

Received: 5 January 2024 Accepted: 28 February 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33182/md.v3i2.3234>

Shifting Shadows of Uncertainty: The Utilitarian Migration and Intersectional Risks Among Moroccan Women Agricultural Workers in Spain During COVID-19

Zakaria Sajir¹

Abstract

This article examines the shift of uncertainty and risk to Moroccan female agricultural workers in Spain during the COVID-19 pandemic, specifically under the GECCO program. It argues that Spain's agricultural policies enforce a precarious labor environment for these women, trading their well-being for global market competitiveness. The study delves into recruitment, working, and living conditions, utilizing theories of intersectionality, risk, migratory utilitarianism, and coloniality of power to highlight how the pandemic amplifies risks along existing lines of inequality, altering patterns of gendered mobility and immobility.

The paper concludes with a call for a profound reassessment of the European agricultural labor model towards fairness and justice. It pushes for a paradigm shift in migration studies to a critical decolonial view that honors the lived experiences of marginalized migrants. This perspective is essential for dismantling oppressive structures and broadening our understanding of migrant experiences.

Keywords: Risk and Uncertainty; Intersectionality; Labour Exploitation; Moroccan Agricultural Workers; Spain

Introduction

The advent of COVID-19 has ushered in a period of profound global upheaval, redefining everyday life and altering the course of international relations. In this context, migration has emerged as a critical area, profoundly affected by the pandemic's far-reaching impacts. As the virus swiftly traversed borders, it brought to the fore the paradoxical nature of migration in the modern world — a world where movement can be both a vector for crisis and a vital response to it.

The pandemic has also cast a spotlight on the deep-rooted immobility faced by women, particularly in conservative societies. Acting as a magnifying glass, COVID-19 has intensified existing gender-based mobility constraints. For instance, in regions like South Asia,

¹ Zakaria Sajir, University of Salamanca, Department of Sociology and Communication, Spain, E-mail: zakaria.sajir@usal.es, ORCID: 0000-0003-4980-7131



longstanding cultural and social norms restricting women's movement have been mirrored and intensified by pandemic-related lockdowns (Datta 2022). This scenario underscores the complex motivations behind women's migration, often driven by a pursuit of autonomy and better opportunities, and highlights how global crises can exacerbate pre-existing societal barriers.

The global health crisis has reignited the debate over globalization, particularly its impact on migration. Seen as a consequence of our interconnected world, the pandemic has highlighted the crucial yet vulnerable position of migrants, especially in key sectors like agriculture. Countries such as Spain and Italy, dependent on migrant labor for agricultural production, have faced challenges in balancing public health with the need to maintain food security. This situation underscores the vital yet often overlooked contribution of migrant workers and the necessity to address their vulnerabilities and rights in these critical times.

In this global context, the experiences of Moroccan women working in Spain's agricultural sector during the pandemic are particularly revealing. These women's situations epitomize the complexities and uncertainties of modern migration, influenced by global crises. Their experiences highlight key aspects such as the reconfiguration of migration motivations, urgencies, and outcomes, and the interplay of privilege, stigma, and the redistribution of risk and uncertainty. This case study provides a unique lens to explore current variables in migration research, encouraging a reevaluation of uncertainty, risk, and the impact of a shifting global order on different migrant profiles.

In essence, this discussion aligns with the emerging discourse on new migration trends, where uncertainty is not just a transient state but a fundamental characteristic of contemporary migration. It invites us to reconsider how uncertain times create risky spaces and influence our exploration of migration, especially in the context of policy responses and migrant experiences during global crises.

This study meticulously examines the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector, a demographic that was at the forefront of complex challenges during the COVID-19 pandemic. The narratives of these women are not merely individual accounts of adversity; they represent a critical intersection of migration, labor, and gender in the context of a global health crisis. Research indicates that these women occupied a paradoxical role—indispensable for food production, yet disproportionately subjected to exploitative labor conditions and amplified inequalities (Montenegro 2020; Kohan 2020; Perez Maestro 2020; Arab 2020). Their experiences not only epitomize the broader dilemmas faced by migrant labor in European agriculture but also highlight the imperative for reevaluating prevailing agricultural production models. Moreover, their stories underscore the necessity for a transformative approach in migration studies, advocating for a paradigm shift in knowledge production to more effectively understand and address the complexities of migration in an ever-evolving global landscape.

The primary objective of this research is to critically examine the accelerated transfer of uncertainty and risk from native populations to migrant workers during the pandemic, with a focus on Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector. This investigation delves into the heightened vulnerabilities these women faced amidst the crisis, exploring how their motivations, urgencies, and mobility outcomes were reshaped by the pandemic. This study



aims to reveal the pivotal role of this demographic in balancing the domestic food supply needs against their own increased exposure to risk and uncertainty.

By incorporating insights from diverse theoretical perspectives, including intersectionality, risk theory, migratory utilitarianism, and coloniality of power, this article sheds light on how crises such as COVID-19 intensify and redistribute risks and uncertainties across established lines of inequality and vulnerability, thereby reshaping gendered (im)mobility patterns. This research provides a nuanced exploration of how structural imbalances in the agricultural sector, the uneven power dynamics between origin and destination countries, and the distinctive circumstances of the COVID-19 crisis collectively influence the motivations, urgencies, and outcomes of migration.

In alignment with the scholarly trend of examining migration mobilities through the lens of risk and uncertainty (Zinn 2021), this study investigates how new forms of risks and uncertainties are disproportionately allocated to specific social categories within intersectional dimensions of vulnerability and inequality. This approach offers a nuanced perspective on the multifaceted risks encountered by Moroccan women in the agricultural sector, addressing a spectrum of challenges that encompass various emotional, health, and socio-economic aspects. The study underscores how these varied risks, both new and exacerbated by the pandemic, are transferred from the general population to these vulnerable groups, shaping their uncertain (im)mobilities and redefining their experiences in the agricultural sector. This exploration not only contributes to the understanding of the complexities surrounding migrant experiences but also underscores the need for a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to addressing the challenges and inequities structurally faced by migrant workers.

This article unfolds in three key sections. Section 2 establishes the theoretical underpinnings by exploring risk, uncertainty, intersectionality, and migratory utilitarianism. Section 3 delves into the lived experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector, employing the theoretical framework to examine recruitment, work, and living conditions. The final section brings together the insights discussed, offering reflections and lessons learned from this comprehensive analysis.

2. Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

2.1 Risk and Uncertainty in Migration

The concepts of risk and uncertainty, integral to understanding modern society dynamics, are particularly vital in migration contexts. Beck's (1993) notion of the 'risk society' highlights the increased awareness and management of risks and insecurities emanating from industrialization and globalization. This framework is pivotal in comprehending the heightened sense of threat and uncertainty faced by migrants, especially evident in crisis situations like the COVID-19 pandemic. Risk and uncertainty are deeply entwined with the nature of migration. As Williams and Baláz (2012) note, these concepts inform and are shaped by migration, impacting decisions and experiences at individual, community, national, and global levels. This interplay is seen across various migration types, including refugees, regular or irregular migrants, and asylum seekers, throughout the migration process (Sajir and Aouragh 2019).

The COVID-19 pandemic has vividly illustrated the intricate interplay of risk and uncertainty in migration. Lupton (2021) and Zinn (2021) have shed light on the broader societal responses to health crises, underscoring how such events amplify fear, anxiety, and uncertainty. For migrants, these dynamics are further intensified, confronting them with not only health risks but also socio-cultural stigmatization and increased vulnerabilities, as they often become the center of societal anxieties during such crises (Ruiz Andrés & Sajir, 2023; Burns et al. 2021).

The experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector during the pandemic poignantly underscore the theoretical concepts of risk and uncertainty. This case study demonstrates the transfer of multiple forms of risks and uncertainties from the general Spanish population to a specific migrant group. Various studies have documented how the pandemic not only increased these women's exposure to health risks but also intensified their socio-cultural and economic uncertainties (Montenegro 2020; Suhardiman et al. 2020). This situation provides a vivid example of how crises disrupt migrant mobility and create new inequalities, offering crucial insights into migration dynamics in times of global crises. Through their experiences, the intricate relationship between risk, uncertainty, and migration becomes evident, highlighting the necessity of understanding these factors in the broader context of migrant vulnerabilities and rights.

In this context, the theoretical frameworks of risk and uncertainty provide essential lenses to understand the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector. They help to elucidate how these women navigate the heightened risks and uncertainties brought about by the pandemic, shedding light on the broader dynamics of migration in times of global crises.

2.2 Intersectionality in Migration Studies

Intersectionality, originating from feminist theory, is integral to migration studies for analyzing complex social dynamics. It is particularly crucial in understanding the experiences of specific groups, such as Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector during the COVID-19 pandemic. This concept elucidates how intersecting social and identity factors, like gender and ethnicity, shape experiences of oppression and privilege (Crenshaw, 1989). Its application provides profound insights into the multifaceted realities faced by migrants, especially during global crises.

Olofsson et al. (2014) highlight the significance of merging risk theory with intersectionality, arguing that such an integration enriches the understanding of how risk interacts with various forms of social inequality. This perspective is vital in migration studies, as it allows for a nuanced exploration of how migrants experience risk and uncertainty through the prisms of gender, race, class, and other social categorizations.

The concepts of 'zone of being' and 'zone of non-being,' as well as the notion of 'abyssal line,' further deepen the understanding of intersectionality in migration. Derived from the works of Fanon (1967) and de Sousa Santos (2007; 2010), these concepts demarcate the divisions in racial and ethnic hierarchies, affecting how intersectional oppressions are experienced differently across the globe. In the 'zone of being' (above the abyssal line), individuals experience racial privilege and conflicts are managed through regulation and emancipation, representing a state of perpetual peace with occasional war. Conversely, in the 'zone of non-being' (below the abyssal line), where individuals are dehumanized and seen as subhuman due



to their racialized inferiority, conflicts are predominantly managed through violence and appropriation, signifying perpetual war with rare moments of peace (for more details see Grosfoguel et al., 2015). This stark contrast highlights the differential treatment and recognition of humanity across these zones. In the zone of non-being, the lack of recognition for the humanity of others leads to the legitimization of extreme acts of violence and dispossession, creating a scenario of continuous conflict and exploitation. This understanding is pivotal for migration studies, as it provides insights into how different global contexts uniquely shape intersectional experiences, especially for marginalized groups like Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Rodó-Zárate's (2014) concept of 'geographies of intersectionality' adds another layer, by showing how intersectional inequalities are not only socially but also spatially and temporally constructed. This approach is particularly relevant in migration studies, as it highlights how the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain are shaped by their specific geographic, temporal, and social contexts.

The incorporation of intersectionality in migration studies is exemplified in the research of scholars like Mancini (2021) and Güell (2022), who offer critical insights into the challenges faced by migrants during the COVID-19 pandemic. Mancini's study reveals the varying intensities of risk and social inequalities in Argentina, particularly affecting women, the elderly, and middle classes. This research underscores the pandemic's embedding within broader social structures and its intersection with structural inequalities. Güell's analysis in Spain's agricultural sector focuses on Moroccan women under the GECCO program,² highlighting how intertwined axes of inequality like motherhood, ethnicity, and rural origin exacerbate discrimination and exploitation. These studies collectively emphasize the importance of intersectionality in understanding the diverse and complex migrant experiences during global crises, especially the layered vulnerabilities of specific groups like Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector.

Ultimately, the integration of intersectionality into migration studies, particularly when aligned with risk theory and concepts like the 'zone of non-being,' offers vital insights into the complexities of migrant experiences. This comprehensive approach illuminates the intricate interplay of multiple identity factors, including gender, ethnicity, and social class, revealing how they shape vulnerabilities and realities in different contexts. Such an intersectional lens is indispensable for a thorough understanding of groups like Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector, whose experiences during crises like the COVID-19 pandemic are profoundly influenced by their position within these intersecting identities and their placement in the 'zone of non-being.' This framework not only highlights the challenges they face but also underscores the importance of addressing these complexities in migration policies and research, ensuring that the unique circumstances of marginalized groups are adequately recognized and addressed.

2.3 Migration Utilitarianism in Times of Crisis

Migration utilitarianism, as conceptualized by Morice (2001), complements the theoretical framework of risk and uncertainty and intersectionality. This concept examines the tendency

² Organic Law 2/2009 renamed the programme for hiring in the country of origin as "Gestión colectiva de contrataciones en origen", with the acronym GECCO commonly used to refer to it.

of states and employers to reduce migration to its economic utility, viewing migrants primarily as economic actors. In the context of Moroccan women employed in Spain's agricultural sector, migration utilitarianism sheds light on the economic motivations behind their employment and the associated risks and vulnerabilities, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. This approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of how the economic utility of migrants intersects with their gendered experiences of risk and uncertainty, contributing to a deeper understanding of their uncertain (im)mobilities.

