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Salads, Sweat and Status: Migrant Workers in UK Horticulture

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DPhil Thesis in Migration Studies
University of Sussex
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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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Date

For Audrey Line

Summary

Drawing on workplace ethnography at a farm in the East of England and interviews with former participants on the UK's temporary foreign worker programme, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, this thesis contributes to understanding of the everyday work and living experiences of migrant workers in UK horticulture. In particular, it assesses the influence of supermarket-driven supply chains and of immigration status on these experiences. This thus reveals a labour process which is strongly shaped by structural factors, yet workers' agency is also shown to play an important part.

The analysis is organised around working and living spaces. It first explores the living spaces of the camp in which migrant workers were required to reside as a result of the conditions attached to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme. Such conditions, it is argued, give rise to both social and physical enclosure and thus to employers' control of migrant workers. Secondly, the thesis focuses on everyday work spaces, illustrating how migrants' work efforts are influenced by two features of production operating in UK food supply chains: just in time and total quality control. The role of surveillance and technology are shown to be important in habituating migrants' bodies and their work efforts.

The analysis of spaces of work also reveals how the piece rate form of payment and uncertainty over rates of pay are used to gain workers' consent and intensification of work effort. Moreover, it contributes to understanding of the bodily effects of that effort. The thesis further explores leisure and consumption spaces away from the camp. These can be sites of stigma, racism and exclusion and simultaneously reveal the working of a transnational social field. The analysis of these spaces provides evidence of how immigration status and nationality can shape both migrants' own identities and how others perceive them.

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List of Acronyms

CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EVW	European Volunteer Workers
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JCWI	Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants
JIT	Just-In-Time
MPE	Marxist Political Economy
MRN	Migrants Rights Network
NCE	Neo Classical Economic Theory
NIE	New Institutional Economics
OHS	Occupational Health & Safety
SAWS	Seasonal Agricultural Worker Scheme
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Programme
TQC	Total Quality Control

Chapter One

Introduction: Migrant Workers in UK Horticulture

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a response to the call for a contextualised account of workplace experiences of migrants in the horticultural sector (Rogaly 2008). Such an account, as demonstrated within this thesis, enables a deeper understanding of the experiences of migrant workers in the horticultural sector.

First, two periods of fieldwork in 2006 and 2007 enabled me to meet with both former and current participants in the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) and generated insights that reveal how work effort is defined in the context of horticulture. Second, this thesis reveals the roles of immigration status and employer-provided housing in shaping the work and living experiences of migrant workers. Third, employers' control and workers' consent in the labour process is explored with particular emphasis on identification of particular aspects, such as surveillance, mechanisation and the piece-rate method of pay. These are argued to be key aspects of workplace organisation that elicit work effort from migrants. Fourth, this thesis makes a link between migrants' bodily experiences, such as the habituation of work effort, work ailments and injury with the operation of buyer-driven supply chains and the organisation of salad production. Finally, in drawing on workers' experiences beyond the workplace, for example, in visits to local towns, this thesis explores the theme of identity and difference. In doing so, it shows how migrant workers' consumption practices contribute to the making of their identity. This thesis also deepens understanding of the racialisation of workers from central and east Europe

This thesis uses an interdisciplinary approach to assess the influence of supermarket-driven supply chains and of immigration status on migrants' work and living experiences in UK horticulture (hence the references to 'salad' and 'status' within the title). Thus, it reveals a

labour process that is strongly shaped by structural factors. Yet it also demonstrates the significance of workers' agency in everyday horticultural workplaces and living environments. This thesis makes a distinctive and substantial contribution that goes beyond previous interview-based studies in which horticultural employers' demand for workers of particular nationalities have been examined¹. This causal analysis reveals the importance of structural factors in influencing workers' workplace and living experiences, emphasising that *who* employers see as the right type of worker is not merely based on a surface trait such as nationality.

The main focus of this thesis is the experience of workers participating in the UK's temporary foreign worker programme: the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme. The pursuit of systematic and efficient labour migration policies across Europe has led temporary foreign worker programmes (TFWPs) to re-emerge as a topic of interest (Castles 2006: 741; Ruhs 2005: 1). The impetus for this renewed interest is a result of numerous factors including: the motivation to control migration and reduce undocumented migration; the acknowledgment that migration carries potential benefits to host countries by filling labour shortages especially in sectors such as construction, catering and agriculture (Castles 2006: 745); and that the benefits of migration extend to home countries, with remittances playing a role in development (Castles 2006: 746). While interests in temporary worker schemes exist on an academic and policy front, the ethics of temporary foreign workers programmes have been questioned. In particular, the lack of social, welfare and work rights accessible to migrants involved with such schemes has already been highlighted (Castles 2006; Ruhs 2005; Bauder 2006). This thesis is the first workplace ethnography to make an account of the experiences of workers participating in the SAWS. The contextualised account it provides demonstrates how the conditions attached to the SAWS operate in practice and how they affect migrants' work and living experiences.

This opening chapter serves to position the thesis and the workers involved in this study. It does this in several ways: First, I give a brief account of the studies within which this thesis

¹ Rogaly (2008) and Geddes and Scott (2010) both reveal how horticultural employers express a preference for migrant workers and for some this preference is based on workers' nationality.

seeks to locate itself. Second, I provide a background to the SAWS because many of the workers involved in the research were recruited through this scheme. Third, because this study is located in the UK, I make reference to studies that have focused on workers in UK agriculture and horticulture. Towards the end of the chapter I outline the main research questions and give an overview of the forthcoming chapters. Finally, at the end of the chapter I provide an explanation of the terms used in the rest of this thesis.

1.2 Workers in UK horticulture and agriculture

Providing the context for this research wholly would, arguably, include an historical narration of who worked in UK agriculture and horticulture prior to 2004 and therefore include UK nationals. There are however methodological challenges to this: First, as Howkins (2003) demonstrates, diversity in the hiring practices of workers in agriculture existed in twentieth century England and Wales. Moreover the numbers of workers employed in the twentieth century varied and relate to the regional nature and experience of farm work and farming systems and how they adapted to the processes of change (Howkins 2003: 77). This last point relates to the differences in farming systems and the rate of mechanisation and its relation with labour demand. Collins (1976) makes a similar point and also identifies diversity in agricultural labour and that the location and demand of each population and segment was dependent upon the type of crop being harvested and the use of mechanisation. Seasonality and geography has therefore contributed to work arrangements in agriculture and consequently the unevenness of demand for workers. Nonetheless a broad picture can be made which acknowledges the presence and role of the urban working class men, women and immigrants throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first century in England and Wales.

Travelling workers within England replicated the diverse growing and farming patterns, following the development of the season and taking advantage of the regional and climatic differences in production. Consequently workers were able to exploit the different timings and sequences of tasks between hill and vale, light land and heavy land, north and south, and different farming systems, to work both home and away, and to take two or more

corn harvests a season and other work besideø (Collins 1976: 44). Seasonality within agriculture and horticulture has created a tie with different forms of migration. One example of this is the migration of the urban working class and townsfolk who temporarily relocated to the Northern counties (potatoes), East Anglia (cereals), Kent and Sussex (hops) (Howkins 2003: 82; Collins 1976:43; Grieco 1996). Very often such work was undertaken by whole families and up until the 1950s regional variations in the school calendar existed to accommodate the different harvests (Howkins 2003: 82).

English women, often local, have maintained a contemporary presence on farms and in fields until the present day (Chamberlain 1975: Rogaly and Taylor 2005). Notably Verdon (2009) makes a distinction between working class and middle class women who worked during the interwar years. Middle class women, whose involvement in agriculture had a greater level of representation and promotion from womenø organisations, allowed greater opportunities for training. Consequently, as Verdon notes, womenø experiences were diverse and dependent on their locality, background, status and family situation (Verdon 2009: 130). Chamberlain notes how mechanisation largely did not affect womenø work in the fields - unlike the effect it had on men, who became isolated with their harvesters (Chamberlain 1975: 12). Women, particularly older women, were poorly paid and worked by hand, often as part of a gang (Chamberlain 1975: 12,21,91). Finally, work undertaken by hand on farms and in fields was reported to be physical, ðbackbreakingø work (Chamberlain 1975: 91) that was hard and arduous (Newby 1977). Each of these descriptors is apt for the work experienced today and by workers and by myself during this research. Instead, however, ðsweatø is chosen as one of many descriptive words that encapsulate the experience of work in the title of this thesis. Having provided a summary background to workers in UK horticulture and agriculture, the next section focuses on introducing the workers who were involved with my research in the UK.

1.3 My UK fieldwork site: Greenberg Farm

Greenberg Farm, the site of my ethnographic-based research, is located in the east of England in an area where contemporary brick buildings and farms have emerged on a

landscape that was once marshlands. The silty soil combined with the low rainfall provides a suitable climate for horticultural production, such as lettuces and salad onions.

Greenberg Farm has been managed by the members of the same family for over sixty years and has now passed to the third generation of the family. It is led by the eldest son, who is middle aged with his own family. He employs one of his own sons to work with him on the farm.

These generational changes in the ownership of the farm have prompted changes in the production strategy of the farm that have led to economic success. The current farm owner recognised the emergence of a niche market in the supply of high quality salad produce, as UK supermarkets began to stock pre-packed and pre-washed salad packs on their shelves in the early 1990s. Over the past two decades Greenberg Farm has moved away from arable and potato production and instead now has over twenty different varieties of salad being produced each year.

Mr Greenberg, the farm owner, believes that research and innovation are the cornerstone to the success of the farm². Hence, research and development are part of the business strategy at Greenberg Farm and it is an activity that involves business trips to the USA and Europe. During these visits he consults on the development of new cultivars that are not only visually attractive (with leaf shape and colour) and hold a good shelf life, but also mildew resistant. Such qualities hold appeal with the farm's retailer-led customer base. Beyond cultivating the physical and handling qualities of the salads, Greenberg Farm has also invested in developing machinery to enable a faster pace of planting salad seedlings. Consultation with a German machinery manufacturer resulted in the purchase of planting machines which were specially adapted to the needs of the planting and growing regime at Greenberg. The machines, operated by field workers, are capable of planting ten acres per day, sometimes more. The plant seedlings used by Greenberg Farm are supplied from local plant nurseries. Machinery is not the only indicator, however, of expansion; the farm's

² This was shared with me during an interview.

operations have extended considerably in recent years with the rental of additional fields locally and the development of field sites to grow crops in other counties. Consequently, some workers who remain towards the end of the summer, in September and October, move from the main farm to another location where a slighter warmer climate enables a later harvest.

During the beginning of the year, in the months of January and February, the ground is prepared and young salads are planted. Workers arrive from as early as mid February and work to prepare the ground and plant salad and onion plants. The peak arrival of migrant workers is from April and May and continues until August as workers arrive and depart to other farms in the UK or return home. Planting is a meticulously planned operation and between 7,000 and 10,000 salads are planted each week. Some weeks later the salads are harvested and the field is prepared for a further cycle of planting and harvest. Once passed by Quality Control staff lettuces are sent in the farms own delivery trucks to customers. Customers, in turn, process the harvest with the production of fresh bags of salad leaves for retail as well as the supply to food service industry.

The farm has a diverse customer base each with their own requirements around volume and quality. This is considered by the farm management to be advantageous to farm business. For example the farm supplies, via its own customers (who are the processors), all of the UK supermarkets, except one. Production methods used on the farm are influenced by the demands around specification of quality from the retailer. The extra chain in the supply of food caused by the presence of processors has consequences for production because workers in the field are rarely expected to pack the harvested salads into bags and boxes for supermarkets.³ In addition, instead of relying on a rig method of harvest, the workers at Greenberg Farm placed their harvested salads into crates which were later stacked. Once a trailer is full, the team tractor driver takes the trailer back the farm from which it is unloaded and places it in a special cooler system. From here it is despatched using the farm's own transport. This extra link created by processors and packers of bagged salads in

³ This applies to salads on the farm. Onions were prepared for immediate retail sale.

the food supply chain does not, however, affect visits to the farm by the leading retailers who check for compliance on quality standards and phytosanitary procedures.

Greenberg Farm is successful at portraying a family image, and this extends to the core management team who each have their own discreet involvement in the production of the crops. The management roles include an agronomist, a technical specialist (handling pesticide and microbiology issues), product development manager, field managers (of lettuces and of onions). Key staff include Mathew (British) and Andreas (Lithuanian) who are both in their thirties and are field salad managers. Their role is to concentrate on quality, production and ensuring that daily orders are met by the teams of workers who harvest. Morta (Lithuanian), an assistant manager in her mid-twenties, works with the management responsible for planting and growing of salads. Sandy (British) is the planting manager and Tom (British) is the student manager. Sandy and Tom have a long history with the farm, for example, Tom began working on the farm as a tractor driver nearly thirty years ago. Supporting the management team are administrative and clerical workers who are situated in the offices located on the main farm site.

Below the management tier are a number of team leaders who manage the daily workload and tasks allocated to their teams and are referred to as 'team leaders'. Many of the team leaders I met during my fieldwork visit have experience of working as a seasonal worker harvesting or planting ⁶ either at Greenberg or another farm. With the exception of one, all were male. The rest of the workers at Greenberg farm are organised into teams. The allocation of work is decided prior to arrival. Below is a list of teams that worked on Greenberg Farm⁴:

- Harvest Team A: Ukrainian (14 members)
- Harvest Team B: Bulgarian (14 members)
- Harvest Team C: Bulgarian (14 members)
- Harvest Team D: Russian (8 members)

⁴ The numbers given are approximate as the regular arrival and departure of workers throughout the season altered the number of workers per team.

- -Onionøteam (the numbers of which varied each week between 20 and 30).
- -Plantingøteam: Bulgarian (12-15 members)

In addition to the roles of harvester, onion puller and planter, other work roles which were based on the main farm (and not in the field) included:

- trimmers, washers and packers of salads onions (located in pack house in the main farm yard)
- tray washers (tasked with jet washing the black crates used in harvest)
- fork lift truck drivers (for moving pallets around the yard and for loading and unloading harvested produce)
- truck drivers (responsible for delivery orders to customers)
- tractor drivers (with a specific role of preparing fields for planting)
- irrigation and field maintenance (responsible for maintaining water supplies and location of porta-loos)
- pest controller (responsible for maintaining bird scarers).

A range of nationalities worked at Greenberg farm including; British, Bulgarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian. During my ethnographic fieldwork I was assigned to work on Team A. Team A were mostly Ukrainian nationals with the exception of two tractor drivers. There were 6 women in the team (including me) and 8 men. All were students and had arrived in the UK via an agent who had worked with their university to facilitate their arrival in the UK. Most of the student workers were from towns and small cities in the South East of Ukraine and were studying management level farming at an agricultural university. As a general rule, only first and second year university students from Ukraine and Russia were allowed to take part in the SAWS. Third year students were not eligible to take part in the SAWS because of a concern by the organisers that they might not return as soon as their SAWS work card expired. Many of the Bulgarian nationals were also students, some of whom had postponed their studies however to complete a UK season in the SAWS. This is because the working season of the SAWS did not match the holiday

and term time followed by the universities in Bulgaria. The SAWS operator did not however recruit exclusively from Bulgarian Universities and consequently, some Bulgarian workers at Greenberg farm were older than their fellow Ukrainian and Russian workers. Bulgarian workers also had diverse work histories, for example, as mechanics, internet café workers and holiday representatives.

Previously, field workers on the farm were supplied by employment agents, or to use the popular term, gangmasters. This situation changed nearly ten years ago when the camp was built on an outland of the farm (discussed in chapters 4 and 7). Since the creation of the camp Greenberg Farm has used the SAWS operators to fulfil their recruitment needs. Workers arrive from February to live on the camp and the number of workers arriving steadily increases, reaching its peak in May, in time with the start of the harvest season. The next section discusses SAWS, the scheme which recruited many of the migrants working at Greenberg Farm to the UK.

1.4 Background to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme has, in some form or another, existed since the 1940s (Scott *et al.*, 2008: 85) and its origins and ongoing development reflects changes occurring on the broader political and economic front in the UK. Primarily used to remedy labour shortages in the UK, the European Volunteer Workers (EVW) scheme was used to fill the gaps in agriculture and over 35,000 EVWs were recruited through the scheme to work in agriculture in 1948 (Tannahill 1958)⁵. Prior to that in 1945 and 1946, a key source of labour was the employment of German and Italian prisoners of war in agriculture (Kay and Miles 1992: 69; Howkins 2003: 122)⁶. The EVW scheme has resonance in the SAWS scheme today as restrictions were placed on labour mobility and volunteers were not able to change their employer or assigned sectors unless they recovered official approval (Kay and Miles 1992; Tannahill 1958; McDowell 2005: 96). The scheme has, over the decades,

⁵ The EVW scheme recruited workers into the sectors of mining as well as agriculture.

⁶ The employment of 2,500 POWs German and Italian began in 1941 but the number rapidly increased and by the end of the war 50,000 prisoners were employed on farms (Howkins 2003: 122).

essentially remained the same since its post-war inception except for some adjustments and subtle changes. Listed below are the core elements of the scheme which have remained consistent over a number of decades since it first began.

- The scheme is limited by sector and workers are not eligible to work in sectors other than agriculture and horticulture.
- SAWS is a quota-based scheme. The quota has fluctuated on numerous occasions (see Table A). The annual quota allowance for SAWS is translated into work cards which are issued to the SAWS operators.
- The scheme is facilitated by government-approved SAWS operators. The government issues licenses to the operators who are responsible for recruiting workers from overseas. Diversity exists between the operators; for example, some (multiple operators) supply to a range of farms while others (sole operators) supply to only one farm.
- Farmers work with an operator to ensure that their labour needs are fulfilled for the coming year. There is a maximum length of stay for workers and this is another feature that has been subject to change. During my fieldwork, the period was six months.
- Workers are only permitted to move to a different farm if permission is secured from the farmer and operator. In the case of sole operators, the operator and the farm are the same company.

Operators are a key feature of the scheme. They are guided by a code of practice agreed by them and the Home Office (Home Office 2002). The code of practice outlines the responsibilities of the Operator, which include: the recruitment and processing of applications, ensuring farmers provide suitable accommodation and adherence to regulations around pay. The Operators are charged with resolving any difficulties with individual farms and are allowed to withdraw students or exclude farms from the scheme. Operators also have to provide the Home Office with details of students who depart from their farm placement earlier or who are suspected of not having returned to their home

country. They are not however held accountable for students who later work in breach the conditions of their immigration status. The Operators are also responsible for the transfer of students from one farm to another. As well as outlining the responsibilities of Operators, the code of practice outlines the work that students are permitted to undertake when there is a shortage of work tasks relating to sowing, planting, thinning, weeding, and harvesting.

The following subsections categorise and list the most recent changes around eligibility of potential seasonal agricultural workers entering the UK via the SAWS.

Pre-review period (pre- 2002)

During this period, the scheme aims to recruit young people only and therefore a limit is placed on the age of participation (18-25). In addition, participants are required to be students. The students, then as now, are recruited via a recruitment agent in their home country. The agent may gain students' interest by presenting information in their university. Recruitment agents liaise with the UK SAWS Operators who are responsible for allocating work cards to individual workers before they arrive in the UK.

In 2002 the Immigration and Nationality Directorate of the Home Office carried out a review of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers' Scheme. The review was announced as part of the 'Secure borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain' White Paper launched by the then Labour Government in February 2002.

Post review (post- 2002)

Following the review, key changes were made to the rules and regulations guiding SAWS. The upper age limit of 25 years was removed thus providing opportunities for mature students to participate. The review also led to the extension of the periods during which SAWS operated, so workers could arrive and work prior to May 1 and leave later than November 30th. This added flexibility to the scheme both in terms of who was recruited and the point at which during the season workers arrived and departed.

EU Member State Accession (post 2004 and 2007)

The SAWS quota was gradually scaled down from 2005; a key explanation being the expansion of the European Union and the increase in available labour⁷. It is also a result of broader policy aims that seek to limit migration from countries beyond the EU (Scott *et al.*, 2008: 85). The table on page 15 shows the changes in quota during recent years. In 2005 the quota was reduced from 25,000 places to 16,250 places⁸. In 2006, the quota remained at 16,250 and workers from within both the European Union and non-EU countries were eligible to be involved in the scheme. This changed slightly in 2007 when a minimum of 40% of the 16,250 places were reserved for Romanian and Bulgarian nationals. In 2008 the scheme sought to recruit exclusively from these countries and elsewhere in the EU. In 2009, the quota was increased by 5,000 places. More recently, the quota places have been increased and the quota for 2010 was 21,250 with the same quota allocated in 2011⁹.

Changes in quota have also been accompanied by changes in who is recruited. For example, Bulgarian and Romanian workers do not have to be students to be eligible for participation on the scheme, unlike their non-EU counterparts, and they are free to leave their farm placement without being in violation of their immigration conditions. They cannot, however, work in other sectors because as a result of UK government policy, Bulgarian and Romanian nationals have the right of admission but restricted labour market mobility¹⁰. The UK Labour government sought to phase out SAWS by 2010 as part of its development and policy of the points based system of migration to the UK but a change of government has seen the scheme continue. This thesis focuses on 2006 and 2007; many former SAWS

⁷ Phil Woolas (the then minister for borders and immigration) reply to Hugh Robertson in House of Parliament <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200708/cmhansrd/cm081105/halltext/81105h0005.htm> accessed 09/11/10

⁸ <http://services.parliament.uk/hansard/Commons/ByDate/20101020/writtenanswers/part009.html> accessed 05/12/10

⁹ <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/> accessed 05/12/2010

¹⁰ A2 nationals have eligibility to work in the UK if they are self-employed, studying or are involved with the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS). Unlike A8 country nationals who registered on the WRS *after* having secured employment, individuals from Bulgaria and Romania who wish to work have to obtain permission *before* starting employment.

<http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/bulgariaromania/liveworkuk/> accessed online 10/10/10

workers interviewed in Ukraine worked in the UK in 2006 and my own fieldwork took place in 2007.

1.5 Future of the SAWS

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme is one of many options available to horticultural producers seeking to employ migrants. Horticultural producers can employ migrants directly, for example, workers from within the EU, or A8 countries. In 2004, the enlargement of the European Union gave nationals of the accession countries right of admission to the UK. The UK was one of only three countries that also gave unrestricted access to the labour market. New EU member nationals, often referred to as A8 nationals, who work for more than one month are required to register on the Workers Registration Scheme. According to the Department of Work and Pensions, ten per cent of all the WRS registrations were made in the agricultural and fishing sectors (DWP 2006: 20). Workers from A8 countries can be recruited directly or via a gangmaster (also known as an employment agency). SAWS operators possess gangmaster licenses and are therefore not dissimilar because they share a central feature of recruiting and supplying workers to horticultural producers. The key difference is that workers under the SAWS are required as part of their conditions of immigration that they remain within the sector, need permission to switch farms and are limited in terms of the duration of their stay. A further option for growers is the employment of workers who have overstayed temporary visas or are without the correct documents (or none at all) and are therefore considered 'illegal'.

The most significant change from 2007 onwards was the implementation of restricting the nationalities eligible for the SAWS to Bulgarian and Romanians only. This may prove to be a considerable change to the SAWS, in particular to the demographic of who participates in SAWS. Future SAWS workers will be able to work for more than three seasons in the UK. This may herald a trend in the cyclical migration of workers in UK horticulture. Speculation on this prospect is perhaps best reserved however because the labour market restrictions that are currently placed on Bulgarian and Romanian nationals will alter in the coming decade as the UK government will be obliged to review them.

Since the changes in 2007 it is apparent that some operators have continued to utilize their existing contacts and networks to recruit from countries other than Bulgaria and Romania in the EU. Operators do this alongside filling their quota of work cards and recruiting workers from Bulgaria and Romania. Workers of this nationality can however work in the UK if they declare themselves to be self-employed.

The broader political and economic landscape in the UK has significantly altered since researching and writing this thesis. The autumn of 2008 saw the onset of the 'credit crunch' - a recession that has had an impact on all workers, including migrants. In particular, EU migrants have been reported to be returning home in response to declining work opportunities¹¹. Further, the government has changed and the recent election in 2010 has resulted in a Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. The newly formed coalition government has already signalled that the Agricultural Wages Board will be dissolved as part a larger strategy of cutting national spending to reduce the national budget deficit. A change of government however, has not resulted so far in a phasing out of the SAWS scheme¹². In 2010 the quota allocation of SAWS work permits was 21,250 places and according to the UK Border Agency this quota allocation will be remain the same in 2011¹³. Equally significant is continuation of the restriction of eligibility to individuals of Bulgarian or Romanian nationality¹⁴.

¹¹ <https://www.ippr.org/pressreleases/?id=3274> 'Economic slowdown leading to migration slowdown' IPPR 10/10/10

¹² Indeed, the National Farmers Union are one example of a group representing employers who use the SAWS and who on behalf of the NFU lobbied the labour government about the need to increase the SAWS quota. Arguably therefore the existing quota policy represent the remains of and continuation of the former labour government policy (as opposed to one exclusive to the new coalition government).

¹³ <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/> accessed online 10/10/10

¹⁴ <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/> accessed online 10/10/10

<u>Year</u>	<u>Work cards Allocated</u>
Up to 1996	5,500
1997 to 2000 ¹⁵	10,000
2001	15,200
2002	18,700
2003	20,000
2004 ¹⁶	25,000
2005	16,250
2006 ¹⁷	16,250
2007	16,250
2008	16,250
2009	20,250
2010	21,250
2011	21,250

Table A: Numbers of work cards allocated to SAWS operators per year. The number of work cards allocated may differ from the work cards actually issued to workers each year. Figures used in this table are based on a range of sources (refer to footnotes for further details).

¹⁵ The figures in the table are based on a range of sources. First, up to 1996- 2003 are quoted from Annex C of the document 'Review of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme 2002'. The remaining figures are from different Hansard documents. Individual footnotes list the source for the figures quoted.

¹⁶ <http://services.parliament.uk/hansard/Commons/ByDate/20101020/writtenanswers/part009.html> accessed 05/12/10

¹⁷ <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/> accessed 05/12/2010

1.6 Ethnographies of horticultural work

Ethnographies set in a workplace seek to provide insights into work experiences in particular work sectors and/or work located in geographical areas. Workplace ethnographies reveal the organisational and management processes which impact on everyday workplace experiences, thus linking broader structural paradigms with the experiences of workers¹⁸.

As a piece of academic work, this thesis nestles alongside three studies: Strawberry Fields by Miriam Wells (1996), Chinese Whispers by Hsiao-Hung Pai (2008) and a journal article by Ivancheva (2007). These authors focus on migrants' work experiences in horticulture and each of their works speak to my own research experiences and thesis in different ways.

Wells' ethnography spans a period of fourteen years and investigates employer-worker relationships in different localities in central and southern California. Wells focuses on one specific crop - strawberries - and recognises the diversity of production regimes for that commodity. In this thesis, the main focus is on salads because this was the main crop produced on the predominant site of my research. However, reference is made to a wide variety of crops such as soft fruits (including raspberries and strawberries) and other fruits and vegetables (including apples, tomatoes and broccoli). Nonetheless, a comparison can be made in respect of strawberry growing as researched by Wells, and the salad growing investigated in this thesis; the commonality is the significant growth in production of each. For example, the strawberry yield in California increased over a forty-two year period (1946-1988) from representing 6 percent of US production to 74 percent. In the UK, growing different varieties of salad has increased dramatically too. The impetus to grow a range of varieties is linked to how salads are sold further along the supply chain to consumers. For example, bagged salads, which often contain a mix of different varieties of salad leaves, did not exist before 1992 (Lawrence 2004: 29). The rise in production of

¹⁸ For example; see Prentice (2007) for ethnography of women garment workers and the effects of 'flexible' labour practices.

horticultural products and the accompanying increase of the value added processes, such as washing and bagging, has had implications for employers' requirements for workers and workers' experiences of the horticultural work. It is this that the thesis focuses on.

Wells's predominant focus is her argument that three processes contribute to the political construction of the labour market: the end of the temporary worker programme known as the *bracero*, the increase in worker organisation (including the passing of legislation which sought to protect workers) and the unionisation of workers (Wells 1996: 56). What are the consequences of the labour market constructed from these three factors? Through her investigations, Wells notes that the differences between the localities are not only geographical but, for example, the predominant ethnicity of growers varies too; in North Monterey, growers are mostly of Mexican nationality but in Salinas growers are mostly Anglo, and in Pajaro growers are mostly Japanese. Such differences have historical roots and for Wells, the geography, size and ethnic difference between growers have significant implications for worker-employer relationships. Japanese nationals, for example, have a closer relationship with workers compared to Anglo employers who, due to growing on a larger scale, have many tiers of supervision in the workplace. Mexican growers and their workers are held by Wells to have close but exploitative relationships. Within this thesis, focus is placed on how differences in immigration status and nationality can contribute to different experiences of employer-worker relations for workers.

A second piece of research which this thesis sits alongside is that contained within a specific chapter in Pai's *Chinese Whispers* - a book which is based on the author's own undercover research into the work and living experiences of Chinese migrants in the UK. A specific chapter entitled 'salad days' follows one worker, Gao, and his work and pay experiences on a salad farm in the south of the England. Notably, the author's research fits well with my own research in many ways. First, unlike Wells's study, which took place in the USA from the mid 1970s until the late 1980s, Pai's research took place in the UK from the early 2000s. The timing of Pai's study, while close to my own, also highlights one significant difference: Pai's research was undertaken in the lead up to EU enlargement and therefore in a different labour market. Pai notes these changes in her chapter and suggests

that a combination of increased employer penalties for hiring migrants without documents, and farm-employers' access to new labour from 2004 onwards (as a result of the newly accessioned states) impacts the labour market experiences of the Chinese migrant workers she meets. Whereas my focus is predominately on workers who are involved with the SAWS, Pao's research focuses primarily on workers who access the UK labour markets via gangmasters. The most striking features of Pao's research are the observations of the caravan accommodation and the difference in the work regimes between nationalities, some of which resonate with my own findings.

The final piece, by Mariya Ivancheva who, like me, undertook farm-based research (including participating in harvest work) on a strawberry farm in the East of England reports on the experiences of Bulgarian and Romanian workers. Ivancheva makes an interesting point regarding why the experiences of SAWS workers have been overlooked and are often considered from a particular perspective – that is, the suggested benefits to student workers as presented by some SAWS operators, farmers, producers and governments. Criticism of SAWS, which expresses the perspectives of SAWS workers, whether located in the media or in the work of Ivancheva (2007) and Shanko (2004) is suppressed and subjugated to the 'thickness' of the public script (Ivancheva 2007: 115) which promotes and legitimises the scheme. This script consists of the employers' views of the need for the SAWS and the 'suitability' of workers recruited by SAWS. For Ivancheva, the lack of interrogation of the dominant discourse surrounding the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme has rendered student workers in the SAWS voiceless (Ivancheva 2007: 114). Workers' experiences are at the heart of this thesis with their evaluations, including their views on the benefits and disadvantages of the scheme featuring above all others. This thesis challenges the script of employers' views of SAWS workers and demonstrates how, to a significant degree, workers' suitability is an outcome of structural factors. Moreover, this thesis places significant focus on analysis of labour processes and the role of the conditions attached to the SAWS in shaping and influencing workplace experiences.

1.7 Research questions and thesis overview

So far I have provided the context of this research on the work and living experiences of migrant workers. This section introduces the research questions and provides an overview of each chapter.

Chapter two is a literature review in which I provide the academic context of the research and present the research questions that the thesis seeks to respond to. Discussion within the chapter is organised in four main sections covering themes relating to workers in capitalist horticultural supply chains, the supply and the demand of workers, labour process and the body at work. The sections of chapter two inform the following questions which taken more broadly, overlay the four empirical chapters of the thesis.

- What role does immigration status have on migrants' work and living experiences in UK horticulture?
- How does an employer's organisation of the workplace contribute to the making of the 'right type' of horticultural worker?

Chapter three focuses on methodology. My fieldwork research was undertaken in two different locations; the first part began in October 2006 with a three-month stay in Ukraine and the next stage of research began in May 2007 when I arrived at Greenberg Farm and spent ten weeks living and working as harvest worker with migrant workers. In the chapter, I use reflexivity to explore my position as an 'English researcher girl' and 'worker' in the field. Further, I reflect on the physical experience of research by focusing on the role of my body in the research. I also make a comparison of interviews undertaken in Ukraine and the UK.

The next four chapters are the empirical chapters and are organised around the spaces of ethnographic fieldwork; accommodation and 'The Camp', the workplace and off-farm spaces. Such an approach rests on the acknowledgment that each of these particular spaces

are not just physical places in which migrants reside, work and visit. Instead, these spaces are themselves constructed from particular sets of social relations that migrants are a part of and involved in. This conceptualisation of space is based on the work of Massey, who considers that space is 'constituted by the interlocking of "stretched out" social relations' (Massey 1984: 22).

Chapter four focuses on the space of employer-provided accommodation, referred to during the UK fieldwork as 'The Camp'. In the chapter I concentrate on the meanings of employer-provided accommodation, in particular how 'The Camp' is a space that encloses workers and how this in turn regulates the movements and daily living routines of workers. In this second part of the chapter I discuss the extent to which social networks can be fostered and utilised by student workers.

In chapters five and six I focus on the spaces of the workplace, which include the workplace experience of my UK fieldwork and the workplaces spoken of by former SAWS workers in Ukraine. Both chapters focus on daily workplace experiences that occurred, for the most part, simultaneously rather than sequentially. The two chapters are, however, clearly distinct. Chapter five focuses on the role of 'external' factors, such as surveillance and mechanisation in eliciting work effort whereas in chapter six I concentrate on exploring more participatory forms of workplace control, such as the role of workplace games in engaging workers and increasing work effort.

Chapter five depicts in great detail the work of migrant workers and from this horticultural work effort is defined. Further I make a connection between the operations in buyer-driven supply chains and the definition of work effort. Within this chapter I explore the extent to which the presence of surveillance and mechanisation in the labour process contribute to the regulation of workers' bodies. In all, the chapter reveals processes that lead to the habituation of workers' work efforts.

In contrast, chapter six, while still maintaining a focus on the workplace experiences, places greater emphasis in focusing on more participatory forms of workplace processes and

activities such as the role of workplace games in securing workers' workplace effort. In particular, attention is given to the roles of piece rates and of immigration status in creating competition and workplace hierarchies. Workplace games, it is argued, contribute to the intensification of workers' efforts. The second part of the chapter explores the effects of work. The consequences of work are presented as workers' experiences of penalties and rewards thus following the approach of workplace games. The experiences of penalties and rewards, as the chapter demonstrates, are not necessarily a financial outcome of wage but may also result in workers experiencing bodily injury.

The final empirical chapter (chapter seven) explores the experiences of workers during periods when they left the workplace and in spaces beyond the camp and workplace. Exploring the experiences of migrants in spaces beyond the farm creates a discussion of the meanings of consumption and difference in the lives of SAWS workers. Links are made with migrants' consumption habits and the creation of a transnational social field. Further, exploration is made of encounters with British nationals and the experiences of stigma, racism and exclusion. Consequently, the focus here is on the role of immigration status and nationality in shaping migrants' own identities and how others perceive them.

Chapter eight sets out the conclusions of this thesis.

1.8 A note on terminology

The question of terminology and use of language is important in this thesis. First, the thesis is dotted with mild and strong obscenities. The place and use of obscenities in academic work, notably the use of the term 'fuck' in the discipline of geography, has been met with some resistance – as experienced by David Bell (2007). Bell concentrates his explanation in the difficulty of using 'fuck' as evidence of the ambivalence to sex and sexuality and the 'institutionalised and erotophobia' in geography (Bell 2007: 85-86). Aside from real or perceived 'issues' of geography, a problem with using 'fuck' in all its colourful forms (fuck, fucking, fucked), is that 'fuck' owes its allegiance to no-body, and to every-body (Parker 2005: 48). Hence, offence from the term is created. In this thesis, the use of the

term ‘fuck’ has limited visibility and remains within the boundaries of excerpts from field notes and quotes from interviews. Its use in these areas is mostly a result of my own emotional reaction and expression of surprise and dismay at what I was experiencing during fieldwork or listening to during interviews. Migrants’ use of the term is, more often than not, used when quoting others, such as former employers (see chapter seven).

A second point about the use of terminology and language refers to the issue of why and when I use the terms ‘worker’, ‘student’ and ‘migrant’. The interchangeable use of these words throughout the thesis could be seen, on appearance, as a result of a loose and casual use of language. Moreover, one might construe the use of the term migrant pejoratively. Quite simply, however, the use of the terms ‘worker’, ‘student’ and ‘migrant’ are defined by the context in which the research was carried out and the discussions were made. Hence, the methodological focus of chapter three refers to ‘the researched’ but later chapters, such as chapters five and six, ‘the researched’ become ‘workers’. In chapter seven, ‘workers’ become ‘migrants’. Such changes reflect the multidimensional and fluidity of identities possessed by those participating in the research. It also illustrates how students, workers and migrants are to some extent defined and made by the surrounding social and political and cultural environments – a point that is central to this thesis.

Chapter Two

The Making of Migrant Workers: A Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This thesis sets out to explore the experiences of migrant workers in UK horticulture. In chapter one I provided a brief overview of the SAWS, which since the time of the ethnographic fieldwork in 2007 has not only increased in quota but has restricted who can participate (to Bulgarian and Romanian nationals only). The increase in quota is partly in response to the perceived shortages of workers in the horticultural sector but also the preference for migrant workers. What links the demand for migrant workers in horticulture and specifically, horticultural employers' sustained and increasing use of the SAWS, with the experiences of workers explored in this thesis?

In order to answer this, one first has to understand that there is a *dynamic and mutually conditioning* relation between labour demand and supply (Ruhs and Anderson 2010:16 original emphasis). As Ruhs and Anderson explain, employers' demands for and their requirements from workers are partly based on the perceived qualities particular workers are said to have. For example, horticultural employers, in both media and academic reports, have expressed that migrants' work ethic and willingness to work are significant factors in their use and preference of migrant workers (Scott *et al.*, 2008; Rogaly 2006). However, as Ruhs and Anderson make clear, the qualities attributed to migrants by employers may be linked and an outcome of other factors, such as limited rights, which may result in an acceptance by migrant workers of poor employment conditions (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 31).

In this thesis, I assess the influence of supermarket-driven supply chains and of immigration status on the experiences of migrant workers and in doing so, illustrate how these factors contribute to the creation of the 'right' type of worker which employers

demand and prefer. In the subsequent empirical chapters, I draw on my fieldwork to establish how migrants are made into suitable horticultural workers. It is the task of this chapter, however, to establish the academic foundation upon which my thesis rests.

Organised thematically, the four sections within this chapter provide the academic foundation of the thesis. Given that my ethnographic research was situated in a horticultural workplace, I begin with an account of capitalism in horticultural supply chains. I discuss capitalist horticultural production - in particular the relationships between retailers and producers - and suggest that these influence the horticultural labour processes which in turn, influence migrants' work efforts. In section 2.3 I discuss how the creation of a particular immigration status contributes to the social regulation of labour and that this partly explains why certain nationalities and ethnicities are located in particular work sectors. The discussion informs an aim within the thesis to investigate the extent to which immigration status goes beyond not only affecting labour market outcomes of workers but also impacts on the workplace experiences of migrants. Consequently, section 2.4 is focused on labour process theory. As with the other themes that I explore in the chapter, labour process theory has a rich history in social sciences. In this section I focus on conceptualising power and control within the workplace and particular attention is given to discussion of how to conceptualise workers' agency in the labour process. This is important because the thesis, in premising that migrant workers are *made*, is not suggesting that individuals are without agency and do not seek to resist work and pay conditions that they consider to not be within their interests.

In the final section of the chapter (2.5) I focus on the themes of the body and embodiment. By conceptualising individuals as being *made* into migrant workers, I am concerned with how migrants enact and embody the social experiences of work and migration. This final section sets out the specific research questions addressed in later empirical chapters.

2.2 Workers in capitalist horticultural supply chains

Back in Britain, permanent global summertime had arrived. It looked awesome: row upon row of identically shaped, identically sized and identically coloured fruits; stack upon stack of blemish-free vegetables. I wondered if a genius in a white lab coat had invented it while I was away

(Lawrence 2004: x)

Felicity Lawrence's description of the fresh fruit and vegetables on display in her local supermarket is one that is familiar to many; consumers in the UK have become accustomed to voluminous displays of fresh fruits and vegetables that are weighed, washed and packed. Such commodities are not however an invention from the laboratory but are part of a competitive strategy in which fresh fruits and vegetables are deemed essential for drawing in higher-income consumers and thus represents a key area of competition between retailers (Dolan and Humphrey 2000: 152). Moreover, such displays are an outcome of the processes and relationships occurring in horticultural supply chains between retailers, farmers and workers.

Greater focus has been placed on the provision of foods that are both convenient and linked to an improved health and diet¹⁹. Consequently, this has led to a promotion of the consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables and an increase in the variety and seasonal availability of most fruits and vegetables. Processing techniques such as the washing, bagging, chopping, slicing and dicing - which can add value for processors and retailers - also enhance both the appeal and convenience of fresh fruit and vegetables. It has been argued that these processing and quality requirements contribute to a sustained demand for temporary workers in horticulture, with producers expressing a readiness towards employing migrants (Frances *et al.*, 2005; Dench *et al.*, 2006). In this section of the literature review I explore the role of UK retailers in transforming horticultural production and explore the role of migrant workers amid such changes. Before doing so however, I

¹⁹ One example of this is the UK's Food Standards Agency's 5 a day campaign which sought to encourage individuals to increase their daily consumption of fresh fruit and vegetables.

conduct a brief review of the discussion that seeks to ascertain the extent to which horticultural capitalist production is - because of the role of nature - distinct.

The uniform appearance, size and year-round availability of fresh fruit and vegetables offered in supermarkets belies a suggested difference found in horticultural supply chains compared with that of other supply chains and sectors; in manufacturing, for example. Horticultural and agricultural production is identified as being distinct from other forms of production and processes of capital accumulation because of the role of nature (Mann 1998; Wells 1996; Henderson 1998). The uniqueness of production stems from aspects of production that, as a result of nature are unable to be modified or manipulated. Mann (1990) provides the example of cereal grain which necessitates a lengthy period of maturation. This aspect consequently proves to be an impediment to production as it creates a mismatch between production time and labour time. According to Mann's interpretation of Marx, 'the more production time and labour time coincide, the greater the productivity and self-expansion of capital in a given time period' (Mann 1990: 34). The lack of harmony in production that is created by nature consequently results in periods in which farm machinery is idle and decreases opportunities for capital accumulation. Additional factors connected with nature - for example, climatic conditions of production and the perishable nature of crops - limit the ability of growers and farmers to adjust to market conditions (Mann 1990; Henderson 1998).

George Henderson pursues a broader approach to the understanding of capitalist development in agriculture and argues that opportunities exist for capitalist development *because of*, rather than the non-identity of, nature and capitalist accumulation (Henderson 1998: 33). For Henderson, nature intersects with capital to create 'webs of constraint' which might include the limited (and perhaps intermittent) application of technology, the role of seasonality, the significance of location and the missing harmony between production and labour periods. As much as constraints exist, opportunity also exists - for example, through processes of accumulation based on farm credit and mortgages (Henderson 1998: x, xvi). As such, forms of capital are attracted to agriculture because of

the disharmony between production and labour.²⁰ Consequently, natural processes are both invitation and barrier to capital and the farm is considered as potentially both a centre and an instrument of capital (Henderson 1998: 33, 29).

Understanding the farm as a centre and an instrument of capital requires exploration of the broader processes and relationships occurring beyond the farm, as well as those occurring within the farm workplace. Ortiz (2002) suggests that researchers who are interested in workers employed in horticulture and agriculture would do well to make links between the relationships experienced by farmers and buyers (retailers). In the UK, the relationships between farmers and buyers are defined by an acute power asymmetry that results in farmers being both price-takers and standard takers as opposed to price and standard makers (Guthman 2004: 65; Fuchs *et al.*, 2009). Such an asymmetry is a consequence of recent transformations of the food supply chain that have placed supermarkets in a powerful and commanding position. The first transformation is the development of the global food supply chains, which have resulted in a change in the market that farmers seek to operate. There has been a move away from the use of wholesalers, as a central market site of exchange, towards closely regulated and direct relationships between farmers and supermarket retailers (Dolan and Humphrey 2004; Vorley 2003; Lawrence 2004). The development of global food supply chains is, according to Vorley (2003), occurring in a manner that allows food buyers (for example, retailers and processors) to gain market share by passing on the savings made from paying below competitive levels from producers (farmers and growers) to consumers (Vorley 2003: 10). In the UK this has occurred as a result of the precarious contractual relations and the declining prices paid to suppliers (See Frances *et al.*, 2005: 26, 42; Lanz and Gullen 2006: 31; Lawrence 2004). Consequently retailers operating in the UK have been reported to take greater share of the value from horticultural growers and producers (Rogaly 2008; Competition Commission 2000; Lawrence 2004; Blythman 2004).

²⁰ For example, an opportunity is created as farmers and producers need to purchase time through forms of credit (Henderson 1998: 29).

