

## Article

# BEHIND THE STALLS OF FARMERS' MARKETS: UNVEILING THE EFFECTS OF LOW-STATUS WORK ON THE HEALTH AND QUALITY OF LIFE OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN FRESH PRODUCE, MEAT, AND FISH MARKETS

Tras los puestos de los mercados agrícolas: desvelando los efectos del trabajo de bajo estatus en la salud y la calidad de vida de los trabajadores migrantes en los mercados de productos frescos, carne y pescado

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**Abstract:** Migrant workers often find themselves in unstable, low-wage jobs that lack safety and security, leading to their classification as “the working poor”. These roles, while undesirable, are still essential for the economy. Workers in precarious positions endure low pay, face social stigma, and suffer from exploitative working conditions that significantly diminish their quality of life. Research shows that low-wage earners have a higher likelihood of experiencing poor health outcomes and stress-related illnesses, such as cardiovascular issues and arthritis, compared to those in stable employment. Additionally, they face greater risks of mental health challenges, including depression. This paper outlines findings from a systematic literature review utilizing the PRISMA methodology, based on research accessed through Scopus and Google Scholar, following specific inclusion and exclusion criteria. Many low-paid migrant workers find employment at Farmers' Markets/fresh produce, meat, and fish markets, where they are often preferred over local workers for their willingness to engage in demanding tasks. These positions carry social stigma, as they are seen as marginal and lack formal recognition, offering no prestige. As a result, fresh food markets rely on migrant labor, which often operates informally, creating a continuous cycle of exploitation of a cheap, flexible, and uninsured workforce that is excluded from labor laws and protections.

**Key words:** Migrant Workers, Low-Status Work, Quality of Life, Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Market, Meat and Fish Market; Farmers' Market.

**Resumen:** Los trabajadores migrantes a menudo se encuentran en empleos inestables, mal remunerados y carentes de seguridad, lo que los lleva a ser clasificados como "trabajadores pobres". Estos roles, si bien indeseables, siguen siendo esenciales para la economía. Los trabajadores en puestos precarios soportan bajos salarios, se enfrentan al estigma social y sufren condiciones

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laborales de explotación que merman significativamente su calidad de vida. Las investigaciones demuestran que las personas con bajos salarios tienen una mayor probabilidad de experimentar problemas de salud y enfermedades relacionadas con el estrés, como problemas cardiovasculares y artritis, en comparación con quienes tienen un empleo estable. Además, enfrentan mayores riesgos de problemas de salud mental, incluida la depresión. Este artículo describe los hallazgos de una revisión sistemática de la literatura que utiliza la metodología PRISMA, basada en investigaciones consultadas a través de Scopus y Google Scholar, siguiendo criterios específicos de inclusión y exclusión. Muchos trabajadores migrantes con bajos salarios encuentran empleo en mercados agrícolas/mercados de productos frescos, carne y pescado, donde a menudo se les prefiere a los trabajadores locales por su disposición a realizar tareas exigentes. Estos puestos conllevan estigma social, ya que se consideran marginales y carecen de reconocimiento formal, sin ofrecer prestigio. Como resultado, los mercados de alimentos frescos dependen de la mano de obra migrante, que a menudo existe de manera informal, manteniendo un ciclo de fuerza laboral barata, flexible y sin seguro que evade las leyes y protecciones laborales.

**Key words:** Trabajadores migrantes, Trabajo de baja categoría, Calidad de vida, Mercado de frutas y verduras frescas, Mercado de carne y pescado, Mercado de agricultores.

## 1. Introduction

The status or prestige attached to one's position in society (one's social position). The stratification system, which is the system of distributing rewards to the members of society, determines social status. Social status – the position or rank of a person or group within the stratification system – can be determined in two ways. One can earn their social status by their own achievements, which is known as achieved status, or one can be placed in the stratification system by their inherited position, which is called ascribed status. Ascribed statuses include race/ethnicity, age, gender, and nativity (Dinwiddie, 2010; Dadush, 2014). Migrants working in low-prestige jobs face complex problems. They struggle to find quality housing, access medical care, and deal with the instability of low-paying work. Manual labor, especially as people age, can take a toll on their physical health. All of these factors contribute to a lower quality of life. WHO defines Quality of Life as an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns. Those in lower social classes strive to access education, take care of themselves, and improve their quality of life, particularly migrant populations and other groups facing social inequalities. According to OECD (2017) quality of life entails the following (Table 1).

**Table 1.***Dimensions of migrants' well-being*

Income & wealth	Jobs & earning	Work-life balance	Education & skills	Health status	Social connections	Housing
Environmental quality	Social connections	Housing	Personal security	Civic engagement & governance	Subjective well-being	