Sayad's (2010, p. 252) insights into migration utilitarianism highlight the migrant's primary existence in the economic realm, encapsulated in the phrase 'the immigrant exists only for work, in work, and through work.' This notion, central to State Thought, is vividly exemplified in the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector during the pandemic. Their situation, where economic utility underscores their employment amid worsening conditions, underlines the utilitarian approach towards migration, emphasizing its economic motivations and the resultant heightened vulnerabilities. Sayad's analysis critically illuminates the gap between the economic utility of migrants and the social implications of their presence. This dichotomy becomes stark in crises like pandemics, where the economic value of migrants is prioritized, often at the expense of their well-being and safety. This utilitarian view of migration, focusing mainly on economic contributions, heightens during such periods, revealing a tension between the economic imperatives of states and employers and the health and safety of migrants. This tension is particularly evident in the case of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector, where their crucial economic role is juxtaposed against increased vulnerabilities and challenging working conditions.

The exploitation of migrant labor, as an outcome of migration utilitarianism, is shaped by state policies and regulatory frameworks. This approach leads to conditions where migrants, particularly in sectors like agriculture and construction, are prone to exploitation. State actions or inactions create an environment where economic utility overshadows the well-being of migrants, deepening their vulnerability to exploitation Boufkhed et al. (2022), Fernández García et al. (2023), and Sajir et al. (2022). This pattern is evident in the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector, as documented in studies like those by Arab (2020) and Zeneidi (2017), where economic imperatives are prioritized over migrant rights and safety.

Building on the notion of migration utilitarianism, Décosse and Hedio's (2022) comparative study illuminates its contemporary manifestations through the analysis of temporary migration programs like France's OFII contracts and Spain's GECCO. These programs, characterized by their utilitarian approach, are designed to manage foreign workers in a temporary migration framework. The authors reveal how these programs strike a balance between the needs of seasonal employment and the economic conditions in the migrants' home countries. Their work highlights the gendered nature of these programs and how they perpetuate a cycle of temporary, economically driven migration, often at odds with the long-term well-being and rights of the migrant workers involved. Their findings offer critical insights into the structural dynamics of migration utilitarianism, particularly in the context of labor exploitation and the challenges faced by migrant workers in sectors reliant on temporary, circulatory labor forces. Décosse and Hedio's study delves into the socio-historical evolution of temporary migration programs (TMPs), such as France's OFII contracts and Spain's GECCO. Their analysis defines TMPs as key examples of migration utilitarianism, rooted in



historical and conceptual frameworks that have evolved over time. The study highlights how these programs, intricately linked to familial ties, not only facilitate the circulation of migrant labor but also contribute to the externalization of social costs associated with intensive agricultural production. This genealogical approach offers critical insights into how TMPs, while serving economic needs, lead to familial separations and reflect broader trends of temporality and economic exploitation in migrant labor management. Décosse and Hellio's research further unravels the shifting landscape of temporary migration programs, shedding light on the gradual erosion of the paternalistic 'double dependency' model. Their insights reveal a growing diversification in the statuses and profiles of migrant agricultural workers, challenging the long-held views on the feasibility and ethicality of maintaining strictly temporary migration. This evolution underlines the complexities within migration utilitarianism, questioning the effectiveness of these programs in managing migratory flows while safeguarding migrant rights and legal protections. This critical examination exposes the underlying illusions of such systems and their global implications, particularly in terms of ethical considerations and the practical realities of temporary migration.

The stark reality of migration utilitarianism was vividly demonstrated during the COVID-19 pandemic. This crisis highlighted the increased reliance on migrant labor in critical sectors, simultaneously magnifying the vulnerabilities faced by these workers. The situation of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector is a prime example. Despite their essential economic role, they encountered heightened risks and deteriorating conditions. This scenario reflects the core of migration utilitarianism as conceptualized by Sayad, where migrants' economic contributions are valued over their human rights and well-being, revealing a structural and often exploitative approach to migration management during times of crisis.

Sayad's analysis is essential for understanding the dual nature of migration under migration utilitarianism, especially amidst crises like the COVID-19 pandemic. This framework reflects State Thought and the creation of non-being zones, with vulnerable groups such as Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector facing compounded oppressions. The economic utility of immigrants, accentuated during crises, is determined by the labor market needs of the destination country for cheap labour. Meanwhile, origin countries leverage emigrants in multi-faceted agreements encompassing employment, migration control, trade and security, which position migrants as bargaining devices in complex negotiations, demonstrating how migration utilitarianism operates beyond single-state dimensions (Sajir 2021). As Molinero-Gerbeau (2020) observes, the bilateral agreements signed between Spain and Morocco under the GECCO framework have undoubtedly strengthened the relations between the two signatory countries. This can bring multiple benefits in terms of geopolitical and strategic aspects. For some countries of origin, like Morocco, the benefits have materialised in the form of substantial sums of money, such as the funds from the EU to develop the AENEAS programme, which provides financial and technical assistance to third countries in the areas of migration and asylum.

However, it is fundamental to consider that these agreements between core and periphery states and semi-periphery that revolves around the utility of the migrant, do not happen in a vacuum but are embedded post-colonial asymmetries (Hellio and Moreno Nieto 2017) that pushes women from rural areas in Morocco to live their existence into "non-being zones" enduring violence and oppression in Spain. As we have seen earlier, the concept of zones of non-being (below the abyssal line) delve into the racial and ethnic hierarchies that influence

intersectional oppressions experienced differently across the globe. In Quijano's 'coloniality of power' perspective (2000), racism is seen as an organizing principle of the international division of labor and power hierarchies. This perspective reveals how colonial racism continues to produce zones of being and non-being on a world scale, crucial for understanding migration experiences in the spatial and temporal dimensions in the destination country already shaped by colonial histories and racial power relations.

Apart the dimensions of migration utilitarianism described above, the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector are deeply rooted in Spain's colonial and neocolonial history with Northern Africa. Originating from regions like the Moroccan Rif, a former Spanish colony, these women are emblematic of what Grosfoguel et al. (2015) term 'Colonial/racial subjects of empire.' Their migration and labor in Spain are not isolated phenomena but are entwined with historical colonial legacies, shaping their current realities. This background, combined with ongoing gender, class, and racial discriminations, reveals the profound structural dynamics influencing their experiences. Their situation in Spain's agricultural sector is a direct outcome of these enduring colonial relations, situating them in a complex web of historical and contemporary power hierarchies.

This section's exploration, incorporating risk theory, intersectionality, coloniality of power, and migration utilitarianism, is more than an academic exercise; it's a cohesive theoretical framework to unravel the complexities faced in real life by Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector. These women's experiences are not just shaped by their immediate economic utility but also by a complex set of historical, social, and political factors. Their status as 'Colonial/racial subjects of empire' in a post-colonial context adds layers of vulnerability and inequality, profoundly affecting their lived experiences. This integrated approach aids in understanding how various forms of risks – including health, subjective, emotional, political, and material – are not only constructed but also disproportionately transferred to this vulnerable group, culminating in unique forms of gendered (im)mobilities. This complex interplay of factors demands an in-depth understanding, as we will explore further in the next section.

