Gendered Societal Transitions:
The Shifting Role of Women in the Table Grape Production Network from Archanes, Greece to Europe

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRC</td>
<td>British Retail Consortium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>Common Agricultural Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELGA</td>
<td>Organisation for Agricultural Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELSTAT</td>
<td>Greek Statistical Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUREPGAP</td>
<td>European Good Agricultural Practises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAOSTAT</td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations Statistical Databases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD</td>
<td>Focus Group Discussions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLOBALGAP</td>
<td>Global Good Agricultural Practises</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPN</td>
<td>Global Production Networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GVC</td>
<td>Global Value Chains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFC</td>
<td>International Finance Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IKA</td>
<td>Institute for Social Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISO</td>
<td>International Safety Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGA</td>
<td>Organisation for Agricultural Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OXFAM</td>
<td>Oxford Committee for Famine Relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSI</td>
<td>Semi-Structured Interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCOMTRADE</td>
<td>United Nations Commodity Trade Statistics Database</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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Abstract

The University of Manchester
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Gendered Societal Transitions: The Shifting Role of Women in the Table Grape Production Network from Archanes, Greece to Europe

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There have been major changes taking place in export horticulture over time that have been compounded by the recent economic crisis. Women and men have been affected differently by these changes. Women have played a major role as waged and unwaged labour but have also been significantly affected by these shifts. Although we know about the effects of the supermarket-led global production network (GPN) expansion on gender relations existing literature does not explore theoretically and empirically the gender implications of changing production networks. The thesis addresses this research gap by investigating the shifting role of women in the table (fresh) grape GPN from the town of Archanes in Crete, Greece to the European market and the implications for women’s labour agency across three periods. Thus, it addresses the research question: How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis? It investigates changes across: 1) the period of the producer-led export market; 2) the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion; and 3) the period of crisis. A qualitative case study approach is used, utilising primarily interviews, focus groups and participant observation.

This research builds on the GPN, feminist political economy and intra-household bargaining literatures to further develop a Gendered Global Production Networks (Gendered GPN) approach. An evolving Gendered GPN approach combines the GPN approach with a concept of gendered societal embeddedness which captures the interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations. The thesis draws from the intra-household bargaining literature to incorporate a household level analysis of labour bargaining and fall-back positions to ‘unpack’ the concept of women’s labour agency. The thesis finds that while in the period of the producer-led export market women were unskilled labour, the expansion of supermarkets in period 2 offered skills and economic opportunities, enabling them to bargain in crisis even as unwaged labour in table grapes. Hence labour agency becomes more important in shaping women’s position in production networks than in the producer-led export market. Ultimately the GPN was still able to get high quality at low costs through female labour. Therefore commercial pressures influence gendered societal relations but also gendered societal relations influence commercial transitions. The findings show complex and non-linear forms of change characterised by tensions between commercial and gendered societal relations in a process of transition underpinned by shifts in women’s work and agency. I capture this with the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’. This helps to further develop a Gendered GPN approach to advance knowledge of non-linear gendered transformations as GPNs evolve.
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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Kiriaki and Giorgos who are always a constant source of love and inspiration. Thank you for always believing in me.
1.1 Introduction and Statement of the Problem

This research investigates changing gender relations in export horticulture. Specifically it investigates the gender implications of shifting commercial production networks. It does so through empirically investigating the changing relationship between commercial drivers, women’s waged and unwaged work and their labour agency across three periods through a gender lens. The case is that of the table grapes export sector in the town of Archanes in the island of Crete in Greece. Table grapes are the grapes grown and sold for fresh consumption as opposed to wine, juice or raisin production. Archanes has experienced major shifts in its table grapes export sector from the 1950s onwards that have had different implications for women and men, and hence constitutes an illuminating case study for this research. These shifts involve the expansion of a producer-led export market from the 1950s onwards, the expansion and consolidation of supermarkets from the 1990s onwards and the economic crisis from 2008 onwards. I unpack these changes through exploring their gendered implications in the three periods that incorporate them: Period 1: the period of the producer-led export market prior to the expansion of supermarkets; Period 2: the period of the rise to dominance of supermarkets and Period 3: the period of economic crisis in Greece. Throughout this thesis when I refer to waged and unwaged work it is in relation to work in table grapes unless stated otherwise.

Export horticulture around the world has undergone major changes over time that have been compounded by the recent economic crisis. Until the 1990s the export market for agricultural products was often characterised by ‘arms- length’ relationships between multiple suppliers and end-users (Gibbon, 2001). Producer
associations and state owned export organisations in exporting countries often participated in setting price and quality of agricultural products (Gibbon, 2001).

From the 1990s onwards however, the expansion of economic globalisation led to major changes in the agricultural export market. Economic globalisation has been associated with the global restructuring of agri-food systems, creating a global fresh fruit and vegetable system (McMichael, 1994). The liberalisation of the global agricultural market with the GATT agreement, the changing preferences of consumers and the revolution in transport and communications paved the way for the rapid expansion of global trade in fresh fruits and vegetables (Friedland, 1994; Skordili, 2003). This led to the rapid expansion of supermarkets over the last 20 years and the creation of global systems of production and distribution of fresh fruits and vegetables. According to Lang (2003, p. 555):

The twentieth century witnessed a revolution in the nature of the food supply chain, the implications of which are only now being worked through at policy and institutional levels. The period was characterised by unprecedented changes in how food is produced, distributed, consumed and controlled—and by high levels of concentration of market share.

Supermarkets play a key role as major drivers of these shifts. Supermarket growth became visible from the 1980s onwards, gradually displacing the traditional wholesale markets. ‘In 1989, for example, supermarkets sold just 33 per cent of the U.K.’s FFVs but by 2003 the supermarkets’ share had risen to 80 per cent—none of which was sourced through wholesale markets’ (Brown and Sander, 2007, p.3). Supermarkets in the role of lead firms control the process of production, distribution and sourcing of fresh fruits and vegetables. They do so through introducing strict quality requirements which suppliers need to comply with in order to export, and through various supply chain management strategies to consolidate their supply base. This is understood as ‘governance’ in value chains (Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Gibbon, 2001; Gibbon and Ponte, 2005). The integrated production and distribution processes coordinated by supermarkets and the power relations that underpin them can be understood with the concept of the global production networks (GPNs). According to Coe et al (2008) a global production network is defined as
‘the nexus of interconnected functions, operations and transactions through which a specific product or service is produced, distributed and consumed’ (Coe et al, 2008, p. 274). The town of Archanes became integrated into the supermarket-led production network in table grapes from 1990 onwards, leading to major shifts in commercial and labour relations.

The recent global economic crisis that emerged in 2008 affected this buyer-led production network. Consumers cut down significantly on their spending, leading to intensifying competition for market share between supermarkets (Dixon et al, 2014; European Parliament, 2009). As a consequence, cost pressures intensified on suppliers in Archanes. Moreover, in recent years export agriculture in Greece in the context of global production networks has been affected by the economic crisis that hit the country in 2009. The sovereign debt crisis of Greece led to a long-term loan agreement between the country and the ‘Troika’, the IMF and European partners which conditioned the implementation of austerity policies (Karamessini, 2014). The economic crisis in Greece, coupled with intensifying buyer pressures due to the global economic crisis, led to a contraction of the table grapes export sector in Archanes.

Women and men have been affected differently by these major commercial shifts. Literature using Global Value Chain (GVC) and Global Production Network (GPN) approaches has investigated the implications of the expansion of supermarkets on gender relations in export agriculture in various sourcing countries. The expansion of supermarkets in fresh fruits and vegetables led to the ‘feminisation’ of waged employment in packing and on-farm (Dolan, 2004; Barrientos, 2001). The jobs associated with ‘feminine’ qualities in export agriculture, such as harvesting, cleaning and packing are often seasonal and low-paid (Barrientos et.al, 1999; Dolan and Sorby, 2003). Because their employment is uncertain, women often tolerate lower wages in fear of losing their jobs (Dolan and Sorby, 2003, p. 32). Nevertheless the expansion of fruit production for supermarkets often offered women a chance to earn a wage for the first time. This often led to renegotiations of intra-household
gender relations (Barrientos et al, 1999; Barrientos and Perrons, 1996; Dolan and Sorby, 2003).

The expansion of supermarkets also affected gender relations in family farms. It often led to the strengthening of gendered divisions of labour in family farms and to conflicts over land (Barrientos, 2014; Dolan, 2001; 2002). It also led to the intensification of women’s unwaged farm work to meet the quality requirements of supermarkets. Barrientos (2014) shows how the cocoa quality requirements of chocolate companies meant more work for women in the farm because they did the quality-enhancing tasks. Bee (1996; 2000) and Barrientos et al (1999) documented how women’s seasonal waged work in packing often shifted women’s perceptions of their unwaged work in traditional agriculture in Chile. Women have thus played a major role as waged and unwaged labour in these major commercial shifts but have also been significantly affected by them.

We know much about the effects of supermarket expansion in export horticulture on gender relations in waged work. However, we know less about shifts in gender relations within family farms and how they manifest through changes in women’s interlinked role as unwaged labour. We also know little about how the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work has changed with the expansion of supermarkets and its effects on gender relations. In addition, we know little about the impact of the economic crisis on women and men in export horticulture. Further, the GPN literature (see Coe et al, 2008; Carswell and de Neve, 2013) has not so far explored the interactions between commercial production networks and societal relations as phenomena that change over time. The theoretical and empirical examination of such changes over time from a gendered perspective, what I call ‘gendered societal transitions’ and how they play out differently for women and men forms the central focus of this research.

This is important because the lack of a cross-period analysis may provide only a static understanding of the interplay between commercial drivers and gender relations, leading to a weak conceptualisation of the transformative and adaptive
potential of women’s labour agency within GPNs. The significance of this gap is highlighted by recent literature that shows how new emerging markets in fresh fruits and vegetables are developing in the emerging economies of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) (see Barrientos and Visser, 2012; Gereffi, 2014). In addition, the economic crisis affected commercial power relations within the GPN, as this research shows, and this reinforces the need for analytical approaches that address changes over time in a non-linear way. I argue that both commercial and societal relations are socially constructed and are hence not fixed but shift over time. Through a cross-period analysis I seek to illuminate analysis of both commercial and societal shifts and their gender implications.

1.2 Aim of Research

In addressing the above empirical and theoretical research gaps the aim of this thesis is to explore the gender implications of production networks in a process of change through women’s changing role as waged and unwaged workers in the table grapes export sector across three periods. I argue that in order to capture women’s changing role in the table grapes export sector and how it is conditioned by shifting commercial and societal relations it is necessary to unpack the interplay between GPNs, waged-unwaged work and women’s labour agency. This investigation helps to ascertain how the different commercial dynamics of the production system pre- and post-GPN contributed to changing gender roles and divisions of labour in the table grapes export sector and to explore the factors influencing women’s shifting labour agency outcomes.

Hence, in order to address its aim this thesis addresses the following research question: How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis? The research question includes empirical and theoretical components. It investigates empirically how the shifts in waged and unwaged work as a result of shifting commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs affected the labour
agency of women across three periods. It also investigates on a theoretical level what a cross-period analysis brings for developing a gender analysis that captures gendered transformations as GPNs evolve, building on the GPN and gender literatures. Figure 1.1 below depicts the relationships that this research investigates.

**Figure 1.1: Focus of Thesis**

![Diagram](image)

Source: Created by Author

As the diagram depicts, this thesis explores how commercial pressures following the expansion of supermarkets affect commercial bargaining relationships between supermarkets, exporters and producers, and how this affects the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work. The thesis also seeks to explore how these shifting bargaining relations in the GPN affect labour agency outcomes for women, and how this interacts with commercial dynamics of GPNs. The diagram hence depicts the interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations as manifested through women’s changing work and agency in table grapes.
In order to address the main research question the following sub-questions are addressed in this thesis:

1: What are the major shifts over time in the table grapes export sector in Archanes? This question addresses the main shifts over time that took place in the table grapes export sector in Archanes. It gives an overview of the three periods that this thesis unpacks.

2: To what extent does the GPN approach with its concept of societal embeddedness help to understand the gender implications of changing production networks? This question addresses to what extent the existing literature adequately captures the gender effects of changes in production systems over time.

3: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change before the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency? This question investigates the shifts taking place in period 1 which is the period of the producer-led export market and their effects on women’s work and labour agency.

4: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change after the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency? This question investigates the shifts taking place in period 2 which is the period of the buyer-led production network and their effects on women’s work and labour agency.

5: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change in the period of crisis and what are the implications for women’s labour agency? I investigate with this question the shifts during the period of crisis (period 3) and their effects on women’s work and labour agency.

I then move to address my overall research question and in particular its theoretical dimension. I explore the analytical implications of the cross-period analysis and come up with the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’ to capture the gendered dynamics of contemporary GPNs. I then seek to push further the implications of gendered societal transitions to further develop a Gendered GPN approach.
I investigate both analytically and empirically the rise of buyer-led GPNs in affecting gender relations in table grape production. Analytically I draw from the Global Production Networks (GPN) approach (see Coe et al, 2008; Henderson et al, 2002) to unpack how the expansion of supermarkets and inter-firm bargaining dynamics affect workers. The GPN approach is useful in analysing the expansion and consolidation of supermarkets and their effects on labour because it analyses how lead firms capture value and power in their supply chain and intervene in the production and distribution stages. The GPN approach is better equipped to analyse the societal effects of the expansion of supermarkets than the Global Value Chains (GVC) approach because it explores bargaining relations between commercial actors (firms) and societal actors, including workers and the state. Therefore, it moves beyond the firm-centric focus of the value chain approach to include other actors, incorporating workers as actors rather than a factor input in the production process (Henderson et al, 2002). Its concept of societal embeddedness analytically grasps this through understanding how commercial relations influence and are influenced by the social interaction of individual and collective actors (Hess, 2004, p. 181). However, it often sees this interplay in a ‘static’ fashion. The GPN approach has only recently started to explore shifts within production networks (Barrientos and Visser, 2012) and has yet to explore their societal implications. In addition, the GPN approach does not often include a gender analysis and thus does not suffice to explore the gender implications of commercial transformations.

I further advance a Gendered Global Production Networks (Gendered GPN) approach (Barrientos, 2014) which combines the GPN and feminist political economy literatures (see Dolan, 2004; Barrientos et al, 1999; Beneria, 2007; Elson, 1999) through the concept of gendered societal embeddedness. Elson (1999) argued that labour markets are gendered institutions because they embody gendered norms and practises. Beneria (2007) argued that markets are socially constructed and this social construction has a gender dimension. Therefore, the concept of gendered societal embeddedness helps analyse how commercial relations embody and affect local gendered societal norms and institutions, shaping gendered labour relations.
However, the Gendered GPN approach has yet to include an analysis of gendered production networks under flux.

I develop the Gendered GPN approach to interrogate the ways in which commercial drivers and gendered societal relations interact, producing complex processes of change through women’s work and labour agency. I draw from the intra-household bargaining literature (see Sen, 1987; Agarwal, 1997) to incorporate the unwaged farm labour and women’s labour bargaining in the household. I understand the household not only as a sphere of reproduction but also as a sphere of production for global markets. I apply the concept of the fall-back position to how economic opportunities constitute alternative openings for women in terms of work which can strengthen their labour bargaining. This theoretical contribution stems from the understanding of labour agency as the outcome of shifting gendered bargaining relations across three periods. I draw from the labour agency in GPNs literature (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Lund-Thompsen, 2013) to capture labour agency outcomes for different women. I understand labour agency outcomes as resilience (coping), reworking (improving position within the existing structure) and resistance (challenge to existing capitalist relations), taking a gender lens. To engender the concept of labour agency in GPNs I draw from feminist literature on agency (McNay, 2000; Kabeer, 1999).

Empirically I use a place-based qualitative case study approach. I focus on the case study of the table grape production network from Archanes (a town in the island of Crete in Greece) to the European market, and examine three major shifts it experienced in its table grapes export sector since the early 1950s. The first major shift was the expansion of a producer-led table grape production system following a shift from large-scale to small-scale land ownership. In the early 1950s in Archanes following demands for redistribution of land, land take overs and state initiatives to redistribute land the majority of the rural male population became owners of land, shifting from waged workers to family farmers (Drakakis, 2008). Women however shifted to unwaged labour in the family farms. Following this shift a producer-led
table grape market flourished whereby local male producers had the advantage due to the production of a grape variety unique to Archanes that was popular in the European market. As this research will explain, the producer-led market was gendered, and women were primarily unwaged farm labour and secondarily unskilled waged packers, constituting a reserve army of labour in the farm and the packing shed.

The second major shift was the integration of the table grapes export sector in Archanes into the buyer-led GPN in table grapes from 1990 onwards as supermarkets expanded and dominated the fresh fruits and vegetables market. The production and packing process shifted as a result of the quality requirements of supermarkets, affecting the gender division of labour through the increased skills that offered economic opportunities for women. The third major shift in Archanes was the crisis and its impact on the table grapes sector. The global financial crisis that hit in 2008 led to an economic crisis in Europe and put pressure on the European supermarkets to reduce consumer prices, which led them to reduce the prices paid to their suppliers in response. In addition, the economic crisis that hit Greece in 2009 and the austerity policies that followed impacted negatively on local exporters and producers through reducing liquidity and increase in production costs. These pressures led to a crisis in the table grapes export sector in Archanes characterised by a chain of indebtedness between exporters, producers and workers and the reduction of production and export. As a result, this thesis finds, waged economic opportunities for women and men reduced and work became more precarious, while women’s unwaged work in farms increased, albeit still skilled. These shifts therefore had profound implications that were different for women and men in the table grapes export sector as I will unpack in detail in this thesis.

1.3 Contributions of the Thesis

This research aims to contribute both empirically and theoretically to the existing literature. Empirically it seeks to contribute to the newly emerging gender GPN
literature (see Barrientos, 2013; Barrientos, 2014) through an analysis of commercial shifts across three periods and their gender implications. This body of literature has focused on the effects of the expansion of supermarkets on women workers (Period 2 as examined in this thesis) and has briefly explored commercial relations and women’s condition prior to this shift (Period 1 in this thesis). However, this literature has yet to investigate the effects of the economic crisis (Period 3 in this thesis) on gender relations in agriculture. This research offers deeper insights into women’s and men’s roles in export agriculture prior to the expansion of supermarkets, and explores the implications of the economic crisis on women and men in GPNs. It thus contributes empirically to analysis of the gender implications within each period and across the different periods. Second, it contributes empirically to the GPN literature through exploring these in a Greek case study. There has been no research on the gender implications of commercial shifts in Greek export horticulture from a GPN perspective. The case of Greece is useful because although it is a developed country, economically it belongs to the ‘periphery’ of Europe, is well-integrated into agricultural production networks, and was undergoing an economic crisis at the time of researching and writing this thesis. From a development perspective it is thus illuminating to examine the gender implications of changing GPNs in a Greek case study.

Theoretically this thesis makes a number of contributions. First, it seeks to contribute to the GPN literature by shedding further light on processes of commercial transitions within production networks that the GPN literature has only recently started to explore (see Barrientos and Visser, 2012). It also contributes to the GPN literature by examining the societal implications of these transitions. Second, it contributes to the evolving gender GPN literature (Barrientos, 2013; Barrientos, 2014) through advancing an analysis of gendered transformations as GPNs evolve. It advances knowledge of the tensions between contemporary global production and gendered societal relations in a transitionary process and how these play out for different women through exploring what their fall-back positions are in each period and across different groups. My concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’ captures these transformations.
Bringing the GPN, feminist political economy and intra-household bargaining literatures together this research seeks to push and develop further a Gendered GPN approach to capture non-linear transformations in production networks. The GPN approach (Coe et al, 2008; Henderson et al, 2002) explores commercial-societal interaction in global production but often understands commercial relations as more ‘dynamic’ than societal relations and does not have a gender perspective. The gendered institutions literature (Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007) explores the gender dimension of institutions but does not explore their transition over time and does not unpack commercial relations. The gender GPN literature unpacks commercial relations and their gender dimension as well as their gendered societal implications but does not incorporate an analysis of cross-period shifts. The intra-household bargaining literature explores gender relations and women’s position in the household but gives more emphasis to the household as a sphere of reproduction rather than also a sphere of production, and the blurring between the two. It also does not explore transitions in gendered bargaining over time. I hence help to bring closer together and to contribute to the different GPN and feminist bodies of literature to further develop a Gendered GPN approach that analyses contemporary gendered dynamics of production networks.

The thesis argues that in a period of crisis gendered norms often resurface and there is pressure for women to return to waged and/or unwaged work in the table grape production network. However, women in the crisis often have experience of greater economic empowerment, and the need for their labour intensive skilled work persists. This change is reflected in women’s ability to bargain even in crisis, in ways that women in the producer-led period were not in a position to do. Hence, gendered societal relations also affect commercial transitions. Drawing from these findings the thesis argues that across periods the interaction between commercial requirements and gendered societal relations involves tensions and pushes and pulls, and I capture this with the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’. These play out differently for women and men.
1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured according to the research sub-questions presented in section 1.2. Chapter 2 addresses the first research sub-question of the thesis: *What are the major shifts over time in the table grapes export sector in Archanes?* It examines the major commercial shifts over time and gives an overview of the three periods that the empirical chapters will unravel in more detail and depth. Chapter 3 addresses the second and theoretical sub-question of thesis: *To what extent does the GPN approach with its concept of societal embeddedness help to understand the gender implications of changing production networks?* It finds that the GPN approach although provides valuable insights in exploring the societal implications of the expansion of supermarkets on labour is not sufficient to explore the gender implications of shifting production networks because it does not incorporate a gender analysis to unpack this relationship. The chapter then continues with the contribution to the development of the emerging Gendered GPN approach that will guide empirical analysis across the thesis.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology used to empirically investigate this relationship. It explains the empirical case, methodological underpinnings of the research and specific research methods used for collection, analysis and interpretation of data. This provides the basis for investigating empirically the three periods. Chapter 5 addresses research sub-question 3 of the thesis: *How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change before the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency?* It empirically investigates women’s work and labour agency in the period of the producer-led export market. Chapter 6 addresses research question 4 of the thesis: *How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change after the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency?* It picks up the investigation of women’s work and labour agency in the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion, while Chapter 7 addresses the fourth research question and hence it analyses the period of
crisis: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change in the period of crisis in the GPN and what are the implications to their labour agency?

Chapter 8 goes back to addressing the overall research question of the thesis: How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis? It brings together and compares the findings across the three periods to come up with the concept of gendered societal transitions and further advance a Gendered GPN approach to analyse production networks in a transitionary process. Chapter 9 summarises the main argument and contributions of the thesis and explores the policy implications and grounds for further research.
Chapter 2 The Table Grapes Export Sector in Archanes: from Prosperity to Crisis

2.1 Introduction

The table grapes export sector in Archanes has experienced shifts over time: from a producer-led export market to being integrated into a buyer-led production network coordinated by supermarkets. These commercial changes transformed gender relations in table grape production. This chapter gives an overview of the three periods of the table grapes export sector, examining the major commercial shifts they incorporate. The chapter therefore addresses the first research sub-question of the thesis: What are the major shifts overtime in the table grapes export sector in Archanes? The three periods of the table grapes export sector in Archanes that this chapter outlines the period 1, where the producer-led market dominates; period 2 where supermarket-led GPNs rose to dominance; and period 3 of the economic crisis. The effects of these shifts on women’s work and labour agency will be explored in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

It is important to investigate the different periods because these demonstrate the changes in gender relations before and after the expansion of supermarkets. A detailed investigation of the different periods can help to show how the demands of the table grape production system at its different stages (re)constituted women’s and men’s roles in table grapes, and how the societal changes during these different periods influenced women’s capacity to shape work. This will be unpacked throughout this thesis. The chapter offers an overview of the main commercial shifts which will be investigated in more detail in chapters 5-7 drawing from my empirical data. The chapter also introduces the effects of the economic crisis on the table grape GPN. It argues that the crisis led to intensifying commercial pressures and the reduction of table grape production and export and the ‘squeezing’ of producers, exporters and workers in Archanes. However, as chapter 7 will show, despite being
affected by the crisis the table grapes sector constitutes a significant source of women’s work and agency which persisted in the period of crisis despite reducing alternative work options. In addition, as chapter 7 will demonstrate there were already signs of recovery of the table grapes sector in the period of crisis which could help improve women’s work position. In order to explore the main shifts in Archanes it is important to first offer an overview of the profile of this town in Crete.

2.2 The profile of the case study of Archanes

Archanes is a large and picturesque town in the prefecture of Heraklion in the island of Crete in Greece. It includes Upper Archanes and Lower Archanes. It is 20 km south of the capital and port city of Heraklion and has 4258 inhabitants. Its close proximity to the port facilitated the dynamic growth of its table grape export sector from the 1950s onwards. The grapes were transported quickly to the port, from where they were transported to the rest of Europe. Image 2.1 below shows the location of Archanes in Crete and its proximity to the capital and port city of Heraklion.
Image 2.1: Location of Archanes

Source: Google Maps 2014 (red circles added by author)

Agriculture is a major economic activity in Archanes. According to the website of the Municipality of Archanes, 37.7 per cent of the economically active population in Archanes works in the primary sector. The cultivation of olive trees and vineyards (including vineyards for table grapes, wine grapes and grapes for raisin production) covers 96 per cent of agricultural land, with an approximately 50 per cent share by each crop (Municipality of Archanes website). Fifty-four per cent of the economically active population is involved in the tertiary sector, mainly commerce and tourism. 8 per cent of the population works in the secondary sector which largely involves the processing of grapes for wine, jams and sweets and of olives into oil (Municipality of Archanes website). The town hosts many shops, including mini markets, grocery shops, bakeries, clothing shops, restaurants and pharmacies. Archanes is a popular tourist destination because of its close proximity to the ancient archeological sites of Knossos and Fourni. This meant that off-farm employment expanded in Archanes, offering economic opportunities for women. However, as the thesis will illustrate, the recent economic crisis significantly impacted off-farm employment, with implications for gender relations.
Archanes produces approximately 4,000 tons of table grapes per year in an area of 150 hectares (Interview with local government informant; Marinakis, 2008). The town produces grapes, wine and olives since the ancient times and its unique table grape variety, the rozaki. This was world famous until the 1980s when the *Phylloxera* disease destroyed most of the vineyards of this variety. After the disease hit, producers planted new table grape varieties, especially the Thompson Seedless which dominates today. As will be highlighted in the following sections, producers faced many more challenges and were much more vulnerable to external risks in periods 2 and 3 than they used to be in period 1 because of the higher risks associated with export markets, climatic conditions and the current economic crisis in Greece.

There have been major commercial shifts in the table grapes export sector in Archanes. I will outline the shifts that have taken place in each of the three periods in the next sections.

**2.3 Period 1: The expansion of the producer led-export market**

The producer-led export market dominated in the period from the 1950s-mid1980s. The expansion of the producer-led export market had major gender implications. Chapter 5 will investigate in detail the commercial relations in the producer-led export market and their effects on women and men drawing from the empirical data with key informants, women and men. Here we examine how the producer-led export market emerged through the shift from large-scale land ownership to small-scale landownership and what were the characteristics of it.

Until the 1950s land in Archanes was concentrated in the hands of a few rich landowners, with the majority of the population in the town being landless agricultural workers. Working conditions were very tough, with labourers working
day and night, receiving little money and experiencing bad treatment by their bosses (Interviews with M7; W18). Women often worked as waged workers, accompanied by their worker husbands and received lower wages than men, reflecting gendered disparities in pay. In the 1950s the Cooperative of the Landless Workers of Archanes was created which numbered 150 members and demanded redistribution of land (Drakakis, 2008, p. 133). There were land seizures by landless workers while some unused state land was redistributed by the government. From the 1960s the figure of the landless worker started to disappear (Drakakis, 2008). However, because of the small area of the redistributed land, it was divided into very small holdings. This contributed to the fragmentation of holdings which characterizes the structure of agriculture in Archanes. This reduced the competitiveness of Greek horticultural exports in comparison to other countries with larger farms such as Chile and South Africa (Barrientos et al 1999; Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2004).

The small-scale farmers created their own wealth with their earnings from agricultural work and grape and olive production. Many bought land in the surrounding areas and villages. The number of agricultural holdings increased and farms became more mechanized. Many locals thus shifted from landless workers to producers and employers of their own, and spread their economic influence in the surrounding areas and villages (Drakakis, 2008). According to a local government key informant the hardworking and innovating spirit of the workers was a major factor that led to this impressive shift (Interview with local government key informant).

Following the shift to small-scale land ownership the producer-led export market quickly expanded. Exports had started initially to Egypt via ships from the port of Heraklion but from the 1950s exports expanded to Europe, mainly to Germany (Greek Consulate in Munich, 2009a). The table grapes export sector in Archanes following the shift in land ownership resembled a producer-led export market where

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Chapter 4 explains the methodology used in this thesis and the women and men participants interviewed. Details of characteristics of each woman (W) and man (M) interviewed can be found in Appendix 1.
local producers had an advantage over the numerous wholesaler buyers. As Gibbon argues, these chains can be understood as ‘producer-driven’ because ‘producers participated actively in setting the rules of the game, both in price terms and in terms of arbitrating quality and the relation of quality to price’ (Gibbon, 2001, p. 62). Commercial relationships in the table grape production system of the time from the wholesaler to the end market were characterised by arms-length relationships because there was competition at the wholesale level and there were many participants in the market that enjoyed a portion of the profit. There were no specific quality requirements due to competition and the fact that producers participated in setting quality. Figure 2.1 presents the producer-led table grape export market. It depicts the multiple actors involved and the gendered division of labour labour at the production stage. The gendered division of labour will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Figure 2.1: The producer-led table grape export market from Archanes to Europe

Local producers had an advantage in the market and were able to participate in price-making because of various reasons. First, the rozaki was a local grape variety that was very popular in the European market and was only produced in Archanes.
Hence, the local producers had an advantage due to the higher demand than supply of grapes. A report from the Greek consulate in Munich reflects this:

As the old wholesalers of the Munich market may remember the first Greek table grape exports started in the 1950s with the rozaki variety which was a seeded variety from Crete that was harvested in September. This variety was the sought after variety and without competition (Greek Consulate in Munich, 2009a).

Second, because wholesaler buyers were many and in a competition for the popular rozaki grapes quality standards were not dictated by individual buyers and thus quality requirements were not well defined but rather producers participated in defining quality (Interview with key industry informant). Third, the state protected the agricultural sector from market forces through safety-net prices for many agricultural products (Papageorgiou et al, 2005). Fourth, from 1960 Greece started the transitory period to join the European Union (EU) and the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy). As part of the agreement Greece reduced its import taxes to manufactured goods from the EU and in return the EU countries removed their import taxes from the main agricultural products from Greece. In addition, Greece received funding from the EU for development projects in agriculture (Papageorgiou et al, 2005). These measures greatly contributed to the expansion of the Greek table grape exports. Fifth, the Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes looked after the interests of its producer members and acted as a collective exporting body from which producers got a fair price for their grapes. The Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes provided social support to producers through its fair prices to producers and was providing assistance on loans and cultivation techniques. The cooperative had its own packing shed and processing plants for wine and olive oil (Marinakis, 2008).

These factors contributed to this period being the ‘golden years’ of table grape production in Archanes as referred to by a number of producers and agronomists in research interviews. In the 1970s the cooperative reached impressive production numbers: it produced approximately 4,000-5,000 tons of rozaki table grapes (Marinakis, 2008, p. 64). Exports also increased rapidly. A growing trend is reflected in nation-wide export data. Data from the FAOSTAT database indicate that
the Greek table grape exports increased significantly between 1979-1985. Exports increased by 46 per cent from 42,166 tons in 1979 to 78,078 tons in 1981. (FAOSTAT). This impressive nationwide increase in table grape exports is attributed to the modernisation and mechanisation of farms which contributed to the increase in production of table grapes during this period. Also, during this time the countries of the Global South had not yet entered the global grape market and Southern Europe was the main exporter of table grapes to central Europe.

Archanes also produced grapes for wine and raisins and olives for olive oil. Safety net prices and the support from the agricultural cooperative led to a rapid growth in these commodities as well. The producers often cultivated all of the above or some of the above crops. As Sotiria (W22), a farm woman from Archanes put it: ‘you had raisins in your house, you had gold’. The cultivation of raisins for the export market was thus a major source of income for the farm households in Archanes alongside rozaki cultivation. The sultanina variety was cultivated for raisins. The cooperative of Archanes in the 1970s had reached impressive production numbers. It produced 4,000-5,000 tons of raisins, 9,000-10,000 tons of wine and 400 tons of olive oil per year (Marinakis, 2008, p. 64).

Due to the lack of specific quality requirements work in table grapes was unskilled. Family farms utilized mainly unwaged labour and waged labour was used at labour-intensive times of the year. This period of prosperity for the grapes sector came to a halt when Phylloxera disease destroyed the majority of the rozaki table grape vines. This led to the shift towards the buyer-led period in Archanes following a transitionary phase from the mid-1980s to 1990.

2.4 Period 2: The expansion and consolidation of the buyer-led GPN

The period of the buyer-led GPN involves the period from 1990 to 2007 when the supermarkets expanded and became dominant in the fresh fruits and vegetable
market in Europe, shifting the power balance away from the producers. Chapter 6 will investigate in detail the shifts in commercial bargaining relations and their gender implications in this period using the empirical data collected during my fieldwork. Here we examine the background to the expansion of the buyer-led GPN in Archanes, the supermarket strategies and their effects on the table grapes sector in Archanes.

2.4.1 The background of integration of Archanes into the buyer-led GPN

The political environment of the time cultivated a favourable climate for a commercial shift to occur. The integration of Greece into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1981 and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) led to the significant increase in exports of Greek agricultural products to Europe and the modernisation, intensification and specialisation of Greek agriculture (Liodakis, 1991). Following EU integration many agricultural products including wine, raisins and olives for olive oil received price support and direct subsidies. There were no subsidies specifically for table grape cultivation but farmers in Archanes often received subsidies for their other cultivations. According to many the EU subsidies harmed Greek agriculture because it was used as a political tool to gain votes and political support and often cultivated a farmer dependency to subsidies rather than give incentives to be more competitive (Lawrence, 2007; Interviews with M4; M16). According to many of the farmers interviewed in this research table grape production prospered contrary to the other cultivations because it did not rely on subsidies but on capturing the changing pulse of the market.

In Archanes the change in the main table grape variety cultivated for export paved the way for the integration of Archanes into the shifting European market. In response to the destruction of vines the Greek government introduced in 1986 a vine replanting and restructuring programme for Crete. This was approved and funded by the EC in 1989 and lasted through to the early 1990s, marking a transitional phase for the sector (Interview with local government key informant). The replanting
programme largely focused on replanting the same vines that producers already had which were divided into three categories: 1) sultanina grapes 2) wine grape varieties 3) rozaki grapes (for table grapes) (Interview with local government key informant). EU subsidies were offered on a yearly basis if producers cultivated their sultanina grapes for raisins in an attempt to recover the falling raisins sector (Interview with local government key informant). The entry of larger producing countries with lower costs of production such as Turkey in the raisins sector had seriously affected the Greek raisin exports. Wine grapes and olives for olive oil were also experiencing a decline in prices with producers depending on the subsidies for income. At the same time the European market started to change its preference of table grapes from seeded to seedless grapes and the sultanina variety as table grape was gaining momentum in the European market (Thompson Seedless grapes as they are known in the market) (Interview with industry key informant; Greek Consulate in Munich, 2009a).

Faced with declining European market demand for the seeded rozaki grapes many producers decided to re-plant sultanina grape vines and cultivate them as table grapes rather than as raisins (Interviews with local government key informant; Industry key informant). The Thompson Seedless grape cultivation therefore in Archanes brought a new recovery for many local farmers who established a place in the changing European market and helped to re-establish the town’s reputation as a producer and exporter of high-quality fresh grapes. It is important to briefly outline the shift that took place in the fresh fruits and vegetable market with the expansion of supermarkets and their subsequent purchasing strategies in order to fully capture the nature of integration of Archanes into centrally coordinated buyer-led GPNs.

2.4.2 Supermarket governance strategies

Supermarkets expanded in the fresh fruit and vegetable market in Europe from the 1980s onwards, gradually displacing the traditional wholesale markets. The success of supermarkets over wholesalers lay in optimising the supply chain and cutting out
intermediaries. When there were multiple players from the wholesaler to the end consumer all the intermediaries derived their profits from the product which often increased the price of the product to the end customer. The supermarkets managed to replace these intermediaries and reduce the price of the end product to the consumer while retaining a good profit for themselves.

Today supermarkets have become dominant in the food market in many European countries. 85 per cent of the German food market is captured by just four supermarket chains (Consumers International, 2011) while in the UK supermarkets control 83 per cent of the grocery market (UK Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2014). Supermarkets also capture the biggest share of agricultural exports in many countries. According to Dolan and Humphrey (2000) supermarkets control 70-90 per cent of imports of fresh fruits and vegetables from Africa. According to Barrientos et al (1999; p. 79) while in 1980 34 per cent of Chilean fresh produce went to supermarkets the figure increased to 64 per cent by 1994.

Supermarket strategies are driven by the motives of low-cost and high quality and exercise strict coordination throughout the supply chain from production to distribution in order to retain their competitive position. The OXFAM report Trading Away Our Rights (2004) explains the pressures that lead supermarkets to push for higher quality and lower cost produce from their suppliers, pushing risks down the supply chain, ultimately affecting workers. The following excerpt in bullet points is adapted from the OXFAM report (p.36) and complemented by other sources cited in the text:

- **Shareholder expectations**: Publicly listed companies face intense pressure from their shareholders to deliver short-term returns. Companies increasingly depend on the shareholders to access credit because they need to take approval from the shareholders to take loans to expand/run operations. This is understood as ‘corporate financialisation’ (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005). According to Gibbon (2003, p. 290) in corporations ‘financial performance convention of a 12-15% Returns on Capital Employed (ROCE) has emerged as a yardstick’.
Supermarkets want to increase ‘shareholder value’, the value delivered to shareholders because of managements’ ability to grow earnings from the business (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005). The shareholder pressures for quick return often lead companies to strip out low profit activities. Thus, shareholder expectations are often key determinants in shaping corporate strategies. The shareholder pressures often drive supermarkets to push their suppliers for lower prices, ultimately impacting labour in the supplier countries (OXFAM, 2004).

- Consumer loyalty: Consumers came to expect high quality products at low prices. Supermarkets often respond by carrying out strategies of product diversification, offering competitive prices and carrying out frequent sales to gain customer loyalty.

- Ethical pressures: civil society organisations, consumers and socially responsible investors have pushed for improvements in labour standards, working conditions and food safety. Ethical and environmental issues have become increasingly important in shaping consumer behaviour. The ‘ethical consumer’ is a reality (Harrison et al, 2005). Supermarkets seek to retain their reputation and appeal to consumers by signing voluntary labour standards and codes of conduct to protect workers’ rights.

- Market competition: Supermarkets respond to competition with other supermarkets by exercising competitive product differentiation strategies. According to Dolan and Humphrey (2000) supermarkets carry out product differentiation to gain competitive advantage ‘competing not only on price but also on factors such as reliability, product variety, product quality and speed of innovation’ (Dolan and Humphrey, 2000, p. 150). According to Dolan and Humphrey product differentiation strategies necessitate intervention and coordination of the supply chain.

Hence, there are multiple pressures on supermarkets that not only include competitive market pressures but also pressures from shareholders as well as pressures from civil society and public opinion. A strategy that supermarkets often follow to respond to these contradictory pressures for high quality and low-cost supply of products to their shelves is supply chain management. Mentzer et al (2001, p. 18) define supply chain management as:
the systemic, strategic coordination of the traditional business functions and the tactics across these business functions within a particular company and across businesses within the supply chain, for the purposes of improving the long-term performance of the individual companies and the supply chain as a whole.

Supply chain management includes the following strategies of supermarkets:

- **Category management**: specialised strategies and plans for each category, for example fresh fruits and vegetables. Category management affects the other actors in the supply chain because specific intervention strategies are devised.

- **Traceability**: Tracing a commodity back to its specific producer and supplier (Dolan and Humphrey, 2004). Traceability arose following food safety incidents in order to protect the health of the consumer. As such the exporters and producers are made accountable and the risks are offloaded to them.

- **Just-in-time systems**: According to Weatherspoon and Reardon (2003) supermarkets keep their products in stock to a minimum and use barcode technology to order just-in-time to replace their stocks. This reduces shop floor space and storage costs while shifting risks back to the suppliers. This gives immense pressure to exporters to supply specified quantities at short notice and raises their costs of cold storage and transportation.

- **Flexible contracts with suppliers**: In order to meet changing seasonal consumer demand and market conditions supermarkets exercise power over their suppliers by having flexible, short-term or verbal contracts that can be easily broken. This gives insecurity and increases the risks to suppliers.

- **Product and process standards**: According to Vorley (2001, p. 4):

  Highly concentrated food processing, retail and food service industries, as key agents within buyer-driven chains, are able to consolidate their supply base and demand increasingly stringent quality standards and codes of conduct…and post-production service from their suppliers.

  Supermarkets require strict product and process standards from their suppliers to ensure compliance with requirements on food safety, quality, environmental protection and worker safety. Quality standards are often very demanding and producers and exporters often struggle to keep their requirements while balancing costs.
Product standards relate to the outcome of the product, and the characteristics it is expected to have when it reaches the shelf (Reardon, 2006, p. 82). Product standards can be public (created by international bodies such as the CODEX Alimentarius international food standards organised by FAO and WHO) or private (specific requirements of supermarkets that may differ by supermarket and country as I will elaborate in chapter 6). In table grapes supermarket product standards include stringent requirements on grape berry size, chemical residue levels, maturity levels, uniformity and bunch weight among others (CODEX Alimentarius, 2007). Process standards relate to the process under which the product is made at its various stages such as cultivation and packing (Reardon, 2006). Certifications are process standards. A key process standard for production of fresh fruits and vegetables is the GLOBAL.G.A.P certification that includes quality, food safety, environmental and social standards. Figure 2.1 depicts the main themes that this standard covers.² Producers cannot export to the European market unless they have certified their farms with GLOBALG.A.P (Interviews with Agronomists 2, 3 and 4).

Table 2.1: Themes covered by the GLOBALG.A.P certification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOBALG.A.P requirements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workers, health, safety and welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment and Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traceability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waste and Pollution Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Pest Management</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from GLOBALG.A.P website

While at the supply-side of the chain there is fierce competition among producers globally, at the top-end a few supermarkets dominate the market. This creates a huge

² GLOBALG.A.P emerged in 1997 as EUREPGAP, an initiative by European retailers to set up an independent certification system in response to consumer concerns on food safety, environmental and social risks arising from intensive export agriculture (GLOBALG.A.P website). In 2007 it changed its name to GLOBALG.A.P as its standards were applied on a global scale.
power asymmetry, giving retailers the ‘upper hand’ in their transactions with suppliers (OXFAM, 2004, p. 34). These strategies of supply chain management have immense effects on producers and exporters because they have less control over what they produce. Supermarket domination meant that table grape producers and exporters did not make independent decisions on issues such as cultivation practices, input usage, quality, varieties cultivated and processing as was in the period of the producer-led export market. Supermarket supply is characterised by compliance with a set of common quality and safety standards and practices, and more efficient supply chain management (Dolan and Humphrey, 2004; Fernandez-Stark et. al., 2011; Humphrey and Memedovic, 2006). The expansion and consolidation of supermarkets thus led to a ‘buyer-driven chain’ in fresh fruits and vegetables (Gibbon, 2003) including the table grape value chain where supermarkets exercise power over their suppliers and producers. Chapter 3 will explain this shift in commercial power relations from the conceptual lens of GVC and GPN approaches in greater detail.

This major commercial shift has had major implications on the gendered division of labour in the supplying countries and it is worth discussing this shift in the context of my case study of Archanes in Greece.

2.4.3 Expansion of Greek table grape exports and integration of Archanes

Following the expansion of supermarkets Greece became well integrated into the fresh fruits and vegetable market in Europe. According to FAOSTAT Greece is 18th in the world in total grape production. Greece is the 3rd largest producer of table grapes in the EU after Italy and Spain (USDA, 2010). Together they account for 93 per cent of table grape production in the EU (USDA, 2012). Greece exports its table grapes mainly within the EU (UNCOMTRADE). The main export destinations are Germany, UK and the Netherlands. In 2011 for example 33.4 per cent of Greek table grapes

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3 The data provided for the table grape industry in each period are aggregate data and not value chain industry data due to the difficulty in obtaining value chain data as I explain in Chapter 4.
grape exports went to Germany, 16 per cent to the UK and 16 per cent to the Netherlands. Thus, 65.4 per cent of Greek table grape exports went to those three countries (Calculated from UNCOMTRADE data). According to UN COMTRADE, Greece was in the 12th place in the value of its table grape exports in the world, and 13th in the volume of its table grape exports in 2011. This is an impressive number in relation to its smaller scale production compared to other countries. 2011 UNCOMTRADE data suggest that Greece was in fourth place in its share of German table grape imports, capturing 11.3 per cent of German table grape imports. Figure 2.2 below shows the table grape exports from 1999-2010 based on data from ELSTAT (Greek Statistical Authority).

**Figure 2.2: Greek table grape exports, 1999-2010**

The graph shows that table grape exports were at stable levels until 2001 where they reached a peak. From 2001 onwards there is a decline in table grape exports, with some fluctuations. The graph shows that in 2007 exports fell by 18 per cent from the previous year. This is may be due to the 2007 heatwave that led to a significant reduction in table grape production and exports (USDA, 2008). Climatic conditions
thus pose a significant risk to producers and exporters, affecting the performance of the Greek table grape industry.

With the proliferation of European supermarkets the table grapes export sector in Archanes changed significantly. Production and export of table grapes became more commercialized and intensive than before. Safety-net prices were removed by the state and private export companies quickly started to emerge, and eventually controlled the export grape market. In addition, the European supermarket chains became the primary buyers of table grapes from Archanes and have strict requirements on traceability, food safety and social standards. The weakening of the agricultural cooperative in this period due to the prevalence of political patronism and party politics contributed to the increasing share of private exporters’ in the table grapes exports from Archanes. The cooperative became indebted due to mismanagement and state dependence, and this contributed to the breaking down of the cooperative spirit among farmers (Interviews with W7; Key industry informant). All these developments meant that the producers in Archanes no longer had the ‘upper hand’ anymore in influencing and participating in price determination, quality and the terms of commercial transactions. A more integrated supply chain developed characterized by what Gereffi et al (2005) call ‘explicit coordination’ where supermarkets governed the chain and imposed their own standards and rules to suppliers. Thus, the table grapes sector in Archanes shifted from a producer-led export market to a buyer-led global production network led by supermarkets.

Figure 2.3 below shows the changing commercial process of production, export and distribution whereby supermarket buyers concentrated power and value capture, creating a more ‘hierarchical’ relationship as compared to the producer-led export market. In addition, as the diagram shows the agricultural cooperative, in addition to the role of the ‘exporter’, also acted as a collective producer body and sold excess grapes from its members to private export companies (Interview with industry key informant). The figure also indicates an increased use of skilled female labour as compared to the previous period which will be explored in chapter 6 in detail.
Figure 2.3: The table grape GPN from Archanes to Europe

In this period production of the Thompson Seedless, the preferred variety in the European market expanded rapidly. Table 2.2 below shows the production of Thompson Seedless table grapes in Archanes by year based on a study by the cooperative.

### Table 2.2: Production and area of Thompson Seedless grapes in Archanes 1996-2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Production (tons)</th>
<th>Area (hectares)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>4720</td>
<td>Unavailable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes
The table shows that production and area of Thompson Seedless table grapes increased between 1996-2005 as a result of the planting of new vines and the growth in the market for Thompson Seedless grapes. The data are indicative as they were based on a study and thus did not involve all the table grape vineyards in Archanes. Therefore the actual numbers may be higher.

As chapter 6 will explain, the expansion of supermarkets meant that work in table grape production became much more skilled and labour intensive to cater for increasing quality requirements. The enhanced skill-intensity offered growing economic opportunities for women to work as waged workers in table grapes, particularly in packing which was now key to quality enhancement. The shifts in gender roles and the implications for women’s agency will be discussed in more detail in chapter 6 of the thesis.

2.5: Period 3: Economic crisis

The period of crisis involves the period from 2008 and continued at the time of writing of this thesis. This period is characterized by continued focus on quality and price requirements from supermarkets to producers and exporters. However, the economic crisis and austerity policies in Greece affected the table grapes export sector leading to the reduction of production and export. These shifts included commercial and societal changes and their interaction significantly affected women’s work and agency. Chapter 7 will investigate in detail the effects of the crisis in the GPN on the relationship between waged-unwaged work and women’s labour agency. Here we examine the emergence of the economic crisis in Greece and other EU countries and its effects on the table grapes export sector in Archanes.
2.5.1 The Eurozone and the Greek economic crisis

The origins of the Eurozone crisis lie in the global financial crisis of 2007-2008 following the burst of the housing bubble in the United States and the fall of the Lehman Brothers. This triggered a major financial crisis characterized by a banking crisis, a credit crunch and the deleveraging of households (Karamessini, 2014, p. 7). There was no confidence in the market and banks stopped providing loans to companies and households. Consumers were buying less and companies cut down on their employees, leading to rising unemployment. The Eurozone and the UK were significantly affected by the crisis. The UK was hit severely but the ‘crisis was contained by financial rescues and recapitalization by the state at the cost of an increasing sovereign debt’ (Karamessini, 2014, p. 10). Germany was less affected by the crisis than other countries (Karamessini, 2014). As I will elaborate below the crisis in the UK and the Eurozone countries had implications on the table grape value chain because Greek table grape exports were directed to the European market, mainly Germany and the UK (Manthoulis, n.d.a).

Greece was one of the countries hit hardest by the global financial crisis in 2009 when it sought a strategy to re-pay its already high sovereign debt. Greece’s sovereign-debt-to-GDP ratio was the highest in the EU before the crisis while its fiscal policy was neutral (Karamessini, 2014, p. 12). Greek sovereign debt rose from 105.4 per cent in 2007 to 142.8 per cent in 2010, reaching 160.9 per cent in 2011 (Eurostat, 2011). Unemployment increased from 6.6 per cent in 2008 to 16.6 per cent in 2011 (Economou et al, 2013). In 2010 Greece entered a loan agreement with its Eurozone partners and the IMF that was still ongoing at the time of writing of this thesis and which required major fiscal consolidation reforms. This agreement was the ‘Memorandum of Understanding’ between the government and its creditors and set the conditions under which Greece would receive its loans. It involved ‘shock therapy’ type austerity measures that included cuts in public spending on welfare; huge rises in taxes; erosion of employment rights through promoting flexible work and easy hiring-firing arrangements (Karamessini, 2014, p. 167).
The Greek economic crisis had major implications for the table grape value chain and affected exporters, producers and workers. The costs of production in Archanes skyrocketed in the period of crisis due to the austerity measures that increased taxes on inputs which were required to maintain the high quality demanded by supermarkets (Interviews with Agronomist 3; M10). There was limited liquidity in the sector as banks had stopped providing loans to export companies and producers (Medstrategy, 2012, p. 9; Interview with key industry informant). Normally the export companies would get loans from banks to start their exports and pay the producers and would pay back the loans once they received the money from the grape exports. However, in the crisis exporters and the cooperative had little loan capital to keep the sector moving (Interviews with key industry informant; Exporter 3). This led to cases of bankruptcies of less successful exporters and to delays of payments to producers and exporters, leading to a spiral of indebtedness, as I will explain in more detail in Chapter 7.