Source: OECD, 2017

Low-prestige jobs, as defined by Fouskas (2018), refer to forms of employment that lack prestige and are often precarious or secondary in nature. These jobs may sometimes operate outside the bounds of official employment to avoid taxes, social security, and labor rights. Individuals in the working class sell their labor to employers in exchange for wages or salaries, lacking capital or formal qualifications. Consequently, they are unable to enjoy the same standard of living as those in the middle or upper social classes, as their work situation does not afford them the same privileges. This is in line with Watson's (2005) assertion that these individuals are positioned at the lowest rung of the social structure in terms of privileges. Low-skilled migrants in host countries often face subordination in various social settings and are met with an existing ethno-racialized hierarchy in migrant labor (Lim, 2021). Many low-skilled migrants predominantly engage in “dirty”, “difficult” and “dangerous jobs” jobs that are unattractive to native (Portes et al., 1989). This division of labor theoretically aligns with a more lenient immigration system that allows a higher number of low-skilled migrants to continue taking on these challenging roles. Racial and ethnic groups are often overrepresented in precarious, low-status, and low-paid jobs due to the ethno-racial division of labor (Fouskas et al. 2022a; Dias, 2023; Cai and Mattingly, 2025). The jobs that migrants often take are unappealing to native workers, lack social prestige, and are considered socially inferior. As a result, they are frequently confined to the informal sector of the economy, where employers profit by avoiding social security contributions and hire employees without contracts, offering informal wages and limited employment rights. These groups are primarily found working in manual labor, agriculture, fishing, construction, technical work, domestic services, elderly and child care, catering, food and hotel services, cleaning, personal care services, nursing, factories, food production and processing, warehousing in supermarkets, courier and distribution services, and street trading. These jobs are unattractive and are often viewed as lacking social prestige, leading native workers to reject them (Ashiagbor, 2021). One of the main indicators for examining the degree of integration of immigrants, asylum

seekers and refugees is their access to health care services, both in terms of the institutional framework and the challenges they face in accessing and using health services (Fouskas, 2018). Moreover, their concentration in precarious, low-prestige/low-paying jobs (Fouskas, 2021) contributes to this. Precarious work is employment that lacks all typical forms of job security, usually in the form of wage labor, characterized by extremely limited labor rights and benefits, job insecurity, low and informal pay, and increased risks to the worker's health (Vosko, 2006).

Under these precarious working conditions, individuals are at increased health risks. In addition to lacking coverage for health issues or work-related injuries, migrant workers in low-wage or low-status jobs face greater health threats (Moyce and Schenker, 2018). This heightened risk arises from their close interactions with the public and colleagues, as these jobs generally cannot be done remotely. Furthermore, they often do not provide benefits like health insurance or paid sick leave. Migrant workers in low-status, low-paid positions face significant challenges in building capital and often end up in considerable debt (Drydak, 2022). These circumstances restrict their ability to send remittances back home, afford medical care, and obtain hospitalization when they are uninsured. Consequently, they struggle to access essential needs such as housing, healthy food, and care for vulnerable populations, including the sick, children, the elderly, individuals with chronic illnesses, and those with disabilities. In terms of education, these migrant workers frequently encounter disparities in accessing formal education, which results in lower literacy rates, reduced completion rates, and obstacles to pursuing higher education. They typically have limited access to quality vocational training and language courses, which constrains their future employment opportunities and often leads to lower-paying or unstable jobs. This educational gap also causes challenges in communicating with employers, understanding labor rights, interacting with healthcare professionals, and comprehending medical instructions and health matters. These challenges create significant barriers for migrant workers stemming from inequalities in the previously mentioned of the ethno-racial division of labour (Pessar and Mahler, 2003; Thijssen et al., 2021; Ndobu et al., 2008).

## **2. Migrant workers in Fresh Fruit and Vegetable, Meat and Fish Markets**

Employers and labor markets often view migrants as "good workers" willing to take on manual jobs that local residents tend to avoid. This perspective is supported by complex processes that categorize migrants based on their national and ethnic backgrounds. Traditional food retail formats, such as "Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Markets," "Meat and Fish Markets," and "wet markets," continue to thrive in urban areas despite the

rapid rise of modern supermarket chains (Morales, 2011a; Brown, 2001). Their enduring popularity can be attributed to the freshness of their offerings, competitive pricing, and a sense of nostalgia for rural life, nature, and local products. Consumers prioritize freshness as the most critical factor when selecting food (Zhong et al., 2020). Every day at dawn, fresh fruit and vegetable, meat, and fish markets come to life. Vendors prepare their just-arrived products for sale, with the lively sounds of calls echoing: “Come on, come on, here, here, fresh...!” These markets feature numerous competing vendors selling fresh foods in a non-supermarket setting and are independent of imported goods (Morales, 2009, 2011b). The floors of these markets are often wet due to melting ice used to keep food from spoiling, along with the washing of meat and seafood stalls and the spraying of fresh vegetables and fruits. Customers prefer to buy freshly harvested fruits and vegetables, freshly slaughtered meat, and fish caught on the same day for their daily consumption, as these fresh options enhance the taste of dishes much more than frozen meat sold in supermarkets. At the stalls, various cuts of fish and meat hang from the fishermen's and butchers' displays, while different cuts are neatly piled on counters. The term “public market” is synonymous but typically refers to state-owned wet markets. International literature predominantly focuses on fresh fruit and vegetable, meat, and fish markets in the context of food security, pricing, and accessibility (Pyle, 1971; Bell, 2013). A categorization of these markets may include (Table 2).

**Table 2.**  
*Categorization of Fresh/ Farmers' Markets*

Ownership	State-owned				Private-owned			
Sale type	Wholesale				Retail			
Products	fruits	vegetables	meat	fish	herbs, spices	live animals	dairy products	Delicatessen, cold cuts
Place	Shed-housed		open-air		partially open-air		Building-housed	

Farmers' markets can foster creative distribution methods that boost civic engagement and bridge the gap between urban and rural areas. By minimizing intermediaries, local support for independent farmers can improve economic prospects and health in underserved communities. They provide benefits to farmers, communities, and consumers alike (Zhong et al., 2019; Li, 2022). Most migrants and seasonal migrant workers are involved in manual labor jobs, which often lack social prestige. These low-status positions are typically seen as inferior and are usually avoided by individuals from middle or upper classes—jobs that were historically held by native workers. The main

motivation for taking these jobs is the necessity for survival. In the fresh fruit and vegetable, meat, and fish markets, their tasks may include loading and unloading goods, harvesting fruits and vegetables, cleaning and scaling fish, and maintaining cleanliness in slaughterhouses and shops. Low-paid migrant workers are mostly hired in Farmers' Markets as migrants are more willing to undertake such intensive work than local urban workers (Chen and Liu, 2019). This manual labor is essential for the smooth operation of both organized and unorganized food markets.