3. Case Study: Moroccan Agricultural Workers in Spain

3.1 Operational Dynamics During the Pandemic

The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020 significantly altered the operational dynamics of Spain's GECCO program, a crucial element of its agricultural labor management (Molinero-Gerbeau, 2020; 2021). Sudden and stringent lockdown measures prompted urgent concerns about sustaining the EU's agricultural labor force. Key among these concerns was the closure of borders, a vital issue that threatened to disrupt the movement and employment of foreign agricultural workers, who play an essential role in the sector (Sajir et al., 2022).

In direct response to the labor challenges posed by the pandemic, Italy and Spain rapidly enacted policies to protect their agricultural workforce. Notably, these included mass regularizations, a critical step to secure employment for workers who might otherwise face job loss due to irregular status. Concurrently, the European Union took significant measures to ensure the internal mobility of these workers, thereby sustaining the continuity of agricultural activities even under the strict pandemic restrictions. This swift policy response



was crucial in maintaining the essential operations within the agricultural sector during an unprecedented crisis (Sajir et al., 2022; Molinero-Gerbeau, 2021).

The pandemic's progression brought critical systemic issues in the agricultural sector to the forefront. Media coverage exposed the plight of many essential workers, particularly their substandard living conditions, including inadequate housing and limited access to basic amenities like clean water and electricity. These revelations spurred discussions on 'exploitation' within the sector, focusing on poor remuneration and harsh working environments faced by these workers. Such conditions, widely reported, underscored the need for a more humane approach to labor management in agriculture (Sajir et al., 2022; Molinero-Gerbeau, 2021; Fernández García et al., 2023).

The pandemic's resurgence, as highlighted by Molinero-Gerbeau (2021), intensified the challenges within the agricultural sector, particularly emphasizing the health risks arising from poor living conditions. These conditions, often overcrowded and lacking basic amenities, became fertile grounds for COVID-19 outbreaks among workers. This situation underscored two key structural problems in the European agricultural model, especially in countries like Spain and Italy: an over-reliance on foreign labor and the unacceptable living and working conditions faced by these workers. The pandemic thereby amplified the health vulnerabilities of these migrant workers, further complicating their already demanding working conditions in the sector (Sajir et al., 2022).

The global spread of the COVID-19 crisis not only brought to light but also intensified long-standing structural issues within the global agri-food system, particularly in southern Europe's intensive agriculture models (Abril, 2020). These persistent challenges, such as the heavy reliance on foreign, often cheap labor and the inadequate living and working conditions, have been a feature of the EU's agricultural sector for decades. The pandemic has further highlighted these chronic problems, emphasizing the need for systemic change in agricultural practices and policies (Sajir et al., 2022; Molinero-Gerbeau, 2021). The research by Kotsila and Argüelles (2023), employing an intersectionality perspective, underscores the complexity of these issues. Their study on the Lleida region in Spain reveals a troubling paradox: agricultural workers, deemed 'essential', were nevertheless often treated as dispensable – a clear reflection of the underlying principles of migratory utilitarianism. This contradiction between their essential status and expendable treatment underscores deeper issues in the agricultural labor system. The subsequent section will explore a key aspect of this system, specifically focusing on the progressive feminization of labor within Spain's GECCO program, a trend that has significant implications for understanding the dynamics of labor and gender in the context of agricultural work.

3.1.1 Feminization of Agricultural Work

In understanding the dynamics of Spain's GECCO program, it is pivotal to recognize the feminization of agricultural work as a key factor. This phenomenon, shaped by the increasing participation of migrant women in Western labor markets, has significantly altered the landscape of agricultural labor in Spain and Italy. The feminization of agricultural work has been influenced by both the economic and social crisis in the countries of origin and the demand for female and migrant labor in specific niches of the destination societies (Reigada, 2011; Gualda, 2012).

In the Spanish context, the role of women as pioneers in migratory chains has been particularly prominent, not only in sectors like care and domestic work but also in seasonal agricultural work. The GECCO program, in this regard, has been instrumental in facilitating the influx of female workers, primarily from Morocco, for seasonal agricultural jobs. This shift towards employing women in these roles can be attributed to certain stereotyped feminine skills and traits, such as delicateness and obedience, which were deemed most suited for such work (Gualda, 2012; Güell, 2022).

Initially, the program predominantly recruited Eastern European women, but as these countries joined the EU and their citizens gained full rights, the focus shifted back to Morocco. This strategic shift underscores how gender intersects with administrative vulnerability and post-colonial conditions to produce flexibility in labor recruitment for Spain's agricultural sector (Güell, 2022).

The process of feminization in agricultural labor is not merely a response to labor demands but also encompasses a transnational dimension. Women engaged in circular migration manage material, affective, and symbolic resources across two territorial settings, highlighting the intersection of productive and reproductive spheres in their lives (Moreno, 2012; Güell, 2022).

Looking ahead to the next section, it is crucial to consider how these dynamics of feminization and transnational labor management played out before and during the pandemic. This will involve examining the recruitment process in Morocco, the alteration of working conditions due to the pandemic, and the living conditions which have significant implications for both physical and mental health. This analysis will offer insights into the challenges faced by these women in navigating the complexities of agricultural labor in a pandemic-stricken world, setting the stage for a comprehensive exploration of their experiences during this unprecedented time by employing the conceptual and theoretical tools presented in the previous section.

3.2 The recruitment, working conditions and housing conditions of Moroccan women before and during the COVID-19 pandemic

3.2.1 Recruitment Process in Morocco

The GECCO program particularly spotlights the recruitment of Moroccan women for temporary agricultural roles. This recruitment is a distinctive manifestation of migration utilitarianism, reflecting a multifaceted intersection of gender, ethnicity, class, age, rural origin, cultural background, and, notably, motherhood. These intersecting factors coalesce to form a unique worker profile, ideally suited to the specific production needs of Spain's agricultural sector. While aspects like gender, class, and ethnicity have long been considerations (as seen with Maghrebian men and Eastern European women), motherhood has become a pivotal criterion in the case of Moroccan women. This emphasis establishes a systemic nexus between their productive roles in Spain and reproductive responsibilities in Morocco, ensuring their return to their home country and thereby maintaining the workforce's circularity (Güell, 2022; López-Sala & Godenau, 2015).