2.5.2 The effects of the global economic crisis on European supermarkets

The global economic crisis significantly affected consumer behavior in the importing countries of the Greek table grapes including the UK and to a lesser extent Germany, the two major importing countries of the Greek table grapes. Consumers in these countries cut their shopping spending significantly and wanted value for money products as their incomes were squeezed in the crisis (Dixon et al, 2014). A UK-based study in 2008 indicated that 42 per cent of shoppers switched to cheaper brands while 34 per cent cut down on premium food products (European Parliament 2009, p. 52). This gives an indication of the increased price consciousness of consumers during the crisis. Food sales also dropped in the European countries as a result of the recession (Anagbosos and Maclaren, 2009). This led to increased competition among supermarkets to attract consumers as each consumer was important to increase their revenue. Supermarkets also faced immense competition from discounters that increased their market share during the crisis. In the UK Aldi increased its market share from 2.7 to 3.2 per cent within 2007 (European Parliament 2009, p. 52). In 2010 in Germany discounters controlled 46.4 per cent of the food market share, leading to cut-throat competition among food retailers for
market share. As a result German food prices were 15 per cent below the European average (Blau, 2010). In the UK price changes became more frequent and flexible because of oligopolistic rivalries and because customers focused on value for money (Dixon et al, 2014). Supermarkets engaged in a competitive strategy of small price cuts to attract consumers (Dixon et al, 2014). Thus, as a result of the crisis and the increased competition between supermarkets and discounters there was a downward pressure on consumer prices and short-term and flexible price offers. These pressures were transferred onto the suppliers and workers.

At the same time, international competition for grapes increased as new countries entered the market which further pushed table grape prices down. In particular Peru recently entered the table grape market in Germany and the UK, the two major export destinations of the Greek table grapes (Greek Consulate in Munich, 2009b). Figure 2.4 below shows the table grape prices for producers and exporters in Greece. It shows that exporters get a much higher price than the producers. The producer prices declined after 2008 to reach in 2012 the levels of 2003. This shows that the prices for table grapes in the period of crisis declined significantly due to both intensified supermarket pressures and the economic crisis. As the figure shows, in 2008 the producer price was higher than the exporter price. This may be due to the heatwave in the summer of 2008 that destroyed much of table grape production in Greece. Producer prices increased significantly as a result due to the limited supply in comparison with demand of Greek grapes (USDA, 2008).
The increased pressures on exporters and producers in the period of crisis led to a reduction in production and exports, combined with increasing production costs, contributing to a spiral of indebtedness for exporters, producers and workers (Interviews with Agronomists 2 and 3; Exporter 4). The crisis in the sector is reflected in country-level and prefecture-level production data. Figure 2.2 shown in section 2.6.2 depicts the impact of the economic crisis on the Greek table grapes sector with a constant decline of exports from 2008 onwards. It shows that in 2010 Greek exports dropped by a staggering 48 per cent compared to 2001, ‘which means that Greece has lost almost half of its export power in a decade’ (MedStrategy, 2012, p. 6). According to USDA (2010) climatic conditions are also responsible for this major drop in exports in 2010.

The economic crisis and adverse weather also affected production. The following diagram shows the decline in the table grape production in Heraklion from 2006-2007 onwards. The data are for table grapes from table grape vineyards only.
Under these adverse circumstances workers constituted a ‘buffer’ to the increased commercial risks that trickled down in the supply chain. In packing exporters made waged work more precarious, cutting down workers’ wages and benefits, while availability of work declined overall due to the contraction of the sector. In the farms unwaged work increased as producers were not able to afford waged labour to undertake farm tasks. These shifts had major implications on women and men as I will explore in chapter 7 in detail.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the main changes that have taken place in the table grapes export sector in Archanes which we will see have contributed to big shifts in gender relations in the sector across three periods. The chapter shows that there have been important commercial transformations as the table grape GPN developed and evolved, with the crisis affecting the GPN. It thus indicates non-linear forms of commercial change taking place as GPNs evolve.
The shift to small-scale land ownership enabled the expansion of a producer-led export market where multiple actors were involved and where table grape producers were able to participate in setting quality and price. Work was largely unskilled in this period as there were no strict quality requirements. However, with the *Phylloxera* disease and the destruction of the rozaki table grape vineyards, a brief period of transition through re-planting programs emerged, while Greece became an EU member state. From 1990 following the expansion of supermarkets Archanes became integrated into a buyer-led table grape GPN where supermarkets exercised power over their suppliers through strict quality requirements and price pressures. Work became more skilled to cater for the quality requirements. However, with the advent of the global economic crisis in 2008 supermarkets faced immense competition, pushing the Greek suppliers to lower prices further. The Greek economic crisis that followed in 2009 added to the immense pressures to suppliers, leading to the contraction of production and export, the utilization of labour as a ‘buffer’ to increased risks in the value chain.

These commercial transformations had different consequences for men and women. It is hence important to investigate the gender implications of these commercial transformations. There is thus a gender gap in our knowledge, which I will now go onto examine in more depth (a) analytically and (b) empirically. In the next chapter I will examine to what extent existing analytical frameworks are adequate for the task of a gender analysis of the impacts of changing production networks on women’s work and agency.
Chapter 3 Theorising The Dynamics of Women’s Work and Agency in GPNs

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 identified an empirical gap in the literature which is the investigation of the gender implications of commercial transformations over time. Chapter 2 showed that the case of Archanes is particularly illuminating in relation to this research gap because there have been major shifts across three periods in its table grapes export sector as GPNs evolve. This chapter addresses to what extent the existing literature adequately captures the gendered effects of changes in production systems over time. The GPN approach captures commercial change with the expansion of supermarkets and its societal implications. However, it does not include a gender analysis. Hence this chapter addresses the second research sub-question of the thesis: *To what extent does the GPN approach with its concept of societal embeddedness help to understand the gender implications of changing production networks?*

A recently emerging Gendered GPN approach brings together the GPN and feminist political economy literatures and hence offers a gendered perspective in the GPN approach. The concept of gendered societal embeddedness illuminates the analysis of how commercial relations are embedded in locally-specific gendered societal norms and institutions. I contribute to the development of a Gendered GPN approach and draw from the intra-household bargaining literature to incorporate unwaged farm labour and women’s fall-back position in terms of work to deepen analysis of women’s labour agency outcomes as shaped by gendered bargaining relations at different levels.
Figure 3.1 represents my theoretical Gendered GPN framework used in this thesis to explore the shifting relationship between GPNs, women’s waged and unwaged work and women’s labour agency across three periods:

**Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework of Thesis**

![Conceptual Framework of Thesis](image)

Source: Created by Author

The framework depicted in the diagram demonstrates a changing interaction between three different levels of gendered bargaining that shape women’s changing role as waged and/or unwaged workers between three periods. Bargaining is gendered because of the gender division of labour and embedded gender norms that often lead to disparities in opportunities, positioning and negotiating power between women and men at different levels of the GPN. The three levels of bargaining are shown in the blue dotted box at the top of the diagram: a) commercial bargaining between supermarkets, exporters and producers b) women’s bargaining as waged workers with employing firms and c) women’s labour bargaining with male spouses.
as unpaid farm workers in the household. The framework facilitates examination of how these three different levels of bargaining interact to shape women’s work and labour agency in the table grape GPN across three periods. It depicts that gendered societal norms and power asymmetries are embodied within commercial relations at different levels. The labour agency of women is understood as the outcome of gendered bargaining relations as shown in the red box. The diagram depicts that the labour agency of women affects commercial bargaining relations through the bottom up arrows. It will be argued that this framework helps to understand labour agency as not merely reactive and one-dimensional but as a result of complex bargaining processes at different levels.

This chapter guides the reader on how I came about introducing this framework by building on the GPN and feminist approaches. I will first discuss the commercial bargaining component of my framework (seen at the left at the top of the diagram) using the GPN literature. Following from this I discuss the second level of bargaining, i.e. the firm-worker bargaining relationship (shown in the centre at the top of the diagram) drawing from the GPN and feminist literatures. Finally, I discuss the third level of bargaining which is the bargaining of women as unwaged workers in the household with male spouses by drawing from the feminist economics (intra-household bargaining) literature.

Bargaining relations embody power relations. They influence and are influenced by power. I thus draw from different conceptions of power to inform my framework of gendered bargaining at different levels and my concept of labour agency from a gender lens in GPNs under flux. These conceptions of power are ‘power over’, ‘power to’ and ‘power within’. The conceptualisation of power as ‘power over’ is used in this thesis to capture the power of supermarkets over their suppliers in global markets. It is also used in analysis of gendered bargaining relations between women and men. ‘Power to’ is understood as the labour agency of women workers, and ‘power within’ is women’s own perceptions of aspirations and agency. These
conceptions of power and their gendered dimensions will be explored in more detail in the following sections.

3.2 ‘Power over’ and commercial bargaining relations

The literatures on global value chains (GVC) and global production networks (GPN) unpack analytically the expansion and consolidation of supermarkets in the fresh fruit and vegetable sector. This was identified in chapter 2 as a key commercial shift affecting the table grapes export sector in Archanes. The GVC literature informs analysis of shifting gender relations in the table grapes export sector because it highlights the inter-linkages between various commercial actors at different levels following the expansion of supermarkets and the power asymmetries between them. It captures the power of lead firms as ‘power over’ their suppliers (Lee et al, 2012).

The conceptualisation of power as ‘power over’ was first introduced by Max Weber (Lukes, 1974, p. 10). It was further developed by Lukes in his influential book *Power: A Radical View*. Lukes defined power as follows: ‘A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B’s interests’ (Lukes, 1974, p. 27). Lukes argued that there are three dimensions of power. The first dimension involves a focus on behaviour in the making of decisions, where the person with the power is able to modify the behaviour of others (Lukes, 1974, p. 15). The second dimension of power involves the power to influence the agenda, i.e. non-decision making. The third dimension of power involves covert forms of power where the person being dominated has no awareness of the power being exercised over them. This power is in the form of ideology or false consciousness.

The GVC approach draws from the concept of ‘power over’ in its first two dimensions as identified by Lukes to analyse the power of buyers over other commercial actors in global markets. It captures ‘power over’ with its concept of ‘governance’. Governance is defined as the ways in which lead firms ‘in the chain set and/or enforce the parameters under which others in the chain operate’
(Humphrey and Schmitz, 2001, p. 2). Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994) differentiate two types of governance by firms through distinguishing between ‘producer-driven’ and ‘buyer-driven’ chains. In producer-driven chains transnational corporations play a key role. This takes place in technology-intensive commodities. In buyer-driven chains retailers and supermarkets occupy a position of power in the chain. As explained in Chapter 2 the fresh fruit and vegetable chains are buyer-driven, which means that supermarkets coordinate key activities in the chain and set the rules of the game. The GVC literature as outlined in Chapter 2 explained the ways in which supermarkets exercise buyer-driven governance through the wide range of private food and safety standards and supply chain management strategies (Gibbon and Ponte, 2005; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000).

The GVC literature uncovers why power in value chains is concentrated on lead firms. As Mayer and Milberg (2013) explain buyers exercise oligopolistic power and maintain low prices by playing off suppliers against each other and sourcing from many different suppliers. The small number of supermarket buyers compared to suppliers compromises the bargaining position of suppliers: ‘Lead firms have power in GVCs in part because they select and place orders from suppliers. Because suppliers tend to produce from the specifications of the lead firms, tend to exert less power in the chain, and earn lower profits’ (Sturgeon and Memedovic, 2011, p. 9). The concentration of buyer power can be explained, according to Mayer and Milberg (2013, p. 4), by the position of lead firms which:

...generally seek to occupy those niches (or to create them) in which there are barriers to entry that enable them to enjoy extra-normal profits or rents. Small suppliers further down the chain and their workers generally find themselves in highly competitive settings, with little or no ability to capture such rents.

As Kaplinsky (2000) explains barriers to entry determine rent. Hence in buyer-driven chains lead firms exercise significant power over the whole network of suppliers because they capture the niches in the market where there are barriers to entry and thus enjoy rents (in other words high profits). According to Vorley (2001, p. 3) in buyer-driven agri-food chains lead firms control the intangible assets such as information and patents rather than the tangible means of production, which generate barriers to competition and capital accumulation. Efficient supply chain
management, high quality and large volume constitute the barriers to entry at the buyer-level, which supermarkets have captured, creating oligopolistic power relationships with their suppliers. Quality standards therefore represent the differentiation of supermarkets from other buyers (horizontal power relations), with which supermarkets can gain the trust of consumers. The proliferation of product and process quality standards (explained in chapter 2) also demonstrates the power of buyers over their suppliers (vertical power relations).

The GVC approach helps to highlight the ways in which governance (buyer-driven governance in the case of table grapes) structures the possibilities of actors (exporters, producers, workers) in the table grape value chain. The power of supermarkets over their suppliers often constrains the position of suppliers to negotiate. Utilising female skilled labour often becomes a bargaining tool for exporters and/or producers in their transactions with supermarkets. GVC research has shown how oligopolistic power capture by supermarkets affects firms further down the supply chain in the fresh fruits and vegetables sector (Gibbon, 2001; Dolan and Humphrey, 2000; Barrientos and Visser, 2012). Supermarket strategies such as just-in time systems, category management and supply chain management put immense economic pressure to export firms to supply fruits and vegetables with last minute orders, low prices and at high quality. As Dolan (2004, p. 112) argues in response to these pressures firms increase flexibility through employing flexible and casual labour: ‘flexibility is largely a strategy to manage risk and mediate pressures that are both exogenous and endogenous to the value chain’. Much of casual labour is female, due to the preference for women over men in certain tasks as it will be elaborated in detail later on in the chapter. Supermarket requirements also have effects on smallholder growers. As Challies and Murray (2011) argue smallholder farmers often struggle to achieve the stringent requirements of quality of the supermarkets. ‘In this sense such standards may present significant barriers -both to entry and to ongoing participation- within the chain’ (Challies and Murray, 2011, p. 33).
The GPN approach offers a more nuanced analysis of commercial power relations than the GVC approach. Whereas the GVC approach tends to focus more on the power of supermarkets over their suppliers, the GPN approach unpacks the complexity and multi-dimensional character of commercial power relationships and their changing nature. The GPN approach highlights how power asymmetries are underpinned by shifting bargaining relations between different actors across the production network (Coe et al, 2008). According to Coe et al (2008, p. 276):

‘the specific configurations and asymmetries of power within GPNs are infinitely more complex, contingent and variable over time… As in all bargaining situations, the relative power of actors within a network depends, in large part, on the extent to which each possesses assets sought by the other party and the extent to which access to such assets can be controlled’.

This more nuanced analysis of power relationships by the GPN approach stems from its ‘relational networks’ approach that uncovers the interdependencies between different social actors that make up the production network (Coe et al, 2008, p. 281). The GPN approach recognizes the complex, multi-layered, multi-dimensional character of webs of economic activity which are constantly shaped and reshaped (Henderson et al, 2002, p. 442). Hence, power relationships at all levels and between different actors are central to GPN analysis and their fluid nature over time is highlighted. The analysis of bargaining relations between actors in the production network that are susceptible to change is illuminating to capture the shifts in commercial relations across three periods and their gender implications.

Recently literatures from GVC and GPN approaches have started to explore the shifts in commercial production networks following the expansion of the emerging economies of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and the growth of South-South trade (Barrientos and Visser, 2012; Gereffi, 2014). This reflects that the commercial dynamics of GPNs are not fixed but shift over time and this informs my analysis changing production networks. My research seeks to shed more light on processes of commercial transformation within GPNs that literature has started to explore. Moreover, the GPN literature has yet to explore the societal effects of changing production networks, which is the focus of this thesis. The research framework presented in Figure 3.1 reflects this through the interconnections
between changing bargaining relations at different levels and how they affect gender relations in the table grapes export sector.

Despite the significant analytical insights on commercial power relations through the concept of governance, Coe et al, (2008) argue, the GVC approach focuses on the firms and primarily on lead firm-supplier relationships without sufficiently exploring bargaining relationships between firms and social actors such as the state and labour. This, they argue, stems from the vertical analysis of supply chain relationships and bargaining, often analytically neglecting the role of extra-firm actors in the supply chain. Hence, it does not suffice analytically to investigate workers’ agency in global production. Coe et al (2008) and Henderson et al (2002) argue that the GVC approach focuses on the impacts of the expansion of the export sector on workers, but not sufficiently investigating their agency to affect change. As Herod argues, workers are not powerless, but rather they have agency of their own, they are ‘active participants’ (Herod, 2001, p. 16). Moreover, given the GPN approach focuses on how local social/economic arrangements shape production in different places it can hence account for change over time in the interaction between commercial drivers and socio-cultural and institutional context. In contrast, the GVC approach does not seek to ‘reconstruct the history of the nature and implications of the chains’ (Henderson et al, 2002, p. 441). Hence, commercial relations are often viewed as ‘given’. For the purposes of this research therefore the GPN approach is utilised. The GPN approach addresses the above limitations through its concept of societal embeddedness.

3.3 Societal embeddedness and ‘power to’

The GPN approach extends analysis into how commercial actors interact with societal actors and how they are influenced by societal norms. It espouses Polanyi’s idea of markets as being socially constructed and therefore offers a deep analysis of the social relations embedded within commercial relations. Therefore, it can help to analyse the influence of the local social and institutional context on women’s agency.
GPNs are not just economic but also political, social and cultural phenomena (Levy, 2008; Coe et. al, 2008). According to Coe et al (2008, p. 274):

GPN configurations and characteristics are shaped by and, in turn, shape the geographically differentiated social, political and cultural circumstances in which they exist as well as the material technicalities of the specific transformational processes, which lie at the core of a particular GPN.

The concept of embeddedness is central in GPN analysis and is what in essence makes it more robust than the GVC approach to investigate the societal implications of changing commercial relations. The concept was first used by Karl Polanyi in his book *The Great Transformation* (1944) and signified that economic relations are not independent forces but subordinated to political, ideological and social relations. Polanyi (1944) argued that markets are socially constructed and thus are not independent autonomous forces as orthodox economics suggested. Polanyi understood pre-capitalist economies as being embedded within society so that societal values of reciprocity and redistribution governed economic relationships. In contrast he understood modern capitalism as being dis-embedded from society with the independent, autonomous self-regulating market transforming society by implanting market values such as self-interest, rationality and competiveness into society. Rather than the market being embedded in society, Polanyi argued, society was embedded in the free market. Granovetter (1985) challenged Polanyi’s dis-embedding thesis using a ‘relational networks’ perspective of embeddedness, arguing that all actors are in fact embedded in ‘networks of inter-personal relations’ (p. 504). Granovetter was criticised by Barber (1995) for understanding social relations merely as interpersonal networks without accounting for the wider social system including gender, culture and institutions. The concept of embeddedness is therefore silent on issues of gender.

The GPN approach draws from Polanyian and Granovetterian notions of embeddedness to capture the interactions between social and commercial actors and relations. Embeddedness in GPNs takes three different forms: territorial, network and social embeddedness (Henderson et al, 2002; Hess, 2004). Territorial embeddedness involves the ways that actors are anchored in particular places. Social embeddedness highlights the importance of the societal background of an actor influencing their
actions within respective societies and outside of them (Hess, 2004, p. 176). Network embeddedness refers to the connection between different actors within the GPN and the shared ideas and norms diffused through the GPN by the retailers (Henderson et al, 2002). Recently the concept of societal embeddedness has been used to capture how GPNs embody and interact with local societal relations and norms (Barrientos, 2014; Coe et al, 2008). This research draws from the concept of societal embeddedness to understand how commercial production networks and local gendered societal relations interact, shaping women’s and men’s roles in table grapes. The concept however does not incorporate a gender perspective.

The concept of societal embeddedness in the GPN literature helps to understand embedded labour as an agent because it looks into the bargaining relationships between firm and societal actors. It unpacks the multi-dimensional and multi-levelled dimensions of power and the ability of social actors including labour to bargain and affect change (Coe et al, 2008). Therefore it captures a second and more positive dimension of power, which is the ‘power to’. ‘Power to’ is defined by Kabeer (1999, p. 4) as ‘peoples’ capacity to define their own life choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition, dissent and resistance from others’. Hence, the GPN approach analytically contributes to analysis of labour agency in the table grapes export sector in Archanes by exploring the second level of bargaining between workers and employers as represented in the middle at the top of the diagram in Figure 3.1. Despite the analytical insights the GPN approach brings into analysing labour and its agency there has still been more attention to firm dynamics of global production, with less emphasis on the impacts to labour and its capacity of change. As Barrientos et al (2011, p. 300) argue, ‘these two bodies of literature have tended to remain separate, either confined within specific academic disciplines and conceptual frameworks, or proceeding at different levels of analysis’. GPN literature has only recently started to explore in-depth the agency of labour within production networks.

The GPN literature on labour agency informs my analysis of shifting gender relations in table grapes in Greece through accounting for the variety of ways in which workers can exercise power (in its positive sense as ‘power to’) and affect
change to improve their position in production networks. Literature on labour agency often focuses on collective bargaining at the local level (see Selwyn, 2009; Herod, 2001; Cumbers et al, 2008). Other studies investigate transnational forms of collective bargaining; civil society organisations and alliances of labour unions with state and civil society institutions (see Castree et al, 2004; Barrientos, 2014; Barrientos and Evers, 2014).

Labour agency can also be individual. Studies focusing on unorganised workers, migrant workers and forced labour have investigated how those workers who are not able to bargain collectively exercise agency through every day micro-level practices and shifts in livelihood strategies (see Rogaly, 2009; Gardiner Barber 2000, O’Laughlin, 2002; Castree et al, 2004). Nevertheless, as Carswell and De Neve (2013) and Kelly (2012) argue, such studies tend to pay less attention to the experiences of workers behind these strategies, which calls for a consideration of issues such as social reproduction and the home (Carswell and De Neve, 2013, p. 3). Nadvi (2008) argues that there should be more research on labour that engages ‘with the local social context – which includes norms and values as well as gender and household relations and the ways in which these impact on local work practices and work organization’ (2008, p. 340). In other words as Coe and Hess (2013, p. 6) put it:

Worker agency should not only be seen in terms of the ‘vertical’ dimensions of GPN structures stretching across and between countries, but also in terms of the ‘horizontal’ dimension of embeddedness in local places, institutional settings and communities.

Recent literature on labour in GPNs brings forward much more the horizontal dimension of labour agency and contributes to the understanding of the embeddedness of both firms and labour in societal relations. This opens much more analytical ground to explore the constraints and opportunities for labour. McGrath (2013) introduced the concept of the ‘dynamics of production networks’ and include the relations between firms, the state, workers and civil society organisations among others thus including both vertical or commercial as well as horizontal or social relations in the analysis of labour in GPNs. Azmeh (2014) distinguished between ‘embedded’ (local workers) and ‘dis-embedded’ workers (migrant workers). Lund-Thomsen (2013) and Carswell and De Neve (2013) argued that labour agency is
embedded in wider social relations including livelihood strategies. Carswell and De Neve (2013, p. 3) introduce a conceptualisation of labour agency which acknowledges the link of productive and reproductive work:

The sorts of decisions people make regarding employment are deeply embedded within people’s wider livelihood strategies, which in turn are shaped by concerns about the social reproduction of individuals, households and communities.

Lund-Thomsen (2013) and Carswell and De Neve (2013) draw from Katz (2004) to use a three-dimensional concept of labour agency: resilience (efforts to get by/cope), reworking (efforts to improve conditions within the system) and resistance (direct challenge to existing structures) to capture the multi-dimensional and multi-levelled nature of agency.

Thus, Caswell and De Neve (2013) and Lund-Thomsen (2013) move towards a broader understanding of labour agency where it is also influenced by factors external to the GPN, related to social reproduction. This ‘horizontal’ understanding of labour agency that embodies in its conceptualisation the embeddedness of labour itself in conjunction with the vertical conceptualisation of commercial power asymmetries is valuable for investigating the labour agency outcomes for women as it can help uncover the link between productive and reproductive work, and the interplay between agency and constraint from a gendered perspective. However, this literature often sees the interaction between commercial relations and societal relations in which labour is embedded in a ‘static’ fashion, lacking an analysis of change over time. In addition, the GPN approach has not sufficiently investigated the effects of economic crisis on labour agency in production networks. More importantly, it does not have a gender analysis of labour agency within GPNs.

To incorporate a gender lens to the concept of labour agency I draw from feminist perspectives on agency. Feminist literature (see for example McNay, 2000; Butler, 1993; Kabeer, 1999) argues that societies disadvantage women over men. However, feminist literature argues, gender roles and identities are socially constructed and hence can change through women’s actions. Feminist approaches to agency explore
‘the capacity for autonomous action in the face of often overwhelming cultural sanctions and structural inequalities’. (McNay, 2000, p. 10). Thus, as Kabeer (1999) argues agency entails positive and negative dimensions of power. It includes ‘power over’ or the power to constrain the agency of others as well as the power to define one’s own life choices. Power over can also take the form of covert power or complicity through dominant gendered norms in society (Kabeer, 1999, p. 438). This resonates with the third dimension of power of Lukes (1974) from a gender perspective. Kabeer contends that agency can take various forms: decision-making, ‘bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis. It can be exercised by individuals as well as by collectivities’ (p. 438). Hence, feminist approaches highlight the complex processes of negotiation and bargaining that underpin it. This informs my own conceptualisation of labour agency as a result of gendered bargaining relations between women and men.

Central to the feminist conception of agency is the idea of subject creation. Gender identity is understood as ‘a lived set of embodied potentialities rather than as an externally imposed set of constraining norms’ (McNay, 2000, p. 31; Butler, 1993). McNay (2000) offers a compelling account of gender and agency in the context of changing relations between men and women that moves beyond the binary of male domination-female subordination that pertains much of feminist work. She argues that agency is often portrayed as resistance to dominant norms. This hides the creative and constitutive forms of agency in a context of changing societal relations and gives a simplistic account of change based on domination and resistance. McNay offers a more rounded conception of agency that incorporates the temporality and historical specificity of subject creation. Moreover, she highlights the positive dimension of subject creation through self-creation and reflection that accounts for a creative and dynamic theory of agency in a context of change. McNay’s work on agency informs my analysis of labour agency in shifting GPNs. She argues that gender norms and identities are not fixed, and hence agency evolves over time and can affect change in gender norms and relations within GPNs.
I draw from the labour agency in GPNs and feminist literature on agency to explore the horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ dimensions of women’s labour agency, hence taking into account both the ‘power over’ and ‘power to’ forms of power that underpin it from a gendered perspective. I define labour agency as ‘the capacity of the gendered subject to improve their condition as workers and affect change in production networks’. To unpack the evolution of women’s labour agency across three periods I understand it as the outcome of shifting gendered bargaining relations between men and women at different levels of the GPN. I investigate how women’s labour agency outcomes are conditioned by gendered power relations, norms and practices in the household, society and labour market and by commercial bargaining relations. I draw from the three-dimensional understanding of labour agency first introduced by Katz (2004) and later taken up by labour geographers (Carswell and De Neve, 2013, Lund-Thomsen, 2013) to capture its various dimensions I engender the three-fold conceptualisation of labour agency by defining resilience as women’s efforts to cope with gendered power asymmetries and gendered norms in the GPN, reworking as women’s efforts to actively alter gendered power asymmetries in the GPN and resistance as direct challenge to gendered commercial/societal pressures within GPNs. This typology will help uncover the different dimensions and magnitude of women’s labour agency and to differentiate between different types of women, as women are not a homogeneous group. A cross-period analysis can help to highlight how women’s diverse labour agency outcomes interact with commercial relations over time.

The GPN literature often sees the relationship between commercial and societal relations as static, giving little analytical insights to non-linear transformations over time. This is because the GPN literature often emphasises how commercial drivers affect society much more than how societal relations affect commercial production networks, therefore commercial relations are often seen as more ‘dynamic’ than societal relations. Thus, it does not often uncover the process, evolution and shifts in the interaction between commercial production networks and societal relations. In other words, societal embeddedness is often viewed as fixed. This has analytical implications for labour agency as it can be viewed as a reactive rather than an
evolving and constitutive force. A cross-period analytical lens can help to address this through offering an analytical lens to explore transitions in labour agency from a gendered lens.

The GPN approach, although is valuable for my analysis of commercial change, often lacks a household-level analysis and hence it only takes us thus far in exploring the gendered implications of commercial transformations as manifested in women’s shifting role as waged and unwaged workers in table grapes. As Hess (2009) argues, the GPN approach has largely ignored the role of workers’ household strategies. In addition, the GPN approach often lacks a gender analysis. As Barrientos (2014, p. 3) argues, although the GPN approach contributes to understanding the influence of social actors and norms that influence commercial relations ‘to date, GVC/GPN analysis has been limited in unpacking the gender dimensions of those interactions’. In order to capture the implications of commercial transformations on women and men a gendered analysis is needed, one that understands societal embeddedness as gendered, embodying gendered power relationships between commercial and societal actors within GPNs. Feminist political economy approaches help to shed light on these issues.

3.4 Power relations as gendered

Feminist approaches explore how the different forms of power, ‘power over’ (Lukes, 1974) and ‘power to’ (Kabeer, 1999) are gendered. Some feminist political economists draw from and engender Polanyi’s concept of embeddedness to unpack the gendered nature of market relations. Beneria (1999; 2007) sought to include a gender perspective in Polanyi’s concept of the social construction of markets to argue that neoclassical economics separated economic relations from their social context, hiding the gendered relations in the production process. She argues that women are affected differently than men from globalisation. Women, she argues, are not integrated on equal terms with men in the market economy but play a significant role in unpaid work which is not governed by market imperatives. She argues that productive activity (market economy) is very much dependent on reproductive activity (child caring, domestic work) for the reproduction of its labour. In the
context of a gendered economy, men are mostly located in the productive sphere, while women in the reproductive sphere (Beneria, 2007). There is thus an association of the market, Beneria argues, with ‘maleness’ and public life and of unpaid work with reproduction and women (Beneria, 2007, p.19). Thus, according to Beneria, the separation of market forces from social relations made by orthodox economists rules out the contribution of women’s unpaid work and contributes to the gender segregation between productive (market) and reproductive (domestic) economies.

Elson (1999) applies the gender understanding of the social construction of markets into labour markets arguing that labour markets are gendered institutions. In other words labour markets are ‘bearers of gender’ (Elson, 1999, p. 611). Elson argues that economic activity relates to the productive economy or the market-oriented economy and the reproductive or domestic economy. Labour market institutions operate in ways that fail to acknowledge the reproductive economy and disadvantage those that work in it (Elson, 1999, p. 612). They are constructed so that women carry out the work in the reproductive economy which is often considered as an ‘externality’ (Elson, 1999, p. 612). As a result, they often reinforce gender inequality. Elson also explored the gendered nature of state policies, specifically the structural adjustment policies of developing countries following the debt crisis (Elson, 1994). Feminist political economy literature also reveals the gendered norms governing social relations and shaping the gendered division of labour in the household (Whitehead, 1979; Beneria, 2007).

Hence, feminist political economy contributes to an analysis of the gender implications of commercial transformations because it investigates how gendered norms and inequalities are embedded within formal institutions including the economy, the state and the labour market. It thus helps to develop a gendered analysis of societal embeddedness in GPNs to explore the gender effects of commercial transformations. The gendered institutions literature does not include an analysis of changes over time in gendered institutions and their implications on women and men. I contribute analytically to this through a cross-period lens.
Feminist political economy also uncovers the gendered dimension of commercial-societal interaction and highlights how commercial relations embody in them gendered norms and practices in global production. This tends to be overlooked in much of analysis of global value chains and production networks. Elson and Pearson (1981) claim in their seminal article that work in labour-intensive export industries is gender stereotyped because women are employed in certain tasks that require manual dexterity as they are thought to have ‘innate skills’ of ‘docility’ and ‘nimble fingers’. However according to Elson and Pearson these traits are not natural, but are a result of the early socialisation of women. Due to the association of women with the household sphere these tasks are often undervalued: ‘their lower wage is attributed to their secondary status in the labour market which is seen as a natural consequence of their capacity to bear children’ (Elson and Pearson, 1981, p. 93). Thus, feminist political economy helps to understand how gendered ideology is reproduced in globalised production. However, much of the feminist political economy literature does not often unpack the nature of commercial relations in the context of globalisation.

An influential body of gender literature using GVC and GPN approaches (Dolan, 2003; Barrientos et al, 2003; Barrientos, 2013) helps to fill this research gap through unpacking the gendered nature of supermarket-coordinated systems of production to distribution of commodities. Drawing from Pearson and Elson’s (1981) thesis this body of literature brings analytical insights into how gendered norms and practices are embodied within the commercial process to maintain the bargaining position of suppliers vis-à-vis the buyers. This has not been sufficiently explored in the GPN literature that does not have a gender analysis.

According to Dolan (2004) gender stereotypes ‘are readily invoked in a competitive context where global demand factors…coupled with retail consolidation exert strong pressures on horticulture firms to reduce labor costs’ (Dolan, 2004, p. 107). Women are increasingly drawn into waged work in export horticulture (Barrientos et al, 1999; Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Dolan, 2004). The feminization of the workforce, both on-farm and at the packing sheds ‘relates to the production imperatives of the chain- quality, consistency and speed- which are linked to the ascribed ‘feminine’
traits of dexterity and conscientiousness’ (Dolan, 2004, p. 116). Therefore, under intense commercial pressures gendered norms are reproduced in the production and labour process in order to meet the requirements for low cost and high quality. Women are preferred to work in certain tasks because they are deemed to have manual dexterity, be more docile and hardworking than men, and these characteristics are considered to be naturally ascribed (Dolan, 2004; Barrientos et al, 1999). Gendered divisions of labour are reproduced in labour-intensive export sectors to accommodate economic goals. Hence, feminist literature that explores the gendered dimensions of commercial relations in global production also contributes to a gendered analysis of societal embeddedness through unpacking how gendered norms are often embedded within commercial relations, affecting the recruitment strategies of suppliers through the use of female labour.

Feminist literature also reveals that power asymmetries between commercial (firms) and societal actors (workers) are gendered and underpin complex gendered bargaining relations. Hence they reveal the gendered nature of the ‘power over’ dimension of power in commercial relations (Lukes, 1974). This is not explored in the GPN literature that does not have a gender lens. Women often experience precarious working conditions (Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2004; Bain, 2010). Barrientos (2013) argues that:

Low pay and lack of social benefits for female workers transfers the costs of reproduction onto the (often female) worker and their household. It facilitates higher levels of ‘value capture’ at the buyer end of supply chains, enhancing economic rents to lead firms. Gender discrimination is thus exploited as a low-cost source of value enhancement…Women juggling their productive and reproductive roles, with few alternative sources of income, are in a weak bargaining position to resist such pressures. Hence women workers are often the weakest link in a commercial process…” (Barrientos, 2013, p. 46).

Codes of conduct that aim to protect the rights of workers in global production are often embedded in local gendered institutions and address the gender needs of formal workers but not those of the informal workers (Barrientos et al, 2003, p. 1526). This analysis of the gendered nature of bargaining relations within GPNs informs my analysis of the interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations and how they manifest through firm-women worker bargaining as depicted in diagram 3.1.
Women are also significantly impacted as unwaged labour in global production, and this has been largely ignored in the GPN literature that does not have a gender lens. Gendered norms are often reproduced in smallholder farms as a means to cope with the increasing labour intensity and quality requirements of agricultural products (Barrientos, 2014; Dolan, 2002; Carney, 1988; Francis, 1998). Hence, women unwaged farm workers often work at certain tasks associated with manual dexterity while their work is socially undervalued (Barrientos, 2014). Women who do both waged and unwaged work often have a double work burden as productive labour the farm and the pack house and as reproductive labour (Barrientos et al, 1999; Bee, 2000). This literature informs my research as it demonstrates that the household, apart from a sphere of reproduction, is also a sphere of production for global markets through unpaid female labour.

Women however are not merely victims of economic globalisation. Feminist literature has explored the gender dimension of worker bargaining, looking at women’s movements, thus highlighting the gendered nature of the ‘power to’ dimension of power. For example Barrientos (2013) explores the tensions between commercial and societal dynamics of purchasing practises, how women’s NGOs play a central role in these tensions, and how it often leads to the societal embeddedness of companies in their selling markets through socially responsible practises (Barrientos, 2013, p. 49). This informs my analysis of the interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations through exploring the relationship between commercial shifts and women’s labour agency.

The newly emerging gender literature that uses a GPN perspective (Barrientos, 2013; 2014) unpacks the gender effects of the expansion of supermarket-led global production but has yet to explore the gender implications of changing production networks, which is the focus of this thesis. Although it has briefly explored women’s position prior to the expansion of supermarkets, and has explored the gender implications of the expansion of supermarkets, it has not yet explored the effects of economic crisis on women. Moreover, it has yet to explore shifts in women’s role across these commercial transformations. In addition, the gender GPN literature
often views gendered societal norms and relations in which women are embedded as static, and hence only explore the effects of commercial change on women and their agency.

So far I have argued that the GPN approach is valuable for unpacking commercial power relations and their societal effects but does not have a gender perspective. Feminist approaches bring to the forefront the gendered dimension of commercial relations but often do not unpack these relations. Hence, both GPN and feminist bodies of literature have gaps that the other fills. It is thus important to bring closer together the GPN and feminist literatures to form an integrated approach.

### 3.5 Gendered GPN approach: contributing to its development

The newly emerging Gendered GPN approach combines the GPN with the feminist political economy literatures to deepen analysis of the gendered dynamics of global production and sourcing, and their effects on women and men. According to Barrientos (2014) both the GPN and feminist political economy approaches explore notions of power and uncover power relations between actors. While the GPN approach explores power asymmetries between firms and between firms and workers, the feminist political economy literature looks into the power asymmetries between men and women. In addition Barrientos (2014) argues that the GPN approach looks into the role of institutions and the social context in shaping commercial relations through the concept of societal embeddedness while the feminist political economy literature looks into how gendered societal norms and practises are embodied within marketsand labour markets (see Beneria, 1999; Elson, 1999; Dolan, 2004). The gender literature on GPNs uncovers how commercial relations embody gendered norms and power asymmetries (see Barrientos, 2013).

Bringing the GPN and feminist political economy literatures together and drawing from Beneria (2007) Barrientos engenders the concept of societal embeddedness in the context of GPNs. The concept of gendered societal embeddedness captures how the expansion of global production is embedded in gendered social norms and institutions ‘across countries and regions where women have long played diverse but
subordinate roles, but are increasingly being drawn into commercial activity as consumers and producers’ (Barrientos, 2014, p. 3). The concept of gendered societal embeddedness brings analytical insights into the interaction between gendered commercial and societal relations following the expansion of buyer-led GPNs. As Barrientos (2014) and Barrientos and Evers (2014) argue, commercial requirements in addition to constraints, bring new opportunities for women to exercise leverage in GPNs.

However, this evolving gendered analysis has yet to explore the gender implications of production networks in a process of change. Hence the Gendered GPN approach is used and developed further in this thesis in order to unpack gendered transformations through the shifting interaction between women’s waged and unwaged work and labour agency in changing GPNs. I seek a closer dialogue between the feminist and GPN bodies of literature by tightening the analytical framework of the Gendered GPN approach to capture the gender implications of production networks under flux. I do so through including the household as a level of gendered societal embeddedness and developing a multi-levelled gendered analysis of shifting commercial-societal bargaining relations across periods.

3.6 Enriching the Gendered GPN approach

The concept of gendered societal embeddedness does not currently include the household as a level of analysis. It is important to include an in-depth gendered analysis of the household and power relations in it and to incorporate an analysis of the third level of bargaining in order to unpack women’s labour agency as waged and unwaged workers fully. I extend the concept of gendered societal embeddedness to include the embeddedness of GPNs into households in order to dig deeper into women’s agency. As Kelly (2009) argues, it is important to see changes in households and livelihoods ‘as processes of social embeddedness in which industrial [or agricultural] development [or crisis] is necessarily entangled with community and household spaces of social reproduction’ (Kelly, 2009, p. 456).
Taking a gendered lens in this, gendered values and relations as applied and embodied not only in labour markets but also in society and within the household are crucial in determining women’s labour agency. Commercial pressures affect women’s role in agriculture as waged or unwaged labour and impinge on gender roles and power relations within the household. In addition, women’s employment decisions as well as availability of labour in global production are influenced by intra-household gender norms and strategies. Moreover, the household is a sphere of production through women’s unpaid farm work for global markets. In other words, GPNs are embedded in households as much as they are embedded in places and gendered institutions.

Hence, I understand the household as a level of gendered societal embeddedness whereby commercial relations and gendered societal relations intersect through women’s unwaged work and decision-making around waged work in table grapes. This will help to theoretically capture the blurring and inter-relationship between productive and reproductive spheres through linking women’s paid and unpaid productive work in table grapes with domestic reproductive work. Drawing from the feminist economics literature I deepen analysis of gendered societal embeddedness into a multi-level concept that encompasses the commercial, societal and household levels. Commercial relations, societal norms, state policies, intra-household relations are all gendered and affect women and men’s roles in GPNs.

I contribute to the development of a Gendered GPN approach by tightening analytically the link between gendered commercial bargaining and societal bargaining, and how this affects gender relations in global production. As I mentioned previously, bargaining relations are dynamic and shifting over time. While the GPN approach looks into bargaining relations between workers and firms, feminist political economy looks into women’s bargaining in gendered institutions such as the state and the labour market. The intra-household bargaining literature looks into bargaining relations between women and men within the household.
Hence bringing these different bodies of literature together helps to analyse the gender implications of production networks in a process of change.

Feminist economists challenge the understanding of neoclassical economic approaches of the household as a unitary sphere whereby the male household head makes decisions for the benefit of the whole family. Rather, they suggest that resources, work and decisions in the household are distributed as a result of bargaining between spouses. Within the household there are power relations taking place like in any other sphere, characterised by conflict and cooperation (Sen, 1987). Power relations in the household are thus gendered. Hence, the feminist economics literature brings a gendered analysis of ‘power over’ (Lukes, 1974), ‘power to’ (Kabeer, 1999) and ‘power within’ (Kabeer, 1999) at the household level. ‘Power within’ is defined by Kabeer (1999) as ‘the meaning, motivation and purpose that individuals bring to their activity- their sense of agency…’ (Kabeer, 1999, p. 3, italics orginal). Women’s perception of power is an important dimension of agency that is explored in this thesis through women’s own accounts.

According to the feminist economics literature a woman’s bargaining power depends on her fall-back position which is defined as ‘the outside options which determine how well-off she/he would be if cooperation failed... An improvement in the person's fall-back position (better outside options) would lead to an improvement in the deal the person gets within the household (Agarwal 1997, p. 4). A fall-back position involves the outside options and/or resources that women have, which can be used as a threat point to access a better deal (Kabeer, 1999). Ownership of assets such as labour power, wage and land can enhance the fall-back position of a woman when bargaining with her spouse. Perceptions of contribution also affect a woman’s bargaining power. According to Agarwal (1997, p. 10):

A person’s contributions may be undervalued because of her gender or race. The work women do might be labelled “unskilled” and that which men do as “skilled” simply because of their gender, even if the tasks done by both require equal amounts of skill. Perceptions about contributions can also depend on how “visible” the work is: home-based or unwaged work is often seen as less valuable than work that is physically or monetarily more visible.
Women’s unwaged work contribution in the household is therefore often undervalued due to the perception that women contribute less than men. Perceived contributions of women’s work affects their bargaining position with male spouses as they often get less in return for their work due to the lower perceived contribution of their work (Agarwal, 1997). Feminist literature has explored how women’s work in global production is often socially undervalued through its often ‘hidden’ unwaged contribution and its gendered nature (Dolan, 2002; Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Kabeer, 1997). The concept of perceived contributions thus informs my analysis of women’s labour agency in changing GPNs.

Extra-household gendered institutions such as the labour market also influence women’s intra-household bargaining power and fall-back position. Many studies have discussed this issue in relation to the influence of women’s access to paid work. Kabeer’s study (1997) of the impact of women’s entry into paid employment in Bangladeshi export garment factories offers an example of how women’s earnings from waged work can increase women’s perceived contribution and fall-back position, resulting in changes to intra-household relations. Women felt more valued, respected and loved and were perceived as wage-earners in the family. Kabeer finds that ‘in moments of crisis, particularly when conflicts were forced into the open, the expanded possibilities offered by the strengthening of women’s fall-back position, came more clearly into view and provided evidence of the transformatory potential that access to wages could have’ (Kabeer, 1997, p. 299). At times of relationship crises women were able to walk away from abusive relationships, or to renegotiate the terms of their marriage (Kabeer, 1997, p. 299). Gendered bargaining also takes shape in extra-household gendered institutions as the feminist political economy literature explores, discussed previously (see Elson, 1994; 1999; Beneria, 2007).

The feminist political economy literature has also looked into how the entry of women in waged employment in global production led to re-negotiations of gendered household relations and improved their bargaining position in the
household. Research on women’s work in export grape production has demonstrated how women’s entry into waged packing offered women the chance to earn a wage of their own and contributed to women’s feelings of fulfilment and contribution in the household (Barrientos, 1998; Barrientos and Perrons, 1996; Bee, 1996). Gendered divisions of labour in the household were re-negotiated as women faced increased work burden in the productive realm (Barrientos, et al, 1999). In addition, research on the effects of the commercialisation of production on household gender relations has shown how women bargain with their spouses to retain control of the production process. According to Dolan (2001; 2002) the commercialisation of Kenyan French beans sector led to intra-household conflicts over control of the crops which had been traditionally controlled by women. Francis (1998) in her study of gender and rural livelihoods in Kenya found how commercial production produced interdependencies between men and women in households as male farmers needed access to female labour and women needed access to cash crop income. This interdependence, Francis argued, produced conflict or cooperation (Francis, 1998, p.92).

The feminist literature has also compared waged in relation to unwaged work on its impact on women’s bargaining position with men. Feminist literature shows that waged work is often more empowering for women than unwaged work because unwaged work is unremunerated, invisible and unrecognised due to the persistence of gendered norms and male control in the farm (Barrientos et al, 1999; Bee, 2000; Shortall, 2002). In addition, literature suggests that off-farm work often results from women’s resistance to the gendered division of labour and unrecognised work in the farm (O’Hara 1998; Cernic Istenic, 2006; Wozniak and Scholl, 1990; Shortall, 2002).

I seek to bring the GPN and feminist literatures closer in order to unpack women’s labour agency in GPNs in a transitionary process. I do so by drawing from the intra-household bargaining literature to apply the concepts of fall-back position and perceived contributions in the context of gendered bargaining and decision-making
over work. Hence, I look into gendered labour bargaining which I define as women’s negotiation to improve their work position with their husbands and their employers. I understand labour agency as the different outcomes for women of shifting bargaining relations across three periods, underpinned by the interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations. I understand labour agency however as not merely an outcome of bargaining relationships but a multi-dimensional concept where its various dimensions interact.

I understand the dimensions of women’s labour agency as:

- **Aspirations:** desire to achieve certain goals such as economic independence, family, waged work etc. It captures the ‘power within’ dimension of power underpinning women’s agency (Kabeer, 1999).

- **Actions (driven by aspirations):** individual actions of women to improve their position within their work including but not limited to movement between waged and unwaged work. It captures the ‘power to’ dimension of power underpinning women’s agency (Kabeer, 1999).

- **Bargaining (affecting and affected by actions):** it involves negotiating with spouse over taking on work and/or negotiating a better position in their waged/unwaged work. It captures the ‘power over’ (Lukes, 1974) and ‘power to’ (Kabeer, 1999) dimensions of power underpinning women’s agency.

- **Fall-back position:** the alternative work option if the preferred option fails. Fall-back enhances women’s bargaining position in regards to work. It also enhances women’s ability to make independent decisions around work. In addition, enhanced agency increases the available fall-back options.

The different dimensions of agency affect and are affected by each other. In addition, each of these different dimensions may change over time as gendered norms evolve and commercial and wider societal circumstances change.

I define a woman’s fall-back position in labour bargaining as the alternative work options available to women in case their primary work failed. A work fall-back
helps to enhance women’s decision-making power over work and their bargaining position in regards to work with her spouse and/or her employer. This will help to explore the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work and how it shifts over time through women’s fall-back position. Fall-back position can change over time, and so does bargaining position, and an analysis over three periods will bring out the shifts in this relationship and their effects on gender relations. In a period of crisis a fall-back position can sustain the labour agency of women by offering a safety net in case their primary work fails and enabling them to take more independent decisions around work. The concept of perceived contribution drawing from Agarwal (1997) will also be used in the thesis to capture how women’s work may be undervalued, and how this may shift as a result of women’s skilled work, and what this means for women’s labour bargaining and agency outcomes.

Hence, I understand the household not just as a sphere of reproduction but also as a sphere of production where women’s unpaid work for global markets takes place. Drawing from Barrientos et al (2003) I see the household as the base of the ‘gendered work pyramid’ that includes productive and reproductive work. The focus of intra-household labour bargaining in this thesis is not in relation to reproductive work in the household (as the feminist economics literature) but on productive work in table grapes. I see women’s fall-back position therefore not only the options of women outside the household, but also how unpaid work in table grape production that takes place in the household may constitute a fall-back position in terms of alternative work for women. Hence, I highlight the blurring and inter-linkages between productive and reproductive spheres that the intra-household bargaining literature, focusing more on the household as a sphere of social reproduction, does not sufficiently do.

Hence, going back to the research framework introduced at the beginning of the chapter, figure 3.1 depicts the different levels of gendered bargaining. The framework understands commercial bargaining relationships as embodying gendered power relations that shift over time that produce both continuity and
change in gender relations. The framework acknowledges the shifting nature of these relationships over time and hence accounts for a cross-period analysis to explore the shifting interaction between gendered commercial and societal relations in GPNs. Commercial bargaining relationships affect the waged-unwaged work relationship, shown through the arrows that link the different work types with commercial bargaining. The GPN is embedded into gendered societal norms and institutions, shaping a gendered labour process which is demonstrated through the pink area inside which the power relationships take place. The two-way arrows at the very bottom of the diagram show the interaction between waged and unwaged work. The relationship between the two types of work can produce a fall-back position for women through alternative work options that enhance their bargaining position over work (shown in the red box). Women’s bargaining position can influence their labour agency in response to the gendered power asymmetries in the GPN, shown through the labour agency box, understood as resilience, reworking or resistance. Labour agency can affect the waged and unwaged work relationship based on women’ work choices (shown through the two-way arrows between labour agency and waged and unwaged work). These shifts can then affect the commercial bargaining relationships in the GPN shown through the bottom-up arrows from waged and unwaged work to the GPN.