Secondly, and linked to retailers' competitiveness to garner a leading market share, is the greater leverage sought by retailers in the food supply chain. This has partly been achieved by the increase in buyer-driven governance, in which retailers seek to coordinate and oversee production processes and activity (Dolan and Humphrey 2004). Governance by retailers manifests itself in the fulfilment of standards by farmers (often as a condition of supply). Increased governance has also, in part, been a result of an ever-lengthening of the food supply chain: commodities can now be grown, picked, processed, packed and subsequently sold to many countries. It is also, however, a consequence of EU and UK legislation that has aimed to increase consumer faith in food safety and the food markets. The Food Safety Act 1990 is a legislative example of a benchmark used by supermarket retailers to demand particular standards from growers and as a consequence results in 'productive restructuring' (Grammot and Flores 2010: 228)²¹. The creation and implementation of private standards by retailers have been an increasing trend as retailers seek to ensure traceability and consistency in production. An imbalance exists within the range of standards covering horticulture. This is highlighted by Grammot and Flores (2010) who, in their research into Mexican horticulture, note that while the food safety standards are compulsory, standards relating to social accountability and led by ILO are voluntary (Grammot and Flores 2010: 230).

Governance in the form of private standards goes beyond a food and health safety focus and is also enacted by an emphasis on 'quality' over volume and price (Rogaly 2008: 497). Quality is understood to mean the 'increasingly precise standardisation of size, shape, texture and colour' of commodities produced (Rogaly 2008: 500). In his research, Rogaly identifies the impact of quality demands made by supermarkets - for example, growers facing the prospect of produce being rejected if they are unable to meet the standards set by retailers. Understanding how farmers may respond to the transformations and pressures facing them as a result of the food supply chain can be gained by applying Julie Guthman's approach to innovation and accumulation in capitalist agriculture. In *Agrarian Dreams*, Guthman classifies forms of innovation that result in accumulation in capitalist agriculture

²¹ Food Safety Act 1990, see Dolan and Humphrey (2004). The Food Safety Act 1990 resulted in 'due diligence'

as intensification, appropriation and valorization (Guthman, 2004: 65). Focus is made here on intensification, which refers to the efforts to speed up, enhance, or reduce risks of biological processes (Guthman, 2004: 65). In providing examples of intensification Guthman makes reference to the use of technical innovations such as chemical pest controls and the use of high yielding varieties. Non-technical innovations are also identified by Guthman as an important aspect of intensification - for instance, the use of vulnerability to ensure a timely and compliant labor force come harvesttime (Guthman 2004: 65).

Rogaly (2008) applies the concept of intensification in the context of the UK horticultural sector and the extent to which intensification of workplace regimes is linked to the relationships between supermarket retailers and growers. He suggests that particular aspects of the workplace regime in UK agriculture and horticulture indicate intensification; these being the use of piece-rates, gangmasters and the employment of migrant workers (Rogaly 2008: 499). Rogaly acknowledges that the presence of migrant workers in UK agriculture has a long history, but also highlights how in recent years the agricultural sector has expressed a much stronger preference for migrant workers. Moreover, growers have sought the particular type of worker who would enable them to meet the demands of volume and quality, and growers have often reflected that migrant workers were most suited to the demands of the workplace (Rogaly 2008: 499). A central reason for the demand of migrant workers is the relation experienced between growers and food retailers (Rogaly 2008: 499)²², but seasonality also plays a role in the demand for temporary migrant workers as it can, on average, increase the workforce by up to seven times (Scott 2008: 17) due to fruits and vegetables exhibiting significant seasonal peaks (Ball 1987). In addition, the increasing scale of production has had a consequence for labour demand (Grammot and Flores 2010: 238). Consequently, both nature (due to seasonality) and the broader relationships within the food supply chain contribute to the role of and demand for workers, including migrants, in horticulture. This thesis seeks to explore the extent to which the broader relationships

²² In a comparable study on fruit production, Barrientos and Kritzinger (2004) found that the impact of food supply chains dominated by supermarkets on growers in South Africa was the increasing casualisation of employment.

that underpin the food supply chain and nature, impact and shape the working experiences of migrants in horticulture.

2.3 Migrant workers: Supply and demand

In the previous section I established how particular processes in UK horticultural production and supply chains have contributed to the demand for migrant workers. In this section I explore both the supply and demand of workers further. In this section of the chapter focus is placed on exploring how the interaction of immigration status, race and nationality contributes to the supply and demand for migrant workers. In reviewing the relevant literature I suggest that migration policy and the creation of particular immigration statuses explains the demand for certain nationalities and ethnicities, and their positioning in particular work sectors.

Neo classical economic theory is a prominent school of thought that offers explanations of migrants' propensity to seek work abroad and labour migration. The perspective of neo classical economic theory (NCE) considers labour markets as an 'an open bazaar, in which buyers and sellers of labor power encounter each other freely' (Waldinger and Lichter 2003:219). Such approaches rely on an actor within the labour market to be '*homo economicus*' – that rational, selfseeking, amoral agent who propels economic models of human behaviour (McGovern 2007: 2180). Several criticisms of NCE have been made; for example, the NCE approach is criticised for focusing on a 'rational' actor, because a focus on income and a comparison of earnings does little to explain the majority of the world's population who do not migrate (McGovern 2007). As McGovern points out, it is not possible to maintain such approaches because it risks regarding non-migrant populations as *irrational*. Explanations that are based on wage earnings as the primary or sole impetus to move, do not explain why migrants move to a particular country and choose one over another (McGovern 2007; Boyle, *et al.*, 1998). Absent from the neo-classical economic approach to labour migration is a focus on the social context of work migration and labour markets (Peck 1996; McDowell 2009; Boyle *et al.* 1998).

Challenging the neo classical economic accounts of labour markets is labour segmentation theory. Labour segmentation theory emphasises the demand-led character of labour migration, in contrast to the supply-led explanations of neoclassical theories: capitalism's need comes first (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 69). Labour segmentation theory is widely used in migration studies and aims to negate the absence of the social context and experience in neo classical labour market thinking (e.g. McGovern 2007: 225; Boyle *et al.*, 1998:94). Labour segmentation theory splits the labour market into two segments; primary and secondary. Each segment offers different job opportunities, which contributes to a social division of labour that operates because of the inherent duality between capital and labour (McGovern 2007: 226). The primary segment, for example, is capital intensive (Bauder, 2006: 20) and capital, as a fixed factor of production, cannot be kept idle (McGovern 2007: 226). Consequently this results in employment opportunities which are more secure. The secondary segment is labour intensive (Bauder 2006: 20) in which employers use labour to meet fluctuating demands of production (McGovern 2007). As a result, jobs in the secondary segment of the labour market are poorly paid, less secure and without good career prospects (Boyle *et al.* 1998: 94). For employers, the secondary segment serves as a means of evasion whereby the unstable portion of demand can be transferred (Piore 1979: 39). Migrants are frequently associated with the secondary segment and consequently 'secure the jobs of nonmigrants in the primary sector' (Bauder 2006: 20).

Labour markets in UK agriculture, according to Scott (2008 *et al.*), are complex and segmented and he suggests that shortages exist not only in the primary labour markets but in the (largely temporary) secondary labour markets too. The increased need for quality and volume in agriculture production combined with seasonal peaks of demand, as discussed in the previous section contribute to the ongoing shortages of workers. Migrants feature strongly in the secondary labour markets in the UK as 84% of all peak season agricultural workers are now migrants (Scott 2008: 8). Labour segmentation theories have added complexity to the conceptualisation of labour markets but some authors have suggested that such approaches do not account for divisions within each market (Boyle *et al.*, 1998: 96). Such conceptualisation of the labour market also requires a focus on the role of state intervention and regulation of labour markets (Peck 1996: 57).

One way in which the state intervenes and regulates labour markets is through the design and implementation of migration policy. It is immigration policy that regulates the supply of workers for employers. For workers, it is immigration policy that restricts access to labour markets - on the basis of citizenship and immigration status (Bauder 2006: 26) - and this results in workers of different citizenships being tied to different segments of the labour market (Bauder 2006: 29). In legislating migration policy, the state plays a role in the availability of workers in the labour market. In Britain, the government has pursued a policy of 'managed migration' which in recent years has been enacted by the implementation of a points-based system in which eighty separate routes to work and study in the UK are covered under five main tiers (Home Office 2006)²³. Rogaly identifies three areas of migration policy, that relate to citizenship and immigration status, which are particularly relevant in the supply of workers in Britain's horticultural sector. Firstly, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme is designed to recruit and supply temporary migrants to work on farms and in horticultural workplaces in the UK. Secondly, the government's policy of allowing newly joined EU accession country nationals free access to Britain's labour markets resulted in an increase in those nationals arriving to work in Britain - many to work in the horticultural sector. The expansion of the EU in 2007 impacted on SAWS and created a 'second class' EU citizenship for Romanian and Bulgarian nationals because those nationals seeking to work in the UK were restricted to the SAWS alone (Ivancheva 2007: 116). Thirdly, the creation of immigration statuses results in the creation of a further category of 'illegal' migration - which as De Genova (2002:439) states, is the product of immigration law and thus a creation of the state.

A 'demand-led' approach which incorporates the social context of labour markets requires a focus on *who* employers want and *what* they want from them. Authors such as Peck (1996), Bauder (2006), and Waldinger and Lichter (2003) have illustrated that employers seek workers who are not only capable of fulfilling the demands of particular work tasks but that they also seek other 'traits' such as 'reliability, creativity, sociability, initiative, deference to authority, and adaptability' (Peck 1996: 34). Rogaly suggests that horticultural

²³ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/about-us/news/points-based-system-announced> accessed on 07/03/2006 (now archived).

employers seek a particular type of worker who are able to not only fulfil the demands of the workplace but who are 'reliable, flexible and compliant' (Rogaly 2008: 500). Similarly, Johnston highlights that employers in South Africa seek workers who are flexible and docile (Johnston 2007: 495). Peck emphasises the link between workplace labour control and labour markets suggesting that 'how labor control is secured is partly dependent on who is being controlled' (Peck 1996: 35, author's own emphasis).

Immigration status is a factor in *who* employers demand. The limited rights conferred by immigration may contribute to workers' subordination in the workforce and thus enable employers' greater workplace control. On this point, Linda Morris (2004) examined the implications and meanings of UK immigration, and the extent to which immigration status leads to subordination in the labour market. Morris recognises that 'rights' have become a significant priority on the European political and social agenda (Morris 2004: 3). The form, however, in which they manifest themselves within the UK government's policy of managed migration, renders them as 'the selective distribution of opportunities' (Morris 2004: 3). To illustrate this point, Morris uses the contrasting developments of immigration legislation in the 1970s. For example, the 1971 Immigration Act sought to exclude the arrival of citizens from the New Commonwealth. However within Europe, negotiations were aimed towards greater freedom of movement between countries (Morris 2004: 4). For some, these outcomes are not simply unintended consequences but a defining feature in the design of immigration regimes by contemporary UK governments and one in which migration policy has '...been used not only to secure the supply of workers needed by employers, but also as far as possible to ensure their subordinate status within the workforce' (Flynn 2005: 9).

It is important however to recognize that 'vulnerability cannot be read off from immigration status' but involves the consideration of a number of factors (Rogaly 2006: 11). McDowell emphasises that other factors such as 'age and family status, religion, language and skin colour also affect the reception and status of in-migrants.' (McDowell 2005: 15). In *Hard Work*, she investigates how the experiences of female Latvian workers arriving in Britain as part of the European Voluntary Workers Schemes further illustrate

that other factors negotiate, yet contribute to, the creation and impact of immigration status. McDowell demonstrates how the construction of difference rather than immigration status can lead to discrimination and negative employment relations. In defining three groups of migrants, she illustrates the differences in recruitment methods and the subsequent reception of workers in the UK. For example, recruitment efforts resulted in significant numbers of European Voluntary Workers Scheme and New Commonwealth migrants, whereas Irish migrants arrived 'on an individual and independent basis' (McDowell 2005: 92). A 'paradox' arose because despite European Voluntary Workers being regarded as 'aliens' and Caribbean migrants (British subjects in possession of full legal rights) not being, the former were also viewed as 'fellow Europeans and suitable candidates for assimilation' whereas the latter were exposed to 'a racialised discourse of 'difference', as well as racial discrimination in the job and housing market (Smith 1996) that continues to this day' (McDowell 2005: 92).

Employers' perceptions of the suitability of workers and their skills can be influenced by a range of factors, including stereotypes based on nationality and conditions, including restrictions, of immigration status (Ruhs and Anderson 2010: 27,30). Waldinger and Lichter's research found that workers were selected to do work that was found to be unappealing and 'dishonouring' by 'natives' (Waldinger and Lichter 2003: 229-230). Migrants were thought to be suitable, in part, because 'their dual frame of reference and less-entitled status make them the ideal candidates to fill jobs that others do not want' (Waldinger and Lichter 2003: 222). Such positioning of migrants as suitable workers occurred because employers sought workers who were *different* and migrants, according to the employers in their research, are valuable because of their difference. The origins of difference, however, do not begin with migrants themselves but with natives, employers and nonmigrants who 'create "otherness" by deploying the newcomers in ways that define them as *outsiders*' (Waldinger and Lichter 2003: 222). In this way, migrants are, in part, *made* into suitable and apt workers by employers.

Explanations of why migrants work *so* hard and 'settle' for particular work conditions must take account of the role of particular immigration statuses (for example, undocumented

workers) and the role of particular arrangements in the relationship between employers and migrants. The latter, for example, includes relationships involving ‘ties’ such as the provision of accommodation and transport. Such ties create dependency which has the potential to make migrants vulnerable to poor work experiences. Migrants possessing poor English language skills are considered to be potentially vulnerable in labour markets and workplaces. These factors suggest that the conditions created by particular immigration statuses contribute to the making of migrant workers. The discussion so far explains why particular workers end up in particular jobs rather than focusing on the explanations of effort in their job but in the next section of the chapter I continue with the premise that migrants are *made* and extend the focus to include an exploration of the factors that influence work effort and continue to *make* migrants.

2.4 Conceptualising the labour process

Focus on explanations of the work efforts made by migrants in the workplace involves consideration of the labour process. The principal and most influential theorist on the labour process is Karl Marx, whose extensive writings have been used as an analytical foundation for numerous writers. A Marxist-informed understanding of the labour process is the ‘means through which labour power is extracted from workers’ (Gregory *et al.*, 2009: 406). Labour process therefore involves consideration of power and control, but such a simple definition of the labour process conceals the ‘different points of departure’ (Gidwani 2008: 161) that exist for investigating labour process and labour arrangements. This section of the chapter seeks to focus on the theoretical discussion and conceptualisation of the labour process.

In *Capital Interrupted* Vinay Gidwani provides a useful comparison of the similarities and differences existing in two schools of thought which dominate explanations of the labour process and the power operating within it. Gidwani (2008) compares Marxist political economy (MPE) and New Institutional Economics (NIE). According to Gidwani, the NIE school’s conceptualisation of power within the labour process ‘assumes the ability of agents to enter into social contracts as innately sovereign and rational individuals, with or without

perfect knowledge and anticipation of prospects (Gidwani 2008: 152). For NIE, power rests in 'the relative abilities of individual transactors to affect economic outcomes in their favor, and is modeled either as a function of underlying supply and demand conditions (the notion of 'market power'), or as the capacity of individual actors to 'wait it out' and inflict 'disagreement costs' on rivals (the notion of bargaining power) (Gidwani 2008: 152). In contrast, MPE relies on power being linked to the 'unequal access to means of production' that is 'rooted in a state-enforced system of private property' between workers and capitalist employers which results in 'asymmetric control over the lives of workers' (Gidwani 2008: 162). As Gidwani emphasises, the operation of power in the two schools of thought is different because NIE focuses on the labour process in terms of its efficiency whereas MPE focuses on the forms of social regulation operating within the labour process (Gidwani 2008: 180). Gidwani argues that in spite of these differences, each school of thought operates on a similar basis because they both provide a 'functionalist narrative' which excludes cultural context of power and control in the labour process. He acknowledges, however, that both the 'efficiency and disciplinary considerations emphasized by NIE and MPE are clearly important influence on the labour process' (Gidwani 2008: 163).

As the rest of the section reveals, I am more inclined to draw on theorists whose work is informed by the MPE approach to labour process theory, for example Michael Burawoy. Gidwani highlights the imperative to provide a nuanced understanding of the labour process, which allows for inclusion of the 'cultural facts that cause particular forms of work organization to crystallize in given time-space contexts' (Gidwani 2008:162). In the broader context of the thesis, I am concerned therefore to make linkages between both the everyday experience of workplace processes and the broader contemporary context. In this case, the relevant contexts have already been discussed in the previous sections (2.2 and 2.3): UK capitalist horticulture and UK immigration policy.

Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* is a common starting point in contemporary labour process debates. In his work, Braverman renews the Marxist analysis of labour processes with a discussion around the contributions of technological and scientific

management²⁴. Braverman focuses on different employment sectors such as clerical and service work, and the role and organisation of modern technology, machinery and management (in particularly scientific management) on the workplace and workers. Essentially within this analysis Braverman posits that technology has a critical role in deskilling and therefore the degradation of labour. For Braverman, the 'incessant breakdown of labour processes into simplified operations taught to workers as tasks' has led to labour which is without 'most of the skill, knowledge, and understanding of the production processes' (Braverman 2004: 319). Consequently, 'the more complex the process becomes, the less the worker understands' (Braverman 2004: 319). In the empirical chapters of the thesis I reveal how workers' engagement in labour process is diverse and complex and, in particular, how workers understand the labour process. I also argue that their complicity with it is dependent upon uncertainty and lack of access to information, in other words it rests with the employer rather than workers not understanding the labour process. The thesis highlights the role of technological and managerial organisation of the workplace in controlling workers and their work efforts. Greater emphasis is placed on issues of agency, subjectivity and resistance of workers in the labour process than in Braverman's work.

In contrast to Braverman, Michael Burawoy pays considerable attention to the issue of agency as he investigates the relations in production as an ethnographer in a U.S. factory. Burawoy attempts to move away from contemporary Marxist analysis which 'has too often and too easily reduced wage laborers to objects of manipulation; to commodities bought and sold in the market; to abstractions incapable of resistance; to victims of the inexorable forces of capitalist accumulation; to carriers, agents, or supporters of social relations' (Burawoy 1979: 77). Instead Burawoy asks 'How are workers persuaded to cooperate in pursuit of profit?' (Burawoy 1979: 83). Burawoy's analysis introduces workers' subjectivity and provokes a consideration of the labour process that focuses on the

²⁴ Harvey (1990: 125) sums up the work of F.W Taylor (*The principles of scientific management*) as 'an influential tract which described how labour productivity could be radically increased by breaking down each labour process into component motions and organizing fragmented work tasks according to rigorous standards of time and motion study'.

consent of workers rather than coercion of workers and the conflict between management and workers in the workplace.

Burawoy's analysis of the labour process is generated by his consideration of 'a relational and a practical aspect' contained within the labour process (Burawoy 1978: 15). Burawoy however focuses on the '*relations in production*', which are 'the relations of the shop floor into which workers enter, both with one another and with management' (Burawoy 1979: 15). During his ethnographic research, Burawoy witnessed the activities of workers and concluded that these activities were part of 'making out'. 'Making out' is identified as a workplace culture that involved 'a sequence of stages of encounters between machine operators and the social and non social objects that regulate the conditions of work' (Burawoy 1979: 51). Burawoy also reveals the existence of workplace 'games' and how 'playing a game generates consent with respect to its rules' (Burawoy 1979: 81).

For Burawoy, creating consent to workplace processes requires elements of uncertainty. Uncertainty ensures that workplace games and 'making out' continues and engages, if not distracts, workers in the labour process. Uncertainty in the labour process, in this thesis, is conceptualised as indeterminacy. Smith proposes that effort as an element of labour power is indeterminate (Smith 2006). Indeterminacy of work effort arises because 'workers generally know the wages they will be paid for their time at work, in advance of starting a job, but not the exact quantity of labour-effort that is required for the particular job' (Smith 2006: 389). He suggests that indeterminacy of work effort exists for workers *and* employers. For employers, indeterminacy relates to the work effort of individuals but also to production more generally; for example, fluctuations in production in the field and in the market. Workers' experience of indeterminacy relates to how work effort required in production is not known prior to the agreements of work and wage (Smith 2006).

Burawoy complicates the labour process analysis by introducing workers' subjectivity and in doing so, illustrates that 'within limits, modern capitalism aligns the interests of capital and labor' (Freeland 2001: 447). The masterstroke of Burawoy's work - that is the incorporation of subjectivity (albeit limited) - was arguably not intended to sideline issues

of coercion. As Burawoy himself states, it is both 'specific combinations of force and consent that elicit cooperation in the pursuit of profit' in the labour process (Burawoy 1979: 30, and see page 83).

Burawoy's work has its limitations though. Although Burawoy may introduce what work means to workers - for example, participation in work as a 'game' - Salzinger argues that such meanings are generated from a focus on practices, rather than the meanings as spoken by workers themselves (Salzinger 2001: 452). Burawoy fails to orientate subjectivity to include gender, race, nationality and ethnicity (Salzinger 2001, Leidner, 2001; Gottfried 2001). Consequently Burawoy's analysis 'offers an impoverished view of shop floor subjectivity and only a partial explanation of the production of shop floor consent under capitalism' (Salzinger 2001: 451). This thesis acknowledges these deficiencies in Burawoy's work and as a consequence pays significant attention to the role of immigration status and nationality in workplace experiences.

While Burawoy focuses on the subjective aspects of the labour process and the relations in production, Gidwani (2008) urges us to consider a contextual and historical account of labour relations to inform a nuanced understanding of the labour process. An example provided by Gidwani is the increase in the use of piece-rate work between two social groups in Matar Taluka, India. The explanation for the use of piece-rates in agriculture by the NIE and MPE schools of thought emphasise efficiency and disciplinary explanations respectively (Gidwani 2008: 160-161). Gidwani, however, introduces a 'cultural' explanation and considers that the increase can also be considered to be an outcome of a 'historic tussle between two groups' to alter their relative standings in the social order (Gidwani 2008: 163). Gidwani's approach suggests that 'labouring decisions have to be situated within the broader weave of *practice*, on the understanding that agents' intentions do not proceed from themselves but are instead bound up in the complex way in which structures are inhabited' (Gidwani 2008: 164). Within this thesis, however, such an

exploration of the 'cultural' is beyond the scope of the research because the historical context of the social and work field inhabited by migrants on Greenberg Farm is limited.²⁵

Exploring the labour process in an attempt to answer why migrants work *so* hard, and how they adjust to particular work conditions, requires investigation of power and control in the workplace. Conceptualisation of control and power in the labour process requires an approach that seeks to interlock long standing disciplinary (and even efficiency) approaches with other methods that focus on workers' subjectivity and agency to produce a nuanced and contextualised account of the labour process. This is achieved in part by drawing on the analytical framework of Cindi Katz whose work on the impact of development projects on children in Howa, Sudan provides a detailed understanding of agency and, in particular, of resistance. Katz (2004) proposes three different strategies; reworking, resilience and resistance. Katz's intention with the creation of these three categories is to 'to diffuse, if not burst the romance with 'resistance'' (Katz 2004: 241) and although they may overlap they offer a strategic approach to understanding forms of resistance. For Katz (2004: 246), acts of resilience involve using shared, often community knowledge and, in some cases, 'everyday acts of neighbouring' which culminate in restoring dignity in communities (for example, through rehabilitating dilapidated areas). Reworking is defined by Katz as practices which 'alter the conditions of people's existence to enable more workable lives and create more viable terrains of practice' (Katz 2004: 247). In addition, reworking is 'driven by explicit recognition of problematic conditions and to offer focused, often pragmatic responses to them' (Katz 2004: 247). Such practices attempt to 'recalibrate power relations and/or redistribute resources' (Katz 2004: 247). Out of the three strategies, Katz considers acts of resistance as rarer than acts of resilience and reworking. This is because of the 'conscious-building involved and their explicitly oppositional character' (Katz 2004: 251) which makes such acts more difficult to achieve. In this thesis, I provide a nuanced and detailed understanding by delineating the responses of workers to their workplace and living situation using the approach developed by Katz.

²⁵ I consider this because migrants on Greenberg Farm had a short relationship with the farm, location and other workers (see chapter three for further explanation). That said, 'cultural' meanings were generated in the labour process on the farm which pertain to neither disciplinary or efficiency explanations of the labour process (see chapter six).

2.5 The body at work

Agricultural and horticultural work is among the most hazardous and dangerous work in the world (Gerrard 1998; Reeves and Schafer 2003). In the UK, the agricultural sector has the worst fatal injury record, amounting to nearly ten times greater than in any other sector (HSE 2006: 3). Forty-two individuals died in incidents that occurred in this sector between 2007 and 2008 (HSE 2008:11) and in the year 2006/7, 1,262 employees and self-employed workers reported non-fatal injuries in agriculture (HSE 2008: 51). There is however 'gross under-reporting' of non-fatal injuries in this sector so the real figure is thought to be higher (HSE 2006: 3).

These statistics are worrying and definitive yet represent an all too common approach to health, injury and well-being of the body in work that is part of the occupational health and safety (OHS) framework (Wolkowitz 2006: 100). This is because the occupational health and safety perspective maintains a particular construct of the body; as 'biomedical' (Wolkowitz 2006: 107). This, according to Wolkowitz, fails to acknowledge the connection between the mind and the body in matters of health (Wolkowitz 2006: 107)²⁶. Furthermore, in relying on statistical data (in particular, from OHS organisations) an accurate reflection of the relationship between the body and the social context and organisation of work may not be attained. For example, the presence of vulnerable workers, such as migrants, may be missed because they are less likely to report accidents and injuries (Wolkowitz 2006: 102)²⁷. Exploring the influence and impact of work on bodies therefore crucially depends on the how bodies are conceptualised (Wolkowitz 2006: 100) and the extent to which the social context of work is accounted for.

²⁶ An example of the consequences is the emergence of the condition of repetitive strain injury, which was initially, slow to be recognised (Wolkowitz 2006:108).

²⁷ In focusing specifically on migrants, McKay *et al.*, (2005) make an important contribution with a study that offers insights which otherwise may be missed by studies involving workers, *per se*. In research published for the Health and Safety Executive, McKay *et al.*, (2005) focus on the extent to which migrant workers experience greater health and safety risks. McKay *et al.*, suggest that migrants' status as new workers contributes to additional risk in the workplace for numerous reasons including limited knowledge of and access to health and safety rights and training in the UK and limited English language skills affecting workplace communication.

An initial challenge when conceptualising the body is its definition. The body's corporeality contributes to the absence of explanation of what it is, and what is meant by it (Longhurst 1997: 86; Shilling 2003). Longhurst suggests that definitions of the body are not necessarily helpful (Longhurst 2001: 12). Instead, it is useful to recognise that the body, as a focus of research, is pivotal on the tension created from bodies being things that men and women have, as well as what they are (Longhurst 2001: 13) because the body is a social, as well as biological, phenomenon (Simonsen 2009: 50). Valentine notes how even though 'bodily practices' significantly govern us - for example, washing, eating and sleeping - the body as an important location has been mostly overlooked (Valentine 1999: 329). Wolkowitz (2006: 14) suggests that the absence of the body in the context of work studies is the result of the lack of visibility of particular bodies; for example, women, slaves and servants, who have experienced periods of being outside the labour market. Shilling (2003: 8) and Valentine (1999: 329) suggest that the body has been 'an absent presence' (Shilling 2003: 8). By this, Shilling means that although the body is recognised as a 'theoretical space' it is largely overlooked as 'an actual object of analysis' (Shilling, 2003: 9). Consequently, less is learnt about what it is and why it carries significant social importance (Shilling 2003: 9).

The mind/body dualism is an explanation as to why the body has been overlooked as a site of research in social sciences. Mind/body dualism has developed into a significant tradition in western culture and is responsible for the divide existing between natural and social science (Johnson 1989: 134 cited in Longhurst²⁸). Contributing to the dualism is the philosophical approach of Rene Descartes that separates the mind and body. The self is conceived as being able to withdraw from the world and its environment; the physical body is distinct and separate from the mind (Mathews 2006: 40). Merleau-Ponty, in writing *The Phenomenology of Perception* made attempts to dissolve the Cartesian dualism that sets the mind and body apart as separate entities. Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach attempts to join subjectivism and objectivism (Matthews 2006: 20). This is because 'all

²⁸ Johnson (1989) 'Embodying geography some implications of considering the sexed body in space' in New Zealand Geographical Society: proceedings of the 15th New Zealand Geography Conference, Dunedin, cited in Longhurst (1997).

experience is someone's experience and is consequently subjective but, it is also objective because such experiences are in the world and are not 'purely inner' (Mathews 2006: 20). Human experience cannot therefore be separate from the world as the body cannot be outside of space and time (Mathews 2006: 17). As such, Merleau-Ponty is resolute that human beings are embodied subjects (Mathews 2006: 52) and that generated by, and located within the body, is subjectivity (Longhurst 1997: 488).

In this research, conceptualising migrants and their experiences as embodied humans requires an approach that links bodies of migrants (including bodily practices) to the world experiences of migrant workers. Waite provides a helpful meaning of embodiment, which she defines as 'the living of a body in a social space, indicating a more dynamic relationship of the body with the world around it' (Waite 2007: 227). Waite considers the corporeal aspect of the body in work suggesting that bodies are a resource for manual workers in India. She explains a number of factors that enable bodies to work. Corporeal factors include diet, and the body's physical and biological coping mechanisms for the effects of work, such as repetitive and strenuous actions which result in injury as well as body conditioning (Waite 2005: 412). Waite also considers the broader circumstance of work and suggests that the social, political, cultural, economic and environmental contexts are significant factors in enabling bodies to work (Waite 2005: 412). This thesis also aims to explore how labour is enacted. Like Waite, I explore the corporeal experience of work including the impact and experience of intensive work regimes and workers' habituation of work effort. I also attempt to link such experiences with broader structural factors, for example, the operation of supply chains and conditions of immigration status. Waite's work is illustrative of a Bourdieusian-led approach to the body, work and embodiment. The habituation of workers' efforts resonates with a Bourdieusian approach, yet in this thesis a Foucauldian analysis is also evident. In the following section I discuss how embodiment is approached by Foucault and Bourdieu and the relevance and application of each within the thesis.

In *Distinction* and *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, the body is central to Bourdieu's sociological analysis and concepts, particularly with his conceptualization of 'habitus'

Incorporating the body, for Bourdieu, involves focus on the mundane and everyday bodily practices and how repetition of such practices results in social reproduction (Sangster 2007: 247; Lock 1993: 137; Jenkins 1992: 74). Bourdieu explains the concept habitus as 'an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted. The habitus engenders all the thoughts, all the perceptions, and all the actions consistent with those conditions, and no others' (Bourdieu 2007: 95). Habitus is contingent on the notion of 'disposition', a term which is given three meanings by Bourdieu²⁹ and is identified as being the 'generative basis' of practice (Jenkins 1992: 78). Jenkins sums up the relationships between Bourdieu's concept of disposition and habitus by explaining that 'the habitus disposes actors to do certain things, it provides a basis for the generation of practices' (Jenkins 1992: 78). Bourdieu considers that the habitus is conditional on the concept of 'field' and vice versa. Field, as conceptualised by Bourdieu³⁰, is a social space in which resources are contested and struggled over (Jenkins 2002: 84). The content of each field varies and is dependent on what is being contested - for example, housing, land or social class (Jenkins 2002: 84). Both institutions and people can occupy the field and it is structured by social positions that are themselves dependent upon resources, or in Bourdieu's terms, capital and their different forms, such as cultural, symbolic and human (Jenkins 1992: 85).

In exploring approaches to the topic of the body and work, Bourdieu's habitus has considerable potential to assist empirical research in this area (Wolkowitz 2006: 173). For instance, the learning, practicing and performing of work-based tasks are revealed 'to be the subtle inculcation of social values and norms' (Prentice 2008: 54). Bourdieu's analysis offers the potential for greater insight and explanation of the wider context of social

²⁹ 'The word disposition seems particularly suited to express what is covered by the concept of habitus (defined as a system of dispositions). It expresses first *the result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being, a habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination*' (Bourdieu 2007: 215).

³⁰ 'I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation' in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions' (Wacquant 1989: 50).

relations which conditions workers' embodiment and physical acceptance and adaptation of particular practices and performance of the body (Wolkowitz 2006; Prentice 2008: 54).

Compared to a Foucauldian approach of 'docile' bodies, the insights permitted by an application of habitus grasps the complexity of influences on, and the experiences of, workers, because rather than merely exploring the 'inscribed surface' of the body, habitus can 'show how social inequality registers in the competencies of the body through the bodily activity of social actors' (Wolkowitz 2006: 174). Similarly, habitus illustrates how material constraints are embodied by individuals and consequently influences an individual's own orientation to their body (Shilling 1993: 129). Johnston (2006: 512) adopts this analysis and considers how the material constraints of workers in South Africa 'led them to display the characteristics [so] useful for farmers'. Bourdieu's work therefore illustrates how class, for example, has bodily consequences which reproduce themselves (Valentine 2004: 26). Such differences of value can be mistakenly interpreted as natural differences and the body (its forms and values) are contested and struggled over by different social groups (Valentine 2004: 26). In this way, Bourdieu's analysis attempts to de-naturalise the body (Wolkowitz 2006) and shows how bodies are made through enacting particular practices.

The works of Michel Foucault have considerable influence on understanding of the body in the social sciences (Shilling 2003; Valentine 2004; Sangster 2007). The body is a regular focus in Foucault's work and forms a crucial link between the everyday practices experienced and structures and operation of power (Shilling 2003: 66). For example, a primary focus of Foucault's work on the body is how the body is constructed by discourse (Shilling 2003: 65). In concentrating attention on the body, Foucault develops the notion of 'micropower' and proposes that power, as a set of forces, is able to pervade everyday life (Danaher 2000). This approach contrasts with power that is conceptualised as something possessed by institutions and leaders. Foucault uses the example of the development of the modern prison system to illustrate how disciplinary regimes emerged, that regulate bodies and whole populations. Foucault's point is that methods applied in the development of the prison system were rolled out into broader society; for example, the regulation, surveillance

and organisation of spaces that bodies inhabited (Danaher 2000). Consequently bodies are transformed into 'docile bodies' that are influenced and shaped by power (Valentine 2004: 27). Foucault proposes that individuals submit themselves to discipline; for example, that the disciplinary gaze becomes a way in which individuals examine and monitor their own behaviour (Danaher 2000). Foucault, however, also proposes that resistance exists alongside power (Valentine 2004: 27-28; Danaher 2000). Resistance is partly formed by the many competing forms of power that exist and also as a result of the exclusion of individuals who are deemed to be, in the discursive regime, outside of the norm (Danaher 2000).

A critique of Foucault's view of the body is made by Shilling who suggests that despite a focus on the body, Foucault's analysis results in the body disappearing or evaporating as a biological or material entity (Shilling 2003: 65; Sangster 2007: 244). Discourse overrides this aspect and the presence of the body and as such, Foucault's perspectives, are considered by Shilling to be 'somewhat disembodied' because the body is reduced to being controlled by discourses that focus on and control the mind (Shilling 2003: 70). Consequently it is problematic to imagine and consider the body as a basis for social action (Shilling 2003: 71). For Shilling, Foucault's partial account of the body, which omits the corporeal aspect and experience, results in 'discursive essentialism' (Shilling 2003: 71). In this thesis however my use and application of Foucault's works to enable an analysis of migrant workers' experiences illustrates how workers' *bodies* are controlled and regulated in the spaces inhabited by migrant workers.

2.6 Conclusion: Research questions

In this chapter, I reviewed some of the literature relating to the themes of capitalist horticulture, migration, labour markets and immigration status, labour process and embodiment and the body at work.

The first part of the chapter established how 'nature' can play both an enabling and disabling role in capital accumulation in horticulture. Strategies exist to overcome potential

barriers to capital accumulation created by the biological impact of nature on production. Within the subsection I explored the significant power asymmetry existing in the reported relationships between retailers and farmers in the UK. In particular, I focused on retailer governance of the food supply chain, which is enacted through the implementation of standards linked to quality, volume and price. This is thought to contribute to the forms and processes of intensification which farmers and producers resort to as a means of responding to retailers' demands and as an attempt to capture some of the value in production for themselves. In this thesis I seek to explore this further and, in relation to migrant workers, am minded to inquire into the links between particular standards, the definition of work effort and the organisation of workplace production and process observed during the ethnographic fieldwork. Consequently I seek to answer the following interrelated questions:

- What is the definition of work effort in the context of horticultural production?
- What is the role of retailers' governance of the food supply chain, in the form of standards and subsequent demands for quality and volume from horticultural farmers, in shaping the organisation of the workplace regime and the relations of production?

Taken together, the next two sections of the literature review focused on exploring the topics of labour markets and labour process theory. In exploring labour markets I reviewed literature that seeks to explain why particular nationalities and migrants of particular statuses are located in particular employment sectors. In this thesis I explore how immigration status contributes not only to the types of jobs and labour markets that migrants are positioned in, but also to workplace experiences. As such, the following question is asked in relation to the theme of migration and immigration status:

- What role does immigration status have on migrants' work (and housing) and living experiences in UK horticulture?

In suggesting that immigration status affects workplace experiences, the thesis seeks to interrogate the claims that migrants' propensity to work so hard is a result of possessing a particular 'work ethic' or is primarily a result of financial and economic motivation. Answering how horticultural employers get migrants to work so hard involves further inquiry and investigation of organisation of production and the workplace regime. As such, the following inter-related question is posed:

- How does organisation of the workplace regime elicit and secure work effort from migrants?

This question is a nod of acknowledgement in the direction of the work of Michael Burawoy and is central to the thesis.

My approach to labour process experiences includes an emphasis on embodiment and the body at work. This enables me to consider the bodily effect of work on migrants. Consequently two further research questions are concerned with how social, cultural and environmental factors attune migrants to work:

- How do migrants embody and enact the processes and organisation of production?
- How are migrants made into horticultural workers by the organisation of the workplace and the relations of production?

These last two questions reflect a Foucauldian approach that enables links to be made between the everyday organisation of the workplace space and the affects of discipline and surveillance in the regulation of work practices and migrant workers. Overall, such questions indicate the breadth of themes covered in the thesis and discussed in this chapter. The four empirical chapters within the thesis aim to answer the questions formulated above. Having set out the academic context and the research questions, the next chapter sets out the methodological approach used in this research.

Chapter Three

Salads, Sweat and Scholarship: Ethnographic-based Research in the UK and Ukraine

3.1 Introduction

The meaning and form of ethnographic research has changed, but fundamentally its definition remains centred on a study of social processes that focus on specific groups of individuals and phenomena. Specifically, ethnographers seek to investigate ‘the processes and meanings which undergird social action, and which enable order to be reproduced and sometimes challenged’ (Herbert 2000: 551). They explore how ‘culture is constructed and negotiated, particularly as a result of interactions between groups’ (Chambers 2003: 391).

Many ethnographers seek to investigate a ‘people’ and culture, which is linked to a geographical origin and location. In contrast, my decision to undertake ethnographic fieldwork was premised on a number of considerations: First, it was a result of seeking to investigate the role of immigration status on the work experiences of migrants in horticulture and consequently, I chose to base my research in a single location at which a range of people of different nationalities and immigration statuses lived and worked. Second, my decision was a response to the call for an ethnographic-based research that provides a contextualised account of workers’ experiences in the horticultural sector (Rogaly 2008). Practical reasons had to be considered too, as my research strategy attempts to resolve issues of seasonality and access surrounding migrant workers in the UK’s horticultural sector³¹. In all, I identified ethnography as a suitable research method because it entails a degree of immersion that ‘involves both being with other people to see

³¹ Seasonality results in workers being temporary and therefore a mobile research population. Seasonality is a contributing factor to the long working hours experienced by workers in rural locations. Moreover, workers often live in accommodation provided by employers. Thus, the temporal and spatial characteristics of rural workplace regimes create a research group that is hard to reach.

how they respond to events as they happen and experiencing for oneself these events and the circumstances that give rise to themø(Emerson *et al.*, 1995: 2).

I carried out my ethnographic research for just over ten weeks on Greenberg Farm in the east of England in 2007. During this period of participant observation, I kept detailed fieldwork notes and interviewed individuals connected to the farm including workers, supervisors, managers and the farm owner. Previously, in the autumn of 2006, I also spent three months in Ukraine, primarily as a student of Russian language, and while I was there I carried out eighteen taped interviews with former SAWS workers.

In this chapter, I set out the methodological and epistemological approach to my research and in doing so I focus on the fieldwork sites in Ukraine and in the UK at which I was based. These were not only contrasting geographical locations but they also created different challenges and opportunities, especially in relation to issues of access (see sections 3.2 and 3.4.1). However, both sites led me to develop an approach to my research that involved the application of reflexivity: In Ukraine, this was mostly because of the participation of my language teacher and interpreter, Sarah, during the interviews with former SAWS workers (discussed in section 3.4.2). In the UK, the dual role of worker and researcher on Greenberg Farm led me to constantly reconsider my relationships with the workers who were involved in the research. I begin this chapter with some background information on how I secured the chosen fieldwork site in the UK before moving on to address the epistemological issues of my research and explaining the ways it is reflexive.

3.2 Greenberg Farm, East of England, UK: Working my way into the field

Undertaking horticultural workplace ethnography required finding a farmer agreeable to giving me a high level of access to workers over a number of weeks and months. I identified this as a challenge early in my research planning and made contact with individuals and organisations that had links with migrants working in rural areas. Attending events played an important role: For example, a one-day event in London, held by the Commission for Rural Communities, resulted in forming contacts in the east of England

(Lincolnshire, Norfolk, East Anglia) and the south west (South Midlands, Worcestershire, Vale of Evesham). Contacts were diverse in geographical location but also in occupation and included a police officer, a chief executive of a district council, a migrant workers' chaplain, a regeneration officer, a head of a rural agricultural college and three rural business advisors plus a contact from the East of England Development Agency. However, to varying extents, all of the contacts were involved with, or connected to rural migrant workers and farmers. In addition to attending events, I also made a 'pitch' about my research during one of the local council farmers and growers' breakfast meetings in Worcester. Effectively, I was seeking a 'snowball' effect with the hope that this initial contact would lead me to a farmer who was willing to employ me alongside his or her migrant workforce.

One significant pressure that I experienced in my attempts to arrange this fieldwork was the issue and effect of seasonality. In attempting to organise a workplace ethnography in which I would also be employed, I realised that as the season progressed many farmers would already have their labour arrangements in place. I was also keen to meet with migrants who were arriving at the start of the season as well as workers who were already on site. Moreover, in hoping to be given an opportunity to work as a salad harvester I also realised that for most farms, the season for salads ended in September. In contrast to other work ethnographies – clothing manufacture, for example – where production is ongoing and seasonality plays no part, I had a limited window of opportunity to arrange my entry into the field. Consequently, as I made efforts to meet, talk and request introductions with farmers the phrase 'overbooking the plane' became a headline strategy of securing a fieldwork site. This meant that I was seeking to follow up all and any of the opportunities to work on a farm that would allow me access to workers and to not wait for the 'perfect' opportunity that would fulfil all of my fieldwork preferences (those particularly being on a salad farm, with accommodation, and in a particular location).

The strategy of 'overbooking the plane' was challenging as I found myself constantly making and re-making inner commitments to places and arrangements. As a result of my research 'pitch' at the meeting in Worcester, I was invited to visit one farm as a prospective

fieldwork research site. The field manager that I met was in favour of me researching on the farm because he thought the research would be interesting, but the production manager (the son of the farm owner) who was younger than me (and, interestingly, in a relationship with one of the migrant workers living on the farm), was reluctant. This perfectly illustrates how more than one gatekeeper can exist in research (Burgess 1984: 48-49). The production manager said that I would not be able to live in on-site accommodation with workers and that my role would be mostly based in the packhouse. They felt that the field-based work would be physically too difficult for me.

Another opportunity that arose from my new contacts was a small farm that employed a maximum of six workers during the season. I did not consider this as suitable because I was seeking to work and live alongside a greater number of workers of different nationalities. While considering this opportunity I realised that horticultural workplaces were not only diverse, and that the allocation of tasks was potentially gendered, but that the rural location of workers made everyday access difficult and thus underlined the need to undertake ethnographic research that definitely included living on the farm. The process of gaining access was an important starting point in revealing aspects of the social relationships in the research site (Burgess 1984: 40).

Eventually my research contact, who had been instrumental in facilitating the arrangements with the university I attended in Ukraine, significantly helped in arranging my UK fieldwork. I had discussed with her the types of farms I was interested in working on and her contacts brought immediate results; it was a relief to receive a phone call from her during which she told me I had a job starting on the following Saturday at a salad farm in the east of England. According to my research contact (later confirmed during a phone call with the student manager on Greenberg Farm) I was to be treated the same as everyone else which is exactly as I had requested. The following weekend, having packed my work clothes, wellington boots and sleeping bag, I set off by train to the fieldwork site.

3.3 Ethnography and reflexivity

Ethnography, as a core part of my research strategy, is of value because of its potential to brightly illuminate the relationships between structure, agency and geographic context (Herbert 2000: 550). Nonetheless, despite a recognition that ethnography is singularly capable of disentangling the connections between micro and macro situations, it has also been entangled in its own debate of the form, nature and degree of the researchers' involvement in the ethnographic research process (Herbert 2000: 557). The idea of the distant and detached researcher has gone (Denzin and Lincoln 2003: 28) and has been replaced by greater acknowledgement of the researcher's presence and role in research.