The paper presents the findings of a systematic literature review using the PRISMA method to summarize the findings of previous research. It was carried out on the databases Scopus and Google Scholar with inclusion and exclusion criteria.

### 3. Method

This research is a systematic literature review conducted according to the PRISMA guidelines. The paper presents findings from previous studies on the impact of low-status jobs on the health and quality of life of migrant workers in the fresh produce, meat, and fish markets. The review used data from Scopus and Google Scholar, applying specific inclusion and exclusion criteria. Studies that were not relevant to the topic, conducted outside the designated time frame, or duplicates (such as reviews, meta-analyses, or theoretical papers) were excluded. The initial search (see Table 3) yielded a total of 2,118 studies: 2,090 from Google Scholar using English keywords and 28 from Scopus (see Table 4 & Table 5). The titles and abstracts of these studies were analyzed, leading to the exclusion of those that did not meet the inclusion criteria. Ultimately, 7 studies remained (see Table 6). A flowchart illustrating the search outcomes is provided below (see Figure 1). The quality of the methodologies in the selected studies was evaluated using the CASP Qualitative Checklist scales (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme, 2018).

**Table 3.**

*Search algorithms per database*

Scopus until 31 Dec 2024	( TITLE-ABS-KEY ( migrant ) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ( fresh AND market ) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY ( wet AND market ) AND TITLE-ABS-KEY ( conditions ) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY ( challenges ) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY ( impact ) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY ( effects ) )
Google Scholar until 31 Dec 2024	"migrant" AND "fresh market" OR "wet market" AND "conditions" OR "challenges" OR "impact" OR "effects"

Table 4.

*Scopus*

	Terms	Search	Studies
Population	"migrant"	#1	129,972
Intervention	"fresh market" OR "wet market"	#2	19,574
Exposure	"conditions"	#3	8,802,589
Outcome	"challenges" OR "impact" OR "effects"	#4	24,493,974
#1 AND #2 AND #3 AND #4		#5	29
#6 Filters: Publication date until 2024/12/31; English		#7	28

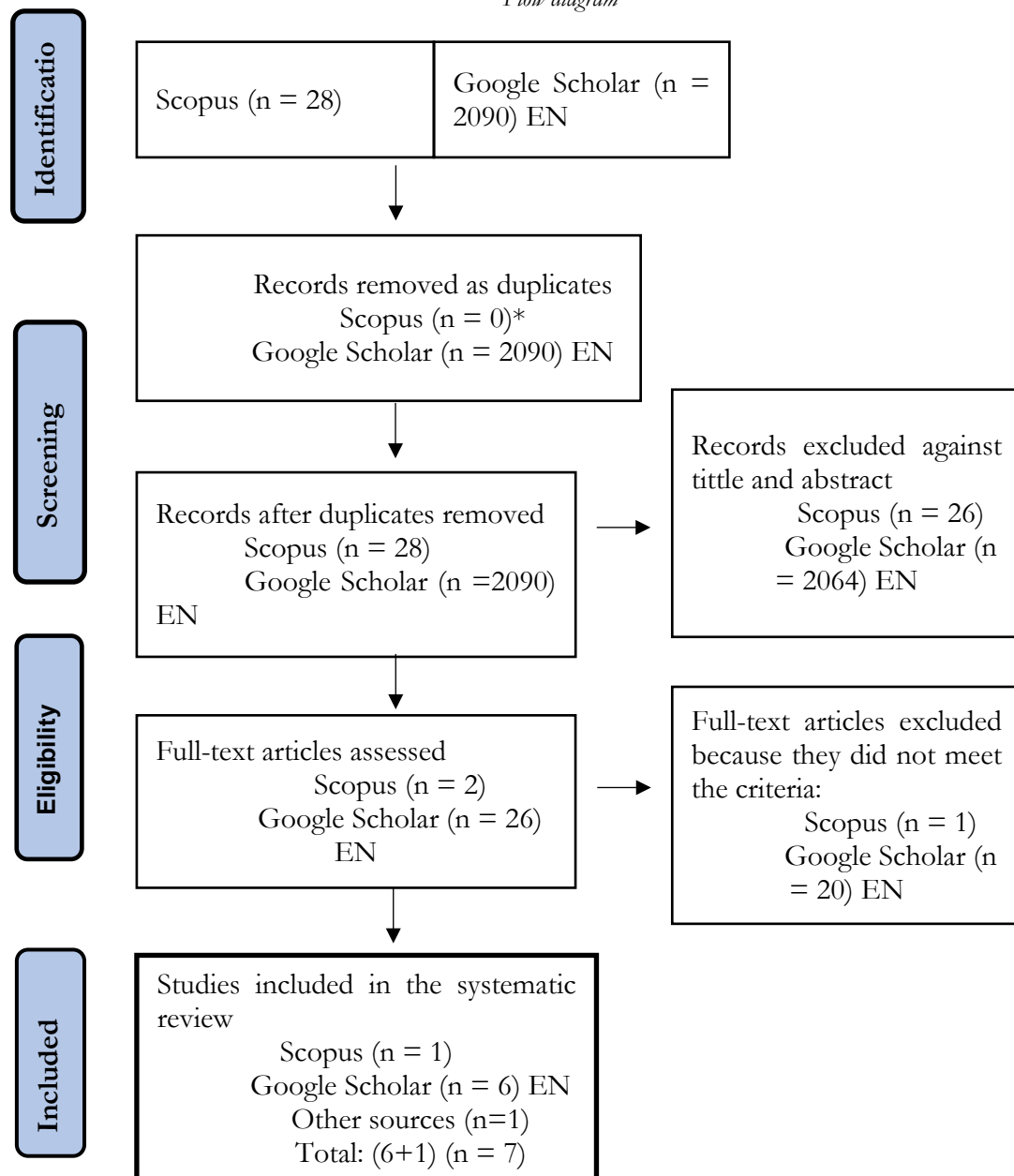
Table 5.