The framework therefore helps to uncover shifts in commercial-societal bargaining at different levels and how it manifests through changing gender relations in table grapes. This constitutes a more holistic framework for exploring the gender implications of changing production networks because it unpacks the changing nature of interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations and how it plays out differently for women and men. However, questions still remain on what the gender implications of changing production networks through shifts in women’s waged and unwaged work and labour agency are. In addition, questions remain on how to theorise these gender implications, and what this means for gender and GPN analysis. Bringing together the empirical with the analytical findings is illuminating to address this. I will come back to this and
revisit my gender GPN analysis in chapter 8 of the thesis in light of my research findings.

### 3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored to what extent the existing literature adequately captures the gender effects of changes in production systems over time. Hence, in answering the first research question of the thesis: *To what extent does the GPN analysis with its concept of societal embeddedness help to understand the gender implications of changing production networks?* I argue that the GPN approach is valuable to investigate the societal implications of commercial change through the emphasis on labour as an agent and the analytical emphasis on power (Lukes, 1974; Kabeer, 1999) and bargaining between commercial and societal actors in centrally coordinated systems of production and distribution. However, the GPN approach tends to view the interaction between commercial and societal relations as static, giving little insights to processes of non-linear transformations as GPNs evolve. In addition, it has only recently started to explore changing production networks and has yet to explore their societal implications. Moreover, the GPN approach does not suffice to unpack analytically their gender implications because it does not have an explicitly gender perspective.

Feminist political economy helps to fill this latter gap but does not often unpack commercial relations. The newly developing Gendered GPN approach brings together these two bodies of literature. It embodies a gendered perspective on GPNs and engenders the concept of societal embeddedness in GPNs but has yet to analytically explore the gender implications of commercial transformations over time. I contribute to the development of a Gendered GPN approach to capture the changing interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations and how this plays out for women and men. I do so through linking commercial and societal bargaining at different levels, including the household level. Gendered societal embeddedness is understood as a multi-levelled concept that includes the
commercial, societal and household levels. In addition, I incorporate the concept of fall-back position in women’s bargaining over work to unpack women’s labour agency outcomes.

Hence, my framework presented in this chapter includes a three-levelled analysis of bargaining and how it shapes women’s labour agency outcomes understood as resilience, reworking or resistance. However, questions still remain on how changing production networks manifest in the case study of Archanes and what are their gender implications in regards to women’s work and labour agency. Moreover, questions remain on how to theorise these transformations and what this brings for gender and GPN analysis. The empirical investigation of the case of Archanes in chapters 5-7 will shed light on these issues, which will be answered in chapter 8. The next chapter explores how my theoretical framework is applied through choosing the appropriate research methodology to explore the shifting gender relations in export grape production empirically in the case town of Archanes.
Chapter 4 Research Strategy, Methods and Reflections on Positionality

4.1 Introduction

This chapter offers an overview of the research methodology used in this research to interrogate empirically women’s and men’s shifting roles in table grape production across three periods. A qualitative case study approach is used to explore shifts across periods. In order to collect rich qualitative data over time a diversity of research methods are used: semi-structured and in-depth key informant interviews, in-depth interviews with women and men, life histories, focus groups and participant observation. The chapter also provides a reflexive account of the research and fieldwork process and ethical considerations throughout the research process. The structure of the chapter is as follows: First, I explain the research strategy and the selection of the case study location. Second, the chapter explains the fieldwork research strategy in Greece. Third, I discuss the research techniques used to collect rich qualitative data on women’s shifting work and agency over time. Fourth, the chapter discusses the ethical issues and challenges arising from this research.

4.2 Research Strategy and Case Study Approach

This research draws from social constructivist and feminist epistemologies to understand how women’s and men’s roles in table grapes are shaped by shifting gendered commercial and societal norms and relations. Constructivists argue that knowledge is the product of social interaction and hence is subjective and situated. Norms, values, beliefs and perceptions shape how people see and interpret social reality (Jackson and Sorensen, 2006). Feminist epistemology ‘studies the various influences of norms and conceptions of gender and gendered interests and experiences in the production of knowledge’ (Anderson, 1995, p. 50). Hence, it
offers a gender perspective of knowledge construction and acquisition, uncovering how situated knowledge often disadvantages women over men (Harding, 1993).

This research follows a retroductive research strategy and particularly its constructivist strand as outlined by Blaikie (2000). The constructivist strand views social reality as ‘a socially constructed world in which social episodes are the products of the cognitive resources social actors bring to them’ (Blaikie, 2000, p. 108). Hence, I seek to not only explore women’s and men’s experiences but also their perceptions and interpretations of changing work and bargaining position across three periods. According to Blaikie the retroductive strategy seeks to explore the ‘structures and mechanisms that are responsible for producing observed regularities’ (Blaikie, 2000, p. 96). In my research an underlying influence on the changing roles of women and men in the table grapes export sector is the changing commercial relations (the shift from a producer-led to a buyer-led production system) as well as changes in gendered societal relations, including gendered norms and women’s labour agency and the interaction between the two. As Blaikie (2000, pp. 110-11) argues ‘a mechanism produces a regularity only under certain conditions’ and this allows for the diversity of women’s strategies and position based on their circumstances. The social constructionist strand understands underlying causes as social norms and values. According to Harre and Secord (1972, p. 11):

Social behaviour is the result of conscious self-monitoring of performance by the person himself, in the course of which he contrives to assess the meaning of the social situation in which he finds himself, and to choose amongst various rules and conventions, and to act in accordance with his choice, correcting this choice as other aspects of the situation make themselves clear to him.

Feminist approaches understand these social norms and conventions as gendered, creating gendered inequalities between women and men (Harding, 1993). Hence taking a gender perspective allows for the investigation of the co-existence of agency and constraint in shaping women’s position in relation to men. The thesis shows that these underlying ‘mechanisms’ as captured in the interaction between commercial and societal relations are themselves socially constructed and are hence
not fixed structures but shift over time. The social constructivist strand of the retroductive strategy is therefore an appropriate research strategy for this research, as it views reality as socially constructed, and hence susceptible to change.

The retroductive research strategy understands data collection and analysis as an iterative rather than a linear process which enables flexibility and reflexivity in the research design. Feminist approaches highlight the importance of reflexivity of the researcher throughout the research process (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Reflexivity is particularly important for a qualitative study since it enhances the validity and illuminates the development of theory from the empirical findings. I have been reflexive throughout in developing my research as the research process progressed. I first devised preliminary research questions and theoretical framework following my scoping study, which were later revised following my main fieldwork. A GPN mapping facilitated analysis of the interlinkages between the commercial and societal dimensions. During my fieldwork I adapted my interview questions to reflect new important issues that emerged in the field. Following data analysis and interpretation I re-visited my theoretical framework and enhanced it based on my empirical findings. This enabled a research that is reflective of the reality in the field, and of an analytical contribution that can be applied in practice.

The constructivist strand of the retroductive research strategy understands social relations as ‘embedded in a wider range of social processes, within different layers of social reality’ (Blaikie, 2000, p. 112). The social context is therefore central in the retroductive research strategy in the social sciences, and a case study approach fits well with its purposes. According to Robson (1993) a case study is ‘a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence’ (Robson, 1993, p. 146). A case study approach is also valuable because ‘in-depth knowledge from case studies provides raw material for advancing theory and this makes it possible to improve the loosely formulated analytic frame at the outset of the research process’ (Saether, 1998, p. 248). Hence, in order to investigate
the gender effects of the changing table grape production system I use a qualitative case study approach. A place-specific case study is necessary in order to explore the changes overtime in commercial relations, local gendered societal and institutional norms and practises and their interaction that affect women’s work and labour agency. The town of Archanes has experienced major shifts in its table grape export sector over three periods, as well as major changes in gendered norms and women’s position in the household and society. The limitation of the case study approach is that it may not be representative. However, my case study aims to be indicative of processes of commercial and societal interaction as exemplified by Archanes and I use a review of other literatures and case studies to support my case study.

4.2.1 Production Network and Literature Mapping

The first step of the research process was to carry out a literature mapping which identified the main concepts and themes in the literature. The thesis builds on a wide array of literature bodies, and mapping out the key themes across them was a very useful strategy to organise concepts and to identify the main empirical and theoretical gaps that the thesis would address. Literature mapping also helped to identify Greece as a case study that has not been investigated in current research on export agriculture, as well as the table grapes export sector as a case whereby women play a significant, although changing, role in production.

The next step was to identify the point of entry for my production networks analysis that narrows down the focal point of my analytical production networks framework (Kaplinsky and Morris, 2001). My point of entry was gender within global production networks. Following Kaplinsky and Morris (2001) I then mapped the table grape production network to identify the key players and the position of women and men in the production-end of the network. Production network mapping also helped me to identify and select the key informants and participants to interview and specifically producers, exporters, women workers and spouses, labour union and state actors. I mapped the process from table grape production to sourcing
and distribution and the bargaining relations between actors. In addition, I mapped the use of female labour. I initially based my mapping on information from existing literature and during my fieldwork I did a more extensive mapping of the production network that reflected my specific case study. In addition, following my fieldwork I mapped the table grape production network in each of the three periods in order to illustrate the changes in the table grapes export sector across the different periods. This was seen in chapter 2.

4.2.2 Selecting the Case Study Location

The case study approach facilitated an empirical investigation of the bargaining relationships mapped in the table grape production network. I decided to explore changing gender relations through women’s shifting role in export horticulture because I was interested in how processes of globalisation play out differently in different social contexts and how they influence localised gendered norms and practises. I was particularly interested in gendered processes of transformation taking place. Export agriculture witnessed major shifts including the expansion of supermarkets and the rise of quality standards and I aimed to explore these shifts and their gender implications further. The case of Greece emerged as a case study because there had been limited research on global changes in export agriculture and its impact on gender relations particularly from a value chain/production network perspective in the case of Greece. In addition, Greece was experiencing an economic crisis with impacts on agriculture. The literature had not yet investigated the impact of the crisis on women and men in export agriculture. The case of the table grape production network was chosen as it is a significant export commodity of Greece where women often play a significant and changing role.

The town of Archanes in Crete was chosen as the fieldwork location for many reasons. First, it is a place where women have always played a central, although often hidden, role as waged and unwaged workers in table grape production and packing with their significant labour contribution. Second, Archanes is a major table
grape-producing town. It concentrates the bulk of table grape production for export in the prefecture of Heraklion and its grapes are considered to have one of the highest quality grapes in Greece and good reputation in the export market. Hence, it is a town which is well-integrated in supermarket-led production networks. Third, the table grapes export sector has undergone major shifts across three periods: from the producer-led export market to the buyer-led production network expansion to currently undergoing a crisis. At the same time there have been significant shifts in gender norms and relations in agriculture and society in Archanes over time. For these reasons Archanes was selected as the case study locality to explore cross-period gender transformations in GPNs.

4.3 Fieldwork Strategy

The fieldwork was divided into two phases. Phase 1 was the exploratory scoping study that took place in the Heraklion prefecture in Crete in order to explore the main issues and themes arising from the field and to choose the case study location for the main fieldwork. Phase 2 was the main fieldwork where I collected in-depth qualitative data in the case study locality of Archanes in Crete.

4.3.1 Phase 1: Scoping Study

My scoping visit to Crete and Athens took place between August and September 2011 and lasted four weeks in total. The scoping study had the following aims: 1) to obtain preliminary data and observations on women’s and men’s roles in table grape production and to explore the main issues and themes arising from the field in order to nuance the focus of my research and my research questions 2) to collect secondary data on the table grapes export sector from Greece to the European market over time 3) to select the case study location for my main fieldwork 4) to establish contacts in the field and access ‘gate keepers’ for my main fieldwork and 5) to become acquainted with and resolve any practical issues that would arise during my main fieldwork, such as transportation and location of my accommodation. The scoping study was chosen specifically to be carried out
between August and September because it is the height of the harvesting and packing season where much of female labour is used and it enabled me to observe the harvesting and packing tasks of women and their working conditions.

The exploratory study took place in the city of Heraklion where many exporting companies, local state institutions and the labour union are based, as well as in major table grape producing villages around the prefecture of Heraklion. These villages/towns are Archanes, Profitis Elias, Kastelli, Krousonas and Kato Asites, from which I selected my case study town for my main fieldwork. Image 4.1 below illustrates the areas visited during my scoping study in Crete.

**Image 4.1: Areas in Heraklion prefecture visited during scoping study**

![Image 4.1: Areas in Heraklion prefecture visited during scoping study](Source: Google Maps 2014 (red circles added by author))

During the scoping visit I carried out some pilot interviews and had extensive discussions with key informants. I followed up some of the key informants and carried out in-depth and semi-structured (SSI) interviews with them during my main fieldwork. Table 4.1 below illustrates in detail the discussions with key informants during my scoping study and the interviews that followed up during the main
fieldwork with selected key informants. The data collected during the scoping study from the pilot interviews and in-depth discussions were used in this thesis in addition to the data collected from the main fieldwork.

**Table 4.1: Pilot interviews and discussions during scoping study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pilot Interviews/discussions during scoping study</th>
<th>Followed up with interviews during main fieldwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Various in-depth discussions with the Director for Agricultural Development, Municipality of Heraklion</td>
<td>Follow up in-depth interview during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot interview with a farm woman in Archanes</td>
<td>Follow up in-depth interview during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussion with members of the Women's Food Cooperative of Archanes</td>
<td>Follow up SSI during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot interviews with 4 private exporters</td>
<td>Follow up SSI during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussion with agronomist in Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes</td>
<td>Follow up SSI during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussions with agronomist and the Commercial Director of Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Heraklion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussion with agronomist in a private certification agency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussion with Director of Agricultural Development in the Ministry of Agriculture Heraklion office</td>
<td>Follow up SSI during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussions with the Director of Agricultural Development, Municipality of Archanes and Asterousia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation with the Director of Rural Development in The Development Agency of Heraklion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth discussion with the Leader of team of table grape producers of Archanes</td>
<td>Follow up in-depth interview during main fieldwork</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion with agronomist in the Agricultural Cooperative of Kato Asites</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author
During the scoping study in Crete I also observed packing and harvesting of table grapes in different areas around the Heraklion prefecture and had informal discussions with women workers. A brief scoping visit also took place in Athens following the trip to Crete which focused on visiting public and university libraries and the National Statistical Authority for useful secondary sources and statistical data on the table grapes export sector. From the scoping study it became apparent that Archanes would be an illuminating case for my research given it is a major table grape producing town where women have played a significant role, and have been affected differently than men by the crisis.

During the scoping study I built contact with various key informants that also acted as ‘gate keepers’ to access to commercial actors and women and men working in table grapes. In particular, useful contacts who introduced me to women and men were the agronomists who worked closely with table grape farmers and those employed in export companies who worked with women packers.

4.3.2 Phase 2: Main fieldwork

The second phase of my fieldwork was carried out between January and August 2012 and lasted 7 months. This was the main data collection phase. Due to the nature of the case study research that requires in-depth qualitative data across three periods a longer fieldwork period proved necessary. This facilitated collection of rich data on women’s and men’s experiences and perceptions of work and agency over time. As key informants are an important source of data for my research I visited different areas beyond the city of Heraklion and the town of Archanes which is the main study locality to access various informants such as private exporters and local government informants that were based around the area of the Heraklion prefecture. In addition I carried out visits to the city of Athens to collect secondary data. Image 4.2 shows the areas visited during the main data collection stage of my research in Crete.
The importance of the three periods as incorporating major shifts in gendered commercial and societal relations arose as a significant component of my research early on in the main fieldwork phase through my interviews with key informants, women and men. In addition, the changing relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work over the three periods was viewed as a significant finding that needed to be explored further, as both waged and unwaged forms of work were present in all three periods but the nature and significance of work changed. Hence, interview questions developed through the course of my fieldwork reflecting an iterative approach to data collection and analysis conducive to the retroductive research strategy used in this research. I will now discuss the specific research methods I used to collect qualitative data during the second phase of my fieldwork.
4.4 Research Methods for Data Collection

I take the approach of ‘people as informants’ in qualitative research as they are the key stakeholders who can supply information that no one else can and are the ones directly affected by the issue of investigation (Woodhouse, 2007, p. 160). Taking a gender perspective, I view women and men not as subjects of research but as participants whose own perceptions and experiences are central to my research. This is conducive to constructivist and feminist epistemologies. However, I sought to interrogate women’s and men’s perceptions on work as well as the perceptions of other key actors in the table grape production network and to interpret my data rather than merely present them. To maintain validity in my interpretation of data I used triangulation. According to Denzin (1978, p. 304) ‘triangulation involves a complex process of playing each method off against each other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts’. Triangulation is a central component of feminist research and enhances the depth of qualitative data (Reinharz, 1992).

In this research data were collected using semi-structured and in-depth interviews, life histories, focus groups and participant observation. In addition, I collected secondary data from reports, law bill documents, books and other secondary sources to support the primary data collection findings. By using different methods and by interviewing different key actors I was able to collect rich qualitative data on women’s and men’s experiences and perceptions across periods. Through a variety of qualitative research techniques I was able to collect different types of data. Table 4.2 summarises the different methods of data collection used, the type of data collected in each method and the participants in each method.
Table 4.2: Research Methods for Data Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>METHOD</th>
<th>TYPE OF DATA</th>
<th>SOURCE/PARTICIPANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary sources</td>
<td>Data on grape industry, labour laws and rights, gender equality policies</td>
<td>Reports, books, government documents, law bills, websites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key informant interviews</td>
<td>Insider and expert information on grape industry, working conditions, gender relations</td>
<td>Exporters, agronomists, labour union, local government, folklorists, NGO on women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-depth interviews</td>
<td>Women’s and men’s experiences and perceptions of work in the grapes sector</td>
<td>Female workers, Spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus groups</td>
<td>Perceptions of change, gender relations, marriage, divorce, dowry over time</td>
<td>A group of older aged women, A group of younger women and men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant observation</td>
<td>Observe behaviour and interaction in work and daily life</td>
<td>grape farms, packing plants, town, interview observation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Semi-structured interviews with key informants were used to obtain expert and insider information on changes in the grape industry, women’s work and gender relations across periods. According to Gillham (2005) ‘one of the strengths of the semi-structured interview is that it facilitates a strong element of discovery, while its structured focus allows an analysis in terms of commonalities’ (Gilham, 2005, p. 72). This allows a comparison between responses from different key informants while retaining depth in the data. I carried out some in-depth interviews with selected key informants (folklorists, table grape producers) in order to get more in-depth expert information for each of the three periods.

In-depth or less structured interviews with women and male spouses were used to ascertain their life histories and recollections of earlier periods. In-depth interviews had the form of guided conversation between the researcher and the participants to
give freedom to the participants to develop what is important to them (Legard et al, 2003). The interviews were structured around key themes and questions, and more questions emerged as the interview unfolded. All of the in-depth interviews with women included a life history part to collect in-depth data on shifts in perceptions, agency and bargaining position over the different periods. According to Rosenthal (2004) ‘the purpose of biographical research is to understand social and psychological phenomena and to explain them in the context of their process of creation, reproduction and transformation’ (Rosenthal, 2004, p. 62). The advantage of life history is that it helps to analyse social change over time through participants’ recalling of certain events in their lives. It is thus very useful to explore women’s changing role in table grapes as a consequence of commercial transformations across periods. A limitation of the life history is that what participants recall is affected by time, and recall may be selective (Rosenthal, 2004). Triangulation helps to reduce this bias by comparing data collected from other methods and comparing it to interview data to retain validity.

Focus groups were used to obtain information on perceptions of change in gender norms and relations in the household and in the table grapes export sector over three periods. Through the focus groups I was able to explore how ‘individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it’ (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p. 195). Participant observation was used to complement the data produced by the interviews and focus groups and to validate the information obtained from the other methods used (Robson, 1993, p. 192). According to Robson (1993) participant observation ‘involves not only a physical presence and a sharing of life experiences, but also entry into their social and ‘symbolic’ world through learning their [the participants’] social conventions and habits, their use of language and non-verbal communication, and so on’ (Robson, 1993, p. 194). It thus involves the immersion of the researcher in the fieldwork process.
Primary data collection started with the key informant interviews and in the course of the fieldwork the key informant interviews and interviews with women and men were carried out interchangeably to compare and verify the information provided between the different key informants and the male and female participants. This was very helpful as difference of perceptions and opinions were uncovered at certain areas. Towards the end of my key informant and in-depth interviews with women and spouses I carried out the focus group discussions. Thus I was able to establish a clear idea of the main themes and concepts coming out of the interviews, which I then explored further in the focus group discussions. I will now explain in detail the different research methods used.

4.4.1 Secondary data collection

Secondary data on the table grape production network in Crete and the town of Archanes were collected to help establish the context of my research. Specifically, data on production and exports shows the development of the table grapes export sector in Greece overtime, from the producer-led export market to the buyer-led GPN as well as its current condition during the crisis. In addition, secondary data were collected on labour laws and gender equality policies across the three periods. The secondary data therefore helped to set the role of institutions in changing gendered societal embeddedness and the changes within the table grapes sector over time.

Data on the table grapes export sector presented in this thesis are aggregate and not value chain industry data. Exporters and other commercial actors were reluctant to give me value chain and company data on exports, producer and selling prices and workforce data. Rather, they often gave approximate numbers during the interviews which I used in my research together with aggregate country and prefecture level data. The reason for their reluctance is commercial sensitivity as companies often do not disclose company data. This reason was pointed out by a few of the exporters I asked. The lack of value chain data can be considered as a limitation of this research. In addition, the secondary data on the table grapes sector in Archanes were
limited. The available data on table grape production in Archanes I was able to find are only based on a study that was carried out by the agricultural cooperative of Archanes and only included the table grape vineyards that were based in the Archanes area. Many producers however from Archanes have their plots further away. In addition, approximate data on table grape production in Archanes were also collected from the interviews. Prefecture and country-level data were more readily available and hence I used more of this data in my research.

4.4.2 Key informant interviews

The production network mapping helped to identify and select the key informants for my interviews. These include key industry stakeholders in the table grape production network: producers, exporters, agronomists, the labour union, as well as the leader of the team of the table grape producers of Archanes. In addition, other key informants were interviewed to obtain information on gender and agricultural development policies and institutions (mayor, representative of the Ministry of Agriculture’s office in Heraklion), information on societal changes in Archanes (folklorists) and information on women’s status and household gender relations in the Heraklion prefecture (NGO on women’s rights). These additional key informants helped obtain a broader picture of the context in which the table grape production network is embedded and the political, social and institutional forces that interact with it. They therefore help to explore the effects of shifts in the table grape production network on women and men, and the influence of wider societal changes in shaping women’s position as waged and unwaged workers in Archanes across three periods. Table 4.3 below outlines the types and number of key informants interviewed.
### Table 4.3: Types of key informants interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Informants</th>
<th>Data collected</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>SSI/in-depth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exporting companies (owners of export companies/managing directors/department directors)</td>
<td>Commercial relations, changes in table grapes sector, perceptions of female labour</td>
<td>7 companies</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes</td>
<td>Commercial relations, changes in table grapes sector, perceptions of female labour; changes in cooperative; challenges of producers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agronomists</td>
<td>Technical aspects of table grape cultivation for export, gender roles in table grape production across periods</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leading Member of Table Grape Labour Union of Heraklion</td>
<td>Treatment of grape workers, changes in worker rights and working conditions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor of Archanes-Asterousia</td>
<td>Policies of agricultural development and economic development more widely in Archanes over the years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director of Agricultural Development, Ministry of Agriculture Heraklion office</td>
<td>Agricultural policies in Archanes and in the Heraklion prefecture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklorists</td>
<td>Traditions, societal norms and everyday life in Archanes from older times until today</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO on women’s rights</td>
<td>Women’s position and household gender relations in the Heraklion area</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>SSI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader of the team of table grape producers of Archanes</td>
<td>Challenges facing the table grape producers of Archanes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table grape producers (spouses of women participants who are table grape producers plus 2 additional table grape producers)</td>
<td>Shifts in table grape cultivation and use of female labour; perceptions of female labour; challenges facing producers across three periods</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>In-depth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author
Most of my interviews with key informants were semi-structured. I used an interview guide with a set of questions and themes for each different type of key informant, but the structure of the interview was flexible and I asked new questions as the flow of the discussion dictated. The interview conversation was structured so that data were obtained in each of the three periods. Some interviews with key informants were in-depth or less structured in order to get more in-depth data on each of the three periods. These involved interviews with folklorists, who gave in-depth information on the society of Archanes and gendered norms over time, the leader of the team of table grape producers and the table grape producers who offered in-depth information on cultivation methods, labour use and challenges for producers in each of the three periods.

In addition to the above interviews I had informal discussions with various key informants. These include discussions with agronomists and supervisors working in packing plants of export companies, phone conversations with contacts in the Labour Centre of Heraklion as well as phone conversations with labour unions of packing workers in other areas of Greece. These discussions offered important information on changes in the packing process following the expansion of supermarkets, working conditions of packing workers and changes in labour laws and their implementation during the crisis.

4.4.3 Interviews with women workers and male spouses

In-depth interviews were conducted with 29 women who worked as waged and/or unwaged workers in the table grapes export sector and with 17 spouses of women participants. I followed an in-depth approach to interviews with women and spouses to allow flexibility to raise questions as the interview unfolded and to collect rich qualitative data. This form of interview was chosen to allow the participants to discuss issues that are important to them, as well as to collect in-depth information on perceptions, attitudes and views that would not be collected through a structured
interview. By using in-depth interviews I was also able to obtain information regarding new issues that came up and to probe for further information on themes I thought were of particular interest. An interview guide was used with themes and questions but the order of the questions changed depending on the discussion and new questions often came up during the course of the interview.

Women and men participants were selected in order to produce rich data on gender relations, experiences, agency and negotiation of power relations. The study therefore does not seek to make generalisations to wider populations but rather to investigate in depth the changing relationship between waged and unwaged work of women drawing from the women and spouses interviewed. Hence the selection of participants is not designed to reflect the wider population. Women and men participants were selected following the purposive sampling method. According to Oliver (2006, p. 244) purposive sampling is ‘a form of non-probability sampling in which decisions concerning the individuals to be included in the sample are taken by the researcher, based upon a variety of criteria which may include specialist knowledge of the research issue, or capacity and willingness to participate in the research’. The criteria for the selection of women and men are detailed in table 4.4 below:
Table 4.4: Criteria for selection of women and men participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for selecting women and men</th>
<th>Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Different Age Groups                | -To explore any variations in women’s role and agency between women of older and younger generations  
|                                     | -To explore through women’s and men’s experiences the main commercial and societal shifts over time in Archanes |
| Women waged and/or unwaged workers in table grapes | -to investigate how women engaged in table grape production fare across three periods |
| Men who are spouses of women        | -To explore implications of changing production networks on men  
|                                     | -To explore shifts in household gender relations and gender norms and men’s perceptions of women’s work and agency  
|                                     | -To obtain expert information on table grape production and use of labour over three periods |

Source: Author

Women and men were selected using the snowball sampling method as it was difficult to access women who worked in the table grape family farms and/or packing plants, and who fitted the above criteria. I was introduced to participants by agronomists who worked closely with the local table grape producers. Some women and men who were interviewed introduced me to other participants with similar characteristics/criteria to them. Export companies also introduced me to some women who worked in packing, who introduced me to other women. A limitation of snowball sampling is that it may create a biased sample where participants with similar background/perceptions are interviewed, and may not be representative. However, I tried to limit the bias through carrying out multiple waves of recruitment of participants to ensure diversity in the sample.
The table below summarises the number of women participants interviewed based on age and employment during the main phase of the data collection. I interviewed different age groups so as to explore any differences between generations, as well as to get in-depth information on all the three periods of the table grapes export sector in Archanes. Table 4.5 below shows the number of women participants interviewed based on age and whether or not they come from households that have produced table grapes in at least one of the three periods. The number of women who have worked as waged workers in table grapes and off-farm in at least one period and the women who are managers and own account farmers are also detailed. The right column shows the number of women whose spouses were also interviewed. As the table shows, 17 spouses of women, most of which were table grape farmers were interviewed.

Table 4.5: Number of women interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>From table grape farms</th>
<th>From non-table grape farms</th>
<th>Waged work in table grapes</th>
<th>Off-farm work</th>
<th>Managers of the farms</th>
<th>Spouses also interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70s +</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50s-60s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30s-40s</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

The spouses of women who were interviewed were table grape and non-table grape producers. The men were interviewed in order to explore men’s perspectives of
women’s work, and insights on intra-household relations and bargaining. The men who were table grape producers were also interviewed as key informants to explore their changing commercial bargaining position over time. The reason for interviewing both men and women was to see the differences between men and women in attitudes to gender roles in the household and the farm and differences in their contributions and perceptions of women’s contributions in the household and the farm. In addition, by interviewing both women and their spouses I was able to explore in-depth the shifts in gendered power relations through my questions but also through observing behaviour during the interview and interaction of the couple before the interview. The details of the characteristics of individual men and women interview participants for each period are attached in Appendix 1.

I was not able to interview all the spouses of women as they were often in the farms or in the _kafeneio_ (coffee house for men) at the time of the interviews. It was thus harder to access men than women, who spent more time in the household to do their household duties. Through observation of interaction during the interview I was able to get insights on women’s relations with their husbands. Not interviewing the spouses of all women can be considered a limitation of this research.

A challenge I encountered in the field was accessing migrant workers who work in table grape farms and/or packing plants. The majority of migrant labour is temporary and mobile, and lives in Archanes only during the harvest and packing season. Therefore it was very difficult for me to access these workers, also due to their busy schedule during the peak season. Many also seemed to be reluctant to participate in fear of losing their jobs, while others did not speak the language and had difficulty in communication and understanding the purpose of my research. In addition, my research was carried out in the period of crisis, and there was a move away from use of migrant female labour to local women workers which also affected my access to migrant workers. As a result this thesis focuses on local women and men. This can be considered a limitation of my research since migrant labour is a significant component of labour in the table grapes export sector in
Archanes, especially in the period of the buyer-led GPN. Important background information on the use of migrant labour across three periods was collected from other sources. In particular this information was collected from exporters, the labour union, local women who worked with migrant women and my own observations and field notes.

The in-depth interviews with women and men were divided into different parts:

- The first part included closed questions to obtain background personal information of the respondent (age, education, past and present employment, number of children if any) as well as information on the number of people in the household, employment of household members and any additional sources of household income. This background information was important to understand women’s and men’s work strategies and position based on their particular circumstances.

- The second part was the main interview where women and men were asked to talk about their experiences, perceptions of work in table grapes, household relations and perceptions of agency. The interview questions were structured to include the experiences of women and men in each of the three periods. Interview questions for women included why women worked in table grapes, whether they saw any changes in their work following the expansion of supermarkets, what strategies they used to improve their position and whether they perceived changes in their bargaining position and agency. Finally, they were asked in what ways their work and position has changed during the crisis and how it has affected their lives. Additional information on intra-household relations, pay and working conditions were also collected. This allowed the triangulation with the data produced on working conditions and women’s role in table grape production by the exporters and producers. Interview questions to men included why they decided to work as producers, the challenges they have faced over three periods, their perceptions of gender divisions of labour and women’s role in the farm and perceptions on women’s waged work over three periods. In addition, questions were asked to understand intra-household gender
relations, such as who manages the money in the household, the division of household tasks and how decisions on the farm and the household are made across three periods.

- For women participants the interviews included a life history section in order to obtain rich data on women’s experiences across three periods. The life history section of the interview helped to explore shifts over time in gendered societal norms and perceptions through asking women about key events in their lives such as childhood, marriage, child bearing and household relations over time. Women were asked to talk briefly about their life as children. They were asked about the size of their family and the place where they grew up, if they came from a farm family and if they worked in the family farm, if they were primarily responsible for the household tasks, the profession of their mother and if they thought that their mothers’ life influenced their own decisions in life. They were also asked to talk about whether they thought their lives changed after marriage and in what ways, and why they decided to get married. Women were also asked to compare their lives with those of their mothers’ which allowed a cross-generational comparison in perceptions and experiences.

Thus, life history helped me to explore changes in women’s role in table grape production and their labour agency over time among the women studied. In order to understand and explain women’s actions we need to find out ‘what they experienced, what meaning they gave their actions at that time, what meaning they assign today, and in what biographically constituted context they place their experiences’ (Rosenthal, 2004, p. 49). I therefore drew from the life history approach in interview research to uncover shifts in women’s perceptions and experiences of work and agency across the three periods. Because my research is based on women’s shifting role in the export grapes sector rather than general biographical research of women’s experiences, life history questions were targeted at certain areas of women’s lives such as their work, their marriage and child bearing. An indicative list of themes and questions was prepared for the life history but some of the questions were raised at the time of interview based on the woman’s
distinct lifecycle, age, experience and type of work in the grape production network. An indicative list of interview questions to women and men is attached (see Appendix 3).

Being a native Greek language speaker helped me to establish rapport with my participants. Establishing rapport is important in ensuring the collection of accurate and truthful data from the respondents in qualitative research (King and Horrocks, 2010). It therefore helps to enhance the validity of data. I also established rapport through having informal discussions to ‘break the ice’ and introduce myself prior to the start of the interview, making the participants feel comfortable. In addition, carrying out the interview in a form of guided conversation rather than in a formal question-answer format also helped to establish rapport with my participants.

The interviews were carried out in the homes of women and their spouses. This was chosen as the preferred space for interviews at it was a private space where participants were able to talk freely about their personal experiences. It was also a more practical solution since women often did not have much free time available to go somewhere else to do the interview. In addition, interviewing participants in their home space made it easier for me to access women’s spouses who often came back home in the evening after a visit to the kafeneio (local coffee shops for men). Interviews were carried out on a one-to-one basis; i.e. women were interviewed separately from men, in order for each to express freely their opinion. In the majority of cases the men were out during the interview with women participants and came back in the evening, when I was able to interview them. In a few households however, the couple were both present in the house when I went for the interview and were not willing to separate for the interview. Hence, the interview was carried out with both present, although each was interviewed at a time. Although this may have produced some biases and limitation on the quality of data produced by these few women, they seemed to be very open in the interview despite the presence of their husbands.
4.4.4 Focus group discussions

As an additional tool for obtaining qualitative data for my research I chose focus group discussions. Focus group discussions are valuable in examining why people feel the way they do through a process of group interaction and group probing (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p. 194). Through group interaction the views of the participants may change, as they listen to other peoples’ opinions and possible inconsistencies in their replies may be amended, something which is much more difficult in one-to-one interviewing (Bryman and Teevan, 2005, p. 195). Focus group discussions were therefore used to triangulate information gathered through the semi-structured interviews and to collect more in-depth information on shifts in gendered societal norms, attitudes and perceptions over time of commercial and societal changes. The goal of the focus groups was to investigate differences in attitudes and perceptions of the above issues by gender and generation. Table 4.6 shows the number of focus groups and types of participants in each group.

Table 4.6: Number of Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus group sessions</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Work type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FGD 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50s-60s</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Unwaged workers in family farm and waged packers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18-28</td>
<td>Women and men</td>
<td>Farmers and non-farmers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

Two focus group discussions were carried out. The first one was composed of a group of women aged between 50s and 60s who were unwaged workers in the table grape farm and some of them were also waged packers of table grapes. All of the women except one had been interviewed before. The purpose of this focus group was to discuss perceptions of societal and commercial changes in Archanes over time and their perceptions of the younger generation of women and their decisions.
The second group was composed of young women and men from table grape farming families, some of whom chose to become young farmers and some who chose to work off-farm. This group was not interviewed on a personal basis before. The purpose of this focus group was to explore the perceptions of young people on farming and societal and commercial changes and to compare with the perceptions of older generation women and men explored in the interviews and in focus group 1. For the details of focus group participants please see Appendix 2.

The topics discussed in the focus groups included the changes in social norms and attitudes to gender roles in Archanes over generations (their mothers’ generations, their generation, and their children generation when applicable), their perceptions of these changes and their opinions regarding the role of women in the household, marriage, divorce and dowry. In addition, the topic of the current crisis was discussed and how they perceived the changes created by the crisis. The focus group showed significant inter-generational differences in attitudes to the role of women in agriculture and the household, but also differences between men and women on the role of women in the and the farm household.

Observation during the focus groups helped me to interpret participants’ responses, hesitations and other reactions through body language and other non-verbal communication. During focus group discussions I observed the interaction of the group and how meaning was constructed and deconstructed throughout the discussion, as well as the power dynamics of the discussion. Hence, observation during focus groups contributed to the validity and accuracy of data.

4.4.5 Participant observation and field diaries

Through participant observation I was able to verify the findings by looking at whether what women, men and key informants said coincided with my own observations. Hence participant observation constituted an important form of
triangulation in my research. I undertook the observer-as-participant role, whereby the researcher ‘takes no part in the activity, but whose status as researcher is known to the participants’ (Robson, 1993, p. 198). I chose this particular type of participant observation because it allows the researcher to maintain some distance necessary for carrying out the research while at the same time being part of the community under study. This reduces the researcher bias arising from attachment to participants.

Observation took place in the sites of work, in the town of Archanes and during the interviews and focus group discussions. Specifically, I observed and participated in the harvesting and on-site packing of table grapes and observed the packing of table grapes in the packing sheds. Through participating in the harvesting and on-site packing activities I was able to understand what was required of the tasks as well as the challenges of these work tasks and the working conditions in the sites of work. During my participant observation in the sites of women’s work I also managed to have brief conversations and ask a few questions to some of the women working there, particularly migrant women who were difficult to access outside work.

I also observed daily life in Archanes and the co-existence of continuity and change in gendered societal norms. Living in the town of investigation was particularly useful for this as I was able to observe different activities over the day and have informal conversations with local people. In this way I also gained peoples’ trust as I was not a complete ‘outsider’ who would come for work and leave after but stayed and interacted with the locals in everyday activities beyond the interviews. My observations and reflections were recorded in my field diary. The field diary also helped me to be reflexive of my own performance as interviewer and researcher and to improve on my skill after each interview.

4.5 Data Interpretation and Analysis

Analysing shifting gender relations through women’s changing bargaining position and agency is not a straightforward task as it involves intangible qualitative shifts
that need to be uncovered from peoples’ narratives, perceptions and actions. Recording data is very important for in-depth analysis and interpretation. The key informant interviews, the interviews with women and men and the focus group discussions were in their majority audio recorded in order to fully capture the rich qualitative data. However, in a few cases participants were not willing to be recorded so I took extensive and detailed notes of the interviews instead. My observations and reflections of everyday life, work in the packing plant and the farm, women’s and men’s work tasks and interview interactions were also recorded through hand notes. The in-depth discussions I had with key informants in my scoping study and in the main fieldwork were not audio recorded but I took hand notes. The audio recorded interviews were transcribed with the exact words spoken by the participants. All interviews were undertaken in Greek which is my native language and hence I considered it unnecessary to translate the interviews. A Greek transcriber was hired to assist me and transcribed many of the interviews.

As I followed a retroductive research strategy I started transcribing my interviews while I was already in the field which allowed me to reflect on the quality of data and my performance as interviewer, and to make any changes in my interview guide. In addition, while in the field I noted down main themes that came up from data collection and thus took a first step towards analysis of my data.

The main data analysis phase of my research however started after I came back from the field. I used the qualitative data analysis software NVivo to organise and analyse my data. The data were coded into key themes and sub-themes and helped me to explore and review my data as I went through the coding process. This is known as open coding: ‘the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data’ (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 202). First the data were divided into general categories or codes such as ‘packing’, ‘farm work’, ‘household relations’ and ‘agency’ and each category was divided into more specific sub-codes. Most of my codes were broken down into three periods in order to explore the changes between the periods. For example the code ‘com. [commercial] pressures and women’s farm work’ that included the commercially-derived reasons for choosing women to do certain tasks in the farm were divided into ‘P1’ ‘P2’ and ‘P3’
to reflect the data for each of the three periods. I used both data driven as well as theory driven coding, derived from my conceptualisations of gendered bargaining and women’s labour agency outcomes. The codes were revisited as new open codes were added which enabled me to explore, understand and interpret my data in more depth. This reflects the iterative approach I followed throughout the research process to achieve accuracy, validity and depth of data and analysis.

Triangulation was very useful in guiding my interpretation and analysis of the data. I analysed the data by juxtaposing women’s and men’s perceptions with their actions and experiences over time and comparing these with my own observations and interpretations and with the key informants’ perceptions and information. I used the NVivo software to cross-reference different responses from different actors. Through using triangulation I was able to incorporate women’s and men’s voices and perceptions as central in my research but not merely presenting them. Rather I was able to interpret and interrogate them to enhance validity and to unpeel the gendered norms that often affected women’s and men’s perceptions and actions, and hence their spoken words. Thus, researching commercial-societal interaction and its gender implications involves uncovering both continuity and change not only in actions but also in perceptions.

4.6 Reflections on Positionality and Ethics

Doing fieldwork and collecting rich qualitative data in a community through interaction with local people is not an easy task and requires flexibility, awareness of the local cultural and social context and constant self-reflection by the researcher. Undertaking fieldwork is a relational process because the researcher comes into direct contact and interaction with local people, cultures and power relations. Ethical considerations therefore arise that raise questions on how knowledge is produced, interpreted and negotiated in the field. As Sultana (2007, p. 374) argues ‘the conduct of fieldwork is always contextual, relational, embodied and politicized’. Hence issues of reflexivity, positionality, power and ethics need to be considered from the outset of the research process in order to produce ethical and informed qualitative research. Each will be discussed below.
4.6.1 Positionality

A key aspect of qualitative research is reflection of researcher’s positionality. Positionality is central in feminist research as it helps to uncover how underlying assumptions and power relations shape knowledge production. According to Sen (1993, p. 126):

What we can observe depends on our position vis-a-vis the object of observation. What we decide to believe is influenced by what we observe. How we decide to act relates to our beliefs. Positionality dependent observations, beliefs, and actions are central to our knowledge and practical reason.

A central theme underpinning qualitative research is that knowledge production is not objective or neutral but rather a socially constructed relational process and hence affected by the researcher’s identity, interpretation and interaction with the participants. Becoming aware of these processes of knowledge production helps to enhance the validity of data and also brings new insights into the data collected and how they are societally embedded in specific cultures, gendered norms and contexts.

My research was influenced by my identity as a young urban middle-class Greek woman who does research on gender and rural development issues in a UK-based university. I grew up in the capital city of Athens but I have Cretan origin which is reflected in my Cretan surname. Hence, in many ways I was both an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ in fieldwork research and this affected the way I approached the research. Due to my Cretan origin I was aware of the distinct cultural values of Crete. Rural Crete has more ‘rigid’ and ‘traditional’ values than the capital city of Heraklion such as appropriate gender roles, hospitality and generosity to visitors and the importance of the extended family. Breaking these ‘unwritten rules’ is often considered an insult to the family and the local community (Field diary, 5 February 2012). I undertook my research in a considerate manner in order not to offend anyone and to ensure the smooth progress of my research. For example, it is a custom that when a visitor comes into a person’s house the host offers snacks and drinks and if the visitor does not accept them or does not finish the snacks and/or drink this is considered an insult to the host and their family. Hence, when I was visiting a house for an interview I
always kindly accepted their offers but tried to keep a balance by kindly declining their kind offers of refills or meal invites so as not to create unnecessary hassle for them (Field diary, different entries, 2012).

On the other hand my identity as both insider and outsider affected participants’ perceptions of me and their behaviour towards me. People interacted with me responding to different facets of my identity. I found that because of my Cretan surname local people were more willing to talk openly to me and offer information because I was considered to be ‘one of them’. On the other hand, speaking with an Athenian accent appeared strange to some and they asked me why I am not speaking with the Cretan accent, or whether I grew up in Athens. By other participants I was considered an outsider. When they asked me if I was from Archanes and I said no their response was often that I am a *xeni* (a foreigner, i.e. not from Archanes) (Field diary, 15 May 2012). This difference in accent indicates that I was not ‘fully’ an insider, but rather both an insider and an outsider at once.

Living in Archanes for 7 months helped me to become more integrated and accepted into the community. Staying in the community under study made it easier for me to access the participants, to observe behaviour and life in the town and to access the gatekeepers. This entails an increased interaction with the locals that also makes it easier to extract information. Being both an insider and an outsider however was also an advantage, because it enabled me to maintain a degree of objectivity, and local women often felt more comfortable talking to someone who was not from the town about their lives and personal experiences. Also, key informants seemed to be quite open with the challenges and problems in the table grapes sector because I was not from the town and I did not have personal connections or relationships with people involved in it. In addition, I undertook my research during the crisis and people were more willing to talk to me and share their worries, concerns and often anger with me (Field diary, different entries, March 2012). Given I was also partially an insider however there may also have led to insufficient objectivity. I sought to limit this throughout my fieldwork by being reflexive of my position and interaction with my participants, and using triangulation to enhance the validity of my data.
I found that being a young female researcher impacted peoples’ behaviour towards me. Women were often open with me to discuss their personal issues, gender relations in the home, aspirations and dreams. I think that they would not be as open if a male researcher asked them the same questions. Hence, my identity as female researcher helped me to build trust and rapport with my respondents. In addition, women were often sympathetic towards me, seeing me as a lone female researcher at a young age that was away from home and family. They often said that they were impressed that such a young woman was travelling so far and away from family to do research on her own and were thus eager to participate and help in my research. This reflects the gendered assumption particularly among people of older generation that young women need protection and should be accompanied by male members of their family. In addition, I found that young men in the town were often constrained in their behaviour towards women within Archanes. Only relationships that are long term commitments are accepted in Archanes. Hence young men had short term relationships with women from urban areas and from other countries, perceiving these women as ‘detached’ from local social norms and hence without bearing any consequences for their actions. Being a young urban woman from outside the town myself I was often wrongly perceived as ‘available’ by some local young men. This was a challenge but I overcame this challenge by demonstrating through my behaviour that my sole purpose was to do research.

Moreover, in a few cases of exporters and producers my interest in acquiring value chain data and my questions on working conditions and workplace facilities made them suspicious that I was an undercover journalist or a government inspector and were initially reluctant to participate in my research. However, after informing them that I am a student, being transparent about my research and its purposes and showing them my student card they agreed to take part in the research.

4.6.2 Ethics

This research was carried out in an ethical and professional manner as dictated by the University of Manchester Ethical Framework. Prior to my fieldwork I obtained
formal ethical clearance from the University of Manchester and complied with its ethical guidelines. The main ethical issues that arose from this research are confidentiality, anonymity and transparency. All the participants took part in this research voluntarily and after I disclosed with full transparency my research and its purpose. All the participants were informed that they had the right to decline participation in my research and to withdraw from the interview at any moment if they felt uncomfortable or if they changed their minds. Prior to obtaining written consent from participants I handed them an information sheet with my personal details, an overview of my research and its purposes. The information sheet also indicated that confidentiality and anonymity will be safeguarded for participants. It explained that the anonymous data will only be used for my PhD thesis and for any articles in the future and will not be shared with any other parties. A sample participant information sheet is attached (see Appendix 4). Participants were also asked whether they consented for the interviews and focus group discussions to be audio recorded strictly for the purposes of this research. A sample participant consent form is attached (see Appendix 5). The majority of the participants consented for audio recording the interview. However, there were a few cases where participants did not feel comfortable with audio recording and I took detailed notes of the interviews instead. When analyzing the data, the real names of the participants were substituted by pseudonyms to safeguard anonymity. All the names used in this thesis are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of my participants.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the research methodology used to interrogate empirically the shifting relationship between commercial dynamics of GPNs, women’s waged and unwaged work and their labour agency across three periods which was developed analytically in chapter 3. The chapter outlined the feminist and constructivist epistemological underpinnings of the research, the retroductive research strategy used and the case study approach. It detailed the fieldwork strategy which included two phases of data collection and the research methods used to collect data, reflecting on their strengths and limitations. The chapter then moved on to discuss how data were analysed using the qualitative analysis software NVivo.
Finally the chapter reflected on how my identity influenced my interaction with the participants in the field, the challenges I encountered and how I overcame them and the ethical considerations I addressed in this research. The next chapters present my main findings coming out from the fieldwork research I outlined in this chapter.
Chapter 5 Women’s Work and Labour Agency in the Producer-led Export Market Period

5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates empirically the interaction between commercial pressures and gendered societal relations in the period of the producer-led export market and their implications for women’s waged and unwaged work and their labour agency in table grapes. This chapter thus helps to address the third research sub-question of the thesis: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change before the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency? It is important to investigate how women and men fared in this period before the expansion of the buyer-led GPN in order to understand what later changed with the development of the GPN in the table grapes export sector. An important shift that embodies this period is the change in land ownership and in particular the shift from large-scale to small-scale family farming in table grapes. The chapter examines how the change in land ownership in Archanes radically transformed workers’ lives and sense of control and feeling of capacity to change their condition within the traditional table grape export market. However, this shift did not necessarily benefit women. While men became farmers, women often shifted from landless waged workers to unwaged workers in the family farm and the chapter investigates the implications of this shift. The chapter also explores how the tensions between commercial demands of a producer-led export market for a reserve army of unskilled labour and the gendered norms that secluded women in the household sphere led to women’s waged but unskilled work in table grapes.

The chapter will apply the conceptual framework detailed in chapter 3 empirically to address the research question. The following diagram depicted in Figure 5.1 shows
the waged-unwaged work relationship and women’s labour agency in the period of the producer-led export market.

**Figure 5.1: Conceptual Relationships in the producer-led export market period**

As explained in chapter 3, the blue dotted box at the top represents the commercial-societal bargaining relationships in the producer-led export market. The thin arrows represent a fairly even bargaining relationship between commercial actors during this period. The producer-led export market influenced both the waged and unwaged work of women, shown through the arrows that link them. The market was embedded into gendered societal norms and institutions, shaping a gendered labour process which is demonstrated through the pink area inside which the relationships take place. The two-way arrow at the very bottom shows the inter-relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in table grapes.
In period 1 the framework helps to demonstrate how waged work was considered part of ‘farmer’s wives’ work. The box depicting women’s labour bargaining is attached to waged work which illustrates that waged work could enhance their labour bargaining. Hence waged work could affect women’s labour agency, producing resilience of women, as indicated by the one-way arrow between waged work and labour agency. Resilience was also manifested in unwaged farm work, shown through the one-way arrow. The resilience of women in both waged and unwaged work could also affect the gendered market because it helped to reinforce it, as shown by the bottom-up arrows from waged and unwaged work to the producer-led market. This chapter will unpack this analytical framework by exploring the relationships in the diagram in-depth through the empirical findings.