Reflexivity is used by researchers to discern their own role in the field and beyond in the production of knowledge. Reflexivity has many meanings and different forms (Pini 2004; Rose 1997). A common definition and understanding, offered by England, considers reflexivity to be a self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher (England 1994: 82). Reflexivity is part of broader project of postcolonial, feminist and critical forms of knowledge production because; it offers a means of avoiding the false neutrality and universality of so much academic knowledge and thus situates knowledge (Rose 1997: 306). In situating knowledge, scholars have applied the term position to show the the kind of power that enabled a certain kind of knowledge (Rose 1997: 307-308). Reflexivity, in its simplest form, can be thought of as a research tool that has the function of exploring the power and position between the researcher and the researched (Rose 1997: 307-8).

England (1994) identifies that reflexivity is misunderstood as mere navel gazing and even narcissistic and egoistic (England 1994: 82). For many, however, reflexivity is a crucial element of research ethics, as it compels researchers to consider and reconsider the relations of power between the researcher and the researched. Such considerations are necessary because researchers are understood to possess a privilege in the research process. Such privilege relates to the greater access both to material resources and to the power inherent in the production of knowledges about others (Rose 1997: 307).

In this section, I explore the different forms of presence in my ethnographic fieldwork. I rely on ‘reflexivity’ to explore my presence in this research and explore the role and involvement with not only the ‘researched’ but also my relationship with the ‘research’. I apply ‘reflexivity’ in three ways: First, I use it to acknowledge the role of my own biography, which shapes my relation with the ‘research’ in knowledge production. Second, reflexivity is used to discern ‘positionality’ in the field and discuss two main ‘subject positions’ experienced during fieldwork on Greenberg Farm: ‘English researcher girl’ and ‘worker’. In doing so, I consider the impact of workplace ethnography on the power relations experienced between the researcher and the researched. Third, having discussed the role of my biography and my presence in the field, I explore how my fieldwork experiences involved processes of mimicry and learning, injury and conditioning and contributed to my embodied knowing. Thus, this chapter demonstrates the multiple positions, both discursively and bodily, through which I am situated in this research.

3.3.1 Reflexivity I: My relationship with the ‘research’

England states that as researchers ‘we do not parachute into the field with empty heads and a few pencils or a tape-recorder in our pockets ready to record the “facts”’. Instead, we ‘are differently positioned subjects with different biographies’ (England 1994: 84). In this section of the chapter I briefly explore the application of reflexivity in relation to my work and study biographies and the research.

In stating that ‘geographers are not part of some universal monolith’ (England 1994: 84), England reminds us that all researchers are diverse and complex. A starting point in unravelling the complexity of my role in the field is a brief biographical account of my work and academic influences that shaped how I undertook, and related to, this research. This research is part of an ESRC CASE studentship, a collaboration between the University of Sussex and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) and the Migrants Rights Network (MRN). CASE studentships have several aims, the most overarching being the knowledge transfer between the academic and public or voluntary sectors. My original interest in this research project was the opportunity to collaborate with a civil society

organisation. Moreover, the significance of the CASE studentship and the organisations it sought to bring together, was that the role of immigration status in the experiences of migrant workers was regarded as the central (and not secondary) focus of the research.

My original interest in migration studies began during my Development Studies BA, at which time I wrote an undergraduate thesis that explored the legal situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. This interest in migration and in particular, the experiences of migrants, continued after my degree and for a time I worked with nurses from the Philippines during nightshifts in the Norfolk and Norwich University Hospital. In talking to Filipino nurses I learned, among other things, about remittances and transnational families. Consequently a diverse range of work and study experiences has both informed and directed my interest and commitment to migration studies.

Pini (2004) acknowledges that her research is located in personal experience and history. Similarly my own history of work has shaped my relation with this research. Between the ages of 18 and 27 I experienced a range of workplace regimes that shared the following commonalities: low pay, temporary, low-skilled and work that was physical or involved the body. Such work included places such as hospitals, nursing homes, secure units (as a care assistant), a cake factory (as a mixer), a cat & dog collar factory (sewing one stitch on each collar), a computer factory (assembly line worker), a cufflink factory (painting and assembling cufflinks), a hotel (waitressing and washing-up), a bubble wrap and packaging factory (packing padded envelopes), and a horticultural nursery (potter/planter).

First and foremost, my own history of paid work gave me a particular understanding of everyday experiences of low-paid workplaces and shaped my approach to this research. Experience of previous workplace regimes, such as those cited above, taught me that detail, short cuts and rhythm all play a vital role in repetitive jobs as well as the mind games, motivation and a will to beat the ever ticking clock all the way to home time. Monotonous tasks cannot be anything but monotonous in the workplace, but having to undertake such tasks at speed results in a sense of efficiency, of organisation, of competition against one's

self and against others. Repetitive and tedious tasks also involve stress and frustration, making such jobs as much about the mind as they are about the body.

Awareness of the role of my biography in this research revealed itself in Ukraine, as information elicited from former SAWS workers went beyond a basic description that their work involved simply ‘cutting’. I was able to understand the extent to which the small things mattered in non-professional workplaces; for example, one student I interviewed criticised a member of management because she failed to organise the arrival of the next trailer in the field (therefore significantly delaying the work of the harvesters). Similarly, I could empathise with possessing the right type of plastic bags for lettuce as being important for another interviewee (again, the issue of delay and the creation of pressure to work harder when the right type of bag did arrive). Such revelations were not new because previous workplaces have taught me that sometimes productivity and efficiency, and simply the ability to get a job done relies on small items such as a pouring jug, a paintbrush, a screwdriver or a workbench, and that it involves distortions of both time and space by means of mind and workplace ‘games’. For example, ‘mind’ games involved telling myself ‘to just get to the break time’ and ‘I’ll feel better’. Workplace ‘games’ involved numerous strategies; competing against the clock and co-workers, for example. Such experiences helped me to develop a sense of empathy and a realisation that the seemingly insignificant details of workplaces have the potential to affect the workers’ experiences and relations.

Finally, my work experiences reveal the extent to which work turned me into a worker – for example, the donning of a uniform, learning a practice or a movement or a routine until it is a fully formed habit, occurring as part of my own body clock and happening without question. Very often, embodiment occurred simultaneously as I held hopes of both becoming something and being somewhere else. Consequently, my worker biography confers an understanding that makes me reflexive in a particular way; that is *who* you are is very often a lot more than what you embody as a result of the workplace. Without doubt my worker biography was instrumental in focusing on workers’ experiences and interpretations of the workplace.

3.3.2 Reflexivity II: Relationship with the ‘researched’

One almost has to be reflexive about being reflexive because reflexivity, in producing a position of difference, also produces ‘othering’ which results from an ‘objectifying distance’ or, a position of sameness (Rose 1997: 313). The latter, sameness, is a consequence of the researcher and the researched being in the same position (Rose 1997: 313), although sameness does not recognise the privileges inherent in the researchers’ position, which comes from being the one who interprets and represents the research and researched (Rose 1997: 313). Like Rose, I share the concerns regarding a form of reflexivity that leads either to a focus on difference (to such an extent as to produce the ‘other’) or to ‘sameness’ which insufficiently recognises the privilege attached to research and knowledge production. In the context of my thesis, overcoming this significant impasse involves consideration of the role of space, time and scale in the relationship that I developed with the researched, and therefore not only of the sameness or difference between me and researched. There are some very good reasons as to why a focus on the latter - sameness or difference - requires a cautious approach and why an account of the role of space and time needs to be made. This section attempts to make such an account and reveals how both ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ existed concurrently but in different contexts of the research.

To begin with, the spatial and temporal context of the fieldwork research did not cultivate a sense of sameness or difference (of which Rose speaks) between the researched and the researcher. This is because the majority of the individuals present during the fieldwork were, like me, new to the geographical location and workplace. The workplace processes that we, as ‘workers’ were involved with, were permanent but our relationship with them was temporary and seasonal (for example, work contracts were either 12 or 24 weeks for the majority of workers). The team of harvesters I worked with, for example, arrived on Greenberg Farm only two weeks before me (and during this time had mostly undertaken onion planting work and not harvest work). In contrast, some of the Polish workers arrived several weeks after me and as Emerson notes, this proved interesting because it enabled me to recall my own first impressions of the camp and the work (Emerson *et al.*, 1995: 26).

‘Sameness’ existed because of where we were – on a farm in the east of England – and not because of who we were, and this was pivotal on the mutual absence of ‘knowing’ or ‘belonging’ to Greenberg Farm. This existed for both the researched and the researcher and is an outcome of the feature of temporariness of the field and farm.

‘Difference’ however, was extensive but it related to the differences among the researched rather than differences between researched and the researcher. For example, differences amongst the researched existed not least because of the range of nationalities present on the farm, including Ukrainian, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Polish, Latvian and Lithuanian and British. The list of nationalities begins to indicate the potential differences existing within the researched themselves (language being the most obvious). The lack of belonging and the heterogeneity and temporality suggests that there were no ‘indigenous’ people involved and there was little likelihood of ‘going native’. Instead, acknowledgement of the fieldwork as a site of diversity in which continuous change was experienced by both the researched and the researcher, prevents a form of reflexivity which creates ‘problematic notions of a stable, tightly defined, unchanging research project conducted by a singular researcher, with one stable identity, both between locations and over time, and suggest the latter is also true of the researched’ (Crang 2003: 497).

In rethinking the issue of ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ between the researched and researcher in the context of my research, I do not seek to negate the potential and real effects of my role as a researcher and the privilege and freedom it conferred. Acknowledgement and ongoing awareness is part of an ethical approach to this research and to those involved with it. In considering workplace ethnographies, Prentice and Whitelaw (2008) assert that ‘jobs may be literally on the line’ and therefore ‘the ethnographer’s power (real or perceived) must be taken very seriously’ (Prentice and Whitelaw 2008: 53). Being conscious of this, I appreciated the cost and effort that individuals had to make in order to secure their workplace on the farm. I was also aware of the cost – financial and emotional – of the loss of jobs. I was conscious too of maintaining the confidentiality of all the individuals with whom I spoke during this research, including

both management and workers, although I was aware that such a commitment to confidentiality may not have always been reciprocated by the researched.

Pini (2004) suggests that reflexivity should involve considering how the researched considers the researcher and that this is a potential strategy to overcome 'othering' in reflexivity. Such an approach also allows exploration of the positions of the researcher and of power relations. An example, in the context of my fieldwork on Greenberg Farm, is the consideration of the extent to which the researched - in this case, management and workers - considered me to be an 'employee' and 'worker'. I inhabited multiple subject positions, including: researcher, worker, female, English and self. The researched inhabited multiple subject positions too, for example: student, worker, migrant, the researched as well as male/female, and nationality.

Exploring these multiple subjectivities is already an aim within my research because this thesis investigates how individuals become the 'right type of worker' and how being a 'student' and a 'migrant' affects workplace experiences. In the following sections I focus on two of the subject positions I experienced during fieldwork on Greenberg Farm. In doing so, I use an approach comparable to Pini (2004) who presents four 'subject positions' that she experienced during her research on Australia's sugar industry, for example, 'nice country girl' and 'Italian-Australian'. Pini (2004) explores each subject position and how each impacted on the research. In the next section, I explore two of the subject positions I experienced during fieldwork in the UK: 'English researcher girl' and 'worker'. In describing each, I account for the role of my biography in shaping the research and the relations I experienced.

Subject position #1 'English Researcher Girl'

'English Researcher Girl' as a subject position combines three sub-positionalities of being a 'researcher', of being 'English' and of being 'girl'. Before reflecting on how these three separate positionalities combined in the field as one, I will briefly comment on these three signifiers and how they were constructed. Being 'English' was a result of my nationality,

which for those I met during fieldwork was defined mostly on the English language being my mother tongue. *Researcherø* was a result of my association with the University of Sussex and because I had used that term to describe myself when I made initial contact with potential and actual research participants. Unlike the first two positionalities and descriptors, *girlø* is one that I would not *normallyø* assume, however, it was somehow projected onto me. This may have been because by some in the field, for example, the farmer, some members of farm management, I was considered *youngø* keen to learn and inexperienced thus potentially out of my depth and vulnerable³². This however, was not wholly how my co-workers understood me but neither, I would argue, did they consider me as *English researcher womanø*

The subject position of *English researcher girlø* was immediately discernible at the start of fieldwork on Greenberg Farm. On arrival at the local train station, I was met by the student manager (SM) and his wife. They picked me up in what they considered to be the cleanest minibus on the farm and together we returned to the farm and camp. I was surprised at such hospitality because not only had I been assured that I would be *treated the same as anyone elseø* but they both told me that they rarely picked up students themselves anymore³³. It was a long drive but during this time I learned about the physical and geographical landscape in which my fieldwork was set. I observed the flatlands, fields of commodities - daffodils, asparagus, salads, to name a few. I also began to get a feel for the emotional and relational landscape that I was about to become a part of. It was clear that the student manager perceived me as an academic researcher with a middle class background³⁴. The student manager, in seeing me foremost as an *academic researcherø* and not a worker, reflected his expectation that I would initially last not more than four days³⁵.

³² Arguably, this perception of me was also evident during my time in Ukraine as I relied heavily on my teacher and translator and the small number of contacts I had at the university.

³³ Although the student manager's wife did mention that she used to come along when her husband had to pick up lone women arriving as she felt they might find it uneasy to be alone and in a strange place especially if they could not speak the language. Mostly, however, the *driversø* or *team leadersø* picked up new arrivals.

³⁴ How mistaken! Both the student manager and his wife were surprised when I said I attended a state school and that my mother, like the student manager's wife, worked as a cleaner at a school.

³⁵ The student manager told me this towards the end of the fieldwork. At first he thought I would not complete four days but having seen that I could manage this, said he thought I would not last a month. Fieldwork lasted

In wanting to be 'treated the same as anyone else' I was very keen to just to 'fit in' with the camp and work on the farm and let the 'researcher' part of me fade into the background. Such naïve hopes were unlikely to be fulfilled because during that same bus journey to the farm I learned that the student manager had already announced my arrival. He had gathered all the students living on the camp together for a meeting in the kitchen³⁶ and explained my upcoming presence on the farm, which was, according to his interpretation, research that investigated why the Ukrainians had come to work in the UK and the benefits from doing such work when they returned. According to the Student Manager he had also explained how I was not a spy either for the farm or for the SAWS operator, which had facilitated their arrival on Greenberg Farm. I found out subsequently from two Bulgarians that they thought from what the Student Manager said that I was not interested in talking with Bulgarians but only Ukrainians. Nonetheless the decision to inform the people being researched collectively about why I was on the farm was one I supported. In many ways this was ethical because it would have provided the opportunity for all to hear the same information, ask questions and begin the process of securing informed consent. Unfortunately my absence from the student manager's introduction meant that I had lost the initial opportunity to explain and broaden the understanding of the research in the presence of all the migrant workers living on the farm.

The following extract from my field notes written on the first day illustrates how I was 'voiceless' and indicates that the student manager was instrumental in shaping relations between me and the rest of the researched.

Anyhow the student manager was chatting to Elma who, together with her boyfriend are the main contact points on the camp if there are any problems. I had quite an awkward moment as the student manager decided to speak on my behalf and ask Elma 'to look out for her as she was a bit nervous because she was coming here, you know, with all these foreigners'. 'No!' I tried to say, but

just over ten weeks. Ukrainian team members were there for a maximum of 12 weeks (but did not work a full week towards the end of their stay).

³⁶ I realised later on during the fieldwork that gathering workers in the kitchen was a rare event and usually meant that something was going to happen. For example, we were gathered in the kitchen on one occasion because of management's (and supermarkets') huge concerns regarding 'quality' in particular the 'quality' of the style of packing. A meeting in the kitchen therefore indicated something significant, if not serious.

somehow it was too late and now probably someone high in the pecking order in the camp thinks that I am an English person who does not like foreigners. Good start worker 1009³⁷.

Field Notes (5/01/07)

It was clear therefore that I, in being an English, researcher girl was different and being treated as English researcher girl revealed much about what management thought of everyone else as it did about how they positioned me. Workers who I met only during interviews, for example those who lived off the camp, also primarily positioned me as a researcher who was seeking to learn about their experiences. It was straightforward because their take on me as a researcher did not affect my relations with co-workers (unlike with the student manager). The response from workers with whom I did not live on the camp contrasts to the reaction from workers that I did live with. In the case of the latter, for some being a researcher also symbolised being a spy, whereas for others I was just there to write a book. The complexity of being simultaneously perceived in different terms by different members of the same institution (Burgess 1984: 88) - in this case the workplace - created an ongoing tension throughout the ten weeks of fieldwork.

Reactions to my presence on the camp (and my purpose) were diverse and mostly ambivalent. Some workers expressed their support for the research and what I was attempting to do. Others did not really understand why I would want to research a farm but were still amiable. And whereas some trusted me and spoke freely and openly, others seemed either guarded or lacked confidence in speaking English. On occasion, my presence was treated with caution and suspicion but interestingly these concerns were voiced in connection with social events on the camp and not work³⁸. For example, some of the researched expressed concern at the possibility that I might attend the regular Saturday night party in the kitchen (in the kitchen). The worry was that I would witness inappropriate drunken behaviour and report this back to the Student Manager. At the same time, others of the researched expressed how they would like me to attend and that to be

³⁷ 1009 was the number assigned to me by the farm.

³⁸ This is maybe because workers were already aware of the other forms of surveillance operating during work time - an issue discussed in chapter five.

absent (implied in declining the offer) showed I was showing a lack of interest and even being unfriendly.

The subject position of 'English researcher girl' thus created a layer of social complexity as it held different meanings for different people. Initially this resulted in me being in a tricky position because as 'English researcher girl' I sought to participate in all aspects of camp life. I felt that as 'English researcher girl' I should seek to develop broad relations with as many people as possible on the camp and not just those with whom I lived in the portacabin and worked closely in the fields. Attending the weekly parties was a part of such a strategy of research but that said, as 'English researcher girl' I also wanted to be sensitive to the worries and concerns that my presence brought to the researched. Moreover, as a researcher I did not want to invade spaces on the camp that were felt to be private. Mostly I declined any invitation and was content to spend several Saturday evenings flopped on my bed, watching DVDs on the laptop, writing up field notes and waiting for my Russian roommate to intermittently return, full of excitement³⁹. Sometimes I would visit the 'cyber café' or the cabins of other workers who were not going to 'na kitchen' until later in the evening. On the rare occasions that I did visit, it was for a short period and long before everyone got into the swing of the party. My attempts to consider all of the researched and their feelings towards my attendance at the Saturday night parties is just one example of how I felt torn by how to maintain relations with the researched.

Emerson *et al.*, (1995: 20) point out that ethnographers experience feeling 'torn at times between their research commitments and their desire to engage authentically those people whose worlds they have entered. Again, these feelings arose outside of the working day but in this case, engaging authentically might have also meant just being myself. For example, negotiating the social scene on the camp as an 'English researcher girl' I felt in many ways that I had to lose any sense of social spontaneity and make considerations of my relations with the researched. This was partly because of ethics and partly because of my

³⁹ I liked her strategy of returning at intervals to the cabin to rest on the bed before leaping up and going back to the kitchen. Parties would go on until the early hours and the kitchen would seem to be suffering a hangover too the next day with all its mess and party aftermath.

own idea of what a researcher is - as someone who takes special care to be thoughtful and responsible in their social relations at all times. This extract from field notes illustrates how my behaviour was shaped by my position as English researcher girl and considers how I might have behaved had I not experienced this position. How different the research might have been!

I have pressure on me to get on with others and to not be my reclusive self or to at least curb my reactions to things like the loud music in the minibus and so on, or to the treatment of Andon because I worry that this will affect my relations with the group and affect later interviews. If I was a worker, like everyone else, I would give into my feeling or impulse to respond to power in the workplace with my sexuality. I would negotiate the power of the team leader and the supervisor by flirting with him/them. It is highly likely that this boredom would lead me to do others things for example, to make a play for some guy who I found attractive within the camp. Maybe I wouldn't find him attractive usually but because we are contained, secluded, isolated, cut off, an island to ourselves, then I would, just to relieve the boredom, to shift the thoughts and repetition of work from my mind.

Field Notes (13/05/07)

From this extract it appears that my position as English researcher girl put the break on my normal behaviour. As well as being sexless⁴⁰ I also did little to challenge the treatment of the Bulgarian national, Andon, on the team. It was apparent that he was unhappy being on the team and that some of the Ukrainian team were more than frustrated with his presence. Fortunately for Andon, he was switched to another team and appeared much happier from then on.

As much as the position of English research girl constrained some forms of behaviour, it did enable other forms; on occasion I used it to lever agency in relation to the harvest work and, quite infrequently, I used the position to request days off from the work in the field. During these days off I would spend some time writing field notes, and other time making use of the empty cybercafe and the laundry room. Taking time off for writing was

⁴⁰ During an interview with a member of the team I was asked if I had ever had sex, possibly indicating that the impression I made to some was that of being sexless or celibate.

necessary because during the working day I gathered many ‘headnotes’ (Emerson *et al.*, 1995: 18). Writing notes while at work was not possible because I was fully immersed in harvesting and making a request to pause would have affected the rest of my team. It was therefore not practical to write during the harvest and the working day. Moreover, openly making notes about the researched may have not only distracted me but also affected how I was perceived and consequently, social relations (Emerson *et al.*, 1995: 23- 24). In summary, it seems then that although my subject position as an ‘English researcher girl’ was constructed by the researched and myself, it had different meanings for different people, including my own self.

Subject Position #2 ‘Worker’

In this sub-section I briefly focus on how my discursive subject position of ‘worker’ was constructed and authenticated by the researched and by me. Inhabiting the subject position of worker also involved the relationship of the body with harvest work (and any other task undertaken on the farm), which I discuss in the next sub-section. The farm management initially created my subject position as ‘worker’ because they gave me a job on the harvest team. Along with the job and worker number of ‘1009’ came a weekly wage and a written and signed contract of employment. In some workplace ethnographies, researchers have undertaken work without payment in exchange for access (Cross 2008) or have completed their ethnography by a series of regular visits, occasionally trying a few workplace tasks (Cross 2008). In the context of this research, being a paid worker was an important part of the ethics and also clearly defined my role as more than a presence in the workplace or as a visiting researcher who tried out different tasks. Furthermore, being a paid worker brought new insights because I reflected more about what we were being paid to do⁴¹.

Securing a full-time paid job as the point of access considerably shaped my relations with the researched and this created the position of ‘worker’. It enabled me to be treated as a

⁴¹ This is shown in chapters five and six where I give much attention to the topic of piece-rate payments.

worker (and not only as 'English researcher girl'). I contributed to this position because I adhered to the rules of work and as much as possible, fulfilled the expectation of me as a full time member of the harvest team. Doing the work as part of ethnography is often seen as a result of obligation and wanting to do one's best (Roberts 2008). This motivated me too but I was also motivated because it was what everyone else was doing due to the discipline of the workplace.

The Ukrainian harvest team - the people with whom I worked with the most during my time on Greenberg Farm - fixed and authenticated my subject position as 'worker'. No concessions were made and I was treated like everyone else in the team, especially by the field managers and team leader. The team expected me to work as they did; I was expected to turn up on time, to work at the same pace as everyone else, and to work for the whole day. I was teased (sometimes in English, other times in Russian), criticised, shouted at and told to hurry up but despite the daily criticism of my work, I was also praised and considered a proper member of the team. This was especially evident during a couple of instances when I left the field and had to be replaced by another worker (who, being less experienced, was slower than me). So entrenched was my position as worker, I did not feel that I could assert the subject position of 'English researcher girl' or do the things that I had originally thought I might do during fieldwork - taking notes or standing back and observing the rest of the team, to gain some insight in to how our team leader perceived us. I realised how alien and weird this might have seemed when I was observed during a visit to the field from Tesco (who were visiting to check adherence to the phytosanitary standards). Like the rest of the team, I did not take breaks and only ceased working during the journeys between the fields. Consequently, when we had a spare ten minutes between work orders I would concentrate on eating and drinking rather than writing notes.

The most significant difference between me and the rest of the team was my inability to speak fluent Russian. It led to exclusion but was also a form of protection and in some ways erased the sense of me being a spy and allowed me to just concentrate on doing the work. I was reliant on the team to explain things in English. The team was free to talk in Russian and to feel safe in the knowledge that it would not go further. Such differences did

not exclude me altogether from witnessing (or taking part!) in squabbles and rows, jokes and games within the team.

The subject position ‘worker’ opened up shared experiences between myself and many of the workers, especially those in my team. As I reveal next, the experience of injury is an example of shared experiences that create a variance between the two subject positions of ‘worker’ and ‘English researcher girl’ and shows how eventually I used my subject position of ‘English researcher girl’ to pursue treatment of injury.

During the harvest work, I and other workers on the team experienced discomfort and injury. Early on during harvest, my right hand (including the wrist) had become swollen to such an extent I could not see the tendons on the top part of my hand (as I would normally). The skin was swollen, felt jelly-like and was painful. When moving it, I could at times hear a cracking sound that made me worry that I may have had some kind of hairline fracture. The following excerpt from field notes mentions how I experienced injury and fatigue.

Swollen hands, extreme fatigue. Muddy room - the field is now in the ‘home’
Muddy boots and waterproofs - no energy to clean. Today’s work was hard ó
but I always knew it would be for the lack of sleep that we had last night.
Bulgarian planting team obviously have no work to do. I had a sleep when I
returned, but it still did not remove or erase the tiredness of the day ó woken by
loud music again - not refreshed- just overheated in a mud-dust room. Swollen
hand - same as Luba and Lana [workers on the team] - a bloated triangle below
my middle three fingers - right hand.

Field Notes (16/05/07)

As the injury and pain worsened, I visited the student manager in his office on the camp to ask his advice. The student manager indicated the injury was normal, that it would go away and that a doctor would tell me the same thing⁴². I felt this went against my instinct, or at least what I would have expected out of the field. One of my academic supervisors urged

⁴² Later on I developed a rash from harvest (see Figure 20 in chapter six). Some co-workers also had the same rash. During a conversation in the student manager’s office he noticed and asked why I had not approached him about it. He said that he had stopped workers from working because of this rash or had covered the rash with bandages until it had gone away. I had not approached him because I felt his response might be similar to that with my hand and wrist injury, and also that it was itching and annoying but did not cause me pain during work or otherwise (although it was unsightly).

me, both during a phone call and in email, to visit the local GP so the following day I returned to see the student manager and sensitively but cheerfully asked if he could help me to make an appointment to see the doctor. He agreed but going to the doctor also created other concerns relating to the team:

-I think it is a worry having to go to the doctors and the effect of that on the team and their feelings for me - but it has been mixed like Yulina does not think it is necessary, whilst Sofia thinks it is a good idea. I think going to work first is good.

Field Notes (17/05/07)

Seeing the GP felt like I was making a fuss but it also felt necessary and not just because I felt discomfort. There was an ethical imperative to seek advice and help with the injury because, as I was witnessing in the field, injury was not just something experienced by me but also by most of the team and workers on the camp too. The SM had arranged the appointment for the next day. I intended to go to work in the field as usual before being picked up by the SM, who would take me to the GP surgery, because I was concerned that I would not be replaced on the team. The SM picked me up at 8.48 am from the field and I went to the GP (via the farm so I could wash my boots). No other worker was sent to replace me and the team leader had to take my place. This caused me anxiety because the SM's decision not to replace me caused inconvenience and more work for the rest of the team. I was worried too that it would create bad feeling because it was Friday and by this time we were tired from working all week. Thankfully the trip to the GP was very quick and because of the orders given that day, the team were not in the field for long. This excerpt from my field notes reveals the both the social and medical remedies I received that day:

-So I saw Dr Richardson. The student manager had actually offered to come in with me. Dr Richardson compared my arms and said this was quite common. He said it would get worse and that we knew the cause so I either have a rest, or stop work, and this would reduce the swelling, but it would get worse and sometimes a lot more swollen and painful. He recommended Ibuprofen three times a day and to wear a strap.

We passed the field on the way home but all the team were gone and I wondered where they were. We went to the main farm to get the strap and I saw Mikhail, the trailer boy and the team leader in the farm office. I had not been in the farm office before and noticed how it was very chisti [clean]. I picked up the strap and then it was back to the camp. SM said I could go with him in the car but the team leader gestured that I should go with him in the minibus. This was a really good sign so I collected my stuff from the SM's car and went to the minibus. My new strap received with some 'oohs' I wonder what happened without me - if I was talked about, anyhow all seemed well, and we eventually raced off to the camp - back at 10am! Unbelievable! And yes it was unbelievable because just as I showered and stupidly believed it Marko came and told me and another worker that we had to be 'na poli' now [on the field - now]. Disbelief and disappointment as I thought we were going to Peterborough for the rest of the day. Actually we were all pretty good humoured in the bus ' maybe because we had had a break ' I don't know, but the laughter and humour was felt good and was infectious to say the least. I felt better. Oh dear, it does hurt to type, this is not good.

Field Notes (18/05/07)

I had found some temporary relief to the anguish that resulted from wanting to do the 'right thing' for myself and other workers on the team. This incident of injury illustrates much about the conflict I experienced in the subject position of 'worker' and 'English researcher girl'. First, workers were not seeking assistance with their injuries. While I was complicit in not taking breaks (to which we were legally entitled) I had to assert myself in the field to see the GP and address my hand injury. This meant that I was similar in my experience of injury to other workers on the team and farm but I was different because I attempted to find a remedy to the injury. Second, I was worried about the implications of behaving differently from the rest of the team especially in terms of the potential inconvenience and any affect it might have on my own feeling of belonging to the team and how the team perceived me. Third, the incident illustrated how my point of access (to have a job and be a worker) had rendered me dependent, especially upon the SM and access to healthcare.

Employment, in giving me entry to the field, resulted in being immersed in the constellations of power relations operating in the workplace both among the workers themselves and between workers and management. Ethnography often involves the researcher making and re-making alliances, or being adopted by a particular faction in a

group or community and so arguably, workplace ethnography is little different. As a worker I was subjected to rules, regulations and a discipline of work because I was dependent on my job and my work performance for access to the field and workers. Similarly workers, especially the Ukrainian team, were dependent upon me to turn up, do the work and be part of the team.

Trust is considered critical in attempts to develop a researcher's engagement with the researched and the fieldwork site (Burgess 1984: 92). Trust is, however, also fragile (Fontana and Frey 2003: 78). Like Ivancheva (2007) I experienced a sense of suspicion from workers (but also from some members of management). On Greenberg Farm I felt that trust could only be gained if it was mutual. This was because while I needed to gain the trust of the researched, they had to gain my trust too. I sometimes experienced feelings of insecurity as I realised that my confidence (after interviews) was not being reciprocated. There was very little I could do to prevent interviewees from sharing details of interviews, questions I had asked or remarks I made about the camp. While some workers avoided or did not seek out management (unless they needed anything in particular), regular and experienced workers had good, if not familial relations with management.

Such relations were used by management to know what was going on and the SM manager reminded me on many occasions that he knew of everything that went on in the camp. Whether he did or not is not my concern, but this consequently led me to worry about the questions I asked and the discussions I had during interviews and conversations, particularly with sensitive topics such as the infrequency of breaks during the working day, enquiries concerning pay and payslips, and of injury. I did not want to be seen as some kind of workplace agitator but this is not to say that there was any special reason for me to be seen as one. As the farm owner pointed out when we met, there was nothing to hide and, as my co-workers and I agreed and kept reminding ourselves, it was a good farm.

My fear was that discussions I had, and any opinions I expressed, would find their way back to a member of the management and that this could jeopardise my access or the work placement of someone on the farm. There was some justification for such extreme worry

because in the first week of fieldwork the SM had told me that some workers were not happy with the questions I was asking. I responded to this with great surprise as I had yet to interview anyone and had not asked anything more than names, nationalities and the wellbeing of people. It seemed that if it were perceived that I was negatively affecting workers, my fieldwork access would be curtailed or even denied. All in all, my relationship with workers was dependent on my relationship with management and vice versa (i.e. my relationship with management, and how management perceived me, depended on how I got on with workers).

3.3.3 Reflexivity III: My body and the research

In this final section on reflexivity, I explore the role and position of my body at work and the impact of undertaking workplace ethnography on the body. The body can be present in research in different ways. For example, Okely (2007: 1) suggests that participation is bodily engagement, while others have described how the researcher's senses of smell, touch, sight, hearing and even taste are just as significant as interviews and observations in the field. Moreover, inclusion and acknowledgment of the body as a site and space of knowing as an element of the researcher's presence is part of the broader aim of situating knowledge. Positionality can be used to indicate and articulate facets of the self (Rose 1997: 307-308) including, for example, race, nationality, sexuality, gender and age. Crang (2003) suggests that although facets of the self result in the body being part of an inevitable positioning in research, less often is it the instrument of research (Crang 2003: 499).

Participation in workplace ethnographies, in which skills and methods of work have to be learned, practiced and performed enable the researcher to use their body as an instrument of research. The subject position of worker enabled me to participate and become a tool of research. As I harvested, planted, and pulled onions in the fields and adjusted my lifestyle to living in the camp, my body internalised the routines and rhythms shared by those who I was researching, thus it became an active agent in making knowledge (Crang 2003: 499).

Undertaking paid employment gave an opportunity for my body to be immersed into the workplace regime.

Enacting the everyday work during harvest and routines on the camp enabled me to become a knowledgeable participant and sited me in a position to more readily share their concerns. As with Prentice's experience of work ethnography (Prentice 2007) my everyday routine and rhythms of work during the research mimicked the workers I was seeking to research. Dilley's experience of learning how to weave enabled an embodied understanding of the weaving craft and provided a gateway into understanding the wider social context and power relations of the weaving community. Dilley's research illustrates how knowledge, for the most part, is not verbalised (Dilley 1999: 37). 'Unverbalised bodily knowledge' such as the experience of bodily injury and conditioning in horticultural work is only accessible with bodily participation and articulated with reflection of bodily participation and performance (Dilley 1999: 35). Learning how to cut correctly and assess quality in harvest work provided me with an embodied experience and changed my relationship with the researched and the research. From harvesting repeatedly and being immersed in the workplace regime on the farm, including the activity on the camp, it enabled me to become a knowledgeable participant and exposed me to the concerns of my co-workers, the researched. Consequently, I agree with Prentice (2007) who suggests that workplace ethnographies allow researchers' bodies to be both 'witness to and subject of discipline' (Prentice 2007:33). The value of pursuing such an approach is that it enables researchers to investigate not only what workers say they do but also what workers actually do (Prentice 2007:32). Further, it enables researchers to investigate not only what work means to individuals but also explore what it does to them.

3.4 Interviews

In this next section I discuss my approach to organising and conducting interviews with migrant workers and make a comparison between the interviews undertaken in Ukraine and the UK.

3.4.1 National Technical University of Agriculture, Kharkov, Ukraine

As part of the preparation for my UK-based fieldwork I received language training in Ukraine. Migrants from Ukraine had the potential to provide insight into the experience of working in UK agriculture from the perspective of a non-EU nationality. At that time, non-EU workers were permitted to participate in the SAWS. One-to-one tuition in Ukrainian (and subsequently Russian) for a period of thirty hours every week took place at the Kharkiv National Technical University of Agriculture, named after Petro Vasylenko.

Shortly after I arrived and had begun to undertake Ukrainian language lessons, the UK Home Office announced that as a result of Bulgarian and Romania joining the EU in 2007, the UK would seek to exclude non-EU nationals from participating in the SAWS⁴³. For this reason, I chose to switch from learning Ukrainian to Russian. News of the changes also prompted me to seek to investigate the experiences of Ukrainian students attending the university who had already visited the UK and experienced the SAWS. As a result of this I also carried out eighteen taped interviews with former SAWS workers.

Organising interviews with former SAWS workers who were students at the University involved a lengthy process of negotiation with a member of faculty in charge of the university-based office that facilitated students' entry onto the SAWS and other similar European student working schemes. The faculty member represented a 'gatekeeper' within the research process from whom I had to seek permission in order to access and conduct interviews with students at the University (Burgess 1984: 48). Gatekeepers have practical interests in research (in this case, maintaining the reputation of the University) and may seek to direct the focus and method of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 66). This occurred during the negotiation of access because the faculty member repeatedly urged me to undertake a questionnaire survey of the students' experiences of the SAWS

⁴³ Instead, Romanians and Bulgarians would be offered temporary employment through the scheme. Such an announcement had implications for the research I anticipated undertaking the following spring. In light of the Home Office announcement, continuing to learn Ukrainian seemed risky as I was unsure if I would meet Ukrainians during the following season. The ESRC agreed to the change from Ukrainian to Russian language training.

instead of completing in-depth interviews. Consequently I began the research process with a short questionnaire survey that was distributed from the office that the SAWS returnees would visit. The questionnaire enabled me to acknowledge the suggestion of the survey and allowed me to access students directly and ask if they were interested in talking through their SAWS experiences further during an informal interview at the university.

In all, from a distribution of fifty survey leaflets, twenty-seven of the students responded and sixteen indicated that they would be willing to talk further about their experiences of working in the UK⁴⁴. The survey proved to be a successful tool with which to begin to arrange interviews. Consequently, and with the help of Sarah, my Russian Language teacher, I made phone calls to prospective interviewees. As this process unfolded I was given access to records that held the details of students who had previously worked in the UK. This enabled me to directly contact students who had worked on a variety of farms and ensured a discussion of diverse workplace experiences from different geographical locations and from those who had worked in a wide range of horticultural commodities including salads, soft fruits, and vegetables.

3.4.2 Interviews in the presence of an interpreter

Once arranged, interviews with students were conducted in a small room next to the main office that facilitated students' entry onto SAWS. Sarah, my language teacher, agreed to be present and undertake the role of translator. I explained to each interviewee that Sarah was there to assist with matters of translation and that they were free to speak in either English or Russian. Most interviewees spoke in English for some of the interview and regarded the interviews as an opportunity to practice their English language-speaking skills. The interviews often lasted for up to an hour and Sarah played an important role in interpreting the conversations between the students and me.

⁴⁴ A large proportion of the respondents who agreed to talk further were from Sumy, a small town that is a four-hour train ride away from the university. Due to logistical problems with transport I was not able to visit the students to interview them there.

I sincerely doubt I could have had a more committed and professional translator than Sarah. Nonetheless an evaluation of her presence and how this affected the interviews is needed. First, I had an initial concern regarding Sarah's positionality as a teacher within the University; I was concerned that the students might view her more as a figure of authority and less as a person who could assist with matters of translation. These concerns were soon dispelled however as I learned that Sarah had taught students prior to their SAWS trip to the UK and that she was popular with many students who talked with her during breaks from our Russian language lessons. I felt sure that if students might have been irked by her presence in any way, they would simply not have turned up. By the time interviews commenced I knew Sarah well as we spent at least five days a week together⁴⁵. Consequently I recognized that she held an immense passion for the English language and that sometimes she was less interested in the content of our conversations but more the technicalities, use of the English language and providing a correct translation - word for word.

Second, I needed to consider the quality and type of translation Sarah could provide. As it turned out, many interviewees spoke initially in English and then switched to Russian, while others spoke throughout the interview in English or Russian. In contrast to instances in which the reliance on interpreters has resulted in disastrous misunderstandings (Fontana and Frey 2003: 77), Sarah offered a sense of security to both the interviewee and myself and was ready to assist with any misunderstandings arising from not knowing particular words and phrases. Sarah, in her role as interpreter, would often interrupt my questioning and I valued these interventions because it demonstrated that she was translating verbatim. Sarah never treated the translation exchange between her and the student as a private dialogue nor did she translate the words of the interviewees every ten minutes and therefore effectively paraphrase what the interviewee was saying. Instead Sarah attempted to translate word for word and sentence by sentence. In instances where a

⁴⁵ In getting to know Sarah I realised that she possessed a great amount of knowledge of the SAWS. Firstly, in a professional capacity, her knowledge of SAWS arose because of her role as translator and interpreter for members of university faculty when SAWS recruitment operators and British farmers visited. Sarah had also accompanied faculty members visiting farms in the UK. Secondly, Sarah had a more personal involvement and insight too because her daughter, who participated in SAWS, had a mixed experience as she found the work too hard.

translation was not immediately possible, Sarah would discuss directly with the interviewee more about the context of the meaning. This was how I came to understand the meaning behind the phrase ‘follow-through’ which was used by one Ukrainian former strawberry harvester to describe the practice of harvesting the strawberries left in the field after the initial harvest of the same field by Polish workers and other workers from the EU (see chapter six).

3.4.3 Interviews in Ukraine and UK: Similarities and differences

In this section, I discuss the similarities and differences between the two sets of interviews in Ukraine and the UK. A full list of the interview schedule including the dates, locations and nationalities of interviewees is located in the Appendix. The similarities identified are based on my interviewing style and format. First, in both locations, unless I was interviewing someone I worked with closely every day, I introduced myself clearly, stating that I was a student at the University of Sussex (and thus not connected to the SAWS operator, the University in Ukraine or the farm). I explained that I was interested in listening to interviewees’ experiences of working in the UK and/or on Greenberg Farm. In maintaining an ethical approach to the research and those involved, I took care to ensure that informed consent was gained, the right to privacy was upheld (by protecting participants’ identity with anonymity) and that no harm was experienced by participants (Fontana and Frey 2003: 89)⁴⁶. In the context of the interviews, the application of this approach involved a brief explanation at the beginning of each interview about myself and my research. Further, I explained that there were no wrong or right answers, that there was no obligation to answer every question, and that I was willing to answer any questions the interviewee had of me. I explained the issue of confidentiality and anonymity and discussed

⁴⁶ The application of ethics in my research both prior and during both sites of fieldwork (in Ukraine and UK) were based on the principles of research ethics set out by the University of Sussex and the ESRC. Such principles involve the ‘rights, dignity and safety of research subjects’ (ESRC Research Ethics Framework www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/esrcinfocentre/opportunities/researchethicsframework as last accessed on 15/12/2010). Enacting the principles of research ethics involves: informing participants of the purpose and methods of research, respecting confidentiality, voluntary participation and in all instances ensuring research participants do not experience any harm. These principles informed my submission of an ethical review to the ethics committee at the University of Sussex prior to my research commencing (this has since been renamed as the Research Governance Committee).

this as I made a request for the interview to be recorded on a dictaphone. Dictaphones proved to be valuable in both the interviews in Ukraine and on the UK farm. Firstly, they allowed greater flow of conversation, as I did not have to write notes constantly. Secondly, the recording of interviews allowed the capture of the smallest details - for example, pauses, overlaps, and inbreaths (Silverman 2001: 354) - and the atmosphere of everyday life in the field. Replaying the recordings strongly evoked memories of the fieldwork and how I felt at particular moments, including thoughts I did not voice during the interviews. Having made these opening comments, I would ask the interviewee again if they were happy to continue, thus ensuring I had gained their informed consent. Once having gained agreement and understanding of these issues I handed a short letter, printed in Russian or English, which put in to words what I had just explained and included my contact details.

My approach to ethics may seem formal compared to the informal yet attentive style of interviewing that followed the initial moments of meeting with interviewees. I created an informal and friendly conversation and broke the ice (Fontana and Frey 2003: 86) by asking simple open-ended questions, such as 'can you tell me about a normal day of work on the farm?' Towards the end of interviews I asked 'what made a good day on the farm?' Such questions were effective in allowing individuals to open up and understand my scope of interest. My response to answers, which very often included an expression of feelings, demonstrated I was keen to prevent a hierarchical interviewing situation (Fontana and Frey 2003: 83). Consequently I expressed laughter, joy, surprise and dismay at different points in the interview. I also expressed and voiced any misunderstanding I had in both interviews and during later fieldwork. This indicates that I attempted to adopt a position of 'supplication' in my relationship with the interviewees (Smith 1988 quoted in England 1994: 82). Supplication helps to rebalance the relationship between the researched and the researcher as it involves revealing and using 'weaknesses regarding dependence on whoever is being researched for information and guidance' (England 1994: 82). Such an approach involves acceptance and acknowledgement that the researched possess greater knowledge of the research matter than the researcher (England 1994: 82).

The main differences between the interviews I conducted during the next stage of research on Greenberg Farm and those undertaken in Ukraine are centred on the topics covered and the presence or absence of Sarah. Interviews in the Ukraine included the presence of Sarah, as interpreter, which enabled me to interview students whose English language skills were minimal. They were also organised in advance and took place in a regular setting, for example a classroom or small office. A key feature of the data I collected in Ukraine was that students discussed their experiences retrospectively and not at the same time as experiencing them. In Ukraine, I prepared for the interviews by thinking about topics that I sought to discuss, including education and study, knowledge and information of the SAWS (both before and after/during working in the UK), the arrangement of travel and visa to the UK, a typical day's work in the UK, housing and transport. Money and pay were further topics of discussion including payslips and piece-rate methods, costs of migration, the details of remittances, and spending in the UK. Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured as I attempted to stick to following these lines of inquiry. They usually lasted no more than one hour.

In contrast, interviews in the UK were limited to interviewees who were able to speak at minimum, basic English. My Russian language skills were not strong enough for me to conduct interviews in Russian without an interpreter. Both the researched and I, in discussing a closely shared workplace, developed shared meanings (Fontana and Frey 2003: 86), such as references made in the interviews to Greenberg Farm-specific processes and terms such as 'extras'⁴⁷.