*Google Scholar (English)*

	Terms	Search	Studies
Population	"migrant"	#1	2,700,000
Intervention	"fresh market" OR "wet market"	#2	17,500
Exposure	"conditions"	#3	9,080,000
Outcome	"challenges" OR "impact" OR "effects"	#4	9,080,000
#1 AND #2 AND #3 AND #4		#5	2,170
#6 Filters: Publication date until 2024/12/31; English		#7	2,090

**Figure 1**

*Flow diagram*



Source: Moher et al., 2009



## 4. Results

In this section of the paper, we detail the essential characteristics of the research studies reviewed and summarize the key findings that emerged from the analysis.

### 4.1. Country

The review included a total of seven studies conducted in various countries. The studies are as follows: In Nepal: Tuladhar and Bushell (2017); In China: Zhong et al. (2018, 2020); Zhang and Pan (2013); and Chen and Liu (2018); In India: Narayan (2012); In Argentina: Arce et al. (2014); In Malaysia: Muniandy (2020).

### 4.2. Study design (methodologies)

Among the seven studies included in the review, the methodological designs were consistent, as all were qualitative research studies. These studies included: Tuladhar and Bushell (2017), which utilized interviews; Zhong et al., (2018, 2020), which employed qualitative participatory observation; Zhang and Pan (2013), which also conducted interviews; Narayan (2012), which involved interviews; Arce et al., (2014), which used unstructured interviews and participant observations; Muniandy (2020), which focused on interviews; and Chen and Liu (2018), which utilized semi-structured depth interviews.

### 4.3. Settings

The review includes seven studies conducted in various environments. Tuladhar and Bushell (2017) collected their data at the Kalimati Fruits and Vegetables Wholesale Market. Zhong et al. (2018, 2020) gathered their data from Hainan Province in China, focusing specifically on Sanya City. Zhang and Pan (2013) conducted their primary data collection in Yangpu, a district in northeast Shanghai. Narayan (2012) carried out research in Mumbai. Arce et al. (2014) conducted their study at the Buenos Aires Wholesale Market. Muniandy (2020) collected data at Pasar Borong, a market in Kuala Lumpur, as well as in Georgetown, Penang. Finally, Chen and Liu (2018) gathered data from the Nanhu farmers' market located in the Wangjing area of Beijing.

### 4.4. Participants

Among the seven studies included in the review, the following details relate to the participants: Tuladhar and Bushell (2017): This study involved 31 women vendors at the Kalimati Fruits and Vegetables Wholesale Market. Zhong et al. (2018, 2020): The researchers conducted various surveys, including consumer surveys ( $n = 304$ ), vendor surveys ( $n = 113$ ), and in-depth interviews ( $n = 30$ ) with wet market managers, supermarket managers, wholesalers, and food producers. Zhang and Pan (2013): Conducted in 2011, this study focused on various vegetable retail outlets and included interviews with multiple stakeholders, such as food market vendors, small shop

proprietors, street hawkers, shoppers, and representatives from market management. Additionally, officials from the District Commerce Committee and local government agencies were interviewed. For supermarkets, secondary sources were utilized due to the availability of prior extensive research. Narayan (2012): This study surveyed 60 vendors from different areas of the city, revealing that 7% identified as Marathas, 82% as Kolis, and 11% as belonging to other migrant communities. Arce et al. (2014): This research employed secondary data, along with structured and unstructured interviews, and participant observations to explore the physical and material experiences surrounding the Buenos Aires Wholesale Market. Muniandy (2020): The study focused on interviews with migrant workers from India, Bangladesh, Thailand, and Burma, including undocumented migrants and refugees who worked as vendors at the pasar (specifically, pasar borong, a wholesale fresh market). The sample included 33 South Indian men, 26 Bangladeshi men, 24 Burmese Rohingya (8 males and 16 females), 4 Thai individuals (2 males and 2 females), and 3 Vietnamese women.

## 5. Main findings of studies

Tuladhar and Bushell (2017) highlighted the significant role that vegetable vendors play in enhancing urban health and the economy by facilitating access to fresh produce for city residents. For women, vegetable vending offers an accessible source of income, as it does not necessitate specific educational qualifications or strenuous physical work. This preliminary study aims to explore the conditions of women vegetable vendors at a prominent market in Kathmandu. We sought to gather insights from these vendors regarding the challenges they encounter and propose methods to create more vendor-friendly market environments. The research involved interviews with 31 women at the Kalimati Fruits and Vegetables Wholesale Market in 2017. Based on their feedback, we identified practical strategies, including improved temporary storage and cooling facilities and the creation of a monitoring body to ensure quality produce supply.