The chapter is structured as follows: First, the chapter investigates the shift in land ownership and how it changed women’s and men’s roles in table grapes. Second, it explores commercial bargaining relationships and how they helped to shape women’s role as unwaged and waged workers in the producer-led export market. Third, it investigates the gendered societal embeddedness and its effects on women’s work and labour agency. Finally, I explore the labour bargaining strategies in response to the gendered power asymmetries in the table grapes export sector and whether their labour agency led to shifts in their work in table grapes.

5.2 The gendered labour process before and after the shift in land ownership

It is important to investigate the effects of the change in land ownership because it profoundly affected gender relations in table grape production. As Agarwal (1997) argues, women often have unequal access to land in relation to men which contributes to a weaker bargaining position in the household. Women shifted from landless waged workers alongside their husbands to unwaged workers in the male-headed family farms following the change to small-scale land ownership.
5.2.1 Working conditions of landless workers prior to the shift in land ownership

The backbone of the table grapes export sector prior to the shift in land ownership was based on a surplus of landless male and female labour. Women constituted a reserve army of labour when additional labour hands were needed and when an additional wage was needed in the family. Until the late 1950s the table grape export sector in Archanes was based on farms owned by 10-15 landowners in total (Interviews with producers; Drakakis, 2008). According to Folklorist 1 more than 400 families in Archanes were landless working for these landowners. This surplus of labour helped the rapid expansion of rozaki table grape exports initially to Egypt (Interviews with M14; Folklorist 1; Key industry informant). In addition to the rozaki table grapes there was a large production of grapes for wine and raisins and also olives, and workers worked year-round in the different crops. The living conditions of the landless workers were very harsh due to the widespread poverty, a consequence of the German occupation during the Second World War and the Civil War that followed immediately after the end of the war. Image 5.1 below illustrates the difficult living conditions in Archanes towards the end of the Second World War, and shows a glimpse of women’s role in the household. Women were primarily responsible for the household and childbearing duties.
The working conditions were also very harsh at that time. Artemis (W18), an 80 year old woman recalls her grim experience as a field worker in her childhood during those times:

I was working with my mother for a wage to harvest the vineyard of one of the landowners and as she was harvesting the grape some berries would fall. I would pick them up from the ground one by one. And I said one day, mother I wish the boss would leave, and the boss who was sitting on his horse and supervising heard me and hit me with a stick, and told us to leave and that we would not get paid for the day. Then my mother hit me more when we went back home because we lost our wage for that day.

Artemis’s experience shows that there was little protection and respect for the worker. The workers would bring as many people as possible from their family because the wage of two people was often not enough to feed a whole family. Babis
(M14), a male farmer in his 80s who was also a landless worker during that time, said that although the daily wage was 20 drachmas, 1 kilo of lamb cost 30-40 drachmas. A single wage therefore did not cover the bare food necessities of a family. Artemis describes how she did not have a choice on whether or not to work in the field: ‘I had to go and help, we were a poor family. I did not have a choice. I dropped school to go and help.’ Thus Artemis not only had no power to choose whether or not to work but dropped school at an early age. This was very prevalent during this time for both boys and girls, but even more so for women, who were raised to become mothers and wives. Women followed their husbands or parents at work rather than going to work on their own because it was considered ‘inappropriate’ for young women do go on their own (Interviews with W1; W19; M14).

The social control of their waged work, the harsh working conditions and their utilisation as a reserve army of labour during times of labour intensive work diminished any emancipatory potential of this kind of work for women. The gendered disparities in wages also reduced the potential of women’s waged work as a means to increase their labour agency. In the late 1930s the Labour Union for Waged Agricultural Workers was created in Archanes which demanded a minimum wage for all agricultural workers (Interview with Folklorist 1). The municipality of Archanes then made it compulsory for all landowners to give a minimum wage to all workers. This was a first win for the landless workers who organised collectively against maltreatment and low pay. However, there was a gender disparity in wage levels and women were paid less than men, as women were considered to be ‘helping’ labour and their work was deemed less significant (Interviews with Folklorists 1 and 2; W18 and W22). The subordination of women was supported by the gendered state policies. Gender equality between women and men on issues of pay and work had not been yet established by law in Greece (Mihou, 2002). This reflects the deeply embedded gender norms in formal institutions as highlighted by Elson (1999) and Beneria (2007) discussed in chapter 3.
5.2.2 Worker struggles and the shift in land tenure

Following the Civil War the landless workers demanded land redistribution and formed the ‘Cooperative of Landless Workers’ in 1950 (Drakakis, 2008). According to Drakakis 15 per cent of the households of Archanes demanded agricultural land mainly from church holdings or unused state land (Drakakis, 2008, p.133). The shift from oligarchic landownership to small-scale land ownership was a result of a combination of struggle and land take-overs, redistribution of land by the state and the buying of land by workers themselves at subsidised prices. According to Stratos (M7), a male farmer in his 70s, the landless movement took over unused state land and cultivated it. In addition, in an attempt to combat poverty the church sold some of its holdings in low prices to the landless people. According to Stratos, ‘we worked very hard and tried to save as much as we could. At the point where we earned a bit we invested in buying land. We wanted to get out from this slavery as soon as possible.’ Another big piece of land of around 300 hectares owned by a doctor was rented out in small holdings to the locals. The ownership of this piece of land was later transferred to the state which handed over land titles to those who worked it (Interview with Folklorist 1; M7; M14; Drakakis, 2008). The shift in government stance towards the landless was attributed to the post-war reconstruction and democratisation policies. As Drakakis (2008) argues the figure of the landless worker gradually withered away in Archanes as the hard-working locals quickly increased their land and fortunes.

This major shift in the farming structure which was a result of worker struggles and bargaining led to the significant improvement of the local workers’ position and enhanced their sense of control and agency. As a result of the shift in land ownership the labour process changed. Male workers became smallholder farmers on their own and utilised primarily female and child unwaged labour. In addition, exchange of labour in the form of a farmer working on the plot of friends or relatives in exchange for them working on his plot was very common at labour intensive periods (Interviews with W8; M7; W19; Agronomists 2 and 4). This shift did not necessarily improve the position of women because women from poorly paid waged labour
became unpaid family workers and their subordination was perpetuated albeit in a different form.

Following the shift to small-scale family ownership the exports of table grapes to Europe and mainly to Germany expanded quickly. The subordinated position of women in relation to men facilitated the rapid expansion of the export sector from 1950 onwards, as I will explain in detail later on in this chapter. This reflects gendered divisions of labour as exemplified by feminist approaches discussed in chapter 3 (Beneria, 2007; Agarwal, 1997).

5.3 Commercial bargaining relations in the producer-led export market

I will now explore the structure of the producer-led export market in Archanes. Hence I look into the relationships within the dotted blue box in the Conceptual Framework diagram in Figure 5.1 and its embeddedness, shown in the pink area within which cooperative-union-household relationships take place. It is important to investigate commercial relations in the table grapes export sector because they played a role in shaping women’s role as unwaged labour and their labour agency.

The table grapes export sector in Archanes until the late 1980s resembled a traditional market with small-scale producers selling to wholesale markets in Europe. This traditional export market can be understood as a producer-led market, whereby producers had an advantage over the numerous buyers. There were no private exporters in the region at the time and producers mainly exported through the Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes. The cooperative acted as a collective body from which farmers exported. The rozaki grapes originated from Archanes and only a few other areas of Greece cultivated this variety, which gave an advantage to the producers and contributed to a sellers’ market. Because wholesaler buyers were many and were in a competition for the local rozaki grapes, quality standards were not dictated by wholesaler buyers, and thus quality requirements were not well
defined in that period. Producers participated in setting quality and price, and quality was defined more in terms of taste rather than appearance of the grapes (Interviews with exporter 5; Agronomists 2 and 3). Image 5.2 below shows the logo attached to the rozaki grapes from Archanes on export. The image indicates that the rozaki grapes from Archanes were popular in the European market.

**Image 5.2: The logo of the exported rozaki grapes**

![Logo of the exported rozaki grapes](source: Archanes blogspot 2014)

The combination of state regulation of the market and the existence of the cooperative as a securer of the interests of farmers contributed to a producer-led export market in table grapes because it enhanced the strong bargaining position of the producers vis-à-vis the wholesaler buyers. The agricultural cooperative concentrated the negotiating power of the producers relative to the many wholesale purchasers. The founding principle of the agricultural cooperatives is to offer a fair price for producer-members and to assist them with credit, information and inputs (Kokkinidis, 2010). The cooperative of Archanes acted as the exporter of the table grapes from Archanes as it purchased the grapes from the producers at a fair price, packed the grapes in the cooperative’s packing plant and arranged the selling of the grapes with wholesalers abroad. However, it was more than that as it safeguarded the interests of its producer members. It provided producers with information regarding the European market demands, and offered credit to producers in the form of loans (Interviews with M13; M14; Key industry informant).

The state also supported the producer-led export market because it intervened in the agricultural sector in an attempt to alleviate the risks to producers associated with
the export market. According to Legg (1969) and Vergopoulos (1975) the Greek state via the state-owned ATE Bank (Agricultural Bank) provided the financial services to the producers, thus exerting influence and control over the cooperatives. This state protection, apart from liquidity through the ATE bank included minimum safety-net prices for agricultural products including table grapes and raisins, and agricultural subsidies for producers (Maraveyas, 1992). Those policies offered a safety net for small-scale producers and ensured a minimum price. This control of financial provision by the state however later contributed to the indebtedness of producers to the cooperatives due to the high interest rates, and the cultivation of clientelistic relations between the state and the producers (Kamarinou, 1977; Kokkinidis, 2010). During the period of the dictatorship (1967-1974) the government wiped the significant debt of the Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes as a means to politicise and control the cooperative (Drakakis, 2008; Interviews with Folklorist 1; M14). Although this was a breath of life for the cooperative it locked itself in a spiral of state dependence that continued in later years.

By the 1970s production and export of table grapes had expanded rapidly. The cooperative of Archanes exported approximately 5000 tons of rozaki table grapes per year (Marinakis, 2008). Alongside table grape production many farm households produced olives and grapes for wine and raisins. This offered a year-round work cycle and income for producers but also more work for farm women.

Women were utilised as unwaged farm labour to maintain the good bargaining position of producers who faced high risks of crop destructions despite their secure position in the producer-led market. The climatic conditions and plant diseases posed a great risk to their produce and often diminished their bargaining power due to reductions in production (Interviews with M7; M13; M14; Agronomist 3). Widespread vine diseases hit two times over this period with devastating results for producers. One was in the 1960s where the *peronosporos* (Downy mildew) disease destroyed two thirds of total grape production in Crete (Interviews with M14; M7; Key industry informants; Andreadakis, 2011). The second one followed in the late
70s-early 1980s where the *Phylloxera* disease destroyed the majority of the rozaki vineyards (Interviews with M7; M14; Agronomist 3; Drakakis, 2008). In addition to the risks faced by producers the structure of smallholding agriculture was also a key factor for the shift in women’s role from landless waged worker to unwaged worker. The small holdings meant that production per farmer was not high, and as much as possible from the income had to stay within the family.

Women’s role in export grape production in this period was shaped by commercial requirements and the gendered societal norms embedded in the production process. The expansion of the table grapes export sector was based on the utilisation of unwaged work of women under a small-scale farming system. The shift of women’s role from landless waged workers to unwaged workers in their husbands’ farms led to the worsening of women’s condition. As Sotiria (W22) argued, ‘I helped to the income of the family before with my wage and then I helped in the family farm; the difference was that I did not get a wage’. Hence, with the shift to small-scale farming women’s contribution in the farm was unremunerated. However, the elderly women interviewed that experienced this shift (W18; W22) although acknowledged that they were not paid for their work in the family farm they seemed to accept this as the norm. This was due to the deeply embedded gendered norms as I will explain later on. The next section discusses the gendered nature of institutions that form part of gendered societal embeddedness (as explained in chapter 3) and how they shaped the role of women in export agriculture. Following from that, the commercial requirements and how they shaped women’s work as unwaged labour and waged packers in times of labour intensity will be explored.

5.4 The Embodiment of Gendered Norms in the Production Process

The reason why women in particular constituted unwaged labour in the farm and waged labour in packing lies in the gendered societal norms embedded in table grape production. Hence, this section looks at the pink area of the diagram which is the gendered societal embeddedness I discussed theoretically in chapter 3 and how it
affects the relationships depicted within it. There were often generally accepted and deeply ingrained gendered social norms and practices, which women did not necessarily challenge, and which were integrated within systems of production, land ownership and market requirements. Chapter 3 explored analytically embedded gendered norms and perceptions in the household (Sen, 1987; Agarwal, 1997) and in formal institutions (Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007). Empirical findings support this literature. Gendered norms often restricted women’s labour agency to challenge gendered power asymmetries in table grape production.

5.4.1 The gendered nature of institutions

Although the bargaining power of producers in the market was strong women did not benefit from this because they did not have access to the ‘farming profession’ i.e. they did not receive income and recognition from their work due to the gendered land ownership structure. Men became the owners of land as they were considered the breadwinners of the family and controlled household income. In most cases land was transferred to the husband from the wife’s parents through dowry after the marriage. In some cases the land was given to the woman from her parents through dowry, but the husband was the legal manager and user of land and was thus the farmer (Lazaridis, 2009; Safilios and Papadopoulos, 2004). In Greece there is often a separation between the owner of the agricultural holding (katohos agrotikis ekmetalleusis) who has the land title and the ‘leader’ of the agricultural holding (arhigos agrotikis ekmetalleusis) who is the farmer, the legal and economic manager of the holding. Thus, although women may have an agricultural holding in their name, the legal farmer whose name is on the legal documents and thus beneficiary of subsidies and other provisions is more often the husband (Mihou, 2002). Farming thus was and largely remains a ‘male’ profession in Greece (Safilios, 2004; Safilios and Papadopoulos, 2004; Mihou, 2002). Women’s unwaged farm work was often hidden and unremunerated. Although men improved their position, women remained in a subordinate position as ‘workers’, only this time their ‘bosses’ were their husbands or fathers (Interviews with W7; Folklorist 2; Key industry informant;
Women were worse-off following the shift to small-scale farming because their contribution on the farm was unremunerated.

The institutions including the cooperative embodied deeply embedded gendered societal norms and practices. Farm women were often not included in cooperative membership and decision-making, and this reinforced the hidden and unremunerated character of their work. The cooperative was male-dominated and there was no consideration or acknowledgement of women unwaged workers’ contribution. According to Mihou (2002) and Safilios and Papadopoulos (2004) until 1993 in Greece only the persons who had farming as a main profession could become members of agricultural cooperatives. This meant that the vast majority of women were excluded from membership in the cooperative because they were not the main farmers and owners of land. As the cooperative was the only exporting body and the site where knowledge exchange and decisions on production and selling of grapes were taken, the exclusion of women from membership in the cooperatives signified their limited participation in farm and cooperative decision-making. This also hindered the development of knowledge and skills of women which reproduced their secondary status as helpers. The exclusion of women from the cooperative reflects the fact that their productive work in the farm was not sufficiently recognised and was considered part of their work in the household, thus taken for granted. Greek state policies were also gendered, as subsidies were given to the farmer and manager of land and not to the owner of the land which in some cases was the woman through dowry (Safilios and Papadopoulos, 2004; Nazou, 2005). This further exacerbated the male/female divide in access to the farming income and recognition. The gendered nature of cooperatives reflects Elson’s (1999) point regarding gendered institutions. The empirical findings show that gendered norms are also embedded in farmer organisation and not only in labour markets which Elson focused on.

The embedded patriarchal values in the farming sector led to women’s identification as farmers only in relation to their husbands, as ‘farmer’s wives’ and thus ‘helpers’
which subordinated their work contribution and led to perception by women themselves that their work contribution was not significant. This is reflected in women’s perception of the cooperative as a male sphere: ‘It was the men who went to those meetings [cooperative’s meetings] as the main farmers who had more knowledge about these issues’ (Interview with W1). Similarly, male farmer Petros said ‘the men took active part in the cooperatives because they had more knowledge and experience than women’. There was thus an assumption that it was the job of the men to make organised decisions around the cooperative and an assumption by women themselves that the men know better than women on issues around production and export. Due to the gendered nature of land ownership ‘women marry into farming and thus enter the occupation through marriage rather than through occupational choice’ (Shortall, 2006, p. 20; Bradth, 2002).

The findings show that the table grapes export sector was very much embedded in gendered institutional norms and practices, and women’s role as unwaged farm labour served to enhance the bargaining position of male farmers in a producer-led export market. This suggests that societal embeddedness does not always have positive connotations as Polanyi (1944) assumed. Beneria (2007) highlighted how economies and markets embedded norms and values that disadvantage women over men. The empirical findings support Beneria’s argument of the gendered nature of societal embeddedness. The next section explores the embodied gendered norms in the commercial production process and their effect on women’s role as unwaged labour in the table grape farms and secondarily as waged packers at times of labour intensity.

5.4.2 The gendered division of labour and women’s unwaged work

The commercial requirements of the producer-led export market had an impact in shaping women’s role in export grape production. As I discussed in section 5.3 there were no specific quality requirements associated with production in the farm and the packing process, rendering women’s work tasks secondary and unskilled. Rather,
higher importance was given to the tasks that required muscular strength which were carried out mainly by men. The ‘value added’ tasks were considered the heavy tasks that were carried out by men, and the tasks that required detail and little muscular strength carried out mainly by women were considered less important or secondary tasks. The division of labour in the family farm was therefore gendered. This contributed to the limited recognition of women’s work and the labelling of women as ‘helpers’ in the farm despite their often equal amount of time they spent in the field with their husbands. The secondary importance given to women’s tasks is demonstrated by the fact that whereas men participated in the ‘light’ tasks women did not participate in the ‘heavy’ tasks. The ‘heavy’ tasks required muscular strength such as digging, pruning and carrying the grapes and the tasks associated with health hazards such as pesticide and herbicide application. The ‘light’ tasks did not require muscular strength, such as de-leafing and were carried out both by men and women. Hence, women’s work contribution in the farm was socially undervalued and perceived to be secondary to men’s. This supports empirically Agarwal’s (1997) argument of low perceived contribution and social under-valuing of women’s work contribution as discussed in chapter 3.

The deeply embedded gendered norms in table grape production are also illustrated through women’s perception of their work contribution in the farm, which hampered women’s ability to rework gendered power asymmetries. In the women’s views their farm work was attached to their unpaid reproductive responsibilities and thus they did not see the need for remuneration of their work. Hence, their productive contribution in the farm remained unpaid. According to Pitsa (W14), ‘I didn’t need remuneration for my work, it was normal that I would help my husband. The income went to the whole family anyway.’ This stemmed from the fact that women became involved in farming by nature of their husbands’ work. According to Mina (W1), ‘the job of the farmer’s wife is to help in the farm and to take care of the household tasks; I expected that I would do all this since I decided to marry a farmer’. Mina took this gender division of labour in farm households as given, and did not question the unremunerated character of her work. Thus, women’s productive work in the farm was perceived as tied to the reproductive sphere through the fact that the
husband was the ‘head’ creating very different gendered labour and power relations than in a large-scale commercial farm. The next section explores women’s secondary role in the table grapes sector as packers of table grapes and how it related to their unwaged farm work.

5.4.3 Packing as part of ‘farmers’ wives’ work

The commercial requirement to pack the grapes for the expanding and modernising export market led to the use of female packing labour as they were easily available in labour intensive periods. Hence in addition to their unwaged contribution local women in this period often worked as packers of table grapes in the cooperative’s packing plant when labour hands were needed. Because there were no specific quality and packaging requirements in the producer-led export market the packing process was relative simple. This meant that packing was an unskilled work and there was not much ‘value enhancement’ attached to packing work at the time, which reduced packing as a secondary work. However, in reality the work contribution of women was very important in sustaining the expansion of rozaki exports. The grapes were packed in 10 kilo boxes and the only requirement was that the grapes with similar colours had to be packed in the same box and the branches had to be put the bottom of the box to improve the appearance of the grapes (Interviews with W16; W18; W19; W20; W22). Images 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate the simple packing method used at the time, and the fact that packing was mostly done by women.
Image 5.3 Women packing grapes in the Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes

Source: Archanes Blogspot 2014 (estimated by the author to be in the 1960s)

Image 5.4: Women in the packing shed of the Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes

Source: Archanes blogspot 2014 (estimated by author to be in the early 1980s)
Although the majority of packers were women, there were a few male packers as well, and packer Artemis (W18) recalled that there was a very competent male packer who was teaching the new packers how to pack the grapes. Thus, although there was a clear gender division of labour in the tasks associated with the ‘important’ tasks in the period of the producer-led export market men occasionally participated in ‘women’s tasks’ that were considered less important and less skilled not only in the farm but also in the packing plant. Image 5.5 below shows the tasks carried out by men in the packing shed.

**Image 5.5: A male worker carrying packed grapes**

![Image of a male worker carrying packed grapes](https://example.com/image5.5)

Source: Archanes blogspot 2014 (estimated by author to be in the 1960s)
Women in Archanes in essence constituted a reserve army of labour that was available to work for a wage at times of intense work in the packing plant. The cooperative mobilised women to work as packers because in the packing season women and young children were a more available labour force than men who worked in the fields carrying the grapes and arranging the selling of the grapes (Interviews with W20; Folklorist 1). In addition, packing was conducive to the skills associated with women in social reproduction. This relates to the feminist literatures that argue that women’s waged work was often socially undervalued due to the association of women primarily with the sphere of reproduction (Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007; Sen, 1987).

The cooperative utilised sentiments of communal gain to mobilise women to work as packers in periods of labour shortage. It was thus assumed that if women worked in packing they would help their own family’s income through helping in the export process. Garifallia (W20) recalls how the cooperative would call in the loud speaker all women to come and help in packing whenever more labour was needed:

The cooperative would say from the loud speaker: ‘come and help in the packing, help in the generation of income. No woman should stay at home’. It was a kind of obligation to help in the generation of income for the whole village.

At times of labour shortage and high market demands of the grapes women would be driven out from the sphere of reproduction –‘no woman should stay at home’- and their reproductive responsibilities would become secondary, but only for this period of time.

In the context of a gendered labour market where women were mostly associated with the sphere of reproduction women’s waged work was seen as secondary and as supporting the male-dominated farms. Thus, packing work was attached to the farmers’ wives work which hindered the development of a worker consciousness of women. Many of the women interviewed felt that they had the responsibility to work in packing to help in the export of the product which they produced, and in this way support the family farm (5 out of 7 women who worked as packers in this period).
However, behind this notion of packing as part of farm women’s identity lied the economic necessity of farm households that pushed women to work for a wage as packers. According to Maya (W21), whose mother was working in packing during that time, ‘It was a good income if the woman worked 3 months in the year. It was a matter of survival. It was not a hobby or a time-passer. It was a matter of survival.’ This reflects the tensions between commercial requirements for women’s waged work in the productive sphere and gendered societal pressures that led to unskilled, low-paid and undervalued work for women.

However, the waged work of women in packing also brought benefits for women and suggests that embedded gendered norms were already beginning to change, again reflecting the tensions that were already underway. The necessity for labour hands in packing led to women’s entry into waged work (the public sphere) that was contrary to the prevailing gender division of labour where women were confined to unwaged labour in the family farm (the household). This is illustrated through the interviews with women workers. Packing work offered women a chance to work on their own in the productive sphere without the supervision of their husbands. In addition, packing offered a chance of socialisation of women with their co-workers that helped to cultivate a common identity for these women. It was also an opportunity for women to get away from their household and farm responsibilities and do something different, even for a short period of time. Litsa (W19) says: ‘I enjoyed packing. I had 8-10 grape cleaners [at the time the packing process separated packers and cleaners of grapes] and I was packing on my own, I was that good.’ Being a good packer gave Litsa a sense of fulfilment and work confidence. Similarly, Artemis (W18) talked proudly of her performance as packer: ‘I was the first packer. Packing requires that you know how to handle the grape carefully so that the berries will show on the top. I was the best in that.’ Thus, packing gave women a sense of fulfilment and enjoyment, and a chance to work for a wage which they spent for the house and their families. In the 1960s women were paid approximately 20-25 drachmas per day for packing (W18). Male spouses acknowledged the economic contribution of women. Babis (M14) said of his wife’s work in packing: ‘It was some help. She offered a lot’. However, women did not
have independent control over their wage as the manager of the money in the household was often the man (Interviews with M7; M13; M14). These benefits often helped women to exercise resilience in gendered power asymmetries as I will explain in section 5.6.

The seasonal character of packing work and the deeply ingrained gendered norms permeating the production system meant that packing work did not help to challenge embedded gendered power asymmetries. In addition, waged work in packing did not offer a fall-back position from which women could negotiate their unwaged work because waged packing was considered part of women’s work as farmer’s wives when their labour was needed and not a work of its own. Moreover, the participation of women in packing was essentially a survival strategy of farm households and was thus a means to retain the dominant position of the husband as the farmer.

The identity of women as farmers’ wives also hindered women’s participation in collective bargaining. The seasonal nature of the job and the attachment of waged work as part of farmers’ wives work hindered collective organisation (Interviews and discussions with labour contacts). Nevertheless, women took the first step towards collective organisation through their waged work. According to a key labour contact, in the prefecture of Heraklion there was an unorganised union called the ‘Union of Table Grape Packers’. The union ensured that the packers were paid according to the law but did not bargain with the employers on issues of working conditions.

The Union of Grape Workers was not formed until 1976 for waged workers in the field and had the same nature and purpose as the union of packers (Interview and discussions with key labour contacts). There was a gender disparity in wages due to the belief that women’s work was less important. The gendered state laws supported this disparity. Until 1975 Greece had not ratified the International Convention on gender equality on issues of work and pay. With the Labour Law 46/1975 the ‘equal
pay between men and women on work of same value’ was established (Mihou, 2002). However, women’s work was often not considered of ‘same value’ to men’s and this gave ground for the perpetuation of gender inequalities in pay. Those issues of gender equality were not part of the unorganised unions’ agenda (Interview and discussions with key labour contacts). Nevertheless, these unorganised unions represented a first step of women workers coming together and can be seen as a step towards collective organisation for women in the productive sphere, indicating that change was already underway. Tensions therefore between commercial requirements for labour and gendered norms in the society and the household began to take place already from this period.

5.5 Intra-household Gendered Norms and Women’s Work in the Table Grapes Sector

The reasons why waged work in packing was seen as an extension of women’s duty as farmers’ wives and thus did not constitute a fall-back position for women can also be traced in the gendered societal norms in Archanes during that period that pervaded household relations and especially the gendered productive/reproductive divide, and the gendered norms of arranged marriage and dowry. This section looks into the societal norms of the pink area of the diagram and how they affect the waged/unwaged work relationship. Thus, it continues the investigation of the gendered societal embeddedness of the grapes sector focusing on the household level. The chapter argues that the simultaneous social control of women in the public sphere and the reinforcement of their role in the private sphere, the sphere of reproduction helped to sustain a table grape production system that was based on a gendered labour market, the gender division of labour and the utilisation of women as a reserve army of labour.

5.5.1 The productive/reproductive divide

In Archanes there was a clear gender separation between the public sphere, the sphere of productive work and the private sphere, the sphere of reproductive work in
the society of Archanes that inhibited women’s access to farming remuneration and recognition and the recognition of their waged work in packing as a work in its own right. In Cretan society the gender separation between productive and reproductive spheres was prevalent in everyday life. Women were in charge of the domestic sphere, taking care of children and the elderly and carrying out household and farm tasks while men were the breadwinners of the home and worked in the paid labour market. Men’s work was visible and widely recognised as it took place in the ‘public’ sphere, while women’s work was hidden and unrecognised. An example of the gender separation between the public and the private spheres is the existence of the kafeneio in the Greek villages and towns. The kafeneio is a coffee shop for men and in this period it was the only type of coffee shop. Image 5.6 below illustrates the kafeneio as a male space.

Image 5.6: The kafeneio as a male space in Archanes

![Image 5.6: The kafeneio as a male space in Archanes](image)

Source: Archanes blogspot 2014 (estimated by author to be in the 1950s-1960s).

Women were not allowed to go out and have a coffee with their friends because it was considered immoral for a woman to go out asinodefí (unescorted from her
husband/brother/father). The male farmers after a hard day’s work in the fields would go and spend their evening in the kafeneio with their male friends after dinner at home. The kafeneio was thus a place of socialisation for men, but also a place whereby farming knowledge and cultivation practices were shared, which means that women were excluded from informal knowledge and skill sharing. Women stayed at home to do the household chores and it was only within this space deemed acceptable for women to invite their female friends for a coffee (FGD1). This supports empirically the gendered division between productive and reproductive spheres as exemplified by the feminist literature explored in chapter 3 (Beneria, 2007; Agarwal, 1997).

This separation between productive/reproductive spheres was also seen in table grape production and often hampered the collective agency of women. Women often did not participate in cooperative decision-making because this was in the productive realm. As a result, they were not exposed to decision-making in the sphere of production and did not have the experience and confidence to organise collectively as packers. In addition, women’s primary responsibilities of domestic work and unwaged productive farm work were a constraining factor for their participation in collective bargaining. This shows the gendered societal embeddedness of the table grapes export sector in that period that weakened women’s bargaining position as workers and as wives in relation to men.

The chapter has already discussed how these tensions between the commercial demands of the producer-led market that necessitated women’s waged work in the productive sphere on the one hand and the societal confinement of women played out. Retaining social control of women in the public sphere and reinforcing women’s role in the private sphere is also a reflection of these tensions. Women had limited freedom of movement in the public sphere because it was considered to be dangerous for the morality of young unmarried women, and this was conducive to their role as unwaged farm workers. The deeply embedded gendered norms in Archanes underpin this.
Women’s goal in life was considered to be, according to prevailing societal norms, to get married and to have children and thus remain within the sphere of reproduction. Until the 1980s the norm was for women to marry at a certain age mainly through arranged marriage a usually older man. This emanated from the ‘shame’ and ‘honour’ value system of Greek society, whereby women were considered morally weaker than men and their purity had to be preserved before the marriage (Dubisch, 1986; Peristiany, 1976). If a woman brought ‘shame’ to her family the family could regain their ‘honour’ through forcing the woman to marry the man she had relations with or facing the risk of being abandoned by her family. In turn, if a man discovered that the woman he married had pre-marital relationships, he had the right to divorce her immediately. Young unmarried women were not allowed to go out if they were not accompanied by their parents or their brother. Also, unmarried women were not allowed to speak to young men if they were on their own because someone may see them and spread the word that they are of ‘loose morals’ (Interviews with W1; W22; FGD 1; Lazaridis, 2009). The productive work of women in the family farm was considered ‘safe’ for women as it was seen an extension of the household. The productive work of women in the packing plant constituted a challenge to the gendered productive/reproductive division but was possible due to the social control of women in the public sphere. Unmarried women often worked in the packing plant with their mothers to ensure their morality was kept. This reflects an early indication of the shifting relationship between commercial and societal relations. Prevailing gendered norms already began to be challenged by commercial requirements for reserve labour that was often female. This raises analytical implications on gendered societal embeddedness which can be understood not as static, but changing. This helps to enrich analysis of Beneria’s (1999; 2007) gendered concepts of the social construction and embeddedness of markets.

The gendered labour market and education also helped to sustain the role of women as unwaged family labour in the farm. Women in this period had limited chances for alternative employment to unwaged work in the farm due to the gendered nature of
the labour market and because of their low levels of education. All of the women interviewed aged 70 and above and 7 out of 12 women interviewed in their 50s-60s dropped school after they finished primary school to help in the farm. Until the 1970s it was common practice that girls would not be allowed to continue school in order to help with farming and housework, while the sons often continued their education. There was a preference for male sons in education and it was considered that if women were educated they would become immoral. Kiriaki (W8) said in the interview: ‘I had to work in the farm; I did not have a choice. I had only finished primary school. We were a poor family and we had to help in the generation of income.’ Similarly, 70-year old Litsa (W19) said: ‘My parents were farmers so I had to learn as well.’ Packing was thus the only waged work option of women that was conducive to their skills and their work in the farm as women did not have a strong fall-back position in terms of alternative work.

5.5.2 Marriage and unwaged farm work

The institution of marriage and particularly its arranged form which entailed limited choice of women over marriage and household decision-making also helped to support the gendered table grape production system of that era. In this period, women often married between 18-25 years old, and after 25 they were normally considered to be too old to marry, and men were unlikely to want to marry them (Interviews with Folklorists 1 and 2; W1; W20; W21; FGD 1). However, there were cases where women as young as 17 years old would be married, and one woman interviewed got married at the tender age of 15. The age difference between husband and wife during this period was normally between 6-12 years. Maya (W21) and her sister Garifallia (W20) both got married at 17 years old through arranged marriages and have a big age difference with their husbands. They struggled to get used to this sudden shift from childhood to marriage and also struggled for work freedom in their marriage. According to Maya, their father had a saying: ‘the woman is like manure, she gets bad with time; the man is like gold, he stays the same with age. That’s why the woman should marry young’. This (not-very-flattering-for-women) saying reflects the gendered assumption that women had no function in society after
they pass their reproductive age. According to Garifallia, couples married with age
difference because women had no economic resources of their own and the
economic responsibility shifted from the woman’s family to the husband. The man
thus had to be older in order to have a stable job and a wage to support his wife.
However, this age difference exacerbated power differentials between the husband
and the wife. As Maya claims, husbands saw their younger wives as girls who did
not know much about the world, and whose personalities they could mould.

The significant age difference between husband and wife tilted the gendered power
relationships more towards the older male husband and this led to a limited decision-
making power of women on issues of farm work. The farmers were often protective
and controlling of their wives, and they were in charge of most decision-making in
the family farm, using their young wives’ limited experience as leverage. Stratos
(M7), the 73-year-old farmer husband of Kiriaki (W8) says that ‘I made the
decisions on when, to whom and for how much to sell the grapes. Democratic
procedures (laughing)’. When asked why this is so he said because his wife didn’t
know about these things. Thus, her status as an unpaid family worker, as ‘helper’ in
the family vineyards did not give her equal decision-making power or knowledge as
the husband who was the farmer. The male farmers also decided on when their
wife’s labour was needed and for what tasks: According to 57-year old Pitsa (W14),
unpaid family worker and packer, ‘my husband told me we go today to this vineyard
and we do this job and I followed. He was more experienced than me because he is
older and he went all the time to the vineyard.’

Women had limited choice over who to marry and this contributed to shifting the
power towards the husband in the marriage, also influencing decision-making and
women’s labour agency. The fact that marriages were arranged gave a different kind
of power dynamic between the wife and the husband as it was often not the choice
of the woman to marry that person. The early marriage years thus were critical
because those were the years where the couple got to know each other and power
dynamics were established. The way that arranged marriages and bargaining power
dynamics developed had important implications for women’s labour agency as they influenced the ability of women to bargain with their spouses around issues of work. As Just (2000, p. 228) argues:

Marriage was a weighty matter with consequences not only for the couple themselves, but for their respective families. As such it was unwise to leave its instigation to the accidents of individual infatuation. Both economic standing and the moral reputation of the families from which the perspective bride and groom came had to be reciprocally considered and judged, as did the personal qualities and social prospects of the bride and groom themselves…

To marry from love during this time was considered unacceptable and young women often married against their wishes. Maya (W21) reflects bitterly on her arranged marriage:

During that time the parents decided even for your wedding which was for a lifetime. They did not ask you do you want to sleep with this man and have a family. It was a terrible mistake… Yes I got married through arranged marriage unfortunately. Marrying from love was unacceptable. You had to marry whoever they chose, even if he was worse than the one you preferred…I was still a child when I got married. It was a shock for me this sudden change from the playground to being a wife. I think this is not right for the girls.

Gendered power relations were often reproduced with the institution of arranged marriage in the context of a patriarchal society. Nevertheless, for some women arranged marriage turned out to be a happy marriage. Matina (W17) said: ‘of course the transition from unmarried young woman to wife is always difficult but I have a good husband and we had a nice time. I also had the support of my mother and older sister in childbearing so I was not on my own’. The above quotes reflect that women often perceived their age at marriage as ‘young’, and hence an early age to marry. The informal networks of support from family and relatives were thus crucial in the transition of young women to marriage and motherhood.

The social pressure to marry gave women limited choice but to continue working as unwaged farm workers. As 66-year old Mina (W1) said:

How could I leave unmarried? To go out, socialise and have friends? I didn’t have any money of my own, I didn’t have a job, there were not many buses to go to the city…Farming is an own account work.
Here Mina explains that either she would marry a farmer or be an unmarried poor woman all her life. If she was single she could not support herself, and she would not be able to socialise because she would be stigmatised. During that time it was difficult for a woman to live on her own and work in the city as that would bring shame to her family. By making the choice to marry a farmer she had the economic support of the husband and work where she and her husband would be their own masters. The alternative of poverty and stigma pushed young women to marry farmers and carry on their unwaged farm work. This gave male farmers more leverage to utilise women’s unwaged labour as a means to offset risks and lower costs to retain their bargaining position in the producer-led export market.

5.5.3 Dowry as ‘false’ fall-back position, divorce as ‘immoral’ and their contribution to the male farmer

There is a tight link between gendered norms and women’s role as unwaged labour and the gendered nature of farming, highlighting the gendered societal embeddedness of the production system. The institution of dowry also supported the gendered table grape production system because it offered a ‘false’ fall-back position for women in case their work in the family farm failed. Dowry (proika in Greek) was prevalent until the late 1970s, and in 1983 a law passed that officially abolished the institution of dowry (Lazaridis, 2009). In arranged marriages husbands-to-be would demand a dowry in order to marry the woman. Dowry usually took the form of land plots, household appliances or cash (Lazaridis, 2009; Marinakis, 2008). However, it was the responsibility of the husband to provide a house for the couple, and men would not marry before they secured a house space (Lazaridis, 2009). The idea of the proika stems from the assumption that women are weaker than men and need protection. During that period women were not working and did not have financial resources of their own, so the responsibility to support financially the wife lay entirely on the husband. The dowry was the contribution of the wife to household income and an easing of some of the financial burden from the husband (Christinidis, 2008, Interviews with Folklorists 1 and 2). Dowry also involved bedding and handicrafts to decorate the newly married couples’ house.
Farm women in their spare time created handicrafts at home which they used in their homes and as dowry for their daughters. Women who worked in packing often used parts of their wages to buy the material necessary to make bedding and handicrafts for the dowry of their daughters (Interviews with W19; W22).

Depending on the agreement between the father and the groom, the dowry could be in the name of the groom or in the name of the daughter. If it was in the name of the daughter the husband was the legal manager of the dowry. So he administered and used it but he could not sell it without his wife’s approval. This was also the case when a vineyard was given through dowry. Men would often use and manage the vineyard like it was their own although the title would be on the wife’s name. The dowry system was also established to protect the wife from a separation with her husband, since she did not have any other economic source and was financially dependent on him (interviews with Folklorist 1 and 2; Christinidis, 2008). On the surface this created some kind of fall-back position for women, who would be legally entitled to the dowry assets if their marriage and hence their work in the farm, failed. However, in practise the fall-back position offered by the dowry was ‘false’. This is because of three reasons. First, there were cases where the husband used persuasion tactics to convince the wife to sell parts of dowry or to spend the cash for personal rather than family expenses, in essence ‘eating away’ the wife’s dowry and hence obliterating women’s already shaky fall-back position. Artemis (W18) recalled during an interview how her husband had a weakness in gambling, spending money from their wages which forced her to work day and night in the fields to support her children and their future dowries. Second, I already explained that the dowry system created a male-centric farming system because women despite sometimes having a land title in reality they did not practice that title because the man was the manager of the land and the breadwinner. Third, the dowry was not used as a leverage to bargain with the spouse because divorce was considered a taboo.

Until the early 1980s divorce was considered to be immoral and there were very few divorces in the town. If a woman complained to her parents about her husband the
parents would send her back to her husband and children and would say there is nothing they can do and the couple had to reconcile (FGD 1). This was because the father could not support financially the daughter and grandchildren, but also because it was considered wrong to fail a marriage. The wife had to compromise and stay in the marriage. The norm of divorce as immoral and unacceptable further constrained women’s freedom of movement and bargaining power in the household, and ruled out possibilities of opting out from marriage as there were limited alternatives for women. This constrained women’s bargaining over work with their spouses and often ‘locked’ women into unwaged farm work and their role as reserve army of labour. In addition, the norms of arranged marriages and divorce as a taboo meant that women did not have a fall-back position in terms of work.

5.6 Women’s labour agency in the producer-led market: resilience

I will now explore the labour agency box and its interactions with waged and unwaged work as depicted in the framework diagram at the introduction of my chapter. Chapter 3 explained that women’s labour agency outcomes are understood as influenced by women’s labour bargaining in the farm and the labour market. This in turn is determined by women’s fall-back position, or the additional work options of women. The empirical discussion in this chapter on women’s role in the table grapes export sector in the producer-led export market demonstrates how women had a weak bargaining position as workers due to deeply embedded gendered norms in production, land ownership and within the household. Nevertheless, tensions already started to emerge in this period as women had the opportunity to work in the productive sphere for a wage and were able to take a first step towards organising, thus challenging the rigid gendered division between productive and reproductive spheres. All of the women interviewed who worked as packers in this period said that they acquired a sense of fulfilment and enjoyment through their packing work and their economic contribution in the household, and often had some money which they could spend for the family. However, their work was unskilled and hence less recognised. Hence, women were not able to rework the gendered power asymmetries due to the deeply embedded gendered norms in the household and
society that were also prevalent among themselves. Their primary responsibilities in the household and the gendered norms that permeated them constrained them in getting more recognition from their work.

Women’s strategy was thus to reinforce their role in the household in order to get a sense of control and simultaneously to strategize on the allocation of their work burden in order to sustain their waged work as packers whenever they had the opportunity. Women often engaged in day-to-day coping practices to deal with the ‘triple’ work burden through receiving help from relatives in childbearing when they worked in the farm and the pack house (Interviews with W20; W19; W22). This helped them to sustain their double role as waged and unwaged workers. Women’s work burden was ‘triple’ in essence due to them being primarily responsible for house work. It was assumed that the male farmer did the hard work in the field and he needed good food and care from his wife when he returned from work. This gendered assumption embodies the belief that farmers’ wives were not doing much work in the field which denotes the undervaluation of women’s farm contribution.

At the same time, their household contribution was considered given and not work in its own right. According to Litsa (W19):

I would work all day in the vineyard and then go back home, clean the lunch boxes, clean the house. I wanted to cook food for dinner and for tomorrow’s lunch in the field. I worked hard until 12 o’clock at night and then the next day I would wake up at 6.30 with the same energy.

This was a typical day of the farm women and shows their significant labour contribution in the home.

Caring for the elderly family members was also an important component of women’s domestic work. Respect and care for the elders is a significant aspect of Greek and Cretan culture. Matina (W17) said: ‘I had 4 elders to take care of my parents and also and my in-laws who were living downstairs. And I took care of them even though I was young at the time...’ This hidden but important part of farm women’s work influenced women’s work patterns in the farm. Matina said that when her children were babies she was also taking care of her in-laws and thus she
had to stop her work in the field. To compensate for his wife’s work, her husband utilised exchange labour of relatives and friends (Interview with M13). When her children grew older her parents were taking care of the kids while she was working in the farm. This demonstrates the productive/reproductive inter-linkage as unpaid productive work in family farms was linked to household and caring responsibilities, and time had to be allocated for all tasks.

Not all women however worked as waged packers. Women in households with larger holdings had to work much more in the farms and hence did not have time to work as waged packers (Interviews with W1; W17; W23). This demonstrates how unpaid work in the farm was primary to their waged work due to the embedded gendered norms. These women tried to gain a sense of power and control in the household sphere. Women responded to their increased work burden and limited involvement on farm decision-making through reinforcing their role as ‘queens of the household’ and further isolating men from household tasks and decision-making around issues of food, children and the home. As Matina (W17) said:

I preferred that he [her husband] was leaving to go to the kafeneio. I don’t want a man around saying do this, make me this food. I preferred that he came from the farm, took his shower, ate and then left. I didn’t want him to stand next to me and help me.

Matina’s quote shows that women felt they were in control of the private sphere, the sphere of reproductive work since their decision-making power around issues of work and the farm were limited. However this bargaining strategy of women although it offered a sense of power and fulfilment did not bring any change in gendered power relations. Women thus became resilient but were not able to rework the gendered power asymmetries in the table grapes export sector. Thus, they maintained a gendered table grape production system. These empirical findings bring forward analytical implications.
5.7 Conclusion and Analytical Implications

Empirical analysis of period 1 of the producer-led export market has shown that both commercial and societal drivers had an effect on women’s work and agency in table grape production. There were tensions already building up from this period between producer-led commercial pressures for women’s work in the productive realm and gendered societal pressures that associated women with the sphere of reproduction. The outcome of these tensions was that women often worked in waged work in table grapes but in unskilled, undervalued work that was only secondary to their role as unpaid family labour in the farms. Tensions played out differently for women as not all women were able to work for a wage, reflecting the deeply embedded gendered norms in Archanes and their role of women as a reserve army of labour only when work was needed.

Women had few opportunities to become economic agents due to the unskilled nature of their work and their weak bargaining position as workers as they did not have alternative work options. They thus exercised resilience in gendered power asymmetries. They were often able to witness some change in the gendered productive/reproductive division but were not able to rework gendered power asymmetries due to the embedded gendered norms in society and the household. Producer-led commercial pressures thus opened the way for gradual change in women’s position. Ultimately however, embedded gendered societal relations meant the available supply of a reserve army of unskilled labour for the table grapes export sector. The deeply embedded gendered norms in the household and the gendered land tenure following the land ownership shift supported the utilisation of women as a reserve army of labour as women’s work was socially undervalued and unrecognised in comparison to men’s.

The analysis of the household as a micro-level of gendered societal embeddedness and the intra-household analysis of labour bargaining that I developed in chapter 3 helped to bring forward these issues. It has helped to show empirically that the lack
of fall-back position was a significant factor in constraining women’s ability to rework gendered power asymmetries. Women’s decision-making ability on work and aspirations was limited due to the prevalence of gendered norms in the household that were also deeply embedded in the farm as an extension of the household sphere. This shows that waged work if unskilled and attached to unwaged farm work in a gendered production system does not necessarily help women to rework gendered power asymmetries. Hence, a gender approach to societal embeddedness unpacks the inequalities between men and women that Polanyi (1944) in the context of markets was not able to show. Women’s work therefore ultimately maintained a gendered production system in which male producers had the advantage.

This brings significant analytical implications for the concept of gendered societal embeddedness as it suggests that it is not static but involves tensions. Hence, this analysis helps to push further Beneria’s (2007) gendered understanding of embeddedness. In addition, the findings indicate that changes in societal relations already began to take shape prior to the expansion of GPNs, which is a contribution to the GPN literature discussed in chapter 3 and demonstrates processes of societal transition. The analytical implications will be explored in more depth in chapter 8 from a cross-period lens. In order to investigate change over time in gender relations through women’s work and agency, it is important to look at the second major commercial shift, the expansion of supermarkets and how it affected women and men in the table grapes sector. I now turn to investigate this.
Chapter 6 Women’s Work and Labour Agency in the Buyer-led GPN Period

6.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the expansion of the buyer-led GPN in table grapes when supermarkets became dominant from the 1990s onwards. It examines how this led to a shift in the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work from the producer-led export market period and what effects this had on women’s labour agency. This chapter therefore addresses the fourth research sub-question of the thesis: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change after the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency? An investigation into the period of the buyer-led GPN sheds light on the processes of change between periods 1 to 3, thus uncovering the influencing factors shaping the changing relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work and their labour agency across periods. The rise of GPNs led to major shifts in commercial bargaining as supermarkets exercised power over the suppliers. As chapter 3 explained analytically, commercial relations in GPNs have a gendered dimension and interact with gendered societal relations, producing gendered transformations. This will be explored empirically in this chapter.

The chapter argues that the major commercial shift from a producer-led export market to a buyer-led global production network led to the shift in women’s role in table grape production. Supermarket quality and price pressures on suppliers led to the use of skilled female waged labour on farm and at the packing sheds, often offering economic opportunities for women to get remuneration and recognition for their work. This however was not an even process but was characterised by pushes and pulls between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations, leading to different outcomes for women. Among some older generation women the gendered norm of unwaged farm work persisted, highlighting the tensions between commercial requirements for female waged labour and embedded gendered norms
from the period of the producer-led export market. On the other hand, younger generation women who experienced shifts in societal norms in Archanes resisted the gendered work in the table grape GPN and opted for off-farm work outside grapes. This led to the use of migrant women workers to fill this labour gap. The findings highlight the increasing tensions between commercial requirements and gendered societal relations in a process of transition.

This chapter will unpack these findings. It applies the conceptual framework of Chapter 3 to inform the empirical analysis of the buyer-led GPN period. The following diagram in Figure 6.1 represents the relationships which this chapter explores empirically. The analytical argument underpinning the framework is that of women’s shifting role as a consequence of changing production systems across three periods. My Gendered GPN theoretical framework captures the shifting nature of bargaining relations at different levels underpinned by changing commercial and societal relations, affecting men and women differently. It thus helps to explore analytically the major shifts taking place in the buyer-led period in relation to the producer-led period. The changes are depicted in the diagram through the use of different colouring and bold arrows from the diagram of the producer-led export market.
At the top of the diagram are shown the intensifying commercial-societal bargaining relations in this period as supermarkets exercised power over the value chain through the bold arrows between the different levels of bargaining (compared to the thin arrows in the diagram of the producer-led export market in chapter 5). The bigger two-way arrows between the GPN and women’s waged and unwaged work demonstrate the strong influence of commercial pressures in shaping the nature of women’s work in the table grape GPN. The gradient pink colour area with changing colour shows the shifting gendered societal embeddedness of the GPN from the producer-led export market. Gendered societal relations affected the GPN as seen in the bottom-up arrows from waged and unwaged work and labour agency to the GPN. Labour agency outcomes were different for different women, and were influenced by women’s bargaining position among other factors. This chapter unpacks empirically these relationships.
The chapter is structured as follows: First I explore the commercial shifts in the table grape export sector and their impact on the bargaining position of the producers and the exporters. I then move on to explore how the changing commercial and inter-firm bargaining power dynamics impacted the gender division of labour in the sector, followed by an analysis of the shifts in gendered societal and institutional norms which forms the gendered societal embeddedness of the table grapes sector. This discussion will then enable the analysis of gendered bargaining relations in this changing environment. Finally I discuss how the diverse bargaining strategies created different labour agency outcomes for different women.

6.2 The expansion and consolidation of supermarket power

As chapter 2 explained the expansion of European supermarkets led to the shift from a producer-led export market to a buyer-led global production network as supermarkets eventually dominated the fresh fruits and vegetable market. Chapter 3 explored analytically drawing from the GPN literature how supermarkets exert power over their suppliers. In this chapter I investigate this empirically and address the gender implications through the case of fresh grapes in Archanes.