Interviews during the UK fieldwork lacked the sense of organisation experienced in Ukraine as they were arranged 'on the hoof' as and when workers were both willing and available after work. In all, I interviewed 26 workers and two members of the management from Greenberg Farm. In sharing the same work tasks and living space as interviewees I did not take the same approach with interviews as I had during the Ukraine interviews. For example, in Ukraine, interviewees shared with me in great detail information about their

⁴⁷ A shorthand reference to the extra work allocated by farm management to the harvest teams.

daily work routines as well as detail around pay and living conditions. Instead, interviews in the UK tended to place greater focus on discussing why we were doing the work in a particular way rather than describing the work we had undertaken. Each interview began with the sharing of background information, for example, the name of their home town, previous visits to the UK, and educational aspirations as well as reflections on being in the UK. Many of the interviews transformed from interviews to conversations which were based on observations about the work and the camp. For example, interviewees and I would reflect on the weather and as a consequence this would lead to a conversation or remark about the effect it had on our work tasks. Or, interviewees might express their tiredness, so this would create a discussion about fatigue and other affects of work. Being based on the camp would raise the topic of the conditions of the camp or enable comparisons with previous experiences of accommodation. In addition, being the only British worker who lived on the camp resulted in interviewees asking me questions, for example, about pay and payslips. Most weeks I would be asked to show my payslip and during some interviews worker and myself would discuss how this wage and work compared to what British nationals were perceived to do elsewhere in the UK. Thus, interviews undertaken in the UK were less formulaic around topic but more responsive to the activities and events occurring during that day. The only exceptions to this were the two interviews with farm management. During these interviews I felt inhibited to ask fully about my concerns around pay and work. This was in part because I was concerned that such questions would impact on my length of stay. Instead interviews were broad in scope and focused generally on the overall production operations of the farm.

The location of the interview differed, and was dependent on whether my shared accommodation was vacant. Interviews took place in a range of locations including in workers' own cabins, outside on the grass and in cars. Finally, the UK-based interviews involved interviewing people with a range of nationalities with whom I discussed the workplace experience of one farm: Greenberg. In undertaking the same work as interviewees I did not enquire in to how work was undertaken in the same way I had during the Ukraine interviews. Instead greater focus was placed on discussing why we were doing the work in a particular way rather than on discussing what work was done.

In summary, the Ukrainian interview experiences and data proved to be immensely valuable. Overall, the shared experiences of former workers prepared me for what to expect during fieldwork, with regards to accommodation and working hours for example. The information shared regarding the differences in experiences on soft fruit and salad farms directed me to pursue work on the latter. I considered salad farms to be a preferred option because interviewees informed me that, unlike on soft fruit farms, workers on salad farms rarely worked on their own but as part of a team. The experience of being in Ukraine and meeting former SAWS workers helped me to not only secure access to a fieldwork site in the UK but to anticipate fieldwork with some confidence and contributed to the rapport I developed with co-workers on Greenberg Farm.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter establishes how my chosen methodology responds to and fits with the research questions posed in chapter two. First, the thesis is concerned with the role of immigration status in shaping the working lives of migrant workers in horticulture. Undertaking an ethnographic approach has enabled me to explore the diverse ways in which immigration status confers opportunities and constraints for workers in everyday work situations. Moreover, in meeting with former SAWS workers in Ukraine I was able to discuss a wide range of experiences of horticultural work in the UK - on soft fruit farms as well as salad farms. In addition, these interviews revealed much about the deployment of earnings by former workers in their home countries. Second, an ethnographic approach to workplace research, including employment alongside those with whom I worked, responds to a particular focus within this thesis on workers' embodiment of the processes and organisation of workplace production. By doing the work, and especially by living on the camp and harvesting in the fields with workers, I was not only able to discuss work and living experiences with fellow workers but to use my own experiences to inform such discussions. Third, and linked to this, in being a witness and participant to the organisation of production I was able to capture the meaning and impact of work effort on migrant

workers in UK horticulture including the social, economic and physical impact of workplaces governed by Just-In-Time and Total Quality Control regimes.

In this chapter I have set out my methodological and epistemological approach to the research. In doing so I have focused on the two sites of fieldwork in Ukraine and in the UK. In both sites, but for different reasons, I developed an approach to research that involved the application of reflexivity. In Ukraine this was mostly because of the participation of my language teacher and interpreter, Sarah, during the interviews with former SAWS workers. In the UK, the dual role of worker and researcher on Greenberg Farm provoked me to reconsider again and again my relationships with the researched and the positions I inhabited throughout the ten weeks of work on that farm. Reflexivity has not only led me to question and re-evaluate my fieldwork experiences, and that which I have learned during my ethnographic research, but also to ask how such knowledge has been created. In particular, knowledge has been an outcome of fieldwork relationships and in this chapter, I escaped the binary reflexive positions of *‘sameness’* or *‘difference’*, arguing instead that both *‘sameness’* and *‘difference’* existed in the fieldwork and were context specific.

I have suggested that these contexts were shaped by the role of space and time. Such considerations about my relations with the research and the researched will, I hope, enable the reader to have confidence in this work and the writing in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Four

Meanings of Space and Immigration Status in ‘The Camp’



Figure 1: Inside ‘The Camp’ on a rainy day

4.1 Introduction

Geography, in being ‘more than simply ‘background scenery’ (Herod *et al.*, 2001: 176 in Castree 2007: 855), ‘has a constitutive role to play in the drama of what happens to workers and what workers can do to alter the terms and conditions of their employment’ (Castree 2007: 855). In more specific terms, Mitchell (1996) proposes that understanding material landscape, in the Californian context, is achieved by examining closely the relations of labour and the struggle between different social and economic groups (Mitchell 1996: 8). In this chapter, I demonstrate the powerful role of rural landscape in the experience of migrant workers.

In chapter two, I explained how this thesis sets out to explore the role of immigration status on migrants’ work (and living) experiences in UK horticulture. A further aim of this

thesis is to reveal how organisation of the workplace and production relations contribute to the making of the right type of worker required in the horticultural sector. In this chapter, I suggest that the rural landscape, the setting of which in this chapter is the east of England, isolates and contains migrant workers⁴⁸. The rural isolation experienced by migrant workers is underpinned by the conditions attached to migrants' immigration status. Employer-provided accommodation and a lack of labour mobility as a result of immigration status creates the enclosure of migrants and allows employers to utilise migrants' labour power. These conditions diminish the significance of social networks and migrants' ability to create and use them to their advantage - either for language learning or to gain improved and preferred work opportunities. Workers did demonstrate agency but their agentic acts reflected a position which was tightly circumscribed by the intersection of structural forces (Coe and Jordonhus-Lier 2010: 19). In this context, structural forces are represented by the rules and conditions of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS), which gave workers an option of either to request a transfer to another farm or to return home earlier than anticipated.

This chapter seeks to contribute to the questions posed in chapter two and in doing so, explore the roles and functions of employer-provided accommodation for temporary migrants recruited through SAWS. Accommodation is significant in the working and living experiences of migrants, not least because a condition of their participation in SAWS (and therefore a condition of immigration status) is an agreement to reside in the accommodation provided by a SAWS employer or recruitment operator. Equally, an employer's provision of accommodation under SAWS is a condition of (employer) participation⁴⁹. Migrants recruited under SAWS are allocated a work role and designated a farm in advance of their arrival in the UK. Limited opportunities to switch farms and employers exist with the arrangement of farm transfers, which are arranged by the recruitment operator.

⁴⁸ I do not use a precise geographical reference to indicate the location of the farm because this may have implications for ensuring that the anonymity of the location of the farm.

⁴⁹ Where operators provide accommodation, employers are not required to.

Public policy discourse and scholarly literature reveal the diverse functions and roles of employer-provided accommodation in agriculture, with much attention being paid to the poor conditions experienced by workers in that accommodation (Ivancheva 2007). For example, Ziebath (2006) suggests that the provision of basic and substandard housing is linked to the inferior views held by employers towards migrants. Grammot and Flores (2010) reveal that employers justify the poor conditions of accommodation by arguing that the migrants reside in similar conditions in their home town (Grammot and Flores 2010: 244).

In my own research, interviews with former SAWS workers in Ukraine revealed that the provision of accommodation varied considerably between farms. For example, Klarysa, a young female student, showed me photographs of the bunk bed in which she slept, which was in a caravan, without window⁵⁰. Another worker interviewed in Ukraine told me how students lived in a hostel building that comprised of two floors, with rooms shared between two and five workers. At peak season, the hostel held seventy workers and had only four bathrooms. Workers interviewed both in the Ukraine and on Greenberg Farm in the UK spoke of a range of diverse accommodation arrangements including being housed in caravans, portacabins, cottages and hostel-style accommodation. The ratio of workers sharing a room in which they slept varied, as did the number of workers expected to share shower, toilet and kitchen facilities. The variation and unevenness in the provision of accommodation is an outcome partly from a lack of regulation and specificity in the terms of provision (the failure to recommend the number of workers sharing a bathroom, bedroom and kitchen being one such example). The responsibilities of SAWS operators listed by the UK Border Agency (UKBA) include assessing and monitoring their ability to provide suitable work placements and accommodation to SAWS workers and ensuring workers are treated fairly and lawfully. Growers and farmers are expected to provide SAWS workers with clean and sanitary accommodation suitable for the number of workers

⁵⁰ Interview with former SAWS worker in Ukraine. She also showed me photographs of her, her friend and the farmer standing next to his micro-light aircraft.

being recruited⁵¹. Nothing was stated by the UKBA as to what migrants should expect for their rent (such as a room with a window, or the number of workers sharing a room, or the ratio of workers to shower, laundry and cooking facilities).



Figure 2: View of ‘The Camp’ from portacabin 6

Employer-provided accommodation on my fieldwork site at Greenberg Farm was referred to by those who lived and worked there as ‘The Camp’ and it comprised of twenty portacabins in a field owned by the farm (see Figure 2 and Figure 6). Six students shared a portacabin, divided into three sections, although some portacabins had three beds in one section. An explanation of the planning and design of the workers’ accommodation, and the decision to use portacabins instead of caravans, was shared with me by farm management. First (and related to issues of health and safety), the management sought to minimise the risk of fire and housed all of the kitchen facilities in one central building. Second, farm management wanted people to meet one another and ‘get on together’ and it was thought that by sharing a large kitchen (with six hobs and several microwave ovens) people would socialise more than they would if they remained in caravans. This contrasts with the

⁵¹ www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/farmersandgrowers/sawsoperators accessed 15/10/10

experience of Ivancheva (2007) who, in her research of students working on a strawberry farm, highlights the lack of communal space afforded to them.

On Greenberg Farm, workers paid a damage deposit of £150 on arrival, which was returned when they left. From then on, £29.05 per week was deducted from their pay as a charge for being housed in a portacabin shared by five (sometimes more) other workers.



Figure 3: Room in a shared portacabin on Greenberg Farm

Figure 3 is an example of the standard of accommodation provision on Greenberg Farm. This photograph, which I took when I first arrived, depicts one third of the whole cabin that was shared by five other workers and me. The image captures the mixed materialities in the cabin - for example, the 'homely' touches of crockery, a wooden dresser-style cabinet combined with furnishings that were utilitarian, sparse, and more suitable for an office or barrack-type accommodation (the plastic chair, the single electricity power socket and not shown, the metal locker). A further charge of £21.70 per week was made for the use of the camp's facilities including Sky satellite TV, three washing machines, an 'internet café' and a pool room. Also included in these deductions was use of the minibus that transported workers to the fields and to the local town, and sometimes on days out. The extra camp

facilities (not including the transport) made it appear quite unlike any of the other farms spoken of by students at Greenberg, or by any of the farms discussed in my interviews in Ukraine. However, a few workers said that they would have preferred to pay less than the overall £50 per week.

The practical matter of attempting to identify appropriate rents and charges is just one example of the different meanings of employer-provided accommodation. The cost incurred by workers for such accommodation has been subject to public policy and demonstrates how the meaning and function of such tied housing arrangements can be contested. In the UK, there is a cap of £29.05 - referred to as 'the accommodation offset' - which exists on the amount that employers may charge workers for accommodation (DTI 2007: 5)⁵². According to the Department for Trade and Industry⁵³, there are two reasons why the level of the charge is calculated at this rate: First, the cap prevents employers from recouping the wages paid to workers, which is especially important for minimum wage earners (DTI 2007: 7). Second, it also reflects the benefit and advantage to employers in having workers reside either on-site or in employer-provided accommodation (DTI 2007:8).

Ziebath suggests that the provision of accommodation is a benefit to seasonal and temporary workers and is used as a means to attract and secure a temporary workforce and enable them to manage on low wages (Ziebath 2006: 344). Kritzinger *et al.*, also note how the benefits of living on-farm for agricultural workers in South Africa is an important aspect of workers' livelihoods, sometimes even enabling workers to support other family members (Kritzinger *et al.*, 2004: 28).

Along with the recognised benefits to workers of employer-provided accommodation is the identification of using such accommodation as a mechanism of labour control. Ziebath suggests that housing is a means of control because 'workers are attracted to jobs that

⁵² This was the level of accommodation offset at the time of fieldwork in 2007.

⁵³ The Department of Trade and Industry has since been renamed the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills.

provide housing and they are encouraged to leave at the end of the season in part because of the poor quality of that same housing' (Ziebath 2006: 353). In this way, housing provision helps employers to manage processes of recruitment, including the duration and seasonality of employment. Accommodation can be provided by SAWS operators or by employers themselves, and the issue of who is providing accommodation is significant. In some situations, workers declined opportunities of direct employment because they preferred to remain with employers who were providing accommodation (Frances *et al.*, 2005: 63).

Dependency is a further consequence and meaning of employer-provided accommodation and the provision of housing confers situations of dependency on migrants, identified as a key part of the employment conditions experienced by migrants in rural areas (Rogaly and Taylor 2004: 18; Frances *et al.*, 2005: 94). A report by the Commission for Rural Communities suggested that 'migrants whose housing is tied to their job in this way are particularly vulnerable' (CRC 2007: 5).

4.2 A Foucauldian approach to 'The Camp'

In this and subsequent sections of this chapter, I take a different approach to exploring the issue of employer-provided housing and in doing so provide a critique of the policy discourse on the benefits of employer provided accommodation. I draw on ethnographic descriptions to conceptualise the rural location of workers' accommodation and conditions of immigration status as physical and social spaces, that both play a significant role in regulating the everyday lives of migrant workers. By using the works of Foucault and the system of 'discipline' I explore how a technique of discipline, known as 'enclosure' is influential in making workers.

I consider the different forms of 'enclosure' that existed on the camp, including the physical enclosure of the camp by the surrounding rural remoteness and the enclosure of workers as a result of employer-provided accommodation. I suggest that employer-provided housing is a form of enclosure that is strengthened by the social enclosure existing as a result of the migrants' conditions of immigration. SAWS workers, for example, are

required to reside in accommodation provided by the employer and they experience an absence of labour market mobility due to being enclosed in the work sectors of agriculture and horticulture. What becomes apparent is how enclosure, in all its forms, allows managers to respond to fluctuating demands of production, and that on-farm accommodation is an extension of the workplace and not a -home from homeø

I draw on Foucaultø analysis by suggesting that the -enclosureø of workers is, in itself, not enough to -disciplineø and make -willingø and -docileø working bodies. Instead, rules and surveillance on the camp influence, and even regulate, workersø actions. The combination of the different forms of enclosure, rules and surveillance on the camp (and in the field) regulate the actions and outcomes of migrantsø work effort. In sections 4.5 and 4.6 I consider how the social enclosure of migrant workers, including the provision of employer-provided accommodation affects their propensity to foster social networks. A reversal of this is that the emergence of social networks demonstrates how enclosure can be undone. Such reversal is limited however because information gained by migrants can be rarely acted upon.

4.3 ‘The Camp’: Physical and social enclosure

The following description, taken from my field notes, shares a familiar routine that I experienced each morning as a working harvester on the Ukrainian team. It introduces a lived experience of employer-provided accommodation⁵⁴. In doing so, it begins to reveal how such accommodation operates as more than just a provision of a place and space in which to accommodate workersø basic living and social needs.

4.45am: ALARM sounded by Nokia phone. Yesterday seemed too near. Respond as one would and turn alarm off ó but there is no time to pause for ten or even five minutes in bed ó like I would do before when I could afford to turn over and mull remnants of dreams and allow the arrival of the day gently to journey into my mind. NO, instead, I turn my alarm off ó I am AWAKE and I can hear the sound of gravel crunching underfoot outside. I sit up in bed, lean to

⁵⁴ Pun Ngai (2006) includes similar lengthy extracts which reveals her ethnographic experiences of working in an electronics factory.

the left, pull the curtain back, and wipe the acute condensation from the steamed windows.

The sky is just turning light, the low yellow lights demarking footpaths of the camp are still on ó must be the ðractoristsø[tractor drivers] who are already in their routines again ó ALARM - this time itø not my alarm but that of Klara. Our beds run parallel but we have contrasting styles of getting up in the morning. I am usually first out of bed ó I tap the tacky touch sensitive plastic lamp until the room is lit. I prefer the dimly lit lamp than the almost blinding brightness double set of strip lighting on the cabin ceiling.

I stand up and put my clothes on immediately whereas Lena manages somehow to get dressed from sitting on the edge of her bed. My clothes are in a roughly arranged pile made the evening before ó all an effort to save time. Have rationed self with issue of clean vest and underwear per day and everything else I wear is from yesterday or the days before. Once dressed, I grab my wash bag and my towel and go through our door to the next room. I try to move as quietly as possible because the ðray-washø girls (Larissa and Oksana) are sleeping in this middle section of the cabin. A quick step down and out of the cabin. I am glad that our cabin is close to the toilet block. I cut across the grass then hear the crunching of the gravel óbut this time it is me. I murmur a hello to a couple of others who are on their way to and from the toilet block but Iøn usually better at the hellos on the return.

The toilet block (refurnished a few years ago) has six basins with framed mirrors above each one and a row of toilet cubicles. I find an empty cubicle, edgily pushing the door first, letting my eyes look before I step further into the cubicle ó a quick inspection to see if its useable today. Reasons why they are not always usable for me can vary ó sometimes its problems with the drains⁵⁵ so we are ðpooing on pooøas the cleaner called it, sometimes itø the, well how I can I put it ó the style of use ó the manager has placed a strongly worded letter of warning but he says that he knows who is making the mess óhe told me ðits them new Russiansøbut wonø openly say this as he doesnø want to embarrass them.

I exit the cubicle and move towards empty sink ó preferably with hot water (inconsistent). Iøn automatic already. In a line along the sinks and facing the mirrors are young womenó side by side ó in pyjamas of bright pinks, greens, with teddy bear patterns or flowers, ðgirlyø or in tracksuits but some are already, like me, in their work clothes of blues, blacks, and denims. Each religiously attending to skincare routines whereas I have given up and cut back on that and instead just seek a few splashes of water. Such actions make me feel a little more awake, as does the pressure of knowing that time is already going

⁵⁵ One on occasion I was told by a member of management that they were deliberately left blocked up in order to ðteachøus/them.

quickly. Sometime during this time I can manage a -dobre outreø but not very often.

Return to portacabin ó pass by sleeping tray wash girls ó who must have been disturbed by all the movement ó but how could they not? They are in the middle section of the cabin, with Klara and I and Agnes and Tanya in the neighbouring sections. Every morning four people troop through their room at least three times each and when doing so opening and closing two different doors. In our room ó itø 5.03 AM. I look in the mirror ó regret my age and quickly apply cream to my face ó I even bother to smooth a bit of foundation cream under my eye- though the weather and the sweat from work will remove it later. Pull hair back ó tie back. Waterproofs on? I really dislike having breakfast in my waterproofs. A pause in my mind, -and this leads to a longing look at my sleeping bag on my bed. Something is giving way within me ó I want to stay, or I donø want to be here. STOP, check, I am back, or I go ó I never know which, but luckily Lena returns from her time in the toilet block and interrupts my thoughts and inclinations. I feel silly putting make up on in front of her as I am only going to a field but as much as I feel silly I feel determined to do so as well. Ridiculous really, not that a smidge of make up could restore any outward element of femininity or self lost from standard issue size XXL waterproofs and dirty shapeless clothes.

I give a glance at the hoard of food that is next to my bed ó and I grab another couple of cereal bars though I probably wonø get to eat them. I pick up my bag and I swap my half put on casual boots for my wellies, and feeling the pressure of minutes passing, its 5.09, I grab my blue baseball cap and go towards the main blockí

Once in the main block I go straight to the kitchen and make strides to a table in the far corner. In the morning, it is the Ukrainian corner. I am already in Ukrainian -spaceø Here I dump my work gear on a chair and go to a corner of a cupboard that I claim as mineó I then take my bread, marmalade, coffee, sugar, mug, and knife from the cupboard. Have given up queuing for the toaster. I just eat bread for breakfast. Walk to large communal fridge. I weave in and out of other people on their own programmed morning routine. Itø a ritual of routine efficiency. Mikhail and Marko sit at the table behind me sharing a pre-made plate of hot mash with ketchup. On the table adjacent to them is the quartet of Ukrainian women plus one. One of the quartet will have arrived early to make all the tea and place a plate of toasted sandwiches in the middle of the table. Itø a sweet operation. Some Russians women squeeze on their table too. Klara and Larissa from my cabin eat together. Take milk, marg. Return. Make up mug of milky coffee [itø quicker to drink]. Eat bread and marmalade quickly.

Sat at my table is the Bulgarian man with long hair. He is on the onion team and is making his sandwiches at the same time as having breakfast. All tables have some activity, mini sites of production as rounds and rounds of

sandwiches are made and people getting up and moving on quickly. I notice two new people hovering urgently over a saucepan of noodles on the cooker hob. They will soon learn that there is no time for this in the morning. I have finished already and clear kitchen stuff away by throwing it all back in the cupboard. I check time: 5.20. I then move my bag, water and waterproofs outside and place them on a chair by the rubbish skips. The smokers are there, making quiet evaluations about the day between themselves. I quickly dash back to the toilet block, (now empty) ó as now I know that it is unlikely I will go during the workday - unless I really, really have to!

Field Notes (11/05/07)

These lived experiences jar uncomfortably with the usual associations made with English rural spaces that present rural life as romantic, healthy and of a slower pace than that experienced in urban areas. The extended quote from my fieldwork notes reveals the importance and necessity of calculating moves and gestures (of alarm clocks, of organising a pile of uniform clothes, of making the food for the day), and the urgency and haste that existed in the daily preparation for work. The practice of sharing resources such as toilets, sinks, portacabins and kitchen tables makes the conditions on the camp feel cramped, poky, confined and restricted. The intimacy between workers, for example, of sleeping and dressing in the same room, of washing and going to the toilet in the same area creates barrack-style living arrangements.

A combination of pressure to be on time and to share spaces and resources resulted in the quick execution of internalised and minutely planned daily routines (but the constant checking of time on the clocks and watches continues). Furthermore, these experiences not only portray material living conditions but also represent a paradox of rural space that existed in the lives of migrants on Greenberg Farm. This paradox consists of the rural location of the camp on one hand, and on the other the physical and social 'enclosure' of migrants who experienced cramped working and living conditions and limited work mobility. Two contrasting images captured on camera during the fieldwork seek to illustrate this paradox (see page 84). Figure 4, taken on a narrow road leading from the camp depicts a scene of a hazy summer evening that embodies notions of rural areas as vast, open and plentiful spaces. In contrast, Figure 5 is a photograph taken from the same position but looking towards the camp - which now falls in the shadows. The image

captures how rural space envelops the camp and the temporality of migrants is reflected in the temporary housing provided by the mobile portacabins.



Figure 4: View from ‘The Camp’



Figure 5: View of ‘The Camp’

Referred to as a technique of discipline, 'enclosure' is a concept described by Foucault as 'the protected place of disciplinary monotony' (Foucault 1977: 141). Foucault cites schools, monasteries and military barracks as examples of 'enclosure'. For Foucault, 'the aim [of enclosure] is to derive the maximum advantages and to neutralize the inconveniences (thefts, interruptions of work, disturbances and 'abals', as the forces of production become more concentrated; to protect materials and tools and to master the labour force' (Foucault 1977: 142).

In a highly comparable way, the camp functioned as a technique of 'discipline' as it enclosed workers into a defined space and one that was ordered in such a way as to contribute to the regulation and discipline in the lives of workers. The application of Foucault's concept of enclosure in this thesis challenges Shilling's perception of Foucault's understanding of the body as solely discursive and therefore not accounting for corporeal effects of discipline (see chapter two). As discussed in chapter two, my use and application of Foucault's works to enable an analysis of migrant workers' experiences, illustrates how workers' bodies were controlled and regulated in the spaces they inhabited.

Being situated on the outskirts of the village, the surrounding countryside and rural space enclosed the camp. Figure 6 depicts an overhead view of the camp and even from the simple line drawing it is possible to see how the surrounding hedgerows enclosed the camp. The camp itself comprised of twenty portacabins for sleeping and personal space, a main brick building which housed a TV room, a computer room, a ping pong and pool room, the manager's office and a large kitchen containing six hobs and several microwaves. Toilet and shower facilities were also housed in two separate portacabins. Six migrants shared a portacabin that was divided into three sections, in which there were two and sometimes three beds. The location and the resources provided on the camp contributed to self-contained nature of the camp and this, in turn, reinforced the camp being a space that enclosed the migrants.

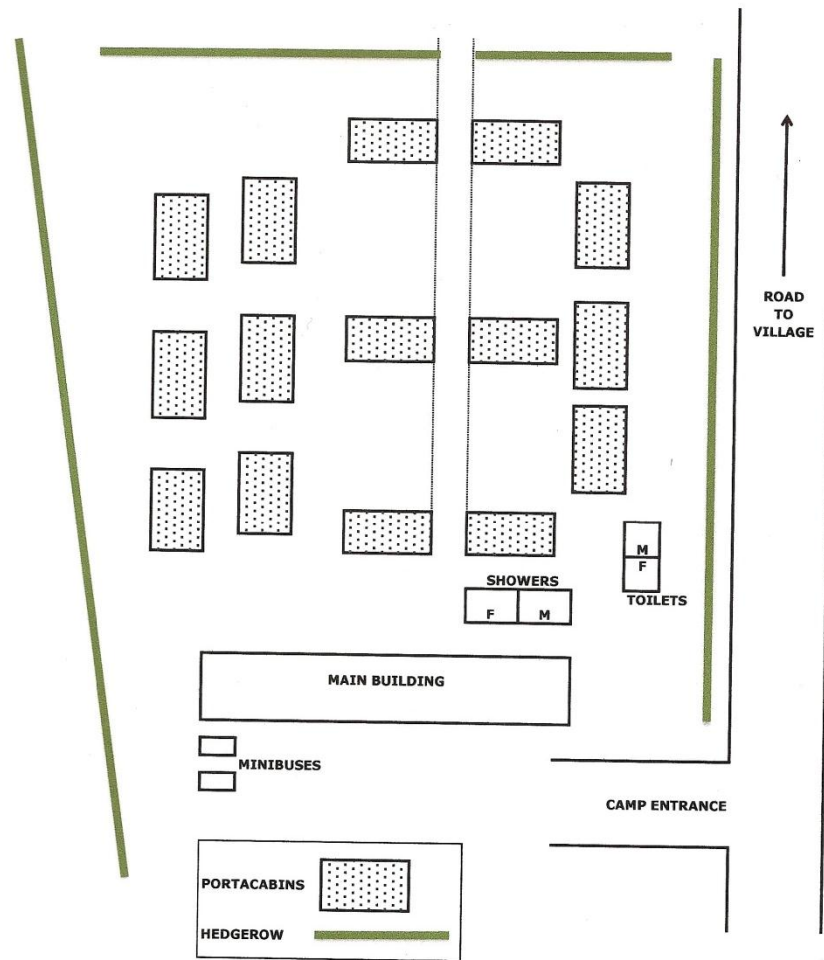


Figure 6: An overhead view of 'The Camp'

This sense of enclosure was reflected in the comments made to me by some of the migrants. For example, during interviews the camp and the life within it were described as 'four walls', 'a circle' and an 'island'.

The experience of enclosure was, for some workers, linked to the repetition and routine of the workplace regime and the size of the village. For example, a male Ukrainian national who I worked with shared this reflection in which he was quite frustrated with the sense of

mundane that comes from repetition and routine. Consequently, he felt enclosed and in four walls

“I have nothing to see here Donna, we are in the village, if we lived near some city I know it would be more interesting, but this village, I saw it many times, many times. It would be better for me just to work till 5 o’clock, go back to the camp, shower, food, and sleep and that’s all. We are like in four walls.”

Sofia, Ukrainian National, Greenberg Farm

Similarly, a Bulgarian worker expressed his frustration at the sense of enclosure he experienced on the camp.

“We will make the same thing every day, we are back in the camp, we have TV room, internet, what can we do here on this camp? Here is like a zoo. Like prison!”

Yosaf, Bulgarian National, Greenberg Farm

Not all workers perceived their work experience and living conditions as negative but instead held some ambivalence towards the experience of enclosure. X, a worker from Bulgaria, effectively describes enclosure using the term “circle”. As the quote reveals however, he values the opportunity to earn money that goes together with the experience of being in “one circle”

“Yeah it’s difficult because we are one, one circle. We here for three or six months and then we go to our country... but it’s good for us because in every , not every one of us can in our country, come for six months and get the big money and but it’s good for us, it’s good chance for us, do you understand?”

Gavril, Bulgarian National, Greenberg Farm

In talking with two Bulgarian nationals, Emiliya and Teresa, who were students and had travelled together to the UK, I realised that for some, enclosure was experienced as limited access to other areas both near and far, beyond the farm and camp. This excerpt from our

interview conversation reflects this but also reveals how being enclosed with other in the camp resulted in making many friends.

Emiliya: We are roommates and we decided to come together and not to be alone because it is very difficult to be alone in an unknown country and we decided to go UK because we know that the country is very beautiful and decided to see it. But actually we couldn't see it!

[Laughter]

Teresa: We see only the salads!

Emiliya: But in the beginning it was hard, not very funny but now we know each other here in the camp and we make a lot of friends

In all, as the quotes and excerpt indicate, workers' own concerns around enclosure varied. Thus, for example, while some perceived it as a necessary experience and part of working in the UK, others felt that the work regime and living conditions contributed to their experience of social and physical space and even restricted it.

Despite being located only 300 or so metres from the nearest village, migrants rarely left the camp by foot to visit it. There was a reluctance and ambivalence of workers to venture beyond the camp to the field, partly because the times during which the migrants were free to visit the village, the local shops (of which there were few) were not open. The lack of integration⁵⁶ and lack of social association between migrants and local residents reinforced this view. For the workers in Ivancheva's research, this too resulted in feelings of isolation (Ivancheva 2007: 113). This is not to say migrants did not leave the camp of their own accord as migrant workers regularly left the camp using the employer-provided transport and very often migrant workers would venture beyond the village to a supermarket in the next town (as discussed in chapter seven). Minibuses (paid for by deductions from pay) provided opportunities to leave the camp and explore further afield, but even then a form of enclosure existed as a 36-mile radius limit was placed on their movement⁵⁶.

⁵⁶ This was clearly shown on a map in the main block. On the map a circle in black ink was drawn around the village in which the camp was located. Migrant workers wishing to go beyond the boundary had to leave the minibuses behind on the edge on this boundary and take the train or bus.

The often remote locations of workers and any lack of, or limited access to, transport contributes to a worker dependency on employers which in turn leads to employers having greater control of their workforce. An incident described by a former SAWS worker in Ukraine demonstrates how the ties of transport and the experience of rural isolation can facilitate control in the workplace. In this case, the worker told me during an interview that there was insufficient transport available on Redberg Farm (a salad farm supplying iceberg lettuce to McDonalds) either because of a lack of drivers (who were prepared to work beyond their standard shift) or because of a lack of buses. Consequently, once the harvest in the field was complete, workers were left to wait in the field until transport was available to pick them up.

As the next interview extract below demonstrates, the alternative option to waiting was to work in the packhouse thus extending the working day considerably. Arguably, it could have been fairer to offer a third option; for workers to return home earlier when transport was still available.

Yakiv: After work in the field we were taken to the packhouse and we worked there. We worked in the packhouse after our main work in the field.

Donna: And on these days when you worked in the packhouse how many hours would you have done in the field?

Yakiv: So in the packhouse we worked three hours and in the fields beginning from six o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock in the evening plus three hours in the packhouse.

Donna: Ok, and what if you didn't want to work in the packhouse?

Yakiv: So if you don't want to work so you can choose either to stay in the field and just wait for the minibus or go to the packhouse, work and earn money.

Male, former SAWS worker, Ukraine

Foucault's analysis suggests enclosure is an important technique of discipline but is also neither constant nor sufficient in disciplinary machinery (Foucault 1977: 143). Enclosure needs to be used in conjunction with other forms of discipline. This is because the disciplinary space aims to establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be

able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual, to assess it, to judge it, to calculate its qualities or merits (Foucault 1977: 143). Likewise on Greenberg Farm, the presence of workers and the supervision of workers' conduct was established not by physical and social enclosure of the camp alone but by rules and surveillance.

4.4 Rules and the regulation of the camp space

Rules were a key aspect of camp life. As the previous description revealed, time keeping was an important rule of work and of camp life. Many rules existed on the camp and the description below captures their variety. Justification for many of the diverse rules and much of the surveillance was, according to one of the managers, that it was for our own benefit and overall safety.

I feel weathered and I wait in the shower block for an available shower ó I am tempted to use the cold ones, but I am aching so I just wait. On the wall is a note telling me that it is a dismissible offence to wash clothes in the shower. I have noticed a few notes such as these, instructing me not to leave washing up for the cleaner, to shut doors, where and where not to smoke, where to dispose of my rubbish, to leave the computers alone and not mess around with the keyboards or mice, not to cover the heaters, use the wrong adaptors or misuse the toilets as well as warnings about your cabins' turn to clean up the camp. These are all sackable offences or are likely to lead to a fine. There are others too ó but less official notices and on the threatful whim of the manager. One recent example was with the key fobs that were labelled with our worker number. Not switching the key fob from the -IN position to the -OUT position on the large wooden board when you left the camp. The manager said that whoever didn't swap theirs over wouldn't get paid that week. If you refuse to work in bad weather ó you will not be permitted to work for the following day. Similarly if you are unwell and not fit for work but do not tell the manager the day before, well, then you will not work for two days instead of one. The whole camp gets punished for the actions of a few; for example, on arrival I could not find any saucepans to use. I suppose we are meant to be grateful that there are some in the first place. But all of these had been confiscated because of the situation with washing up. Yet crimes between us go unnoticed for example food theft. Why he doesn't put a camera in the fridge, asks Yana. That said, one Bulgarian guy was deported from the camp and sent back home the day after he had been caught stealing. The manager caught him using the CCTV. Few had the chance to say goodbye. It is strange when suddenly you notice that someone is no longer on the camp, not that I knew the guy but I noticed he was missing

from the kitchen. It's the same when people get transferred to another farm. They go, you look up, realise someone is missing.

Field Notes (05/06/06)

These rules and penalties resulted in a routine and familiarity that contributed to establishing where we should be and where we had been in the space of the camp. The excerpt from my field notes reveals the spectrum of rules shows how detailed and specific the rules were to governing our behaviour - these ranged from rules which sought to govern the use and care of facilities such as the kitchen, shower and toilet areas, portacabins and computers to rules that related to behaviour. One example from my field notes is that failure to wash up pots and pans correctly would lead to confiscation of kitchenware. Rules sought to instruct our behaviour but were used alongside penalties - for example, the deduction of £10 for incorrectly placing rubbish. Other penalties, as described above, included the prospect of being excluded from the daily work and, in the most extreme circumstances from the farm altogether.

Workers' actions and daily routines were guided by both the rules that sought to instruct and the penalties that sought to correct actions and behaviour on the camp. Some rules - for example, the rule of not covering the heater in the portacabin - existed for reasons of health and safety (see Figure 7) and was an outcome of having shared resources on the camp. Figure 7 is a visual example of how the rules were displayed to workers in the camp and is a good example of their diversity. The first rule, for example, of leaving a gap around the bed and maintaining a tidy cabin, relates to care of cabin. Another rule states that workers should not place anything under the cabin, which reflects a health and safety concern and in particular, the aim of minimising the risk of fire. Similarly, health and safety concerns are enacted in the rule detailing the type of plug required for use of the electricity sockets. The next rule in the document (affixed to the back of the entrance door of the cabin) sets out the farm policy towards the consumption of alcohol. The rule states how workers who are 'unfit for work due to having too much to DRINK' will be dismissed and therefore aims to regulate the social behaviour on the camp. Finally, the last set of rules point to health and safety concerns which if not complied with result in a fine of £20 per person in the cabin.

Rules regarding the camp life made by the farm manager reflect concerns about health and safety and the use of camp space and resources but also, reflect a reactionary response to workers' behaviour thus rules were made as workers' behaviour was observed and evaluated.

Enforcement of the rules relied, in part, on supervision and surveillance. The most striking form of surveillance was the presence of closed circuit television (CCTV) on the camp. Its presence was justified on grounds of health and safety, specifically for the protection of workers living on the camp. CCTV was in constant use throughout the day and night and as an excerpt from my field notes reveals, CCTV was used to 'catch' a worker who was stealing from other workers on the camp during my time on the farm. The manager explained in detail how he managed to ascertain who was responsible for the thefts by leaving the camera focused on a particular portacabin window and watching any movement of workers in its view. It proved to be successful as the thief was caught 'red-handed' and disciplined very shortly after.

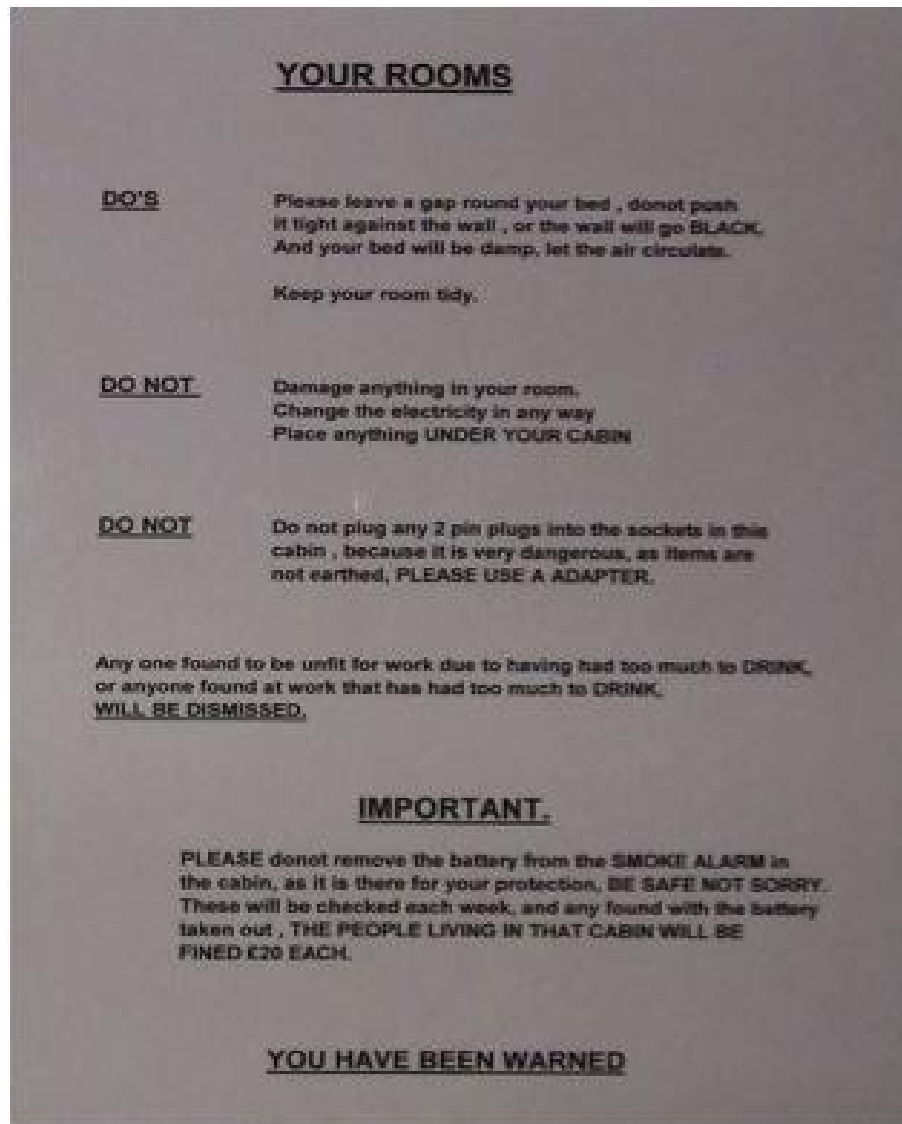


Figure 7: Rules and guidance in the portacabin

In his demonstration of the CCTV system, the manager also showed me the full extent of the camera zoom and its range of vision. While working in his office, I noticed how the manager could observe which van and which team was entering the yard. For the manager, a lot of time was saved because the CCTV helped identify the location of individuals on the camp, especially upon their return from a day's work. As a researcher I was aware of how I participated in surveillance, by watching and observing all workers on the camp. However, my reasons for doing so were different from those of the student manager who used it to regulate the activities on the camp and ensure that rules were adhered to. The manager told

me on numerous occasions that he knew of all that went on in the camp and that certain people would provide him with information. Surveillance was overt and workers were aware of both the social and technological forms existing on the camp and were suspicious of its presence. One Bulgarian female worker reflected on her uneasiness of the CCTV after the student manager commented on an evening of drinking with other workers on the camp. Her uneasiness of the CCTV was shared by other workers who lived on the camp but for different reasons. Workers felt aggrieved that surveillance did not benefit them and fulfil their security needs on the camp. As this abstract from an interview reveals, two workers repeatedly experienced theft from the communal walk-in fridge located in main building on the farm. Sofia and Vlad said:

Vlad: because Donna, you, in our fridge, someone stole every time.

Sofia: Two cans of beer somebody stole.

Vlad: Three cans of beer somebody stole. In our box, in our little box.

Sofia: I even made it hidden.

Vlad: I even wanted to write 'Fuck off' and put this on our box in the fridge.

[Laughter]

Vlad: and I don't understand why [student manager] don't put the camera on the fridge, why? It's... he has the camera everywhere, everywhere, but in the fridge.

There was widespread awareness of the presence of CCTV on the camp. While management justified its use on the grounds of safety, workers were sceptical about it being in their interests and for their benefit. Moreover, its presence throughout the camp made them feel self-conscious in their behaviour around the camp. Notably however, there clearly were areas which did not have cameras and where thefts occurred but were not addressed – unless workers kept their food in their own cabins. Surveillance therefore enabled management to not just enforce rule and regulations of the camp but to also gain an insight into the workers' everyday activities that were not linked to their work. For workers, surveillance was an uncomfortable presence that extended to the field too. This worker describes how the visits from the salad manager to the field where she harvested made her feel very much under surveillance and nervous too. This in turn, she claims, made the whole team slower as they became overly conscious about their work effort being under surveillance. She said:

“We are very quick but when he came to us, he stay behind us. He is watching us and we just get nervous and then leave behind the trailer and so we have a lot of salads in front of us and so we get more nervous and we just want him to go and to leave us alone to work”

Emilya, Bulgarian National, Greenberg Farm

A lack of separation between home and work arises in employer-provided accommodation because the camp, where the workers reside, is a site of control and surveillance. Rules, routines and practices, set and shaped by farm management, dissolve the separation of private space that marks out ‘home’ from ‘work’ and permits greater control of workers by employers. Employer-provided accommodation, that is, the ‘camp’ or ‘home’ is therefore an extension of the workplace. In their research on dormitory labour regimes in southern China, Smith and Pun (2006) suggest that employer-provided accommodation assists employers’ response to fluctuations in production as the working day is extended. Similarly, the provision of accommodation, in the form of a camp, offered benefits for the farm management. No fixed hours of work existed as part of the work regime on the farm; workers finished and returned to camp once the allocation of work was complete. On occasion workers would leave the field and return to camp but later had to return to the field once confirmation of an order had been communicated to the camp and work allocated accordingly. Such an extension of the workplace allows managers to respond to changes in production especially when these changes relate to weather and ‘orders’ of work from supermarkets via the farm.

In the next section of this chapter, I continue to explore enclosure but move on to discuss how enclosure is weakened by a further feature of the SAWS experience: the circulation of workers between farm workplaces. The circulation of workers gives some limited opportunity for the creation of social networks and the sharing of information. The agency of migrants is limited but is still present as the use of communication by word of mouth and mobile phones undermines the sense of enclosure experienced by SAWS workers. This needs to be understood in the context of the benefits to employers from SAWS and in

particular, their use of the limited mobility of workers as a mechanism of labour control and as a means to ensure a flexible and fresh workforce.