Molinero-Gerbeau (2020) highlights the dual nature of the GECCO program: while offering essential employment to those in precarious situations, particularly in Morocco, it also cements Spain's geopolitical leverage. The unilateral determination of recruitment quotas by Spain underscores a distinct imbalance in power, with Morocco often relegated to a subordinate role. This power asymmetry not only shapes the recruitment dynamics but also predisposes Moroccan workers to vulnerability, especially when programmatic changes arise. This situation exemplifies the complex interplay of geopolitical interests and labor rights within international labor recruitment practices.

Over the years, the recruitment criteria within GECCO have been refined, especially in response to high rates of 'escapes' in the program's early years. This refinement led to the prioritization of women with children, linked to other characteristics such as rural origin, an age range of 25-45 years, limited socioeconomic resources, and minimal education. This focus on motherhood, combined with cultural and religious aspects, shapes a labor pool with limited resources to confront situations of abuse and exploitation. Hellio (2017) emphasizes that understanding the productive role of Moroccan women in Spain requires considering their reproductive role in Morocco, as this familial responsibility ensures their eventual return.

The COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 severely disrupted the GECCO program, with border closures impacting the recruitment and mobility of these workers. This disruption highlighted the sector's dependence on temporary worker schemes and the challenges in finding viable alternatives without questioning the current agricultural model's foundations. Efforts by the Spanish government to manage the situation during the crisis underscored the complex logistics of maintaining the program in a pandemic context (Güell, 2022).

In summary, the recruitment practices under the GECCO program, especially during the pandemic, highlight the intricate interplay of socio-economic and geopolitical factors. These practices, characterized by migration utilitarianism, not only shape the experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector but also reflect broader themes of global labor migration, gender dynamics, and vulnerabilities of migrant workers in times of crisis (Güell & Garces-Mascareñas, 2020; Molinero-Gerbeau, 2020; López-Sala & Godenau, 2015; Hellio, 2017).

3.2.2 Work Conditions During the Pandemic

As mentioned above, the pandemic brought additional layers of uncertainty and risk, that intensified existing structural issues in Spain's agricultural sector, particularly affecting Moroccan women engaged in seasonal harvesting. Long subjected to exploitative labor conditions, abuse, and racism, these workers' plight gained significant attention around 2018, highlighting the intersection of gender, migration, and corporate human rights abuses. The pandemic underscored and exacerbated these challenges, laying bare the systemic problems within certain business models that perpetuate labor exploitation in the sector (Molinero-Gerbeau, 2021).

The recruitment process in Morocco, a part of this systemic issue, often involved misleading contractual terms. Workers were supposed to be employed full-time for at least 75% of their contract duration, with allowances for non-working days under specific conditions. In practice, however, they were employed under contracts allowing employers to adjust workdays based on productivity and behavior. This practice left workers uncertain about their work

schedules and job security. The trial period, officially 15 days, was sometimes extended to a month, adding to the precariousness (Güell, 2022). Many workers did not receive a contract copy, or if they did, it often differed from what was promised in Morocco. They could not change jobs without governmental permission, leaving them vulnerable if dismissed or deregistered before their visa expired. This vulnerability was heightened by the debts incurred for traveling to Spain, making voluntary return less viable and increasing the risk of falling into human trafficking networks. Additionally, reductions in working days or early dismissals meant sending fewer remittances home, contradicting the principle of co-development in circular migration (Güell, 2022). During the pandemic, conditions worsened. Workers experienced increased stress due to reduced labor demand. Some had to work extra hours, including double shifts, while others worried about reduced work during extended stays in Spain. Mobility restrictions further compounded their challenges, especially for those living in isolated areas, making it difficult to access towns for basic needs like food (Castillero, 2020).

Apart from these labor challenges, Moroccan women faced additional abuses due to their gender. Incidents of sexual harassment and abuse have been reported and confirmed in studies, with legal complaints in 2018 highlighting the severity of these issues. These abuses are just the tip of the iceberg, beneath which lie other forms of symbolic violence. Mechanisms like the Ethic, Labour, and Social Responsibility Plan of the employers' association Interfresa were created to address these issues, but their effectiveness remains questionable (Güell and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2020; Güell, 2022). The state's refusal to legalize the already resident population has led to a system of labor servitude. Migrant women, especially those in irregular situations, face additional challenges: lack of accommodation, legal protection, and increased police scrutiny. These issues are not just about the distinction between local and foreign labor but also involve the conditions faced by migrants due to their irregular status (Castillero, 2021). In this context, the exploitation of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector is not an isolated incident but a manifestation of migration utilitarianism. The state's policies, or lack thereof, create an environment conducive to exploitation in critical sectors like agriculture, perpetuating migrant vulnerability in both formal and informal labor markets (Boufkhed et al., 2022; Fernández García et al., 2023; Sajir et al., 2022).

Yet, it is crucial to acknowledge that Moroccan women in Spain's GECCO program are active agents, not merely passive victims. The legal complaints filed in 2018 marked a significant shift, directly challenging the foundational principles of the recruitment program, once praised as an ethical model of migration. These legal actions, along with instances of women escaping the program, symbolize a form of resistance and a critique of the system's failings. Despite facing heightened risks and uncertainties, these women's roles as breadwinners in the migration process have led to notable shifts in gender roles, social mobility, and empowerment upon their return to Morocco. Their resilience and agency, even in the face of daunting challenges, underscore a narrative of strength and the potential for positive change in gender dynamics both in the countries of origin and destination (Zeneidi, 2017; Hellio and Moreno, 2021).

These work conditions, characterized by exploitation and violence, position Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector within the 'zone of non-being,' a concept elucidated by Grosfoguel et al. (2015) and grounded in the theories of Fanon (1967) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007, 2010). This zone, transcending geographical boundaries, represents positions within racial power relations that span globally and manifest locally against racially



marginalized groups. Situated below the 'abyssal line' as described by de Sousa Santos, these women confront a reality where traditional codes of law and human rights are often disregarded, replaced by a regime of violence and exploitation akin to internal colonialism. This structural marginalization subjects them to heightened administrative and physical risks, leading to uncertain transnational and domestic gendered (im)mobilities. As they navigate these oppressive conditions, they embody the lived experiences of those existing below the line of the human, managed not through mechanisms of regulation and emancipation, but through persistent violence and exploitation. This dehumanizing environment, thus, starkly contrasts with the relative stability and legal protections found above this abyssal line. The ensuing section will delve deeper into the housing and living conditions of these workers during the pandemic, further illuminating their realities within this complex socio-economic and racial landscape.