Quality requirements, price pressures and supply chain management meant that power in this period shifted away from the producers towards the supermarkets. Producers in Archanes were not able to participate anymore in setting price and quality and had to comply with the requirements set by the supermarket buyers (Interviews with M9; M13). Quality of grapes in this period became associated with outside appearance of the grape. Quality was clearly defined by supermarkets based on colour, berry size and packaging of grapes (Interviews with all exporters; all agronomists). Product and process standards often differed between supermarket buyers. For example British supermarkets prefer the Thompson Seedless grapes with a berry size of 17mm and higher, with green colour and lower sugar levels. They are very strict in chemical residue levels, and require up to 4 drastic chemical substances
in grapes (Interviews with Exporters 1 and 4; Agronomists 2 and 3; M9). The German supermarkets prefer the Thompson Seedless grapes with smaller berry size, higher sugar content and with yellow colour, and they are less strict than British supermarkets on chemical residue levels. They require a maximum of 4-6 drastic substances present in grapes (Interviews with Agronomist 2; Exporter 1; M9). It was a significant challenge for producers to meet the diverse requirements of supermarket buyers because they necessitated the increased use of labour, and in particular skilled labour which raised the costs of production significantly.

Moreover, as explained in chapter 2, supermarkets required certifications on food quality and safety without which producers and exporters were not able to supply them. Certifications posed an extra cost for producers who had to bear the costs of certification on their own (Interviews with Agronomist 2; Key industry informant). Producers had to obtain the GLOBALG.A.P certification (Chapter 2 explained the main features of this certification). Moreover, different supermarkets require different process standards for packing, which often raised costs for exporters, who often had to obtain a number of different certifications (Interviews with all exporters). Exporters had to obtain various certifications such as the ISO (International Organisation for Standardisation), IFC (International Finance Corporation), BRC (British Retail Consortium) and other standards on food safety, sustainability and quality during the packing process to meet the diverse requirements of different supermarkets (Interviews with all exporters). These process and product quality standards led to a major shift in cultivation and packing processes as attention was given to the quality enhancing tasks of the grapes as I will explain in detail in this chapter. These pressures in conjunction with the push to lower supplier prices led to the increased use of skilled female waged labour as compared to the producer-led export market period.

Supermarkets constantly increased their safety and quality standards in order to attract consumers and as a strategy of differentiation from their competitors. In 2007 for example German and Dutch supermarkets notified the Greek exporters that there
should only be 5 drastic chemical residue substances in table grapes and the cumulative of them should not surpass 80 per cent of the level permitted by the EU (Agrotypos, 2007). This meant that supermarket requirements for chemical residue levels became higher than those set by the European Union (Agrotypos, 2007). Exporters and producers found it difficult to deliver these stringent quality requirements while keeping their selling prices low because their production costs increased significantly due to the quality requirements. A GPN analysis hence uncovers the major shifts in commercial power relations from the producer-led to the buyer-led period.

To uncover the gender implications of this commercial shift it is important to first explore the shifting bargaining position of producers and exporters as a result of supermarket requirements and pressures and how this contributed to the use of female skilled labour to meet quality requirements. The GPN approach (see Coe et al, 2008) explains analytically the changing nature of commercial bargaining relationships as discussed in chapter 3 and I will now explore this empirically. Hence, I explore the relationships within the GPN box in the framework diagram in Figure 6.1.

### 6.3 The shifts in commercial bargaining relations

These quality pressures meant that the exporters did not have much bargaining power vis-à-vis the supermarkets. If the exporters did not give the quality the supermarkets wanted, the producers could face the risk of their grapes being rejected by the buyers in which case they would lose their money (Interviews with all exporters). A strategy many exporters followed in response was to export through importing companies rather than to supermarkets directly due to their small quantity of supply. Moreover, supermarkets had flexible buying arrangements to cater for fluctuations in consumer demand and exporters often faced the risk of last-minute changes in orders which they had to cater for (Interviews with all exporters). Supermarkets also exercised significant price pressures to their suppliers, which in
conjunction with the high quality requirements and the flexible buying arrangements posed a great challenge for suppliers. Hence, the risks for producers increased in this period as supermarkets spread the costs down the supply chain.

Supply base consolidation and centralized purchasing systems also enhanced the power of buyers over its first-tier (exporters) and second-tier (producers) suppliers and often reduced their ability to negotiate with the supermarkets. Supply chain consolidation in the table grape production network increased when supermarket chains in 2006 introduced centralised purchasing systems. As the president of the Greek Union of Exporters of Fresh Fruits, Vegetables and Juices (Incofruit) argues:

Whereas before each country subsidiary of the supermarket company ordered on its own, now the mother company orders centrally for all its countries in which it has stores…This means that our buyers become fewer and bigger. (Agrenda, 2006, p. 38).

The centralised purchasing systems meant that supermarkets ordered in very high volumes and were thus able to shape market prices for table grapes. This meant that downward pressures on prices for suppliers intensified.

Local level structural problems further compromised the bargaining position of exporters in their transactions with buyers. Those included according to the exporters the small-scale farm structure and the small quantity of production and export, the climatic and disease risks posed to the grapes and the perishability of the grape which requires quick harvest and packing. In addition, the entry of Greece into the European Monetary Union in 2002 reduced the competitive position of Greek grapes because the entry into the euro meant more expensive exports compared to exporting with the previous currency, the drachma (Interview with Exporter 3; M10). All those factors put pressure on exporters, reduced their bargaining position vis-à-vis the supermarkets and increased the risks they had to bear.

To maintain their bargaining position exporters put pressure onto the producers to lower producer prices and render their exports more competitive. The number of
exporters in Heraklion was smaller compared to the number of producers and hence exporters exerted power over the producers by playing them off against each other to get the best price deal (Interviews with W5; W9; M9; Key industry informant). An example of the increased bargaining position of exporters vis-à-vis producers was their lobbying to change the regulations regarding the measurement of the tare weight. In 2006 the exporters introduced a new measurement of the ‘de-berrying’ (loss of grapes resulting from the removal of rotten and false berries in the transport and packing process) that included in addition to the 2kg tare weight an extra 8 per cent ‘de-berrying’. This meant that producers now get the full price for 92 per cent of the net weight of table grapes they sell and for the rest they get 10 cents per kilo (Patris, 2006). This significantly affected the table grape producers who witnessed a reduction of the price per quantity of grapes they sold.

The exercise of power of exporters over the producers was possible due to the differentiation and fragmentation of producer bargaining power in this period. Producer bargaining power became differentiated because some producers were more competitive and some had a higher advantage than others. It became fragmented because their collective bargaining power substantially weakened compared to the period of the producer-led market. The strict quality requirements created the differentiation of producer bargaining because some producers had better quality grapes over others and were thus in a better bargaining position. As Agronomist 4 argues:

If you are just a simple farmer you can’t survive in the current commercial environment. It is a job and you can’t survive in that job unless you are professional…The pesticide spraying, the ploughing, the tying of the branches have all been mechanised.

Thus, the producers had to become more professional, entrepreneurial and innovative to survive in this changed commercial environment. The high quality requirements meant that the producers faced higher production and labour costs. The larger-scale producers (0.1-0.4 hectares) were often more professional and innovative than smaller-scale ones (below 0.1 hectare) and were better able to meet supermarket requirements and standards (Interviews with Agronomists 1 and 2; Exporters 3 4, 5). They had more capital to invest in new machinery and had lower
production costs due to the economies of scale. As a result the exporters often preferred to source their grapes from larger-scale producers because it was both more cost-effective and ensured quality. The exporters hired harvest workers to cut the right grapes to meet supermarket requirements. This meant that it was costlier to move labour between fragmented and smaller holdings (Interviews with Exporter 5 and M12).

The Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes was politicised and this compromised the cooperative consciousness and led to the fragmentation of producers’ collective bargaining, rendering them more exposed to private exporters. Louloudis (1996) explains this process in the context of Greek cooperatives:

> The high rates of cash flows…went into the individual farm households via mechanisms supported directly or indirectly by the state. In this context the cooperatives became sites of political patronism’ (own translation from Greek, p.54).

Political divisions within the cooperative were prevalent. According to Maria (W7), a farm woman, ‘the producers vote for the cooperative’s leadership according to their political stances and you see the cooperative members being divided in three. Why? Don’t we all have the same interests?’ Maria’s quote reflects feelings of disillusionment and anger with the cooperative. According to a number of producers the political favouritism in the cooperative was also present in the commercial transactions of the grapes whereby the grapes of friends and family of the leadership of the cooperative were often favoured to others irrespective of quality. Thus, inequalities and differentiation between producers were often cultivated via the agricultural cooperative. In addition to political favouritism the cooperative faced structural problems and inefficiencies created by state dependence and was thus heavily in debt. This combined with the increasing role played by the private exporters led to the significant reduction of the role of the cooperative as a securer of the interests and rights of the producers in this period (Interviews with M4; M13; W7). These findings reflect a major shift in the bargaining position of producers as compared to the period of the producer-led export market. Producers responded to these commercial pressures by using female skilled labour in the farm to meet high quality requirements at low costs.
6.4 The shift in gender division of labour in the table grape GPN

The rise of the buyer-led GPN in table grapes and the associated shifts in commercial bargaining dynamics led to the use of female skilled labour in the farm and the packing plants as a key component of the labour force and hence led to a significant shift in the gender division of labour and women’s role in table grapes from period 1 of the producer-led export market. Table 6.1 below summarises the tasks in table grape production done by men and those done by women, highlighting the strengthening of the gender division of labour following the expansion of supermarkets. The table was created based on overall findings from research interviews with women and men, exporters and agronomists.

Table 6.1: Division of tasks by gender, period 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ploughing</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pruning</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking down the branches</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting the branches</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tying of the branches</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application of Fertilisers</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesticide/herbicide application</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application of gibberellic acid</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoot thinning</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit thinning</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedging</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf pulling</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdling</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of rotten berries at</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table indicates that the tasks that require muscular strength (e.g. ploughing, pruning, carrying the grapes), are more dangerous to the health (pesticide/herbicide application) are mainly carried out by men. Women carry out packing and harvesting and the majority of the summer pruning tasks such as fruit and shoot thinning. Those tasks are significant, as they increase the quality of the grapes in terms of the taste, colour and appearance of the grapes. The table therefore shows an increased use of female labour at specific tasks. I will explain in detail below how this shift occurred.

6.4.1 Shifts in the gender division of labour in the farm

The rise of supermarket requirements had a direct effect on production as it led to a shift in cultivation practises. The tasks that enhanced the quality of the grape were the labour-intensive tasks that could not be done with the use of machinery. According to Agronomist 3:

The requirement to have a grape with large berry size requires different method and handling. It does not just need girdling and application with gibberellin as we were doing before [before the supermarket quality requirements]. Now the grapes need fruit thinning, much more leaf pulling and tying of the branches, and there should be no single berry with a disease.
That’s why the labour costs are much higher. We use manual labour tasks a lot.

These tasks are important for quality enhancement because they determine the size and colour of the berries and the number of berries per bunch. In the producer-led period these tasks were considered less important or secondary, and some of them such as fruit thinning were not practised as there were no specific requirements on berry size and colour of the grapes. In the buyer-led GPN period however they became central to value enhancement in the production network. Hence the work of women became more skilled and specialised in this period. These tasks require manual dexterity, aesthetic skills and careful handling of the grape, and it was thought that women are better in these tasks than men. According to male producer Nasos (M9) ‘a man does not have the patience or the nimble hands to do these tasks nicely’. All of the male producers interviewed shared the perception that women are better in these quality enhancing tasks than men. Gendered perceptions were thus reproduced in the new commercial environment to meet the supermarket requirements and standards. However, it also meant that producers recognised more the importance of women’s work which was a significant break from the producer-led period. This reflects the embodiment of gendered societal norms in commercial GPNs as a means to achieve economic goals as shown analytically in chapter 3 (Dolan, 2004; Barrientos, 2014).

Hence GPNs have a gendered dimension. This is shown through the increase in the use of female waged labour in farms, especially in larger sized farms. Due to the labour intensity of the grape female waged labour was often used in the farms in addition to unwaged labour at labour intensive periods of the year, especially during the flowering of the vines and the harvest period. In addition, the harvesting of the grapes was not done by unwaged farm labour as in the producer-led period but by female waged labour. Following the supermarket quality requirements related to outside appearance of grapes the exporters sent their own harvesting workers to harvest the grapes to ensure they take the best quality grapes according to the specific supermarket order. As I mentioned above each supermarket has their own requirements on colour and size of the berries and skilled female waged labour was
used to cater for the requirements of each order. Women workers were employed in harvesting because they were considered to be naturally more patient than men and have nimble fingers thus not putting strain on the grapes (Interviews with all exporters). All of the exporters interviewed shared this perception. This supports the feminist literatures (Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Barrientos et al, 1999; Elson and Pearson, 1981) as detailed in chapter 3.

Waged labour in the farms offered an economic opportunity for older generation farm women from non-table grape farms. In this period prices for olives and grapes for wine and raisins declined significantly and a wage was important for these farm women. It was also an opportunity for these women to work for a wage and be independent, as they did not receive any remuneration for the work in their husbands’ farms. The wages for farm workers however differed between women and men. Table 6.2 below shows the gender disparities in daily wages for farm workers. Wages for farm workers are agreed between producers and workers and are not covered by sectoral collective agreements. Men did the tasks that required muscular strength and women the quality enhancing tasks that were still considered to be ‘lighter’ than men’s tasks. Hence gendered disparities in wages persisted from period 1, reflecting the persistence of gendered norms. Women’s work was hence undervalued as compared to men’s work despite the significant contribution of women for quality enhancement of grapes. As the table shows only when women carried out ‘men’s’ tasks such as girdling they were paid equally with men.
The majority of waged female labour in the farms consisted of migrant workers following the influx of immigrants from the Balkans to Greece from the early 1990s onwards who were in need of a wage. This is because many local women preferred to pursue employment elsewhere, as I will explore later in the chapter. Image 6.1 below shows a female migrant worker harvesting the table grapes.

### Table 6.2 On-farm Wages for Men and Women, Period 2 (2000s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men and women</th>
<th>Wages in euros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men: Skilled tasks (eg. pruning, girdling, gibberellic acid application)</td>
<td>45-50 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men: less skilled tasks (eg. transporting grapes)</td>
<td>35-40 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women: Summer pruning tasks normally done by women (eg. thinning, de-leafing)</td>
<td>30-35 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women: tasks that are normally done by men (eg. girdling)</td>
<td>45-50 euros</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information provided by producers and agronomists
Migrant workers were divided into two types: Albanian migrants who live permanently in Archanes and in nearby areas and are skilled workers due to the permanence of their status and the seasonal migrants mainly of Bulgarian origin that come at labour-intensive seasons mainly the spring and the summer to help in the farm and/or the pack house and then leave (Interview with Exporter 3; Labour key informants). The latter type of migrants often change every year and have very limited or no experience in the skilled tasks of packing and dexterous farm tasks. Migrant waged labour was often used seasonally when a work had to be done at a specific point of time and did not substitute the work of farm women.

Unwaged female labour from spouses was often used to achieve quality while retaining low costs. This enabled male producers to retain some bargaining position with exporters who pushed them for lower prices. The use of unwaged labour shows that tensions persisted in this period. This was particularly among older generation households, with gendered norms from the period of the producer-led export market being reproduced in the new commercial context. However, due to the shifts to
skilled and specialised work in the farm, women who remained unwaged workers also witnessed significant shifts in their role. This reflects the co-existence of continuity together with change in gendered societal norms and relations.

The shift to producing the Thompson Seedless grape variety for table grapes and the supermarket quality requirements contributed to farm women’s participation in new tasks which previously they did not do. This often enhanced these women’s knowledge of cultivation issues and increased their specialised skills (Interviews with Agronomists 2 and 4). Hence it contributed to the enhanced perceived work contribution of women in the farm. The cultivation of the Thompson Seedless grapes for fresh consumption led to increased skills for women compared to the cultivation of the rozaki table grapes. This is because the Thompson Seedless is much more sensitive to colour changes, diseases and perishability and because supermarkets introduced stringent quality requirements on outside appearance and taste of grapes (Interviews with Agronomists 2-4; W1; W7). Thus, work had to be more detailed, precise and specialised. In addition, whereas the rozaki grapes were grown in the krevatina (arbor) the Thompson Seedless grapes are often grown on a V-shape which makes work tasks easier as the women do not have to raise their heads up to do the tasks. This enabled farm women to enter new farm tasks. As Foteini (W23), female unwaged farm worker argues, ‘after the cultivation of the Thompson grapes I started to tie the branches for the first time…Today it is much easier to do this task because you don’t have to raise your head’. These findings shed further light on shifts in women’s unwaged farm work following the expansion of supermarkets that few studies from a GPN perspective have explored (Dolan, 2001; 2002; Barrientos, 2014). The picture below shows the V-shaped infrastructure for sultanina grapes.
However, skills and knowledge were controlled by the male producers who had access to knowledge-sharing and information being the managers and owners of land. Matina (W17) said:

From my father I had learned only to dry the grapes for raisins and I was new to table grape production; I did not know how to cultivate Thompson as table grapes. After my husband started to cultivate them as table grapes we learned. He went to seminars and he taught me as well to do certain tasks.

Similarly Foteini (W23) said ‘I learned from my husband to do the tying of the branches and other tasks which I didn’t really do before in the rozaki vines’. Men had control of cultivation knowledge and chose what knowledge to pass on to their wives, which mainly focused on the labour intensive, quality enhancing tasks rather than the mechanised ones. The mechanised tasks were considered the ‘male’ tasks which were previously carried out by men without machines, as they required muscular strength. Thus, the gendered division of labour was reproduced and readjusted to serve the goals of efficiency, quality and low cost in the context of GPNs. The control of knowledge by the male farmer and the gendered knowledge
sharing often made it difficult for older generation farm women to acquire broader knowledge and skills. This reflects the persistence of gendered norms and inequalities in farming from the producer-led export market.

6.4.2 Shifts in women’s role in packing

Major shifts also took place in waged packing following the expansion of supermarket requirements and standards. Packing became critical for value enhancement in the GPN due to its importance in determining quality as defined by the supermarket buyers (outside appearance and packaging type were key). Hence women shifted from a reserve army of labour in period 1 to a key component of the labour force in period 2.

As a result of the increasing quality requirements the packing process changed in comparison to the producer-led period and this led to the specialisation and skilling of packing work. This enhanced the feeling of women’s work contribution as packers and their consciousness as workers in their own right. Due to the consumer preference for smaller portions the packaging requirements of buyers changed. Supermarkets preferred half kilo and one kilo punnets in comparison to the producer-led period where the packing was done in 10 kilo wooden boxes (Interviews with key industry informant; W16; W20; W21). The smaller packaging in addition to the strict quality requirements meant that the packers had to take more care in packing and pay more attention to colour uniformity and size of the berries in each punnet (Field diary, 20-22 August 2012). As Dina, a woman in her 30s at the time of the interview who briefly worked as packer in this period said:

You have to separate the grapes by colour and size of the berries. We put the bigger sized grapes in separate packs than the smaller-sized ones. Also we put the white, the yellow and the green coloured grapes [all Thompson Seedless variety] in separate punnets. I did not know this colour separation when I worked in the cooperative’s packing plant as adolescent [before the quality requirements]. Before we put everything together.
The quote demonstrates that packing became a skilled task in comparison with the period of the producer-led export market. Image 6.4 below shows a much more standardised and specialised packing compared to the producer-led market period.

**Image 6.3: Women workers at the packing line**

Source: Authors’ Research

Packing work offered an economic opportunity for local farm women of older generation who worked unpaid as family labour in table grape and non-table grape farms to get a wage and thus remuneration for their work, as well as for migrant female workers who were in great need of work. The specialisation and increased skills acquired from working in packing made women aware of the importance of their work contribution to the final grape. All of the women interviewed who worked as packers in this period said that their work was important for the quality of the exported grapes. In addition, the specialisation and skilling of work led to the detachment of the packing work from unwaged farm work because packing entailed different skillsets from farm work and many women who were not farm women also worked as packers (Interviews with W24; Exporters 4 and 5). Thus, packing became
a work in its own right and hence more visible and recognised compared to the period of the producer-led export market. This in turn contributed to enabling women to manage and control their wage from packing.

There was thus a major shift in the gendered division of labour and the role of women in table grapes from the producer-led to the buyer-led periods. This offered women the opportunity to work for a wage in skilled work, and hence to get recognition and remuneration from their work. This reflects the intensification of tensions between commercial relations and pre-existing gendered divisions between productive and reproductive spheres that had initiated in the producer-led export market period. It also reflects gendered societal relations in a transitionary process, demonstrated through the changing employment position of women.

However, the waged work in the GPN was gendered, and thus certain gendered power asymmetries were reproduced in new ways in this changing commercial context. Women were employed in packing because they were perceived to be naturally better suited in these tasks than men. This is a shift from the producer-led period where women worked in packing because they were more easily available than men. Thus, the gendered division of labour was reinforced following the expansion of supermarkets. All of the exporters interviewed perceived women as naturally better suited to carry out packing and harvesting than men. According to Exporter 5 ‘women are better in packing than men because women are housewives, they are tidy and clean; they take care of the grape and are more patient than men’. In addition, the exporters chose to employ women workers for the harvesting and packing tasks because their waged work was perceived to be additional and secondary to the wage of the male breadwinner in the household. A number of exporters interviewed perceived women packers as housewives working for some ‘additional’ money in the household (Interviews with Exporter 3; Exporter 5). Thus, they were able to utilise this gendered norm to keep wages low.
Moreover, although packing offered an economic opportunity for women, it was a very tiring and difficult work. In response to the pressures for high quality and fast turn-over the packing process became much more controlled and standardised and work pressure increased to deliver on time. Packers had to stand for long hours in a cold environment (Interview with key labour contact). When asked about the working hours of the packers Exporter 1 replied: ‘If we have an order to deliver that day the packers may have to work 15 hours to finish the order. It depends on the day and the order’. This increased the labour control in the packing plant. There was pressure for women workers to pack as many punnets as possible during their shift (Interview with key labour contact). The packers were overseen by supervisors, who monitored their performance and traced how many punnets were produced per individual worker. If any women were found to be under-performing they were fired. Exporter 4 argued:

The workers are checked at every minute, based on their performance and their fastness. And this is very important in terms of cost effectiveness. The job is not done by machine, it is done by hand and it is therefore very important to be done fast. But we also want a properly done job. The grape needs to be clean and aesthetically nice; all these are checked by the supervisor and us. We also check that the punnets have the exact weight they should, that’s also very important.

The women packers interviewed often felt that they did not have enough breaks during the day considering the long working hours. Women often did 3-4 short breaks for a long day of work (W14; W16; W20). The increase in the labour control in the packing plant increased the work pressure and often led to feelings of fatigue, stress and back pains (Interview with key labour contact). It also hampered the socialisation of women within the packing plant.

Moreover, given the intensity of work and the long hours of work waged work in table grapes was under-remunerated, reflecting the commercial pressures for low cost. According to Greek law the workers working in exporting companies in harvesting, transporting, packing, tagging and palletising were paid through the collective agreement which was agreed between the labour union and the exporters. According to information provided by the exporters interviewed on average 80 per cent of seasonal workers in exporting companies are women and 20 per cent are
men. Women worked in packing and harvesting and men worked in palletising and transport. The vast majority of workers were women and this enabled exporters to utilise gendered norms to keep wages low. The collective agreement set out the daily wage for 7 hours of work a day and for any overtime work workers got paid a 25 per cent increment while for work on Sundays they received an extra 75 per cent increment to their daily wage (Collective agreement documents). Table 6.1 below shows the wages of these workers under the collective agreement for the years 2004-2007. The collective wage rates increased every year according to the inflation but no further increases in wages were observed. This shows that labour costs were kept low in response to supermarket and exporter pressures to push prices down. The wages were the same for both women and men in export companies in comparison to the on-farm wages.

Table 6.3: Daily wage for women and men through Collective Agreement, 2004-2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Daily Wage (euros) above 17 yrs. old</th>
<th>Daily Wage (euros) below 17 yrs. old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>25.50</td>
<td>21.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>26.35</td>
<td>22.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>29.40</td>
<td>25.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The daily wages show that workers could get a good income from this three-month work, but if they worked long hours. There was thus a financial incentive given to women packers to work overtime which reflects the growing pressures for just-in-
time delivery of product shipments which necessitated the intensification of female skilled labour in packing. The gendered, intensive and under-remunerated nature of work made packing a less preferred work choice for younger generation local women as off-farm opportunities increased as I will explain later on.

The findings on women’s shifting role in table grapes after the expansion of supermarkets indicate gendered commercial pressures within GPNs despite the opportunities it offered for women to work for a wage. The skilled but gendered work in the GPN led to improvements in women’s bargaining position as compared to that of women in the producer-led period but also led to constraints for women. I will now discuss these in more detail.

6.4.3 Shifts in women’s bargaining position as waged workers

The shift in waged work in table grapes as a work in its own right enhanced the consciousness of women as waged workers. This contributed to their involvement in collective bargaining. The two unorganised labour unions of packers and field workers became one organised labour union in the 1980s: the Labour Union of the Grape Workers of Heraklion, which became active following the proliferation of private export companies, hence giving women an organised voice. The labour union ensured that the rights of workers for decent pay and treatment were met.

The majority of women waged workers interviewed became members of the labour union to ensure the protection of their rights and terms of employment as set out in the collective agreement, which greatly enhanced their sense of self-worth, awareness of economic and work contribution and independence. The labour union offered a space where women workers could voice their concerns over working conditions, something which did not exist previously for women on an organised scale. In addition, it made women workers more visible in the realm of productive work. Female packer Argiro (W16) illustrates how the labour union was keeping the workers informed and protected their rights:
Before [the crisis] the labour union was monitoring the working conditions of the packers. It supported the worker, to see if they got paid or received their holiday pay. They put an announcement in the packing plant that detailed the collective agreement and daily wage, and gave information and contact details if there were any issues the workers would like to raise.

There were also instances where women organised strikes when an exporter refused to pay them the 75 per cent addition to their daily wage on Sundays as agreed in the collective agreement. According to packer Vaso (W24) she and 10 other women packers resisted and declined to work as a protest for the violation of their rights. This is an indication of the enhanced worker consciousness and of the agency of these women as compared to period 1. However Vaso said that in the end they lost their money because the posts of the striking workers were replaced with easily available migrant women. This shows that although women had a chance to collectively organise and bargain in this period, they still lacked a strong and unified collective organisation which weakened their collective bargaining position in relation to their employers. This was due to the easily available migrant labour that was often not part of the labour union and was in great need of work.

According to Exporter 2:

The local women sometimes would say that they could not work over time for an order because they had to go to a wedding or had to pick up their kids or grandkids from school, all sorts of excuses and they were leaving earlier even if an order was not finished. This was a big problem. In contrast, the migrant women were always eager to stay and work more.

Hence, the availability of migrant labour gave leverage to exporters and reduced the collective bargaining position of local workers.

6.4.4 The labour and social insurance laws and the migrant/local division

The labour and the social insurance laws often disadvantaged migrant workers over local workers, benefiting the export companies. The laws protected the rights of workers and contributed to safeguarding their bargaining position. However, in some cases the rights of migrant workers were undermined leading to the segmentation between migrant and local labour which benefited both the exporters
and the producers and ensured quality at low cost to meet the supermarket requirements.

The farmers, women unwaged workers and agricultural waged workers are insured in the OGA (Organisation for Agricultural Insurance). The packing workers are insured in the IKA (Institute for Social Insurance) (Mihou, 2002). The two insurance government bodies offer very different services and benefits to the workers. IKA is designed for waged workers across all sectors and includes benefits such as unemployment allowance and marriage benefits. OGA is designed for own account farmers and does not include such benefits. The landless agricultural waged workers who were migrants in their majority were thus in a sense unfairly treated by the state by falling under OGA and not IKA. The employers benefited because the costs of insuring a worker in OGA is much lower than insuring them in IKA (Discussion with key labour informant). In addition, OGA does not have an inspection body and hence there were cases of uninsured work in the fields especially among migrant workers who were often not members of the labour union (Interview and discussions with labour key informants). Uninsured workers benefited the exporters because non-wage labour costs were reduced by not giving the employers’ insurance contribution in the context of increasing supermarket price pressures.

The seasonal packing workers fell under the IKA, but many of them were also farm women registered in OGA, so they were insured in both agencies. Women packers were eligible via their insurance in the IKA to receive unemployment benefit for the period of time outside their seasonal waged work if they collected a certain number of social insurance stamps and were also eligible for the mothers’ allowance for a period up to 6 months after the birth of their child (Discussions with key labour informants). However, as unwaged workers in the OGA farm women did not have any additional benefits as it was assumed that they were own account farmers in an equal position to their husbands which was not the case in practise as I will explain in section 6.5.1. This demonstrates the gendered nature of state institutions, which
was highlighted by Elson (1999) and Beneria (2007) in the context of labour markets.

The Labour Law also protected the rights of waged workers. The 1876/1990 Labour Law established that the sectoral agreements signed between the union of employers and the labour union was extended to all of the workforce and employers in the sector irrespective of whether they were members or not in their respective unions. This protected the rights of all women workers in terms of their daily wage, overtime pay and Sunday pay and thus provided a ‘buffer’ for women workers’ rights. However, in practice there was a lack of enforcement by the Labour Inspection Agency which made migrant workers particularly vulnerable as they were often not members of the labour union and their fall-back position was weaker than local workers. Hence, the lack of law enforcement meant that the law often protected the interests of producers, exporters and local labour at the expense of migrant labour.

6.5 The changing gendered societal embeddedness and women’s enhanced bargaining position

The expansion of the buyer-led GPN is just one dimension of bigger changes taking place in the society of Archanes. The shifts in the gendered societal and institutional norms and practises that constitute the gendered societal embeddedness of the table grape GPN enhanced women’s position in the household and their bargaining and fall-back positions as workers in table grapes as compared to the producer-led period. The position of women in society improved significantly from the 1980s onwards and laws were passed that established gender equality. However, these significant shifts often clashed with the gendered requirements of the GPN for low paid female labour, leading to tensions between women’s labour agency and the GPN as I will investigate in section 6.6. It is important to investigate the changing gendered norms and institutions because they enhanced women’s ability to rework and resist gendered power asymmetries.
6.5.1 Legal recognition of farm women

State recognition of farm women as farmers rather than merely ‘farmers’ wives’ meant that women’s bargaining position as unwaged farm workers improved. Following the entry of Greece into the European Community in 1981 the legal position of women in Greek society improved significantly (Mihou, 2002). A 1982 law recognised farm women as farmers in their own right who were entitled to a farmers’ pension after they complete the age of 65. In addition another law was passed in the same year that established ‘the equal treatment of women and men on issues of loaning’ (own translation, Mihou, 2002, p. 86). The EU also promoted gender equality in agriculture through offering subsidies and training to women farmers, thus helping to enhance women’s skills. Moreover, the institution of dowry was officially abolished in 1983, and this contributed to women being able to own their own land. As a result of these changes the number of women farmers in their own right increased from the 1980s onwards in Greece. However, it is still low in Archanes. According to a local government key informant just 10 per cent of the producers in Archanes are female farmers in principle and in practice and manage their holdings. Often however even in cases where women own the land in principle their husbands were the main farmers and thus managed the land and exercised the rights on the land. Women were often registered as owners in order to receive the female farmers’ subsidy but were in practice not the main farmers. This meant that the fall-back position provided to women from ownership of land in many cases was not exercised in practice.

Table 6.4 below shows the number of women and men who were own account farmers in the years 1987, 2000 and 2007 in the Heraklion prefecture. It shows a significant increase over time of women who are own account farmers in principle. However, a large number of women are only farmers in principle and not in practice.
The small number of women principal farmers and managers of land suggest that there was still gender differentiation in access to the farmer remuneration and recognition deriving from the persistence of long established gendered norms discussed in chapter 5. Thus, although in principle farm women’s status became more recognised and visible in practice gender divisions of work and gendered norms were still prevalent. This shows the persistence of embedded gender norms, even when the law changes. This links to the feminist political economy literature (Beneria, 2007; Elson, 1999) discussed in chapter 3 and shows how gendered norms and institutions evolved in the context of GPNs.

In addition, in this period women were granted membership access to the Agricultural Cooperatives. In practise however they did not participate on equal terms with men as the ‘principal farmer’ was usually the man. According to Safilios and Papadopoulos (2004) in 2000 for the first time membership in the cooperative became disconnected from the farmer status and the owner and manager of land and anyone who worked in agriculture could become a member (Safilios and Papadopoulos, 2004, p. 315-316; Mihou, 2002). The majority of the women

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**Table 6.4 Number of women and men own account farmers, Heraklion prefecture (all crops)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number of farmers</th>
<th>Men own account farmers</th>
<th>Women own account farmers</th>
<th>Percentage of farmers who were women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>43540</td>
<td>38100</td>
<td>5440</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>42589</td>
<td>31584</td>
<td>11,005</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>45104</td>
<td>32,347</td>
<td>12,757</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ELSTAT
interviewed became members of the agricultural cooperative following these changes but many said that they did not participate in the cooperative decision-making due to lack of free-time and because they felt that their husbands were more knowledgeable than them. This shows the prevalence of the perception that the farmer is a male profession. It also demonstrates the persistence of gendered norms from period 1 and the gendered nature of agricultural cooperatives in addition to labour markets which Elson (1999) focused on.

6.5.2 Shifts in wider gendered societal norms and practises

The town underwent wider gendered societal changes from the 1980s onwards which enhanced the fall-back position of women because it gave them alternative opportunities to opt out from gendered work in the GPN. Women’s position in Archanes had gradually started to improve from the 1970s with the number of women entering high-school and higher education increasing rapidly. In addition, the gendered productive/reproductive divisions started to fade with the increased participation of women in paid employment, also demonstrated through women’s participation in waged work in table grapes. Off-farm employment flourished in the town, offering an opportunity for women of younger generation who experienced more flexible intra-household gendered norms and relations to opt out from waged/unwaged work in table grapes. Moreover, the expansion of off-farm employment in Archanes enabled male table grape and non-table grape producers to carry out additional economic activities to supplement their income from farming. 5 out of the 17 producers and spouses of women interviewed worked off-farm in addition to farming (Interviews with M3; M6; M9; M11; M12). The expansion of economic opportunities for farm women and men was hence also a factor that reinforced the expansion of waged labour in table grapes in this period.

Off-farm employment often witnessed a gender division, as women were preferred as receptionists in hotels and cashiers in shops due to their assumed traits of politeness, meticulousness and grace (Interviews with Folklorists 1 and 2). Women
who chose to proceed with higher education also became involved in the table grapes export sector as agronomists and exporters. This suggests the increasing role of women as experts in the table grape production network, something which was not present before, and which challenged the pre-existing gender norms. Three of my key industry informants and two local government key informants were women, illustrating this important shift. In addition, women entered professions such as secretaries and other skilled office jobs.

In this period there were also significant changes in intra-household gender norms and divisions of labour which are also reflected in the shift towards waged work in table grapes. However, gendered norms changed gradually and were characterised by continuity and change, and this is demonstrated through the difference between women of older and younger generation as I will now go on to explain. This has analytical implications and shows the process of transition from period 1 to period 2, offering a deeper analysis of change for women during the GPN expansion period than the current literature (Dolan, 2004; Barrientos et al, 1999).

For the older generation women who were in their 50s-60s at the time of the fieldwork certain gendered norms in the household were prevalent in the GPN period which compromised their fall-back position as workers. The difference between arranged and non-arranged marriage was blurred because women often chose their spouses but had to marry at a certain age, and the approval and agreement of the parents was needed in order to go ahead with the marriage. Vaso in her 50s when asked if she married through arranged marriage said: ‘Kind-of. We had already met a few times and we liked each other and then our parents gave their consent to marry’. Marriage for those women was thus still a socially controlled process. A characteristic sign that women in this generation interviewed did not have a say over when to marry is the fact that they often expressed resentment with marrying at an age that they perceived was too young to marry. Foteini (W23) said:

My life changed a lot after marriage because I had so many responsibilities. I did not enjoy my youth to marry let’s say at 25, 26; To live some carefree
years. Immediately after school I got married. I did not enjoy this period; I did not experience certain things.

Marrying right after school meant that these women did not have the chance to continue their education, which limited their chances of alternative employment. In addition, coming from farming families themselves many women usually married farmers and became involved in farming due to their husbands. The young age of those women at marriage and the gendered nature of the farming profession meant that their husbands controlled knowledge and made most decisions around the farm. In addition, gender divisions of work persisted in the household, and women were responsible for housework and care work, and the spouses interviewed often said that ‘they do not have time’ to help at home. Economic opportunities in waged work in packing and/or the farm were often the only accessible work option for older generation women. Hence the shift to GPN offered these women the opportunity to work for a wage at a work conducive to their skills as farm women.

Changing gender norms are more apparent among the women interviewed who were in their 30s-40s at the time of the fieldwork, and this gave an improved bargaining position for these women who were better able to shift to alternative work opportunities. This was reflected in increased agency over marriage which made it easier to bargain over work with a spouse they chose and felt closer with and to make more independent decisions around work. In addition, it enabled the majority of younger generation women from my case study to resist commercial pressures for gendered work and to opt out from table grape waged or unwaged work. Many younger generation women had long-term relationships with their spouses before they got married and thus the power relations were more balanced within the household as compared to the older generation women. Koula (W11), a farm woman in her 30s who worked off-farm says:

I married at 20 after I finished the professional training college. We were going out for a long time [with her now-husband] and my mother found out and was very angry. I wanted to marry my husband because we have age difference and he was in a marriage age. My parents and especially my mother didn’t want me to get married so young’.
Younger generation women (in their 30s-40s) had much more agency in relation to marriage, not only on who to marry but also when to marry. Pre-marital relationships were no longer considered ‘immoral’ although they were more generally accepted if they were long-term relationships with prospects of marriage. Although often marrying in their 20s, younger generation women had the chance to finish university education or professional training before they married which significantly enhanced their fall-back position and granted them access to off-farm alternatives outside table grape work. In addition, although divorce was still viewed negatively, it was not a taboo anymore.

Another important societal shift that also took place in the buyer-led GPN period was the abolition of dowry. This meant that the gendered perception that women were financially dependent on their husbands shifted and women were considered to be wage earners of their own. This enabled women to have more control over their wage (FGD1 and FGD2). Informal arrangements of land transfer were still practised on marriage as a sign of good will from the parents.

Hence, so far we have seen how commercial pressures led to women’s employment in low-paid skilled work. We have also seen the changes in gendered societal relations and how this led to the improvement in women’s fall-back position as workers. These changes led to tensions between commercial pressures and shifting gendered societal relations. Moreover, there were pushes and pulls in the process, as shown through the persistence of gendered societal norms from period 1 as well as improvements in women’s position through their skilled waged employment in the GPN. Hence, tensions resulted in part from commercial/societal pressures playing out within the GPN, and in part from the persistence of gender norms despite commercial and societal transformation taking place. This informs my gender analysis of shifting production systems as it shows that change is not even and linear but is characterised by tensions between commercial and societal relations. I will now explore how these changes played out for different women in relation to labour agency outcomes.
6.6 Shift to skilled work and enhanced labour agency of women

The expansion of economic opportunities for women in skilled work in the table grapes export sector offered women the chance to get recognition and remuneration for their work. However, this was not a homogeneous process for all women, but as we have seen, was characterised by tensions between commercial relations and gendered societal relations. These tensions produced difference among women. Whilst multiple factors were at play, I highlight three important dimensions that affected women’s labour agency outcomes: their generation and bargaining position. Feminist literature has discussed differences in women’s position based on their generation (Barrientos et al, 1999) and bargaining position (Kabeer, 1997; Agarwal, 1997) from different perspectives. Below I will examine each in turn.

The older generation women I interviewed often experienced pre-existing gendered societal norms and gendered practices in the household from the producer-led period and often did not have access to higher education and off-farm employment being farm women. These women had married farmers (in table grape farms and/or non-table grape farms) and carried on doing this work in the GPN period. Their fall-back position as workers was thus weaker in comparison to younger generation women. Waged work in table grapes in the GPN expansion period offered these women an opportunity to work for a wage and get remuneration and recognition from their work. Out of the total of 15 older generation women I interviewed 8 worked in skilled waged work on farm/packing in this period. When asked if she liked her work as waged packer and farm worker Rena (W29) said:

It doesn’t matter if you like it or not; it is a matter of economic necessity. We do not have any other wage to contribute to the family and to buy something personal. I wanted to work in the public sector but when I finished school the military junta was in power so it was very difficult times… I would be a pensioner now and I wouldn’t have to work anymore. Anyway, that’s long gone now.

Rena’s quote shows that women of her generation often felt that they did not have any other work alternative to become independent and earn a wage. They thus often
compromised their ‘dream jobs’ with a more realistic alternative to earn their own money and gain independence. Waged work in table grapes was accessible for these women because it was conducive to their skills as farm women. Vaso (W24) said:

I started packing because this was what I knew being a farm woman. What else could farm women do then? I like packing because I like to work and have an additional income for the household to help my family.

These quotes demonstrate the agency of these women given the constraints they faced to get remuneration for their work, which they did not receive as unwaged workers in their husbands’ farms. They often perceived their unwaged work in the farm as a fall-back position for the rest of the year which helped in their bargaining with their employers. Hence, these women reworked their position by opting for waged work in table grapes.

In this period women were better able to have control over their wage because the shifts in packing work enhanced their skills, confidence and visibility and because waged work was no longer seen as an extension of farm women’s duties. Vaso says:

I always had my pocket money. I also helped my children go to frontistirio [evening classes additional to school which are very common in Greece]. I also got the dishwasher and the fridge with my own money from the packing. The tone of her voice showed that Vaso was very proud to be able to buy household appliances for the family with her own wage. Garifallia (W20) when asked how she feels that she earns a wage said ‘I feel proud, independent and free. I can buy something for me and my family. I am satisfied’.

The wage also enhanced these women’s ability to bargain in the gendered household. The example of Garifallia (W20) and her sister Maya (W21) illustrate this. Both married through arranged marriage at a very young age and struggled to switch to a new life and make decisions in the home. Garifallia said:

At the beginning of our marriages even if we made decisions they were implemented by others, if they were implemented at all…We [her and her sister] had a very difficult time and struggled a lot to find freedom and to do something on our own…We took important initiatives to help ourselves and our children.
Working as waged workers in table grapes was hence a means to free themselves from their dependence to their husbands in a gendered household.

Tensions however also took place in this period. Embedded gendered norms discussed in Chapter 5 persisted despite the significant shift in commercial waged relations, reflected in the women who remained unwaged farm workers in this period. Out of the total of 15 older generation women I interviewed 7 were unwaged workers in their family farms in the buyer-led GPN period. These women were from table grape owning households. They worked full-time in the family farm and did not receive a wage, although they often had pocket money to spend for the household and the family. Although some of them had some of the vineyards in their own name their farmer husbands were the main decision-makers and managers of the farm holdings.

Nevertheless, due to the shifts to skilled and specialised work in the farm and the expansion of waged work opportunities women unwaged workers also witnessed shifts in their bargaining position. The increased importance of women’s work and the increased skills and specialisation they acquired enhanced the feeling of women’s contribution in the farm. The increased awareness of contribution is illustrated through the quotes below. As Mina (W1), a female unwaged worker argues:

"Women are needed more in table grapes than in other cultivations. The dexterous tasks- to untangle the grape, to improve its appearance, to fix the young shoots, to give a nice shape, and for the grapes to hang nicely- are done by women more than men. Men do this in a sloppier way."

In addition, the availability of waged work in table grapes offered a fall-back position for these farm women that helped them to enhance their bargaining position as unwaged labour in the farm and to participate more in decision-making around issues of the farm. Hence, the commercial shift in table grapes enabled these women to rework their position as unwaged labour. This reflects shifts in women’s position as unwaged labour from period 1 and enriches the feminist and GPN literature by
showing shifts in the bargaining position of women unwaged workers following the expansion of supermarkets.

There were also tensions present between commercial requirements for low paid skilled female labour and women’s agency, as seen through the women of younger generation I interviewed (in their 30s-40s). These women challenged the gendered power asymmetries in the farm and the packing shed through opting out from waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes. Hence, they exercised resistance to the commercial pressures for low-cost female labour. Out of the 14 younger generation women I interviewed 11 worked off-farm in this period, with only 1 woman working as unwaged farm worker (2 became farmers in their own right as I will explain below). These women resisted the gendered power asymmetries and gendered division of labour in the farm and/or the pack house where work was unremunerated/low-paid. In addition, they often opted to work off-farm because work in the farms and the packing plants had low esteem as compared to off-farm employment. This demonstrates the exercise of agency of these women to be independent and to fulfil their aspirations. Some of these women initially worked as packers as a first step towards moving to waged work, while others were previously helping in their parents’ vineyards. Hence, their fall-back position was stronger than older generation women as they had the option to work in packing and/or the farm in case their off-farm work failed. This is a major shift from the producer-led period where women did not have a fall-back position due to the lack of economic opportunities. The majority of the younger generation women interviewed said that they preferred off-farm work to packing because packing is tiring and is a seasonal work.

Thus, women of younger generation exercised personal choice over work but were also able to realise their dreams of having their own job contrary to the older generation women. Koula (W11), who worked in the vineyards in her childhood and adolescence, says:

I had three goals in life: to have children, to buy my own car and to work. I did all three. I always wanted to have my own job. I wanted to be independent,
not asking for money from anyone. My mother was working in the farm day and night and she was always dependent on my father even to do the shopping. I didn’t want this for myself.

Koula was influenced by her mother’s experience and she did not want to be like her, so she took steps to achieve her goal of independence. Her husband is a table grape farmer and the availability of low cost female migrant labour helped her to remain off-farm. The majority of these women finished high school education and married from love and thus had greater control over their own lives and better bargaining position with their spouses as compared to the older generation women.

Kaiti (W10), whose husband is a table grape farmer and who used to work as unpaid worker argued: ‘my farm work contribution was significant but I was not paid for it. The real farm women like my mother work from morning till night and they do not get paid. They should get paid’. Thus, Kaiti perceived her farm work as a ‘work’ in its own right and thus the need for its remuneration, and dissatisfied with the lack of recognition of her work she decided to open her own shop. These women also seemed to have an awareness of the hardship of farm work: Nina (W6) said ‘I didn’t like farm work, it was very tough; I was all day under the sun and the heat’. In addition, their wage gave a greater recognition of women’s work and economic contribution in the household than unwaged work. Kaiti (W10) says ‘when I had the mini market everyone was treating me like a queen. When I was working in the farm nobody paid attention to me’. Kaiti thus shows that women’s farm work was considered given and part of their household duties in the private realm. In contrast, working in the ‘public’ sphere was considered a work in its own right and thus a recognised and visible work. Nina (W6), who worked as a cashier in a shop also says that the wage made a difference for her. ‘I felt much more independent when I was working for a wage; I could make much more decisions and could buy things without thinking twice’. Their financial contribution was also significant: Kaiti says ‘the money from the shop contributed a lot to household income’. The wage of those women therefore significantly improved their bargaining position in the household.
An example of resistance to pre-existing gendered norms is women who became farmers in their own right using the shift towards quality enhancement in the GPN. 2 of the women interviewed became farmers in their own right in the buyer-led GPN period. Anna is such an example. She worked in an office job and helped part-time in the vineyards until she decided to quit her job and become a farmer. The specialised and increased skills that women acquired as unwaged farm workers helped these women to become farmers in their own right. In addition, ownership of land by the women was pivotal in enabling them to become farmers. The off-farm employment of their husbands gave room for them to become full-time farmers. The women farmers in their majority participated in the EU programme for women farmers which offered subsidies, training and support to women farmers, and were thus able to gain the necessary knowledge and expertise to compete in the demanding European market. Hence, they did not rely on their husbands to teach them and were able to develop wider skills.

The gendered division of labour did not exist among farm households where women were the principal farmers. The women interviewed worked in almost all tasks apart from pruning and ploughing that required muscular strength. These women also challenged the gendered norms that farm women are less able to use machinery than men, which derives from the gendered perceptions that men are better able to use machinery. Anna (W9) said:

I learned to use the tractor because I didn’t want to depend on my husband to come back from work late and help me with the pesticide spraying. I felt much more independent and I did my jobs quicker than if I had to wait for my husband’s availability.

The ability to use machinery thus not only enhanced the quality of production but also gave women a sense of independence. Women farmers thus challenged the gendered norms on women’s assumed ‘natural’ inability to do certain tasks. The replacement of many tasks by machinery thus suggests that women farmers were able to carry out the previously ‘male-dominated’ tasks such as pruning, ploughing and fertiliser application. In addition, women farmers were more likely to know how to drive and thus did not depend on their husbands’ to drive them to the vineyard, as many of the unwaged farm women interviewed did. This gave a sense of
independence to women and a perception that this was their own job where they decided what tasks to do and when to do them; they were their own masters. In addition, the women who were the principal farmers tended to take a more active part in agricultural cooperative decision-making than the women unwaged workers which challenge the gendered norm of the male cooperative.

The two women who became farmers in their own right in this period (W2 and W9) had much more bargaining power in the home and in the farm than the women who were unpaid workers. They were the primary decision-makers around issues of the farm, although they always discussed with their husbands and children before they made the crucial decision on where to sell their grapes. This suggests a more ‘democratic’ process of decision making compared to male farmers who often said that women ‘do not know about these things’ (Interview with M7). In the home, household responsibilities were more evenly spread as husbands tended to help more (Interviews with W2; W9 and spouses: M1; M8). This suggests that women’s farm work is more recognised by the male spouses and by society when the woman has the farmer status than when her work is invisible and unpaid.

6.7 Effects of women’s reworking and resistance on the GPN

The exercise of agency by women had implications on the table grape GPN, and hence I now explore the relationship between the bottom-up arrows from waged and unwaged work to the GPN depicted in the framework diagram. The increased entry of women into farmer status enhanced innovation and quality in the GPN but the opting out of younger generation women from unwaged and/or waged work in table grapes led to shortages of skilled labour which raised challenges to quality and, as we will see later, contributed to the crisis in the GPN.

The entry of women into farmer status and recognition benefited the table grape GPN because the women farmers were more innovative and constantly sought new
ways to improve their grapes. Thus, the women farmers not only accessed the table grape export market but also produced high-quality grapes. Anastasia (W2) said ‘my grapes are one of the best. They are top quality, class A’. Agronomist 4, who is a woman herself, offered a very good overview of the female farmer in Archanes, based on her experience of working with both male and female farmers:

The woman farmer of Archanes is very skilled, knowledgeable and dynamic. She has entered the profession recently and like any woman who enters into a male-dominated profession she tries to surpass the men and learns more. She is like a sponge, she learns very quickly. A man, because he is doing this job for many years, thinks he knows everything and he doesn’t listen to new knowledge. He is often embarrassed to ask things because he is supposed to know everything. But the woman farmer wants to learn, and in many cases she becomes better than her father, husband or brother who have done this job for years.