Research by Zhong et al. (2018, 2020) highlights that the enduring popularity of wet markets in urban China is largely attributed to their unique advantage of offering exceptional freshness. This quality aligns with consumers' eating habits and food culture, influencing vendor practices. Vendors maintain social connections with suppliers, contributing to a fragmented food trade system that enhances the resilience of wet markets. This concept mirrors Bestor's insights on the Tsukiji fish market in Japan, which thrives on intricate social institutions driven by culinary and trade traditions. Consumers prioritize freshness over sustainability, often opting for locally sourced food with short supply chains. Wet markets serve as accessible and safe sources for this freshness, allowing

consumers to engage multiple senses to assess quality. The social bonds between vendors and consumers, alongside the varied sourcing channels, foster trust and ensure high-quality offerings. Ultimately, the adaptability of wet market vendors has resulted in rich diversity and freshness in food choices.

According to Zhang and Pan (2013), Yangpu has experienced a significant influx of migrants from outside the municipality. Currently, there are no companies like the MVC that employ dedicated staff to handle the purchasing of vegetables from wholesale markets, as well as sorting, cleaning, packaging, and selling them to consumers. Today, private vendors in wet markets manage all these tasks on their own. This process requires them to wake up around four a.m. to travel to wholesale markets on the city's outskirts (or as early as two a.m. if they do not have a vehicle). They set up their stalls by six a.m. and negotiate prices with customers for twelve hours, all while continuously cleaning and spraying the vegetables to maintain their freshness. This labor-intensive work is ideally suited for at least two adults and often relies on family members, leading to self-exploitation. Migrant families are generally better suited for this demanding work compared to urban locals, who usually have varied job commitments. Unlike MVC employees who received state benefits, these migrant families depend entirely on their vegetable sales for their survival.

The study by Narayan (2012) examined the employment status of fish vendors' spouses, revealing that 65% were working to help support the family, while 35% were not employed. The financial situation of these families showed that 25% of vendors were the only earners, 60% had two earning members, 10% had three, and 5% had nearly all family members contributing. Vendors rely on ice to keep fish fresh and face higher prices on busy Sundays due to increased customer demand. Sales varied by vendor capacity, with 28% selling one to three kilograms daily, 50% selling three to six kilograms, and 8% exceeding six kilograms. Most vendors (90%) had designated selling spaces, with a notable presence of female vendors, who effectively managed household and marketing responsibilities. However, challenges such as limited capital and insufficient knowledge prevent them from processing fish efficiently, highlighting the need for better marketing infrastructure to boost their incomes.

Arce et al. (2014) highlight that immigrant communities often face various forms of social discrimination. Upon arriving in Argentina, immigrants from Bolivia and China make significant efforts to improve their living conditions. Their precarious legal status, often tied to extended waits for visas or residence permits, drives them to establish ethnic businesses that provide temporary income and a platform for networking while they work towards securing legal residency. These businesses typically create strong personal

connections between employers and employees, rooted in kinship and shared national ties, resulting in a work environment that resembles a family setting. However, these minority groups frequently experience racial bias, xenophobic verbal assaults, and even violence. Cultural racism persists, despite the fact that many Argentines shop at Chinese-owned supermarkets, which are often perceived negatively as unclean and outdated, with associations to organized crime. This perception reflects broader societal prejudices rather than just individual biases. In the fresh produce market, some wholesalers recognize these immigrants as reliable workers who help them compete against larger supermarkets. Nonetheless, interviews reveal a continuing divide between local Argentines and these new immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly as Bolivians become more prominent in this sector. Wholesalers often differentiate between Bolivians and their European counterparts, perpetuating negative stereotypes about the success of Bolivians, especially during economic downturns. This highlights a racial duality among wholesalers. Discussions on this topic reveal deeply ingrained prejudices and cultural racism directed at Bolivians. Some wholesalers maintain stereotypes, portraying them as "nomadic," "undocumented," and "dirty." While acknowledging that Bolivians possess valuable skills that contribute to their effectiveness as entrepreneurs in the fresh produce market, negative assumptions about their work ethic and lifestyle continue to prevail.

Muniandy (2020) expanded on ethnographic research to explore the lives of undocumented migrants and refugees living in makeshift camps known as kongsi. These camps are often located near construction sites and markets (pasar). During this phase of the study, I conducted observations and interviews with migrants working as vendors at the pasar. I engaged with various community members, including local gang members who provide unofficial "protection" for these businesses. The demographics of the migrant informants in the food service sector included 33 South Indian men, 26 Bangladeshi men, 24 Burmese Rohingya (8 men and 16 women), 4 Thai individuals (2 men and 2 women), and 3 Vietnamese women. Interviews also included local food business owners and law enforcement, supplemented by informal discussions, observations, and various local news sources. Pasar Borong in Kuala Lumpur hosts a significant population of Rohingya refugees, estimated to be around 20,000 individuals who have been drawn to job opportunities in the market. The market is reportedly protected by two main kongsi gelap (organized crime groups) composed of Burmese nationals. It serves as a critical hub for local restaurants and grocery stores, where residents procure fresh produce and meats. Most vendors communicate in Rohingya (Ruingga), but switch to Malay when interacting with customers, often relying on short exchanges and gestures to facilitate transactions.

The community has effectively adapted to these language barriers. Organized crime gangs, referred to as *kongsi gelap*, are integral to the market's operations. These groups, typically tied to specific ethnic backgrounds, maintain a strong influence in the area, providing concrete protection against various threats. The local Rohingya community is overseen by figures known as *ketua* (chiefs) or *kepala* (heads), who act as intermediaries between community members, local businesses, and authorities. They help create networks for newly arrived refugees to navigate their integration into the local economy.