3.2.3 Housing and Living Conditions: Health and Safety Concerns, and Social Conditions and Support Systems

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the already precarious living conditions of Moroccan agricultural workers in Spain significantly deteriorated. Classified as "essential workers" by the Spanish Government, these workers, particularly the Moroccan women, found themselves in a heightened state of vulnerability due to the border closure between Spain and Morocco on March 12, 2020. The burden of harvesting fell on a significantly smaller number of workers than required, with only 7,028 Moroccan women available for the task, far less than the usual workforce needed (Márquez Tejón & Wilson, 2020).

The pandemic underscored the intersection of health status with social divisions. Several Moroccan women, already dealing with chronic illnesses, faced exacerbated health conditions due to the stress of COVID-19 and the challenges in accessing medical care. The lockdown complicated access to healthcare services, with language barriers and limited transportation options further impeding medical assistance. The absence of translation services during healthcare provision and restricted access to medical aid centers, unless for severe COVID-19 symptoms, left many to endure their illnesses alone (Güell, 2022).

The housing conditions under the GECCO program have long raised concerns, with reports like Hernández (2018) indicating that 30% of lodgings for Moroccan women failed to meet minimum living standards, plagued by dampness, overcrowding, and inadequate facilities. The pandemic exacerbated these issues, transforming shared, cramped spaces into hotspots for health risks and impeding effective quarantine or anti-COVID measures. Beyond the physical conditions, the pandemic intensified the control over Moroccan women's mobility and personal lives, as noted by Güell (2022). This control, extending from the workplace into their living spaces, reflects a broader pattern of exploitation and gendered discrimination, resonating with Angeles Ramirez's (2015) work on the hyper-regulation of Muslim women's bodies. This framework of totalizing management of their bodies and mobilities signifies a deeper racial and sexual domination, manifested not only in overt violations like sexual harassment but also in subtle practices such as mobility restrictions and passport retention.

The lived experiences of Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector during the pandemic, as they navigated these oppressive conditions beyond the work dimension, confirms that their existence in the "zones of non-being" (Grosfoguel et al. 2015). This existence is marked by racial and gender-based power geometries, where state-supported migration utilitarianism,

especially during shock events like the pandemic, legitimizes the transfer of risks from local populations to these intersectionally vulnerable groups. Such dynamics lead to gendered uncertain (im)mobilities, compelling Moroccan women into heightened states of vulnerability and uncertainty, particularly evident when they were trapped in Spain due to border closures instigated by their country of origin. These conditions underscore the "inferiority" and "disposability" of their bodies and existences as "colonial racial/subjects of empire," reinforcing power geometries articulated through sexism and racism. This systemic exploitation and the miserable living conditions they endure, both prior to and exacerbated by the pandemic, manifest as concrete examples of their existence in zones of non-being.

In 2020, the official instruction to guarantee housing for GECCO workers until their return home brought to light issues around pregnancy and illness. With an extension of visas until July, there was a significant increase in the number of pregnant women, births, and health-related issues among these workers. The majority of housing arrangements were not equipped for mothers and babies, necessitating their relocation to shelters or separate spaces within existing lodgings. This situation reveals how the condition of motherhood, a requisite for production in the GECCO program, paradoxically undermines the very system of migratory utilitarianism it aims to support (Güell, 2022).

Gender roles and ideologies, transported from rural Morocco to rural Spain, reinforce inequalities at the intersection of spatial and post-colonial contexts. This dynamic leads to the stigmatization of becoming a mother in Spain, associating it with illegitimate sexual practices and further objectifying women in the service of economic demands (Arab, 2020; Helligo & Moreno, 2017).

In summary, the housing and living conditions of Moroccan agricultural workers during the COVID-19 pandemic reveal a complex interplay of health risks, social isolation, and systemic exploitation. These conditions, situated within the broader context of migration utilitarianism and intersecting inequalities, demonstrate the urgent need for comprehensive reforms to address the deep-rooted issues in Spain's agricultural sector. The experiences of these women, while fraught with challenges, also highlight their resilience and agency in navigating and resisting these oppressive structures.

4. Final Reflections and Lessons Learnt

The European agricultural landscape, particularly in Spain, is underpinned by a labor model marked by precariousness and exploitation. Essential to southern Europe's competitiveness in global agricultural markets, this model relies on providing poorly compensated jobs to economically disadvantaged individuals, a key factor in maintaining low production costs and market viability (Molinero-Gerbeau, 2021; Sajir et al., 2021). Notably, the Spanish agricultural sector's exploitative paradigm, exemplified by the GECCO program, has deep historical roots, dating back to the inception of agricultural labor recruitment initiatives two decades ago. These initiatives, particularly through GECCO, annually target Moroccan female workers — often young, single or widowed mothers from rural areas — with the objective of ensuring their return to Morocco after employment. This specific recruitment strategy not only addresses labor needs but also intertwines the women's identities as caregivers with their labor roles, embedding them in a complex nexus of gender, racial, and class relations (Molinero-Gerbeau, 2020; Castillero, 2021; Arab, 2020).



By focusing on female seasonal work, and specifically on the case of Moroccan women employed both regularly and irregularly in the Spanish agricultural sector through the GECCO program, this article has illuminated the intricate mechanisms through which risk is socially constructed, maintained and transferred from the general population to this vulnerable social category, shaping their transnational patterns of uncertain gendered (im)mobilities. These cannot be fully comprehended without a thorough examination of the social positioning of Moroccan women within the power and labor structure of GECCO. Their positioning is intricately woven through various axes of inequality, discrimination and exploitation that intersect across their identities and experiences, underscoring the profound systemic disparities inherent in centre-periphery relationships.

The GECCO program's recruitment practices demonstrate institutional intersectional discrimination, particularly targeting Moroccan women who are predominantly middle-aged, from rural areas, and bearing family responsibilities. These women are selected to fit a hierarchical power structure conducive to exploitation, intertwining motherhood with socio-demographic factors to create a profile easily subjected to employer control (Castillero, 2021). This dynamic transcends labor phenomena, reflecting deeper socio-cultural and gendered discriminations faced by Moroccan women both in their home country and in Spain. The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic has further accentuated these existing vulnerabilities and inequalities. The health crisis not only strained the exploitative agricultural model but also introduced additional risks, especially regarding health and economic stability. This situation highlights the transfer of risks from the broader population to specific vulnerable groups, a process intensified by existing inequalities and power imbalances, thereby exacerbating the complexities and multifaceted nature of their exploitation.

In Spain, the Moroccan women working under the GECCO program endure particularly harsh working and living conditions, marked by a spectrum of exploitation. Their reliance on employers for contract renewal exposes them to various abuses, such as underpayment, unstable work environments, and sexual harassment. This predicament reflects a broader context of gendered and racialized dominance, controlling their mobility and personal autonomy, as highlighted by Güell (2022) and Hellio (2017).