The agronomist was very supportive of those women’s initiatives and achievements, which echo her own achievement as an expert in table grape production. An example of women farmers’ innovativeness is the fact that Anna (W9) does not plough her vineyards, contrary to most table grape farmers. She says:

I do not plough the vineyards for 10 years now. It is better like this because the diseases are not transferred from one vine to the other. I read a lot about these issues, I go to seminars and I ask around, that’s how I came to know this. So I tried and it worked.

As a result of younger generation local women opting out from unwaged and/or waged work in table grapes exporters and producers increased their reliance on female migrant labour. The utilisation of female migrant labour was also a strategy to reduce the waged labour costs by the exporters as I explained above. Although there were migrant workers who were skilled and were hired on a permanent basis (every year), the majority of migrant workers were unskilled seasonal migrants. As a consequence the exporters often faced a challenge with the quality of the packing, and with keeping the balance between quality and low cost of labour. According to a key industry informant: ‘the migrant workers, especially and the ones that come every season don’t know how to handle the grapes. They squeeze the grapes and destroy them. It is a problem’. Similarly, male farmer Minas (M5) said: ‘I don’t trust the migrant workers because sometimes they don’t know how to do the tasks and
may harm the vine’. Thus, the resistance strategies of younger generation women in response to the gendered work in the GPN created a shortage of skilled labour and often posed a challenge to exporters and producers. This was resurfaced in the crisis, contributing to the return of local younger generation women in table grapes as I will argue in the next chapter.

6.8 Conclusion and theoretical implications

This chapter has demonstrated that tensions increased between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion. There were buyer-led commercial pressures for low-cost skilled female labour, while societal changes meant that women’s bargaining position improved and some were able to opt out from work in table grapes. In addition, economic opportunities for women expanded and intra-household gender norms were starting to shift, offering a better fall-back position for women. There was also however a persistence of gender norms from period 1 despite commercial and societal transformations. These tensions played out differently for women. While older generation women had less alternative opportunities and hence were often able to get a wage through skilled work in table grapes, younger generation women had better fall-back position and hence chose to opt out from gendered and low-paid work in table grapes to find better alternatives. This meant that migrant labour was brought in who fulfilled the buyer-led pressures for skilled low-cost labour. Hence, labour agency outcomes were influenced among other factors by women’s generation and bargaining position. Outcomes were often reworking of their position or resistance to commercial/societal pressures. Hence, women are not a unified group and were affected differently by these tensions. The difference among generations reflects the unevenness of processes of gendered transformations, characterised by continuity and change.

Another theoretical implication from the empirical analysis of period 2 is that the commercial dynamics of GPN have significant impact on women and gender
relations, but it is also the gendered societal relations and women’s labour agency that affect commercial relations. This shows that both commercial and societal relations are in a process of transition through mutual interaction, a point which has received less attention in the GPN literature that views societal embeddedness as ‘fixed’. We can thus derive from this analysis that gendered societal embeddedness is not static but changing and embodies tensions and interplay between gendered commercial and societal relations. This contributes to a more dynamic understanding Beneria’s (2007) conception of the gendered nature of embeddedness through a GPN lens. My analysis of Gendered GPN reflected in the framework diagram in 6.1 has helped to elucidate these issues by bringing together feminist and GPN approaches to explore the commercial and societal interactions at different levels through a cross-period lens. The theoretical implications of empirical analysis and the contributions to the literature will be unpacked in greater detail in chapter 8.

In order to continue the investigation of the shifts over time in women’s work and agency it is important to look at the third major shift, the economic crisis and how it affected gender relations in the table grapes sector. I now turn to investigate this.
Chapter 7 Women’s Work and Labour Agency in the Period of Crisis

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have built up the analysis of changing gender relations in the table grapes export sector in Archanes to the period of crisis, tracing the shifting relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work and its links to women’s labour agency from the producer-led export market to the buyer-led GPN. They revealed the increasing tensions between commercial dynamics of global production networks and gendered societal relations underpinned by shifts in women’s work and their labour agency. This process involved a shift in the nature of work from unskilled to skilled, enhancing women’s bargaining position. This chapter investigates further shifts in the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work as the economic crisis affected the GPN and considers the implications for their labour agency. It thus addresses the fifth research sub-question of the thesis: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change in the period of crisis and what are the implications for women’s labour agency? It is important to investigate how women and men were affected by the crisis because analysis of GPNs has until now insufficiently examined the implications of the economic crisis (particularly within Europe). Examining this period thus throws light on the gender transformations taking place as GPNs evolve.

The period of crisis starts from 2008 with the global financial crisis. As chapter 2 explained in detail the financial crisis impacted on European supermarkets as consumption practises changed, and this led to intensifying pressures further down the supply chain. Increasing supermarket pressure together with the economic crisis that hit Greece in 2009 and the austerity policies that followed significantly impacted the table grapes sector in Archanes, leading to the contraction of
production and export of grapes. The economic crisis also affected off-farm employment, hence leading to the reduction of waged economic opportunities for women as compared to the buyer-led GPN expansion period. This chapter explores in detail this shift and its gender implications. The diagram below shows the conceptual Gendered GPN framework of chapter 3 applied in the period of crisis.

**Figure 7.1: Conceptual Relationships in the period of crisis**

![Diagram showing conceptual relationships in the period of crisis](image)

Source: Created by Author

Examining the period of crisis is illuminating for understanding gender transformations taking place as GPNs evolve. It thus helps to inform a Gendered GPN approach to understand changing interactions between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a process of transition. This forms the analytical foundation of my conceptual framework, which in Figure 7.1 depicts the processes of change that pertain in the period of crisis. The bold arrows with red colour at the top of the diagram show that commercial-societal bargaining relations
intensified in the period of crisis as supermarkets intensified power over the exporters and the producers. The crisis and gendered austerity policies also affected the role of women in table grape production seen through the change in colour of the ‘gendered societal embeddedness’ area from the buyer-led period, as I will explore in this chapter. Gendered norms often resurfaced to respond to the pressure for skilled female labour but at low costs. The chapter investigates how women often utilised their fall-back position and went back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes to adapt to the crisis. This shows a process of transition accompanied by continuity and change, underpinned by intensifying tensions between commercial and societal relations.

The chapter first defines the nature of the crisis and the increase in the bargaining power asymmetries between producers, exporters and buyers. It then explores how female labour was used as a ‘buffer’ to the increased risks that trickled down the supermarket value chain. The third section investigates the wider societal and institutional changes and in particular the austerity policies and how they contributed to the ‘precarisation’ of waged work and the increased significance of unwaged farm work for the survival of the family farms in the crisis. The final section investigates how tensions played out for women in relation to different labour agency outcomes.

7.2 The shifts in the production network and effects on commercial bargaining relations

In this shifting commercial climate created by the crisis bargaining tensions escalated between supermarkets, exporters and producers. The exporters had a better bargaining position vis-à-vis the producers, and also had a better bargaining position with the state than the producers. The austerity policies often benefited the exporters at the expense of the producers and the women workers. It is important to investigate the shifts in commercial bargaining in the crisis because the bargaining strategies of producers and exporters in the GPN contributed to shifts in the waged and unwaged work relationship of women once more. It is also important because it
throws further light on shifts in commercial bargaining dynamics within GPNs (Coe et al., 2008; Gereffi, 2014). The findings demonstrate non-linear commercial transformations within the GPN as the crisis unfolded. I thus look in this section into the relationships within the GPN box and the top-down arrows to women’s waged and unwaged work in the Conceptual Relationships diagram drawing from the GPN literature.

As chapter 2 explained the European supermarket chains were impacted by the global financial crisis and the economic crisis within Europe that followed. Consumer demand changed and European consumers often preferred to buy from discounters rather than middle market supermarkets, leading to escalating buyer competition and the reduction of the profit margin of supermarkets. The increasing share of discounter stores in the fresh fruits and vegetables market in many countries in Europe constituted a major shift in the commercial production network. In response supermarkets carried out price cuts and short term offers to attract consumers as discussed in chapter 2. As a result, supermarket price pressures onto suppliers intensified in this period (Interviews with Exporters 1-7).

According to key industry informants interviewed producer prices fluctuated every year but on average in the last 3 years the table grape prices ranged between 0.50-0.70 per kg (Interviews with Exporter 5; M5). According to an online Cretan news article in the 2013 harvest season the prices for table grapes from Crete going to the German market plummeted to 0.30-0.40 euros per kg which is around 0.20 euros lower than the previous year (Cadianews, 2013). This is a dramatic reduction in the producer price at a time where both the risks for producers and the costs of production were much higher. In contrast the producer prices had reached above 1 euro per kg in the early 2000s (Interviews with Agronomist 3; M13; M5). This finding also reflects the increasing share of discounters in the German market as more and more exports from Archanes were going to discounter stores (Interviews with Exporters 3 and 7).
To accommodate increased fluctuations and reductions in consumer demand due to the crisis last minute orders and cancellations to exporters became more prevalent. According to the exporters interviewed, pressures posed by supermarkets to importing companies to supply last-minute orders with reduced grapes often led importing companies to push exporters to reduce significantly the agreed prices in order to absorb the surplus grapes in the market at discounted prices. In some cases last-minute reductions in orders by the supermarkets led importing companies to unreasonably reject the grapes supplied by the exporter on dubious grounds of below-par quality (Interviews with Exporter 3; Exporter 5). In this way they were able to offload the costs onto the exporters. The same occurred with exporters who sent their grapes directly to the supermarkets where there were no formal contractual agreements between the two parties (Interviews with Exporters 1 and 7). The exporters that experienced these problems bore large losses and often delayed payments to their producers. One exporter interviewed faced major economic difficulties (Interview with Exporter 3). In a few cases it led to exporters declaring bankruptcy and closing down, leaving many producers and workers in Archanes unpaid. At least two exporting companies in the Heraklion prefecture declared bankruptcy in this period according to key industry informants. A spiral of indebtedness and risk offloading was thus created in the crisis period throughout the supermarket value chain.

Another major commercial shift at the buyer level that occurred in this period was the change in the preferences of European consumers away from the Thompson Seedless table grape variety. A document by the Greek consulate in Munich on the state of the Greek table grape exports in Germany dated 2009 explained why the Greek exports were losing ground in the German market. German consumers became much more conscious of food safety and preferred table grape varieties that did not have the added gibberellin hormone that the Thompson Seedless grapes have to make their berries bigger (Greek consulate in Munich, 2009a). Greek producers including the producers in Archanes relied heavily on the cultivation of the Thompson Seedless variety for table grapes which also meant a short harvest season. However, as I will explain later in this chapter, many producers started planting new
varieties of table grapes to increase the harvest season and the prices for their grapes. The document also noted another reason for the decline in prices of Greek grapes in the German market:

The quality of grapes is characterised from average to good (eg. some deliveries with dehydrated stems, with small berries, not very bright colour and low sugar levels) and the prices remain low.

Hence, the prices of Greek grapes were often kept low due to their average quality. In Archanes the reduction in quality can be attributed to the increased reliance on seasonal and unskilled migrant labour, as explained in the previous chapter. This made it even more important for local skilled women to go back into waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes and hence sustain the GPN in a period of crisis.

The economic crisis in Greece that began in 2009 had a major impact on the table grapes export sector in Archanes and made producers, exporters and women workers vulnerable to the escalated buyer pressures highlighted above. This is because the increased vulnerability of producers and exporters gave leverage for buyers to carry out transactions on their own terms. A major impact of the Greek economic crisis in the table grapes sector in Archanes was the lack of financial liquidity via loans to producers and exporters. Exporters need liquidity to start their commercial activities but banks were increasingly wary of losing their money during the economic crisis, so they did not easily give loans. The lack of liquidity also made other suppliers (e.g. of packaging products, fertilisers etc.) in the supply chain to demand pre-payment of their products from exporters, and this created a vicious circle of distrust and payment delays to producers and workers (Interviews with key industry informant; Exporter 4).

The austerity policies in response to the economic crisis in Greece also had an impact on producers and exporters in the table grapes sector. A major problem for table grape producers and exporters in Archanes was the numerous strikes of ship workers at the port of Heraklion in response to the austerity policies of the government. According to exporter 5:
The strikes of the ships is one of the biggest problems we currently face because the grapes have to reach at a certain day otherwise their quality reduces. Due to the strikes the grapes then go to the free market for a price of 50% less than the agreed price. Each exporter in Crete may lose up to 100,000 euros every year from this.

In addition, the austerity policies of the Greek government exacerbated the increase in the cost of production while prices were dropping. As part of the austerity policies the VAT tax increased from 11 per cent to 23 per cent in many consumable products including agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and machinery which led to increases in the price of inputs (interviews with all producers; Rizospastis, 2010). These inputs are necessary in order to produce top quality table grapes. According to male producer Nasos (M9), the average cost of chemicals and fertilisers per 1 stremma (0.1 hectare) is 400 euros (in 2012, at the time of fieldwork). Producers approximated that for 10 stremmata (1 hectare) of table grape vineyards the income was 15,000 euros, and the total costs were 5,000 so the net income was 10,000 euros per year for a producer household, which was not enough for the whole family especially during the crisis. The cost of production of table grapes per kilo of produced grapes was estimated at 0.30 which often reached 0.60 euros at times of crop crises (diseases, crop destructions) (Interviews with Agronomist 4; M10)). The higher the quality, the higher the production cost and according to the farmers to produce high quality grapes they had to be in the vineyard all day everyday which raised the costs of production and labour significantly (Interviews with producers ; Nea Kriti, 2013).

Other austerity policies that added to the increase in the fixed costs of production included the 34 per cent increase in the contribution of producers to ELGA (Organisation for Agricultural Insurance- the public insurance body in case of crop destructions by unforeseen conditions) and the 65 per cent increase in the price of electricity (which is supplied by a state-owned company) (Rizospastis, 2010). As a result, the costs of production increased significantly in the crisis while the producer prices were on the decline as a result of intensifying buyer pressures.
Moreover, production and labour costs increased because the supermarket quality requirements and certifications became increasingly more stringent in this period. This also applied to discounters and emerging markets in the BRICs countries as Barrientos and Visser (2012) found through the case of South Africa. According to exporter 7:

> Every year the buyers introduce more stringent quality requirements for example on chemical residue levels or maturity levels, and some chains even change the types of certifications they require. In order to export to various supermarket chains in the UK for example nowadays you have to have 5, 6 certifications, and this is a high cost borne by the exporters.

The centralised purchasing systems and the reduction of acceptable chemical residue levels in table grapes that supermarkets introduced right before the crisis, as I explained in chapter 6 added to the difficulties that the exporters and producers faced in the period of crisis to meet the requirements while keeping costs down.

A major challenge the producers faced was the risk of crop destructions due to adverse weather patterns that had increased in recent years, which further compromised their ability to bargain for a better price. In Archanes in 2011 the *peronosporos* pest hit many vineyards following a hale which destroyed part of the produce, and in 2012 strong Southern winds created significant damages to the vineyards (Interviews with Agronomists 2-4; M10; W1; W2). The plant diseases that often resulted from adverse weather contributed to higher input costs as the producers had to spray the vines many times to stop the disease. The adverse weather patterns and diseases often make it more difficult to meet the high quality and food safety requirements because the external appearance of the grape, and the chemical residue levels from additional chemical applications were affected. The producers affected often expressed feelings of powerlessness and despair in the interviews when a years’ hard work was destroyed from bad weather conditions. Hence, the risk of adverse weather exacerbated the economic difficulties and vulnerability of the producer households in the crisis and raised the costs of production significantly. Moreover, crop destructions reinforced workers’ vulnerability in the crisis and led to reductions in waged employment in the packing plants and the farm due to the destruction of part of the produce.
Although the crisis and adverse weather affected both exporters and producers, the exporters were often less affected due to their stronger bargaining position in relation to the producers. To maintain their bargaining position in the supermarket value chain the exporters often put pressure and offloaded their risks onto the producers. In some cases the exporters pushed the producers for lower prices on grounds that the quality was not the required although the grapes were in reality of good quality. Payments to producers were often delayed on grounds of economic crisis and difficulty (Interviews with Exporter 4; M4). The producers often directed their feelings of powerlessness and anger to the exporters: ‘they do whatever they want’ and ‘they try to push the prices the lowest possible, buy them for free if they can’ (Interviews with M6; M9). The producers’ power was limited when faced with perishable grapes that needed to be harvested at a specific date and even time in order to meet the stringent quality standards of the buyers. Farmer Danos (M4) explained the problems producers face due to the crisis:

These problems did not exist a few years ago. The exporters do not pay us on time, I think because they also do not receive their money on time from abroad. I am close to selling my grapes for this year and I haven’t got paid yet for the last years’ grapes! Can you imagine that? It is very difficult due to the crisis, and the prices are lower than they used to be. But it is tough for everyone. They fire people every day [in waged employment].

The loss of bargaining power of producers was reinforced by the fact that the local agricultural cooperative became deeply in debt and producers relied almost exclusively on private exporters to sell their grapes. The Agricultural Cooperative of Archanes during the crisis was on the verge of collapse like the majority of the agricultural cooperatives in Greece due to its heavy debts. The state intervention in the cooperatives and the cultivation of the perception of the cooperatives as public sector rather than private enterprises led to their malfunctioning (Kokkinidis, 2010). In addition, many producers who sold their table grapes to private exporters through the cooperative a few years back had not yet got paid at the time of fieldwork (2012) due to deals of the cooperative with unreliable exporters. The result was a debt of 800,000 euros for the cooperative coming from non-payment by a handful of unreliable exporters alone, and adding to the total debt of the cooperative (Nea Kriti, 2012).
Under these adverse circumstances, some producers that did not have family labour to help or who had very small holdings that did not suffice to cover the high production costs abandoned their table grape vineyards (Interviews with Agronomists 1 and 4; Exporter 4; M7). The abandonment of vineyards meant that there was an overall reduction in table grape production in Archanes. The reduction of table grape production was also due to the aging of the vines, the replanting of new vines and the crop destructions due to adverse weather (Interviews with local government key informant; M10; Agronomist 4). This meant smaller volumes of exports and a reduced ability of exporters to bargain with buyers (Interviews with Exporter 2; Exporter 5). It also meant the overall reduction in waged employment in table grapes for women.

7.3 The gendered labour implications of the crisis

The increased risks and vulnerability and buyer pressures posed to producers and exporters due to the economic crisis had implications on female labour. Female labour was often utilised as a ‘buffer’ to offset risks and reduce costs for both exporters and producers. Bargaining power asymmetries between women workers and exporters/producers thus intensified in the period of crisis. Feminist literature explored how female labour often bore the costs of global competition and commercial pressures (Dolan, 2004; Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2004; Elson and Pearson, 1981). This was explored analytically in chapter 3. This chapter throws more light on this by exploring how this process evolved in a period of crisis.

7.3.1 Impact of crisis on households and the need for women’s waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes

In addition to the increased risks and vulnerability of table grape farming, there were also other reasons for women’s return to waged and/or unwaged work in table
grapes in the period of crisis. A major effect of the economic crisis on women and men was the scarcity of off-farm employment. The Greek economic crisis led to an increase of unemployment across sectors nationwide. According to Karamessini (2014) between 2008 and 2012 the male unemployment rate climbed from 4.7 per cent to 21 per cent and the female from 11.1 to 27.5 per cent (p. 170). Overall therefore women were more affected than men as their already higher unemployment rate increased in the crisis. Under-employment and part-time employment also increased in the crisis. In Archanes many women who previously worked off-farm lost their jobs or witnessed the reduction of their working hours and worsening of terms of work. Farm women who used to carry out additional economic activities for extra pocket-money such as handicraft making, cleaning and babysitting or worked full-time off-farm for a wage witnessed a reduction or diminishing of their waged employment in the crisis (Interviews with W24; W26; W7; W12; W13; W15). Thus, women’s off-farm work options reduced significantly, which often led women to utilise their fall-back of waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes. The crisis was also felt however by male farmers who worked part-time off-farm for an additional income. Nasos (M9) and his farmer son own a construction company along with other members of their family. He said that with the crisis their work in construction reduced significantly and hence they were more economically dependent in table grape production than before. The economic crisis hence did not only impact women but also men.

Moreover, the major tax reforms that took place as part of the austerity policies due to the crisis significantly affected the table grape and non-table grape households, and led to a greater need for women’s unwaged farm work and/or waged work in packing. Both the income and property taxes increased significantly (Interviews with M9; M10; Karamessini, 2014). The result of these skyrocketing taxes coupled with reductions in farming incomes led to significant economic problems among farm households. Fanis (M10), a male table grape farmer says:

The bills are so high. Now even the money from the farm subsidies are spent to pay the bills….I took a 5,000 euros loan for the vineyard and I can’t repay it. It is a vicious circle.
It also affected the non-table grape households. Packer Mania (W13) says:

> The personal expenses have stopped, even the basics. And I am not embarrassed to say that I will buy new shoes only when my shoes will have a hole. Not for the child of course though. We will try and get everything we can for the child; not crazy stuff, just the basics.

Many of the table grape producers also produced other crops such as olives and grapes for wine and raisins. The prices for these crops plummeted with the result that it often became unprofitable to even harvest these crops given the high production costs. In addition, the EU subsidies for these crops reduced significantly and did not suffice to cover the increasing costs of production in the crisis (Interviews with local government key informant; W9; M10). Hence, the table grape producers were ‘doubly’ affected by the crisis and witnessed an overall reduction in their incomes. Despite the problems in the table grapes sector the producers that had table grapes tended to fare better in the crisis compared to other producers because the price was still higher for this commodity due to the ‘value-added’ created by the fresh consumption of the crop and the quality requirements, a share of which can be captured by the producer. According to most of the table grape producers interviewed, continuing table grape production was seen as the only viable option despite the problems. The producers thus struggled every day in the vineyards to produce high quality table grapes. Many of the producers interviewed abandoned some of their wine and raisin grape vineyards as a coping strategy to reduce the overall costs of production and labour. This enabled the producers to pool more resources and labour on the more demanding and higher-value table grape production.

As a result of the escalating pressures for cost reduction, high quality and reduced selling prices and the decline in off-farm work at a time where living and production costs escalated producers often sought to strike a balance between these pressures by cutting waged labour and utilising the unwaged labour of their spouses as well as using exchange labour with other farms at times of labour intensity. According to male farmer Minas (M5):
The situation nowadays is such that I need the help of my wife, especially in the spring when the grapes bloom and the summer and when they are ready for harvest. The whole work is now done by my wife and me because we do not have the economic ability to pay for waged workers anymore.

Hence, de-monetised labour increased in its significance to waged work in the farm, resembling the period of the producer-led export market in this respect. In addition, farmers often argued that they preferred their wives to do this work rather than waged labour because migrant workers often are not skilled to do the quality tasks, and in some cases producers said that unskilled waged workers had caused damages to their vines (Interviews with M3; M5; M10). Thus, the unwaged but skilled work of their spouses was critical. Women had often worked in the family farms as children and had helped in their husbands’ farms whenever needed and were thus able to sustain the quality of the grapes and ensure a high price. Therefore, the unwaged work of women contributed to the ability of many family farms to survive in the crisis, and hence helped to sustain the GPN in crisis through the continued supply of high quality grapes at competitive prices.

However, work in the farm was often insecure and risky in the crisis due to the price fluctuations, commercial risks of unfair transactions with buyers and climatic risks. Hence, women often preferred to have their own wage (Interview with W7; W20; W21; W27; FGD 1 and FGD 2). In addition, in non-table and table grape households where both spouses previously worked off-farm the jobs of both spouses were often affected in the crisis, rendering women’s wage important in the household (Interviews with W12 and spouse [M11] W13 and spouse [M12]; M7 and spouse [M6]). Hence, there was also a return of local women in waged work in table grapes in a period of crisis. However, the economic crisis led to the ‘precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes, as I will now explore.
7.3.2 Exporter bargaining strategies and the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes

The commercial pressures posed by the buyers to the exporters were often channelled to the workers who in their majority were women as already seen in Chapter 6, but in the crisis this trend intensified. The crisis and the exporter bargaining strategies in response to it led to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes. It is important to investigate this because it helps to understand why some women went back to unwaged work in the family farm in the period of crisis. However, as I will show in this chapter, in the crisis packing also offered an economic opportunity in the face of scarcity of off-farm work for many women. Not all exporters were equally affected by the crisis and hence working conditions differed between different exporting companies. From the exporters I interviewed there were some successful exporters that did not face high losses or economic problems due to reliable long-term relationships with their buyers. Those exporters tended to pay their workers on time and to comply with the labour regulations and laws. However, although these companies tended to pay higher wages with individual agreements there were still downward pressures on wages due to competition with other exporters combined with pressures coming from supermarket buyers. Overall there was a general trend for wages to decline.

Workers were often the bearers of the risks and costs highlighted in the previous sections because the exporters sought to reduce their labour costs by making work precarious. The ‘precarisation’ of work in the table grapes sector was gendered because these jobs were largely occupied by women. This bears out other studies regarding gender and the precarisation of waged work. According to Rodgers (1989) the concept of precariousness embodies short employment duration, lack of protection in employment, low incomes and lack of control over working conditions, pace of work and wages (in: Vosko et al, 2014, p. 7). All of these aspects were present in many of the packing plants of the Heraklion prefecture. In addition, many of these aspects of precariousness existed in the period of GPN expansion for migrant workers and especially seasonal and uninsured labour. These precarious
characteristics were extended to the whole workforce irrespective of ethnicity in the period of crisis in the GPN. The empirical findings also support the argument elsewhere in the literature that precarious female labour often acts as a buffer to the commercial pressures in the value chains (Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Barrientos, 2013). My analysis shows that this intensified in a period of crisis.

With the decline of table grape production and exports in the crisis the working hours reduced. Packer Argiro (W16) worked in a company that was very much affected by the crisis. She says:

Before the crisis we worked for 3 months non-stop but in the last years the harvest and packing season have shrunk to 1 month. And the working hours have shrunk. We can work 3 hours a day only sometimes. They tell us come at 12 o’clock noon, we go and we may start working at 4 in the afternoon when the grapes come. We wait all these hours and we do not get paid for the time we wait.

The employers also sought to offload their risks to the workers by lowering the wages and in some cases even violating the labour rights of workers. Many exporters shifted from agreeing a daily wage through the collective agreement to paying hourly wages to workers outside of the collective agreements. This was possible through the change in labour law in 2011 as part of the austerity policies that allowed individual agreements. By choosing not to sign the collective agreement exporters were able to reduce their labour costs significantly in different ways. First, they did not have to comply with the terms of the collective agreement such as the 25 per cent increase of pay for overtime. Second, exporters were often able to push the hourly wages down, and in some cases even below the minimum wage on grounds that they faced economic problems. Maya (W21), who worked for less than 3 euros per hour as packer in this period, said ‘It was humiliating. We worked for peanuts’. Third, they used the hourly wages to push the workers to agree with leaving some of their rights prior to signing a collective agreement. A typical example of this is the pressure to sign the collective agreements only if the workers did not demand their doro (holiday pay). Fourth, using the hourly pay they put pressure to lower the daily wage under the collective agreement, as is demonstrated in table 7.1 below.
Table 7.1: Daily Wages for Seasonal Workers in Exporting Companies through Collective Agreements (women and men), 2008-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Daily Wage in euros, above 17 years old</th>
<th>Below 17 years old</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>31.50</td>
<td>26.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>33.50</td>
<td>28.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>33.50</td>
<td>28.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>33.50</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>No new agreement-terms of agreement of 2011</td>
<td>No new agreement-terms of agreement of 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Married: 28.80 Unmarried: 26.18</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled by author from the 2008-2013 collective agreements

The table shows the daily wage as set out by the collective agreement in the years 2008-2013. It shows that the daily wage for women and men working in harvesting, packing, palletising and transport in exporting companies. The table indicates that the daily wage was stable every year with some small increases based on the inflation of the economy. However, in 2010 for the first time there was the stagnation of the daily wage under the collective agreement, which remained frozen in the year 2011. This is contingent with the escalation of the crisis. In 2012 the exporters and labour union did not reach an agreement because the exporters wanted lower wages (Interview with Key labour contact; Exporter 6). In 2013 for the first time the wages of the grape workers were reduced through the collective agreement, as seen in the table above.
In addition, some exporters often delayed their payments to the workers on grounds that they did not receive their money from their buyer or that they did not receive the agreed amount of pay from their buyer. This exacerbated the already difficult financial situation of the producer households that also witnessed delays in payments as producers. In cases of payment delays the workers can raise the case to the Labour Inspection Agency via the trade union which gives the employer a deadline by which they have to pay the wages. However women often did not file a case against their employer in fear of losing their jobs (Interview with key labour informant; Interview with W24). Some of the women interviewed (W20; W24) had worked in packing plants that declared bankruptcy and they never received their pay from a whole season’s work. As Vaso (W24) said:

I worked approximately 1,600 euros that season and I never got the money because the company declared bankruptcy. I felt angry and I felt that all my hard work was for nothing. Nobody protects the worker; we have nowhere to turn.

The power of the labour union weakened significantly because of the lack of funds and the weakening of labour protection laws. Women workers were thus often left with no voice at a time of labour violations. As Argiro (W16) argued ‘we haven’t seen the union for ages. It used to come and inform people; now nothing’. Garifallia (W20), who also lost her wage because the company she worked in closed down said: ‘the union did not help us at all to get our money back’.

There was also a significant reduction in the wages for on-farm grape workers employed by the producers in the crisis. Table 7.2 below shows the average daily wage given to women and men farm workers based from information provided by agronomists and producers. The table indicates that there is a reduction of 10-15 euros in daily wages in the period of crisis. The gendered disparities in wages for on-farm workers persist, with women getting paid approximately 10 euros less than men for their work. This again reflects that the ‘precarisation’ of work was gendered as it affected women more than men. Women who did men’s work were paid equally to men, reflecting the persistence of the gendered perception of women’s work as ‘lighter’ than men’s.
Table 7.2 Average Daily Wages for Women and Men Farm Workers, Period of Crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men and women</th>
<th>Wages in euros</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men: Skilled and labour intensive tasks (e.g. pruning, girdling, application of gibberellic acid)</td>
<td>35-40 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men: less skilled and labour-intensive tasks (e.g. transporting grapes)</td>
<td>30 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women: Summer pruning tasks normally done by women (e.g. thinning, de-leafing)</td>
<td>25-30 euros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women: tasks that are normally done by men (e.g. girdling)</td>
<td>35-40 euros</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information provided by agronomists and producers

The reductions in wages for farm workers reflect the economic difficulties of producers, who often chose to utilise unwaged female labour and exchange labour from family and friends to reduce their labour costs.

The ‘precarisation’ of work was gendered also because the important role of women in the social reproduction of the labour force was still not acknowledged or considered in the period of crisis. This constituted an effective strategy by exporters to externalise the costs of social reproduction. By externalising the cost of social reproduction employers were able to push for flexible hours, reduced pay and worse terms of work without having to account for women’s household and care work, as it was outside their realm. The externalisation of social reproduction although was present in periods 1 and 2 in the period of crisis it aggravated the ‘gendered precarisation’ work in table grapes. The separation of productive and reproductive spheres was thus reinforced by the exporting companies in order to achieve the ‘gendered precarisation’ of work. In turn, the issue of social reproduction was under
the remit of the household and left to the spouses to bargain for between them. The outcome was often that women took on most of the household work burden by doing household chores before or after their packing work.

The empirical findings elaborate the argument of the externalisation of reproductive costs. Exporter 1, when asked about whether they provide any help or facilities for the women with children given their long and often unpredictable working hours said: ‘this is entirely the matter of the woman, we do not intervene in this’. Packer Mania (W13) raised the issue of social reproductive work:

The nurseries and schools close in June when the packing starts. The packing season finishes in August and the schools open in September. So where do you keep the children especially if the husband also works? If there are no grandmothers and grandparents you cannot work. If you work you will give the money to the carer. I am lucky because I have my mother to help.

Thus, it was assumed by both the state and the exporters that the grandmothers would help, which shows the ‘externalisation’ of social reproduction. This is also reflected in Dunaway (2014) who argued that:

by externalising outside the range of production costs of labour that women and households undertake to reproduce, care for, and socialise waged workers, capitalists eliminate high costs from their operating budgets in order to be market competitive’ (Dunaway, 2014, p. 64).

As seen in Chapter 6 prior to the crisis women often resisted the long working hours in packing and the externalisation of the cost of social reproduction by the exporters through refusing to stay longer if they had an occasion to attend or work related to social reproduction. However following the crisis the local women had to accept the externalisation of the costs of social reproduction As Exporter 1 argues ‘in the crisis Greek women are more willing to stay longer if needed in the packing plant to finish an order because they need the money’. This reflects the reduction of women’s bargaining power vis-à-vis their employers in the period of crisis.
7.4 The effects of the gendered austerity measures on women

The austerity measures also had a direct impact on women workers. The changes in labour and social insurance laws that are part of the gendered societal embeddedness of GPNs contributed to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes, while the pension reform rose the retirement age of women significantly. The austerity measures were gendered and contributed to the weakening of women’s fall-back position and hence their bargaining position relative to period 2 of buyer-led GPN expansion.

7.4.1 The contribution of state policies to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes

In the crisis the role of the state shifted from a protector of workers’ rights to a securer of the interests of employers over those of workers. The labour and social insurance laws were gendered because they affected the jobs that were largely occupied by women. The change in social insurance for seasonal workers in exporting companies contributed to the reduction of social insurance benefits for farm women who worked seasonally as packers but reduced the non-waged labour costs of the exporters. As explained in Chapter 6 women packers were insured in the IKA and agricultural waged workers and unwaged spouses of male farmers were insured in the OGA. The exporters nationwide had raised their concern over the cost borne by exporters of insuring workers who were already insured in the OGA into IKA for the packing work through their union Incofruit. They pushed for a change in the law such that the workers that were already insured in the OGA would not be insured in IKA for their work in packing. They argued that the social insurance law contributed to the high labour costs of exporters which hampered the competitiveness of Greek fruit and vegetable exports (Froutonea, 2005). After a long bargaining process and meetings of the exporter union with politicians in 2009 the government passed a law whereby the seasonal workers who worked in packing and processing companies that were already insured in OGA would not be insured in IKA for their work (Law 3518/06 and IKA circular 42/25-05-08). This was a major win for the exporters that were able to significantly reduce their non-wage labour
costs. The significant majority of those workers are women working in harvesting and packing. Men working seasonally in palletising and transport were also affected. According to the newspaper Rizospastis, processing and packing companies gain 40,000,000 euros per year with this shift in the social insurance law for seasonal workers (Rizospastis, 2009a). The change in the social insurance law meant that farm women lost their right for mothers’ allowance, unemployment allowance for the period outside their seasonal work and witnessed a reduction in their OGA pension because the IKA contribution was not added to their social insurance anymore (Discussion with Key labour informant).

The change in the social insurance of seasonal workers in exporting companies made it easier for exporters to employ un-insured workers because the OGA does not have an inspection body like the IKA does. In the Heraklion prefecture shortly after the change in the law the IKA carried out an inspection in a packing plant and found that 250 workers in that company were un-insured and some workers were forced to say that they were insured in OGA when they were not (Milona, 2009; Rizospastis, 2009b). This shows how this law can be manipulated by exporters to employ un-protected workers and thus significantly reduce their non-wage labour costs. According to reports by The Greek Labour Inspection Agency (2011) and The Greek Foundation for Economic and Industrial Research (2012) the percentage of uninsured workers in 2011 reached 30 per cent across all sectors in Greece. An exploration of the period of crisis therefore throws further light on the analysis of gendered institutions (Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007) by highlighting the persistence of gendered institutions in a period of crisis.

The sweeping changes in the labour law as part of the austerity measures constitute another demonstration of the increasing role of the state in protecting the interests of businesses over those of the workers through encouraging flexible contracts and reductions in wages. The new labour law allowed the employers who were not members of their union and the workers who were not members of the labour union to have individual agreements with the only prerequisite being that they should not
be below the payment directed by the National Collective Agreement which sets out minimum wages and terms for all workers (Law 4024/2011). As seen in the previous section this law gave leverage for exporters to substantially reduce wages, in some cases even below the level of the National Collective Agreement and worsen the terms of work. The significant infrastructural problems of the Labour Inspection Agency contributed to the lack of labour law enforcement during the crisis which further contributed to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work. The agency was under-staffed and had significant infrastructural weaknesses rendering it unable to carry out inspections properly (Discussions with key labour informants).

7.4.2 The effects of the gendered austerity measures on women’s everyday lives

In addition to the effects of the changes in labour and social insurance policies during the crisis that affected waged work women were also affected by the austerity measures in their everyday lives. The austerity measures were gendered and often affected women more than men due to their neglect of issues of social reproduction. This stems from the assumption that social reproduction is a sphere outside the realm of production and thus the sole responsibility of households. Elson (1994), investigating the effects of structural adjustment policies in developing countries on women following the debt crisis of the 1980s had a similar finding.

An example of gendered austerity measures is the raising of the pension age of farm women, which increased the work burden of women and often pushed them to work longer in packing. The law 3863/2010 equalised the retirement age of women with that of men, at 65 years old, while in 2012 the retirement age rose for both sexes at 67 years old. In addition, the early retirement option for women with minor children at 55 was abolished for women born after 1977 (Karamessini, 2014; p. 179). The raising of the retirement age for women disregards the early retirement needs of women and the reproductive work of middle-aged women as carers of their grandchildren, which contributed to the increased burden of care work for those women. The women of middle age often argued that the crisis increased their caring
responsibilities because their sons and daughters that worked off-farm did not afford to pay for child care anymore. At the same time, many of those women had to continue to work in packing not only for an income but also to obtain a sufficient number of social insurance stamps to receive their pension (Interviews with W16; W24; W29).

7.5 Women’s labour agency in the period of crisis

So far we have explored the intensifying commercial pressures for female skilled labour at even low costs in the period of crisis that were often reinforced by the gendered austerity policies. These pressures often pushed women back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes. However, at the same time women had experience of greater economic empowerment. Hence, these changes were not even and involved tensions between intensifying commercial pressures and changing gendered societal relations, manifested through women’s ability to bargain even in crisis, as I will now go on to explain.

7.5.1 Women who moved back to waged work in table grapes

As off-farm economic opportunities reduced waged work in table grapes was often the only available waged work option for younger women. Hence, many of the younger generation women I interviewed who previously worked off-farm outside grapes moved to waged work in packing, thus exercising their fall-back position to survive in the crisis. Out of the 11 younger generation women I interviewed who had worked off-farm in the buyer-led period 5 moved to work in packing in the period of crisis. According to Dina (W12), packer in her 30s:

I went back to packing 2 years ago; I had worked before when I was younger. Back then I had seen it differently, to get some pocket money and see how people make a wage. But now it is different, I needed the money. I lost my job and I was lucky enough to find work in packing.

Mania (W13), another woman in her 30s who also moved back to packing after working briefly during her adolescence years ago said:
There was no job, there was no future, nothing and so I went to this export company and said to them that I am interested in working as packer and they took me. I felt lucky to get this job...The year I went they fired my husband and so my wage that year helped the whole family get through the summer. But I would have gone anyway to work, I needed my wage. Hence, the crisis also affected the off-farm work of men, and in some cases women became the breadwinners even for a short period of time. This finding has important analytical implications. Shifting gender relations does not always mean that women lose out relative to men. This may be because of the persistence of the need for women’s skills to maintain high quality grapes in the production network in a period of crisis. This helps women to retain some bargaining position during the crisis.

For these women retaining a wage which they could manage on their own during the crisis was very important. Eleni (W27), another woman in her 30s, after many unsuccessful attempts to find work decided to work as packer. She said that although she did not like packing she felt good to be able to have a wage of her own: ‘it is different when you have your own wage; you can do as you wish’. Mania (W13) at the year she was interviewed opened a shop with her husband and he wanted her to stop packing and help in the shop. She said:

There are times when I fight with my husband. I tell him I will go and work next year in packing again. I have my wage, I have my money. I work and I get paid. Here we have the shop together and you cannot say this is my money and this is yours. With packing I know that every month I will get my own wage.

Hence, these women were able to retain a wage that was much needed in the period of crisis by moving to waged work in table grapes, hence exercising agency. As Mania’s quote suggests this was not always a smooth process, reflecting the tensions involved.

In addition, these women argued that the particular exporting company they worked for paid them their wage on time and the conditions of work were good, contrary to other less reliable companies. Their bargaining position was thus better as compared to women who worked in less successful companies, and the need for their skill enhanced their bargaining position. As I argued in a previous section, supermarket buyer pressures for high quality and low costs intensified in the period of crisis, and
skilled labour was scarce due to the seasonal and temporary nature of many migrant workers. As a result, local workers were often preferred by exporters. As Exporter 3 argued:

50 per cent of our workers are permanent, we hire them every year; 50 per cent are new; they come and they do not come back again. Those are migrant workers who work first time in packing and have no idea how to do it and create problems in quality. They work here one season and then they travel around Greece to look for something else. So we prefer the Greek women who live in the town and will come back again, and often have more experience in packing.

Hence, the skills of women were very important in the period of crisis because table grape production was still taking place within a buyer-led production network, with intensifying quality requirements. However, the recognition of the value of women’s skills in the production network was hampered by the economic crisis as seen through the ‘precarisation’ of work. Hence, the tensions that existed in the buyer-led GPN period intensified in a period of crisis. This has analytical implications for my Gendered GPN analysis as it shows processes of gendered transition from one period to the next that other studies without a cross-period analysis are unable to explore (Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2004; Barrientos, 2014; Dolan and Sorby, 2003).

In addition, from the women I interviewed 2 were able to retain their work off-farm or shift to another off-farm work which shows that there were still off-farm economic opportunities for women, albeit fewer. Hence, the majority of younger generation women of those I interviewed were able to retain a wage in the crisis, either working as packers or off-farm. In addition, some of the younger generation women who moved to packing came from table grape farming households and hence in the crisis they often also increased their unwaged work contribution in the family farm. These women were able to have a wage that was much needed during the crisis and hence were able to rework their position under these adverse circumstances. However, their position relative to that prior to the crisis deteriorated due to their move from more stable employment to seasonal work and the reductions in pay and benefits. Analytically this provides a more dynamic understanding of reworking strategies during societal transitions and suggests that the resilience-
reworking-resistance labour agency conceptualisation (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Lund-Thompsen, 2013) may be too static to capture the changing and adaptive forms of labour agency outcomes for women.

Moreover, out of the 8 older generation women that worked as waged workers in table grapes in the period of GPN expansion 5 were able to retain their work in the period of crisis. A strategy they often followed to maintain their bargaining position as waged workers in the crisis was to opt for working in more reliable exporting companies that had better working conditions where this was possible. Vaso (W24) says:

I moved to this other export company [after working in a company that declared bankruptcy] and the working conditions are so much better. I did not even feel the need to take a shower after I came back from work. They informed us beforehand whenever there was a need to do over time. And we got our money on time, so I am satisfied.

These women were highly experienced and skilled as they worked for years in packing and hence they had bargaining power and were able to choose the best employers. However, not all women were able to shift to better companies because there were limited open positions due to the overall reduction of employment, and gendered norms in the household often re-surfaced. Hence, some went back to unwaged work in farms as I will explain below. Women’s wage although reduced, was significant for the household as farming income was fluctuating and often insecure. Hence, with their wage they were often able to also have some bargaining position within the household. These older generation women often said that they were satisfied to contribute to household income and felt independent and satisfied that they did not have to rely on their husbands (Interviews with W20; W24; W29).

Despite the importance of women’s wage from packing in the household inter-generational differences in intra-household gendered norms often persisted in the crisis. The younger generation women were better able to negotiate for an increased participation of their husbands in house work than older generation women. Dina (W12) said:
My husband helps in the household a lot but he doesn’t say so because he is embarrassed. For me what he does is great help. To clean the carpet, to dry the laundry…He will do them if he seems me being tired. There are many men that wait and ask even for a glass of water. My husband will put the food to eat on his own if I rest or I’m tired.

Doing household chores is still often considered a ‘female’ task, and her husband was embarrassed to tell me that he helped. In contrast the older generation women often had to do the household tasks in the morning or after they came back from work. Garifallia (W20) said: ‘men have learned like this; it is difficult to change their habits’. The inter-generational differences in household relations reflect the persistence of gendered norms from one period to the next.

This came into contrast with the 2 younger generation women who were farmers in their own right and their husbands had a different job. Their husbands who often worked in construction and own-account work became under-employed in the crisis and thus these women became the main breadwinners of the family. This again reflects that shifts in gendered societal relations in a period of crisis did not always mean that women lose out relative to men. The shift of those women as main breadwinners brought an increase in the bargaining power of those women, which was already higher than women who were unwaged workers, as seen in the previous chapter. Anna (W9), female farmer in her own right said:

Because my husband’s job is not going very well with the crisis in the last couple of years the main income of the family comes from farming. So I have a bigger say now on household money management, even though before we always managed the money equally.

Thus, women farmers often became the managers of money in the household but often followed much more ‘democratic’ procedures than male farmers.

7.5.2 Women who moved back to unwaged work in table grapes

There were also women who were from table grape farm households and moved back to unwaged work in the table grape farms in a period of crisis. This again reflects the re-surfacing of gendered norms in a period of crisis. The move back to
unwaged work in table grapes was often not merely a push for women but a conscious move in the face of precarisation and scarcity of waged work in table grapes and outside. Thus, the unwaged work constituted a fall-back position which these women exercised in the period of crisis. Analytically this provides a different perspective on fall-back position, which has usually only been analysed in relation to women entering paid work (Kabeer, 1997; Agarwal, 1997). In total 7 of the women interviewed went back to unwaged work in the farm. These were 4 younger generation women and 3 older generation women, while the older generation women who were unwaged workers in the period of GPN expansion remained so in the period of crisis. Hence, the minority of younger generation women (4 out of 14 women) and the majority of older generation women (7 out of 12 women in their 50s-60s) interviewed for this study were unwaged workers in the table grape farms in the period of crisis, demonstrating the inter-generational differences in gendered norms and women’s bargaining position.

Due to the scarcity of economic opportunities and the ‘precarisation’ of waged work some younger women went back to unwaged farm work in table grapes in the crisis to support the family farm. By helping to substantially reduce the labour costs of the farm these women often felt that they captured more of the value of table grape production for themselves and their family. Nina (W6) said ‘farm work is not the easiest work but it makes me happy that I help the income stay in the family by working in the family farm’. She continued: ‘I have no one over my head, the conditions of work are better’. Hence, Nina went back to unwaged work in the farm to help her husband and because conditions in waged work had become precarious. She also found it easier to take care of her young kids while working in the family farm as she could go back home anytime.

The significance of women’s contribution to the survival of the farm and the importance of their skills enabled women to negotiate for a higher participation in decision-making on the farm and the income from it. Male farmer Danos (M4) said:
My wife’s contribution in the farm is very important because I need someone to come every day with me in the field. If my wife did another work I would have had to hire a waged worker, which is very difficult nowadays financially. I would not be able to complete the farm tasks if I didn’t have my wife helping me.

Amalia (W5), his wife worked in the farm the same amount as her husband. According to Danos:

Sometimes we have disagreements over to whom we should sell the grapes. I want to give it to this exporter; she wants to give it to that exporter. It is a crucial decision because we may strike a deal with the wrong exporter and get cheated. But we discuss with each other and we find the solution. If I think she is right, and she has been a few times, I follow her opinion.

Danos took the final decisions but considered his wife’s opinion and consulted with her, and this pattern was present in most farm households. The higher acknowledgement of their contribution from their husbands often led to women feeling fulfilled and satisfied that they helped in saving some of the money from wage labour for their own family. Stella (W28) was trained as an agronomist and after she lost her job she worked with her husband in the farm. The skills she obtained from her off-farm work equipped her to participate in decision-making around issues of the farm. The need for women’s skills persisted in the period of crisis due to the quality requirements of the production network and this enabled women to retain some bargaining position in the crisis, even as unwaged labour. This shows the shifting and non-linear nature of women’s labour agency that the resilience-reworking-resistance framework cannot explore as it only captures women’s agency within a certain period. This also provides insights on shifting gendered societal relations as GPNs evolved, contributing to the GPN and feminist literatures (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Barrientos, 2013; Beneria, 2007).

Nevertheless, farming was still a gendered profession where the often male farmers took the main decisions and were the managers of the farm holdings. According to farm woman Foteini (W23), men ‘know better because in the kafeneio they talk it through with the other farmers. The final decision is theirs’. The traditional kafeneio was thus still the main social hub for farmers and was a male sphere, where women did not go. Thus, gendered societal norms often inhibited the equal participation of
women in farm decision-making in the crisis. This reflects that gendered norms often re-surfaced hence reducing the agency of women in relation to before the crisis. Their skills however were much needed in the period of crisis which gave them leverage to bargain and hence exercise some agency even as unwaged labour in the farm. This is a break from the producer-led period where women were doing unskilled and hence undervalued unpaid work in the farm. This reflects the dynamics of gendered societal embeddedness from one period to the next, characterised by both continuity and change in gendered societal relations, thus offering a more dynamic understanding of Beneria’s (2007) concept of embeddedness from a GPN perspective.

Among women who went back to unwaged work in the farm, in older generation households gendered divisions of labour and decision-making seemed to be more prevalent. Men were often the managers of the household income and were more often the decision-makers on issues of the farm. According to 50-year old female unwaged worker Ada (FGD 1): ‘the woman plays a very important role in the household. In all situations. In the economic, the protection, the support. She plays the first role’. And she continues:

The woman is not paid for her work in the farm and is not paid for what she offers in the home. When she comes back from the vineyard she will do another ‘wage’. She will tidy up, clean the house, cook, iron, everything. And this is not acknowledged anywhere, the profession of the housewife. (FGD 1)

These women were thus very much conscious of their work contribution and the fact that it was not sufficiently acknowledged and remunerated by their families, society and the state. The embedded gendered norms in their generation however made it difficult for these women to challenge the gender division of labour in the home and the farm. Hence, the persistence of embedded gender norms re-emerging in period of crisis constrained women’s participation, reinforcing commercial GPN pressures for women’s skilled labour but at low cost. This reflects other studies on women’s skilled unwaged farm work (Dolan, 2001; Barrientos, 2014) and contributes to this literature by showing how such processes often intensify in periods of crisis.
The moving back of local women in waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes led to a reduction in the work of migrant female workers who were often less skilled. As a result, some migrant women who stayed permanently in Archanes left from the town due to job scarcity (Interviews with M11; Field diary, 23 August 2012; Exporter 1). In addition, according to industry key informants the seasonal migrant workers often travel around Greece and other areas in search for better jobs. Hence, there was a trend of migrant women moving out of waged work in table grapes. The persistence of tensions between gendered norms and commercial production networks under flux is also seen through the gendered cooperative initiatives that were formed in the crisis.