4.5 Enclosure and social networks



Figure 8: Friends catching up after work

Underlying the physical forms of enclosure of the camp was a social form of enclosure. The social form of enclosure was a result of the conditions attached to SAWS. First, the existence of the camp was an outcome of the obligation attached to both an employer's and a migrant's participation in SAWS: that the employer must provide accommodation, and that migrant workers must live in it⁵⁷. The origin of the physical enclosure of workers therefore begins socially - with the obligation and conditions of immigration status. Second, migrants recruited under SAWS are enclosed because they experience limited work mobility and are unable to switch employment sector. Opportunities to switch farms and employers do exist but these occur only through the arrangement of farm transfers organised by the SAWS recruitment operator. In practice, the success of farm transfers depends on the migrants' acquisition of satisfactory references, seasonality of crops and

⁵⁷ The operator may provide accommodation. Friday Bridge is an example of this.

availability of vacancies and positions on other farms. The physical enclosure of the camp is therefore strengthened by the social enclosure that exists as a result of the migrants' conditions of immigration.

The forms of enclosure experienced by migrants on Greenberg Farm included the rural space surrounding the camp, the camp itself and social enclosure due to limited work mobility. These forms of enclosure contributed to the retention of workers and the concentration of workers into a particular space. This, in turn, allowed Greenberg's management to respond to fluctuating demands of production. In the next section of the chapter I continue to focus on the experience of physical and social enclosure by migrants on SAWS. I propose that in spite of the different forms of enclosure, migrants were able to gain information and knowledge which enabled them to compare and evaluate their work situation with those of workers on other farms. There are, however, limits to the fissure in enclosure created by the arrival of information and, because of this, enclosure in all its forms, combines to limit migrants' potential to foster social networks thus reinforcing the enclosure experienced on the camp by SAWS workers.

4.6 The circulation of labour and the (non-) development of social networks among migrant workers

The development and utilisation of social networks is a strong theme in migration studies. Krissman conceptualises networks as 'systems of social support' formed by people to meet a diverse range of human needs (Krissman 2005: 6). Krissman (2005) critiques the trend in migration studies to focus on migrants' social networks in the absence of, for example, considering the role and influence of employers on the creation of such networks. Krissman (2005) proposes that a better understanding of international migration is gained by including the role of employers and labour providers in creating and influencing networks. Moreover, employers themselves use networks to monitor and evaluate both current workers and as a method of recruitment. Therefore a consideration of employers' role in and relation to migrants' social networks is important for my study (see also Waldinger and Lichter 2003).

Krissman's perspective on the role of employers in shaping migrants' social networks is confirmed by Balderrama and Molina (2009). The work of Balderrama and Molina (2009) and their investigation of three farm labour camps in North Carolina, USA illustrates how labour providers and employers are central to the development of networks. Employers are argued to be one of a range of factors that limited migrant farm workers' opportunities to develop and utilise networks that might improve work conditions. In their study, farm workers developed social networks as part of a strategy to secure temporary employment and minimise the risk of deportation. Labour contractors (providers) were central in the development of ties and maintained a paternalistic role because of their provision of accommodation, transport and access to work opportunities. The short-term migration expectations of farm workers, rural isolation and precarious immigration statuses resulted in farm workers relying on labour providers in a multiplicity of ways (Balderrama and Molina 2009: 192).

Krissman's understanding of the role of employers in shaping social networks of migrants and Balderrama and Molina's empirical illustration are both relevant in the context of Greenberg Farm. Most noticeable is the role of SAWS operators and their influence on the development of social networks. The SAWS recruitment operators played a role in the (non) creation of networks because of a feature of SAWS as a system that circulates workers between farms. This was not an outcome of workers choosing a particular farm on which they sought to be employed but of an outcome of the process of transfers between farms⁵⁸. The operator was responsible for arranging which farms the students were sent to. As Rosa, a female Bulgarian national describes, the process of application and recruitment was fairly straightforward:

⁵⁸ See Hanson and Bell (2007: 111-112) for a list of factors that contribute to the choices made by seasonal mobile workers in Australia. Some workers' choices are based on particular crops and therefore circuits to include a diverse range of crops (thus alleviating boredom) whereas others tended to choose the same crops on a range of farms as their proficiency enabled greater wage earnings. Interestingly, migrants who entered Australia on the Working Holiday Makers from Overseas scheme (WHMOs) worked with a range of difficult crops, for example bananas. The authors consider that this choice was a result of the maximum three months permitted with any one employer as well as lack of information about other farms.

-I just applied to come here with the SAWS operator and they send me here like a letterø

Female, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

The controlled circulation of labour between farms in SAWS offered benefits for farmers. Management on Greenberg Farm spoke of preferring their harvest workers to be 'fresh' and had a strategy of employing harvesters for three month periods, either side of which migrants would work at a different farm. Management at Greenberg Farm also informed me that their change in strategy was partly due past experience of some workers wanting to return home after four or five months and not being able to stay for a full six months. The possibility of transfer to other farms, however, was used as a means to discipline workers on other farms, such as this soft fruit farm as described to me by Sofia:

-Because Russian girl she was slow, and John said if you will be slow I will give you transfer. He once said and she received a letter where it was wrote - three times, if you get three times this letter you will get transfer on another farm, but the summer was good and he gave to good farm.ø

Female, Ukrainian national, Greenberg Farm

Social networks of SAWS workers were therefore inhibited by the circulation of labour, which, in turn, was managed by SAWS operators and not workersø agentic mobility. Mobility of labour is recognised as key to meeting demands in labour from the peaks in seasonality (Hanson and Bell 2007: 101). The controlled circulation of labour in SAWS ensured that mobility existed enough to meet the change in employersø demand during the season but was limited to prevent migrants choosing between types of workplaces and tasks thus also pay and conditions.

In contrast, accommodation (including that provided by employers) is a useful site for migrant workers to share information and experiences. Hanson and Bell (2007) propose that accommodation (independent or employer-provided) acts as instrument for information and that 'word of mouth' plays a vital role in lubricating the harvest trail and the reputation of a growing location in its dealings with seasonal workers can impact strongly on the flow of labour to particular sites.ø (Hanson and Bell 2007: 113). Smith and Pun (2006) also

suggest that accommodation plays a prime role in the development of workers' social networks. Smith and Pun (2006) observed how networks developed from the close proximity of work and living conditions in dormitory labour regimes created a potential site of resistance to work place conditions. Workers, in their research, used the close proximity between each other and the workplace to organise and petition for improved work conditions. Such 'worker controlled processes' involved utilising kin, village and local networks.

Migrants' short stays in the UK (of between three to six months) combined with the SAWS operator strategy of recruiting workers for a limited number of seasons and visits, means that unlike the workers in Smith and Pun's study, UK-based SAWS workers had few contacts and networks outside the camp that they could utilise. Instead, the most apparent network observed in both the farm-based fieldwork and during interviews in Ukraine was that based on friendships, many of which were developed on the camp. Friendships held a value that went beyond the intrinsic value of pleasure. Friendships were also an outcome of students attending the same university and going on to work on the same farm in the UK. Family too could play an important part. In the case of the worker quoted below, conversation with familial contact allowed this Bulgarian national to be prepared for her upcoming stay in the UK.

Rosa: My cousin who was a supervisor here last year

Donna: Oh was he?

Rosa: Yes, just for a little three months or something like that, he earned actually he earned a lot of money, he was in a different farm. I do not blame this farm, he was supervisor and I am just ordinary worker and what else, yes, I can try to, just to, to try this on this farm and to earn something for myself and by myself and that's the reason I came from Bulgaria the same way he did.

Donna: Well what did you expect it to be like?

Rosa: Exactly the same because I told you already that my cousin, he told me about everything, the caravans, the cabins, all the situation with the travelling to the store to buy some food and that everyone is stealing food from everybody.

Female, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

Students who have worked previously on a farm in the UK also shared information with me about the working and living conditions at the farm with new and inexperienced workers. Experiences concerning other farms were also shared, for example the Ukrainian team leader on Greenberg Farm described how his friends from his hometown in Ukraine who were working on another farm, had shared with him that they were called ‘animals’ by other members of staff.

Many authors propose that English language skills help foster networks and processes of ‘assimilation’ (see Bauer *et al.*, 2005: 649; Chiswick and Miller 2002; Lazear 1999). Language skills played a different role in the context of Greenberg Farm because the short length of stay combined with rural isolation did little to encourage opportunities for migrant workers to practice and use their English language skills. Nonetheless, language played a role in the formation of friendships and consequent networks and bonds were particularly strengthened between workers who shared the same mother tongue. Language differences also weakened bonds when only a few workers understood the same language and the language spoken was not one that was shared by many. For example, Russian workers easily communicated with Ukrainians, but Bulgarian and Polish spoke the language of their nationality and had to learn Russian.

In addition to the importance of language skills of migrant workers in the development of social networks and the exchange of information, the form in which information was exchanged and the way in which networks operated were also significant. For example, workers whose friends worked on different farms communicated via internet and mobile phones to share information. From this, comparisons were drawn between the working and living conditions on each of the farms. Consequently, the development of networks, even within the enclosed space of the camp led to work-related knowledge gain. Resources such as mobile phones and access to the internet were crucial in drawing on information beyond the farm and camp. Knowledge and information gained through these networks was used to assess not only their own work conditions but also to gather information about upcoming farm transfers. Migrant workers sought information relating to transport, work and wage, and local facilities such as the existence of nearby ‘car boots’ (see chapter seven).

Workers had both worries and excitement at the prospect of transferring to another farm. One worker, Petar, was concerned about the prospect of being transferred to soft fruit farms as he had heard stories or had previous experiences of such work and the lower levels of pay.

-I have work permit for six months but I think finish my contract here in the end of this month and I come back to Bulgaria⁵⁹ because now is the season for strawberries, if I want to transfer, 80%, 90% I sent, the [SAWS] operator send me to the strawberry farms, which I don't want to pick strawberries⁶⁰ it's a very hard job and I know good money but I don't want to pick strawberries, it's hard for my back.

Male, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

The excerpt above illustrates how the Bulgarian male worker recognised a dominant pattern of recruitment organisation from the SAWS operator supplying Greenberg Farm. This was for workers who had arrived early in the season (from March-July) to be transferred to strawberry or soft fruit farms. Workers also gleaned from others' work experiences that work on a strawberry risked the possibility of lower pay and did not guarantee the deployment of labour-easing methods of harvesting strawberries (i.e. the use of table top method of growing).

Three workers (a mix of Serbian and Bulgarian nationals) mentioned their concerns to me about being transferred to a farm in Worcestershire⁵⁹. The farm, which only a few months previously had been publicised in the media for using gang labour from an unlicensed gang-master, was in administration and facing bankruptcy. Unfortunately this had contributed to the unlawful treatment of workers, as pay was not commensurate to the work undertaken by the SAWS workers.

Yan: Yeah I have, a friend from Valetcia [a town in Bulgaria], we worked together on the harvest and they arrive now in Essex and some farmer from the, they harvest only iceberg and some onions and right now, the farm is, into [inaudible]

Donna: Oh it's gone wrong, the farm, and it's gone bankrupt

⁵⁹ A farm which was part of a business that had multiple work sites in the UK.

Yan: Yeah, er, he told me work six days on the week, maybe the payment have to be like £300, £350, they pay like a £50.

Male, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

Interestingly, this farm was mentioned by other workers who were not being transferred but who knew of friends already working there. This is further evidence that networks existed in which knowledge of work conditions on other farms was shared.

Lazer: Yesterday I heard how farms had gone bankrupt

Donna: Who told you that? I know about that farm. Who told you that?

Lazer: I had a friend who worked on that farm í yes something like that, they said, they had just finished the asparagus season, and they are now picking beans or peas, but he was not very happy with this.

Donna: What has happened to him the? Does he not have work or?

Lazer: Last week, last week, they only got £100, everyone, no matter how many days they work or what work they had done and the bank, the farm couldn't repay loan instalments í well the problem is that they are not sure that they will get paid according to what they worked, for example, he told me that last Monday they were picking beans and for six hours work he got only £8.

Male, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

The information gained about the farm that had entered receivership circulated through networks that were facilitated by mobile phones. I had first come across the situation of the farm, based in Worcestershire, by reading the news on the internet.

In all, word of mouth as an information flow existed in SAWS but there were limits, because of the conditions of SAWS status, with which migrants could act upon the information, gained through the already limited networks they engaged with. The information gained from social networks helped prepare migrants ó either for upcoming farm transfers or in order for migrants to make the decision to return home. Nonetheless, the presence of networks, the development of which is curtailed by numerous factors including the short stay of migrants and the enclosure and subsequent circulation of migrant workers reveals a degree of migrants' individual agency at work.

4.7 Conclusion

The structure of the four empirical chapters of this thesis are based on the spaces experienced by workers on Greenberg Farm. This chapter, the first of these four, focused on the space of employer-provided accommodation. The chapter began by recognising that geography and, in particular, landscape is connected to the lives of migrant workers. Different forms of enclosure define the intimate connection between landscape and the workers in this research. In all, the physical and social enclosure of migrants contributes to the making of migrant workers and enclosure results in workers being distributed in a space in which resources are both minimal, shared and governed by rules and surveillance. The constant regulation of workers' everyday lives thereby contributes to the making of migrants as routines and strategies are developed in response.

This chapter sets out the different analytical approaches taken towards employer-provided housing. For example, Ziebach (2006) suggests that the provision of basic and substandard housing is linked to the inferior views held by employers towards migrants. Grammot and Flores (2010) reveal that employers justify the poor conditions of accommodation by arguing that the migrants reside in similar conditions in their hometown (Grammot and Flores 2010: 244). The benefits of employer-provided accommodation to workers are recognised, however. Finally, one further perspective is the identification of employer-provided accommodation as a mechanism of labour control. In this chapter, my analysis confirms that employer-provided accommodation can be an effective form of labour control and I establish how employer-provided accommodation contributes to the control of workers by applying the concept of enclosure.

In using photographs, field notes and interview data with workers, I illustrate the everyday materialities of employer-provided accommodation. Such materialities demonstrated the barrack-style living on the camp thus confirming the role and function of employer-provided accommodation as an extension of the workplace rather than a space known as home. The materialities of camp life demonstrated how the everyday minutiae are a consequence of enclosure because of workers' reliance on sharing a collection of resources.

The camp was ordered in such a way as to contribute to the regulation and discipline in the lives of workers. The rules and penalties resulted in a routine and familiarity that contributed to establishing where we should be and where we had been in the space of the camp.

Using the concept of enclosure, the analysis within this chapter proposes that the surrounding landscape and employer-provided accommodation results in the enclosure of migrants. I used photographs and notes from my fieldwork to focus on how landscape contributes to the enclosure and resulting isolation experienced by migrant workers on Greenberg Farm. This perspective of the rural location in which the camp was placed contests bucolic notions of rurality. The effect of enclosure both by the space that surrounds the camp and the camp itself contributes to the making of migrant workers. This is achieved because of the effect of the conditions attached to the SAWS immigration status that prevent the mobility required to change both work and living conditions and thus resist enclosure. The form of enclosure experienced by migrants on Greenberg Farm included the rural space surrounding the camp, the camp itself and social enclosure due to limited work mobility. These forms of enclosure contributed to the retention of workers and the concentration of workers into a particular space. This, in turn, allowed management on Greenberg Farm to respond to fluctuating demands of production. Thus, it is the social and physical environments in which migrant workers are placed that contribute to the making of workers suitable and apt for horticultural work.

The social enclosure of migrant workers, including the provision of employer-provided accommodation affects the propensity to foster social networks and conversely, the emergence of those social networks can, in some cases, undo that enclosure. Such reversal is limited because information gained by migrants can be rarely acted upon; labour mobility is restricted in SAWS to the controlled circulation of labour between farms. This offers benefits for farmers as it provides opportunities to renew their workforce every three months. The circulation of workers gives some limited opportunity for the creation of social networks and the sharing of information. The agency of migrants is limited but is still present as the use of communication by word of mouth with mobile phones and internet

communications undermine the sense of enclosure experienced by SAWS workers. The development of such networks and the subsequent exchanges of information between workers represent small but nonetheless important acts of reworking. This is because workers hoped that the sharing of information and even creation and sustaining of new friendships would result in reworking that would lead to an improvement and change in the current practices in their lives.

In all, the provision of employer-provided accommodation in UK horticulture, located in rural areas and governed by the regulations attached to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme is argued to represent enclosure. This is a concept developed by Foucault to illustrate how spaces can be organised in such a way as to regulate and discipline bodies and therefore the lives, for example, of workers such as those on the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme. This theoretical contribution was established by drawing on a range of fieldwork observations and interview data about the relation of the workers' camp to the location and position it was situated as well as a thorough review of the limitations placed on workers' mobility and housing options by the SAWS schemes, thus demonstrating again the significant role of immigration status in the lives of migrant workers.

The next empirical chapter moves from the space of the camp to the fields in which migrants worked.

Chapter Five

The Learning and Performance of Work Effort in Harvest Work

5.1 Introduction

An investigative and analytical approach to the working and living experiences of migrants in horticulture is central to this thesis. In chapter four, focus was placed on the experience and meanings of employer-provided accommodation, in particular the camp in which migrants on Greenberg Farm lived. The focus of this chapter is the everyday work of migrants – both on Greenberg Farm and the farms mentioned by former SAWS workers interviewed in Ukraine.

In chapter two, I set out my approach to conceptualising labour process in this thesis. I suggested that understanding why migrants work so hard requires an investigation of power and control in the workplace. Labour process also requires a nuanced account that makes linkages between the everyday work of harvesters and the operations of the food supply chain. In this chapter I pay significant attention to the core of labour process; work effort. Work effort is defined by Blyton and Jenkins (2007:58) as ‘the overall amount of physical and/or mental energy that is devoted to a work task’. In this chapter, I create a nuanced understanding of work effort in horticulture by describing and defining the precise type of work effort that is required in the workplace. Specifically, I propose that work effort in horticulture is linked to and defined by ‘pace’ and ‘quality’. The detailed description of harvest work in the next section illustrates that harvest work is not simply cutting. Instead, harvest work required workers to respond to the demands of the supply chain and, work swiftly and with care and attention, to the salads they harvested. Attention is given to how workers respond to attempts to elicit their work effort thus analysis incorporates workers’ agency and subjectivities. Having defined two key elements of work effort I move on to make an analysis of the body and work, in particular workers’ experiences of the bodily habituation of work effort.

The Oxford Dictionary defines habituation as:

- 1. The action of rendering or becoming habitual; formation of habit⁶⁰ and as -2. The action of habituating or accustoming, or the condition of being habituated (to something); esp. in *Psychol.*, the diminishing of response to a frequently repeated stimulus.⁶¹

The ethnographic based descriptions in this chapter illustrate the processes involved with habituation which results in workers just knowing their work, to the point in which thinking about and engaging with their work tasks is not wholly necessary. The discussion and understanding of habituation in this chapter demonstrates the everyday bodily enactment of wider social relations⁶¹.

Habituation of work effort is a response to a range of factors linked to both the organisation of the supply chain and the organisation of workplace production. In section 5.3 I make

⁶⁰ http://oxforddictionaries.com/view/entry/m_en_gb0358500#m_en_gb0358500 accessed 10/11/2010

⁶¹ As discussed in chapter two, arguably Bourdieu's habitus is one conceptual vehicle in which to explore habituation of the body and work. However, while appreciating such an approach, it is one that I have not chosen to apply. This is because the workplace factors that contribute to the habituation of work effort are not linked with, migrants' own habitus. In this footnote I set out my reasons for not using a Bourdieusian approach:

First, a traditional understanding of Bourdieu's habitus requires that habitus emerges over a long or significant period of time, for example, from childhood. This is stated by Bourdieu in *Outline of a Theory Of Practice* where habitus is laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the coordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination (Bourdieu 1977: 81). For Jenkins, Bourdieu proposes that the body is a mnemonic device upon and in which the very basics of culture, the practical taxonomies of the habitus, are imprinted and encoded in a socialising or learning process which commences during early childhood (Jenkins 2007:76). Focusing on migrants' habitus surely therefore requires greater exploration of migrants' own habitus which instil in bodily actions, tastes and ways of doing and that these not only inform their understanding of the world but also signify to others facets of information linked to their background. This understanding of habitus and in particular, migrant workers' own habitus is alluded to chapter seven in which I discuss migrant workers' transnational field and how this was enacted, for example, through the desire to cook and consume food that were linked to their home countries and thus created a sense of home.

Second, a further reason that the emphasis in this chapter is in on habituation rather habitus is because, as acknowledged in the methodological discussion in chapter three, migrant workers on Greenberg Farm were a diverse group, not least nationally, living and working together for a short temporary period, thus it is not possible to speak of a collective migrants' habitus.

Third, while not applying Bourdieu's habitus in this chapter, it is possible to illustrate one link between migrants' habituation and the concept of habitus. The making of migrant workers through processes of habituation underpins and reinforces employers' habitus and their perception of migrants. For example, some employers perceive that workers' propensity to work is linked to nationality rather than organisation of the workplace and production as argued in this thesis (see Näre 2008: 274 for an example of the role of workers in embodying employers' class habitus).

links between how the operation of food supply chains influences organisation of the workplace and the type of work effort elicited from workers.

Previous research on the impact of horticultural food supply chains on workers has emphasised the role of supermarket retailers in influencing employers' strategies including the downsizing of their workforce and the move from permanent recruitment of workers to the use of temporary contract labour (Kritzinger *et al.*, 2004: 18). Here in this thesis and this chapter in particular, I explore how aspects of the supply chain operations impact on the type of work effort required. The effort of pace and quality is linked to the two dominant production philosophies that determine the work performed by harvesters. These philosophies, referred to as Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control are inculcated as workers perform harvest work because of specific features of workplace organisation that are a consequence of Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control; for example, surveillance and the mechanisation of harvest work. These factors are discussed in sections 5.4 and 5.5. I argue that the definition of work effort together with surveillance of workers and the role of mechanisation are linked to the broader operation and the modus operandi of food supply chains. Taken together, these factors contribute to the habituation of work effort and thus explain why migrants work *so* hard.

5.2 The experience of harvest work

Migrants' habituation into work effort on Greenberg Farm began with a period of organised instruction and training. New arrivals to the farm were assigned to one of the four harvest teams but frequently began their first working week with salad onion pulling team. The first few days working with the onion pullers were a good introduction into the rigours of working outside all day and the routine of the camp. After a couple of days, workers took up their place in one of the salad harvest teams by being 'fed' into a team and began 'learning' by doing their work (Waite 2005: 417). Training on Greenberg Farm was understood to be a short period in which migrants settled in to their particular work roles, for example, as harvesters. Training periods for harvest work on Greenberg Farm lasted between three days and two weeks, during which time migrants were paid hourly. Payment

by the hour was intended to discourage workers from working too hastily, encouraging them to give care and attention to maintaining the quality of the harvest. Learning and training on our team involved instruction from Alexsei, our team leader, who had worked on the farm during the previous season. Harvesting correctly involved mastering bodily motions and gestures that relate to cutting, packing as well as looking at and inspecting what is to be cut or packed. Harvesting ‘correctly’ therefore involves effort from workers that relates to both *pace* and *quality*.

Having undertaken a short period of training with co-workers on the Ukrainian team, I worked for the next eight weeks harvesting during months of May and June 2007. In the following pages I describe the familiar routine I experienced every day that I worked as a harvester on the Ukrainian team. The passage introduces a *lived* and detailed experience of work as a harvester in the fields on Greenberg Farm and in doing so, shows how the job title of ‘salad harvest worker’ alone does little to reveal the effort involved in fulfilling the demands of the role. Moreover, the label of employment says little about the context in which the work is undertaken. The narrative counters a prevalent image of low skilled labour with details of the precise effort required of harvesters and depicts the everyday intricacies and intimacies of harvest work. It begins from the moment we leave the minibus, parked at the edge of field, and we are walking to the rows of salads that we have been allocated to harvest



Figure 9: Walking to the workplace along the rows of lettuce

I follow the Ukrainians who are in turn following Alexsei, our team leader, who has already paced across the salad field. All I see are the seamless lines of lettuce, just green lines, red lines, forming a track in a race. I feel disbelief: I can't quite believe the scale and how much there is to cut and pack. Lettuces are sown in rows of six (Figure 9). Each row comprises of four lines but sometimes the outer rows can have five lines of lettuce. Rows can stretch for up to a couple of hundred metres.

We stop. Alexsei cuts one salad and points to what we have to look for with this particular lettuce. Depending on the lettuce this can vary. For example one variety demands that we look before we cut and inspect its very core and, if there are black marks then we are not to harvest it at all. With another variety we are expected to consider the weight, whereas still another requires us to take off the outer leaves of the salad. Most of the time lettuces have to be harvested in a clean fashion [æhistið] and even in the muddiest conditions lettuces must not have any signs of mud, bugs or decay. We also have to look for white spots under leaves otherwise known as mildew.

We begin to cut and this is the preparation before the race. We work on cutting the four outside lines of the inner rows by bending, cutting and taking off the þlok-ihð [bad] leaves. The salad is left ðna polið or ðon the field and away from the path of the tractor wheels [Figure 10].



Figure 10: Cutting and preparing to harvest

Alexsi briefly checks our work, commenting on our efforts. Working in this way also gives the opportunity to see how others cut the lettuce. Not always understanding Alexsei's Russian, this is an important time for me. In some ways this process constitutes *training* as the team leader walks between the lines and knows who has cut what. He shakes his head as he sees mine *ó* and demonstrates again. As we are cutting we hear occasional shouts from Alexsei telling us to be faster as he works with the tractorist and trailer boys in setting up the trailer.

When we have finished the cutting which prepares both the field and us we walk back to the trailer and tractor. The tractor and trailer are fundamental to the salad harvest as they house and direct the whole operation. The white canvas cover sides of the trailer are rolled and tied back, much like the opening of a curtain on a stage and the length of trailer is swung around and positioned lengthways across the rows of lettuces. I start to liken the trailer to a theatrical stage. Indeed during the day we do look up to the trailer for entertainment, either from the trailer boys or from the radio that hangs in its roof. A strange thought maybe but it does resemble a theatre as the trailer boys are effectively *up there* and us, workers *down there* as an audience, with, of course, Alexsei standing a few paces behind all of us playing the part of a director.

We position ourselves along the length of trailer, attached to which is a metal rack. Eighteen black plastic crates *óor öyishicksö* as the Ukrainians called them are placed on the rack. The harvesters form a line opposite and partnering the

row of yishicks. On the main platform of the trailer are pallets of empty black crates, and empty pallets are placed into a formation ready to receive full crates. The trailer boys are responsible for swapping the full crates of salad with empty ones. Then they have to pile them on the pallets and tape them up and tie on the tracking labels.



Figure 11: A harvest team forms a line parallel to the trailer and begins to harvest

Having made our preparations we are ready and surprisingly we are itching and even a bit restless to start. This means even ducking under the trailer to pick the lettuce ó this is not advised as I am sure a quick jolt of the trailer would knock me senseless. The race, the daily race, is about to begin and we have warmed up, like any athletes. Alexsei calls to the tractor driver to start the tractor moving. The tractor pulls the trailer and we sweep through a section of the field cutting lettuces and placing them in the row formed by yishicks and it is this that forms the start line to a race with no endí

The trailer moves automatically without a driver and there are different speeds for different lettuce varieties. I can't stress enough how important it is to concentrate on keeping up and maintaining rhythm and pace in every single gesture of harvest.

BEND.CUT. PACK⁶²

Row 1-Klara and Olga
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
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Row 2 6 Vlad and Sofia
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
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Row 3- Yulina and Donna
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Row 4 Luba and Lana
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
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Row 5 Danil and Fedya
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
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Row 6 Rambo and Dmitry
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 BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND>CUT>PACK
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Figure 12: Bend, cut and pack: Repetition and routine of harvest

BEND>CUT>PACK>BEND continues for up to seven hours, sometimes longer depending on the -orderø and the quality of the lettuce. The pace leads me to fill not only my yischick but the one next to it and even my neighbours yishick and at times call loudly for -Yishick, pa-shal-sterø [-box pleaseø] in an effort to hurry the trailer boy.

The work is regulated by the speed of the tractor and trailer and the speeds are adjusted according to both the skill of the team and the variety of salad we are harvesting (there are -slowø and -fastø salads). This means we collectively work at the same speed. It is unlike working with spring onions where I had to work as fast as I could. Fast meant something different for everyone and consequently some workers harvested more or less than others. On the harvest

⁶² This diagram aims to illustrate the repetitiveness and intensity of the work and is an aerial view of how the Ukrainian team worked across the field. Each row of words represents a row of salads. The name next to each row illustrates who was harvesting and their respective positions. Workers on the outside rows (1 and 6) mostly harvested more than workers in positions such as me, in row 3. With some varieties we would have an extra -lineø to cut. This would be shared with our partner or neighbour and in such situations I would be told many times not to forget that I have a third -lineø to harvest. In addition to the members of the team featured in this diagram would be three more workers: Alexsei the team leader, who often stood behind us watching our work; a second tractor driver who would very often either be delivering the harvested salads to the main farmyard or returning with another empty trailer and a -trailer boyø who stayed on the trailer throughout and organised and secured the crates of salads in the trailer.

team ó it was different, we all have to be ðblistra, blistrað or ðfast, fastð At some point, something kicks in and we are cutting and packing really quickly. Itð smooth, a rhythm and I am concentrating hard as fast as I am cutting. This is a ðquickð salad. Few words are spoken except to call ðyishickð [box] to the trailer boy who then duly swaps a full yishick with an empty one. I attempt to look either side of me, towards the faces beneath the blue baseball caps and wonder what they are thinking.

Field Notes (10/05/07)

Salad harvest work is not simply about cutting. Like a long distance race, harvest work demands mental and physical endurance, and like a short sprint it also requires speed. Harvest work, as the description revealed, involved the precise and measured gestures of bend, of cut and of pack. It demanded speed combined with an attention to detail and the ability to make snap judgements as to the condition of the salad. Lettuce had to be ðchistið or clean and without mud, the correct weight and without the outer leaves. Harvest work therefore is not simply cutting but requires the particular physical and mental bodily work efforts of ðpaceð and ðqualityð The role of technology apparent in the description is, in the form of the tractor and trailer being our pacemaker and thus regulating our pace. In addition, Alexsei, our team leader, directed and oversaw our efforts of both pace and quality thus signifying, at the level of the field, surveillance in the workplace. Finally, habituation of work effort is apparent too because as ðsomething kicks inð we, as Vlad commented, are able to forget that we are cutting. This signifies habituation of work effort. In the following sections, I discuss these observations and the causes of the habituation further. In the next section I explore the links between the bodily work efforts of pace and quality on the one hand and with the demands of the broader food supply chain on the other.

5.3 Work effort in horticulture: Quality and Pace



Figure 13: An example of quality on Greenberg Farm

In this section, I propose that the regulation of our efforts of pace and quality can be linked to the production philosophies and governance informing the broader dynamic of the food supply chain. As with many farms supplying to retailers and processors, Greenberg Farm followed the production philosophies of Just-In-Time (JIT) and Total-Quality-Control (TQC). In defining Just-In-Time, Sewell and Wilkinson propose that it involves ‘matching the production process with the market place - the ideal is the establishment of perfect symmetry between demand and supply, within and without the factory, with no shortages, no costly stockpiles, and no waste’ (Sewell and Wilkinson 1992: 278 [authors’ emphasis removed]). In addition, Total-Quality-Control involves ‘building quality (defined as satisfaction of customer requirements) into a product or service, rather than coping with the problem after the event (or suffering the consequences of customer dissatisfaction)’ (Sewell and Wilkinson 1992: 278).

The origins of supply chain strategies used by supermarket retailers were developed as a result of perishable nature of fresh goods (Frances and Garnsey 1996: 596). Radical changes were made in relation to the ordering, timing and wastage. Supermarkets gained greater control through the development of direct relations with suppliers (Frances and Garnsey 1996: 597). The use of technology in collecting information at the point of consumer sale has also facilitated achievement of aims relating to stock orders, timing and wastage. While bringing efficiency and benefits to supermarket retailers this has created problems for the horticultural employers as the expense of maintaining a permanent 'just-in-case' work force to meet electronically generated orders is untenable (Frances and Garnsey 1996: 604). In addition, the management of quality is another aspect of governance that has implications on the organization of production (Perry *et al.*, 1997: 291). The impact of JIT and TQC systems has been found to place immense pressure on workers and compliance has been found to negatively affect workers' pay and their living and working conditions (Lloyd and James 2008: 714-5; Grammot and Flores 2010: 228).

As a supplier to many of the food retailers in the UK, Greenberg Farm worked towards tight production deadlines. The practice of JIT consequently influences and directs the effort of pace. 'Orders' may vary daily and usually involve the harvest of large quantities; in turn such factors necessitate the effort of pace. Satisfying customer requirements involves fulfilling the increasing demands of the 'precise standardisation of size, shape, texture and colour' of horticultural commodities (Rogaly 2008: 500). Such requirements create the effort of 'quality'. The specific criterion, however, on which standardization of a particular commodity is based, varied during the course of a season and was dependent upon three interrelated factors: weather conditions, demand for the particular commodity and the condition of the commodity itself. Consequently, and as the ethnographic description revealed, the effort of 'quality' fluctuates and depends on the particular salad and the conditions of harvest.

Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control are complementary philosophies (Sewell and Wilkinson 1992: 278) and arguably more so in horticultural production. The perishable nature of the crops also demands the effort of pace. The development of production

techniques has extended the length of the growing season, for example polytunnels help producers control climatic conditions. But even this development has not removed the critical and somewhat limited opportunity that exists for harvesting. Consequently, the efforts of pace and quality are linked with a need for growers to harvest at the correct time and before salads decay or go to seed. However, while the philosophies of JIT and TQC are complementary, the work efforts of pace and quality are not. Ortiz (2006) recognises increasing standards of quality can disrupt alignments between workers and employers and create conflict between the work efforts of quality and pace. This is because the effort of quality creates, at times, a hindrance. The demands of care and attention required by quality slows workers and conflicts with the effort of pace.

Having considered what hard work consists of, and the broader influences on work effort creation, let's return to a key research question of this thesis; how do employers get migrants to work so hard? Or framed in another more specific way, we might ask ourselves: how do you secure the migrants' particular efforts of pace and quality on Greenberg Farm? In revealing the role of moving tractors and trailers in regulating the pace at which we worked, the description goes some way in answering this. It suggests that technological organisation of the workplace influences migrants' bodies. The description also illustrates how surveillance is a key aspect of workplace organisation because the team leader oversaw our work efforts by inspecting closely what we harvested and hurrying our pace. In the rest of the chapter I explore the role of surveillance and technological organisation in securing the work effort of pace and quality from workers on Greenberg Farm as well as drawing on the experiences of former SAWS workers whom I interviewed in Ukraine.

5.4 Tractors and other forms of technological and mechanical influence



Figure 14: Tractors and trailers contribute to the regulation of pace

The use of technology in horticultural production is diverse. Technological developments used by farmers may include those that relate to soil sciences, plant varieties and the storage and packing of commodities harvested. Technologies have diverse impacts on workplace organisation and affect the experiences of workers in beneficial or detrimental ways. As a form of technology, the introduction of the tractor has both contributed to the decline of workers in agriculture and has impacted on workers who remain (Newby 1977: 80). More recent study by Grammot and Flores states how the new technologies introduced into tomato production resulted in a significant increase in the harvest yield yet the same numbers of migrant workers were used and fewer pickings were required (Grammot and Flores 2010: 238)⁶³. Innovation relating to salad harvest is limited however because of the demand for hand picked products which ensure greater success in maintaining standards of

⁶³ The authors give greater detail about the impact of technology: -Before, to harvest a hectare of standard-type tomatoes yielding 21 tonnes required up to eight pickings. With the new technologies only three pickings are sufficient to harvest more than 30 tonnes per hectare. Thus, the same number of migrant workers can harvest a larger volume in a shorter time. (Grammot and Flores 2010: 238)

quality than technological forms of harvest (Wells 1996). Johnston reveals how workers' hours were lengthened because the machines used to process and can asparagus were, according to the employer, unable to be interrupted (Johnston 2007: 502).

Technology plays a role in making workers because it has a significant impact on the body management of harvest workers. Body management according to Waite requires a whole spectrum of micro management strategies that are subtle and embedded in everyday social life (Waite 2007: 231). Waite, in her research into the working lives of manual quarry labourers in India, focuses on workers' micro strategies involving work pacing, resting and leisure and relaxation practices. She applies Bourdieu's reflections on how workers have an instrumental understanding of their body as a means to an end with her analysis that workers self-manage their bodies as a response to their intensive work efforts (Waite 2007: 229). In contrast, in UK salad harvesting, technology had a significant impact on workers' (in)ability to manage their own bodies, but as I shall demonstrate, the role of technology, while contributing to the intensification of work effort for some, was also labour saving and consequently eased their physical efforts.

Technology limited the opportunity of self directed work pacing of harvest workers on Greenberg Farm and significantly regulated the pace that formed the foundation of the routine and rhythm of bend, cut, pack. This is because the speed of the tractor and trailer set the work pace of the harvesters. At the beginning of each order the speed settings on the trailer and tractor were adjusted by the team leader. The level of speed for harvest was set out in the order sheet. The order sheet detailed the particular variety and quantity of salad to be harvested and the required speed setting for the tractor and trailer. A fast salad, for example, was a variety that was considered to be quick to harvest (because they were easier to cut and were in good condition) and, consequently the speed of the tractor was adjusted to a faster pace. As a result the work effort of pace was not solely directed by

workers but by the technological organisation of production that sought to harmonise and regulate efforts of pace⁶⁴.

The tractor's regulation of workers' pace meant that we worked to the rhythm and pace of the tractor rather than our own pace. We forged a relationship with the movements of the tractor and trailer that resulted in a consistent effort of pace. Each salad was revealed to us, as it emerged from beneath the moving trailer and, unless we looked behind, we had little idea of how many we might have harvested. The pace of the work did not afford opportunities to look back and consider how much we had harvested until we came to a stop. As a team, we soon learned that harvesting finished once the trailer stopped and not when our own bodies might need to stop. It was only when the tractor and trailer stopped we would stretch and rub our aching spinae [aching spine]. The motion of working behind a moving tractor continued with me beyond the field as often, when I dozed on my bed in the portacabin, I would wake up believing I was still behind the moving tractor and trailer following the rows and lines of salads. Such sensations were not only experienced by me but by other workers too. Mostly however, aches and pains from work were considered part of settling in and acclimatising to the pace. This is further discussed in chapter six.

For some migrants on Greenberg Farm however, technology and its deployment proved to be labour saving. The work of the planting team was made considerably easier with the introduction of a machine designed to plant small salad plants. Here is an extract from field notes that describe the experiences of planting work by machine and by hand.

Today we are to plant with the use of the machine. A tractor pulls a planting machine across the freshly cultivated land. Six people sit in seats on the machine and each reaches up to the rack above them and grabs a tray of plants. Using a metal tool the worker takes a row of plants from the tray and in the same sweep of movement: the worker places the plants on one of the two narrow shoots positioned either side of them. The plants slide down and as the tractor pulls the machine a plant drops to the bottom and is planted. You have to be quick to work on the planting machine.

⁶⁴ This is one example of the ways in which work pacing was regulated by factors other than workers themselves. Other factors influencing work pace, discussed in next chapter, include the piece rate method of pay and non-financial incentives.

I work behind the tractor and the machine. Holding a red shopping basket I walk along one row and scan the lines quickly, trying to see if any plants were missing from the dents. Sometimes I squash down further those plants that did not fall deep enough or landed lopsided. Two other team workers walk the other two lines. The workers on the machine fling behind them some plants to replenish our baskets and we pick these up. Once the machine has reached the end of the line it turns and moves back up the field for the return run. During these moments a couple of workers will leap off the machine and swap with those who are walking behind and checking the rows. This gives the opportunity for machine workers to rest their upper body limbs. Machine planting directs effort from the upper body and I noticed how some of the planters had developed conditioned and toned arm muscles.

The following day we return to the same field but this time plant without the machine. We are hand planting today because the plants are too big for the machine. I cannot tell if this is the fault of the nursery who supplied the plants or because of the delay in planting because of the rains. It's a different system of work. The small trailer carries the trays which we are to plant and moves periodically along the lines which we are planting in. We move deftly across the field taking a tray from the trailer, finding a stretch in the line, not too close to the next person but not too far away. And we start filling the small grooves imprinted in the ground. It's like a relay. As I carry my tray, I call to Dana and gesture 'is this far enough?' No, she says, and indicates I need to start a metre further away. Moments later Yan is asking me the same question. This prevents leaving any gaps in the harvest process.



Figure 15: The organisation and practice of hand-planting

Planting is a controlled and even clinical work environment and precision is easy here. My hands slide beneath the plants in the tray, I attempt to take a block of six plants and in the same movement split them up and move them into the freshly punctured holes in the sifted earth. Plants resemble neat little cakes, black liquorice blocks covered in sugary sand, soft to touch with a little green decoration. I push the plant in and use my other hand to gather soil around. Sliding on my knees and shins along the line pulling tray with me, planting three lines on one side and two the other and repeat until the tray is empty. Return to trailer and pick up another tray but give number to Petar who writes down how many trays we have done. I do about 30 trays before interrupted by the rain. It's so much slower than the machine. My knees hurt. There is not a comfortable way to plant, as it requires that I work by shuffling myself along the ground. My wrists ache, my kneecaps feel sore and already worn away and my fingers feel stretched and ache too.

Field Notes (28/06/07)

The excerpt from my field notes shows the contrast in experience and impact on the body between mechanised and hand planting. Both involved full body work, but planting with the machine enabled workers to rotate their body effort between upper and lower limbs. Hand planting, in contrast, utilised both upper and lower limbs simultaneously. Mechanised planting on Greenberg Farm had been an innovation pursued by farm management but it was not suitable for all plants, especially if the plants were too large because of the delay in planting them (because of continuous wet weather).

Retailers and farm customers play a role in the technological organisation of harvest work. The role of retailers in shaping technological operations is illustrated with the difference between two salad-producing farms. Greenberg Farm focused on producing salads for businesses seeking to process the salads for bagged salads whereas Blueberg Farm⁶⁵ produced salads which underwent no further processing and were intended to reach the customer in their whole form (i.e. were transported straight to supermarket shelves). Consequently technological organisation of harvest differed between the two farms. Blueberg Farm used a rig that organised a team into two work roles - cutters and packers. The cutters simply cut the salads and place them on a conveyor belt system. The packers

⁶⁵ Blueberg Farm (a pseudonym) is a salad farm in the south of England which employed some of the former SAWS workers in Ukraine involved with this research.

take each salad from the conveyor belt, pack it into pre-labelled bags and place it into boxes ready for despatch. The difference between the two styles is a result of commercial relations between the farms and buyers and not solely the availability and affordability of particular forms of technical innovations in harvest. The similarity is that both workers' efforts of pace were regulated and harmonised by the movement of the tractor, trailer and rig.

In summary, technology (identified/defined here as the use of machinery) contributes to the discipline of workers but also has a diverse impact on them. The impact depends on the particular work task, for example, planting or harvesting. For workers on the planting team, technology eased the work effort and performed a labour saving role and even contributed to the conditioning rather than injuring of workers' bodies. For others, the application of technology led to intensification of effort that regulated and directed effort rather than making work easier. In both cases, however, it appeared that the pace of workers was heavily influenced by mechanisation, which therefore was a crucial element in eliciting the work effort of pace.

5.5 Workplace surveillance

As the work ethnography at the beginning of the chapter illustrates, surveillance, in its most obvious form, occurred under the team leaders' watchful eye during harvest. As he stood behind us and walked slowly, his positioning in the field allowed him to watch the team as a whole and to compare the efforts of individuals. Such was the possibility that our team leader would be behind us watching us that we acted as if he were always actually there. Easily recognisable is the comparison of Bentham's Panopticon which, as a prison design, created a sense of visibility and experience of surveillance that an inmate would never know whether he is being looked at any one moment but he must be sure that he may always be so (Foucault, 1977: 201). This principle, already discussed in chapter two, is at the heart of Foucault's work on modern discipline and systems of control.

Foucault proposes that surveillance is a decisive economic operator both as the internal part of the production machinery and as a specific mechanism in the disciplinary power (Foucault 1977: 175). This understanding of the dual presence of surveillance is evidenced with the production and work practices on Greenberg Farm. First, the organisation of workers into teams aided surveillance because it enabled workers to monitor the work of one another in a team and this contributed to fulfilling the effort of quality. Migrants, in working next to one another during salad harvest, monitored one another's work effort. The trailer boys - whose job it was to replace full crates of salad with empty crates - also played a role in watching and overseeing quality. Their position enabled them to look down on workers who were cutting and packing. On many occasions the trailer boys commented on the quality of the salad itself, or the method by which it was packed in the crates. Furthermore, it was in the interests of workers to pay close attention to co-workers' efforts because working as part of team also means being paid as a team.

Aneta, a former SAWS worker, told me the importance of the role of teamwork for achieving quality in production. She said:

All the members of your team including your supervisor are responsible for good quality of lettuce. If a cutter did not notice a lettuce of bad quality with rotten leaves or with bad leaves, then I am a packer my task is to look at this and I have to notice and quickly, yes, very quickly. If a supervisor so he has to look at all these you see pieces of lettuce. So you see the whole team should work as one body.

Female, Ukrainian national, former SAWS worker on Blueberg Farm

Second, discipline and surveillance and its role in producing the effort of quality did not stop at the field gate but instead formed the internal part of production machinery (Foucault 1977: 175). Quality on Greenberg Farm was not only an element of work effort carried out in the field and a standard of production demanded by the farm and its customers but also a major contributory factor in the broader monitoring and surveillance of workers efforts. This is because quality was monitored and assessed beyond the field gate.

Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) explain the function of both JIT and TQC systems of production relies on surveillance. The authors propose that surveillance occurs with the existence of the 'electronic panopticon'⁶⁶ in which 'a disembodied eye can overcome the constraints of architecture and space to bring its disciplinary gaze to bear at the very heart of the labour process' (Sewell and Wilkinson, 1992: 283). This suggests that surveillance existing elsewhere in the labour and production process contributes to the efforts of workers in the field. On Greenberg Farm every pallet of salad harvested had a label attached upon which written information relating to the date, variety of salad, order number, the number of the field in which it was grown and harvested and crucially to the issue of surveillance, our team number. The labelled pallets were returned to the main yard and would undergo a quality control check before being loaded onto the delivery vans. Greenberg Farm employed one quality control person, Beata, a Polish national, who previously worked in a bank, had recently completed her Masters degree and was primarily working in the UK because her boyfriend also worked on Greenberg Farm. Her main job involved checking the quality of the harvested goods arriving in the yard and preparing the paperwork of all the outgoing deliveries. During one of her visits to the camp I was able to interview Beata and she described the work that her job involved:

-I check salads. I am checking salads all the time. I am checking salads and then I put some details on the system, for example, the number of field, the number of pallet, the number of batch you know, these details, the number of kilos, trays. I must keep an eye of salad and the customerí when we have some crop I must know that this crop is good for, you know, the customer. They [Greenberg Farm] have 15 customers and I must checking all the time, for example, when we have a Cos [a type of lettuce], sometimes the Cos have a breakdown or something like that and sometimes we can't send this crop to one customer and we can send to another and something like this you know, some of these customers very strictí And I take some samples, I chop this salad ó chop, chop, chop, chopí and I put on the computer my explanation if I have a problem with this or something like this. So I put their weight, description about the leaves, about the breakdown, if we have some insects ó how many insects we haveí ø

Female, Polish national, Greenberg Farm

⁶⁶ Although they base this on Zuboff's Information Panopticon (Zuboff 1988)

Evident in the excerpts from the interview with Beata is how the effort of pace and quality continues to be a pressure and effort of work even though the harvest work is complete. Beata had to work quickly because of the amount of salads requiring her assessment and the need to meet crucial delivery deadlines. Quality was also an issue, with the standards of quality differing between particular customers and the actual condition of the many types of salad changing on a regular basis.

Traceability and accountability of work effort occurred because of the labelling and tagging of pallets and this became a form of surveillance for workers on Greenberg Farm. The labelling identified the team responsible for the quality of the work. If a quality control worker such as Beata felt that the harvested products did not match the quality required they would reject the work. Rejections were made on the quality of the lettuce, the cut of the lettuce as well as the packing style (for example, if crates were over-packed, which was likely because workers considered that packing more meant getting paid more).

The team responsible for harvesting and packing would have deductions from pay or would lose the opportunity to be paid a -bonus⁶⁷. Group work consequently meant that workers were vocal in commenting on the work effort of one another and responded to the requirements of their own work effort (and its monitoring) as well as others.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the role of training, technology and surveillance as key techniques and forms of discipline that contribute to creating workers that work so hard. This has revealed the many ways in which processes and organisation of production target the body and consequently seek to regulate work and discipline workers. Applying the works of Foucault who -sees power targeting the individual through their bodyø (Wolkowitz 2006: 19) has helped illustrate the extent to which the body has been a target of

⁶⁷ Explanation of the -bonusø was unclear. One manager told me that I would have to work on a Saturday to be eligible for it (which indicates it is more about overtime) and that it amounted up to 20% of earnings. Whereas another manager explained that it was at the discretion of the managers if this was to be paid and it was a reward (for being fastest, most productive) and amounted to, on average, £20.

workplace regime power. For example, surveillance in the workplace, led by the food supply chain has seen the body being watched; technology has regulated the pace and movement of workers; training has initiated a process of body conditioning. Each of these contributed to the habituation of bodily work effort.

I provided an in-depth account of harvest work that was based on field notes written during my period of participant observation and photographs taken during pauses in harvest. The inclusion of the detailed description of the experience of harvest work served two functions. First, it aimed to inform the reader about the organisation of production of harvest and to demonstrate that harvest work is a tightly organised operation and not simply a collective act of just cutting. Second, the detailed description revealed the experience of harvest, that is, the bodily responses to harvest work. Contained within the description were references to aspects of the workplace that were subsequently identified as significant elements contributing to workplace control - the role of surveillance and mechanisation. In all, the ethnographic description provides a springboard from which to discuss what work effort consisted of and how it was elicited from workers and subsequently habituated in their work.

In this chapter I addressed one of the key questions posed in chapter two: how is work effort defined in the context of horticultural production? Work effort is defined by pace and quality. Pace refers to the duration and speed migrants harvested the salads. Quality refers to migrants fulfilling specific criteria associated with particular varieties of salad. Such criteria are based on the condition of the salad including weight, size and with each being without imperfections such as blemishes in the form of leaf rot and black marks. I linked the requirements of work effort of pace and quality, with the workings of the supply chain. Specifically, I identified that the two systems of production - Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control which have implications for workers. First, both types of production philosophies, with their emphasis on facilitating continuous production which matches a particular standard (of quality), inform and define the requirements of effort of workers. Second, the ongoing work efforts of migrants resulted in the habituation of work effort. This demonstrates how migrants' work efforts of pace and quality are intimately bound up

with Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control operating in the supply chain. Moreover, using the field notes I began to show the powerful effect of habituation as workers reflected on their own aptness for the work ó to the point where one need not be wholly conscious of its demands but just -knowøthe work and the effort required.

Focus was placed on the role of technology, specifically, mechanisation, in the elicitation and subsequent control of effort from workers. The ambiguous role of mechanisation was discernable; for workers on the planting team for example, mechanisation eased work effort to some degree but arguably it continued to intensify the efforts of workers. For harvesters, mechanisation was limited; the use of tractors and trailers served to regulate the work effort - in particular, the work pace of workers. How this technology was deployed in the horticultural workplace was considered somewhat dependent on the requirements of the businesses and their consumers upstream in the supply chain. For example, Blueberg Farm used the rig system of production to enable both the harvesting and packing of lettuces in the field. At Greenberg Farm however, the customers purchasing the lettuce did not have such requirements.

The chapter also showed how surveillance of workers and their efforts manifested at different scales. Surveillance ranged from that undertaken on the field by the team leader and by one another to more distant forms of surveillance in other spaces of the farm - for example, in the farmyard and the packhouse where lettuces were assessed on the basis of quality. Again the production system of TQC played a role in shaping the everyday experiences and performances of workers. This is because, on Greenberg Farm, TQC led to a system of labelling and tagging of harvested salads which enabled traceability of salads. Consequently surveillance became an internal function and one of which migrants were aware of.

This chapter has provided ethnographic-based insights into harvest work but more significantly has sought to understand the experiences of migrants working in horticulture. The detailed ethnographic description has formed an important backdrop to this chapter and the rest of the thesis as workersø experiences were revealed in full. Conceptually, the

chapter offered key contributions to discussions and debates in labour and workplace studies. Firstly, this chapter has defined what work effort is (specifically in the context of horticulture). Ethnography has enabled the definition of work effort to move from a generalised concept to one which grounded and materially-based. From this, further conceptual insights have emerged; for example, the chapter identified technology and surveillance in the workplace as key factors which elicit and contribute to the habituation of work effort. Both surveillance and technology were linked to the dynamic governance operating in food supply chains, in particular between retailers and their suppliers and the latter's obligation around fulfilling demands for quality and volume on the produce supplied. Taken together, these two factors, as discussed in the chapter, are significant in demonstrating that workers are 'made' by the organisation of production. These factors however, may be understood as 'external' elements of labour control compared to the role of participatory forms of workplace processes and activities, such as workplace games and competition. The next chapter continues to focus on the workplace but moves on to discuss these seemingly more participative modes of labour control.

Chapter Six

Workers' Experiences of Consent and Force in the Workplace

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on the experiences of consent and force in the workplace; processes and activities that create opportunities and constraints for workers and which contribute to securing migrants' workplace effort. I suggest that an employer's organisation of the workplace significantly shapes and directs the processes in which the work effort of pace and quality required in horticultural production are secured.

This chapter explores how consent in the labour process is created and how force is a significant factor for the creation of work effort. Previously, in chapter two, I set out my approach to labour process analysis and highlighted the need for such analysis to take account of subjective understandings and recognise workers' agency. In particular, I explained the usefulness in applying Katz's analytic framework which conceptualises acts of resilience, reworking and resistance as key strategies which contribute to a nuanced understanding of agency and the diverse forms of opposition taken by workers. This chapter continues with this approach and builds on the work of Michael Burawoy. Burawoy proposes that employers maximise efforts of workers through processes which both 'force and consent' individuals to work hard (1979: 30). Burawoy constructs labour process as a game in which consent is central. The origin of consent 'lies in the organization of activities as though they presented the worker with real choices, however narrowly confined those choices might actually be. It is participation in choosing that generates consent' (Burawoy 1979: 27). The idea of 'specific combinations of force and consent that elicit cooperation' recognises that while 'coercion is at the back of any employment relationship' consent also exists too, even if the consent is somewhat illusory because the choices available and the consent given is one outcome of an employer's organisation of the workplace (Burawoy 1979: 30). The conception of the labour process as a game

broadens the discussion of the relations between workers and employers and emphasises the role of worker agency. Discussion and understanding of labour process moves beyond simple dichotomies that consider workers as 'objects of manipulations' (Burawoy 1979: 77) and instead offer explanations that illustrate that workers' interests go beyond the outcome of financial gain.

Specifically, section 6.2 discusses workers' understanding of the piece-rate system of pay, which proves to be a participatory and consensual form of 'control' in the workplace. Earlier, in chapter two, I discussed a specific element of the workplace process: indeterminacy. In the context of labour analysis, indeterminacy refers to the not knowing of wage(s) in advance (Smith 2006) and in section 6.3 I make an extension of the concept of indeterminacy based on my analysis of workers' experiences of piece-rates. The absence of information inherent in the piece-rate system doubles the indeterminacy that creates uncertainty for workers.

The piece-rate system of pay is identified within this chapter as a key factor in the creation of work effort and the making of migrant workers. Situations occur, however, in which workers contest the decisions made by farm management and thereby do not agree and consent to work. In section 6.4 I disclose one example of how requirements of work effort of quality caused resentment among workers and thus undermined workers' consent.

My discussion of the role of immigration status on migrant workers' experiences has so far proposed two main arguments: First, in chapter two, I established that immigration status contributes to the types of jobs and labour markets that migrants are positioned in. Second, in chapter four, I proposed that conditions of immigration status - for example, the obligation to remain in employer-provided housing - contributed to the enclosure and subsequent regulation of migrant workers. In this chapter, I suggest that immigration status has a further role of play in the experiences of migrants in the workplace. Section 6.5 reveals how immigration status has a coercive role in the horticultural labour process. Specifically, conditions of immigration status - for example, the lack of labour mobility

held by workers - proves to be a useful tool by which to control migrants and their work effort.

Having established that intensification of work effort is a key consequence of the processes of force and consent in the workplace, I move on to discuss the outcomes of intensification for workers. I conceptualise the effects of work and workplace outcomes as *rewards* and *penalties* thus my analysis retains the idea of the workplace in which games are played. *Rewards* and *penalties* are shown to take the form of financial and non-financial outcomes. Section 6.6 investigates the effects of intensification of work effort by focusing on the effects of workplace competition. In particular, attention is given to the *reward* of extra work and the emergence of a workplace hierarchy based on nationality. Consideration is made of the experiences of *rewards* and *penalties* incurred on workers' minds and bodies. Inclusion of workers' reflections on the effect of work on the mind demonstrates that although it is immensely physical, horticultural work can affect the mind and emotional selves of workers too. *Rewards* for the working body are in the form of body conditioning and adjustment to the workplace. As much as reward is a feature of the workplace process, penalties are too. The bodily *penalties* for work effort and the enactment of the workplace regime results in minor and mundane ailments such as fatigue and injury. Furthermore, a connection is made between the workplace *penalties* experienced by migrants and the impact of the dynamic of the food supply chain (as discussed in chapters two, four and six).

6.2 Consent and workers' understanding of the piece-rate system of pay

In horticulture, the piece-rate system of pay is a prime mechanism in both the creation of the consent of workers and the securing of their work effort. The idea of piece-rates proposes a high degree of worker autonomy and suggests that it is a worker's prerogative to decide how much they wish to earn and therefore how hard and fast they will work. Among the workers that I interviewed, the most common understanding of the piece-rate reward system was that working harder (which frequently involved working at a faster pace) would lead to greater wage gains. Consequently, in possessing the work more, earn more understanding of piece-rates -it is naturally in the personal interest of the worker that he

should strain his labour-power as intensely as possible (Marx [1867] 1976: 695). This quote from Klarysa, a former SAWS worker in Ukraine, appears to lend credence to the perspective offered by Marx:

–But if you don't work, you have a right to just sit and have breakfast, dinner. This is your right. This is your right. If you take ten trays, you have one money; if you take 15 trays you have other money

Female, Ukrainian nationality, former strawberry picker

The prevalent understanding of the piece-rate by workers is instrumental in shaping and influencing the work effort of pace.

Filip: So you know here [on this farm] it is piecework and per hour - per hour is a lazy job! [Laughter] maybe, if the onions was on per hour pay - we will make around 5 trays all day, seven, because nobody is serious.

Donna: Would you? Would you really do that? Do you think you would really be slow?

Filip: Because there is no reason to be fast!

Male student, Bulgarian national, onion puller

Workers' understanding of piece-rates complements an understanding of the piece-rate system of pay as an indicator of intensification of the labour process. A common form of intensification in the labour process is an increase in the speed and pace of production (Gough 2003: 160). In the context of agriculture and horticulture, intensification represents a form of innovation and, according to Guthman, is characterised by 'efforts to speed up, enhance, or reduce the risks of biological processes' (Guthman 2004: 65). Workers' perceptions of piece-rates precipitate the effort of pace and, consequently intensify their work effort. Rogaly (2008: 506) identifies the role of piece-rates as a non-technical form of intensification in workplace regimes in British horticulture. They facilitate intensification because, in some instances, they have replaced an hourly and time-based wage. Moreover, the rates for piecework paid to workers have lowered due to 'the reduced margins growers have been obtaining from retailers for each unit of produce' (Rogaly 2008: 505).

On Greenberg Farm, workers' understanding of piece-rates generated the consent to the effort of pace in harvest work and this led to the intensification of work effort. Other writers highlight the potential of workers' autonomy in the piece-rate reward system. For example, Waite (2005) suggests that piece-rate modes of pay allow flexibility and represent the presence of worker agency because the mobilisation of bodies to work (or not) will often be partly dependent on the incentives, or the reasons for desiring to work hard (Waite 2005: 421). Similarly, Gidwani claims that piece-rates offer opportunities for workers involved with his study to vary the tempo of work and work in relative autonomy from employers towards whom they nurture a history of antagonism or aggrievement (Gidwani 2001: 91). The advantages of piece-rates perceived by workers in Gidwani and Waite's studies explain why workers consent to such systems of pay (and work). In this study, workers perceived piece-rates as an opportunity to earn more by intensifying their effort of pace - i.e. by working faster. As set out in chapter five however, the technical organisation of production was a significant influence in harmonising and regulating the effort of pace, and along with other factors such as teamwork and surveillance, it contributed to the *absence* of autonomy in the workplace for harvest workers in this research.

Piece-rate rewards for harvest work on Greenberg Farm lacked the flexibility that was suggested by Waite and Gidwani. Workers were expected to complete the orders allocated to the team, and did not have flexibility in the decision as to the amount of work they wished to complete or the monies they wished to earn. Daily fluctuations and last minute orders from customers appear to be a feature in supply relationships experienced by not only Greenberg Farm but also other farms referred to during my interviews. Taras, who was based on a salad farm on the South coast of England gave an example of how the working day lengthened as additional orders for salad were placed. He said:

In the morning the manager came and told us that we have to fill up seven trailers or five trailers but then during the day somebody phoned the manager and he told us that you have to work longer because we have one more order

Male, Ukrainian national, former SAWS worker at Redberg Farm

Similarly, fulfilling agreements to supply quality salad and avoiding loss of harvest from the challenges of seasonality (and its role in the perishable nature of crops) removed the opportunity for autonomy in work effort of piece-rate work. Aneta, a former SAWS worker, explained how the impact of large volumes of lettuce, that had become fully grown, led to longer working hours. She said:

-Peter, a manager of Blueberg Farm, came up to our team and asked us to pick up, to cut lettuce as quickly as possible because maybe in two days - so all this lettuce would go wrong,- -so please work as hard as you canøand we worked at that site until 2 o clock in the morning , but after this day we were brought [sic] some beer and sandwichesø

Female, Ukrainian national, harvester on Blueberg Farm

Workersø preference for piece-rates is not only based on the rationale that ongoing and increasing work efforts result in greater levels of pay but also because of a comparison between different forms of reward made by workers. Mykola, who worked in a variety of roles on Blueberg Farm suggested that piece-rate pay would overall equate to a greater wage per hour. He calculated the benefits and value of piece-rate reward system by conflating two different systems of pay - hourly wage and piece-rate - and compared the actual hourly wage that might be paid with an approximate calculation of an equivalent in piece-rate pay. Mykola said:

-Manager and supervisor said if you work on piece rate you will be pay maybe £8 per hour. If you work on time you will be paid only £5.05. So itø better if you work on piece rateø

Male, Ukrainian National, harvester on Blueberg Farm

These kinds of comparisons led workers to prefer piece-rate pay. Workers understandings of piece-rate system of pay were crucial in creating consent to work. In the context of this research, such systems of pay lacked the flexibility and autonomy identified as being a reason for a preference towards piece-rates compared to other pay systems, such as hourly pay.

So far in this section I have discussed the role of piece-rate method of pay in creating the consent of workers, and their understanding of piece-rates has been crucial to this. Piece-rates as a method of pay have also added to uncertainty in the workplace process and as a consequence, workers intensified their efforts further. Section 6.4 shows the benefit of the distinction between the work efforts of quality and pace through a nuanced analysis of the workplace processes of consent. The work effort of pace, for example, did not create the same level of resentment by workers and coincided with workers' understandings of piece-rate. However, the work effort of quality did create resentment because workers perceived that the responsibility of poor quality was not solely of their own doing but as a result of other factors such as weather and the planning and management of crops. In the next section I look further into why workers' understandings of the labour process create consent.

6.3 Piece-rates: A further means to double indeterminacy

Responses to and preferences for the piece-rate method of pay occur because workers compare a final outcome of work effort, i.e. pay. Lacking in the comparison however, is the evaluation of effort arising from two distinct reward systems. Effort, or labour power, is identified by Smith (2006) as being indeterminate. Indeterminacy of work effort arises because workers generally know in advance of starting a job the wages they will be paid for their time at work, but not the exact quantity of labour-effort that is required for the particular job (Smith 2006: 389). He suggests that indeterminacy of labour power and work effort exists for workers and employers. For employers, indeterminacy relates to the work effort of individuals but also to production more generally; for example, fluctuations in production in the field and in the market. Workers' experience of indeterminacy relates to how the work effort required in production is not known prior to the agreements of work and wage (Smith 2006:389).

Piece-rate rewards create a *double* indeterminacy of work effort because workers rewarded by the piece-rate system are without knowledge of a) how much effort is required and b) a figure of the precise and final wage they will receive for their effort. Consequently the work

efforts of workers intensify. The doubling of indeterminacy occurs because workers' attempts to piece together an accurate figure of their wage are obscured by the absence of additional critical pieces of information. An attempt to estimate how much the efforts of harvesters on Greenberg Farm will be rewarded was based on minimal information regarding pay rates provided in their contract of work.

Figure 16 illustrates the degree to which prices differed between salad varieties and how they also varied during the course of the season, with differences in pay rates also existing during the first two weeks of work and the main season. The contract prices for harvest work illustrate that Greenberg Farm produced a range of lettuces amounting to 24 different varieties of lettuce. Figures 17a and 17b⁶⁸ indicate the wide range of work orders undertaken by the team during a particular week. During a working day it was very difficult to keep an account of the harvested quantities of the different varieties of salad. Guessing the weight of each crate loaded onto the trailer was felt to be misleading because workers did not know when or how salads would be weighed. For example, salads weighed in the morning or during rainy days were likely to be heavier because of the collection of rainwater and dew. Similarly, workers were unaware if the level of payment was decided before or after quality control staff had examined it.

⁶⁸ Figures 17a and 17b were provided on my request to the farm management and this information was not routinely included with payslips.

STUDENT PIECE RATE SCHEDULE 2007

PLANTING ALL CROPS £/1000 PLANTED	HAND PLANTING		5 ROW MACHINE	12 ROW MACHINE	
	£4.60		£3.20	£3.20	
HARVEST RATES (Excluding Bonus)	p/KILO 1 st WEEK	p/KILO 2 nd WEEK	p/KILO MAIN SEASON	SUTTON FARM p/TRAY	COMPASS/ PAULEY p/Tray
APOLLO	8.0	6.0	4.0		
ASHBROOK	20.0	15.0	10.0		
COS/MIDI COS	8.0	6.0	4.0	35.0	50.0
COS HEARTS	8.0	6.0	4.0		
COARSE ENDIVE	9.0	7.0	4.5		
ESCAROLE	6.0	4.5	3.0		
FINE ENDIVE	12.0	9.0	6.0		
GREEN BATAVIA	10.0	7.5	5.0		
GREEN MULTILEAF	10.0	10.0	10.0		
GREEN OAK LEAF	8.0	6.0	4.0		
GREEN SALANOVA	20.0	15.0	10.0		
ICEBERG	8.0	6.0	4.0		
LITTLE GEM	15.0	15.0	15.0		
LOLLO BIONDA	8.0	6.0	4.0		50.0
LOLLO ROSSA (D)	10.0	7.5	5.0		50.0
LOLLO ROSSA (T)	10.0	7.5	5.0		
RADICCHIO			6.5		50.0
RED APOLLO	20.0	15.0	10.0		
RED BATAVIA	10.0	7.5	5.0		
RED COS				50.0	
RED MULTILEAF	15.0	15.0	15.0		
RED OAK LEAF	10.0	7.5	5.0		50.0
RED SALANOVA	20.0	15.0	10.0		
SWEET GEM				40.0	
SALAD ONIONS/KILO	VARIABLE PIECE RATE AS PER CONDITIONS. BASE RATE 55.0p / KILO				

A MAXIMUM BONUS OF 10% WILL BE AWARDED TO ALL HARVEST TEAMS AT THE HARVEST MANAGER'S DISCRETION. THIS BONUS WILL BE AWARDED ON THE FOLLOWING MERITS:

A) QUALITY OF PRODUCT HARVESTED	D) ATTENDANCE & TIMEKEEPING
B) CO-OPERATION WITH MANAGERS	E) ADHERANCE TO HEALTH, SAFETY & HYGIENE POLICIES
C) CORRECT USE OF MACHINERY	F) OVERALL PRODUCTIVITY OF THE TEAM

THE BONUS WILL BE AWARDED TO THE TEAM, NOT TO THE INDIVIDUALS.

The payment or otherwise of any bonus will be wholly at the discretion of the Company. There is no contractual entitlement for you to receive a bonus at any time even if a bonus has been paid to you or to other employees on previous occasions. If a bonus is paid the amount will also be wholly at the discretion of the Company.

PACKHOUSE

SALAD ONIONS - PIECE RATES BASED ON KILOS TRIMMED/WASHED PER TEAM	WASHING	TRIMMING
	10.0p / KILO	16.0p / KILO
LABEL/PACKING/BOX MAKING COMBINED RATE (TRADED)	BAG LABELLING (OWN PRODUCT)	BOX MAKING (OWN PRODUCT)
20p / BOX	0.4p / BAG	4.5p / BOX

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Name: Donna Simpson No: 1009

Figure 16: Contract detailing piece-rate payments per variety [redacted for anonymity]

T/Sheet No	EEName	Timesheet Date	Week Paid	Job Description	No Hours	Value Earned	£ per Hour
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		COS [REDACTED]	2.75	£7.78	£2.83
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		G BATAVIA [REDACTED]	0.50	£2.45	£4.90
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		GREEN OAK [REDACTED]	2.00	£8.31	£4.16
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		RED BATAVIA [REDACTED]	1.25	£6.61	£5.29
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		RED OAK [REDACTED]	0.25	£2.06	£8.24
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		RED OAK [REDACTED]	0.75	£3.99	£5.32
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		ESCAROLE [REDACTED]	0.25	£1.08	£4.32
1009	Donna Simpson	14/05/2007		APOLLO [REDACTED]	1.50	£6.41	£4.27
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		COS [REDACTED]	2.75	£11.38	£4.14
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		RED OAK [REDACTED]	1.25	£4.88	£3.90
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		MULTI RED [REDACTED]	0.25	£2.80	£11.20
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		RED APOLLO [REDACTED]	0.25	£2.40	£9.60
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		LITTLE GEM [REDACTED]	0.25	£1.48	£5.92
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		GREEN SALANOVA [REDACTED]	0.50	£2.98	£5.96
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		G BATAVIA [REDACTED]	1.00	£8.64	£8.64
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		COS [REDACTED]	2.00	£12.25	£6.12
1009	Donna Simpson	15/05/2007		GREEN OAK [REDACTED]	1.25	£12.92	£10.34
1009	Donna Simpson	16/05/2007		RED COS [REDACTED]	0.50	£1.20	£2.40
1009	Donna Simpson	16/05/2007		C ENDIVE [REDACTED]	3.75	£27.78	£7.41
1009	Donna Simpson	16/05/2007		COS [REDACTED]	1.25	£9.26	£7.41
1009	Donna Simpson	16/05/2007		ICEBERG [REDACTED]	3.00	£20.84	£6.95
1009	Donna Simpson	16/05/2007		LOLLO BIONDI [REDACTED]	0.25	£0.38	£1.44
1009	Donna Simpson	17/05/2007		C ENDIVE [REDACTED]	1.50	£18.58	£12.39
1009	Donna Simpson	17/05/2007		COS [REDACTED]	1.00	£5.28	£5.28
1009	Donna Simpson	17/05/2007		GREEN OAK [REDACTED]	1.00	£7.85	£7.85
1009	Donna Simpson	17/05/2007		ICEBERG [REDACTED]	2.75	£24.23	£8.81
1009	Donna Simpson	17/05/2007		RED BATAVIA [REDACTED]	0.50	£1.44	£2.88
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		G BATAVIA [REDACTED]	1.00	£6.88	£6.88
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		RED OAK [REDACTED]	0.50	£3.65	£7.30
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		RED BATAVIA [REDACTED]	1.00	£5.66	£5.66
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		GREEN OAK [REDACTED]	0.75	£7.48	£9.97
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		ESCAROLE [REDACTED]	1.25	£9.32	£7.46
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		C ENDIVE [REDACTED]	1.00	£7.18	£7.18
1009	Donna Simpson	18/05/2007		LITTLE GEM [REDACTED]	0.50	£3.86	£7.72
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007		ICEBERG [REDACTED]	1.00	£8.06	£8.06

Figure 17a: Detailed break down of work completed (by variety) during harvest [redacted for anonymity]

1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	ESCAROLE		2.25	£14.09	£6.26			
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	G BATAVIA		1.00	£8.51	£8.51			
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	GREEN OAK		1.00	£10.10	£10.10			
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	RED BATAVIA		1.75	£16.45	£9.40			
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	RED OAK		0.25	£1.59	£6.36			
1009	Donna Simpson	19/05/2007	RED OAK		0.50	£2.04	£4.08			
Note: figures displayed at 2 decimal places but calculations done at 4 decimal places. If value earned is 0.7 then divide £/Hr by 10 if 0.07 then divide by 100					Total Hours	48.00	Total Value	£320.11	£ per Hour	£6.67

Figure 17b: Detailed break down of work completed (by variety) during harvest - with final pay calculation [redacted for anonymity]

Variation in work allocation - that is 'orders' allocated to teams - also affected the final pay awarded each week. Variation in work allocation (and therefore pay) is part of indeterminacy and is linked to the broader supply chain and unique conditions of production in horticulture.

This discussion with a manager on Greenberg Farm reveals how climatic conditions and consumer demand impact on the 'orders' from retailers:

Donna: Does this mean you know how much roughly we get every week?

Manager: No, because it varies, doesn't it? On how much you harvest, on how much that team harvests every week

Donna: Right and what does that depend on? The orders?

Manager: Yeah, it's everything, everything what we produce you might say, is dictated by the weather. Like this weather, when it's wet, people don't want salads, they want cauliflowers, cooked food. When it's nice and sunny and, beaming down hot, they want salads and they having BBQs, you know, everybody wants salads. Last year we was struggling to keep up with the orders. It was so hot.

Donna: Yes it was so hot, I can remember.

Manager: We even had a recommendation from Tesco thanking us for keeping their shelves full.

Donna: Really?

Manager: Yeah, we actually kept salads, kept Tesco's shelves full of salad and they sent emails around to us thanking us for the work what we was doing to keep them going under the conditions - yeah, Greenberg, kept Sainsbury's and Tesco going last season, you know.

Interview with member of management of Greenberg Farm

While additional pieces of information are absent, because information varied according to the demands of the customer and conditions of production, for other workers critical pieces of information relating to reward are missing; for example, the actual price per kilo itself.

Silva, a Bulgarian onion puller commented on this:

Silva: The manager said in the beginning that if it is better time work or piecework - they didn't write nothing here because they don't know what is better for us, they decide every day or something like that but I don't know if that is true

Donna: Ah ok, right, yeahí I mean, how much do you get paid for onions? Do you know? Per kilo, or..?ø

Silva: Yes, for tray, itø.. I donø know exactly how much one tray because Mathew⁶⁹ he have to say every week and what the price for the week but he did not say nothing and we donø know.ø

Female, Bulgarian national, harvester on Greenberg Farm

Notably, the contract prices for salad onion harvesting listed in Figure 16 were ÷variable pricesø based on ÷conditionsø although a minimum of 55 pence per kilo harvested was stated. Workersø payslips, received weekly, did not reveal the quantity per kilo that the team had harvested. Sometimes though, the payslip assisted in relieving this particular form of indeterminacy. This worker, who worked on a salad farm in Cambridgeshire but also had previous experience at another large salad farm, spoke of how he checked the payslips of each worker in the team, and consequently could work out how much effort was required to earn a particular level of wage;

÷It was my duty to calculate using these tickets how much every team member, could earn and then at the end of the week I knew exactly how much every team member could earn í in the ticket we had all the information about how many people worked, how many boxes and how many trailers and how much it cost so it was so easy to calculate how much every person could earn, so its just mathematics, its easyø

Male, Ukrainian national, harvester on Redberg Farm

The payslip provided to workers on Greenberg Farm (Figure 18) did not reduce indeterminacy however, as only one final payment figure was provided with no breakdown of particular orders completed, or the time taken to do so. Variation in wage is an outcome of numerous factors including quality of the harvest, the season and the broader market demand (Hartman 2008: 501).

⁶⁹ As with all names used in this research, the original name has been changed and a pseudonym has been created.

On Redberg Farm, variability in pay was a deliberate strategy used by employers to coerce workers into a particular regime of work. For example, Petro told me that the variability of piece-rates was used explicitly to secure work effort:

Petro: During the first month of work we talked too much because we didn't know each other. We didn't know exactly what to do and that is why we talked too much. So, X was the general manager, and he wasn't happy with such a talkative team and he promised us to charge a fine if we talked too much.

Donna: Really? How could he do this? Did you believe him?

Petro: Yes we believed him.

Donna: Yes. Sorry, I mean I say that because I don't know how you would do it, would they?

Petro: So he could decrease payments per box during that day. It is possible.

Male, Ukrainian national, harvester on Redberg Farm

Simpson Donna		Emp No: 1009		NI No: [REDACTED]	NI Rate: A	Tax Code: NT	W1/M1
Week No: 8		Department:		STUDENTS	Payroll Date: 25/05/2007		

Payments	Qty	Rate	Amount	Deductions		Summary this Week	
Student Pay			320.10	Student Accomodati	29.05	Gross Nlabic	320.10
				Student Facilities	21.70	PAYE Tax	0.00
				Fine	10.00	NIC	24.21
						Total Payments	320.10
						Total Deductions	84.96
						Net Pay	235.14
						Summary To-date	
						Gross Nlabic	631.87
						PAYE Tax	0.00
						NIC	47.50
						Net Pay	322.87

Miss D Simpson
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Payable by BACS	235.14
-----------------	--------

FOR BEST RESULTS SEAL WHEN STILL WARM FROM THE LASER PRINTER

Figure 18: Example of my payslip on Greenberg Farm.

It details pay and final pay after deductions for tax, accommodation and fine.

The piece-rate reward system assists in countering employers' production indeterminacy by maximizing indeterminacy experienced by workers. Not only did workers' customary understanding of piece-rates equate to working harder and harvesting greater volumes (with greater pay, leading to an intensification of work effort) but the indeterminacy in the pay itself contributed to the securing of greater work efforts because of the hope or worry held by workers regarding their wage. But what does hope or worry over not knowing precise wage or indeterminacy of pay represent, and how did it affect effort?

According to Burawoy the success of the labour process game relies, in part, on the existence of correct level of uncertainty. He suggests that;

-A game loses its ability to absorb players under any of the following three conditions: first, when uncertainty is too great and outcomes are entirely beyond the control of players; second, when uncertainty is too slight and outcomes may become completely controlled by players; third, when players are indifferent to the possible outcomes. (Burawoy 1976: 87).

Uncertainty on Greenberg Farm was located in the outcome of the game of the labour process of salad harvest. Lack of knowledge regarding the level of the wage and workers not knowing if the harvested crops would pass hurdles in the form of quality control processes created uncertainty. Uncertainty was also present because the 'orders' varied daily and this influenced the availability of work. Work availability was further affected by decisions regarding the allocation of work to particular teams and/or because of the role of the relationship between the farm and its customers. All this contributed to uncertainty. This uncertainty, however, was not 'too great' and most of it was removed by simply working more - that is, by intensifying efforts. Consequently, indeterminacy in its links with the role of uncertainty in securing intense efforts did not pose problems in lessening effort.

6.4 Quality and its challenge to workplace consent

In discussing the role of indeterminacy in eliciting worker participation I have so far focused on the work effort of pace, but quality is also a key element of work effort in horticulture. Quality is linked to indeterminacy, but has the potential for different outcomes in the labour process game. Quality can pose a constraint to workers because the effort of quality requires care and attention, potentially hindering a faster work pace. Consequently, increasing standards of quality can disrupt alignments between workers and employers and create conflict between work effort of quality and pace (Ortiz 2006). This antagonism exists because the effort of quality is complex compared to that of pace; whereas the meaning of pace is robust, the meaning of quality varies and is dependent on a number of factors including weather and changing definitions of quality from customers. The shifting nature of quality, when affected by poor weather conditions, creates worker resentment. This was expressed by Klarysa, a former SAWS worker, who previously harvested soft fruits on a farm in the west of England. She said:

-So one day it was raining heavily. It was raining cats and dogs and we phoned the farmer and told him that we couldn't work in the rain. And he told us 'don't worry guys just work' but we told him, 'you see, you will not be satisfied with our, with the quality of our raspberries' but he tried to reassure us, 'don't worry it is not your business' But he paid just £2 when we worked in the rain, yes £2 per tray, because bad quality of raspberries'

Female, Ukrainian national, former SAWS worker on soft fruit farm

Weather was emphasised by workers as a key factor affecting production quality. For the worker quoted above, the impact of changing weather conditions affected the pace at which they could work, which, because of the piece-rate method of pay had the potential to affect workers' earnings. Vlad, quoted below, spoke of how the supervisor instructed workers to slow down to ensure greater quality of work effort:

-It was difficult to work with this kind. Why? The lettuce was watered and then the sun dried the top leaves of the lettuce and supervisors told us to cut these spoiled leaves and it took more time'

Male, Ukrainian national, Greenberg Farm

Quality was a particularly thorny issue because workers considered that in some situations quality, or poor quality, was an outcome linked to decisions of farm management or poor weather conditions. Consequently, workers considered that their efforts to mitigate the effects of poor weather or management (or both) on the crop should be rewarded. Instead the effort involved with quality - that is extra care and attention to the harvest procedure - results in a slower pace and consequently less money earned. This was experienced during my own harvest work on Greenberg Farm. One particular order allocated to our team resulted in the team taking four hours to harvest just three pallets of lettuce because the quality of the lettuce was poor. Ordinarily four hours of harvesting this variety of lettuce would have resulted in twelve pallets. The poor quality of the lettuce in the field resulted in the trailer and tractor being set a slower speed and the team having to check very carefully each individual salad before packing it into the crate. In discussing this with a team member, Sofia expressed how she felt farm management should pay more because of the poor quality harvest. She said:

-I think they should mention all conditions. That they should mention this is not good quality of this salad. So they should pay more for this salad, yes, but they won't, on this farm, they won't. They pay only for these prices.⁷⁰

Ukrainian National, Female, Greenberg Farm

Resentment and antagonism was expressed in interviews, during the workday and between workers themselves. Rarely did workers voice the concerns to employers regarding the impact on their pay for mitigating the effects of either decreased quality standards or the poor weather.

Antagonism occurred because the additional efforts of workers were not explicitly rewarded by the Greenberg Farm management. Similarly, on farms elsewhere and mentioned during my interviews, management's vacillation and provisional standards of quality also created antagonism. Burawoy's work suggests that such antagonism signifies a break away or stepping outside of the 'rules' of the game because management have failed to provide 'the necessary conditions to play the game of making out' (Burawoy 1976: 82).

⁷⁰ By these prices Sofia meant the list of prices paid per variety as stated in our contracts.

Some workers, however, possess their own strategy for minimising the effort involved with quality. For example, this worker's familiarity with the process involved with assessing and monitoring the effort of quality enabled her team to counter the demand for increasing effort of quality:

Olena: Sometimes we didn't work very well and then the supervisor came up to us and shouted at us.

Donna: Oh really, what did they say?

Olena: You have done bad work and you have to, you must do the same work once again

Donna: So how could you cut the lettuce once again?

Olena: It is impossible to cut lettuce twice of course but we could repack it so the supervisor did not check the whole rows, he checked the first three or four rows that is all, but in a packhouse everything was checked and if you have lettuce of bad quality so the whole pallet were rejected.

Female, Ukrainian national, harvester on Blueberg Farm

Ultimately, in making decisions relating to quality, farm management set the rules of the labour process game and used penalties, in the form of deductions of pay, to focus and maintain the effort of quality. Rejecting harvested produce - either pallets of salads or punnets of fruit - was also a common method of creating a high level of consciousness regarding quality among workers. On Greenberg Farm, the rejection of harvested produce was referred to as 'rejects'. Rejects occurred when quality control personnel working in the main farmyard rejected the freshly harvested salads. The system of rejects contributed to indeterminacy of effort and pay because workers were unaware at the point of harvest that their work effort would subsequently be rejected. Moreover, other details were absent, such as how much of the produce was classed as 'rejects', the extent of the deductions from pay and, in some cases, if workers were paid to bury the waste that occurred as a consequence of the decision to reject.

Tereza, a worker on Greenberg Farm expresses the 'unknownness' surrounding pay and illustrates how little communication between the farm and workers on this topic occurred:

–And when they reject something - we don't know, do they pay it or not? And we don't know do they pay all we have to bury or they pay only the good salads? They don't say nothing

Female, Bulgarian national, harvester on Greenberg Farm

One explanation for the lack of information regarding rejects is located in the spaces in which decisions over rejected produce were made. On numerous occasions on Greenberg Farm, the first news about our own rejects was not received until we returned from the field. In these cases, workers from my team would notice that a pallet (or more) was sitting in the corner of the yard. One or two team members would run and check the labels on the pallet – cheering if it was labelled with another team's name and concerned if it was labelled with our own. Another farm, discussed during my interviews, implemented a system in which there were clear deductions in pay. The suggestion is made that the decisions regarding quality were made beyond the field and in the packhouse:

Donna: How did he tell you?

Klarysa: Every morning we get it on the yard and he told us and who had deductions and who didn't.

Donna: Would, did anyone disagree with him? I disagree with everything!

Klarysa: No, no. He said if you don't want to work you go home.

Donna: Ahh ok and did you agree with the deductions he suggested?

Klarysa: [shakes her head with a no gesture] Because this is our money and we work on the piecework and we must quickly pick our raspberries and get the tray to our supervisor because of our money. But we try to give good raspberries. Because of the packhouse – this is deductions.

Female, Ukrainian national, soft fruit farm

In all, the work effort of quality posed greater challenges for workers. The challenge of fulfilling the work effort of quality was dependent upon a number of factors including the weather and the shifting definitions of quality and at times these two factors were inter-related. In addition, the space in which quality was affirmed or denied contributed to the absence of workers' knowledge because decisions regarding quality were often taken in the pack house or farmyard. Consequently, the work effort of quality challenged the creation of workers' consent in the workplace.

6.5 Immigration status: A coercive role in the horticultural labour process

In chapter two I argued that immigration status creates ties between workers and employers and that this explains why migrants inhabit particular work roles and conditions of work. The role of agency in enabling migrant workers to overcome constraints created from immigration status was also discussed. In this section, I illustrate how the restriction of labour mobility placed on workers by the conditions attached to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme assists employers in retaining workers and in securing their effort.

So far in the chapter I have discussed how a migrant's work effort is secured through processes, which in relying on the unknown (that is, indeterminacy of both pay and effort) gain the consent of workers. Burawoy suggests however that labour processes can also involve coercion and force. In this research, the ties between workers and their employers that reside in the conditions attached to immigration status are suggested to both represent and underpin the element of force in the labour process experience of workers. Effort, when secured with the absence of labour mobility either through immigration status or the dependency on accommodation signifies the presence of force in the labour process. Smith postulates that 'workers' mobility choices and employers' retention strategies are closely related to the organization of the labour process' (Smith 2006: 388).

In making a useful extension to the concept of indeterminacy, Smith (2006) suggests that workers' efforts to overcome indeterminacy of work effort can be achieved by labour power mobility with the use of the option to quit. Mobility of labour power was limited for migrants (including migrants interviewed during my research) who arrived in the UK through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme. It was legally possible for migrants to transfer to another farm though, in reality, this outcome depended on the agreement of the recruitment operator and the existing and potential farmer. Factors such as work availability, seasonality and contractual anomalies in the existing scheme by which an operator and a farmer can be the same enterprise, all placed limitations on the legal possibilities of a worker quitting a specific workplace. Quitting by simply walking off the farm and locating another farm on which to work, violates the terms and conditions of

immigration status and thus creates a situation in which a migrant becomes an illegal worker. There were consequences of the difference between workers who possessed labour mobility as a result of their nationality being a part of the European Union and those who lacked labour mobility as a SAWS and non-EU worker.

–As far as I know your British farmers like Ukrainian workers. Do you know why? They like Ukrainian workers rather than the Lithuanians because Lithuanians are from the EU. It means that if he or she doesn't want to work, or decides to go home, or decides to go on holiday - so a farmer can't tell him anything. But Ukrainian students get to the field and we have to be there until the farmer doesn't need us anymore.

Female, Ukrainian national, harvester on Blueberg Farm

The lack of labour mobility was also used to counter resistance by workers on Redberg Farm to fluctuating piece-rate payments as the farmer responded to challenges to decreases in pay with a threat to return workers home.

Donna: So how did they tell you when the price [per kilo of harvest] went down to 30p? What was your reaction to that?

Taras: We were so disappointed! we told the supervisor that we don't want to work tomorrow, but nothing can be done in this situation. We were told if you don't want to work you can go home to Ukraine

Male, Ukrainian national, harvester on Redberg Farm

These workers' experiences demonstrate that they were able to challenge their conditions of pay. But in effect, their verbal challenge to their situation represents an *attempt* to resist, rather than an act of resistance that led to change. One member of the team explained to me during an interview in Ukraine, that he volunteered to check all the payslips which detailed the price paid for the quantity (kilos) of iceberg salad harvested by the team. During the interview, the Ukrainian worker, Sasha, explained that they brought any mistakes found in the payslips to the attention of their supervisor. In effect, this formed an act of reworking and overlaps with resilience. This is because the situation of misinformation was reworked by their strategy of being attentive and responding to the information provided on the payslip.

During the last month on Greenberg Farm, I noticed how some workers, notably the newly arrived Polish migrants who were replacing members of my own harvest team used their labour power mobility to leave the farm. While some stayed, at least one did not arrive at all, and four left the farm soon after arriving and attempting harvest work. Such decisions to depart from the farm early represented acts of resistance. This type of movement and self-relocation elsewhere has been noted by Fernandez Arqueros who researched mushroom pickers in Ireland. As he states: 'some mushroom growers started to report higher staff turnover of their formerly 'committed' and 'hardworking' Lithuanian and Latvian workers.' Consequently, mushroom growers lobbied to allow Chinese and Thai workers to arrive on work permits (Arqueros-Fernández 2009: 8).

Farm management used the differences in labour mobility to secure work effort. Another interviewee, who worked on a strawberry farm in the north of England in the summer of 2006, told me how workers of his nationality, Ukrainian, were discriminated against as work was unfairly allocated to Polish workers. Ukrainian workers were allocated work in fields that had already been harvested by Polish workers so as to 'follow through' the harvest and ensure as many strawberries from the field were harvested. Grievance was felt because there was less for the Ukrainians to harvest yet piecework was the method of pay.