The COVID-19 pandemic, as illuminated through Rodó-Zarate's (2021) 'geographies of intersectionality', has exposed and intensified the specific forms of discrimination and exploitation faced by Moroccan women in Spain's agricultural sector. This crisis not only brought new dimensions of inequality, such as health status, to the fore but also highlighted how systemic inequalities from Morocco are mirrored and exacerbated in Spain. In this context, the GECCO program's role becomes evident. Rooted in (post)colonial ties between Spain and Morocco, it perpetuates traditional gender ideologies across borders, fostering a utilitarian approach that prioritizes economic benefits over workers' rights and well-being. This transnational exploitation masks the exploitative and marginalizing reality under the guise of mutual benefit, reinforcing vulnerabilities in both productive and reproductive spheres.

The plight of Moroccan female seasonal workers in Spain's agricultural sector, as analyzed in this study, is emblematic of systemic inequalities and power imbalances deeply entrenched in European agricultural practices. These workers' experiences of uncertain (im)mobilities and exploitation are not mere isolated incidents but reflect the broader context of migration, labor, and globalization, characterized by gendered, racialized, and class-based dynamics. This

situation, exacerbated by crisis events, highlights the urgent need for a critical reevaluation and restructuring of the structures and policies governing temporary labor migration. The sustainability of current practices, as questioned by Molinero-Gerbeau (2021) and Sajir et al. (2021), demands a reimagining of the European agricultural model. Such a transformation is essential to prevent the ongoing exploitation of migrant workers and to promote equitable and just approaches that uphold the dignity and rights of all workers, thereby addressing these deep-rooted systemic issues.

In migration studies, a paradigm shift towards critical decolonial thinking is imperative, as highlighted by Grosfoguel et al. (2015) and Dahinden and Anderson (2021). This approach values the epistemologies of marginalized and subaltern groups, challenging Eurocentric perspectives and addressing the systemic issues of discrimination, xenophobia, and racism often overlooked in traditional academic discourse. It's essential not only to amplify all subaltern voices but to specifically foster those offering critical insights into the geopolitics of knowledge, thereby deconstructing the power structures that oppress migrants. This decolonial methodology, moving beyond simplistic anti-colonial stances, calls for a nuanced engagement with migrant experiences and a critical analysis of power dynamics in colonial and post-colonial contexts. The COVID-19 pandemic's revelations about uncertain mobilities underscore the urgency of this shift, urging academia to transcend methodological nationalism and embrace a cosmopolitan approach (Beck 2009; Zinn 2021), enriching migration studies with diverse, critical perspectives and fostering a more equitable and inclusive academic discourse.

Bibliography

- Abril, G. (2020, July 12). Jornaleros de la pandemia. *El País*. https://elpais.com/elpais/2020/07/08/eps/1594218155_607566.html
- Arab, C. (2020). *Las señoras de la fresa. La invisibilidad de las temporeras marroquíes en España*. Madrid: Ediciones del Mediterráneo.
- Beck, U. (1993). *Risk Society*. London: Sage.
- Beck, U. (2009). *World at Risk*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Boufkhed, S., Thorogood, N., Ariti, C., & Durand, M. A. (2022). Building a better understanding of labour exploitation's impact on migrant health: An operational framework. *PLOS ONE*, 17(8), e0271890. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0271890>
- Burns, N., Follis, L., Follis, K., & Morley, J. (2021). Moving Target, Moving Parts: The Multiple Mobilities of the COVID-19 Pandemic. In D. Lupton & K. Willis (Eds.), *The Coronavirus Crisis: Social Perspectives* (pp. 27–38). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Castillero, S. (2020). Producción alimentaria intensiva, migraciones y género: La industria del fruto rojo en la provincia de Huelva, España. *Maguaré*, 34(2), 113–136. <https://doi.org/10.15446/mag.v34n2.92582>
- Castillero, S. (2021). La esencialidad del cuarto mundo. “Las marroquíes y los morenos” en la salvaguarda de la producción alimentaria en la frontera sur. *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, 78, 128–143. <https://doi.org/10.7440/res78.2021.08>
- Crenshaw, K. W. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1, 139–167. <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
- Dahinden, J., & Anderson, B. (2021). Exploring New Avenues for Knowledge Production in Migration Research: A Debate Between Bridget Anderson and Janine Dahinden Pre and After the Burst of the Pandemic. *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 47(1), 27–52. <https://doi.org/10.2478/sjs-2021-0005>
- Datta, A. (2022). Mobility as survival and freedom: Pandemic, Immobility and its implications for women and queer migrants. *Migration Letters*, 19(6), 791–799. <https://doi.org/10.59670/ml.v19i6.2009>
- De Sousa Santos, B. (2007). Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 30(1), 45–89.