In their 2018 research, Chen and Liu examine the self-employment dynamics of migrant vendors within the context of farmers' markets in Beijing. They draw upon the ethnic enclave economy theory, emphasizing the importance of workplace concentration over residential concentration in understanding migrants' upward mobility. The study includes interviews with 18 migrant vendors about their work experiences prior to entering the Nanhu market. Farmers' markets are highlighted as essential venues for economic advancement, shaped by various push-and-pull factors that motivate migrant entrepreneurs. The research outlines three main pathways for these vendors. The first involves individuals transitioning from casual or wage jobs to self-employment in farmers' markets, where they benefit from higher incomes and greater autonomy in managing their work lives. This is particularly significant in Beijing, where many migrants face educational barriers and restricted access to formal employment due to *hukou* regulations. The second pathway describes migrants who start as self-employed vendors in farmers' markets and continue in this role despite moving between different markets. Their mobility is driven by two factors: passive mobility resulting from market redevelopment, and active mobility where vendors seek out better business opportunities. Notably, active mobility often entails longer moves to tap into new markets, whereas passive mobility usually involves short-distance relocations to maintain existing customer bases. The third pathway reflects a shift from storefront retail back to farmers' markets. Many vendors aspire to grow their businesses and run their own shops, viewing farmers' markets as a stepping stone. However, they frequently confront high costs and unstable sales in traditional retail environments. Despite past challenges, vendors express a continued interest in opening storefronts in the future, showcasing the importance of farmers' markets for both economic and social integration among migrants.

**Table 6.***Characteristics of the studies included*

	Author, year,	Scope	Country	Sample	Methods	Results
1.	Tuladhar, & Bushell, 2017	It analyses retailing vegetables, as a source of income for non- farmer migrant women of Kathmandu.	Kathmandu, Nepal	31 women vendors	Qualitative research, interviews.	Interviewees developed practical ways to stabilize their income, mainly by improving temporary storage and cooling facilities within the market and establishing a monitoring body to ensure consistent supply of quality produce
2.	Zhong, et al. 2018, 2020	It examines what fresh food means to consumers in the Chinese market.	China	30 wet market managers, supermarket managers, wholesalers and food producers.	Qualitative research,	Research demonstrates that the ongoing vitality of wet markets in urban China primarily rests in their competitive advantage with regards to a particular kind of freshness.
3.	Zhang & Pan, 2013	It explores the dynamics between local authorities and non-state entities.	Shanghai, China	Food market vendors, small shop proprietors, street hawkers, shoppers, and representatives from market management.	Qualitative research,	The marketisation reform eliminated the state-controlled vegetable retail system, transitioning to a profit-oriented market system.
4.	Narayan, 2012	The study aims to analyze the socio-economic conditions and living status of fish vendors in Mumbai, Maharashtra, addressing issues related to their living conditions.	Mumbai	60 vendors from different area of the city, 7% respondents were belonging to Marathas, 82% respondents were Kolis and 11% respondents were from other migrant communities.	Qualitative research,	It was observed that there are more female vendors in the fish market than male vendors.
5.	Arce et al., 2014	Explore the effects of the division of labor on the	Argentina, Buenos Aires	Secondary data, structured and unstructured interviews, together with participant observations in	Qualitative research,	Wholesalers have mixed views about the new migrant groups, particularly those who have

		emerging organizational forms of agri-food distribution.	Wholesale Market	different social situations around the physical and material experiences affected by the Buenos Aires Wholesale Market.		thrived and established profitable roles within the fresh produce sector.
6.	Muniandy, 2020	Examine how different groups of migrant workers and communities become absorbed into the informal and formal economies of the developing South.	Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and Georgetown (Penang)	Migrant workers from India, Bangladesh, Thailand and Burm and undocumented migrants.	Qualitative research,	Different methods exist through which these communities and individuals are regarded as surplus in the capitalist system. They play a role in boosting profit margins by having their lives devalued and being treated as disposable. This leads to a situation where they are desperate for work at any price, and their bodies are easily substituted due to the presence of additional surplus populations.
7.	Chen & Liu, 2018	A comprehensive examination of the journeys of self-employed migrants during the start-up and expansion phases of their businesses.	Beijing	18 vendors	Semi-structured, depth interviews	Vendors at farmers' markets actively sought new opportunities amid frequent redevelopment challenges.

**Table 7.**  
*Qualitative studies*

		Section A Are the results valid?															Section B: What are the results?									Section C: Will the results help locally?					
	Study	1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?			2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate?			3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?			4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research?			5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?			6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered?			7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?			8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?			9. Is there a clear statement of findings?			10. How valuable is the research?		
		Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T	Y	N	C T
1.	Tuladhar, & Bushell, 2017	X			X			X			X			X				X			X			X	X			X			
2.	Zhong, et al. 2018, 2020	X			X			X			X			X				X			X			X	X			X			
3.	Zhang	X			X			X					X	X				X			X			X	X			X			



[illegible]

Yes: Y, No: N, Can't tell: CT Source: Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (2018). CASP Checklist: CASP Qualitative Studies Checklist. Available at: Accessed:

<https://tinyurl.com/4k93f2kf>

## 6. Discussion

The phenomenon of migration in Greece from 1985 to the present exhibits a continuity characterized by intermittent fluctuations (Fouskas et al., 2021). This complex phenomenon presents challenges for Greece, as well as for other European Union member states (Sassen, 2021). On one hand, the social integration of immigrants is a pressing issue that necessitates social cohesion and solidarity. On the other hand, immigration serves as a vital solution to demographic challenges and is essential for the functioning of the economy and the social security system. In the context of current conditions, it is evident that increasing the Greek population solely through natural means is unfeasible without the inflow of immigrants (Fouskas et al. 2022b). This ongoing social process perpetuates stereotypes within the Greek population, hindering immigrants' participation in the country's economic and social institutions (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2008). Furthermore, the social integration of immigrants cannot be dissociated from the broader integration of society as a whole. Notably, Greece has transitioned from being a country of emigration to one of immigration, reflecting a significant demographic shift (Kontis, 2021). The frequent migratory flows and the presence of a diverse migratory population have profoundly influenced the urban environment of Greece. Sociological research indicates that the notion of personal progress is largely absent among immigrants, who often lack social organization and face challenges in achieving a satisfactory standard of living (Papadopoulou, 2012, Fouskas, 2024). The disconnect between personal aspirations and economic activity complicates immigrants' ability to define their goals within the Greek social context. While immigrants utilize networks of relatives and friends, as well as advertisements and employment agencies, to secure work, it is essential to recognize that employers predominantly favor those with legal documentation and residence permits. Consequently, many immigrants engage in part-time employment across multiple jobs to sustain themselves.

Many migrants report (Landolt and Thieme, 2018; Stewart et al., 2018; OECD, 2019) that their actual employment does not align with their professional qualifications acquired in their home countries. Despite being employed, a significant number of these workers express that their income is insufficient to cover basic housing expenses. The search for adequate housing is fraught with challenges, as immigrants encounter obstacles similar to those faced by native citizens. Additionally, some immigrants experience xenophobic and racist behaviors, exacerbating their integration difficulties.

Analysis of the current situation in the European Union, particularly in Greece, reveals that immigrants and seasonal migrant workers predominantly occupy manual labor positions. These low-status jobs often lack social prestige and are typically tasks that individuals from middle or upper socioeconomic classes are unwilling to undertake (Gertel and Sippel, 2014; Kapsalis, 2022). The necessity for survival serves as the primary motivation for individuals to accept employment in these roles, which include the loading and unloading of goods, agricultural work, and various forms of cleaning in commercial and industrial settings. The pursuit of an improved quality of life emerges as a crucial objective, specifically concerning how individuals employed in low-status jobs can maintain physical health, mental well-being, and social functionality (Kalleberg, 2011, Freeman and Gonos, 2011; Kalleberg, 2011; Mines and Anzaldua 1982; Kelley, 2017; Lin, 2023). Job satisfaction—a key determinant of quality of life—is notably lower in low-status positions compared to other employment categories. The prevailing class hierarchy and societal norms perpetuate the devaluation of these roles, resulting in a lack of autonomy and control over working conditions for employees. Workers in low-status positions often endure rigid hierarchical supervision and are deprived of the opportunity to modify work pace or allocate leisure time according to personal preferences (Zhou et al., 2023; Markova, et al., 2015; Scott and Richardson, 2021; Palumbo, 2022).

Fresh markets are pivotal to urban food security, influencing pricing strategies, ensuring the freshness of food, facilitating social interactions, and reflecting local cultural practices. In Europe, the prevalence of fresh food producers selling their goods in urban markets is notably common, particularly in cities like Athens. Within Athens, a central fruit and vegetable market hosts approximately 300 businesses that collectively supply a significant portion of the country's population with essential agricultural products, including fruits, vegetables, and meat; a new fish market is also currently under construction. The operational structure of this market predominantly features producers who rent fixed kiosks (posts), through which they distribute their products to various retailers. Notably, immigrant labor plays an integral role in the fresh market sector, fulfilling critical functions such as machine operation, cleaning, loading, sales, and other essential roles.

The contributions of these workers are vital to the efficiency and productivity of the industry (Wald, 2011; Alkon and McCullen, 2011; Taylor et al., 2022; Alkon, 2012; Harvey, 2010, Kalleberg, 2011; Mares. 2014). However, it is important to acknowledge that migrant workers in wet markets represent some of the lowest-paid laborers in the food

supply chain (Duarte et al., 2024; López, 2021; Ruelas et al., 2012; Markova et al., 2015; Hoe, 2017; Portes and Benton, 1989; Mares and Peña, 2010). They often receive wages that inadequately reflect the essential role they play in delivering fresh produce such as fruit, vegetables, fish or fresh meat to consumers. These workers frequently endure long working hours, beginning their shifts before dawn and extending well into late night or early morning hours, all while confronting challenging and sometimes hazardous working conditions. The environment of a wet market is typically characterized by a bustling and chaotic atmosphere, typified by the sounds of vendors haggling and the visual display of various fresh goods (Tuladhar and Bushell, 2017; Zhong et al., 2018, 2020). Despite the vibrancy of this setting, the reality for these workers is one of significant demand. They stand for prolonged periods, attending to customer needs, restocking supplies, and managing the daily operations of their stalls (Zhang and Pan, 2013; Narayan, 2012; Arce et al., 2014). The physical demands of their roles can lead to chronic health issues, including back pain and joint problems, due to the labor-intensive nature of tasks such as hauling heavy crates and maintaining hygiene in often wet conditions (Muniandy, 2020; Chen and Liu, 2018). Moreover, many wet market workers lack access to healthcare benefits or sick leave, placing them at risk of lost income due to even minor health issues. This context creates a financial strain, forcing many to live paycheck to paycheck, which adversely affects their quality of life and limits their capacity to provide educational opportunities for their children or to secure better housing options. While their contributions are essential to the sustenance of the community, the sacrifices made by these workers often remain invisible to the consumers who benefit from their labor (Tuladhar and Bushell, 2017; Zhong et al., 2018, 2020; Zhang and Pan, 2013; Fudge and Tham, 2017; Khan, 2011).