'The fact is that when we didn't have enough work it means that there were not enough strawberries, so strawberries were bad, so strawberries were not ripe at that time. But in other fields, there were enough strawberries but those fields were for Polish people but not for Ukrainian'

Male, Ukrainian national, former SAWS worker

In this particular example, discussion between the Ukrainian workers led to directly contacting the main recruitment operator. Response was slow but successful as eventually the whole team of Ukrainians were transferred to another farm. This incident demonstrates how workers were able to overcome the constraint of limited labour mobility and exercise agency to challenge and change their work conditions. This event arguably is one of the few examples of an act of resistance too because it is evident that workers had degrees of consciousness about their situation. This is because they challenged the farm owner directly

and did so via the SAWS operator and in doing so organised new work arrangements at a different farm. This represents a strong degree of opposition which, according to Katz (2004) is required in a true act of resistance.

So far, emphasis has been placed on the centrality of piece-rates in securing the work effort of migrants, in particular, that of pace and the importance of immigration status. Piece-rate rewards facilitate a quicker pace in worker effort resulting in greater volumes of crop harvested. Workers' prevalent understanding of piece-rates is that harvesting, pulling (in the case of salad onions) or picking (strawberries) quickly results in greater volumes, which in turn leads to higher piece-rate rewards. Such an outcome matches the various interests held by workers while satisfying management's interests in producing larger quantities. The mutual interest held by workers and management in the labour process game is challenged if the farm management break the rules as with the work effort of quality. Indeterminacy of labour power and pay plays an important role in the creation of consent of migrants to work quickly and consciously and thus fulfil the demands of the work effort of pace and quality. Overcoming indeterminacy (understood here as uncertainty) within the workplace process by switching workplaces was not an option available for workers recruited under SAWS. Thus, immigration status in particular, and the ties created by conditions of immigration status such as employer-provided housing and an absence to choose to work for another employer, represent coercion in the labour process. Having looked in detail in how migrant workers' effort is elicited from them, in processes of force and consent, I now turn to exploring some of the impacts and consequences of work.

6.6 Penalties and rewards: The effects and outcomes of work



Figure 19: A team on Greenberg Farm

In order to retain the concept of the labour process as a game, labour process outcomes are conceptualised here as rewards and penalties. As I have already demonstrated, the labour process created experiences of rewards and penalties; workers were subjected to penalties imposed as a consequence of poor work yet gained rewards for extra work. In this section I concentrate on the incidents of rewards and penalties which were not restricted to those relating to work allocation and the financial outcome of pay. I focus first on how workers gained non-financial rewards by the experience of completing a day's work and returning to camp first and before other workers. I use the experience of competition between workers, between teams of workers in particular, to elaborate further on the process of intensification of workplace effort. Participation in competition is motivated by different desires that are constructed within and beyond workplace and the fulfilment of which bring rewards. I further suggest that workers' bodies were also subject to the experience of penalties. Penalties are conceptualised here as mundane ailments such as fatigue and minor

injury but these experiences are testing, tiring and represent non-financial gains in the workplace.

6.6.1 Effects of workplace competition (non-bodily)

Organising workers into teams is part of the game of labour process. Harvest workers on Greenberg Farm were organised into teams. Such organisation encouraged teams to compete against each other and was a workplace game based on competition between harvest teams - one which was successful in creating consent that facilitated greater exertion of effort. Teams competed to be the fastest because of work allocation, as management on Greenberg Farm offered the reward of 'extras' (additional work) to particular teams. 'Extras' orders are a useful strategy used to respond to fluctuating demand and 'just in time' style requests from customers. Greenberg Farm was successful in transforming daily orders from uncertainty in production and effort to a form of incentive for workers, thereby creating consent of migrants. The prevalent understanding of the system of piece-rate reward facilitates this consent of workers to the work allocated on this basis. This was expressed by my line partner, Yulina:

'No, I like extra when we have good salads , - when cutting is very fast you know. I like extra and know that it will be more money. It's not a problem for me'

Female, Ukrainian national, Greenberg Farm

Competition between workers was not reliant on workers being organised into teams. Rosa, a Bulgarian national who worked as an onion puller indicates how speed and pace in this particular task was socially created (i.e. she didn't want to be the slowest).

'If you don't hurry up and even if you like the price - probably I don't want to earn £300 a week but £200 is ok for me , but I would be the slow one and I don't want to be the slow one , so I must hurry up , that's the reason , to hurry up because the others are so quick and so fast.'

Female, Bulgarian national, Greenberg Farm

Employers and workers possess interest in work effort and its outcome. An employer's interest in the outcome of effort is the production of a commodity from which they gain surplus value or profit. Workers' interests in the outcome of work effort reside in receiving payment for their effort (Smith 2006). However, the experiences of both Lazer and myself demonstrate that interests held regarding work effort are not necessarily related to financial reward:

Donna: But on harvest its different because there is that thing of getting extra's, you know. Everyone works fast so they can get extras.

Lazer: -No, not for the extra.

Donna: not? What is it then?

Lazer: you don't know? Everyone work faster because they want to be on the camp first. If you have extra, you must make faster than the others because if you are last one, then no washing machine, no shower

Donna: Yeah, yeah, yeah, exactly!

Lazer: They work faster and not for the extra. You work faster because of extra?

Donna: I work faster because -blistray, blistray? Because I am told to!

Lazer: yeah, because of that and because you have to be first on the camp.

Living arrangements of workers on Greenberg Farm (previously discussed in chapter four) created urgency in the effort of work pace. Failure to return early or be first to camp often resulted in having to queue for showers, laundry and using the computers and the internet. Shared resources on the camp in which the workers lived created an incentive for migrants to work quickly with the hope of being first back to camp.

The presence of non-financial incentives to work is supported by Burawoy and Gidwani. Burawoy suggests that a financial incentive of wage reward is not enough in the explaining cooperation in the labor process (Burawoy 1979: 83). Instead Burawoy suggests that factors immediately related to the labor process - reduction of fatigue, passing time, relieving boredom, and so on - and factors that emerge from the labor process - the social and psychological rewards of making out on a tough job maintain workers' ongoing engagement (Burawoy, 1979: 83). Similarly, Gidwani also proposes that workers are motivated to work by non-financial incentives and functionalist accounts which although

underscoring – both the incentive and disciplinary elements of piece work – ultimately offer incomplete accounts of labour contracts and deployment (Gidwani 2001: 94). Gidwani's research, which focused on agricultural work in Gujarat, investigated explanations of the preference for piece-rate rewards. He suggested that explanations of the increasing use of piece-rate rewards, in particular group paid piecework, are incomplete if the account of them lacks explanations pertaining to cultural logic, for example, the social and cultural need or desire to work relatively autonomously. Gidwani states that –group-based piecework restores, to an extent, not only the social character of work but also the variability in rhythm that embellishes the experience of work (Gidwani 2001: 91).

Similarly on Greenberg Farm, teams were organised (though not exclusively) on the basis of nationality. The explanation for such organisation supports Gidwani's reflection and observation of how group work reduces alienation. Indeed managerial reasoning behind organizing teams based on nationality suggests that socialability affects work. This is because attempts to have teams –all mixed up or organized on a range of nationalities resulted in –more conflict between themselves and less social cohesion within the team and, consequently, less competition during working hours between the teams. Moreover, teams based on nationality frequently shared time off together with day trips visiting local towns and supermarkets. According to farm management, organising teams based on the nationality of workers has

– worked quite well, because it gives us, it not only gives us the , that they all work well together because they are from one nationality , its gives a bit of competition , because you – Ukrainian team and the Bulgarian team and the Russian team

Member of management, Greenberg Farm

Organising workers into teams based on nationality and subsequently allocating those teams different work tasks led to a creation of a hierarchy. Again the non-work benefits are emphasized by Lazer, a Bulgarian national, who had a coveted place on the planting team. In a discussion comparing the work experiences of different teams, he said:

Lazer: The planting team, this year and last year is like - we are like a VIP person, like a VIP people in the camp. We finish our work for three days per weekø

Donna: and you get the same money probablyø

Lazer: Yeah and the rest of the time shopping, shopping, shopping, shopping. Look, washing machine is used because there are no other people.ø

The sense of a hierarchy existing on Greenberg Farm was reinforced because of allocation of work between teams that often had consequences for pay.

ı I see from the team leaders how they manage to work with their team, when they manage to organise the team work, that the team is doing a good job and when the crop has got problems, they didnø cut perfect. I see all of that, and know which of the team is gonna do a good job and I am trying to give, like I said I havenø got any favourites but I am always trying , like I know that team A was earning less than other teams for about three or four weeks but I honestly donø know whyı ø

Member of farm management, Greenberg Farm

The difference in pay between the Bulgarian and Ukrainian harvesting team had not gone unnoticed. For Teresa, a member of the Bulgarian team, differences in pay reflected difference in effort and she considered that the overall effort of her team was greater than that of other teams. She said:

ıOur team is very quick. We always make extrasøand Andreas always say we are very good and we can make more so long if the salad is good. But we take the same money as the others and the difference is £20 and we always get first in the camp and we are like step ahead other teams but we always take the same moneyø

Female, Bulgarian national, harvester on Greenberg Farm

However, according to Ukrainians on Greenberg Farm, the other teams were allocated the higher value salads. Conversations with a Ukrainian team member suggests this and indicates that Ukrainians, like many workers on Greenberg Farm, viewed that their payment related to the actual commodity rather than effort.

Yulina: We had difference for about £60. For us it's a big money

Donna: It's a lot. That's one days pay, more. They had £60 more? Is it one team or is it two teams?

Yulina: They always have good salads. All the teams get more money. Yes, we always cut bad salads, they always cutting more expensive salads, like Radiccio, Iceberg, you know Cos Endive, Fine Endive, and some more and we always cutting green oak, escarole, it's cheap salad. I can't understand why they do so, because we must change these salads among teams you know and everybody I think must get the same money and not someone bad and someone good. It's not fair I think, because we are Ukrainians and I can't understand why they doesn't like Ukrainians

Female, Ukrainian national, harvester on Greenberg Farm

For workers on Greenberg Farm, workplace competition was an outcome of being organised into teams and a result of sharing resources at the camp. As the farm manager explained, the organisation of nationality-based teams was based on an assumption that different nationalities would compete and thus intensify work effort. The differences in pay that resulted from work allocation to different teams however created competition between workers.

6.6.2 How horticultural work affected the minds and bodies of workers

Penalties and rewards were not only non-financial (as described above) but also related more closely to bodily impacts of work. Bodily impacts of work can include muscle toning of limbs (especially in the arms and legs of workers) as well as fatigue, muscle aches and strains, cuts and rashes. Such impacts, as demonstrated in this section, can bring both satisfaction and dissatisfaction for the workers. Conceptualising these effects as penalties and rewards captures both positive and negative aspects of work experiences. This approach differs to Pun Ngai's meaning of injury as representing resistance. In her ethnographic research of women factory workers in southern China, Pun Ngai poses that the workers' experiences of pain, eyestrain, dizzy spells and fainting was not necessarily a 'defeated body' (Ngai 2006: 173). According to the author, the bodily responses to pain and other ailments during work would include a decrease in the working pace and less accuracy and efficiency (Ngai 2006: 173). Consequently such experiences symbolise bodily

resistance to the workplace (Ngai 2006: 173). As already emphasised, the workers featured in my research had exerted little control over the pace at which they worked (see chapter five). Thus, workers could not create resistance in the workplace from their injuries and minor ailments by slowing down the pace at which they worked. Bodies were not simply defeated however, because the impacts of work were not wholly negative; the body responded to the repetition of work by becoming attuned to the routine and habit of work. For some, this resulted in developing leaner muscles on the upper arms and legs and as such these physical changes, which improve the body's strength and ability to cope with work, can be termed 'body conditioning' (Waite 2006: 145). Workers' bodily reactions, which involve the development of muscles and utilisation of body strength, represent a form of resistance that was discussed in chapter two; resilience. For Katz (2004: 245) the acts of resilience she discusses rely on workers drawing on 'dormant knowledge' but in my example, workers draw upon workers' capacity to improve through continued routine work.

Contributing factors to the bodily impacts of work - both the penalties and rewards - are the immigration status of workers and their position in the supply chain. Supply chains are considered to play a contradictory role in the health and safety experience of workers (Lloyd and James 2008: 726). On the one hand, pressures created by supply chains lead to intensification of the workplace and longer working hours. Yet on the other, supermarket retailers increasingly seek to incorporate standards relating to conditions and pay, health and safety in strategies of corporate social responsibility (Lloyd and James 2008: 715; Barrientos 2008). In suggesting that employers' organisation of the workplace is informed by broader relations in the supply chain (for example, in chapter five I discussed how work effort is defined by demands for quality and volume) it is plausible to suggest that workplace outcomes, such as injuries and physical experience of work are linked to the structure surrounding workplace organisation and the dynamics of the supply chain.

Holmes' (2007) analysis of migrants' experience of injury in the workplace suggests injury is a form of structural violence created from a hierarchy of immigration and ethnicities operating in the workplace. Holmes, whose ethnography focuses on the experiences of Mexicans working on berry farms in the United States, explores the concept of 'structural

violence as an explanation of the experience of injury and damage to health and well being on the farms, camps and work places of Mexican migrants. According to Holmes, structural violence operates and correlates with a hierarchy that is shaped by nationality and ethnicity of the workers. In my research, structural violence (in the form of injury) occurs because of external regulations of work pacing, including rest periods that arise as a consequence of just-in-time production and the use of tractors to regulate workers' pace. Intensification of work effort with the use of piece-rate payments also contributes to the external regulation of work pace. Immigration status, as already established, plays a role in the work experience of migrants though the clear hierarchy evident in Holmes' research is not visible. Nonetheless, structural violence resulting from the workplace organisation is argued to be evident among the experiences of workers involved with this research.

The overriding impact of work on the body discussed by workers was in relation to the sense of fatigue experienced and everyday and mundane ailments experienced such as rashes, cuts, grazes and bruises. The work regime disrupted any sense of vanity I held as a result of actually having time to devote to my personal appearance. Consequently I was pleased with the compliment from Teresa who when I revealed my age to her said 'you're looking very younger'.

Donna: Oh you think so? I've got lots of spots at the moment, I never have spots you see, and I have got this bloody rash from the harvest.

Teresa: It is normal. Everybody has a rash, and cutted places and everything

Donna: Yeah it's horrible isn't it.

Blisters on hands and bodily aches were at the severest during the first few weeks of work. A rash I developed during harvest is shown in Figure 20. Quite a few, but not all workers developed this rash to differing degrees. Figure 21 illustrates the multiple blisters that resulted from harvesting. These healed within the first four weeks of work, however the recovery was not aided by the wet conditions and harvesting in the rain or by the requirement to wear disposable hygiene gloves. Figure 22 shows an injury in which I sliced part of my nail. This occurred during our harvest of 'extras'. At the time of harvest, I was intensifying my effort of speed as part of my contribution to compete against another team

who were also harvesting in the same field. The allocation of -extrasø was shared between the Ukrainian team and the Bulgarian team.



Figure 20: My rash from harvest



Figure 21: My 'harvester's hand': Blisters and cuts



Figure 22: Post-harvest hand: Cut on nail, first finger.

The sense of competition between the teams increased because the teams were harvesting the same section of field but were approaching it from different sides. Consequently, as the tractors and trailers moved, a race to be the first to reach the midway point was created. The bleeding caused by the cut to my nail led me to temporarily leave the team and return the minibus parked on the edge of the field. It also meant that the Ukrainian team were slower, with one member down, and the Bulgarian team reached the middle first and left the field sooner than us.

Waite's reflections on how the body can become so accustomed to labouring routines that the body is capable of subverting the pressure of the work, poses a plausible explanation to the experiences of injury and recovery on the farm. According to Waite (2005: 419) 'Work becomes so practiced and inscribed in bodies that the strain of labouring is often seemingly subverted'. It emerged for Waite, and the experiences of the workers she met, that 'bodies have the capacity to become honed, practiced and accomplished in whatever habitat they are immersed in' (Waite 2005: 420). This, again, was not a dissimilar experience to those of workers (including myself) on Greenberg Farm. The value of Waite's work can be located in a detailed understanding of the experience of labouring bodies in generating insights, but

not generalisation into the experiences of manual workers. Waite offers an explanation however, and one that I feel could be cautiously applied to the experience of workers on the farm, including me. She suggests that recovery from working practices that are injurious comes from habituation itself but that it also occurs because of a reduction in the conscious recognition of pain through the gate control theory of pain (Waite 2005: 420). This theory proposes that pain may or may not be prevented from being recognised by nerves in the brain and this allows pain to be inhibited by the body. One consequence of this is that the pain felt by workers is less and therefore workers continue working.

In discussing the physicality of the work, Waite (2005: 413) recognises that both positive and negative effects for manual workers occur: While workers' bodies may experience injury and exhaustion, working bodies may also be enhanced or improved because of the physicality of the work. Indeed the hard physical work experienced by migrants was not always reflected on as being a negative experience as the repetitiveness and the inculcation of gestures and movement aided workers' ability to become accustomed to performing their work. This process is termed by Waite as body conditioning.

For some workers, body conditioning was not solely dependent upon different forms of body management and the eventual development of habituation and inculcation of everyday performance. Becoming apt and attuned to work also involved the mind. For example, when I expressed my own sense of tiredness, Gavril responded by sharing his opinion on the need for mental as well as physical well-being, and the role of the mind in coping with physical bodily demands and in assisting workplace performance. He said:

–Yeah, I am tired too but only in the head, if you, if you want to work here on harvest in this farm you should have to be strong, you have to have a target do you understand me?...yes, you have to be strong here and here too [gestures to his body and then his head] but here is important for work here.

The mind therefore, as part of the body, was as important for some as the body itself, in aiding workplace performance. Similarly, the mind also experienced the impacts of work. The mind effects of the repetitive physical work and lack of mental stimulation was commented on by a Ukrainian worker. During our interview, Vlad placed an emphasis on

the consequences of absence of mental stimulation in many of the work tasks. He began by saying:

-But this work, this work has some disadvantages. This half a year this is wasting time, wasting a while. You do farm work, every day, every day, you don't read something, you don't learn, you just work, working, half a year. Yes, you earn some money but money not as important for our life as maybe some knowledge... its wasting time, you work, then you sleep, you eat. The same. The same. Donna, I don't remember because every day is the same and I even don't know what we did Tuesday we did, for example, which salads we cut. It's not intellectual. It does not develop your mind

Male, Ukrainian national, Greenberg Farm

Vlad placed an emphasis on the consequences of the absence of mental stimulation in many of the work tasks. For him, the monotony and the routine and the lack of intellectual stimulation offered during his stay was a drawback to participating in the SAWS scheme. Other workers, however, remained focused on the physical impacts of work and commented with humour about the physical effect of work on their bodies, for example Teresa suggested another use for the earnings she hoped to return to Bulgaria with:

-We actually joke that we come back in Bulgaria with all this money, because for Bulgarian standards, it is a lot of money, we can buy another legs, another shoulder, and arms to repair ourselves

The experience of hard work and the effect of hard work led one worker to question whether she or others would return in the future to work on a farm in the UK. Vlad suggested that the experiences of injury in work, shared by word of mouth, was discouraging individuals from coming to work on farms in the UK. He said;

-A lot of people come back from England and tell about the farms, about the bad pay on this farm and now in Kharkov a lot of people do not want to go to England and they think that you should work very hard, that it's bad for your health í and if you won't have good pay for this very hard job then it is no reason to go to England

Nonetheless, despite the normalisation of minor injury and the experience of fatigue, some workers were less than reticent in discussing injury. Sofia expressed how much she valued her health by saying that:

Sofia :I don't think it will happen, but, if I get invitation from Greenberg Farm to go next year, I will refuse. Really because I think, in Ukraine I can earn money, not so big money, but I will save my health

Donna: -You will save your health?

Sofia: Yes, because, it's hard work, you know, my legs all the time hurt, my hand all the time hurt, why should I do work, do bad things for my health?

The experiences of work by workers' bodies can be both positive, negative and a part of a process of work habituation. By extending the concept of workplace games to include penalties and rewards, greater emphasis was placed on migrants' workplace outcomes. Such outcomes, or 'rewards' and 'penalties' can, as illustrated in this section, be bodily and corporeal. Injury and the experience of ailments as a consequence of work is normalised through the process of habituation as it is considered a part of the experience of adjusting to the work regime. Workplace outcomes on workers' bodies are, however, not a sign of workplace resistance but as a consequence of how the operation of 'Just-in-Time' on the supply chain is enacted in the workplace.

6.7 Conclusion

So far, the previous chapters in this thesis have focused on aspects of the workplace that engaged migrants, and which elicited work effort by regulating the spaces by which those migrants worked. Spaces were regulated by enclosure and surveillance. The temporal spaces of migrants' workplace experiences were regulated with the use of technology in the form of the different degrees in which work tasks were mechanised. Collectively, these factors, it was argued, contribute to the making of migrant workers.

In this chapter, I have focused on the experiences of power and control in the horticultural workplace. The conceptual lens with which to explore such experiences was based on Burawoy's understanding of the roles of consent and force in the labour process. Consent

was enacted by a range of workplace processes for example the piece-rate system of pay and workplace games that created competition. Workers, based on their understanding of piece-rate method of pay and the uncertainty surrounding the pay, intensified their work efforts and in doing so consented to the workplace regime.

A key conceptual contribution to this chapter is a new perspective on the doubling of indeterminacy, understood as a form of uncertainty experienced by workers remunerated under the piece-rate system of pay. The workers' response to indeterminacy is to intensify their work efforts but the uncertainty that is intrinsic to the piece-rate method of pay is proposed to create consent and further workers' effort. Due to the conditions attached to SAWS, workers were unable to respond to indeterminacy by using their labour mobility and leave the workplace. Moreover, employers used the differences in immigration status as a basis in which to allocate workplace tasks. Collectively, these factors represent a further way in which the 'right type' of worker is made by the organisation of the workplace.

Consent, however, was less apparent in some situations requiring the work effort of quality. The combination of changing criterion of quality, affected by weather and changing retailer demands, led to workers' contesting, albeit privately, the rules of workplace games. Other aspects of the workplace, such as the creation of workplace teams, continued to create competition and thus consent to work. Competition primarily rested over the use of resources on the camp. While teams were organised on the basis of different nationalities, workers competed over work task allocation - for example, the awarding of 'extras' - and consequently different levels of pay.

This chapter also contributes to an understanding of the non-bodily and bodily effects of work. Such effects were understood as part of the penalties and rewards experienced by workers. Building on Burawoy's conceptual approach of workplace games, the experiences of penalties and rewards, as the chapter demonstrates, are not necessarily financial but may also result in workers' experiencing bodily injuries and bodily conditioning. The bodily

effects of work considered within this chapter represent a structural impact as a result of the operations of and demands of the just-in-time and total quality control styles of production.

Overall, the ethnographic experience of undertaking paid harvest work and discussing both work and pay with migrants enabled some key insights that led to two conceptual contributions located in this chapter. The first of these is the extension of the application of indeterminacy and its role in the intensification of workers' effort. The second is the thorough demonstration of how the conditions attached to immigration status operate in the workplace and therefore extend previous approaches which have explored their role in shaping migrants' access to labour markets.

In the next chapter, my analysis moves beyond the camp and workplace to the experiences of migrant workers beyond the camp and I explore workers' days out away from the camp. Spaces beyond the camp reveal how immigration status and the experience of SAWS play a role in the construction of migrant workers as being 'different'. In doing so, the next chapter continues to further explore the ways that immigration status impacts the lives of migrant workers in horticulture.

Chapter Seven

Migrant Workers and Their Everyday Encounters

7.1 Introduction

We leave camp, feeling clean and in our own clothes at 4pm. We are a different team as old jackets are swapped for leather ones, rubber boots for trainers, iPods are on display, hair gel, make up and handbags. Cans of lager are being shared and sipped. No knives or gloves.

In the bus, some fall asleep, drifted off with mouths gaping, heads rolling whilst their bodies belted to the seats. They start to emerge from their deep heavy doze into the beat of the blaring radio as we pull up at the Lidl car park. The driver is pestered ó how long do we have here? The decision of one hour is challenged unsuccessfully. I don't really care but I am happy to have more than one hour. Others are less easygoing and they tussle over time.

I hear the door of the bus sliding back. We leap out of the bus and hurriedly make way from the supermarket car park and head into town. Because we are heading in the same direction we inevitably form a larger group initially despite trying to break off into couples or twos and threes and solos - like me on my own. This has to be me time. It's the traffic lights and crossing the road that leads us to regroup. It brings us to a halt and makes us all wait at the roadside together. As soon as the pedestrian lights turn green and we cross the road, we each speed up or slow down ó whatever is necessary to reclaim our sense of space.

Field Notes (27/05/07)

This thesis sets out to investigate the work and living experiences of migrants working in horticulture and this chapter presents the experiences of migrants in spaces beyond the farm and camp, such as those visited during days out. Days out were an important feature of life on the camp; they offered opportunities to visit local towns and cities and afforded a break from the monotony and routine of work. There were two types of days out. For my team - Team A - Wednesday was the first day out of the week and this was a visit to nearest branch of a Tesco supermarket. Saturday afternoon also offered opportunities to leave the camp but with departure from camp being as late as 4pm, it was more of an evening out than a day. Sunday was the main day out and many locations might be visited

- local towns, numerous supermarkets, car boot sales and even the seaside or a regional city by train ó but the choice of destination, however, belonged to the minibuss drivers. If I wanted to visit a different town, I had to check to see if there was an available seat in another team's minibus.

Days out created the crucial spaces in which migrant workers and local British nationals encountered one another. In this chapter, the everyday encounters which form part of days out away from migrants' workplaces are explored. This approach is based on recent research by Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2010) which explored the experiences of daily encounters of Accession 8 migrants. For the authors, such exploration sought to investigate whether 'everyday encounters' occurring in local neighbourhood and work spaces enhance or limit the creation and improvement of positive relations in a multicultural city (Cook, Dwyer, Waite 2010). In this chapter, I use the notion of the 'everyday encounter' as an opportunity to reveal and explore further aspects of the experiences of workers not yet covered in the thesis. These experiences range from encounters with UK nationals in a range of different spaces, such as work spaces, supermarkets, on streets and in car parks. Unlike those in Cook, Dwyer and Waite's work, these daily encounters did not form the 'generative basis' upon which to build meaningful and better relations between migrants and members of the long term established communities. Instead, as the chapter reveals, many encounters contributed to highlighting a greater sense of 'difference' both for migrants and for the established community.

Workers experience daily encounters with other workers as well as UK nationals and as discussed, both sets of encounters contribute to reflections by workers of the emerging (and perceived) differences between themselves and those they meet. By characterising such interactions as indicators and evidence of encounters rather than labelling them as signs of degrees of integration, the temporary dimension of the SAWS is captured. This chapter demonstrates that everyday encounters may only be fleeting and sometimes only visual. Nonetheless there are consequences for some and as Cook, Dwyer and Waite recognize, such encounters are not necessarily banal or meaningless (2010: 6). As this chapter

demonstrates, encounters contribute to the racialisation of individuals rather than form a generative basis to form better relations between individuals.

In this chapter, a broader approach to encounters is taken and discussions around encounters go beyond encounters with people but include *material encounters* too. In this case, material encounters are represented by experiences of consumptions and the purchase of commodities. Commodities were used in particular ways, as a foundation to form identity but also as a means of engaging with a place, either in the UK or in migrant workers' own home country.

In the first part of this chapter I focus on consumption practices, migrants' wage spending and the multiple meanings of consumption. Migrants had a strategic approach to spending their wage earnings; some were spent during *days out* on the purchase of particular consumables, for example, electrical goods, clothes and food. I explore the differences and similarities within these realms of consumption and illustrate how together these forms of consumption are used to reaffirm and refashion migrants' identities. I also reflect on the link between consumption and production and how migrants use consumption as a form of motivation in the workplace. Finally, consumption was just one aspect of the migrants' approach to wage earnings; wages were often also saved. Their savings were in turn used towards different forms of remittances, which are a recognised practice of transnationalism. Focusing on consumption and migrants' wage spending (and non-spending) reveals how migrants created a transnational social field.

In the second part of the chapter, the themes of spaces and encounters beyond the farm are continued and I explore the experiences of migrants during their encounters with British nationals. Such encounters, discussed in interviews and observed during fieldwork, reveal migrants' experiences of stigma, racism and exclusion. Consequently, this affected migrants' perception of self as they considered themselves to be *different*. In this section, particular events are drawn on as a basis for understanding the construction of difference and of racism in this context. In particular, I focus on the *cultural markers* - for example, accents and clothing style - as being junctures of difference. I suggest that this *difference*

on which hostile behaviour is based, is an outcome of the work and living conditions generated by the conditions of immigration status. Thus, this chapter explores further ways of how immigration status impacts on the lives of migrant workers in horticulture.

Being 'white' does not prevent central and east European migrant workers being the subject of hostile behaviour and derogatory comments. This chapter reveals how the workplace and camp can create and exacerbate exclusions of migrants, yet also offer a sense of protection from negative encounters with British nationals.

7.2 Experiencing consumption, encountering commodities

After our allotted time, of an hour or more, the team would return to the car park and wait in or around the minibus. During the drive to the next stop, most often the round of supermarkets we visited, newly purchased goods were passed around for comment and inspection. This happened every week. In one town, the electrical goods store 'T J Hughes' - became a popular place for purchases for items such as digital cameras, mobile phones and camcorders. Comparisons would be made between individuals' purchases and, more often than not, the buyer would have selected their purchases with much thought and attention by researching on the internet, in the shops and from swapping information with co-workers.

Field Notes (27/05/07)

Consumption is, for some, an anticipated and significant moment. For example, Sofia said that her daily thoughts during work in the field were partly filled with what she hoped to buy with her earnings. This was revealed during an interview in which I asked what her thoughts were, if any, during the motions of bend, cut, pack. She said:

'A lot of things! About what we will cook, about what you will buy when I return - I always think before I buy [my] laptop, I always think what colour it should be? What sort it should be?'

Sofia asked me to go with her and Vlad when she chose and bought her laptop. The final choice of laptop was an outcome of much deliberation over product specification, brand and affordability. In conversation with Sofia and her boyfriend Vlad, I realised how much

consumption was tied up with a broader strategic approach to earnings and how to utilise them. Unlike Sofia, Vlad had chosen to wait until the full costs of his migration trip were recovered from the wage earnings on the farm. He estimated this would take between six and eight weeks, depending on the final piece rate-based pay awarded. It was only after this that he would start to work for the type of purchase made by Sofia. Consumption, either as a before or after wage event, created and contributed to work effort as aspirations and dreams of possessing particular goods helped motivation for work.

The connection between work, motivation and the practice of consumption made by Sofia reflects the link, already identified by other writers, between production and consumption. In his ethnography of a diamond factory in India, Cross argues that the consumption aspirations and patterns of workers contribute to worker productivity; 'social and material aspirations are harnessed to increase productivity' (Cross 2008: 147). Cross draws on Harvey and Gramsci and the implications of Fordism to reach his conclusion. David Harvey discusses the development and implication of Fordism, a production regime that, he argues, was built on existing trends in production that sought to reorganise production into constituent parts, based on time and motion studies (Harvey 1990: 124). Fordism was distinct however because of the link made between mass production and mass consumption; one led to the other. This, as Harvey points out, was a distinction made by Gramsci (1971) in his Prison notebooks⁷¹. Gramsci considered the impact of Fordism to be far reaching because 'the new methods of work are inseparable from a specific mode living and of thinking and feeling life. One cannot have success in one field without tangible results in the other' (Harvey 1990: 126). As such, there is a significant inter-relationship between work, production and consumption. Sofia and Vlad, like many workers on Greenberg Farm and those interviewed in Ukraine - partly consented to the hard work endured (discussed in earlier chapters) because of desire and motivation to earn and consume.

⁷¹ In Gramsci's study, focus is placed on the social intrusion experienced by workers under Fordism. Discipline in Fordism went beyond the workplace and into the whole lives of workers, for example on moral questions such as family and sexual life and puritanical approaches to alcohol consumption (Harvey 1990: 126).

Conceiving consumption as a factor in the explanation of consent in the workplaces is an example of one of the many meanings of consumption for migrants. This interviewee spoke of a liberty afforded to him by wage and consumption. Consumption was one area in which some migrants had independence and agency. Limits to these were set by their wage earnings.

Donna: Ok, when you came back from Northern Ireland, what did you spend the money on that you took back with you? Did you save it, or did you give it to your mum and dad or? Or if you don't want to answer, because it is personal í

Danil: No, I can give you an answer í

Donna: Or your education?

Danil: I buy everything that I want. I buy a new computer.

The use of wage earnings in consumption went beyond the actual functional/use/utility value of the product. TK Maxx, a discount store for clothing brands, was a popular destination for many migrants. For Filip, a male Bulgarian migrant worker, the UK and shops such as TK Maxx offered the opportunity to purchase goods including brands that were less expensive than their equivalent back home in Bulgaria.

Donna: Do you buy many things here? Do you buy lots of things here?

Filip: Yeah, I buy and I do not know how to put in my bag and come back to Bulgaria because buy t-shirts, or shoes í there is not the same, Adidas, Nike. In Bulgaria, it's much more expensive í but here somewhere have a sale and much cheaper than in the Bulgaria and I buy.

Donna: It is much cheaper than Bulgaria?

Filip : Yeah, I buy six or seven shoes

Donna: Oh really! Wow!

Filip : A lot of t-shirts too.

Just as purchases of electrical goods were important for workers, clothing (especially clothing brands) were considered of value too. The consumption of particular goods, contributes to the creation of a particular image and construction of identity (Jackson and Thrift 1995: 206). Jackson and Thrift advise, however, that there is not a direct relationship between commodities and identities (Jackson and Thrift 1995: 227). Instead, commodities can have diverse meanings between people, and for the same people over time (Jackson and Thrift 1995: 227). This is partly because, as Miller proposes, consumption and material

culture are among the few, if not the only, spheres of life in which individuals can directly participate in the reappropriation of their culture (Miller 1987: 216).

Migrants were therefore not necessarily subscribing to the meanings inherent in the particular branded goods purchased, but used them to create additional meanings. Aneta, a former SAWS worker who I interviewed in Ukraine had worked for two seasons in the UK. What is noticeable with her reflection is that the significant meanings of her consumption were linked to place: Oxford Street and the UK.

Yes, yes, yes, Oxford street and we went to very expensive shops and we bought such things which we couldn't buy here, so leather, trousers, t-shirts. It's impossible to find such things here in Ukraine and I have all these things. I still have them and when I go to any nightclub of this city so I look like I am just from the UK.

As Cross (2008: 157) states, 'wage is vital as it significantly changes migrants' ability to obtain goods, including clothes and electrical communication items. Such goods are then used by migrants to reaffirm or forge identities. Gardner and Osella (2003: xvi) suggest that the goods brought home by migrants create the 'imaginings of foreign places and the type of modernity (or lack thereof) supposed to be found there and that the display of goods signifies the engagement and contact with place perceived as modern and cosmopolitan' (Gardner and Osella 2003: xvi). Work migration, and the consumption which conspicuously accompanies it, becomes an experience in which migrants can develop and create identities. In this light, links can be made between consumption and transnationalism.

In the context of migration studies, transnationalism has flourished as a topic of interest resulting in numerous definitions. An earlier definition is offered by Basch *et al.*, who conceive of transnationalism as the 'processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (Basch *et al.*, 1994: 7). Transnationalism as a concept has also been challenged (e.g. Crang *et al.*, 2003: 441). Numerous authors, for example, have highlighted the necessity of a cautious and sensitive approach with the application of the concept. For example, Castles

and Miller (2003) and Portes (1999) suggest that in order for migration to be considered transnational, activities have to be repeated and central to the lives of migrants. In this view, temporary migrants who occasionally remit and remain in contact with family and those who permanently migrate but have only occasional contact are not transnational migrants. This in itself is an interesting point as it demonstrates how the state and actors, such as recruitment operators, limit the potential for the development of transnational lives and consequent potential ties. Rogaly and Taylor (2009) promote a broader application of the concept of transnationalism which acknowledges how participation in transnational space is not limited and confined to those traditionally identified with it - for example, individuals who are moving or migrating. Moreover, as the material in this chapter suggests, temporary workers are transnational migrants yet the level of intensity with which they practice transnational life differs as a result of migrant temporariness. A key question is therefore to ask how does the transnationalism manifest itself in the lives of temporary horticultural migrants who may only work once or twice in the UK?

Crang *et al.*, (2003) recognise the limits of recent definitions and applications of transnationalism and suggest a broader more encompassing use of the concept. They propose that consumption - in particular, commodity culture - is a useful area in which to pursue an exploration of transnationalism. Instead of limiting the concept to one that is applied to links and ties made by migrants, Crang *et al.*, argue that exploring transnational commodity culture gives greater understanding of transnational space (Crang *et al.*, 2003: 446). Although it is not possible to speak of the intensity and depth of transnational ties experienced by other migrants, it is possible to use a transnational conceptual approach to help inform our understanding of the meanings and experiences of migrants in spaces beyond the camp and farm. A transnational perspective on migration generates meanings of migrants' practices of consumption and remittances.

Salih (2003) uses consumption practices of Moroccan women in Italy to analyse the creation of transnational identities. Consumption is a process in which Moroccan women can create a difference, or in Bourdieusian terms, a distinction between themselves and those who have stayed and not migrated from Morocco. This analysis can be recreated here

because an aspect of migrants' consumption practices involved the purchase of goods with the intention that upon their return home goods would be displayed and made visible. In this way, consumption contributes to the construction of migrants' identity and shaping of an encounter, especially if the owners ascribe a particular meaning or value to the goods displayed. Thus, this operates as a form of distinction and contributes to the creation of a transnational social field.

Food was a form of consumption in which migrants could express an aspect of their national identity. Edensor (2002: 17) focuses on how national identity is enacted in aspects and practices of everyday life in the 'mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge'. The consumption of food, as an aspect of migrants' everyday routine, was an expression of national identity. Bell and Valentine highlight that literature on food and identity suggests that food consumption practices are a means to create community identity and functions as a form of 'social glue' (Bell and Valentine 1997: 15). Van de Berghe (1984) identifies that the process of entwining food and identity occurs through experiences of alienation (Van de Berghe 1984: 395) and is used as a form of resistance (Bell and Valentine 1997: 204). Gabaccia (1998) suggests that food is used by immigrants to ensure traditional relationships are continued (Gabaccia 1998: 51).



Figure 23 Market stall selling east European food

Teresa, a harvest worker, spoke of how food (and music) was important for maintaining her connection to Bulgaria:

Teresa: Most of the time I am thinking about how I getting back in the camp I am going to eat something very delicious, Bulgarian meal, because we are trying to cook because we don't take food from the shops that is processed í we miss the country and how I don't know but when you are far from your family and from your country and your friends the only thing that can make you near to them is the music and the food. Last Saturday we have visitor from London, [inaudible] , that are Bulgarian , that are living and working in London and they find a store that have our traditional drinks and things

Donna: Oh really! Where is that, do you know?

Teresa: No, I want to know, but they don't say to us. And they give to us our cheese, our drinks and we have something that's made by tomatoes is called -lupinsø in Bulgarian, with peppers and other things and its very delicious actually and we were very enthusiastic about this because this Saturday we feel like we are in Bulgaria

Migrants were however strategic in their use of wage earnings and spending minimal amounts on food was an aspect of this. Migrants exhibited a savviness and knowledge of the supermarkets that enabled them to pick and choose from the range of lower value foods on offer. Brands were often absent in favour of cheaper products such as supermarket own-brand packets of jelly (eaten as a snack), tinned fruit, bread and meat. Caffeine-based energy drinks were also purchased in large quantities but one worker said this was to revive people after work. To maximise these opportunities, migrants visited many supermarkets - as many as four on one Saturday alone. As well as the regular weekly trip to the nearest Tesco store, the Ukrainian team also regularly visited Lidl, Morrisons and Tesco on Saturday days out. Car boot sales and Sunday markets were further spaces in which migrant workers purchased discount or specialised food (see figure 1); on one occasion, nearly everyone in the Ukrainian team purchased a plastic carrier bag of bananas for £1. In contrast to spending on non-food consumables, such as clothing and electrical items, spending on food was often minimal with many migrants only spending between £10 and £30 a week on food and alcohol (commonly whisky, lager and vodka).

By accompanying migrants on visits to the supermarkets, I observed how they would often make a beeline for the discount section of the store. A Ukrainian couple on Greenberg Farm spoke of the benefits of living near a Tesco store during their last farm placement:

Vlad: It was very interesting at eight o'clock was reduced and we ate only
-finest only

Donna: Oh really!

Sofia: Yes! We bought the products for no more than £10 and we bought, I don't know, maybe 20 kilos only finest, we bought more seven or ten fine pineapples, 10p, no more,

Donna: Wow!

Vlad: Sorry to interrupt you, you know, something it's normal, look at us when we buy with, look today, we bought these apples, these are not so bad apples I think, this is good but

Donna: Yeah yeah, just a bruise

Vlad: But you can cut it

A Ukrainian female student who I interviewed after she returned from working in the UK, budgeted £10 for food and achieved this by buying the lower value brands. Her employer kept most of her weekly earnings and paid them in full upon request. Being paid in cash at the end of the season was a common experience for former SAWS workers in UK. A SAWS operator indicated that this was a common strategy for farmers who had cash flow problems. It also indicates the strength and significance of the tie between the workplace and accommodation.

Klarysa: So the farmer gave us £40 per week but I spent just £10 per week

Donna: Tell me how!

Klarysa: So £10 for food.

Donna: What did you spend? What did you buy?

Klarysa: I save my money for a camera

Donna: Ahh a camera ok ok and what did you, how did you spend just £10 a week? Did you eat all the raspberries?

Laughter

Klarysa: I eat bread, milk, eggs, and spaghetti and we go to supermarket Morrison

Donna: Morrisons, yeah I know

Klarysa: Better Buys!⁷²

Donna: Yes I know Better Buys [Laughter]

⁷² -Better Buys are an own-brand line of products sold in Morrisons.

Explanation of why migrants were keen to budget and strategise their spending can not be limited to those seeking to prioritise one form of consumption over another; the setting aside of wage earnings for items such as laptops and cameras, perhaps. Migrants also sought to save and return home with their earnings. Remittances were a significant element in migrants' use of wage earnings and a further example of their transnational practices. Some migrants chose to remit their earnings from the UK and visited money transfer operators in London, while others chose to return home with the cash in their pockets or send it via bank transfer. The use of remittances was diverse: For example, interviewees in Ukraine explained how their earnings had been given to their parents, spent on household repairs, furniture and property:

Aneta: I transferred \$2000 to Ukraine and I bought a flat in a town of Nikapol.

Donna: Outright or do you have a mortgage?

Aneta: No without mortgage because at that time I have enough money to buy a flat but now the flat is \$20,000.

Donna: That is good, quite a businesswoman!

Some of the workers interviewed, both in Ukraine and on Greenberg Farm, revealed that a significant part of their earnings were used to repay the initial costs of migration to the UK. Debt and migration as a focus of migrant workers' experiences have been explored in a range of different contexts. De Neve (1999) discusses the impact of an employer's practice of advance payments to workers in south India. In his study, located in Kumarapalayam, Tamil Nadu, De Neve recognises that customary practice of advance payments to workers was used as a form of workplace control, particularly enabling employers to retain their workforce. Such practices however created spaces of agency as workers used their indebted relationship with their employer as a way to secure further monies; the employers risked workers leaving if they did not respond to their demands (De Neve 1999: 396).

Not all situations of workers' migration and indebtedness result in workers gaining greater degrees of control in the workplace, and this is arguably a result of who the creditors might be. For example, the use of migration agents who charge fees for organising recruitment and placement of workers has created a migration industry in Asian labour migration

(Castles and Miller 2003: 162). The costs of using intermediaries to facilitate work migration can be equal to 20-30 per cent of earnings in the first year of work (Martin 1996: 201 cited in Castles and Miller 2003: 162). For workers who migrate illegally costs are higher still if smuggling gangs are relied upon (Miller and Castles 2003: 162).

The type and experiences of debt held by workers in this research provides yet a further different example of the consequences of migration and debt. Some migrants both in Ukraine and on Greenberg Farm explained how much of their earnings would be used to pay for the initial migration costs of coming to the UK. Ivancheva's study revealed how wages did not adequately cover the costs of the monies initially borrowed by SAWS workers to fund their stay in the UK (Ivancheva 2007: 11).

This interviewee explains a similar situation of having to repay the costs of the initial trip to the UK, he explains:

Donna: Ok and have you spent the money?

Petro: Spent? Not all the money, I want to one more go [time] to England

Donna: Ah ok you want to go again

Petro: Yes

Donna: Ah ok oh you will spend money on this

Petro: Will spend money on this yes on this

Donna: Did you have to borrow money to go in the first place?

Petro: First time I borrowed moneyí £1000

Donna: And you have to pay that back

Petro: Yes

Male, Ukrainian national, former SAWS worker

The interviewee demonstrates how workers were strategic in organising their finances to enable their stay in the UK. In this worker's case, it involved using the wages earned from his first trip to repay the monies he had initially borrowed to fund his stay, while using the remainder to fund a further trip. Consequently, the second trip would enable him to earn for himself and not be beholden to debts back at home.