- De Sousa Santos, B. (2010). *Epistemologías Del Sur*. Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores.
- Décosse, F., & Hellio, E. (2022). Utilitarisme migratoire et programmes de migration temporaire. Une étude comparée des contrats OFII (France) et des contratos en origen (Espagne). *Revue Européenne Des Migrations Internationales*, 38(3–4), 67–90. <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.21183>
- Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fernández García, M., Molinero-Gerbeau, Y., & Sajir, Z. (2023). ‘They think you belong to them’: Migrant workers’ perspectives on labour exploitation in Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 49(15), 3976–3995. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2235896>
- Grosfoguel, R., Oso, L., & Christou, A. (2015). ‘Racism’, intersectionality and migration studies: Framing some theoretical reflections. *Identities*, 22(6), 635–652. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2014.950974>
- Gualda, E. (2012). Migración circular en tiempos de crisis. Mujeres de Europa del Este y africanas en la agricultura de Huelva. *Papers: revista de sociologia*, 97(3), 613–640. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/papers/v97n3.436>
- Güell, B. (2022). Intersectionality Meets Seasonal Agricultural Work: The Case of Huelva In Times of COVID-19. *Estudios Geográficos*, 83(293), e113. <https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.2022119.119>
- Güell, B., & Garcés-Masareñas, B. (2020). *Agricultural seasonal workers in times of COVID-19 in Spain* [ADMIGOV DELIVERABLE 3.3]. CIDOB. https://www.cidob.org/publicaciones/serie_de_publicacion/project_papers/admigov/agricultural_seasonal_workers_in_times_of_covid_19_in_spain
- Hellio, E. (2017). ‘They know that you’ll leave, like a dog moving onto the next bin’: Undocumented male and seasonal contracted female workers in the agricultural labour market of Huelva, Spain. In D. Perrotta, A. Corrado, & C. de Castro (Eds.), *Migration and Agriculture: Mobility and Change in the Mediterranean Area* (pp. 198–216). London: Routledge.
- Hellio, E., & Moreno Nieto, J. (2017). Contrataciones en origen, deslocalización productiva y feminización del trabajo en la fresicultura del norte de Marruecos y el sur de España. Una historia en común. *Revista Navegar. Revista de Estudos de E/Inmigracao*, 5(3), 21–46.
- Hernández Morán, M. (2018). *Realidad de los asentamientos en la provincia de Huelva. Análisis, diagnóstico y propuestas 2017*. <https://www.apdha.org/media/Informe-Asentamientos-Mesa-Integracion-Huelva.pdf>
- Kohan, M. (2020, June 3). Denuncian a España ante la ONU por violar los derechos humanos de las temporeras de la fresa en la pandemia. *Público*. <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/trabajadoras-fresacoronavirus-denuncian-espana-onu-violar-derechos-humanos-temporeras-fresa-pandemia.html>
- Kotsila, P., & Argüelles, L. (2023). The necropolitics of expendability: Migrant farm workers during COVID-19. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2023.2243440>
- López Sala, A. M., & Godenau, D. (2015). En torno a la Circularidad Migratoria: Aproximaciones conceptuales, Dimensiones teóricas y Práctica Política. *Migraciones*, 38, 9–34. <https://doi.org/10.14422/mig.i38y2015.001>
- Lupton, D. (2021). Contextualising COVID-19: Sociocultural Perspectives on Contagion. In D. Lupton & K. Willis (Eds.), *The Coronavirus Crisis: Social Perspectives* (pp. 14–24). London: Routledge.
- Mancini, F. (2021). Confinement risks and social inequality in Latin America: Evidence from Argentina. *Current Sociology*, 69(4), 471–491. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392121990018>
- Márquez Tejón, A., & Wilson, H. (2020, August 14). *Protecting migrant women workers in food supply chains during COVID-19*. Open Global Rights. <https://www.openglobalrights.org/protecting-migrant-women-workers-in-food-supply-chains-during-covid/>
- Molinero Gerbeau, Y. (2020). Dos décadas desplazando trabajadores extranjeros al campo español: Una revisión del mecanismo de contratación en origen. *Panorama Social*, 31, 141–153. <https://www.funcas.es/articulos/dos-decadas-desplazando-trabajadores-extranjeros-al-campo-espanol-una-revision-del-mecanismo-de-contratacion-en-origen/>
- Molinero-Gerbeau, Y. (2021). The Problem is not Covid-19, it’s the Model! Industrial Agriculture and Migrant Farm Labour in the EU. *EuroChoices*, 20(3), 69–74. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1746-692X.12308>
- Montenegro, P. (2020, July 3). Sin trabajo, semiesclavas y atrapadas en España: La dura situación de las temporeras marroquíes en Huelva. *Público*. <https://www.publico.es/sociedad/temporeras-huelva-regresar-pais-dura-situacion-temporeras-marroquies-atrapadas-huelva.html>
- Moreno Nieto, J. (2012). Movilidad transnacional, trabajo y género: Temporeras marroquíes en la agricultura onubense. *Política y Sociedad*, 49(1), 123–140. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_POSO.2012.v49.n1.36525

- Morice, A. (2001). 'Choisés, Contrólés, Placés' – Renouveau de l'utilitarisme Migratoire. *Vacarme*, 14, 56–60. <https://doi.org/10.3917/vaca.014.0056>
- Olofsson, A., Zinn, J. O., Griffin, G., Nygren, K. G., Cebulla, A., & Hannah-Moffat, K. (2014). The mutual constitution of risk and inequalities: Intersectional risk theory. *Health, Risk & Society*, 16(5), 417–430. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698575.2014.942258>
- Perez Maestro, L. (2020, July 11). *Please help us, we are abandoned here.* Thousands of Moroccan seasonal workers stranded in Spain. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/11/europe/moroccan-women-spain-trapped-farms-intl/index.html>
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215–232. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580900015002005>
- Ramírez, Á. (2015). Control over female 'Muslim' bodies: Culture, politics and dress code laws in some Muslim and non-Muslim countries. *Identities*, 22(6), 671–686. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2014.950972>
- Reigada-Olaizola, A. (2011). Reestructuración agraria, migración laboral y feminización del trabajo en Andalucía (España). *Agricultura, sociedad y desarrollo*, 8(1), 19–43. <https://www.revista-asyd.org/index.php/asyd/article/view/1142>
- Rodó-de-Zárate, M. (2014). Developing geographies of intersectionality with Relief Maps: Reflections from youth research in Manresa, Catalonia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 21(8), 925–944. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2013.817974>
- Ruiz Andrés, R., & Sajir, Z. (2023). Desinformación e islamofobia en tiempos de infodemia. Un análisis sociológico desde España. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 81(3), e236. <https://doi.org/10.3989/ris.2023.81.3.20.185>
- Sajir, Z. (2021). Acuerdos comerciales, migratorios, de seguridad y de empleo centro-periferia. Un análisis de ecología-mundo. *Relaciones Internacionales*, 47, 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.15366/relacionesinternacionales2021.47.010>
- Sajir, Z., & Aouragh, M. (2019). Solidarity, Social Media, and the 'Refugee Crisis': Engagement Beyond Affect. *International Journal of Communication*, 13, 550–577. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/9999>
- Sajir, Z., Molinero-Gerbeau, Y., & Avallone, G. (2022). "Everything Changes, Everything Stays The Same". The Governance Of Migrant Labour In Spanish And Italian Agriculture In The First Year Of The COVID-19 Pandemic. *Estudios Geográficos*, 83(293), e114. <https://doi.org/10.3989/estgeogr.2022120.120>
- Sayad, A. (2010). Elementos para una sociología de la Inmigración. *Empiria*, 19, 251–257.
- Suhardiman, D., Rigg, J., Bandur, M., Marschke, M., Miller, M. A., Pheuangsavanh, N., Sayatham, M., & Taylor, D. (2020). On the Coattails of globalization: Migration, migrants and COVID-19 in Asia. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(1), 88–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1844561>
- Williams, A. M., & Baláz, V. (2012). Migration, Risk, and Uncertainty: Theoretical Perspectives. *Population, Space and Place*, 18(2), 167–180. <https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.663>
- Zeneidi, D. (2017). "Global food" and Utilitarian Migration in Huelva. In D. Zeneidi (Ed.), *Gender, Temporary Work, and Migration Management: Global Food and Utilitarian Migration in Huelva, Spain* (pp. 13–24). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Zinn, J. O. (2021). Introduction: Towards a sociology of pandemics. *Current Sociology*, 69(4), 435–452. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00113921211020771>