## 7. Conclusions

The concept of Quality of Life (QoL), as articulated by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2012, represents a comprehensive assessment framework developed in collaboration with fifteen international field centers, aimed at providing a cross-culturally applicable instrument for evaluating well-being. In recent years, there has been an increasing recognition of the necessity to explore health metrics beyond traditional indicators such as mortality and morbidity. This shift acknowledges the importance of assessing the impact of diseases and associated impairments on individuals' daily lives. Quality of Life is inherently a multidimensional construct that encompasses various facets of well-being. Its significance as a measurable outcome in the health sector has gained prominence over recent decades, particularly as healthcare practices have transitioned from

a predominantly biomedical model—focused narrowly on disease pathology—to a more integrated biopsychosocial model that emphasizes holistic well-being. Nonetheless, the complexity of QoL leads to varied interpretations across different individuals, groups, and cultural contexts. Furthermore, the terminology is often inconsistent, with terms like “health,” “perceived health,” and “health status” used interchangeably. Four key elements are consistently associated with Quality of Life: physical health, mental health, social health, and functional health. These dimensions collectively contribute to the broader definition proposed by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2023: "Quality of Life is an individual's perception of his or her place in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which he or she lives, as well as in relation to his or her goals, expectations, standards, and concerns. It is a broad concept that is influenced in a complex manner by the individual's physical health, psychological state, personal beliefs, social relationships, and connections to significant aspects of his or her environment." This definition underscores the multifaceted nature of QoL and highlights the intricate interplay between individual circumstances and broader social determinants.

Berger and Mohr (1975), in their seminal work "The Seventh Man," examined the phenomenon of guest workers, a distinct category of immigrants that arises from the international division of labor, often leading to experiences of social and economic exile. The scenario of the "exiled" and "fragmented" worker has undergone significant transformation, evolving into a new archetype of laborer who predominantly occupies arduous and hazardous positions, often classified as low-status. This contemporary reality transcends the confines of laborious work, infiltrating the personal lives of these workers and their moral obligations to their employers. Modern immigrants are frequently perceived as the most skilled individuals in demanding and perilous occupations, compelled to accept low-status employment while catering to the exigencies of their employers in exchange for essential subsistence needs such as freedom of movement, food, and shelter. In many countries, social mobility for immigrants presents formidable challenges (Fouskas, 2024). The acceleration of technological advancements and enhancements in communication systems has exacerbated existing social inequalities, underpinned by persistent disparities associated with race, ethnicity, gender, geographic location, type of employment, and educational attainment. Consequently, there exists a continuous constriction of opportunities for social advancement among marginalized populations, particularly immigrants. The journey for an immigrant manual laborer to navigate the complexities of daily life and attain a quality of life that aligns with their

aspirations appears almost insurmountable (Misra, 2007; Shelley, 2008; Bajzikova et al., 2018). This struggle not only affects the individual workers but also reverberates within their families, creating a cyclical pattern that reinforces systemic social injustices. In response, modern governments are necessitated to enact substantial measures to preempt potential social unrest. It is paradoxical for the Western world to advocate for civil society while concurrently sustaining a populace of invisible citizens with predetermined trajectories (Sassen, 1996, 2014). Notably, the labor market has undergone significant transformations during periods of crisis. As evidenced through historical patterns, the restructuring of industrial capitalism has engendered new boundaries, roles, and expectations. The segmentation and destabilization within the labor market confine individuals to low-status jobs, cultivating instability and a precarious existence that approaches social marginalization (Wacquant, 2009; Scott and Rye, 2021). The prevailing economic landscape tends to favor powerful entities consolidating their positions to safeguard their interests.

Harvey (2010) aptly posits that a fundamental prerequisite for capital accumulation is the systematic impoverishment of expanding segments of the labor force, thereby benefiting other demographics and perpetuating the capitalist paradigm. This process simultaneously facilitates the categorization of workers into designated roles and specialties, which serves as a vital mechanism for social stratification and the control of the labor force. An illustrative example of this mechanism is the categorization engendered through immigration controls, which assist in constructing a labor pool for both domestic and flexible, unstable positions. The pursuit of an improved quality of life emerges as a pressing objective, particularly in relation to the capacity of low-status workers to achieve physical health, mental well-being, as well as social and functional health. Job satisfaction, a critical component of quality of life, is markedly diminished in low-status positions compared to other occupational categories. Due to the entrenched class hierarchies and prevailing societal norms, these jobs are frequently undervalued, stripping workers of autonomy and agency over their working conditions. Workers in low-status occupations endure relentless hierarchical oversight and are often deprived of opportunities to regulate their work pace or manage their personal time autonomously. Parker (1983) argued that for individuals to attain job satisfaction, it is imperative they engage in creative processes and utilize their skills effectively. He identified several detrimental factors that negatively impact employee satisfaction, including repetitiveness of tasks, menial labor, and excessive supervision. Such findings intensify the precarious standing of employees within low-status

roles. Consequently, a discernible sequence of interrelated challenges emerges for workers in these positions, originating from a socially disadvantaged starting point that complicates their everyday realities and culminates in adverse effects on their health and overall quality of life. The intensity and severity of this burden are critical areas warranting further research focused on this demographic.

In summary, while wet market workers are pivotal in ensuring food security, their inadequate wages and the onerous demands of their occupations underscore broader issues of labor rights and socioeconomic inequality within the food industry. Acknowledging and supporting these workers is imperative for the establishment of a more equitable system that duly recognizes their hard work and commitment.

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