7.3 Encounters with British nationals: the workplace, the supermarket and other public places



Figure 24: A Sunday market regularly visited by workers from Greenberg Farm

In chapters five and six I demonstrated how nationality and immigration status were significant factors in the workplace opportunities and experiences of migrants. So far in this chapter, I have revealed how migrants used processes of consumption to enact their national identity and to fashion new identities that included signifying their migration experience. Migrants' transnational practices relating to consumption, food and remittances demonstrates, in part, the forms in which individuals articulate and construct 'difference' and how social boundaries can be erased, maintained or expanded. In this section, I consider the migrant experiences from a different perspective as I focus on migrants' encounters with UK nationals and their reflections of feeling and being perceived as 'different' by British nationals.

Such experiences are arguably evidence of the 'racialisation' of migrants from central and east Europe. Drawing on her research in Herefordshire, Dawney (2008: 2) has documented events and actors in the 'processes of boundary demarcation' in which cultural signifiers

contributed to the construction of identities of migrant workers from east and central Europe. For Dawney (2008: 2) cultural markers of difference are enacted by discourses of 'cultural superiority, of class, of labour, of rurality'. Thus racialisation as a concept, enables an understanding of how groups not previously defined as a 'race' are defined in this way and moreover, enables assessment of the factors involved (Small 1994: 30 cited in Garner 2010: 19). Garner proposes that the State is instrumental in such processes as it generates racialisation through the creation of laws on citizenship, nationality and immigration that contribute to the constructions of national identity (Garner 2010: 63). In this section, I explore how the differences constructed about migrant workers are linked to their living and social conditions and how these are, in turn, a result of the conditions of their immigration status. Thus, Garner's linking of the role of the State with racialisation of workers is not only maintained but is also considered further as I draw on examples of how this operated in practice for migrant workers.

By exploring how workers in this research experienced a sense of 'difference' between themselves and UK nationals, this section also focuses on experiences of racism, stigma and exclusion. In recent decades, theoretical perspectives of racism have contributed significantly to the emergence of writing on 'new' or 'cultural' racism (see Barker 1981). 'New racism' emphasises 'the role of culture in defining difference' (Garner 2010: 142) and emphasises cultural signifiers. Biological and phenotypical differences are seen as being located in 'classical' or 'old' racism. Thus, 'cultural' racism relies on classification based on 'dress, language, customs, and religion, to name a few' (Rattansi 2007: 104). Rattansi proposes that the link between cultural demarcation and racism rest on how cultural signifiers are 'used in a form that *naturalize* them by implying that they are more or less *immutable*' (Rattansi 2007: 104 with author's own emphasis). Consequently, while not explicit, 'new' racism makes reference to perceived innateness about individuals or groups. In this section I draw on interviewees' reflections of being recipients of comments and gestures, which indicate racism. These reflections and experiences of encounters reveal the hostility faced by migrant workers in local spaces of towns and the UK nation.

Sibley notes how exclusions occur routinely and without catching the attention of people (Sibley 1995: xiv). Later in this section, I show how the building of the camp on a piece of land owned by Greenberg Farm on the edge of the village created and contributed to the ongoing exclusion of migrants from the rest of the village. In being hidden and enclosed the camp contributes to the exclusion of migrants. Moreover, the potential for frequent and regular everyday encounters with residents in the village are minimised. Instead, encounters are limited as workers and residents only experience visual encounters during the short time that migrant workers travel on the minibus through the village to and from the main farm. However, not all exclusions go unnoticed and it is the more noticeable and explicit forms of exclusion that I focus on first.

It was going away from the farm and camp that led to my initial observations of the 'outsider' status that was assigned to migrants by locals. During the drive through the village, along the only main route out, it was common for village youths to make two-fingered gestures to us in the minibus. Very little attention was paid to these gestures by migrants, at least outwardly. An encounter that occurred during a trip to the local Tesco in May 2007 reflects the forms of everyday hostility that migrants may experience. In this incident, we had left the minibus as usual and walked at different paces across the car park to the main entrance of the store. The first to arrive to the entrance were greeted by three youths who jeered, spat and sneezed on migrants and seeing this, the other migrants veered sharply to the left to avoid the youths. I shouted at the teenagers, admittedly with little effect, and eventually resorted to using my phone to take a picture of them.

Similarly overt acts of harassment by children and teenagers have been documented elsewhere: For example, Dawney's (2008) research on the racialisation of European migrants in Herefordshire documents the taunting and bullying of seasonal migrant workers by children, including reports of incidents taking place in supermarkets (Dawney 2008: 9).

Shortly after my farm-based fieldwork, I came across a further example of aggressiveness towards migrant workers on the social networking site Facebook, which hosted a group calling itself 'I hate Polish Fruitpickers - Especially when they are in Tesco!!(sic)' (Figure

25). The description of the Facebook group, which no longer exists, cites that it is a group local Faversham people set up for:

Anyone who shares hate for that big white bus that pulls up and takes up half of the park spaces while they all run off it like a bunch of looters. Then we have them walking up the aisles getting in everyone's (sic) way wearing their wife beater vests and market stall camisoles!!! Let's put a stop to this ladies and gentlemen!!!!!!

The racism demonstrated is obvious, but the excerpt from this Facebook group's description contains a sense of reality that can be illustrated more clearly by referring back to the extract from my field notes, written before the Facebook group existed and was discovered, which features on the opening page of this chapter.



Figure 25: Facebook group page of 'I hate Polish Fruitpickers- Especially when they are in Tesco!!!'

The reality to which both texts refer is the commonality of practices - the grouping of migrant workers, the speed of movement by migrant workers and the type of transportation - a minibus (Figure 26). It is these practices and forms of encounters that become the basis for the construction of difference and from which the racist comments are derived. In turn, these practices and behaviours are, as this thesis and chapter illustrate, an outcome of the broader experiences of work in which migrant workers are involved. It was perhaps inevitable, as the extract from my field notes reveals, that the provision of transport and the

limited time that workers had to spend away from the farm, they would move across car park and supermarket spaces in groups - in twos or threes, or even as one group of fifteen - and travel by the ubiquitous minibus. It is these practices that create points of demarcation for some local British nationals. Thus, the spaces in which these practices/performances and behaviours occur are created by and linked to the processes that govern their everyday work and living experiences. While my explanation of the workers' behaviour/performance links intimately to the work and living conditions on the farm, for others - such as those encountered outside Tesco, or virtually on Facebook - it is ascribed as a cultural marker and an indicator of 'difference'. For the latter however, such difference becomes a juncture at which a boundary of exclusion is set.



Figure 26: Minibus in supermarket car park

During interviews, migrants spoke of how that Tesco visit was the not first incident of hostile behaviour towards them. As a person of British nationality I was aware that migrants might find it difficult to talk openly about their experiences of British nationals with someone who was also British. However, this comment by Rosa, a Bulgarian national, reflects how many migrant workers perceived me differently to other British nationals that they had so far met and encountered:

-I am sure yeah , but it's very nice that you are trying to communicate with these people , because most of the English are like closed society and everybody just not accepting you as a normal person but you are always foreigner

During interviews the topics of racism, stigma and exclusion were not approached directly. Often the conversation just strayed onto these topics or in some cases, individuals wanted to tell me. Interviewees were willing to talk openly about similar encounters to the ones that I had witnessed and they spoke of what they or their friends had experienced. Jora, a Serbian student working on the farm, told me of an encounter that had occurred during a short break he had in Oxford. During this trip, while waiting late one night at the coach station, an English woman identified him as a 'foreigner' and impressed on him her expectation that he should be able to speak English.

Jora: One woman, this was in Oxford, come to us and says 'why you don't understand me? I pay a tax at £1400 a month and you must understand English'

Donna: Oh? She said what? I don't understand, she said you must pay or she pays what a month?

Jora: £1400 a month

Donna: For what? And she says you must understand English? Or she must?

Jora: Yeah! One person, I think they [were] going home after disco, he said to the woman, 'you are stupid, why they must understand you? They just here for maybe season' It was very funny.

Donna: Yes, it sounds like you have had a lot of adventure

Jora: My friend was afraid of this woman, but when we went in the morning, go [around] Oxford, on foot, Oxford is not a big city.

The experience of the male Bulgarian student indicates a very public display of hostility rather than exclusion. However, word-of-mouth circulation of these experiences creates exclusion because migrants are understandably hesitant to enter spaces in which negative attitudes towards them are likely to be verbalised and displayed. This was the case for two Bulgarian migrants who spoke of their friends' experiences at a nightclub in London. I had asked them if they had ventured off the farm and camp to try, see and do new things.

Zaharai: We didn't go anywhere but we have friends, they live in London and they are Bulgarian and they told us when they go in the clubs and when they go and talk with the girls she told them 'oh get back you are a foreigner' with the accent, when they understand that they are foreigners they, I don't know the word [gestures with hands]

Donna: stand back?

Zaharai: Yes stand back and 'get back you are a foreigner' it's in the club, they told us

Donna: Yeah?

Zaharai: I don't know, not everyone is like this, everybody is like

Donna: Yeah I know,

Zaharai: And we know this too that we are not at home

Donna: Do you think people feel badly towards you, about you?

Zaharai: Not everybody but most of them, sure

7.4 Workplace encounters

The experiences of exclusion, hostility and stigma were not limited to public spaces but occurred on farms too. Most encounters between migrants and English nationals revolved around the workplace. Again, if migrant workers had not experienced stigma and degrading comments firsthand then they spoke of knowing workers who had.

A Ukrainian couple, while we were discussing our farm, reminded me that actually Greenberg Farm had a good attitude to its workers compared to the attitudes towards migrant workers on other farms.

Vlad: Donna, ok, now we have conversation about good farm, about really good farm. Because in England, [there are] a lot of much more worse farms

Sofia: Alexsei said fifteen people from his university got different farms, went to different farm. They told Alexsei that they were bad farms, worse than his was. Only Alexsei was on good farm, 15 people were on really bad farms.

Donna: Do you know what was bad about the farms; was it the attitude or the pay?

Vlad: Treatment, and pay and everything

Sofia: Everything, accommodation, where the water leak on the bed

Vlad: Everything

Sofia: and bad supervisor maybe. And I heard about this when I worked on my farm [last year] that some supervisors tell 'you are animals and you should

work when I tellø and on all the field, even in bad field, with lake [of] water, it doesnø matter, you are animals, you should work.

Sofia and Vlad make the link between inadequate and poor living and work conditions on farms and negative attitudes towards migrants. This again was a link made by a Bulgarian female worker during an interview in which we discussed both living and work experiences. Sofia expressed contentment with her hourly pay on a previous farm but also said how transport facilities were non-existent and that migrants had to share a taxi to leave the farm camp space. Moreover, lack of entertainment and leisure facilities led a group of workers to club together to purchase their own television set. We were discussing issues relating to hourly work and piecework and her experiences of working on the tulip farm when Silva shared an uncomfortable revelation.

Silva: The money was very good last year. We worked on the time work, 12 hours and more.

Donna: Time work, ok.

Silva: Yeah, itø better, but it was very, like here, very boring .The farmer was not very good because he everyday say -fucking idiotsø or something like that. He was not very good.

Donna: He would really talk to you to like that?

Silva: Yeah yeah

Donna: Did anyone tell him to fuck off?

Silva: I think no

Donna: Iø not, I mean, I find that it is really hard. And how did that make you feel?

Silva: Not very good

Donna: And would you see him everyday?

Silva: Yeah yeah, he was near us all the time

Donna: And this was the farmer?

Silva: Yeah, the farmer, yeah

Donna: And how many? So were there just Bulgarians working there?

Silva: No, no, not just Bulgarians working there. Polish people, Lithuanians, Latvians and English

Donna: English? And what were the English people like?

Silva: Like 50 years old

Donna: And how did the farmer talk to them?

Silva: Not like with us

Other attitudes expressed by English nationals towards migrants were not always so extreme and obscene but were nonetheless reductive because they viewed migrants solely in the context of work and not as human beings with other interests and needs.

Beata: You know when some of the persons, English, some English person ask me 'why are you working here?' I said I do it only for experience
[laughter]

Beata: And he said 'why are you lying to me?' and I went 'what?' he said to me 'why are you lying to me?' and I 'what are you saying?' 'because you want to earn the money and only this' and I said 'no, I want to earn the money but its, I want to take the whole experience and something like this' so we have different situation when I see the page on the internet 'I wanted to take holiday for me and Kris because we want to go somewhere and think of Spain or something like this and people from England say 'oh you want to choose new place to work?'

Donna: Oh!

Beata: And I, 'Oh My God! Why are you are saying like this? I want to go to holiday! I don't want to work in Spain where it is so hot' and they

Donna: They see you just as worker and just here for the money

Hearing and witnessing the exclusions and negative attitudes towards co-workers off the farm led me to ask the farm manager how the local village residents viewed the arrival of the migrants. The farm manager told me how the camp was built partly as a response to workers' poor living conditions he had seen, and that on deciding to build the camp on the edge of the village the farm management held a public meeting to discuss the plans for the camp. An account of the meeting is set out in the quote below, provided during an interview by a member of farm management of Greenberg Farm.

Manager: Well, we had, when we first, you know, when we decided to have the camp, we had a meeting, a public meeting in the village hall

Donna: Oh ok

Manager: We done a public meeting in the village hall to tell all the villagers what was happening, what we was doing and you know let them air their views of what they wanted to do but we had one chap up here from London, he lives in bungalows just up the road here, he was dead against it. He kept shouting and going on, he was dead against it, he didn't want the students here at all, you know, he didn't want them here and that was it. In the end I got though John

Smith, Henry, Chris Jackson⁷³, myself all sat at the front and we was telling them what we were going to do and they was all saying that I was going to look after them and I was going to run the place and any problems come with me and all the rest of it and this chap he just would not shut up, rabbitting on and all, basically wound me up that much, I just said to him in the end , I just stood up and I just said , look did we have a public meeting to see whether you could come in the village and they shut up straight away and never said no more all night and John Smith said to me -you was out of orderø

The English rural landscape, its history, heritage and imagery is used to epitomise -Englishnessø and as a key marker of English national identity (Sibley 1995: 108; Cloke 2006: 382; Cloke 2006: 385). Studies of the English landscape have identified how rural spaces are policed in different ways in an attempt to maintain English rurality as -pureø Opposition to the camp being built is an example of attempted purification that seeks to maintain a rural English idyll, built on the social and spatial exclusion of -un-Englishø others. It is subtle compared to the words and gestures made by rural youth towards migrants as they travelled through by minibus through the village, but nonetheless the intention to exclude is the same. Migrants on the camp were seen as -whiteø and being -whiteø did not exclude migrants from derogatory comments, gestures and exclusion. Much of the literature focusing on racism in rural areas focuses on the experiences of people of colour. However, as highlighted by Holloway (2007), Halfacree (1996) and Hubbard (2005) discrimination, exclusion, marginalisation and racism experienced by New Age Travellers and asylum seekers reveals how only a certain kind of whiteness is acceptable. White people who have different cultural and linguistic practices are considered -insufficiently whiteø (Holloway 2007: 15) and a threat to the established rural community.

Greenberg Farm was obliged to house student SAWS workers because due to conditions of its participation in the scheme. In fulfilling this obligation, like many other farmers, the provision of accommodation was basic, temporary and remotely located. This in itself reflects the social relations between Greenberg Farm and the SAWS operator, the local community and the student workers themselves. Space, as a creation of social relations, results in it being -made and contestedø (Ellem 2006: 383) thus the farm has, over the past

⁷³ These are all pseudonyms

ten years, been successful in gaining planning permission to situate the portacabin buildings on the camp throughout the year (although they are not, as yet, legally permitted to allow workers to reside in them throughout the year).

The space of the camp and the workplace contributed to the limited everyday encounters between migrant workers and local residents. As an enclosed space, the camp created exclusion - but it also offered protection from the experiences described above, as rarely was there an opportunity to meet English nationals and/or individuals who were not employed by or linked to the farm. A Bulgarian co-worker and I discussed the lack of English people that we met during our stay on the farm and camp. He explained how the intensity of the work regime limited opportunities and even the inclination to meet UK and English nationals. Moreover he expressed the view that meeting British nationals was not, in his opinion, a reason to be working in the UK.

Donna: Does it matter that people come here and they don't meet English people?

Yan: For students, I think it doesn't. I don't know, maybe sometimes they miss meeting English people, but not so much; I am not here to meet English people

Donna: No? What are you here for?

Yan: In the first place, well it's the financial point - money. The second place, it's our conscription, the boys in Bulgaria, I had to, and it's not just me.

The insular lifestyle of the camp affected the chances and opportunities to learn and practice the English language. This was expressed by Filip, another co-worker from Bulgaria who felt that working alongside other Bulgarian nationals limited his chances of improving his English language skills:

-But here I think this year my English is, I want to make my English better but here is not possible because I work only with Bulgarian to the field, supervisor is Bulgarian and another students is Bulgarian, all team is Bulgarian and I don't speak English, this is bad.

A Polish worker also expressed similar sentiments because the long working hours excluded her from opportunities to improve her English language. Her colleagues were however apparently curious as to why she was not continuing to learn English formally:

Beata: When I working 12 hours or 14 hours the English people come to me and ask me -why are you don't want learn English in the evening? But I, last time I work in the packhouse and you know sometimes okay, so when I can learn English because I don't have enough power to take a shower sometimes so when I can learn English? I really want to because I really like this. Sorry but you are from England but I know like this!

Donna: No, you are right!

Beata: But I don't have enough time sometimes, I don't have the time

Improving one's English may not, however, remove the accent of the mother tongue. Consequently, as these two Bulgarian co-workers expressed, speaking English with an accent also symbolises and portrays difference during an encounter:

Yosaf: No, no but maybe because we are different! but everyone know that you are not from this country and you are different, they will see you and think what person, are you from where, maybe for this, because we don't speak your English

Donna: Yeah you do,

Yosaf: What?

Donna: You [do] speak English

Yosaf: Yeah but

Alex: Accent

Donna: Accent?

Alex: The accent is very important

Yosaf: When someone talk with me he understands immediately that I am not from England

Are opportunities of learning and practicing English necessary, even for temporary seasonal migrants? Migrants' responses, so far, have been ambivalent. For example, as already mentioned earlier, while one migrant may not consider themselves to be here to learn or even meet English nationals, other migrants felt opportunities to learn were obscured by intense work regimes. Speaking English with an accent for some migrants portrays difference and as the section has discussed, there are unwanted consequences of such perceived difference.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on field notes and interviews to discuss the experiences of migrant workers during periods when they left their work sites and visited places local to them. Each of the places visited represent spaces in which identities were affirmed or created - either as a result of the practices and meanings of consumption or because of the everyday encounters which revealed perceived or real cultural demarcations that were a basis for the construction of difference.

Consumption carries a significant repertoire of meanings, especially in relation to a sense of identity both in the UK and in migrants' home countries. The purchase of goods - both food and non-food - was a common practice in off-farm spaces. In this way, consumption is linked to the workplace, because wages facilitate the opportunities in which to spend. Off-farm spaces, such as supermarkets, car boot sales and shopping malls provide insights to migrants' consumption practices and their attitudes to spending. Such insights highlight how wages, in being vital for consumption, link the spheres of production and consumption.

Migrants' choices of consumption reveal how consumption contributes to the creation of a transnational social field. Consumables such as electrical 'white' goods, mobile phones, digital cameras and laptops, as well as particular styles and brands of clothing, are bought in anticipation of their use in home countries where similar goods may not be available. Migrants' reasons for the purchase of such goods went beyond availability or any price/quality comparison; migrants sought to display their newly acquired wealth and earnings through the use and consumption of these articles.

A further aspect of migrants' contribution to the creation of a transnational social field relates to the purchase and consumption of food. In contrast to clothing and consumer durables, food constituted a smaller part of migrants' spending. However, as a consumable it was a site of consumption in which migrants sought to demonstrate their national

identity. Discussions concerning consumption and the spending of wages revealed migrants' strategic use of wages and monies earned from migration. This included the use of wages to repay debts that afforded opportunities to migrate to the UK on SAWS, as well plans for allocating the earnings saved to achieve goals such as helping to restore family homes or to fund future education.

Drawing on migrant workers' reflections and experiences during fieldwork, the second part of the chapter focused on a further aspect of identity making: the experience of being perceived as 'different' by British nationals. Migrant workers openly discussed how both in the workplace and beyond, they had experienced stigma, racism and exclusion. These experiences ranged from gestures and actions, which led from exclusion to more overtly hostile behaviour. In discussing the incidents and reflections of migrant workers, the chapter revealed the detail and context of the racialisation of migrant workers from east and central Europe. For example, for some workers, accents or not being able to speak fluent English became a cultural marker, whereas for others being a migrant worker formed a core marker of identity. Exclusion was a further outcome of difference. Such exclusion was premised on workers not possessing the right type of 'whiteness' and therefore not matching the ideal type which belonging to a rural community necessitates.

The ethnographic material used within this chapter is focused on the workers' encounters with people, places and commodities beyond the workplace. In accompanying migrant workers on days away from the farm, and in discussing their experiences of both encounters and consumption, I gained insight into the role of encounters in shaping migrants' experiences of being 'different'. The purchase of commodities, as evidenced in interviews and during shopping trips, served to prepare migrants for later encounters, such as those when they return from the UK to their home country. The display and use of commodities was thought to be a valuable tool in signalling information about themselves both prior and during an encounter. Thus, these are key conceptual contributions which are based on the notions of everyday encounters that are found in this chapter.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis is the first ethnographic study of the everyday work and living experiences of migrant workers in UK horticulture. It illustrates how immigration policy and buyer-driven supply chains feature in the everyday working lives of migrants; as fields of salads, the sweat of hard repetitive work and as the consequences of status. The thesis shows how buyer-driven supply chains and, in particular, Just-In-Time and Total-Quality-Control, are not remote management and organisational philosophies of production but are tangible processes that are enacted and embodied in workers and their everyday lives. Similarly, it reveals how state regulation of migration through the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme is not an abstract procedure of policy but instead works as a set of conditions underpinning an immigration status to shape the everyday work and living experiences of workers in complex and real ways. The focus throughout has been horticultural workplace regimes, in particular, those of Greenberg Farm, the site of ethnographic fieldwork in the UK. In the following section I draw on the analysis made throughout this thesis to pull together the main findings.

8.2 Methodological approach: Reflexivity and the ‘researching body’

In the first instance, the thesis has contributed to an understanding of how ethnography can provide a contextualised and detailed account of everyday work and living experiences of migrant workers in the UK.

In drawing on data from two sites of research, Ukraine and the UK, this research has enabled a deepened understanding of both migration and work experiences. Interviews with former participants in the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme revealed the ways in

which former workers spent or managed their earnings upon return home. In addition, the interviews provided insights into work experiences on a range of farms in the UK and as such, provided an interesting point of comparison with the experiences of people I worked alongside in the UK as well as my own experiences of manual work.

The understanding of work experiences was deepened further still by my decision to gain employment in the UK fieldwork site. This methodology set me within a tradition of workplace ethnography and in doing so the subsequent findings and analysis extend and complement two horticultural workplace ethnographies that have so far been undertaken in the UK; for example, Paiø (2008) ethnography (carried out prior to the 2004 accession of EU states) and Ivanchevaø (2007) (which challenged the dominant public script associated with student migrant workers). Moreover, the challenging work environment, and enabled me to reveal original findings on the experience of working for, and living in accommodation provided by, UK horticultural employers. The close proximity in which I lived with co-workers and the sharing of quotidian life, brought the challenges of undertaking research about seemingly every day work into sharp relief. These challenges were discussed in chapter three where I focused on my application of reflexivity. This approach served to reveal how the positionalities of ‘English researcher girl’ and ‘worker’ developed and interacted in the field. However, as discussed in chapter three, the point of being reflexive was not to endlessly demarcate positionalities nor to elucidate tales of supplication, but to reveal the role of space and time and the importance of context in ascertaining a researchers’ sameness or difference between themselves and ‘the researched’.

While deciphering of positionalities helped me to understand the role of space, time and the complexity of relationships in the field, workplace ethnography also revealed the value of drawing on one’s own body as an instrument of research and contributes to work place ethnography literature.. In more than relying on senses (of sight, touch, smell, taste and hearing), my body became an instrument and tool of research. Along with many of the working bodies at Greenberg Farm, my body became attuned and accustomed to - and internalised - the living routines on the camp; the workplace demands of our employer; and,

in turn, the onward demand in the supply chain into which Greenberg Farm supplied freshly cut lettuce. The links made in the thesis between the operations of horticultural capitalism and the everyday work, including experiences of injury, would arguably have not been made so apparent had I limited my participation in the workplace. This is not to say that future ethnographic work researching this topic necessarily requires such immersion. Instead, I am highlighting the value of doing so in this context because fieldwork was not only used to form into detailed notes but also became inscribed on my body through both conditioning and injury. Further, being in-situ on the camp and in the field, as well as being an active worker, informed much discussion between myself and co-workers which fed into later writing.

8.3 Salads, sweat and status and the making of the ‘right type’ of worker

In this section, I draw on the analysis made throughout the thesis to pull together my main findings which counter the assertion that migrants’ proclivity to work hard is a result of possessing a particular ‘work ethic’ or is principally a result of financial and economic motivation. This assertion was further discussed in chapter two and drew on the works of Anderson and Ruhs (2010), Rogaly (2008) and McDowell (2004) to illustrate that some employers’ perceptions of a suitable worker may at times be based on their constructed stereotypes of different nationalities. These stereotypes may involve a range of additional factors including gender, age, and immigration status. In this thesis I go beyond discussing the role of these factors by explaining why particular workers are demanded by employers. In doing so, I extend the previous authors’ contributions by illustrating that such factors of immigration status and perceived characteristics can not only affect migrants’ access to the workplace but also impact on their everyday work experiences. I also reveal how the organisation of production works in tandem with the effects of the conditions attached to immigration status to not only elicit work effort but also contribute to the making of a particular kind of worker - a ‘right type’ of worker, one that is suitable and apt for horticultural work.

This thesis contributes to a deeper understanding of work effort, with particular reference to the work of migrants in horticultural workplaces. Work effort in horticultural production was defined by 'quality' and 'pace'. Quality refers to migrants' fulfilling specific criteria associated with particular varieties of salad, vegetables and soft fruits. Pace refers to the speed at which migrants harvested the salads, vegetables and soft fruits, and the duration of such work. The definition of work effort was established by exploring how demands for pace and quality combined in horticultural workplaces. Notably, workers were expected to harvest at a particular speed which, mostly, was required to be in response to the demands of retailers' orders and reflected a Just-In-Time (JIT) approach to production and supply. Pace was also a response to counter 'nature' and the biological impact of nature on production, for example, planting to ensure production cycles were maintained and harvesting to prevent crops, such as lettuces, 'bolting' and thus decaying.

The work effort of 'quality' ensured that workers' role went beyond simply 'cutting' at a particular pace but also included fulfilling particular standards around production. These standards related to the size, colour and shape of the salad, vegetable or soft fruit and served to ensure harvested produce was uniform and without imperfections. In this thesis, I have suggested that such standards, which are part of the production philosophy of Total-Quality-Control (TQC), are translated and become part of the everyday work effort of migrant workers. Thus, both types of production philosophies (JIT and TQC), with their emphasis on continuous production matching a particular standard (of quality), inform and define the requirements of effort of workers. Thus, I have not only defined work effort and explored its meaning for workers, but have located the structural factors which both inform the definition and the everyday experiences of migrant workers. This represents a key theoretical contribution of the thesis as it illustrates how the everyday forms of governance operating along food supply chains and relations between retailers and their suppliers can shape and impact workplace regimes and consequently workers too.

Further, as discussed below, the outcome of performing the work efforts of pace and quality resulted, with some regularity, in workers' bodies being both habituated to the requirements of work effort and simultaneously injured and experiencing minor ailments such as fatigue,

rashes, cuts and muscle aches. The bodily effects of work considered within this thesis represented a structural impact as a result of the operations of and demands of the JIT and TQC styles of production. This builds on the analysis of Holmes (2007) who, as discussed in chapter six, suggests that injury in the workplace represented structural violence. It does so, however, in a way that specifies and explains the precise forms of work effort that contribute to bodily impacts during migrants' work. This deeper understanding of work effort led me to explore further the ways in which 'pace' and 'quality' were elicited from workers and the role of habituation, consent and force in each.

My exploration of employers' control and workers' consent in the labour process emphasised the role of the piece rate method of pay, surveillance, mechanisation and immigration status, in eliciting work effort from migrants. In what follows here I set out my conclusions on each of these.

The piece-rate method of pay is illustrative of how migrants' consent to work was created. Workers' understanding of pay was characterised by 'work more, earn more' thus enabling consent and resulting in workers intensifying their efforts. Key to this however, was the uncertainty regarding weekly wage outcomes. This was partly a result of workers not knowing precisely the different varieties and amounts of lettuce harvested. In this thesis, uncertainty around pay was based on Smith's (2006) concept of indeterminacy. In not being paid an hourly wage and given a fixed number of hours, workers experienced significant indeterminacy. Indeterminacy for workers resulted in not only them not knowing how much effort they would have to exert in order to be remunerated but also, as a result of the piece-rate method of pay, workers would not know precisely the amount of monies they would receive for their work. Indeterminacy thus contributed to workers' consent in the workplace regime and to the intensification of workers' effort. A significant contribution of the thesis was the extension of Smith's (2006) concept of indeterminacy. This was primarily because the concept of indeterminacy was applied to workers' experiences of receiving piece rate method of pay.

The conditions attached to the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) were significant in the operation of indeterminacy. This is because, as a condition of their immigration status, workers on the SAWS were not allowed to seek work outside the agricultural sector nor to freely move employer within the sector. Consequently, workers were unable to respond to indeterminacy by switching jobs. In making this assertion I demonstrate that Peckø (1996) claim that labour control is intimately linked with *who* is being controlled has deep resonance in the context of this thesis. This is because the restrictions placed on different immigration statuses of workers of particular nationalities makes a substantial difference to their everyday work and living conditions.

Surveillance was a further factor identified within the thesis as contributing to employers' control and regulation of workers and their effort. First, as discussed in chapter five, employers' organisation of workers into teams enabled a level of surveillance, which contributed to ensuring the work effort of quality was enacted. Working on a team and, moreover, being paid as a team, resulted in workers' surveying one another's work, for example, in tasks such as harvesting and packing of lettuces. Second, the Total-Quality-Control process involved traceability using a system of labelling and tagging of harvested salads. Thus, farm management were able to use the system to identify the field the lettuce was grown and the team which harvested that particular lettuce. As a consequence of workers' awareness of these forms of workplace scrutiny, surveillance became an internal function and one to which workers responded to with an assumption that such checks, either in the field or later in the farmyard, were being made. This demonstrates that Total-Quality-Control, as a production philosophy, enacted via specific standards set by retailers, operates as a form of surveillance in the experiences of workers. Moreover, it shows the fruitfulness for employers of organising workers into teams as each then contributes not only to their own work effort of quality but that of others too. The discussion in the thesis represents an augmenting of existing understandings of the impact of surveillance along food supply chains (for example from Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) on horticultural workplaces. It also demonstrates a clear theoretical application of concepts introduced by Foucault which were earlier discussed in chapter two. In particular, the effects of discipline

and surveillance on everyday organisation and experience of workplaces and how regulation of the work practices of migrant workers occurred as a result.

This thesis also highlighted employers' use of mechanisation to elicit the work effort of pace. Tractors were cited as a form of innovation that regulated migrants' harvesting and planting pace. While on the whole, such forms of mechanisation regulated and intensified the pace of workers, for some, such as workers allocated planting tasks, tractors also provided a method of work which, to some degree eased workers' effort. In addition, a further point can be made concerning the role of mechanisation and the role of piece rate method of pay in intensifying workers' efforts. In the thesis it is proposed that the piece-rate method of pay contributes to the intensification of workers' efforts. The thesis captures how mechanisation and the organisation of workers into teams however removes the workers' autonomy to regulate their own pace of work. This is counter to the accounts of piece rate experiences of workers shared by Gidwani (2001) and Waite (2005) who suggest that piece rate methods confer benefits to workers which include autonomy and self-regulation of work effort. Thus, this illustrates that in exploring the role of the piece-rate method of pay in intensifying workers' efforts, a contextualised account of additional workplace processes and organisation is required.

Intensification of workplace regimes was discussed and identified as a key feature in the literature review in chapter two. Specifically, I drew on the works of Guthman (2004) and Rogaly (2008) to discuss the indicators of intensification of horticultural workplaces regimes. In the UK context, Rogaly (2008) identifies the presence of gangmasters, use of piece rate method of pay and the employment of migrant workers to represent intensification. In this thesis I have examined the factors that sustain the indicators of intensification of workplace regimes. Thus, for example, conditions attached to immigration status play in sustaining workplace intensification as do the technical and mechanical organisation of production and the use of team organisation in the labour process. This represents a furthering of the understanding of the intensification of workplace regimes in UK horticulture.

In contrast to the work effort of *pace*, the thesis revealed that *quality* was an aspect of work effort which did not always gain workers' consent. An explanation of occasional absence of consent in relation to the work effort of quality was located in the employers' alteration of the standards relating to quality. In addition, standards of quality were partially dependent upon the prevailing weather conditions and how this affected the growth and condition of crops. Thus, in these situations workers resented their efforts being questioned and on occasion being penalised in the form of having harvested produce rejected. For workers, the regulation of quality was the responsibility of employers and their management of planting and harvesting. Workers' expressing dissatisfaction over management's unfavourable decisions on the work effort of *quality* represented an agentic act. Small and everyday agentic acts were discussed throughout the thesis and differentiation between resilience, reworking and resistance were made and conceptually approached using the analytical framework set by Katz (2004) and discussed in chapter two. However, my analysis revealed that workers' agency was, for the most part, confined by the conditions attached to the SAWS immigration status that, for example, make it difficult, if not impossible for workers to leave and choose the employers and farms that they wished to work. Consequently, rarely did workers use a strategy of resistance which involved explicit opposition and invoke a change in their situation. Their acts of reworking and resilience focus on the changes and practices that they were able to make without explicit *oppositional consciousness* (Katz 2004: 251) but nonetheless sought to alter their everyday experiences of work.

Competition between workers contributed to their consent to the workplace regime and the ongoing work effort. Competition was an outcome of employers' organisation of workers into teams. Competition between workers resulted in workers intensifying their efforts in order to secure additional *orders* and thus greater financial rewards. Groups of workers also competed in order to be the one of the first teams to return to the camp. The reward for this was access to the resources on the camp, such as showers, laundry and cooking facilities. Competition represented workers' efforts of *making out* a term introduced by Burawoy (1979) and discussed in chapter two, to reflect the processes of deflection and transformation that operate in the workplace. Consequently, workers focus on the efforts of

one another rather than issues around the structures in which the rules of the games associated with 'making out' are made. The detail revealed in the thesis of workplace games and competition further deepens Burawoy's approach to critical labour studies and the analysis of workplace regimes. This is because not only are his concepts applied in a contemporary context of UK horticulture but the criticisms of his work (as discussed previously in chapter two) are confronted because the wider context informing the organisation of the workplace, for example immigration policy and food supply chain dynamics, are linked to the everyday experiences of migrant workers.

The competition between workers over work tasks and use of resources at the camp contributed to the emergence of a hierarchy on the camp, with the 'VIPs' otherwise known as those on the planting team (see chapter six) experiencing more favourable work conditions (for example, later start times of 7.30 am, no work on bad weather days, fixed amount of work each week and a workplace regime that gave opportunity to return to the camp at a time when facilities were available). In contrast, workers who were members of harvesting teams were expected to work in all weather conditions, very early starts of 5.30 am and working until all the orders were complete. As a consequence workers in these teams rarely enjoyed periods of exclusivity on the camp and therefore had to queue for the use of resources (showers, washing machines, computers and at times, over hob rings). Arguably, it was the different demands of work from planting and harvesting tasks, which led to the creation of different workplace regimes for different teams. Competition, however, was premised on socially constructed differences between nationalities, as this was the basis on which teams were organised.

This thesis reveals how immigration status served as a basis for employers' allocation of workplace tasks and in doing extends knowledge of the impact it has on workplace experiences. As discussed in chapter two, other authors such as Scott et al., (2008) and Anderson and Ruhs (2010) have discussed the role of immigration status in terms of access to labour markets, rather than workplace and labour experiences. For example, as discussed in chapter six, one worker explained how his team of Ukrainian nationals (workers from a non-EU country) were given a task of harvesting a field of strawberries after the same task

had already been completed by a team of Polish nationals (workers from an EU accession country). This illustrated how immigration status can be a decisive factor in work task allocation. From the employers' perspective, allocating harvest work to Polish workers first contributed to a strategy of maintaining workers on the farm and thus not utilising the labour mobility which accompanied their EU accession status. Using the Ukrainian team to re-harvest the field, picking crops of lesser quality and in hard to reach places ensured that all the strawberries were harvested. For workers it resulted in fewer earned monies because their work was based on a piece rate method of pay.

This thesis also revealed a further way in which immigration status contributed to the control of migrant workers by exploring the role of employer provided housing – the provision of which is a precondition of employing SAWS workers. Previously, in chapter four, I discussed how other authors have identified particular focus of their discussion of the functions of employer-provided accommodation in agriculture. For example, Ziebath (2006) suggests that the provision of basic and substandard housing is linked to the inferior views held by employers towards migrants. Grammot and Flores (2010) reveal that employers justify the poor conditions of accommodation by arguing that the migrants reside in similar conditions in their home town (Grammot and Flores 2010: 244). This thesis contributes further to the broader discussion of the function of employer-provided accommodation in horticulture and agriculture. This is achieved by applying a Foucauldian approach which illustrates how migrant workers' bodies are controlled and regulated in and by the spaces that they inhabit. The tie between workers and employers deepened with employer-provided accommodation, as it was a contributing factor in enabling employers to retain their workers. The approach to exploring employer-provided accommodation was based on a Foucauldian concept of enclosure. Enclosure resulted in workers being distributed in a space in which resources are both minimal and shared. The experience of enclosure by migrants at Greenberg Farm was physical as well as social and included the rural space surrounding the camp and the camp itself. Together, the physical and social enclosure of workers contributed to employers' ability to retain their workforce. Moreover, employers used rules and surveillance to govern and regulate workers' everyday living routines. The concentration of workers in a single managed space allowed employers to

respond to fluctuating demands of production and rely on workers in times where seasonality and/or retailers demands increased. The conditions attached to the SAWS immigration status prevent the mobility required to change both work and living conditions and thus resist enclosure.

The rigid conditions of the SAWS enabled a tight and controlled circulation of workers between farms. Workers were only able to switch farms on condition of the availability of work on other farms and receiving suitable references from existing employers. This offered benefits for farmers as it provided opportunities to renew their workforce every three months. The circulation of workers provided only limited opportunities for the creation of social networks and for sharing of information by workers, thus serving to undermine the sense of enclosure experienced by SAWS workers. This finding represents a strong support of Krissmanø (2005) critique of the trend in migration studies which places a significant focus on migrantsø social networks and does so in the absence of, for example, considering the role and influence of employers on the creation of such networks. As demonstrated here, not only do employers influence and control workersø movements and their capacity to develop networks but SAWS operators do so too.

Beyond work and living spaces attention was also given in the thesis to the sites of leisure and consumption inhabited by workers during days off and periods away from the camp. In this thesis, the conceptual approach to the days out experienced by migrants was organised on the notion of ñencountersø Encounters experienced by migrants involved places and people and commodities too. The places visited represented spaces in which identities were affirmed or created ó either as a result of the practices and meanings of consumption or because of perceived or real cultural demarcations as a result of encounters with UK nationals. These became a basis for the construction of difference. The analysis of these spaces provided evidence of how immigration status and nationality can shape both migrantsø own identities and how others perceive them.

Migrant workers used the purchase and later display of goods to shape or confirm identities both in the UK and in migrantsø home countries. Off-farm spaces, such as supermarkets,

car boots and shopping malls provide insights into migrants' consumption practices and attitudes to spending. Such insights highlighted how wage, in being vital for consumption, links the spheres of production and consumption. Migrant workers' choices of consumption further reveal how consumption contributes to the creation of a transnational social field. This happens in two ways, firstly because migrants' purchases of consumables, such as electrical 'white' goods, mobile phones, digital cameras or laptops as well as particular styles and brands of clothing are bought in anticipation of displaying their newly acquired earnings in their home countries. Secondly, food was a site of consumption in which migrant workers sought to demonstrate their national identity. Commodity purchases, like food, served as a foundation in which to anticipate and shape upcoming and future encounters through the display of newly purchased goods.

Venturing away from the farm and the camp revealed a further way in which 'difference' and identity were made. The thesis detailed the incidents and reflections of migrant workers that, I argued, illustrate the racialisation of migrant workers from east and central Europe. For some workers, accents or not being able to speak fluent English became a cultural marker, whereas for others, being a migrant worker formed a core marker of identity. Exclusion was a further outcome of difference. Such exclusion was based on workers not possessing the right type of 'whiteness' and therefore not matching the ideal type that belonging to a rural community necessitates.

The thesis illustrated the processes of racialisation and how racism operates in different contexts. In particular, I drew on an incident from fieldwork in which teenagers hassled migrant workers visiting Tesco's to demonstrate that the performances by migrant workers - of grouping together in the car park, of being speedy in their walking and shopping and of travelling in a white minibus were shaped by their workplace regime - for example, the limited time afforded to their shopping trips as a result of intensive requirements of production, and travelling in a minibus as a result of a lack of accessible public transport and because workers were utilising the transport provided to them as a result of wage deductions. These workplace conditions were in turn, shaped and defined by the conditions attached to the SAWS immigration status. Thus immigration rules and regulations not only

broadly defined a sense of *us* and *them* between British nationals and migrants coming to the UK but also filtered down to shape and impact on everyday lives of horticultural migrant workers at the workplace, in living quarters, and beyond, in spaces of consumption.

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Appendix : Interview Schedule

A: Table showing interview schedule in Ukraine 2006

Interview Number	Gender	Pseudonym	Location	Date	Notes
1	Female	Aneta	University	21/11/06	Salads
2	Male	Sasha	Halls of Residence	22/11/06	
3	Female	Katerina	Halls of Residence	22/11/06	
4	Male	Boris	Halls of Residence	22/11/06	
5	Male	Mykola	Halls of Residence	22/11/06	
6	Female	Klarysa	University	28/11/06	
7	Female	Olena	University	28/11/06	
8	Male	Symon	University	28/11/06	
9	Male	Vasyl	University	28/11/06	
10	Male	Yakiv	University	29/11/06	
11	Female	Marynia	University	30/11/06	
12	Male	Petro	University	30/11/06	
13	Male	Bohdan	University	05/12/06	
14	Male	Dmytro	University	05/12/06	
15	Male	Taras	University	06/12/06	
16	Male	Yakiv	University	06/12/06	
17	Male	Mychajlo	University	06/12/06	
18	Male	Faculty Member	University	23/11/06	Non-student/worker interview

B: Table showing interview schedule on Greenberg Farm 2007

Interview Number	Gender & Nationality	Pseudonym	Location	Date	Notes
1	Male Ukrainian	Jora	My portacabin	30.05.07	
2	Male Ukrainian	Mykola	My portacabin	30.05.07	
3	Male Ukrainian	Vlad	Intervieweeø portacabin	01.06.07	Joint interview with 4
4	Female Ukrainian	Sofia	Intervieweeø portacabin	01.06.07	Joint interview with 3
5	Female Bulgarian	Rosa	Grass outside portacabins	07.06.07	
6	Male Serbian	Goran	My portacabin	09.06.07	
7	Male Bulgarian	Petar	My portacabin	09.06.07	
8	Female Bulgarian	Emiliya	Intervieweeø portacabin	27.06.07	Joint interview with 9, 10
9	Female Bulgarian	Teresa	Intervieweeø portacabin	27.06.07	Joint interview with 8, 10
10	Female Bulgarian	Zhivka	Intervieweeø portacabin	27.06.07	Joint interview with 8, 9
11	Male Bulgarian	Gavril	Intervieweeø portacabin	20.06.07	
12	Female Bulgarian	Silva	My portacabin	27.06.07	
13	Male Bulgarian	Yosaf	Intervieweesø portacabin	27.06.07	Joint interview with 14
14	Male Bulgarian	Zaharai	Intervieweeø portacabin	27.06.07	Joint interview with 13
15	Male Bulgarian	Fillip	My portacabin	27.06.07	
16	Male Bulgarian	Lazar	Intervieweeø portacabin	04.07.07	
17	Male Bulgarian	Yan	My portacabin	03.07.07	

18	Male Bulgarian	Petar	Interviewee's portacabin	04.07.07	
19	Female Ukrainian	Yulina	My portacabin	05.07.07	
20	Female Lithuanian	Morta	Main farm canteen area	06.07.07	
21	Male Polish	Nikola	Main farm Packing area	06.07.07	
22	Male Ukrainian	Danil	Interviewee's portacabin	10.07.07	
23	Male Lithuanian	Andreas	Farm vehicle	20.07.07	
24	Male Polish	Toma	Interviewee's portacabin	11.07.07	
25	Male Polish	Marek	My portacabin	11.07.07	
26	Female Polish	Beata	Vehicle (owed by interviewee's partner)	11.07.07	