7.6 The trend towards gendered cooperative initiatives

Signs of recovery of the table grapes sector from the crisis were already present at the time of the fieldwork. Despite the problems table grape production and export faced, the table grapes from Archanes were still considered to be of high quality which offered the potential for moving out of the crisis through investing on and expanding table grape production. Some farmers who were more entrepreneurial, innovative and risk-taking responded proactively to the table grape crisis. They teamed up with friends and relatives and sold their grapes to the European supermarkets overriding the exporters, thus capturing a higher share of the value in the table grape GPN. In the absence of a robust cooperative farmers decided to create cooperative initiatives on their own to increase their bargaining position vis-à-vis the buyers. These initiatives are fresh and started in 2012, at the time of my fieldwork but are still underway and expanding their activities.

The expansion of cooperative initiatives was related to a major commercial shift that took place in global production networks: the expansion of new markets in emerging economies (BRICS) for fresh grapes which affected the producers of Archanes. According to interviews with producers and to the newspaper article Nea Kriti 2013, in 2012 and 2013 for the first time representatives from the British supermarkets...
went to Archanes to seal deals directly with the table grape producers. This occurred because Argentina and other major table grape exporting countries increased their share of their exports towards the Russian market, leaving the UK buyers in search for an increased supply of high quality grapes (Nea Kriti, 2013). This shift suggests a movement towards over-riding the intermediaries which was reinforced by producer attempts to form teams and export on their own. The table grapes export sector therefore, despite problems, began showing promising signs of recovery from the economic crisis. The shift to emerging markets of BRICS of many large-scale agricultural producing countries of the developing world is also documented in Barrientos and Visser (2012) and Reardon et al. (2007). This shift in the production network reflects that commercial relations within the GPN itself are susceptible to change. This has also been explored by Gereffi (2014) who explored the changes in global value chains and bargaining power dynamics in it in the post-Washington Consensus era. The changing nature of commercial dynamics of GPNs brings important analytical implications for understanding the interaction between gendered commercial and societal relations as creating processes of gendered transformation.

At the time of the fieldwork there were three separate responses by producers. The first initiative was that of farmer Nasos (M9) and his farmer son who got together with a few more friends and exported on their own. Nasos sums up the reason that prompted them to do this initiative:

The cooperative organisations have collapsed, and the private exporters only care about profit. Although we produce top quality grapes in Archanes the producer doesn’t get anything and the consumer pays a too much to eat it. The middlemen eat up everything. With what we are doing now both the producer gets a fair price for the quality he produces that enables him to continue to produce and the consumer gets the fruit fresher and at a lower price. We remove some of the links from the chain’.

All the producers had the GLOBALG.A.P certification and the grapes were packed at the vineyards for supermarkets in UK and Germany. Image 7.1 below shows the on-site packing process.
According to Nasos (M9) the grapes were harvested and packed on the site and within 3 days they reached the supermarkets. He argued that this process enhanced the quality and freshness of the grapes compared to selling via the exporters. The producer price with this initiative in 2012 was between 0.80-0.90 euros per kg while in contrast producers were paid on average 0.70 for the top quality table grapes (Interviews with Agronomist 2; M9; M10). The farmers that participated in this team seemed to be very knowledgeable of the workings of the supply chain and the buyer requirements and demonstrated their significant agency and power to respond to commercial pressures and bargain directly with the buyers (Field diary, 24 August 2012). The second initiative was a group of 9 young male farmer friends that gathered to export without intermediaries in 2012, and the effort of this team was presented in an online news article (Kafetzopoulou, 2012).
However, all the farmers that participated at the time were men (Field diary, 24 August 2012). The women farmers were still few at the time of doing this research and often lost out from new developments because they did not take part in informal social meetings taking place at the male kafeneio, where most of the male farmers gathered. Women were not involved in the decision-making of the initiative, and this suggests that the farmer and exporter professions were still very much gendered. Despite their limited decision-making, women’s work contribution was pivotal for these cooperative initiatives. The waged packing and harvesting labour and the majority of family labour in the vineyards were female. These team initiatives tended to pay women a higher wage because of the higher share of value capture of producers in the supermarket value chain. In the first initiative in the 2012 harvest season the women waged workers were paid 35 euros per day which was higher than the 2011 collective agreement (Field diary, 24 August 2012). The initiative therefore ensured a fairer wage for the women workers, and more decent working and payment arrangements than what offered by the exporters. In the second initiative the workers were paid 23 euros for harvesting per 5 hours of work and the packers 27 euros for 8 hours of work (Kafetzopoulou, 2012). This was less than what offered in the 2011 collective agreement but more than that offered as hourly wages by some exporting companies. However, women were workers rather than the co-farmers and co-partners of the cooperative initiatives reflecting the persistence of gendered norms that enabled a continued supply of skilled female labour at low costs.

A third initiative however was mainly organised and led by women (Field diary, 1 July 2012). Anna (W9), farmer in her own right, got together with other farmers from her extended family and exported together to the European wholesale market and to the domestic market. This initiative is different because they did not use waged labour at all but rather the whole family harvested and packed the grapes on the site and moved from one vineyard to the other (Field diary, 1 July 2012). The female farmers organised the logistics and procedures along with the male farmers of the family and the wives of those farmers. In addition, they exported to smaller wholesalers because due to the smaller amount of grapes they offered as a team. The
wholesalers also did not require sophisticated packaging (Discussions with the team; Field diary, 1 July 2012). Women would harvest the grapes and immediately clean them and pack them into small plastic bags. This initiative shows that women can be very good and innovative farmers and entrepreneurs contrary to the prevailing gendered norm.

The team initiatives highlighted in this section demonstrate the agency of producers who actively sought to improve their bargaining position vis-à-vis their buyers and capture a higher value in the table grape GPN. However, so far only the larger-scale and more entrepreneurial farmers participated in such initiatives due to the capital and knowledge intensity of the initiatives. Hence, the organisation of small producers is pivotal for GPN participation in a period of crisis.

Additional strategies that producers followed to combat the crisis included the planting of new varieties of table grapes to increase the harvest season. According to Kafetzopoulou (2012) as of 2012 in total more than 20,000 hectares had been replanted in Archanes in the last few years and the re-planting is still underway. According to interviews with key informants, re-planting involves new early and late varieties to expand the harvest season, attract emerging markets as well as changing European markets (Interviews with key industry informant; local government key informant; Lasithiotaki, 2013). However, the re-planting costs were immense and smaller-scale producers often could afford it. Unless these smaller producers are incorporated into the new producer initiatives they may not be able to survive in the long-run. This would have significant negative effects on farm women who could witness the loss of their fall-back position in the long term. However, this is at the moment speculatory and offers a ground for future research.
7.7 Conclusion and theoretical implications

This chapter has investigated the changing commercial-societal interaction in the table grape GPN and the gender implications in a period of crisis. The findings show that in a period of crisis tensions between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations intensified. Commercial pressures for female skilled labour at low cost escalated due to the crisis. Societal changes meant that women’s fall-back position reduced as alternative economic opportunities outside grapes became scarce, while gendered austerity policies contributed to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of work in grapes. However, women had experience of economic empowerment from the period of buyer-led GPN expansion. Hence, there was a pressure for women to go back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes but not as they were in the producer-led period. This is because the requirement for skills and their experience of economic empowerment gave them some bargaining power even as unwaged labour. Their skilled work that was crucial to quality meant that their position as workers was better than in the producer-led period. It thus gave leverage to women, suggesting the backwards and forwards tensions across periods. These tensions played out differently for women. Older generation women witnessed more strongly the re-surfacing of gendered norms than younger generation women, and hence their bargaining position was often relatively weaker. As local women moved back to waged/unwaged work in table grapes migrant labour was often pushed out, and hence their bargaining position was significantly weakened because they did not have other local work to fall-back on.

These findings indicate that labour agency becomes more important as a means of shaping women’s position in GPNs as compared to the period of the producer-led export market. They also reflect the dynamic and adaptive dimensions of women’s labour agency from one period to the other that the resilience-reworking-resistance conceptualisation of labour agency outcomes I have used so far does not adequately capture. Hence, the findings reflect a process of transformation and change that is contradictory and non-linear and affects women differently depending on their generation and bargaining position among other factors. In addition, it embodies
both continuity and change. Hence, the exploration of the crisis has shown empirically the processes of change that the conceptual framework in figure 7.1 explored analytically. The Gendered GPN analysis revealed the processes of transition as GPNs evolve that the GPN literature has been unable to explore. It is important to bring together the findings across the three periods to draw out the implications for gender and GPN analysis. I do this in the next chapter.
Chapter 8 Gendered Societal Transitions: A Cross-Period Analysis

8.1 Introduction

The empirical analysis facilitated investigation of major commercial shifts over time that the table grape production system underwent: the integration into a supermarket-led global production network in table grapes, and the effects of the economic crisis on this production network, with important gender implications. In addition to these commercial shifts there have also been major gendered societal changes in Archanes. Women’s labour agency improved over time, and became more important in shaping women’s position in GPNs as compared to the producer-led export market period. So far I have analysed these shifts in the context of each of the three periods. An important contribution of this thesis is the analysis of the shifting interaction between commercial pressures and gendered societal relations across the three periods. This shifting interaction manifests through complex and uneven processes of change for women and men.

The feminist literature using a GPN approach has investigated changes within one period, namely the shift to the expansion of the supermarkets on women’s work and gender relations (see Barrientos, 2013; 2014). These studies have often briefly explored the shifts before the expansion of supermarkets. I provide a more thorough analysis of the shifts before and after the expansion of supermarkets as well as across different periods. Analytically this gives insights into processes of gendered transformation as GPNs evolve that these studies have not explored.

The empirical case of the table grapes export sector in Archanes provided a useful platform to investigate the gender implications of shifting production networks. The case of Archanes is particularly interesting for this analysis because the table grapes
export sector is based on family farming where women often engage in unwaged work in the family farm and in waged work in harvesting and packing. It has also gone through major shifts overtime that had different implications for women and men. The case of Archanes has thus enabled an analysis of the effects of the commercial shifts on the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work and how they interacted with women’s agency to cope, resist or rework gendered power asymmetries in the production system over time.

So far it has been argued that the GPN approach is useful to understand commercial power relationships as underpinned by inter-firm bargaining relationships, thus dynamic and changing over time. The feminist political economy and intra-household bargaining literatures are brought in to engender the GPN approach to understand the interaction between commercial relations and gendered societal relations, contributing to the development of a Gendered GPN approach (Barrientos, 2014). The concept of gendered societal embeddedness was brought in and developed further to include the household level. The concept of women’s fall-back position was informed by the intra-household bargaining literature to enrich analysis of gendered bargaining over work and labour agency outcomes. This was explored in chapter 3. It has been argued that there are tensions in each period between commercial pressures and gendered societal relations that have played out differently for women and men. These tensions indicate that changing commercial dynamics of the production system affect societal relations, but also gendered societal relations affect commercial transitions. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have shown empirically these shifting dynamics in each of the three periods. A cross-period analysis will shed further light on these complex processes of change across the three periods and give insights on further developing a Gendered GPN approach.

The chapter addresses the overall research question of the thesis: How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis? Hence, the chapter has two aims: a) to bring together and compare the empirical
findings from each period to develop an analysis across the three periods and b) to draw out the analytical implications of the cross-period analysis for gender and GPN analysis. Hence, I pick up on the empirical and analytical findings from each of the three periods to develop a cross-period analysis that informs my concept of gendered societal transitions. Then I interrogate how the analysis of gendered societal transitions helps to further advance a Gendered GPN approach, contributing to gender and GPN bodies of literature.

The chapter analyses the relationship between commercial relations, waged and unwaged work and women’s labour agency across the three periods. Hence, in light of my empirical findings I re-visit the relationships depicted in Figure 1.1 of Chapter 1 from a cross-period lens. Figure 8.1 below depicts these relationships based on my findings. Unpacking this relationship has helped to understand women’s labour agency outcomes as influenced by fall-back positions in terms of waged and unwaged work, but also how it can form a driver of change.

**Figure 8.1: Simplified diagram- focus of the thesis**
This diagram represents a multi-directional relationship whereby commercial GPN pressures affect exporter and producer bargaining, and lead to the use of skilled waged and unwaged work of women in table grapes. Commercial relations are represented at the right hand side of the diagram and societal relations at the bottom and left of the diagram. Women’s bargaining as workers is shaped by their fall-back position, or the alternative opportunities available to them, which can be waged or unwaged. This diagram is simplified because women use a variety of waged and unwaged fall-back positions as I have explained in the thesis. Shifting bargaining relations underpinned by tensions between commercial and societal relations across periods produce different labour agency outcomes for women. Women’s labour agency outcomes also shape the waged and unwaged work relationship and fall-back position as women bargain to improve their position. This in turn leads to shifts in the waged and unwaged work relationship which affects commercial bargaining and hence the GPN as a whole. Rather than either or the other direction, it is the simultaneous interaction between the GPN, women’s work and labour agency that shapes the positioning of women within GPNs. This interaction is not even but involves pushes and pulls within and between commercial and societal forces across different periods. This chapter explains these relationships from a cross-period lens.

This chapter argues that there has been a changing interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations that produced complex processes of gendered societal change that I capture with the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’. I argue that gendered societal transitions involve pushes and pulls between commercial and societal forces, producing continuity and discontinuity in women’s position. They affect women differently with women’s generation and bargaining position playing an important role. Analysis of gendered societal transitions helps me to further advance a Gendered GPN approach to capture the dynamic and non-linear interaction between commercial relations and women’s labour agency.
The first section of the chapter analyses the interaction between commercial and societal shifts and their effects on women’s waged and unwaged work, depicted at the bottom of the diagram. The second section analyses the implications for women’s bargaining position and labour agency across the three periods, depicted at the bottom and left of the diagram. The third section analyses the implications of the three dimensions of GPN, waged-unwaged work and labour agency together for conceptualising the gender implications of changing production networks as ‘gendered societal transitions’. The final section explores the theoretical implications of gendered societal transitions for further advancing a Gendered GPN approach.

8.2 Shifts in women’s waged and unwaged work across three periods

There were major commercial shifts as the table grapes export sector moved from a producer-led export market to a buyer-led GPN, with important implications for gender relations in the table grapes export sector. The shifts in waged and unwaged work across the three periods have resulted from the interaction of commercial production networks with gendered societal relations and involve continuity and discontinuity across periods. Table 8.1 sums up the shifts in the waged and unwaged work relationship across the periods of the producer-led market, the buyer-led GPN expansion and the period of crisis.
Table 8.1: Shifts in women's waged-unwaged work in table grapes across three periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Commercial drivers</th>
<th>Societal drivers</th>
<th>Outcomes of tensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td><strong>Waged Work</strong>&lt;br&gt;Unskilled, remunerated but undervalued&lt;br&gt;<strong>Unwaged Work</strong>&lt;br&gt;Unskilled, unpaid</td>
<td>Requirement for women’s unskilled waged labour</td>
<td>Gendered societal norms gendered productive/reproductive divide</td>
<td>Women in waged work but unskilled, secondary work to unwaged work in farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td><strong>Waged Work</strong>&lt;br&gt;Skilled, better remunerated but undervalued-female work&lt;br&gt;<strong>Unwaged Work</strong>&lt;br&gt;Unremunerated but skilled</td>
<td>Supermarket quality and cost pressures for skilled female labour</td>
<td>Women’s access to work opportunities outside grapes Changes in gendered norms</td>
<td>Difference based on generation, bargaining position, migrant/local status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td><strong>Waged work</strong>&lt;br&gt;Skilled but less remunerated&lt;br&gt;<strong>Unwaged Work</strong>&lt;br&gt;skilled but unremunerated</td>
<td>Intensifying quality and cost pressures Shifting markets</td>
<td>Economic Crisis&lt;br&gt;Gendered austerity measures Experience of greater economic empowerment</td>
<td>Difference based on generation, bargaining position, migrant/local status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Created by the Author

The table indicates that the changes in waged and unwaged work are non-linear and reflect the co-existence of continuity and change between the three periods. This is also reflected in the ‘commercial drivers’ and ‘societal drivers’ columns in the diagram. The interaction between commercial and societal drivers is characterised by tensions, and these played out differently for women, depicted in the ‘outcomes’ column in the diagram.

The themes that come up from the cross-period analysis as depicted in the table are: a) the changes in the skills of women and how they are valued across the three periods, b) the shifts in economic opportunities and how they are conditioned
commercially and societally across the three periods, c) shifts in women’s bargaining position across periods as a result of commercial and societal changes and d) how these shifts play out for different women through different labour agency outcomes. I will discuss each of these themes in this chapter in detail. Below I will discuss the first two themes which relate to shifts in waged and unwaged work over time and later on in the chapter I will discuss themes c and d.

8.2.1. The shifts in women’s skills and economic opportunities across three periods

There have been major changes in the skills of women and how they were valued in the table grapes export sector between the three periods. As table 8.1 depicts while in the period of the producer-led export market women’s work in table grapes was unskilled and undervalued in the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion it became more skilled and hence more valued (i.e. more recognised through waged work and contribution to quality enhancement). This is reflected in the shift towards a much more rigid gender division of labour in periods 2 and 3 as compared to period 1, illustrated in Table 8.2 below. The table shows that in periods 2 and 3 the work tasks increased due to the enhanced quality requirements and shift in table grape variety. As the table illustrates, women were involved in the skilled quality enhancing tasks in periods 2 and 3 while men were involved in the tasks that required muscular strength.
Table 8.2 Shifts in gender division of labour across three periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tasks</th>
<th>Gender P1</th>
<th>Gender P2 and P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digging</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pruning</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking down the branches</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting the branches</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tying of the branches</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application of Fertilisers</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pesticide/herbicide application</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application of gibberellic acid</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoot thinning</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit thinning</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedging</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaf pulling</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdling</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvesting</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Removal of rotten berries at harvest</td>
<td>Female/male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport of harvested grapes to truck</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport of grapes to packing line</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packing</td>
<td>Female/male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagging</td>
<td>Female/male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palletising</td>
<td>Female/male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport to pre-cooling</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s Research.
The changing requirements of consumer-focused supermarket GPNs increased the range of skilled functions that added to value creation, which women were increasingly employed to undertake, contributing to greater recognition of their work. Hence waged economic opportunities increased for women in period 2 due to the need for female skilled labour in table grapes. In the period of crisis supermarket pressures for lower costs intensified, making women’s waged work precarious and less remunerated. Hence, recognition of the value of women’s waged work was undermined by the crisis. Unwaged work in table grapes increased as compared to period 2 due to the increased need of farm households for skilled female labour at even lower costs. At the same time however, quality requirements became more stringent and hence the pressure for female skilled labour persisted. Hence unwaged work was better recognised than in period 1 due to the importance of skills, albeit still unpaid.

These findings across periods are supported by my empirical analysis in chapters 5-7 which explained that commercial drivers played a key role in these transformations. My finding of the integration of women into skilled waged work following the expansion of supermarkets in chapter 6 supports other studies and wider gendered analysis of women’s integration into export agriculture. These have also shown that women were considered better in these tasks than men because they were considered to have ‘natural’ manual dexterity, patience and aesthetic skills due to their biological role as mothers and their socially ascribed role as carers and housewives (Elson and Pearson, 1981; Barrientos et al, 1999; Dolan, 2004; Dolan and Sorby, 2003). In addition, feminist literature explored how female labour often bore the costs of global competition and commercial pressures (Pearson and Elson, 1981; Kabeer, 1997; Dolan, 2004; Dolan and Sorby, 2003; Barrientos and Kritzinger, 2004). My analysis of the crisis contributes to this literature by exploring how this process intensified in a period of crisis through the ‘gendered precarisation’ and scarcity of waged work and the increase in the use of unwaged female labour. Moreover, my analysis of changing production networks across periods contributes to this literature by highlighting changes within commercial production networks.
and their gender implications in terms of non-linear shifts in women’s work and agency.

My empirical findings from Archanes show that changing gendered societal relations also played a role in shaping women’s skills and economic opportunities across three periods. This issue has not received sufficient attention in the newly emerging gender GPN literature (Barrientos, 2013; 2014) that often gives more emphasis on the effects of commercial changes on gender relations through exploring the impact of supermarket strategies on gender relations in sourcing countries. It has yet to explore the shifts in gendered norms and institutions where female labour is embedded. Through the concept of gendered societal embeddedness in GPNs and taking a cross-period lens I was able to unpack how gendered societal norms and relations also shape commercial processes. My findings indicate that gendered societal relations underwent important shifts across periods which reinforced the enhanced skills and economic opportunities of women in the periods of the buyer-led GPN as compared to the producer-led export market. For example while in period 1 gendered norms were deeply embedded in households, in period 2 shifts in gendered societal norms and institutions including the abolition of arranged marriages and dowry opened up economic opportunities for women beyond the table grapes export sector. In period 3 however, the Greek economic crisis and austerity measures led to a contraction of off-farm work options for women outside grapes.

The interaction between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations in a process of change often involved tensions which led to non-linear shifts in women’s waged and unwaged work across the three periods. This is something that the GPN literature has been unable to explore, lacking a gender analysis of changing production networks. The tensions between commercial and societal drivers are reflected in my findings. In the period of the producer-led export market although work in table grapes was unskilled, commercial requirements offered women the economic opportunity to work as waged packers which challenged the deeply embedded gendered norms and gendered productive/reproductive divisions in
Archanes. In the period of buyer-led GPN expansion however gendered norms changed and women were increasingly able to access off-farm economic opportunities. This reflects the tensions between commercial requirements for low cost female labour and changing gendered societal norms. In the period of crisis gendered norms re-surfaced as reflected in the increased use of unwaged work in farms. However, unwaged work was now skilled compared to unskilled work in period 1. Tensions therefore continued in this period between commercial production networks and persisting gendered societal norms, creating pushes and pulls in women’s recognition of skills and access to economic opportunities. Through an analysis of gendered societal embeddedness across three periods I was able to uncover these shifts.

Hence, a cross-period analysis shows that there are tensions between commercial drivers of GPNs and gendered societal norms, reflected in non-linear shifts in waged and unwaged work. However, the relationship between them has changed in GPN even under crisis, because the tasks required are now more skilled, and the pressure for skill has not dissipated, even though pressure of economic crisis means women are not being remunerated for it. So tensions mean that there is no return to period 1 (producer-led export period). This reflects a process of transformation and change that is non-linear, and could change again in future. This gives insights onto complex processes of societal change as GPNs evolve that the GPN literature (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Barrientos, 2013) (has so far been unable to explore, focusing on one period. It also suggests that gendered societal embeddedness in GPNs is not static but changes as a result of constant tensions and pushes and pulls between commercial and societal relations, hence contributing to the evolving Gendered GPN literature (Barrientos, 2014). I will examine this in more detail in section 8.4.

My Gendered GPN analysis of cross-period change in women’s waged and unwaged work enables me to capture the dynamics of women’s labour agency in shifting production networks. I will now analyse this theme.
8.3 The shifts in women’s labour agency across three periods

There were significant changes in women’s labour agency across the three periods of the table grape production system as a result of the shifting interaction between commercial requirements and gendered societal relations. Women’s actions, aspirations and ability to make independent choices on work changed over time. Overall in the period of the producer-led export market women’s labour agency was weak and in the period of GPN expansion it significantly improved, often equipping women to adapt to the crisis. Therefore labour agency becomes more important as a means of shaping women’s position in GPNs than in the producer-led export market.

However, labour agency is not homogeneous in changing production networks. Changing commercial and societal relations played out differently for women throughout the three periods. The empirical findings indicate that although multiple factors were at play, three main factors influenced women’s labour agency outcomes: women’s bargaining position and their generation a. I will examine each of these below from a cross-period lens. My Gendered GPN analysis (explained in chapter 3) that explores analytically shifting bargaining relations as underpinned by changes in commercial and societal relations enables me to capture difference for women through their fall-back positions in each period and across different groups.

8.3.1 Difference based on bargaining position across three periods

The shifts in waged and unwaged work that were outlined in the previous section had major implications for the bargaining position of women across the three periods. Commercial drivers enhanced women’s bargaining position in the buyer-led as compared to the producer-led periods. The increased skills and economic opportunities in waged work improved women’s ability to bargain as workers. The improved economic opportunities offered women the chance to work for a wage,
and offered fall-back positions in terms of work which women used to strengthen their bargaining position in the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion. Women often had the option to take on alternative work which allowed them to take more risks. In a period of crisis the increased importance of women’s skills enabled them to bargain even as unwaged labour. The major commercial driver that led to these shifts over time is the shift to a buyer-led GPN. Societal drivers also played a role in enhancing women’s bargaining position in the ‘buyer-led’ as compared to the ‘producer-led’ periods, reflecting the interplay between commercial and societal shifts in a non-linear way.

This analysis is supported by my empirical findings as detailed in chapters 5-7. In the first period of the producer-led export market the deeply ingrained gendered norms in the production process meant that the shift to small-scale land ownership reproduced women’s subordination through unwaged work for male producers. This relates to the feminist literatures discussed in chapter 3. They argued that women’s work was often socially undervalued in comparison to men’s work due to the association of women primarily with the sphere of reproduction (Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007; Sen, 1987). Hence, women did not have a strong bargaining position as workers. However, commercial requirements for unskilled labour in packing offered women the chance to work for a wage. This reflects the emerging tensions between commercial pressures and gendered societal norms that produced resilience labour agency outcomes for women.

In the period of buyer-led GPN despite the greater skill, and greater remuneration, waged work in table grapes was often still deemed low paid because it was female work (especially on-farm work where women were paid less than men) and therefore its full contribution was undervalued. This is supported by Elson and Pearson (1981) who argued that gendered societal norms and gendered divisions of labour attributed women to tasks that require detail and hand work, and are generally lower paid than the male tasks. Societal changes in the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion meant that women’s bargaining position improved from period 1. Women
often had a bigger say in the household and married from love, while dowry was abolished, with greater recognition of the role of women as breadwinners of their own. Moreover, women now had access to economic opportunities beyond table grapes. Hence, some women were able to opt out from gendered work in table grapes and fulfil their personal aspirations of work and independence. This demonstrates the tensions between commercial GPN requirements for female skilled labour at low costs and the enhanced labour agency of these women who were able to fulfil their aspirations of work.

In the period of crisis women often used their fall-back position as waged economic opportunities became scarce and precarious and were often pushed back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes, as explained in chapter 7. Certain pre-existing norms in the farm and the household re-surfaced but the gains in women’s agency from the period of GPN expansion helped them to retain some bargaining position in both the farm and the household. As chapter 7 argued, men were also affected by the crisis as many lost their jobs or became under-employed. However, women were often able to retain a wage through working in packing. The increased importance of their skills for quality enhancement meant that women had a bargaining position even as unwaged workers. Women’s bargaining position was better in the period of crisis compared to the earlier producer-led period because the commercial GPN dynamics required skilled work done by women. Therefore although there is a regression for women they do not fare the same as women in the earlier producer-led period. Women were often better able to adapt in the crisis than if the crisis occurred in the period of the producer-led export market. These findings contribute to the literature that explored gender relations in export agriculture (see Bee, 2000; Barrientos et al, 1999) by showing how gender roles and women’s position shifted in a period of crisis.

A cross-period analysis reveals that women in the period of crisis have experience of greater economic empowerment, and the need for their skills persists. However, embedded gendered norms continue to undermine the full appreciation of women’s
role. Hence, tensions between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations persist under crisis. This is reflected in women’s ability to bargain even as unwaged labour, in ways they were not in a position to bargain in period 1. The cross-period analysis of gendered bargaining contributes to the intra-household bargaining literature (Agarwal, 1997; Sen, 1987) by showing transitions over time in women’s bargaining position as unpaid workers, and highlighting the blurring between productive and reproductive spheres through understanding the household as a sphere of both productive and reproductive work.

I thus argue that labour agency over three periods has ebbs and flows. Women’s labour agency in crisis reduced from period 2 but did not retreat to period 1. This demonstrates non-linear transitions in women’s labour agency across periods. Hence, it offers insights into labour agency in changing GPNs from a gender lens, contributing to the GPN literature (see for example Coe and Jordhus-Lier, 2010; Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Lund-Thompsen, 2013).

My Gendered GPN analysis as explained in chapter 3 has helped to shed light on these issues. It explores how women’s labour agency outcomes are shaped by gendered bargaining over work, thus uncovering the complex power relations and power contestation in the interaction between commercial and societal relations at different levels and how it plays out for women. The concept of gendered societal embeddedness helps to analyse this interaction that underpins women’s agency. The concept of the fall-back position has illuminated analysis of the tensions between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations through women’s agency. Hence, my analysis illuminates the interaction and mutual constitution between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations demonstrated through women’s agency as a dynamic and constitutive force. I will elaborate more on this on sections 8.4 and 8.5.
8.3.2 Difference based on generation across periods

Another important theme that came out from cross-period analysis is the inter-generational differences in women’s labour agency outcomes across different periods. There are differences between women of older generation (in their 50s-60s at the time of fieldwork) and women of younger generation (in their 30s and 40s at the time of fieldwork) in their bargaining position and agency outcomes. These differences show in part the inter-generational differences in gendered societal relations, and in part how the changing interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations played out differently for women, with generation being an influencing factor.

The increased divergence between older and younger generation women’s strategies demonstrate that processes of change have not been smooth but constitute backwards and forwards flows. They represent the co-existence of continuity and change in gendered societal norms and relations and form both constraints and opportunities for women. They hence reflect processes of transition across periods. A cross-period analysis thus highlights complex and non-linear forms of change that the GPN literature (see Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Barrientos, 2013) has been unable to explore, lacking a gender analysis of commercial transformations.

The following table shows the differences in older and younger women’s primary and fall-back positions across the three periods based on the majority of older and younger generation women I interviewed. As I have indicated tensions persisted and therefore not all women followed the following work strategies. The table indicates that younger generation women had more available alternative work opportunities than the older generation women, and hence had a better fall-back position in the buyer-led GPN expansion period, while in the period of crisis they were often better able to have a wage. The changes in women’s fall-back position between older and younger generation women across periods demonstrates the shifting relationship between waged and unwaged work as GPNs evolve, with women utilising work
differently to improve their bargaining position in response to commercial and societal shifts.

Table 8.3: Inter-generational differences in women's primary and fall-back work across three periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Period 1: Producer-led market</th>
<th>Period 2: Buyer-led GPN expansion</th>
<th>Period 3: Crisis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Unwaged</td>
<td>Older: waged work in table grapes</td>
<td>Older: unwaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Younger: waged off-farm</td>
<td>Younger: waged in table grapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallback</td>
<td>Waged packing (secondary)</td>
<td>Older: unwaged</td>
<td>Older: waged in table grapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No fallback</td>
<td>Younger: waged and/or unwaged in table grapes</td>
<td>Younger: unwaged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author

This is supported by the empirical findings as developed in chapters 5-7. Chapter 5 has demonstrated that there were no significant disparities between younger and older generation women in the period of the producer-led export market due to the gendered norms that pervaded the household and the farm and the absence of economic opportunities for women outside the grapes sector, putting limits to women’s labour agency.

Inter-generational differences became visible in the period of GPN expansion as both commercial and societal relations were undergoing processes of transition. Chapter 6 showed that their identity as skilled workers helped older generation
women to bargain to secure better employment rights. In addition, their skilled unwaged work in the farms often offered a fall-back position which strengthened their bargaining position with their employers as chapter 6 explained. Hence, the labour agency outcomes for these women involved a greater choice over work and reworking of their position through obtaining a wage and recognition of their work. However, gendered norms persisted among some older generation women, reflected in women who remained unwaged labour. As chapter 6 explained this demonstrates that gendered norms often persisted despite the shifts in laws that acknowledged farm women as farmers in their own right, with right to own and manage land. This finding has not been explored in the gender GPN literature seen in chapter 3. It does not sufficiently unpack wider societal changes in which female labour in GPNs is embedded, lacking an analysis of changing gendered societal embeddedness and of cross-period shifts. This finding is significant because it highlights the co-existence of continuity and change across periods within gendered societal relations as an integral component of gendered production networks.

Younger generation women often experienced greater changes in gendered societal norms. They were often better able to access higher education and off-farm opportunities outside grapes. They were thus better able to challenge the gendered division of labour and intensification of work in packing and the unremunerated work in the farm. Given better alternatives, they often moved out of work in table grapes altogether. These women therefore had more aspirations and this enabled them to be more active and risk-taking than older generation women. In addition, they had a stronger fall-back position that older generation women because they had more work options available to them outside table grapes. Thus, in the period of GPN expansion there was a gradual move towards continual reworking of gendered power relations as societal norms improved and commercial changes evolved. The enhanced labour agency of younger women highlights change in addition to continuity within gendered production networks.
In the period of crisis women were often pushed back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes, as chapter 7 has shown. Younger women were often better equipped to make independent decisions on their work than older women who were still in some ways attached to the family farm. For older women sustaining the family farm was often the first priority, and they often preferred to bargain within the farm as they built their position throughout the years. The increased importance of their skilled unwaged work enabled them to bargain in the farm in the period of crisis. The older generation women who also had a wage from packing had increased leverage because their wage became more important for the household in the crisis. Many younger women were able to have waged work in the crisis, while others went back to unwaged work in the farm and used their skills as leverage. These findings on inter-generational differences in a period of crisis are significant because they demonstrate continuity and change as a key component of gendered production networks in a process of change. This shows the dynamic character of gendered societal relations as underpinned by difference in women’s work and labour agency. It hence contributes to the GPN and feminist bodies of literature that often see gendered societal relations in a static fashion.

8.3.3 Shifts in the use of migrant and local labour

Across periods there were changes in the use of migrant and local labour. Following the expansion of supermarkets there was an increased need for female labour hands. Younger generation local women however, often preferred to work off-farm outside grapes. Hence, migrant female labour was brought in to fill the labour gap as cheap skilled labour. In the period of crisis however migrant women were being pushed out as higher skilled local labour was now supplied at lower costs.

Societal drivers also reinforced the distinction between migrant and local labour across periods. The state appeared to be playing a crucial role in this. The lack of labour law enforcement contributed to the use of uninsured migrant labour, making work precarious for migrant women. In the period of crisis the austerity measures
played a key role in making work precarious for all women workers. These findings show the persistence of gendered norms and institutions that facilitated a continued supply of female skilled labour at low costs in changing production networks. This contributes to the GPN literatures that lack an analysis of continuity and change in gender societal relations over time.

It is important to mention at this point that although it is not the specific focus of this research (it was considered as part of gendered societal embeddedness) the role of the state came out as playing an important role in affecting women’s role and agency in changing GPNs. The state therefore has agency of its own, which also undergoes non-linear transitions over time. While in period 1 the state did not acknowledge women’s equal role in society and the farm, in period 2 policy shifted towards promoting greater gender equality through acknowledging farm women as farmers in their own right able to own land and to participate in the agricultural cooperatives. Moreover, labour law protected the rights of local workers at the expense of those of migrant labour, fostering difference between migrant and local female labour. In the period of crisis the austerity policies of the successive governments as determined by the Memorandum of Understanding ensured the protection of the rights of exporters over those of workers and contributed to the ‘gendered precarisation’ and vulnerability of waged work. The role of the state in changing GPNs can hence be an important area for future research, and I highlight this in the concluding chapter of the thesis.

8.4 Shifting gendered societal embeddedness across three periods

These major shifts in waged and unwaged work and gendered bargaining that led to different labour agency outcomes for women, I contend in this thesis, are a result of the tensions between commercial drivers and gendered societal relations across three periods. I bring together in this section the interaction between the commercial dynamics of the GPN, waged-unwaged work relationship and women’s labour
agency outcomes as depicted in diagram 8.1 at the introduction of the chapter to explore changes in gendered societal embeddedness across periods.

A cross-period analysis demonstrates non-linear changes within commercial production networks. Commercial dynamics of the GPN are under flux. This is demonstrated through the effects of the global economic crisis on supermarkets and on commercial bargaining relationships within the network. It is also shown through the shifting trade dynamics as a result of rise of the BRICS (Brazil, India, China and Russia). The commercial changes as a consequence of the rise of emerging economies have also been documented by recent research (Gereffi, 2014; Barrientos and Visser, 2012). UK supermarkets visiting Archanes is a reflection of this as explained in Chapter 7. This enabled producers to export on their own without intermediaries by forming teams. My research hence throws further light on changing commercial dynamics within production networks that the GPN approach has recently started to explore.

Moreover, this research also shows non-linear changes within gendered societal relations. There is a persistence of gendered societal norms across the three periods alongside changes in norms and relations. This shows that continuity co-exists with change. For example, chapters 5-7 have demonstrated the persistence of the gendered nature of the cooperatives and land ownership despite improvements across the three periods. The gendered nature of cooperatives reflects Elson’s (1999) and Beneria’s (2007) point regarding gendered institutions. My analysis contributes to the gendered institutions literature by showing how cooperatives are also gendered institutions and by demonstrating how they shift over time, involving both continuity and change. The finding of non-linear shifts in gendered societal relations is a contribution to the GPN literature that often views commercial relations as more dynamic than societal relations.
Because both commercial and societal relations underwent non-linear changes over time the interaction between the two was characterised by tensions. Tensions between commercial requirements and gendered societal relations emerged in period 1 through women’s unskilled waged work in table grapes. In the period of buyer-led GPN tensions intensified in part from the persistence of gendered norms from one period to the next and in part from commercial and societal pressures within GPNs. There were thus pushes and pulls in the interaction between commercial and societal forces seen through the different labour agency outcomes that were influenced by generation and bargaining position. In the crisis the nature of the gendered societal embeddedness changed once more as tensions escalated due to the shifts within and between commercial and societal relations. The GPN therefore continued to be embedded in societal forces in the crisis as is shown through the complex interactions between commercial and societal dynamics; albeit the nature of this embeddedness changed. The concept of gendered societal embeddedness from a cross-period lens has helped to explore analytically these shifts.

A significant theoretical implication of this analysis is that gendered societal embeddedness is not static but is dynamic and embodies tensions, and also shifts over time. It demonstrates that neither the commercial dynamics nor the gendered societal relations are static but rather are in a constant process of change. Hence, my Gendered GPN analysis contributes to the GPN literature and feminist literatures (Coe et al, 2008; Beneria, 2007; Barrientos, 2014) through capturing the dynamics of gendered societal embeddedness.

Another significant finding of the thesis was that gendered societal relations in a process of change also influence commercial transitions. This is reflected through the effects of women’s labour agency on the GPN. The preference of younger generation women to work outside table grapes led to shortages of skilled labour for the exporters as explained in chapter 6. As Carswell and de Neve (2013) however argue, ‘not only does labour have agency; capital strategizes too. Capital’s agency is, in part at least, a response to ever-changing supplies and demands of labour’ (p.
Exporters and often producers responded to the reduced supply of labour by employing female migrant labour to replace the work done previously by local female labour. Employing female migrant labour was a strategy to keep labour costs down while keeping a balance with quality. In the period of crisis younger women who lost their off-farm work often went to work in table grapes to earn a wage, demonstrating that they exercised agency to adapt to the crisis. The return of local women to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes in the crisis led to a supply of skilled labour at lower costs. This means that ultimately companies were still able to get female skilled labour at low costs.

Hence, the persistence of gendered norms also had a significant influence on the commercial production network. This is also shown through the shift to producer initiatives in the period of crisis. They often offered economic opportunities in packing for women. These initiatives however remained largely gendered as I explained in chapter 7, reflecting a continued supply of female skilled labour at low cost. This finding could only be derived through a cross-period gendered analysis of shifting GPNs that captures continuity and change over time. The theoretical implication of this finding for my Gendered GPN analysis is that gendered societal embeddedness also involves mutual constitution between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations.

8.5 Developing and enriching a Gendered GPN approach

The cross-period analysis has theoretical implications for my gender GPN analysis presented in chapter 3 and helps me to further advance it and contribute to developing a Gendered GPN approach that Barrientos (2014) initiated. Hence in this section I answer the second part of the overall research question which addresses the implications of the shifts in women’s work across periods on gender and GPN analysis. I first seek to theorise the complex transformations across periods to then probe their theoretical implications in terms of advancing theoretical enquiry beyond current knowledge.
8.5.1 Theorising gendered transformations in shifting GPNs

The cross-period analysis demonstrates that both commercial and gendered societal relations are undergoing complex processes of transition and the interaction between the two is characterised by tensions and mutual constitution, affecting women and men differently. Changing production networks therefore produce complex, non-linear change in gender relations, characterised by continuity and change. I seek to grasp these findings theoretically with the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’. I define gendered societal transitions as *the changing interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a process of transition, producing shifts that play out differently for women.*

Analysis across different periods has shown that these transitions affect women differently with important influencing factors being their generation and bargaining position. This reflects the continuity and change in gendered societal norms and the uneven character of change. Change involves backwards and forwards flows and tensions as GPNs evolve and this is captured by my concept of gendered societal transitions. Hence, gendered societal transitions incorporate:

- **Tensions:** Pushes and pulls in gendered societal relations and commercial production networks *within* different periods.

- **Gendered shifts:** Major shifts *across* three periods in the interaction between commercial and societal changes underpinned by shifts in women’s work and agency.

- **Difference:** Shifts played out differently for women. The findings show that generation and bargaining position played a role in producing different outcomes for women.
The concept of gendered societal transitions constitutes a theoretical as well as an empirical contribution of the thesis because it captures complex and constitutive processes of change as GPNs evolve. The GPN (see Lund-Thompsen, 2013; Carswell and De Neve, 2013) and gender GPN (Barrientos, 2014) literatures have been unable to explore societal transitions. I hence contribute to these bodies of literature through capturing both commercial and societal transitions, their interaction and gendered nature and how this plays out for different women, thus offering a much more ‘dynamic’ perspective on change than the existing literature.

My Gendered GPN analysis detailed in chapter 3 offered important insights on exploring the gender implications of changing production networks in terms of gendered societal transitions. My analysis brings together and draws from the GPN, feminist political economy and intra-household bargaining literatures to create a multi-level analysis of gendered bargaining and its implications on women’s labour agency. A gendered analysis of societal embeddedness drawing from Beneria (2007) and Barrientos (2014) has helped to explore the power asymmetries between men and women in the export sector and the tensions between commercial and societal relations. A cross-period lens helped to explore how tensions evolved in changing production networks. Through incorporating the household as a level of gendered societal embeddedness I was able to unpack women’s labour agency and understand it as the outcome of complex bargaining processes, hence dynamic and shifting. This finding resembles McNay’s (2000) feminist conception of agency (explained in Chapter 3) as historically specific and changing. Incorporating the concept of fall-back position into this analysis helped me to explore the gender implications of changing production networks in terms of what the fall-back positions for women are in each period and across different groups. Through exploring shifts in commercial-societal bargaining relations at different levels I was able to capture shifts in commercial and societal relations and the tensions that underpinned them. Hence, I was able to view gendered societal embeddedness not as fixed but as changing over time, embodying dynamic bargaining processes and tensions, thus further advancing Beneria’s (2007) concept from a GPN perspective.
The analysis of gendered societal transitions has important theoretical implications. In the next section I will build up my advancement of the Gendered GPN approach by going back and re-visiting key concepts in my gender analysis as explained in chapter 3.

8.5.2 Re-visiting the concept of gendered societal embeddedness

In light of my analysis of gendered societal transitions I re-visit the concept of gendered societal embeddedness to capture the dynamic interaction between commercial and gendered societal relations in a process of transition. I explore how understanding gendered societal embeddedness in a more dynamic fashion can help capture the complex processes of interaction between commercial GPN dynamics and gendered societal relations in shaping shifts in women’s position, hence further nuancing and developing a Gendered GPN approach. It is therefore important to reflect back to my theoretical analysis in chapter 3 and to explore how the findings help to inform it further.

My analysis across three periods shows that the nature of the relationship between commercial and gendered societal forces is complex, characterised by tensions, pushes and pulls but also mutual constitution. Gendered societal transitions across periods are a result of the influence of the shifting commercial dynamics of production networks and their interaction with gendered societal relations across three periods. Therefore, they are a result of the dynamics of shifting gendered societal embeddedness. This brings important implications for the concept of societal embeddedness in GPNs, and taking a gender perspective, the concept of gendered societal embeddedness in a Gendered GPN approach.

Going back to chapter 3, the concept of gendered societal embeddedness captures how global production is embedded in gendered social norms and institutions across places. This reflects the interaction between commercial production networks and
gendered societal relations but in a ‘static’ fashion. In order to theoretically capture gendered societal transitions the concept of gendered societal embeddedness is understood as ‘the shifting interplay between the gendered commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs’. The gendered commercial dynamics include bargaining and power negotiation and contestation between actors in the GPN including supermarkets, exporters, producers and women workers that affect the gendered labour and production processes. The gendered societal dynamics of GPNs include among others women’s labour agency, shifting gendered norms and institutions, women’s labour bargaining and fall-back positions, intra-household relations and wider societal changes such as crises that impact on the production and labour processes. The interaction between commercial and societal dynamics is multi-layered, spanning from the firm to the society to the household. The household therefore is an important level of analysis that needs to be considered in a Gendered GPN approach as chapter 3 argued. This conceptualisation of gendered societal embeddedness captures its dynamic and shifting nature.

It also captures the mutual constitution of commercial production networks and gendered society. Commercial and societal dynamics are viewed as two different dimensions of the GPN rather than two separate entities. A more dynamic conceptualisation of societal embeddedness contributes to the GPN literature (Coe et al, 2008; Henderson et al, 2002) that tends to focus more on how commercial relations affect society rather than their mutual interaction. This limits the analysis of the shifting dynamics of this relationship. A cross-period analysis has helped to elucidate these processes of change. Taking a gender lens, advancing the concept of gendered societal embeddedness contributes to the feminist literature (Barrientos, 2014; Beneria, 2007; Dolan, 2004) by capturing the processes of transition in gendered societal relations and their mutual interaction with shifting commercial relations. This brings important theoretical implications for the concept of labour agency as non-linear and diverse across periods, and constitutive rather than merely reactive of commercial processes.
8.5.3 Conceptualising women’s labour agency in gendered societal transitions

The empirical analysis across three periods has led to the analytical implication of the concept of gendered societal transitions which captures transformations in gendered societal relations as underpinned by shifts in women’s work and agency. The above analysis brings some important implications for theorising women’s labour agency in changing GPNs that moves beyond the three-fold conceptualisation of resilience, reworking and resistance outcomes used so far in the thesis in order to sufficiently capture gendered societal transitions. It is important to reflect back to the labour agency concepts used in chapter 3 and to explore how the findings help to inform it further.

Women’s labour agency was understood in chapter 3 as three-fold: resilience, reworking or resistance, drawing from Katz’s (2004) three-fold typology of responses to social change. The typology of Katz was taken up by labour geographers who used it to conceptualise labour agency in global production (see Cumbers et al, 2010; Coe and Jordhus-Lier, 2010; Franz, 2010). Chapter 3 argued that this typology of labour agency was used in this research to understand the different outcomes of bargaining for different women. This theorisation deepens the understanding of the labour agency of women workers in table grape production. It does not however tell the whole story of women’s labour agency in a process of transition in Archanes. The analysis across the three periods of the changing relationship between the commercial dynamics of the GPN, waged-unwaged work and the labour agency of women demonstrates that this conceptualisation of agency although useful to capture the different outcomes for women, is not sufficient to understand women’s complex and diverse strategies in a context of constant change.

The GPN literature (see for example Lund-Thompsen, 2013; Carswell and De Neve, 2013) often sees the interaction between commercial pressures and societal relations in a ‘static’ fashion through emphasizing more the effects of commercial change on labour, often portraying labour agency as reactive or responsive to change. Society
is itself under flux and interacts with changing commercial dynamics of the GPN, bringing in a whole different dynamic of change through constant pushes and pulls between commercial dynamics and labour agency. The resilience-reworking-resistance framework of labour agency explores labour agency in societal change but does not capture labour agency in societal transitions. Hence, the resilience-reworking-resistance typology explained in chapter 3 although valuable to capture the different outcomes for labour is not sufficient to understand workers’ complex and diverse strategies in a context of constant change. In addition, it does not incorporate a gender lens to unpack women’s labour agency as influenced by embedded and changing gendered societal norms and relations.

Talking a gender perspective I look at women’s strategies across periods, highlighting a more dynamic character of labour agency, hence looking at the shifts in the dynamics of gendered production networks. Women’s labour agency is understood as embedded in both commercial power dynamics of GPNs and wider changing societal relations including gendered societal norms and institutions and household relations. There is a constant renegotiation of women’s position as shifts in commercial and societal relations evolve, which means that women’s labour agency is not linear but witnesses pushes and pulls across periods. These processes of change relate to my concept of gendered societal transitions. Hence, women’s reworking in period 2 (buyer-led GPN expansion) may not be the same as women’s reworking in period 3 (crisis) as the circumstances have changed for women.

As I argued in chapter 3, women’s labour agency outcomes are a result of complex and changing labour bargaining strategies by women in the household and in the productive sphere under changing circumstances. The three-fold conceptualisation often does not reflect these complex and changing bargaining relationships. Hence, I seek to better integrate gendered bargaining relations within a conceptualisation of women’s labour agency outcomes to better understand the dynamics of changing women’s labour agency in gendered societal transitions. Hence I argue that across the three periods women actively participate in (re)shaping the waged-unwaged
labour relationship through constantly (re)negotiating their position as workers. To better capture these more dynamic strategies of women and their multi-faceted dimensions laid out above I introduce the concepts of *dynamic reworking* and *adaptive reworking*.

- **Dynamic reworking** I define as ‘strategies of women to improve their work position using the changes in the interaction between commercial and societal dynamics of the GPN as leverage’. Women in the period of GPN expansion carried out dynamic reworking because they used the shifts within and between the waged and unwaged work as leverage to improve their position. Dynamic reworking also brings out the dimension of continuous performing of agency in a context where change is not smooth but with constant tensions. Dynamic reworking is therefore much more powerful than resilience, reworking or resistance because it is continuous and evolving across periods, affecting the labour and production dynamics of the GPN. This echoes McNay’s (2000, p. 4) feminist conception of agency (explained in Chapter 3) as much more than resistance to dominant norms but rather as affecting change in them. There are tensions however also within dynamic reworking, as illustrated through differences between generations in women’s bargaining position and agency.

- **Adaptive reworking** is the ‘vigorous adapting of women’s labour agency strategies based on adverse circumstances deriving from the interaction between the commercial and societal dynamics of the GPN’. It highlights how women adapt their strategies to improve their position in a changing context, particularly in times of crises. Adaptive reworking was done by women in the period of crisis as they often used their fall-back position. Younger generation women are often more adaptive than older generation women because they were less restrained by gendered societal norms, had a stronger fall-back position and they were often more risk-taking than older generation women. Older generation women in the crisis often preferred to stay within their established sphere and further improved their position exercising their agency. Hence, there were tensions also in women’s adaptive
reworking strategies, also reflected in female migrant workers who were often less adaptive as they did not have a local fall-back work.

