doing both household and farm work which is more than men working hours. However, those with extended family members living with them and those with older children spent fewer hours doing household chores as they got support from them. The same thing cannot be said of those with younger children living without extended family. In general, the composition of the households determines the level of burden that their reproductive duties put on them.

Chapter 6. Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1. Introduction

The primary objective of this research is to explore the experiences and perspectives of female migrant workers doing the same jobs as their husbands in the agricultural sector in Greece as regard precarity. In order to achieve this objective, two specific objectives were identified. The first one is to examine and explore the conditions that migrant women face in Greece's agricultural sector and how they compare with the same conditions that their husbands (men) are facing? The second specific objective is to explore how these women, considering that they do the same jobs as their husbands on the farm, combined work in agriculture with housework and care and the role of gender in such circumstances. Data collection for this study was carried out in the rural farming communities in Arcadia and Messenia located in the Peloponnese region in Greece through semi-structured interviews for 10 migrant workers (4 women and 6 men). The research recruited only migrant workers living in Greece and did not have citizenship or have applied for citizenship. All of them work in agriculture as labourers or farmers without owning land. Migrants who are not working in the field with their spouses were excluded from the sample. This is because the study sought to find the realities of challenges and experiences lived by migrants' women who work in the field with their husbands doing the same jobs while combining household duties. The various demographic features of the participants in the study made it possible to gather data that contain varied views which could represent the views of many migrants' workers and the true reflection of the situation in the community

6.2. Summary of Findings

The findings to the first research questions reveal that migrants' workers in the agricultural sector are working longer hours with low wages that cannot allow them to live in dignity, let alone achieve a good life standard. Many of them end up doing other side jobs to subsidise their income to make ends meet. The study has shown what the conditions of working in Agriculture in the rural areas are is a highly seasonal activity, which concentrates the most activities during spring while the winter, the working hours on the fields are limited, because of the harsh weather in the mountainous areas. Yet many of the workers don't have a choice to work in the harsh weather, which exposes them to high health risks.

However, while we were seeking to address the gendered differences of working conditions in the sample, and compare them, we saw that both men and women are experiencing precarious working conditions, with the different dimensions of precarity such as: status precarity, labour precarity, workplace precarity, life precarity to be experienced differently by men and women.

Firstly, the findings show that women earn lesser than men, mainly for two reasons. 1) they don't have the opportunity to work for the same hours because the work is more strenuous even for some men that cannot win the battle of expected muscular masculinity. 2) they are paid less because most employers consider them less committed and have other duties like taking care of household responsibilities. Their wages range from 300 per month to 900 euros per month, considering the non-fixed working time per week allocation. Women were more persistent on the fact that their work was devalued by the employer. While men, believed that the nature of the job can't change and that their income depends on the profits of the employer, even though is not enough. Considering the dimension of workplace

precarity, women mention traits that describe it, like the hazardous working conditions because of exposure to pesticides, while men who were working on biological cultivations were not much affected. Mostly men wanted to speak out about the injustice of not having a citizenship, while women didn't mention that issue. Life precarity was enhanced by the lack of social security both for men and women. Finally, women, experienced differently work-place precarity considering it as pressure to perform during extreme weather conditions, while men didn't see it as challenge but as the "nature of the job".

The Findings to the second research questions shows that women are primarily responsible for household chores despite doing the same job on the farm with their husbands. The female migrant workers that I spoke to spent extra 3 to 4 hours daily on household chores. As a result, the migrant women working the agriculture spent 9-12 hours daily doing both household and farm work which is more than men working hours. However, those with extended family members living with them and those with older children spent fewer hours doing household chores as they got support from them. The same thing cannot be said of those with younger children living without extended family. In general, the composition of the households determines the level of burden that their reproductive duties put on them.

6.3. Recommendation

Based on the findings, the following recommendation should be considered

1. Policy intervention for gender justice at work should take into consideration the different ways that women experience work, focusing on gender justice at work by shortening the working yours, not only for women or people with disabilities but also for men working on cultivations during the picking periods.
2. Citizenship is very important to many migrants as it will allow them to enjoy the benefit that attached to citizenship, many of the migrants cannot bring extended family members such as parents and grandparents that can help relive them of some of the household responsibilities such as looking after the children
3. Legislations on maternity leave or paternity leave for those who are working in long-working hours occupations should be provided to those who are working on the primary sector, together with the building of infrastructure that support parents with young kids, like kindergarten in rural areas or caregivers for the elders.
4. Provide free language courses to the migrants who are working in the agricultural sector, but in general, to make the access to citizenship easier.
5. Change the prerequisites for subsidies, the subsidies used to be given depending on the productivity of the holdings, but new policies should provide them to those who are keeping the working conditions of their workers decent and safe.

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Appendix

Question 1

1. Kindly describe the working and living conditions you are experiencing in the farm. What were the challenges encountered, especially, during COVID-19?
2. To what extent did you think that the experiences and challenges you encountered in the farm were influenced because you are a woman/man. Please explain and give examples of relevant situations.
3. Does the income you are gaining from farming activities covers the cost of living? Or you are doing other jobs at the same time? Please explain the reason for your answers?
4. Have you been facing health issues because of the use of pesticides?
5. What are the underlining issues would you like to change in the working process and occupation in terms of quality?

Question 2

1. How do you combine your family and farm activities and responsibilities? Have (had) help / support from your family environment? Did you face the dilemma of work or family? Please explain the reason for your answers
2. How many hours does it take you every day housework, before the work and after your work? Can you describe your daily routine?
3. How the housework is allocated between housemates? If you have kids, who is taking care of the kids? And are you taking care of other family members?
4. Who decides when and how the work in the household is done? Who cooks and how cleans the house? What are your encounters?
5. Kindly describe your experience when it comes to pressure or even violence in doing specific work in your household or taking care of others?