By introducing the concepts of dynamic reworking and adaptive reworking I aim to ‘perceive the agency of capital and labour as bound up in a dialectical totality rather than perceiving capital as the dominating actor over a passive or responsive labour’ (Cumbers et al, 2010, p. 67). Cumbers et al (2010) do not have a gender analysis to unpack the gender dimensions of this. My concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking reflect the constant interplay between commercial and gendered societal relations in a process of transition through women’s changing labour agency outcomes. The concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking are thus able to capture not just gendered societal change but also gendered societal transitions. They also capture the tensions in the process through shifting strategies of women based on their constraints and changing circumstances. The concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking reflect my analysis of commercial and gendered societal dynamics as two different dimensions of the GPN rather than two separate entities and the tensions that characterise them.

I thus contribute to the GPN literature (Coe et al, 2008) through capturing the dynamic and constitutive nature of labour agency in contemporary GPNs from a gender lens. Workers are thus embedded in wider gendered societal relations that are in a process of change, something which the literature does not sufficiently unpack. Hence women’s agency is dynamic, adaptive and has ebbs and flows. This is reflected in my concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking. I thus help to advance knowledge of the tensions between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a transitionary process and how they play out for women through different labour agency outcomes.
8.5.4. Bringing it all together: advancing the Gendered GPN approach

My analysis of gendered societal transitions helps me to further develop and advance a Gendered GPN approach to better understand the dynamic and non-linear nature of women’s labour agency in contemporary GPNs. I hence bring together and contribute to the GPN, feminist political economy and intra-household bargaining literatures to capture the dynamic interaction and mutual constitution between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a process of transition.

The GPN literature (Coe et al, 2008; Henderson et al, 2002) explores commercial-societal bargaining relations but often sees the interaction between commercial pressures and societal relations in a ‘static’ fashion, hence views societal embeddedness as static. In addition, with a few exceptions (Yung and Coe, 2014) it explores bargaining relationships within GPNs but not outside, and how these relate to GPN bargaining. As a result, labour agency is often portrayed as reactive or responsive to change. Hence, the resilience-reworking-resistance typology explained in chapter 3 although is valuable to capture the different outcomes for labour is not sufficient to understand workers’ complex and diverse strategies in a context of constant change. I contribute to this literature through understanding commercial and societal relations as two different dimensions of the GPN rather than two separate entities. A cross-period lens helps me to capture non-linear transitions in this interaction. I hence understand societal embeddedness as the shifting commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs. I develop a more integrated analysis of the interaction between bargaining relations within GPNs and outside through looking at labour bargaining in institutions and the household. This analysis helps me to understand labour agency in a more dynamic fashion and to explore transitions in labour agency. I develop the concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking to reflect this. Women are often more disadvantaged than men and their agency is affected by gendered societal norms. This is not sufficiently unpacked in the GPN literature, lacking a gender analysis. It is hence important to incorporate the
feminist literatures (Dolan, 2004; Elson, 1999; Beneria, 2007; Agarwal, 1997; Sen, 1987) to analyze embedded gendered societal relations within GPNs.

The evolving gender literature on GPNs (looks at the effects of commercial pressures on gendered societal relations but often does not sufficiently unpack the interaction between the two as it sees commercial relations as more dynamic and changing than gendered societal relations. I find that gendered societal relations are themselves under flux, affecting women’s agency. Women workers are thus embedded in wider gendered societal relations that are in a process of change.

Hence it is important to include a concept of gendered societal embeddedness, and enrich it to include its changing nature. Barrientos (2014) brings out this interaction, and I further unpack the dynamics of it. Conceptualizing gendered societal embeddedness as the shifting gendered commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs thus helps to analyse the tensions and pushes and pulls in this evolving interaction. This is underpinned by my gender analysis of commercial and societal bargaining at different levels. Hence, I unpack further how change is produced and the dynamics of this process. The concept of fall-back position drawing from the intra-household bargaining literature helps to analyse tensions in the interaction between commercial pressures and women’s labour agency. I hence give insights into how complex processes of non-linear transition have evolved and how women have experienced them differently. This helps to understand women’s labour agency as dynamic, adaptive and constitutive of GPNs. My concepts of dynamic and adaptive reworking from a gender lens reflect this.

The gender institutions and intra-household bargaining literatures analyze gendered societal norms and relations but do not unpack their relationship with commercial relations. This is complemented by the GPN approach. Moreover, they do not unpack how gendered norms and institutions evolve over time and how women’s bargaining and fall-back positions undergo transitions. Hence, through bringing the
different bodies of literature together and incorporating a cross-period lens I contribute to the development of a Gendered GPN approach. I capture contemporary gendered GPN dynamics that these different literatures on their own are unable to explore thus advancing knowledge of the complex processes under which women’s labour agency forms and evolves in GPNs.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together the empirical findings from each of the periods and drew out their analytical implications across the three periods of the table grape production network. Hence, in this chapter I drew on the empirical findings from the three periods to develop a cross-period analysis that informed gender GPN analysis through my concept of gendered societal transitions. Following from this, I further developed and enriched a Gendered GPN approach to capture complex gendered transformations as GPNs evolve. The chapter thus addressed the overall research question of the thesis: *How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis?*

The chapter has argued that there are shifts between commercial drivers of GPNs and gendered societal norms, reflected in the shifts between waged and unwaged work across three periods. But the relationship between them has changed in the GPN even under crisis because the tasks required are now more skilled, and the pressure for skill has not dissipated, even though pressure of economic crisis means women are not being remunerated for it. Recognition of women’s skills is transferred to enhancing their negotiating position as waged and/or unwaged workers in table grapes in crisis. Women in the period of crisis have often experience of greater economic empowerment, and the need for their skills persists, so tensions persist under crisis. The existence of tensions means that the women’s condition as unwaged workers is much different than that of women in the producer-led period. This change is reflected in women’s ability to bargain even in crisis, in
ways they were not in a position to bargain in period 1. Hence, labour agency becomes more important as a means of shaping women’s position in GPNs as compared to the producer-led market. Ultimately however companies can still get high quality at low costs through female labour. Hence, gendered societal relations also influence commercial transitions. Gendered societal transitions therefore reflect a process of transformation and change that is not linear, but is characterised by tensions and ebbs and flows, and could change again in future.

The main theoretical and empirical contribution of the thesis therefore is the investigation of gendered societal transitions across three periods. This illuminates analysis of contemporary dynamics of gendered GPNs other studies have been unable to explore. This analysis captures the dynamic and non-linear nature of women’s labour agency in GPNs. It contributes to the GPN, feminist and intra-household bodies of literature and further advances a Gendered GPN approach to capture commercial pressures and gendered societal relations as two different dimensions of the GPN rather than two separate entities. The GPN evolves as a result of this interaction.

This research, although based on a specific case study, can have broader implications to analysis of women’s work and agency in production networks beyond this case study. A Gendered GPN approach can be applied in studies beyond Archanes. There have been studies that suggest that having a fall-back position in terms of work strengthens women’s bargaining with their employers in the export sector beyond agriculture. Harrington (2004) has used the concept of fall-back position to explore the negotiating power of women garment workers in Fiji in relation to their employers. Harrington identified assets, work opportunities, support from NGOs, social support systems as potentially improving the fall-back position of female garment workers in case they lose their jobs. However, Harrington does not look into shifts in women’s agency and fall-back over time or from a production networks perspective. In contrast, I have explored the dynamics of this process, how they play out between waged and unwaged work and how they interact with shifting
commercial bargaining dynamics across three periods producing complex processes of gendered societal change. It would be interesting to see whether this also holds true in other sectors and countries but this can be the scope for further research. The final chapter sums up the main arguments and contributions of this thesis.
Chapter 9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the gender implications of changing production networks. Specifically it has explored shifting gender relations in table grape production with the rise and evolution of GPNs. I have done this through unpacking theoretically and empirically the shifting relationship between the commercial dynamics of GPNs, waged and unwaged work and women’s labour agency across three periods in the table grapes export sector in Archanes in Greece. This thesis has thus answered the following research question: How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis?

Throughout this thesis I have sought to answer the above research question first theoretically by developing a Gendered GPN analysis of changing power and bargaining between societal and commercial actors at different levels and then by empirically examining this relationship in the case of Archanes. Chapter 1 presented the aim, contribution and overview of the research and the overall structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 offered an overview of the major commercial shifts in table grapes that affected women and men in Archanes differently and introduced the three periods that incorporate these shifts. Chapter 3 addressed what extent the existing literature adequately captures the gendered effects of changes in production systems over time. Chapter 4 then presented the methodology for empirically investigating the key research question of the thesis. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 applied the theoretical lens of chapter 3 to offer the empirical investigation of the shifting relationship between waged and unwaged work and the implications to women’s labour agency in the table grapes export sector in Archanes. Each empirical chapter unpacked each of the three periods outlined in chapter 2. Chapter
picked up on these findings and developed a cross-period analysis to further advance a Gendered GPN approach.

This chapter summarises the main findings and contributions of the thesis. It first offers an overview of the main findings in answering the overall research question of the thesis, followed by the contribution of this research. The chapter then explores the policy implications that arise and the grounds for further research.

9.2 Key research findings

Throughout this thesis I have sought to answer the above overall research question both empirically and theoretically through answering each of the 5 research sub-questions. In this section I offer a summary of my key research findings for each research sub-question.

1: What are the major shifts over time in the table grapes export sector in Archanes?

In response to this question Chapter 2 argued that there were three major shifts in the table grapes export sector: the expansion of the producer-led export market from the 1950s following a shift to small-scale land ownership, the buyer-led production network following the expansion of supermarkets in the 1990s and the global economic crisis and Greek economic crisis that hit in 2008-2009. These shifts signified three separate periods in the table grapes export sector in Archanes. The period of the producer-led export market involved a table grapes export sector where small-scale producers had the advantage in the market over the numerous wholesaler buyers and participated in setting quality and price. Because there were no strict quality requirements work was unskilled in this period. In the period of the buyer-led GPN expansion power shifted towards the supermarket buyers which demanded high quality at low costs from their suppliers. Hence, work became skilled and waged opportunities expanded. In the period of crisis the economic crisis in Europe
and the austerity policies that followed in Greece led to the intensification of commercial pressures for high quality of grapes at low costs, and the contraction of the sector. These pressures affected labour and led to increased precariousness of work. The chapter concluded that there was a gap in our knowledge on the gender implications of these commercial shifts across periods that needed to be explored both theoretically and empirically.

2: To what extent does the GPN approach with its concept of societal embeddedness help to understand the gender implications of changing production networks?

With reference to the second research sub-question Chapter 3 argued that the GPN approach offers valuable insights into commercial transitions through its analysis of power relationships as underpinned by shifting bargaining relationships between the various actors that constitute the network. The concept of societal embeddedness of the GPN approach is illuminating for understanding how commercial production networks interact with societal relations, and hence how labour as a social actor has agency and power to bargain with commercial actors. However, the chapter has argued, the GPN approach often views commercial relations as more ‘dynamic’ than societal relations, and hence is not sufficient to explore the societal implications of changing production networks. Moreover, it does not have a gendered perspective and hence does not suffice to explore their gender implications.

Feminist political economy helps to engender analysis of power relations through understanding institutions including the labour market as gendered. However, it often does not unpack commercial relations. The newly emerging gender GPN literature unpacks commercial power relations and their gender dimension and the gender implications of commercial shifts but has yet to include an analysis of non-linear gender transformations as GPNs evolve. An evolving Gendered GPN approach integrates the GPN and feminist approaches to engender the concept of societal embeddedness and captures the influence of gendered societal norms and institutions on women and men in GPNs. Hence, it sheds light on exploring the interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal norms.
and institutions, but has yet to include an analysis of transition and transformation over time.

I contribute to the development of a Gendered GPN approach through a gendered analysis of changing commercial and societal bargaining at different levels of the GPN. Drawing from the intra-household bargaining literature I include the household as a level of gendered societal embeddedness where bargaining in table grapes takes place. Hence, I understand the household as a sphere of production that involves women’s unpaid work in grapes. I understand shifting bargaining relations at different levels as underpinned by the interplay between commercial and societal relations across three periods. These gendered bargaining relations produce labour agency-the outcomes for different women across periods. The chapter concluded that there were still questions on what the implications of shifting GPNs for women and men are and how this helps to inform gender and GPN analysis, which led us to the exploration of the first empirical research sub-question.

3: *How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change before the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency?*

In response to this research sub-question Chapter 5 found that following the shift to smallholder land ownership locals shifted from waged workers to farmers and a producer-led export market in table grapes expanded. However, women shifted from reserve army of waged workers accompanying their husbands to unwaged labour in the male-dominated table grape farms due to the deeply embedded gendered norms in Archanes. Gendered norms were characterised by the gendered productive/reproductive division, arranged marriages, dowry and the gendered nature of land ownership and of the agricultural cooperatives. However, commercial pressures required unskilled labour in packing at labour-intensive times of the year, leading to emerging tensions with gendered societal norms that associated women with the reproductive sphere.
The outcome of these tensions were that women often worked in waged work in packing but in unskilled work, that was secondary to their main duty as unwaged family labour in smallholder farms. The lack of alternative work options for women and the embedded gendered norms meant that women did not have a fall-back position and hence their bargaining position was weak. Their engagement in waged work however challenged the gendered productive/reproductive divisions of work and offered them a chance for socialisation and a wage. Hence, the outcome of these tensions was women’s resilience to gendered power relations in the producer-led table grape production system. This shows the emerging tensions between commercial requirements for unskilled work in the productive sphere and gendered societal norms and relations that led to pressures for women to work as unpaid labour in the farm and the household.

Hence, gendered societal embeddedness is not static but involves complex power relations and negotiation at different levels. A Gendered GPN analysis of bargaining relations within the export sector helped to analyse the evolving tensions between commercial and societal relations, highlighting processes of transition. Chapter 5 concluded that there was a gap on what the gender implications following the expansion of supermarkets are, which led us to the investigation of the next research question.

4: How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change after the expansion of European supermarkets and what were the implications for women’s labour agency?

In relation to this sub-question, it was argued in chapter 6 that from the 1990s onwards supermarkets captured the table grape market, shifting power away from the producers. Supermarkets exercised oligopolistic power over their suppliers and put pressure on them to supply grapes at high quality and low costs. These commercial pressures led to the use of female skilled labour at low cost as a key
component of the labour force. Packing and harvesting became key tasks that were central to the quality enhancement of the grape and were done mainly by women. The association of their productive work with their role in social reproduction meant that the work of women in grapes was often under-valued in comparison to men’s.

In this period there were also important societal changes, notably the increased access of women to land ownership, cooperative membership and collective organisation; the abolition of dowry and arranged marriages and the expansion of work opportunities for women outside grapes. These societal changes meant that women’s fall-back position improved and some were able to opt out from gendered work in table grapes to pursue better opportunities elsewhere. Hence, tensions between commercial pressures for skilled female labour and shifting gendered societal relations intensified following the expansion of the buyer-led GPN in table grapes.

These tensions played out differently for women. Older generation women witnessed a persistence of gendered norms from the producer-led period and had a weaker fall-back position than younger generation women. Waged work in grapes often offered them an opportunity to work for a wage and receive remuneration and recognition from their work. Some remained unpaid labour in farms but their skilled work and availability of waged work in grapes strengthened their bargaining position. Younger generation women experienced more strongly the shifts in gendered societal norms and had a stronger bargaining position than younger women. Hence, they often chose to opt out of table grapes altogether and work in better off-farm alternatives. As a consequence of this, migrant labour was brought in to fill the gap of female labour at low costs. Hence, tensions affected women differently and while multiple factors were at play, the chapter highlights the influence of generation and bargaining position in shaping different labour agency outcomes for women. These included reworking of power asymmetries and resistance to commercial/societal pressures.
The analytical implications of these findings are the pushes and pulls in gendered bargaining relations and women’s labour agency between the three periods and the persistence of continuity together with change in gendered societal relations. A Gendered GPN analysis of bargaining between commercial and societal actors and relations in a process of transition was able to highlight these issues that other studies taking a one-period analysis were unable to explore. The pushes and pulls and non-linear progression of women’s labour agency from one period to the next suggest that the resilience-reworking-resistance framework does not adequately capture the dynamic and adaptive dimensions of women’s labour agency across periods. Chapter 6 concluded that there is a gap on how women and men were affected in the period of crisis, which led us to explore the next research sub-question.

5: *How did the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work change in the period of crisis and what are the implications for women’s labour agency?*

Chapter 7 addressed this research sub-question. It argued that in the period of crisis commercial pressures for female skilled labour at low costs escalated as supermarkets, exporters and producers felt the effects of the economic crisis. Consumer practices in Europe changed and this led to increased competition among buyers, the increasing share of discounters and to a series of price cuts in supermarkets. The costs of this were borne by the suppliers who were pushed to supply at even lower prices than before. The economic crisis in Greece seriously affected the exporters and producers in Archanes, further compromising their bargaining position in relation to the buyers in this changing commercial environment. Liquidity was limited, leading to a spiral of indebtedness and payment delays among exporters, producers and workers. There was an overall contraction of the sector. Female labour constituted a ‘buffer’ to these risks and pressures and work became precarious, characterised by informality, insecurity, wage reductions, shortened working hours and delays in payment of wages.
The economic crisis also led to changes in gendered societal relations. Employment opportunities in table grapes and outside reduced and hence women’s fall-back position weakened in relation to period 2. The austerity measures in labour and social insurance laws that were introduced in response to the economic crisis were gendered as they disadvantaged women over men, contributing to the ‘gendered precarisation’ of waged work in table grapes. Gendered norms thus often re-surfaced in the period of crisis. However, women had greater experience of economic empowerment.

Hence, there were pressures for women to go back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes but not to go back to how women were in the period of the producer-led export market because the need for their skills persisted and they had experience of economic empowerment and improved agency. Women were able to have some bargaining position even as unwaged workers, because their skilled work was crucial to quality and to the survival of the table grape family farms as they helped to cut waged labour costs. Thus, women’s position as unpaid workers in the household was better than in the producer-led export market period. This leverage for women through skilled work at low cost demonstrates the persistence of tensions in a period of crisis.

These tensions played out differently for women. Older generation women experienced more strongly the re-surfacing of gendered societal norms than younger generation women, who were often more adaptive in the crisis. They were often better able to retain a wage in the period of crisis, and those that did not were better able to exercise their leverage to bargain as unpaid labour due to their experience of greater bargaining position and agency. Migrant women workers were often pushed out as local labour went back to waged work in table grapes. Hence, the findings show that again labour agency outcomes were different based on women’s generation and bargaining position among other factors. Chapter 7 concluded that there was still gap in our knowledge on the theoretical implications of these
findings, for which a cross-period analysis would provide useful insights. It hence led us to go back and address the overall research question of the thesis.

**Overall research question:** How has the relationship between women’s waged and unwaged work in the table grape GPN shifted across periods and what are the implications for gender and GPN analysis?

This research question has two parts: 1) the analysis of gendered shifts across periods and 2) the implications of this cross-period analysis for gender and GPN analysis. In relation to part 1 of this research question Chapter 8 argued that there were major shifts across the three periods in women’s waged and unwaged work, bargaining position and labour agency. These were a consequence of the shifting interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a process of transition. In the producer-led export market commercial requirements for a reserve army of unskilled labour enabled women to work in the productive sphere, initiating tensions between commercial and gendered societal relations. However with the expansion of supermarkets the requirement for female skills offered economic opportunities for women to work for a wage and get remuneration and recognition for their work which was now deemed significant for quality enhancement. Skills and economic opportunities enhanced the bargaining position of women as compared to period 1 but work was still gendered and low paid, leading some women to opt out from work in table grapes. In the period of crisis there were pressures for women to go back to work in table grapes at low cost but their skills and shifts in gendered norms gave them leverage to bargain even as unwaged labour.

Hence a cross-period analysis reveals that women’s labour agency was more important in shaping women’s position in the buyer-led periods as compared to the period of the producer-led export market. Ultimately however suppliers in the production network can still get the quality at low cost because of skilled female labour. Hence, gendered relations also influence commercial transitions, reflecting
the mutual interaction and constitution between commercial and societal relations in GPNs.

In relation to part 2 of the overall research question, the cross-period analysis brings important insights in theorising gender transformations as GPNs evolve. There are complex and non-linear processes of change which I capture by the concept of ‘gendered societal transitions’. I define gendered societal transitions as the changing interaction between commercial production networks and gendered societal relations in a process of transition, producing shifts that play out differently for women. Hence, they involve tensions between gendered societal relations and commercial production networks within different periods; Gendered shifts across three periods in the interaction between commercial and societal changes underpinned by shifts in women’s work and agency and difference, that shifts played out differently for women, influenced by their generation and bargaining position.

Analysis of gendered societal transitions has important implications for developing further a Gendered GPN approach. Gendered societal embeddedness is not static but dynamic and shifting over time and embodies complex bargaining relations and power contestation at different levels. Hence, gendered societal embeddedness is understood as the shifting interplay between the commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs. This conceptualisation helps to draw out the mutual interaction between commercial and societal relations that are in a process of constant flux. Women’s labour agency in gendered societal transitions is non-linear and undergoes pushes and pulls and involves diverse outcomes for different women. Labour agency outcomes are shaped by shifting bargaining relations, underpinned by commercial and societal relations in a process of transition. Hence, I nuance my conceptualisation of women’s labour agency in gendered societal transitions by incorporating the constant bargaining and re-negotiation that it embodies across periods. Dynamic reworking I define as strategies of women to improve their work position using the changes in the interaction between commercial and societal
Adaptive reworking is the vigorous adapting of women’s labour agency strategies based on adverse circumstances deriving from the interaction between the commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs. Tensions underpin dynamic and adaptive reworking, producing difference among women. This brings out the mutual interaction between commercial and gendered societal relations and the dynamic and constitutive nature of women’s labour agency that has not been sufficiently explored in the GPN and gender literatures. Hence, my analysis of gendered societal transitions contributes to the development of a Gendered GPN approach through advancing a gender analysis of the commercial and societal dynamics of production networks and how these affect women and men differently.

### 9.3 Contributions of the thesis

Analysis of gendered societal transitions constitutes both an empirical and a theoretical contribution to the existing literature. It is an empirical contribution because it is the first study to explore gendered shifts across three periods from a GPN perspective. Moreover, it explores these in a Greek case study. In addition, it is a theoretical contribution because it theorises processes of gendered transition and transformation as GPNs evolve. Analysis of gendered societal transitions offers a lens into further advancing a Gendered GPN approach. This forms a contribution to existing analytical literatures through advancing knowledge of the tensions between contemporary global production and societal relations in a transitionary process.

I find that gendered societal relations in a process of change also influence commercial transitions. Hence, an analysis of gendered societal transitions informs the GPN, feminist political economy and intra-household literatures to capture the dynamic and constitutive interaction between commercial and gendered societal dynamics of GPNs. I thus help to further advance a Gendered GPN approach that explores dynamic and non-linear forms of women’s labour agency as GPNs evolve. I understand gendered societal embeddedness as the shifting commercial and societal dynamics of GPNs, women’s labour agency as adaptive and dynamic
reworking and I link commercial with societal bargaining at the household, societal and GPN levels.

I contribute to the GPN literature (Coe et al, 2008; Henderson et al, 2002; Carswell and De Neve, 2013) by offering further insights on how GPNs evolve through processes of commercial transitions, Further, I capture the dynamic and constitutive nature of labour agency in GPNs, hence contributing to the labour agency literature (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Cumbers et al, 2010). I also contribute to recent GPN literature (Yung and Coe, 2014) that links inter-firm with extra-firm bargaining through my exploration of the linkages between commercial and societal bargaining in the household and gendered institutions in influencing commercial transitions.

I also contribute to the GPN literature (Carswell and De Neve, 2013; Barrientos, 2013; Barrientos, 2014) through advancing a gender analysis of processes of transition and transformation in production networks. I help to understand tensions between commercial GPNs and gendered societal relations in terms of what the fall-back positions for women are in each period and across different groups. In other words I help to understand contemporary gendered GPN dynamics. This helps to advance knowledge of not only the uneven, non-linear and constitutive nature of women’s labour agency but also on the complex processes through which it is formed and evolved.

I advance the gendered institutions literature (Beneria, 2007; Elson, 1999; Whitehead, 1979) through unpacking commercial relations from a GPN perspective, and through exploring transitions in gendered norms and institutions. I enhance the intra-household bargaining literature (Agarwal, 1997; Sen, 1987; Kabeer, 1997) through understanding the household not only as a sphere of reproduction, but also as a sphere of production for global markets through women’s unpaid labour. Hence, I highlight the blurring and inter-relationship between productive and reproductive spheres. I also contribute to the intra-household bargaining literature through
exploring gendered bargaining relations and women’s labour agency outcomes over time. I hence bring together and enhance the different bodies of literature to capture gendered transformations as GPNs evolve, that these literatures on their own are not able to explore.

9.4 Policy Implications

From this research important policy implications emerge. This research shows that to understand the effects of contemporary commercial GPN dynamics on gender relations we need to understand how commercial changes interact with wider societal changes and how this plays out for women and men in particular contexts. Women are affected differently, and this research pinpointed generation and bargaining position as three significant factors that affected women’s labour agency outcomes. Hence, policy to promote women’s empowerment needs to be diversified to encompass different women. This research also shows that to investigate the impact of the crisis on gender relations it is important to understand how women fared before the crisis and what strategies they followed before the crisis in order to capture the factors that affect women’s capacity to strategize to improve their position in a context of crisis. It is not a homogeneous outcome, and in order to achieve policy impact it is necessary not only to take account of different groups of women but also to take account of the societal and commercial changes and their interaction at each point of time. A Gendered GPN approach can provide a useful analytical tool in investigating gendered impact, from which policy can be informed. Policy should be devised following an analysis of the different changes affecting women and men and gendered bargaining at different levels including the household in order to devise appropriate policies to promote women’s empowerment.

The table grape production network led to important shifts in women’s labour agency as it enhanced skills and economic opportunities in period 2 (buyer-led), and offered a wage and a leverage point for women in a period of crisis. However, this research has also shown that work in grapes is gendered and under-remunerated, the
rights of migrant workers are not sufficiently protected, and working rights for all workers in table grapes have significantly deteriorated due to the economic crisis. Labour law enforcement has been a pertaining problem throughout the periods. Therefore, it is essential to improve the employment conditions and rights of workers in the table grapes sector and to include migrant workers. This has to be done at both the national state level as well as the global production network level. At state level, austerity measures on labour need to be curbed and labour law enforcement needs to be strengthened. Participation of women in labour unions should be encouraged. More nurseries need to be created in Archanes that are also open during the harvest and packing seasons. Policy should acknowledge the unpaid work of women in the household and be reflective of gendered norms and household relations.

At the GPN level there should be an inclusion of gender clauses in quality certifications to promote gender equality and skill enhancement and sharing as a means to recognise the important role and value of women’s work in quality enhancement. These gender clauses should recognise and value unpaid female labour as a significant component of labour. Moreover, exporting companies need to recognise the important work of women in social reproduction and its significance for the reproduction of labour. They should provide crèche facilities to enable more women with kids who need a wage in the crisis to work in packing. In addition, supermarket buyers need to take more steps to ensure compliance with employment rights at the production level.

In addition, policy should be directed towards helping farmers to overcome the crisis through funded replanting programmes guided by specialist research and planting new dynamic varieties of table grapes to expand the harvest and packing season and to reach new emerging markets and existing but changing markets. A chapter 7 noted currently producers pay for replanting their farms, but not all producers are able to do this. State policy should promote the autonomous cooperative initiatives and help them to become more organised through provision of credit, know-how and
education programmes to foster cooperativism among farmers. Women should be at the centre of policy for agricultural and rural development in overcoming the crisis as they have been significantly impacted by it but at the same time their work as being central as both waged and unwaged workers. State policy still embodies gendered assumptions, and the significant role of women in farming is often underplayed in gendered state policies (Safilios, 2004). Therefore, policy should target the creation of women’s agricultural cooperatives to ensure that women become key actors in the production network and to promote gender equality in the farming profession. This should also be promoted through the production network, as women’s skills are key to value and quality enhancement.

There are also important policy implications beyond the table grape production network. This research had shown that if women have skills and access to economic opportunities that enhance their fall-back and bargaining positions they have stronger agency to adapt in periods of crisis. It is important for women to have increased available work options for them to choose the best option under their circumstances. Hence, policy also needs to be directed at enhancing employment opportunities for women beyond the table grapes sector. Policy should foster off-farm employment for women during the crisis. In 2013 an EU-funded programme that helped unemployed women to set up their own business was implemented in Archanes. It moved towards this direction and offered credit for setting up the business, mentoring/coaching services and covered the insurance costs (in Municipality of Archanes website). However, beyond this programme there should be wider support towards fostering off-farm employment for women through supporting small-scale businesses and women’s cooperative initiatives in rural areas. Hence, to achieve greater gender equity it is important to bring different actors together, including the state, supermarkets and women and men themselves to act together to reduce the ebbs and advance the flows.
9.5 Areas for future research

From this research areas for further research arise. These involve research on the case of Archanes as well as research related to women’s agency in global production networks more widely. The case of Archanes is a very interesting case in investigating the gender implications of the table grape production network over time. It offers grounds for further research to look into migrant women workers’ bargaining and agency across periods, differentiating between those that are skilled and permanent residents in Archanes and the lower skilled temporary migrant workers. This research would involve exploring in-depth the different gendered norms and relations in different cultures and nationalities of women as well as fieldwork in other areas of Greece and in migrant women’s countries of origin, tracing the lives of women seasonal migrants and their strategies outside the grape season.

In addition, women’s fall-back position in a period of crisis requires further exploration. It would be useful to explore what work women in the period of crisis perceive as their fall-back position based on their circumstances. Moreover, an important follow-up research is to explore gender relations in the table grape production network after the crisis in Archanes. Analysis of gendered societal transitions has demonstrated that the work of women changes over time and may thus change again in the future. Hence, post-crisis if off-farm work picks up again younger women may move back to off-farm work, increasing the work opportunities for migrant women workers.

Another important theme that emerged from my research that I would like to address in future research is the changing role of the state as an agent in gendered societal transitions. Moreover, the research found that commercial production networks are themselves under flux. The research showed that Russia is an expanding market for table grape exports for large developing country producers. Hence at a broader level it would be interesting to explore the effects of shifting markets in the BRICS
countries and the implications for female labour in the exporting countries. It would be illuminating to examine whether the emerging markets have different quality requirements and specifications on fresh fruits and vegetables than European supermarkets, and how this affects the gendered division of labour in the producing countries. Barrientos and Visser (2012) explored the changing requirements of the emerging South African supermarkets and their implications on social and economic upgrading of producers and workers. It would be interesting to explore more emerging markets and possibly do a comparative study on their effects on female labour in the producing countries.

Another possible area for further research is to explore how gendered societal transitions play out in other cases and countries with different gendered societal norms and possibly different commercial relations. Lessons can be learned by using this work as the basis for a comparative analysis of gendered societal transitions to generate further insights on the agency and empowerment potential of women in GPNs. My analysis of gendered societal transitions helps to advance a Gender GPN approach to shed light on the tensions between contemporary global production and societal relations in a transitionary process and can possibly inform analysis of other cases beyond that of table grapes in Archanes.
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Appendix 1: Characteristics of women and men interview participants

**Interviews with women workers (W)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>W1</th>
<th>W2</th>
<th>W3</th>
<th>W4</th>
<th>W5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Interview</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Professional Training College</td>
<td>Professional Training College</td>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Married, Spouse: 79 years old not interviewed</td>
<td>Married to Manos (M1)</td>
<td>Married to Giorgos (M2)</td>
<td>Married to Dimitris (M3)</td>
<td>Married to Danos (M4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table grape producing household?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land in her name?</td>
<td>Some plots given to her by father on marriage</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some plots given by father</td>
<td>Some plots given by inheritance</td>
<td>Some plots by inheritance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</td>
<td>P1 only</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2: worked in various jobs including cashier</td>
<td>P2: worked in a shop</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Manager of the farm?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Number of children</td>
<td>3: 2 married daughters; 1 unmarried son</td>
<td>2 sons 29 and 26 years old</td>
<td>2 (1 girl, 4; 1 boy, 2.5)</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>2 men in university aged 22 and 19</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W6</td>
<td>W7</td>
<td>W8</td>
<td>W9</td>
<td>W10</td>
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<td><strong>Pseudonym</strong></td>
<td>Nina</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Kiriaki</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Kaiti</td>
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<td>March 2012</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
<td>April 2012</td>
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<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Professional Training College</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
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<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td>Married to Minas (M5)</td>
<td>Married to Mitsos (M6)</td>
<td>Married to Stratos (M7)</td>
<td>Married to Kostas (M8)</td>
<td>Married to Nasos (M9)</td>
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<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Land in her name?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Half of the plots in her name from inheritance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots in her name</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Yes (in P3)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td><strong>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</strong></td>
<td>P2: worked in a mini-market</td>
<td>P2: worked as agronomist</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2 owned a shop P3 rented it out</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td>2: Daughter, 12; son, 6</td>
<td>1 son, 21; 1 daughter, 18</td>
<td>2 married daughters, 1 unmarried son</td>
<td>2 daughters, 29 and 24 years old</td>
<td>2 married sons</td>
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<td></td>
<td>W11</td>
<td>W12</td>
<td>W13</td>
<td>W14</td>
<td>W15</td>
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<td>Dina</td>
<td>Mania</td>
<td>Pitsa</td>
<td>Sofia</td>
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<td>April 2012</td>
<td>April 2012</td>
<td>April 2012</td>
<td>April 2012</td>
<td>May 2012</td>
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<td>High School</td>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
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<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td>Married to Fanis (M10)</td>
<td>Married to Stefanos (M11)</td>
<td>Married to Kiriakos (M12)</td>
<td>Married (Spouse not interviewe)</td>
<td>Married Spouse, 60 years old, not interviewed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land in her name?</strong></td>
<td>Some land plots in her name given from her father on marriage</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots transferred in her name after parents retired</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td><strong>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2 as adolescent briefly and P3</td>
<td>Yes P2 as adolescent briefly and P3</td>
<td>P1-P2</td>
<td>P2 for a short period of time and P3</td>
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<td><strong>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</strong></td>
<td>P2: worked in office job P3: owned own shop</td>
<td>P2:various jobs including cashier</td>
<td>P2: cleaner, owning shop, waitress</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2: waitress, babysitter, secretary</td>
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<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td>2 daughters, 10 and 8 years old</td>
<td>1 son, 5 years old</td>
<td>3: son, 14 years old; son, 13 years old; daughter, 4</td>
<td>One married son, 1 married daugther</td>
<td>1 daughter, 28 years old</td>
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<td>W16</td>
<td>W17</td>
<td>W18</td>
<td>W19</td>
<td>W20</td>
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<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Married Spouse, 65 not interviewed</td>
<td>Married to Petros (M13)</td>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>Married to Mpampis (M14)</td>
<td>Married Spouse not interviewed</td>
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<td>Table grape producing household?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Only in P1</td>
<td>Only in P1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land in her name?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots inherited from father. In P3 rented some of those to son.</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots given by father on marriage</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</td>
<td>P1-P3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P1 only</td>
<td>P1 only</td>
<td>P1-P3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Manager of the farm?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
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<td>Number of children</td>
<td>1 married son; 1 married daughter</td>
<td>2 children</td>
<td>3 married daughters</td>
<td>1 daughter, 48</td>
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<td>W21</td>
<td>W22</td>
<td>W23</td>
<td>W24</td>
<td>W25</td>
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<td><strong>Pseudonym</strong></td>
<td>Maya (sister of Garifallia)</td>
<td>Sotiria (mother of Garifallia and Maya)</td>
<td>Foteini</td>
<td>Vaso</td>
<td>Soula</td>
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<td><strong>Date of Interview</strong></td>
<td>May 2012</td>
<td>May 2012</td>
<td>May 2012</td>
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<td>June 2012</td>
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<td>High School</td>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
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<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
<td>Married Spouse not interviewed</td>
<td>Married Spouse not interviewed</td>
<td>Married Spouse, 67, not interviewed</td>
<td>Married to Antonis (M15)</td>
<td>Married Spouse, 72 years old not interviewed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P1 only</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Land in her name?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots in her name as dowry</td>
<td>Some plots in her name by inheritance</td>
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<td><strong>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</strong></td>
<td>P2- P3</td>
<td>P1 only</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2-P3</td>
<td>P2-P3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</strong></td>
<td>Briefly in P2 in factory</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2: Babysitter, handicraft making at home</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>2 daughters Garifallia and Maya</td>
<td>1 married son 35 years old</td>
<td>1 married son, 31, 1 married daughter, 36</td>
<td>2 married daughters, 30 and 32 years old</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W26</td>
<td>W27</td>
<td>W28</td>
<td>W29</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>Pseudonym</strong></td>
<td>Vivi</td>
<td>Eleni</td>
<td>Stella</td>
<td>Rena</td>
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<td><strong>Date of Interview</strong></td>
<td>June 2012</td>
<td>June 2012</td>
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<td><strong>Marital status</strong></td>
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<td>Married to Sotiris (W16)</td>
<td>Married to Panos (M17)</td>
<td>Married (spouse not interviewed)</td>
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<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land in her name?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</strong></td>
<td>P1-P2</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P2-P3</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</strong></td>
<td>P2: handicraft making at home</td>
<td>Yes in P2 worked in an office</td>
<td>P2: agronomist</td>
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<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of children</strong></td>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>No children yet</td>
<td>1 child 5 months old</td>
<td>2 children</td>
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**Interviews with men, spouses of women workers (M)**

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<th>Pseudonym</th>
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<th>M2</th>
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<th>M4</th>
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<td>Married to</td>
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<td>Anastasia (W2)</td>
<td>Lena (W3)</td>
<td>Roula (W4)</td>
<td>Amalia (W5)</td>
<td>Nina (W6)</td>
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<td>Builder</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
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<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Part-time farmer</td>
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<td>Room letting</td>
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<td>Table grape producing household?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land in his name?</td>
<td>Some plots in his name from father</td>
<td>Majority of plots in his name - some given by father, others bought</td>
<td>Some plots in his name by inheritance</td>
<td>Majority of plots in his name - from father and also bought land</td>
<td>Some plots in his name, other plots renting from father</td>
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<td>Manager of the farm?</td>
<td>No (only briefly before his wife became manager)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>M6</td>
<td>M7</td>
<td>M8</td>
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<td>Kostas</td>
<td>Nasos</td>
<td>Fanis</td>
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<td>April 2012</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>High School</td>
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<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td>Married to Maria (W7)</td>
<td>Married to Kiriaki (W8)</td>
<td>Married to Anna (W9)</td>
<td>Married to Kaiti (W10)</td>
<td>Married to Koula (W11)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td>P2: Office job/part-time farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
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<td></td>
<td>P3: Farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Construction Company owner</td>
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<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Only in P1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td><strong>Land in his name?</strong></td>
<td>Half of the plots are in his name from inheritance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some plots inherited</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Most holdings in his name</td>
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<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Briefly before his wife became farmer</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M11</td>
<td>M12</td>
<td>M13</td>
<td>M14</td>
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<td>Kiriakos</td>
<td>Petros</td>
<td>Babis</td>
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<td>April 2012</td>
<td>April 2012</td>
<td>May 2012</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>High School</td>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td>Married to Ntina (W12)</td>
<td>Married to Mania (W13)</td>
<td>Married to Matina (W17)</td>
<td>Married to Litsa (W19)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td>Taxi-driver Part-time farmer</td>
<td>Builder/Ow ner of shop/part-time farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Only in P1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land in his name?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Some plots in his name from father</td>
<td>Most plots in his name, bought</td>
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<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M15</td>
<td>M16</td>
<td>M17</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pseudonym</strong></td>
<td>Antonis</td>
<td>Sotiris</td>
<td>Panos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date of Interview</strong></td>
<td>June 2012</td>
<td>June 2012</td>
<td>July 2012</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education level</strong></td>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td>Married to Vaso (W24)</td>
<td>Married to Eleni (W27)</td>
<td>Married to Stella (W28)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment</strong></td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table grape producing household?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land in his name?</strong></td>
<td>Some plots in his name from father</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Manager of the farm?</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Characteristics of Focus group Participants

Participants in Focus group 1, July 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Vaso</th>
<th>Garifallia</th>
<th>Ada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(W24)</td>
<td>(W20)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Middle School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Married to Antonis (M15)</td>
<td>Married (Spouse not interviewed)</td>
<td>Married (Spouse not interviewed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table grape producing household?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land in her name?</td>
<td>Some plots in her name by inheritance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Some plots in her name by inheritance</td>
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<td>Waged packer and unwaged farm worker</td>
<td>Waged packer and unwaged farm worker</td>
<td>Unwaged farm worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</td>
<td>P2-P3</td>
<td>P1-P3</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</td>
<td>P2: Babysitter, handicraft making</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager of the farm?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
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</table>
Participants in Focus Group 2, July 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Athina</th>
<th>Elina</th>
<th>Menelaos</th>
<th>Stamatis</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Marital status</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table grape producing household?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land in his/ her name?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment at the time of focus group</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Coffee shop Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked as waged packer/farm worker?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has worked off-farm (outside grapes)?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager of the farm?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: Indicative Interview Questions to Women and Men

The following questions are indicative of my interview questions to women and men. These interviews were in-depth and hence I developed and changed questions as the interview progressed. Questions were adapted based on the particular characteristics and circumstances of each participant (age, type of work etc.) and hence some of the questions outlined below are only relevant to some women and men.

A. Interviews with women

Part 1: Background Information

1. Number of people living in the household:
2. Demographic information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main profession</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other professions/sources of income (if any)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past employment (if any)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. Types of agricultural products produced:
4. Size of table grape vineyards:
5. Size of other land holdings:

Part 2: Main interview

Unwaged work in table grapes over time

-How did you decide to work in the family farm? How many years do you do this work?
-How was work divided in the farm at the time of the cultivation of rozaki grapes before the supermarkets? (When applicable)
-What tasks did you personally do? Why?
-Do you feel that your work contribution in the farm was important in that period? How did you feel then?
-Do you think that your work was recognized by your spouse/family in this period?
- How was work divided in the farm at the time of the cultivation of Thompson Seedless grapes?
-What tasks did you personally do? Why?
-Do you feel that your work contribution in the farm changed in this period?
Do you think that your work was recognized by your spouse/family in this period?

-Has the crisis affected you and your family? What changed?
- How is work divided in the farm at the time of the crisis? Has anything changed?
-Do you feel that your work contribution in the farm today is important? Is there any change?
-Do you feel that you get recognition from your work contribution in the farm in the crisis? Has anything changed?

-Have you ever worked for a wage?
-How was it like when you were working for a wage? (If applicable)
-Do you currently do any waged work? Why/Why not?

**On-farm decision making**

-In the period when you cultivated rozaki grapes, did you feel that you had a say on matters of the farm? Who made the final decisions?
-If there was a problem on the farm (diseases, adverse climate etc.) who decided what to do?
-Who decided where to sell the grapes?

-In the period when you cultivated Thompson grapes did you feel that you had a say on matters of the farm?
-If there was a problem on the farm (diseases, adverse climate etc.) who decided what to do?
-Who decided where to sell the grapes?

-Today during the crisis do you see any change in these issues from before? In what ways?

**Ownership of land**

-Who owns the land?
-How did he/she come to own the land?
-Who is the manager of the farm? Has this changed over time?
-In case of land sell who would take the decision to sell the land? Would there be consultation? Has this changed?

**Waged work in table grapes over time**
-When and why did you decide to work as waged worker in grapes?
-Describe me the packing/harvesting process in the period of rozaki production (If relevant).
-Did it change after the cultivation of Thompson Seedless?
-Did you find changes in the packing/harvesting process during the crisis?
-If yes, how did this affect your work?
-Do you feel your work has changed you? In what ways?
-Do you see a difference in your relations with husband/partner after you worked in table grapes? Please elaborate.
-How do/did you use your wage?
-Do you enjoy your work? Why? Why not? What has changed?
-Would you change anything in your work?
-Has the crisis affected you and your family? What changed?

Working Conditions
-Do you have frequent breaks during work?
-How are the relations with your employers? Were they always like this? Were they different when rozaki produced/Thompson /during crisis?
-How are the relations with your co-workers? Were they always like this? Were they different before supermarkets/before crisis?

-What were the main challenges of your work in the period of rozaki production/Thompson production/today with the crisis?
-Are you a member of the labour union?
-Do you think the labour union helps the workers? Has anything changed with the crisis?
-Do you feel as worker you have power? In what ways? Has this changed?

Employment History
-In the period when you were cultivating rozaki grapes did you have additional employment?
-Did you have any additional employment in the period of Thompson Seedless cultivation?
-What work did you like more and why?
-Do you have any additional work in the crisis? Why?
-Do you like you waged work more or less than your work in the farm? Why? Has this changed? (Where relevant).

Gender Norms and Household Relations
-Who manages the money in the household? Has this changed after cultivation of Thompson grapes/during crisis?
-Are you happy with the way the household money is managed?
-Have you seen any changes on who makes decisions on money management in the household now during the crisis?
-What do you do on a normal day?
-Do your daily activities change according to season?
-How is housework divided in the house? Was it always like this? If not, why has it changed and in what ways?
-Do you think your contribution in the household is important? Has this changed?
-Does your husband help in housework? Was it always like this? What has changed?
-What are the main areas of disagreement in the household? How are they solved?
Was it always like this? What has changed?

Part 3: Life history

-Tell me about your life as a child. Did you grow up in a farming family? Did you
help in farming activities?
-What was the profession of your mother?
-Did your mother work in the farm?
-Tell me about the most important events in your life.
-Why did you get married?
-How did you meet your husband?
-How important is the institution of marriage to you and your family?
-Do you think that your life changed after you got married (or after other key events
in your life) and if so in what ways?
-Do you think that your mothers’ life affected your own decisions in life?
-To what extent do you think that your life as a mother/wife/worker is different or
similar to that of your mother? In what ways?
-What are the relations with your children? What do they mean to you? (When
applicable)
-How would you imagine your life without children?
-What have been the main changes in your life?
-Is there anything you would like to change in your life?
B. Interviews with Men

Part 1: Background Information

1. Number of people living in the household:
2. Demographic information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woman</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main profession</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other professions/sources of income (if any)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Past employment (if any)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Types of agricultural products produced:
4. Size of table grape vineyards:
5. Size of other land holdings:

Part 2: Main interview

Table grape production over time

-How did you decide to work as producer? How many years do you do this work?
-When did you start cultivating table grapes and why?
-Were there any challenges for producers in the period when you cultivated rozaki grapes before the supermarkets? (When applicable)
-How was work divided in the farm at the time of the cultivation of rozaki grapes before the supermarkets? (When applicable)
-What tasks did you personally do? Why? What tasks did your spouse do?
-Do you feel your wife’s work contribution in the farm was important in that period? How did you feel then?

-Did you see any changes in table grape production following the expansion of supermarkets?
-Did you see any changes with the quality standards on production and labour use in the farm?
-Were there any challenges?
How was work divided in the farm at the time of the cultivation of Thompson Seedless grapes?
-What tasks did you personally do? Why? What tasks did your wife do?
-Do you feel that your wife’s role in the farm changed in this period? In what ways?

-Has the crisis affected you and your family? What changed?
-Are there any changes in table grape production following the crisis?
-Are there any changes in the commercial sector following the crisis?
-Are there any challenges?
-How is work divided in the farm at the time of the crisis? Has anything changed?
-Do you feel that your wife’s work contribution in the farm today is important? Is there any change?

Use of waged labour in the farm

-Do you employ waged labour in the farm? For what tasks? Do you employ women or men for these tasks? Was the use of waged labour the same before? How was it different?

Additional employment

-Have you ever had another/ additional employment?
-Has this changed in the crisis?

On-farm decision making

-In the period when you cultivated rozaki grapes, who made the decisions on the farm? Did you consult with your spouse?
-If there was a problem on the farm (diseases, adverse climate etc.) who decided what to do?
-Who decided where to sell the grapes?

-In the period when you cultivated Thompson grapes who made the decisions on the farm? Did you consult with your spouse?
-If there was a problem on the farm (diseases, adverse climate etc.) who decided what to do?
-Who decided where to sell the grapes?

-Today during the crisis do you see any change in these issues from before? In what ways?

Perceptions of wife’s waged work

-What do you think of your wife’s work? Has this changed?
-Do you think your wife’s economic contribution is important? In what ways?

Ownership of land
Who owns the land?
- How did he/she come to own the land?
- Who is the manager of the farm? Has this changed over time?
- In case of land sell who would take the decision to sell the land? Would there be consultation? Has this changed?

Gender Norms and Household Relations

- Who manages the money in the household? Has this changed after cultivation of Thompson grapes/during crisis?
- Are you happy with the way the household money is managed?
- Have you seen any changes on who makes decisions on money management in the household now during the crisis?
- What do you do on a normal day?
- Do your daily activities change according to season?
- How is housework divided in the house? Was it always like this? If not, why has it changed and in what ways?
- Do you think your contribution in the household is important? Has this changed?
- Do you think your wife’s contribution in the household is important? Has this changed?
- What are the main areas of disagreement in the household? How are they solved? Was it always like this? What has changed?
Appendix 4: Sample Participant Information Sheet

Name: Eleni Sifaki, PhD student
Institute of Development Policy and Management
Research topic: Changing gender relations in the fresh grapes export sector in Archanes, Greece

School of Environment and Development
The University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester, M13 9PL
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 (0)161 275 2817

Participant information sheet

Who will carry out this research?
I will carry out this research under the supervision of my professors at the University of Manchester

What is the purpose of this research?
The purpose of this research is to investigate changes in the role of women in the fresh grapes export sector over time.

What do I have to do if I choose to participate in this research?
If you choose to participate I will carry out an interview with you and ask you a few questions on the above topic.

What happens to the information that is collected?
The information collected will be strictly used for the purposes of this research and for any academic articles in the future. The information will not be shared with any other party.

How will confidentiality and anonymity be safeguarded?
Only I will have access to the interview data which will be kept safe. All information used from the interviews in my research will be anonymous and pseudonyms will be substituted with real names where relevant.

What happens if I do not want to participate or if I change my mind?
Taking part in this research is voluntary and you do not have to participate if you do not want to. Even if the interview has started you can withdraw at any time if you wish.

Contact details for further information
If you wish to contact me for further information or anything else please contact me at: XXXXXX
Appendix 5: Sample Participant Consent Form

University of Manchester
School of Environment and Development

Research topic: Changing gender relations in the fresh grapes export sector in Archanes, Greece

Researcher: Eleni Sifaki, PhD student

Participant Consent Form

If you wish to participate in the interviews please read and sign this form.

1. I confirm that I have read the participant information sheet for this research and I have had the chance to consider this information and to ask any questions.

2. I understand that participation in this research is voluntary and I am free to withdraw at any time.

3. I agree for the interview/focus group to be recorded.

4. I agree with the use of anonymous quotes.

I agree to take part in this research

__________________________                ___________________________
Sign (Initials)                                                        Date